

BLACK POLITICS - HOME LAND

JUNE - DECEMBER

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Uwusa members say  
no to SA sanctions

Thousands of members of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) yesterday rejected sanctions and disinvestment against the country at the trade union federation's second anniversary at Secunda in the Eastern Transvaal.

Uwusa was formed in 1986 by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha.

The president of

Uwusa, Mr Simon Magagula, said Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and people such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town, wanted workers in the country to act irresponsibly so that they would lose their jobs and incomes.

Mr Magagula said sanctions would lead to immense black suffering.

— Sapa.

# Natal townships tense as protest approaches

By S'BU MNGADI

NATAL'S townships are tensing in anticipation of next week's three-day worker protest, as warring factions take opposing positions on whether or not to participate.

A meeting between Cosatu and Nactu this week resolved that the protest - against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and restrictions on Cosatu and 18 other anti-apartheid organisations - would take place on June 6, 7 and 8 instead of over five days as suggested earlier by Nactu.

Meanwhile, in an unprecedented move, traditionally conservative elements in the Natal community have given their support to the protest, called by Cosatu and endorsed by Nactu.

Natal Indian Congress secretary, Farouk Meer, said, the organisation had initiated talks between Cosatu and Indian businesspeople and predominantly-Indian trade unions about the protest.

The NIC would also place advertisements in newspapers and issue pamphlets calling on the Indian sector to join the protest.

Two former member un-

ions of the conservative Trade Union Congress of SA - the Durban Integrated Municipal Employees' Association and the Federation of Leather, Textile and Garment Workers' Union - have supported the protest.

Natal Indian communities have been criticised for being politically passive while Indian leaders featured prominently in many anti-apartheid organisations.

Slamming the protest, the Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally at Umlazi last weekend that whenever a particular course of action had to be enforced by intimidation, it was destructive to black unity.

"I have again and again appealed to UDF and Cosatu leaders not to undertake any mass action until they have consulted the people and their organisations.

"Organisations such as the UDF and Cosatu which campaign for disinvestment are divisive and are robbing the struggle for liberation of the strength. Even though we may differ with them on the sanctions issue, this cannot be an excuse for us killing and maiming each other."

When *City Press* asked Buthelezi to elaborate on his speech, he replied: "Am I and my followers not even worth consulting?"

"How can we participate in something we know nothing about? Is it because we do not exist as far as the organisers (of the protest) are concerned?"

He was concerned whether arrangements had been made for those workers who could lose their

jobs if they participated in the protest.

Some Natal townships have been simmering during the past weeks following the distribution of pamphlets on the protest in their areas.

The Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of SA has echoed Buthelezi's position on the issue.

Uwusa spokesman, MP Gumede, told *City Press* his union was telling workers not to heed the Cosatu-Nactu call. Gumede said Uwusa members were most affected by the proposed labour legislation as they did not believe in strike action.

Gumede said he feared there would be conflict because many factories had two rival unions. "It will be difficult for Uwusa to urge workers to go to work when others are not."

If Uwusa members stayed at home they would not be supporting the protest action, but fearing for their safety, he said.

"I call other unions to reduce violence during this mass protest. Let it be peaceful," he said.

Natal employers have not been vocal on the planned protest.

Executive director of the Natal Chamber of Industries, John Pohl, said he had no comment at this stage.

Maritzburg Chamber of Industries President Pamela Reid told *City Press* her organisation was due to have met to discuss the protest and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

"There has been a misunderstanding about the Bill. I don't think it has been read properly," she said.

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ey arrived at the Security Police office, a policeman lifted him, using his handcuffs and placed him in an office where they continued assaulting him.

Asked if he could identify the policemen, Ndamela said he could name a few and he could identify others by sight.

He named Security Officers Njiltja and Dandala, The case is proceeding.

REP

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CPress

# It will be a holocaust

## Buthlezi condemns plans for large-scale sanctions

**By S'BU MINGADI**  
US SENATOR Edward Kennedy wanted to gain political mileage from his support for further sanctions against South Africa, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Addressing a 25 000-strong rally at Umlazi's Glebelands Stadium, Buthelezi said it was tragic that Kennedy wanted to make political mileage at the expense of black South African workers.

The rally - which focused on the issue of economic sanctions - was timed to coincide with sweeping new proposed US sanctions legislation - the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendment Bill of 1988.

"All that matters to him is that it is a political gain for him," Buthelezi said. "When it came to black SA spokesmen calling for disinvestment against the wishes of the black workers of SA, it was another matter, Buthelezi said.

At one point during the rally, which was well attended by the foreign media, Buthelezi asked the crowd - with reference to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak:

"My brothers and sisters, do they speak on your behalf? Do they represent you when they speak? Please tell the whole world what the answers to these questions are."

The crowd roared in response, "Yes!"

Realising the confusion his address in English had created among his predominantly rural audience, Buthelezi paraphrased his question, and received a loud "no" from his audience.

Earlier this week, Buthelezi addressed a group of leading US industrialists, when he indicated that he had changed from his earlier campaign against sanctions. He told the businessmen that only large-scale sanctions by united international action could bring South Africa to its knees.

He said, however, it was unthinkable that same people - who knew the facts of South Africa's mass poverty - could support actions which would succeed only if mounted on a scale large enough to destroy the country's potential growth.

"To make white SA really feel the bite of sanctions, the scale at which they are mounted would have to be devastatingly large," he said.

At the weekend rally he told supporters such large-scale sanctions could create a holocaust in SA because violence would erupt on a scale that would destroy everything. The rally was the second mass anti-disinvestment rally Buthelezi had addressed since the 1986 launch of the United Workers' Union of SA.

He assured his followers apartheid could not survive for ever. "Black South Africans will not let it survive." He pleaded: "We have to force apartheid to retreat in every walk of life. The black struggle for liberation has been going on since 1912 and no year has passed, no month passed, no week passed, no day passed, in which black opposition to apartheid was

not pushing forward relentlessly.

"My brothers and sisters, you and I know that apartheid is doomed. However much we are suffering now, we know our suffering will end. It will end because we resist oppression."

"You as workers are involved in the black struggle for liberation every day of your lives. As workers you have already won vitally important battles against apartheid."

"The one overall battle you have won, which will ensure final victory, is your battle as the black worker to have the right to be employed where you want and to be employed in the job of your choice."

"Apartheid tried to keep black workers out of skilled jobs. Black workers triumphed over apartheid and learnt skills, whether

the law said they could or not.

"Black workers kept penetrating into parts of South Africa whites call their own."

"Whites tried to keep you out of the cities. For decades hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of black South Africans were arrested under pass laws and influx control regulations. Those arrested showed workers would not be intimidated and continued to march on the cities of South Africa because they were right to be there and they kept claiming this right whatever apartheid said."

"I tell the world the battles we have thus far won are now forever. I tell the world there is now a total white reliance on blacks in the economic sphere."

"This gives blacks bargaining power. It particularly gives workers bargaining power."

"The granting of trade union rights to black workers was not something the white South African government granted because it

felt sorry for workers and wanted to help them.

"It was black worker resistance to oppression and the sacrifices black workers had made as they claimed their right to work in the cities."

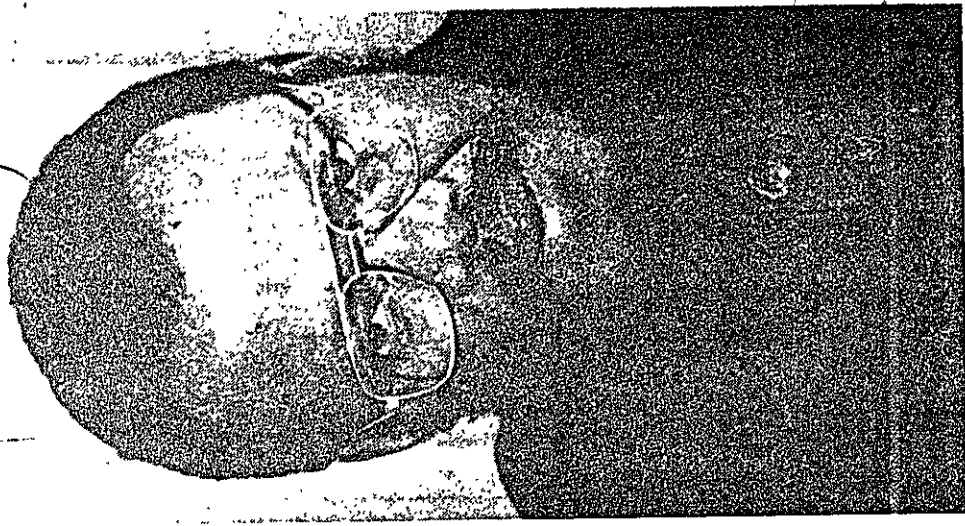
"Trade union rights had to be granted because black workers had already become powerful and employers need to negotiate with black power."

"Am I right in rejecting disinvestment on your behalf?"

"Am I right in telling the world that those who call for disinvestment do not call for it because they want to avoid violence? They call for it because they are violent. Do you agree with me? Tell the world what you think."

He lashed out at Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Archbishop Tutu, Rev Boesak, Frank Chikane and Cosatu's Elijah Barayi, whom he said told the world on behalf of the masses to withdraw from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi ... apartheid is doomed.



# Old Bucks salutes the winners.

MS133080



## Booklet explains function of new authority

# Govt spent R43 518

# on JEA 'info' glossy

SKV 6/6/88

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### Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Bureau for Information has spent R43 518 on bringing out a glossy 24-page brochure on the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

It has printed 55 000 copies of the booklet in English and 20 000 in Afrikaans, a spokesman for the Bureau said today.

About 20 000 will go to the Department of Foreign Affairs for distribution abroad. The rest will be distributed in South Africa through the bureau's regional offices.

"It was produced to inform on the background of the establishment of the JEA and to explain its function," the spokesman said.

The bureau says in the booklet that the JEA was the first institution of government established in South Africa in which representatives of the white, black, coloured and Indian communities will meet as equals at administrative and executive level to deal with matters affecting the interests of all the communities.

The region faced major socio-economic problems, such as unemployment, poverty and malnutrition, which were much more likely to be solved by innovative co-ordinated action than by marginal adjustments made independently by either administration.

"Closer co-operation was also prompted by the

conviction that local communities should be given more opportunities to evolve their own solutions to their problems, on the premise that the people directly concerned know their region best and are best qualified to tackle their most pressing problems."

It offers the background to the JEA and edited versions of addresses at the inauguration and profiles of the members of the kwaZulu cabinet and Natal Executive Committee who sit on the JEA.

# Challenge to NP on Inkatha talks

~~Political Staff~~ (118) because the Zulus would not accept this.  
CAPE TOWN — National Party Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, was challenged today to say whether he agreed that there was little chance of success of negotiations with Inkatha.

The challenge was made by Natal PFP leader, Mr Roger Burrows, MP, following a hardline speech made by right-wing National Party MP Dr Johan Steenkamp (Umhlatuzana) in Parliament last week.

Dr Steenkamp implied that the NP and Inkatha had no common ground,

because the Zulus would not accept this.

The speech was pointedly ignored by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis.

Other Nationalist MPs said privately the best way to treat Dr Steenkamp was to ignore him, as he was attempting to establish himself as a NP "right-wing guru".

In his speech on Friday Dr Steenkamp said "much water must run into the sea before the National Party and Inkatha agree — if ever.

"I invite Chief Minister Buthelezi to prove me wrong."

# R80-m ethanol plant expected to get OK soon

By David Canning

DURBAN — Cabinet approval is expected soon for an ambitious R80 million ethanol plant which will sustain 20 000 jobs and provide a major boost for sugar farmers and Natal business.

SA Sugar Association (SASA) chairman John Chance said the industry is expecting a "positive statement" shortly.

He was confident that the Cabinet, which had the final say, would give its go-ahead.

He told the annual conference of South African Sugar Technologists in Durban yesterday that the National Energy Council had asked SASA to reaffirm its interest in ethanol production under a set of parameters which the executives had supplied.

SASA had given its confirmation, with a few minor qualifications, "and we therefore expect that a positive official announcement on the future of the project will be made shortly."

Mr Chance said rapid progress had been made in bringing the association's ethanol fuel project — for which Richards Bay was considered the optimum area — to fruition.

Although extensive experience in a number of countries proved there were no technical problems with ethanol blends of 20 percent, SASA was considering the imple-

mentation of a 15 percent blend to be conservative.

A 150 million litre plant would provide for the present requirements in Natal "up to the Sasol interface". This would create a contiguous alcohol blend from the PWV through to the Natal coast.

A plant near Richards Bay would have access to an abundant supply of raw material and the effluent could be readily accommodated through the existing ocean outfall pipe. The effluent was non-toxic and would create no marine environmental problem.

"The plant will use upgraded molasses equivalent to 200 000 tons of sugar and 150 000 tons of final molasses.

"The production of ethanol will sustain 20 000 jobs supporting about 100 000 people in KwaZulu and it will make a significant contribution to the economy of Richards Bay and, in fact, the whole of Natal.

Most of the equipment for the plant would be manufactured in South Africa — saving many millions of rands in foreign exchange.

Explaining the motivation for the plant, he said sugar export prices would remain below the cost of production for even efficient producers "for the foreseeable future."

**GET ORGANISED**

# Nats expect us to 'behave' — chief

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party and its MP for Umhlatuzana, Dr Johan Steenkamp, expect black South Africans to behave like "good kaffirs" because the baas knows best, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday in reply to a speech Dr Steenkamp

made in Parliament.

"Much water must run into the sea before the National Party and Inkatha agree — if ever," the MP said in the constitutional affairs debate last week.

He pleaded for the extension of racial exclusivity and virtually wrote off power-sharing with

blacks as they would not deal in National Party terms.

Dr Steenkamp said Inkatha's target of a one-man one-vote unitary state was the same as that of the ANC, but their strategies to realise this differed.

People who believed the NP was on the same wavelength as Inkatha were throwing dust in their own eyes, he said.

Hitting back, Chief Buthelezi said: "It is good we now have the cat out of the bag as we could not understand why the Government was so negative about the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals. We now know that we are in a stalemate situation."

## PRESCRIPTION

"Now we know that Dr Steenkamp and the National Party expect us to conform to their prescription like 'good kaffirs' because the baases know what is good for us. We will never accept that position. Our forebears and antecedents were prepared to lose life and limb to defend their human rights."

# Call for further trade sanctions is incomprehensible, says Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Between 60 000 and 100 000 blacks had already lost their jobs as a direct consequence of disinvestment and trade sanctions, kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He told delegates to a national congress of chartered accountants in Durban that former employees in industries such as coal, sugar, fruit and textiles had lost their jobs and now faced destitution. This would add to existing poverty, unrest and criminality.

Despite this, he said, it was incomprehensible that Christian, political and trade union leaders were pressing for more of the very same measures that were already causing such suffering.

Chief Buthelezi said on the one side reforms had come to a halt as the Government stood mesmerised between the opinions of a comparatively small group of extremists and the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

On the other, there were those who single-mindedly concentrated their efforts on what to change from; but who gave very little intelligent

thought to what the country should change to.

They did not comprehend that their actions served only to reinforce Government intransigence. Their actions were beginning to harm the economic well-being of black South Africans in a way which would do permanent damage, irrespective of whether change took place in South Africa or not.

Should these actions continue, the Inkatha leader warned, South Africa could end up even worse off than today — notwithstanding the devastations of apartheid. As in Mozambique, liberation could be followed by a worse civil war than the one that preceded it.

It would be futile to try to correct the situation either through a violent overthrow of the existing order, or through economic isolation. Instead, blacks had to use every available opportunity to upgrade themselves until they became the dominant factor in the economy.

The best future for all lay in increased educational and employment opportunities for blacks.

The absence of new investment for the expansion of industry was probably South Africa's most worrying economic problem, he added.

## Van Zijl to help overhaul education system in Natal

The principal education planner at the Natal Education Department, Dr Johan van Zijl has been appointed to the Indaba's implementation study, which is preparing a blueprint for a non-racial administration in kwaZulu Natal. 5/14/68

As Director of Education Policy Dr van Zijl will be involved in research and planning concerning the overhaul of the education system in Natal and kwaZulu, which would involve combining the existing six education departments in the region into

one cohesive unit responsible for the equal education of all.

Dr van Zijl completed his doctoral thesis — "Cultural differences between students at various universities, with emphasis on training psychologists to function in multicultural settings" at Natal University.

He has also been an external examiner for post-graduate degree students for the universities of Cape Town, Durban, Westville and Port Elizabeth, and is registered with the SA Medical and Dental Council as a psychologist.

Top Inkatha  
man faces  
murder charge

ARCUS B/K/S  
116

ULUNDI. — The central committee of Inkatha has suspended one of its leading members, Mr Thomas Mandla Shabalala, who appeared in the Ntuzuma magistrates court on Friday in connection with charges of murder and attempted murder.

The move to suspend Mr Shabalala, who had not been asked to plead in court, was initiated by the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The committee also agreed to his proposal to recommend to the Inkatha general conference that the movement's constitution be amended to provide the central committee with an additional body to be known as the disciplinary investigative and advisory sub-committee.

**"PROFITEERING"**

Under this amendment, any of its members charged with a criminal act, of fraudulent behaviour or of "profiteering" would automatically be suspended from membership privileges pending a report by the disciplinary sub-committee.

Meanwhile, however, acting under its existing constitutional powers the central committee has suspended Mr Shabalala's privileges and duties as a central committee member. — Sapa.





Tutu to  
Sowetan 20/6/84  
see  
lawyers

SOWETAN REPORTER

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu returned home from the Soviet Union in a fury yesterday, saying he would see his lawyers today about his wife's arrest and alleged manacling on the eve of their departure for Moscow.

The Archbishop of Cape Town and his wife, Mrs Leah Tutu, were returning from the Soviet Union where they attended celebrations to mark a millenium of Christianity in Russia.

Archbishop Tutu lambasted those who castigated his statements during the trip, and deplored what he called the "rent-a-crowd" tactics, including the "shameful use of little children," which his opponents had recently started using against him.

A potentially nasty scene was narrowly averted at the airport when Archbishop Tutu's supporters came face to face with demonstrators sporting T-shirts of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

The shirts were handed out by a burly man wearing a crash helmet. Mingling with the demonstrators were white members of the right-wing National Students' Federation (NSF) distributing pamphlets attacking Archbishop Tutu.

When the Tutus landed, the restrictive provisions of the state of emergency, which ban outdoor gatherings and placard demonstrations, were flouted seemingly at will by the Uwusa supporters. They sang and danced before the couple emerged from the customs area.

Police did not break up the demonstration.

Archbishop Tutu's supporters formed a guard of honour at the exit in readiness and spoke quietly.

The 100 or so Uwusa supporters, who included children brandishing placards asking for jobs, and the NSF members, had milled outside the international arrivals hall for more than an hour before the couple's arrival.

They waved placards, some of which were defamatory.

After the prelate departed for Soweto, at least two members of the Uwusa group hurled insults at Archbishop Tutu's followers. A young man wearing an Uwusa shirt kicked one of the Archbishop's supporters as a young woman in a similar shirt threatened another person with violence.

A South African Council of Churches official quickly stepped in and moved members of the group away. Answering newsmen's questions later, the demonstrators said they "expected to be paid" for their efforts, and added that they had come from places such as Ermelo and Warmbaths. They said they arrived at Jan Smuts in a bus belonging to an Ermelo company. At a press conference held in the garden of his Orlando West, Soweto, home afterwards, the defiant cleric said he was "totally unrepentant" of what he had said and done in the Soviet Union, adding that those attempting to discredit him "can do their worst." He said he had thanked the Russians for providing refugee children with succour and scholarships.

## Inkatha replies

LONDON — The president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said there were many millions in South Africa who believed that peaceful change was possible.

He was responding in a letter to the *London Times* to comments made by the African National Congress leader, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Chief Buthelezi said that in the past he and Mr Tambo had shared friendship and a common cause in fighting, each in his own way, for the end of apartheid and for a new and united South Africa.

"It is a matter of deep regret that because of subsequent ideological differences and varying tactics and strategies, the ANC now wishes to destroy me politically."

Sowetan 23/11/88

(113)

# Free Mandela — Buthelezi

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday repeated his pre-condition for taking part in the proposed National Council — that the Government must release Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners.

The calibre and representativeness of the black leadership present in the council depended on this, Chief Buthelezi said in a statement.

Leaders who took part while African National Congress leader Mandela was in jail would not attract mass support and would become irrelevant, he said.

Unless the forum were

specifically constituted as a necessary step following the Government's undertaking to scrap the Tricameral Parliament in part or in whole, "it will only attract inadequate representation and pursue inadequate agenda."

"Black leaders have long passed the point in history where they can be used as rubber stamps for the real intentions of the country's white political leadership," Chief Buthelezi said.

The choice facing South Africa was a one-party socialist constitution and socialist economy, or a multi-party democracy supporting a dominantly free enterprise economic system. — Sapa.

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# NP in Natal urged to think again

Sowetan  
24/1/88

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THE National Party in Natal needed to improve its relationships with other political organisations in the province, Mr Renier Schoeman MP (NP Umhlanga) said this week.

Mr Schoeman's consiliatory statement in Parliament comes in strong contrast to the controversial speech

made by another Natal MP, Dr Johan Steenkamp,

Dr Steenkamp had said in his speech that the concept of own affairs had to be extended to its limits and implied that because Inkatha would not accept this, there was

little chance of the NP and Inkatha reaching any agreement.

Speaking in the debate on the establishment of a National Council, Mr Schoeman, who significantly was appointed to the important joint Parliamentary Constitu-

tional Committee' last week, said in Natal and KwaZulu, "the need to talk to one another has never been greater."

Mr Schoeman said that if attitudes were not changed and solutions were not found at lower levels then the National Council may not succeed.

"We as Nationalists in Natal will also have to work on our relationships with the political organisations and leaders of other population groups in that province and step up our search for common ground and co-operation if we are to play our part.

"If we are to be successful the acceptance of the Bill must be the start of a renewed search for common ground with people of colour right across the spectrum of our community life through out the country."

# 'Treat election seriously' urges municipalities chief

1113  
Star 24/6/88

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The October municipal elections should be taken seriously in the townships so "genuine leaders" can emerge, Mr Tom Boya, Mayor of Daveyton and chairman of the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) said today.

Umsa is presently involved in exploratory talks with homeland leaders to form a "united forum" to seek a unified

approach on the proposed National Council and create bargaining strength.

Mr Boya said the banning of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and 17 other organisations in February was "unfortunate" because it deprived municipal candidates of competition.

"We really do need a test in South Africa so that genuine and truly representative leadership

can emerge. Some of those restricted organisations would probably participate in the municipal elections," Mr Boya said.

Mr Boya and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, have agreed on a joint approach on the NC.

Both leaders have rejected the NC, saying they would participate only after certain conditions have been met.

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# No funds, so academic backs off in Natal defamation case

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## CP Correspondent

A NATAL university academic, Dr Michael Sutcliffe, has backed off from defending a defamation action brought against him by Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This is the second time Buthelezi has won a moral victory against writers of articles that probed the involvement of Inkatha in violent acts.

Sutcliffe said he withdrew from defending himself against the action because he did not have funds to pay for the services of a senior lawyer to represent him.

"I thought I had a case, but there is

no money to get senior counsel," said Sutcliffe, who maintains that the article that triggered the defamation action was in fact "tame".

He said the upshot of the article - published in the Summer 1986 edition of *Transafrika Forum* magazine - was that Inkatha was a violent organisation.

He said he also saw interesting political implications in the contention advanced by Buthelezi's legal team that Inkatha and Buthelezi were the same thing - implying that if one criticised the organisation, one is also levelling those criticisms at Buthelezi personally.

According to the out-of-court settle-

ment, Sutcliffe agreed to pay Buthelezi R2 000 and the cost of the action.

He also wrote a letter to Buthelezi apologising for statements the KwaZulu leader may have found to be defamatory to his character and well-being. "I apologise for those allegations in the article which can reasonably be considered defamatory of you, and which caused you offence.

"I can assure you that it was never my intention to defame you. In the circumstances I withdraw those remarks and references which could reasonably be considered defamatory of you," Sutcliffe wrote. - Concord

# Chief says NO, until Mandela is free

CP Correspondent

**KWAZULU** Chief Msimis-ter and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week repeated his pre-condition for taking part in the proposed national council — that political prisoners like Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothapeng be released.

The calibre and representativeness of the black leadership in the council depended on this, Buthelezi said.

Leaders who took part while Mandela was in jail would not attract mass support and would become irrelevant, he said.

Unless the forum were specifically constituted as a necessary step following the government's undertaking to scrap the tricameral Parliament, "it will only attract inadequate representation and pursue an inadequate agenda".

"Black leaders have long passed the point where

they can be used as rubber stamps for the real intentions of the country's white political leadership," Buthelezi said.

The choice facing South Africa was a one-party socialist constitution and socialist economy, or a multi-party democracy supporting a dominantly free enterprise economic system.

Mearwatile, in Parliament, Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus), said the Pro-motion of Constitutional

Development Bill clearly told him that black people would one day enter Parliament.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Bill, he said he had waited for a long time to speak in the first tricameral debate in the new chamber.

He considered the meeting a beginning from where a new future for South Africa could be designed. "There is a place for the Afrikaner in the future, but there must also be a place for all South Africans in the future."

Richards said he was a guest of the Minister of Law and Order eight years ago at Modderbee Prison and John Vorster Square in Johannesburg.

"This does not make me a bitter person, it only improves my foresight." Instead of detaining people, the government should let them share the responsibility for building a future South Africa.

"I have waited a long time for this day. Finally, I believe we are beginning to move."

"I see my black brothers out there: 'Come and walk the road with me.' "Do not be afraid because time is on your side and the great majority of people are on your side."

The proposed national council was fatally flawed and would be incapable of initiating a successful process of negotiation, the leader of the PFP, Colin Egin, said today.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, he said the council might at times give the illusion of success, while, in reality, it would be prolonging the agony of political polarisation and conflict.

The PFP seriously doubted whether the council would be an appropriate body to initiate the critically important process of negotiation on a new constitution.

These doubts had been reinforced by the overwhelming weight of the views of black South Africans who were not represented in Parliament.

Sapa

## Metal workers warn Iscor

CP Correspondent

**KERRY CULLINAN** DISCIPLINARY action by Iscor against workers who stayed away on June 6, 7 and 8 in protest against the new labour Bill could spark more conflict, according to the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

The union claims 7 000 workers from Iscor's Vanderbijlpark plant have been disciplined.

Numsa organiser Bobby Marle said that as a result of disciplinary action, at least 55 workers had been dismissed. Hundreds of others had received final warnings.

"To avoid a national and international campaign developing, Numsa has called for

a high level meeting with Iscor head of-  
fice," said Marle.

An Iscor spokesman, M du Plessis, said disciplinary action was being taken against those workers who stayed away without permission from the company, but each individual's record was studied before action was taken.

He said it was possible that 55 workers who already had final warnings on their files were dismissed as a result of the stayaway.

Du Plessis added that Iscor management would hold a meeting with Numsa this afternoon and the union could raise the matter then.

THE "Great Indaba" may start its proceedings next year with at least four permanent vacancies — but the Government is determined to press on regardless.

It is certain that at least four of the present homeland leaders will not join the council which was created in an historic joint session of Parliament this week. Two other leaders are said to be wavering.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, has consistently voiced his opposition to the council, starting in the days when it was still called the National Council.

Dr Buthelezi insists that he will not join the council unless political organisations are unbanned, leaders like Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng are released and the Government gives a clear-cut commitment to a new constitution that will include blacks.

Equally vociferous in his opposition has been KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza.

Recently the leader of Lebowa, Mr T Ramodike, and QwaQwa's Mr Kenneth Mopeli, indicated that they too would not join the council.

Said to be wavering is Dr Hudson Ntsanwisi, of Gazankulu, and Mr George Mahlangu, of Kwandebele.

Mr Mahlangu's position is in the balance anyway after a Supreme Court ruling that the election of his Legislative Assembly was invalid.

### Diverse

A new election will have to be held according to legislation introduced in Parliament this week.

Opposition to the council has also come from political quarters as far apart as the UDF and Association of Management Committees chairman Mr Tom Moya.

Except for the homeland leaders the yet-unnamed council will comprise nine indirectly elected representatives of urban black communities, six Cabinet members, the four provincial administrators, and the chairman of the coloured and Indian Ministers' councils.

The urban representatives will be elected after the October municipal polls, elected councillors will form electoral colleges on a regional basis to determine who should represent them on the council.

The boundaries of the re-

# State to go ahead 'with or without' top blacks

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

gions have not been determined but it's expected that it will not deviate too much from that of the existing nine development regions.

Government sources conceded this week that the non-attendance of important homeland leaders would be a severe blow to the prestige of the council. But, they said, the Government would not be deterred by this development.

"The council will be in session by early next year ... with or without them," the Sunday Times was told.

Privately they pin their hopes on the possibility that the council may, through its actions, redeem itself in the eyes of moderate black leaders.

According to this thinking the three-chamber Parliament was also ridiculed and boycotted at first but has grown in legitimacy and acceptance since its establishment.

Government sources point to the fact that the council enjoys an extremely wide latitude as far as the subjects that may be discussed are concerned.

It may, for instance, change the Bill providing for its inception and thus reconstitute itself. In this way the council can make itself more acceptable to other black leaders.

It has also got the power to examine any piece of legislation and make recommendations to the Government.

# Homeless heroes to snub Great Indaba

11/9  
26/6/88  
S.M.





# Majority in Natal would vote for indaba

ARGUS 20/6/88  
115

### Staff Reporter

MORE than half the whites in Natal would vote in favour of the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba proposals if a referendum were held, a market research survey claims.

The survey, conducted in March and April concluded that 51 percent of whites would vote for the proposals, 21 percent against, while 28 percent were undecided.

The favourable attitude was extended country-wide, and throughout the ranks of all political parties except the Conservative Party.

The survey was conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys with a sample of 2 000 people.

Two questions tested the attitudes of Natal

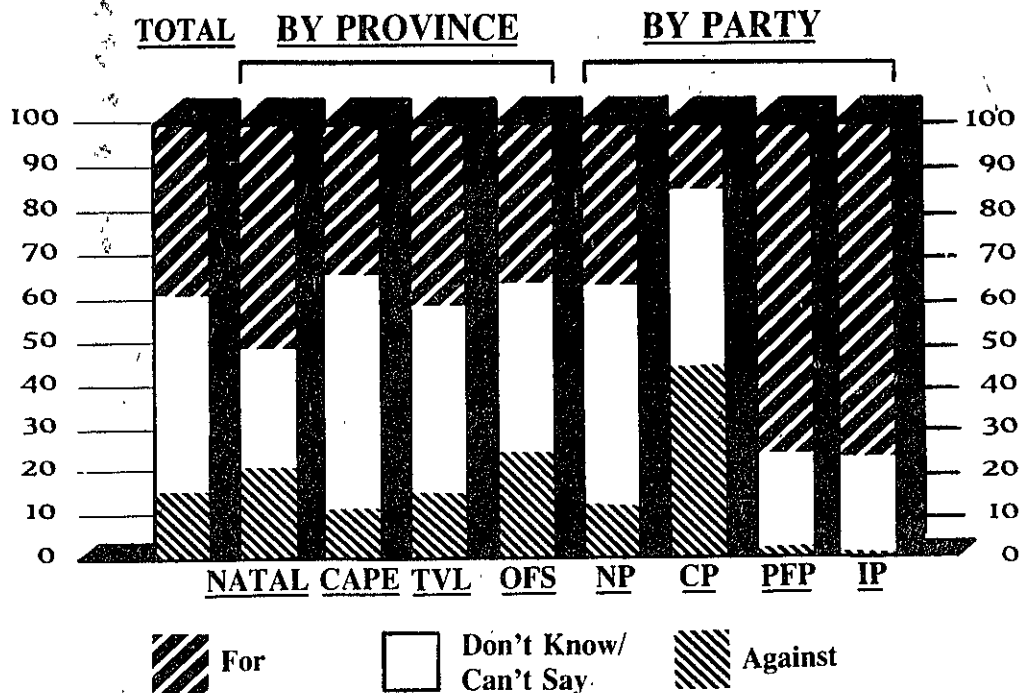
whites to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

Fifty percent agreed he "was the kind of black leader who could be trusted with power" while 36 percent were undecided and 18 percent disagreed.

The survey also showed that 44 percent felt the Indaba was making progress rather than losing ground, while 18 percent felt it had "petered out completely".

Professor Dawid van Wyk, Indaba director, said he was "delighted" by the results.

"While previous surveys have shown the Indaba has majority support among white voters this is the first time they have been asked directly whether they would vote for or against the proposals if given the opportunity," he said.



The table above shows how respondents answered the question: if you had the opportunity to vote on the Indaba, would you vote for or against it?

# Right and left 'should be present at talks'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Neither ANC leader Nelson Mandela nor Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party could be left out of talks on SA's political future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Addressing about 450 delegates to the second congress of the Afrikaans youth group Jeugkrag SA, Chief Buthelezi said inadequate representation around the negotiating table would produce inadequate results.

## INVITATIONS

The kwaZulu Chief Minister said every leader should be free to accept or reject invitations to negotiate a new dispensation. "It would be as absurd to exclude Dr Nelson Mandela as it would be to exclude Dr Andries Treurnicht."

The chief said the CP leader had as much right to take part in any talks as Mandela and jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

"I regard the far right



Chief Buthelezi... Give all leaders an opportunity.

as a threat to South Africa, but I would not attempt to negotiate a future without it being possible for them to be present. If the State President regards the far left as a threat to the country, then he must insist that they are there, or at least that they be given the opportunity to be there."

Chief Buthelezi said he refused to take part in the Government's proposed National Council for blacks as it would be "rigged". Blacks who did take part in the council stood "every chance of being endorsed right out of political relevance".

## 25-year armed struggle has failed — Inkatha

ULUNDI — The ANC's armed struggle had not succeeded in over 25 years and had no prospects of succeeding, the annual general conference of Inkatha said.

Re-affirming its support yesterday for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policies of non-violence, the conference said violence could only lead to a no-win situation for all parties.

Where change had occurred, it had been because economic realities had been supported by peaceful tactics, the conference said. It called on all Inkatha members not to get side-tracked from the movement's struggle

to end apartheid by allowing themselves to be drawn into violent confrontations. ~~11B~~ 11B

Inkatha was committed to the principle of black unity in the face of apartheid, the conference said. Blacks responsible for disunity were "doing the Government's dirty work" and "buying time for apartheid".

It called for recognition that black unity could only be achieved through acceptance of a multi-strategy approach, in which every organisation opposed apartheid as it saw fit under its particular circumstances. — Sapa.

## Sanctions won't end apartheid — Inkatha

ULUNDI — The annual general conference of Inkatha yesterday resolved to tell the United States, Canada and western Europe that black South Africa supported Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his campaign against sanctions. *Spr 4/788*

It said it rejected disinvestment as a hindrance to the struggle to eradicate apartheid and called on the international community to stimulate economic growth in South Africa as an "effective way of opposing apartheid". *(113)*

The conference also resolved to convey its "deep love" to jailed former ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

The conference urged the State President to heed Chief Buthelezi's repeated calls for the release of Mandela "for the sake of South Africa".

It rejected Regional Services Councils because of the fundamental distinction the system made between own and common affairs and said they were no more than "regional legs" of the tricameral parliamentary system which it also rejected. — Sapa.

# INKATHA'S CALL TO WHITES ON ELECTION

*Sowetan 5/7/88*

11B



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

INKATHA'S 1,5 million members have called on white South Africans to express themselves clearly in favour of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in the October municipal elections.

This was one of the resolutions Inkatha adopted at its annual conference in Umtata at the weekend.

Delegates decided to continue supporting the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals in principle "because their inherent merit is not

changed by the South African Government's rejection of them".

Indaba sources would not say what the significance of the municipal elections resolution was.

Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, relaxed, shared several laughs with delegates in his main address. Besides re-affirming his political position, Chief Buthelezi said:

• "The ANC had said it would have to destroy Inkatha, its main enemy in South

Africa.

• Attempts were being made to renew attacks against Inkatha in the greater Maritzburg area.

• Inkatha would be radicalised if necessary with the times, or it would become more accommodating with the times.

• President Botha was more blameworthy for the problems South Africa was suffering than he was praiseworthy for attempting to solve the problems.

Never before had there been such white disunity and such deep divisions in white politics. This was not advantageous to black people, though, because of black disunity.

Chief Buthelezi would not participate in the National Council unless Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners were released.

Chief Buthelezi said that on Friday he had received a facsimile-machine message from Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning saying that he had sent him a letter about the Indaba which should arrive this week. Chief Buthelezi did not know what the letter would say.

# Murdered man had order to protect family

*MAG 6/7/88*  
The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, who died after being blasted with a shotgun at his home on Monday night, had obtained a Supreme Court temporary interdict restraining certain people from killing or assaulting him.

He was also a key witness in a Supreme Court case here.

Mr Mthembu, his father, Mr Johannes Mthembu, and three of his brothers, one of whom was also killed, were granted an urgent interdict restraining Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mr Sichizo Zuma and Mr Thulani Ngcobo from killing or assaulting them.

A hearing set down for August 1 was to ascertain whether Mr Zuma was in contempt of the ruling restraining him from killing or assaulting members of the Mthembu family.

CATG Times 7/7/88

# Key witness in Natal 'warlord' trial killed

MARITZBURG. — A key witness, who was to have given evidence in the Supreme Court here against an Inkatha member and alleged warlord, has been shot and killed at his Imbali home.

According to a police spokesman for Natal, Capt Pieter Kitching, Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, was shot when a mob attacked his home on Monday night and began throwing stones. — Sapa

*EMC Times 8/7/80 (11) (12) (13)*

# Inkatha member in court after man's death

11B

MARITZBURG. — An Inkatha member, Mr Emmanuel Thulani Ngcobo, 28, arrested on Wednesday in connection with the killing of an Imbali man who was shot dead earlier this week, was granted bail of R500 yesterday when he made a second appearance in the Magistrate's Court here.

The slain man, Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, was an applicant in a civil action in the Supreme Court in which he and other members of his family obtained a temporary restraining order against Mr Ngcobo and two other Inkatha members. The matter was set down for oral evidence next month.

In terms of the Supreme Court order, Mr Ngcobo, Mr Sichizo Zuma and Mr Jerome Mncwabe were interdicted from killing or assaulting five members of the Mthembu family.

Mr Ngcobo was granted R500 bail when he appeared before magistrate Mr F W Strydom, and he was ordered to report weekly to a Maritzburg police station.

The state did not oppose the bail application and recommended that bail be set at R500, on the instructions of the Attorney-General.

No charges were put to Mr Ngcobo and the trial was adjourned until August 4 for further investigation. — Sapa-Reuter



# Family foe charged after son shot dead

A KWAZULU police constable — restrained by a temporary supreme court order from killing or harming members of Pietermaritzburg's Mthembu family — has appeared in court following the murder of one of the Mthembu sons this week.

Thulani Ngcobo is one of three prominent Inkatha supporters, including a town councillor and a "warlord", against whom the Mthembu's have sought court protection.

This week Ernest Mthembu became the second son to be shot and killed since the family went to court for protection. Both remaining sons have bullets in their bodies from unsuccessful attempts on their lives.

Family members said they were watching television on Monday night when a stone was thrown through a bedroom window.

Ernest went to the door to see what was happening while his brother, Elphas, went to the bedroom.

As Ernest opened the door, his brother heard three shots in quick succession and rushed to his brother whom he found lying on the floor with a gunshot wound in his stomach.

Desperate at how long the ambulance took to arrive, the family drove him to hospital in a private car.

Lawyers acting for the family said that on the way to hospital, Ernest repeated the name of the person who he said had shot him. He died shortly after arriving at the hospital.

Ernest and other members of his family had been preparing for the continuation of their applications against the three Inkatha supporters set down for August 1.

He was to have been a key witness, and the family say they believe the attack was designed to discourage other potential witnesses or to make the Mthembu's case more difficult.

The family applied to the supreme court for protection in January against leading Inkatha member and Imbali town councillor Jerome

By CARMEL RICKARD  
Durban

Mncwabe; chairman of the Harewood Inkatha Youth Brigade, Sichizo Zuma, commonly referred to as an Inkatha "warlord"; and against Ngcobo who said in his replying statement that he was a detective constable in the kwaZulu Police.

Although he had been a member of Inkatha, he had to give up membership on joining the KZP as they were not allowed to belong to any political organisation. However, he conceded he was "a sympathiser" of Inkatha.

The Mthembus said the three had been involved in attacks on members of the family and, claiming the police had not intervened to prevent the attacks, they said they had no choice but to go to court for help.

*removed 8-19-78*  
Papers were served on the three Inkatha supporters but the day before the matter came to court, Smalridge and Simon Mthembu were shot, allegedly by Zuma. Simon later died.

The family brought a second application against Zuma, asking that he be found in contempt of court and that the court order he could not go within 500m of the Mthembu house.

Both the contempt order and the original application are to be heard on August 1. Family lawyers said they were now involved in preparing for the case and interviewing independent witnesses.

They pointed out that of their five clients, all except the father had now been shot and two had been killed.

They said the harassment of the family, well documented in court papers, began last August.

# Blacks will reject Bill, Buthelezi warns

sfv 12/7/88

118  
Blew

The Government's now-published Draft Bill providing for regional legislative councils for black people outside the so-called "self-governing states" will be rejected by the vast majority of blacks, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi said last night.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president warned that an elaboration of apartheid's structures would heighten conflict, stimulate further political violence and further polarise the country.

In a special press statement, Dr Buthelezi expressed concern at the extent of new powers given to the State President.

The only thing for the present Parliament to do, Dr Buthelezi added, was to "legislate itself out of existence" and legislate a new and just dispensation after consultation with blacks.

Dr Buthelezi accused the National Party of inconsistency: on the one hand it insisted that different ethnic groups could not work together in one political framework, yet it was now "thrusting Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Pedi, Tswana groups together at regional level simply because it suited its plans".

"In taking this step the Government



Chief Buthelezi . . . Nats not even in line with their own policies.

was not even paying lip service to proper consultation with blacks," said Dr Buthelezi.

He said he was not consulted on the proposed legislative councils although he had existing jurisdiction over nearly seven million Zulus.

"I have rejected the politics of prescription throughout my political life. I find this latest imposition of Government hair-brained schemes on black South Africa very disheartening," he said.

It was tragic, said Dr Buthelezi, that black leaders who were still prepared to work against apartheid and for change by non-violent means have had "the rugs pulled from beneath their feet"

# Chief rejects Govt proposals

(118) S-100-131-7188  
DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the latest constitutional proposals for blacks — regional legislative councils for those living outside self-governing states.

The Government presented the proposals last week for general information and comment. Legislative councils would have their own executive councils and would be elected in several areas — probably the four provinces. Eventually, they might combine into one national legislative council if they and the State President so wanted.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister yesterday said the Regional Legislative Councils Bill "will be rejected by the vast, vast

majority of blacks. They will certainly be rejected by Inkatha. I find this latest imposition of Government hare-brained schemes on black South Africa very disheartening."

In taking this step, the Government was not even paying lip service to consultation with blacks. The present Parliament should legislate itself out of existence and legislate a new and just dispensation into existence after negotiation with blacks.

"Blacks do not want the elaboration of apartheid's structures. Introducing the envisaged regional legislative councils will heighten conflict, stimulate further political violence and further polarise South Africa."

THE African National Congress has confirmed it had recent, top-level contact with Inkatha, but says further talks are off until "Inkatha settles differences with the democratic movement (in South Africa)".

In a statement to the *Weekly Mail*, the ANC's Information Department in Lusaka set an official seal on some of the claims made by Inkatha Secretary-General Oscar Dhlomo in Ulundi this month — but rejected his version of the events, and his interpretation of the talks.

The statements emerging from both Lusaka and Ulundi suggest that whatever tentative feelers were put out, have now been withdrawn.

The ANC confirmed that Publicity Director Thabo Mbeki met Dhlomo last year. But, says the ANC, "the talks were strictly informal, and were at his (Dhlomo's) request".

There was no third meeting, as Inkatha had claimed, according to the statement.

"One was during a meeting Mbeki was attending in the United States. The second was in London where both happened to be at the same time, and Mbeki asked (ANC official) Jacob Zuma to accompany him. There was no third ... Mbeki saw Dhlomo (again) at a conference in Harare, but no discussions took place."

The statement said at the discussions, "Mbeki insisted that prior to any talks with the ANC, Inkatha must first settle differences ... especially with the UDF. He referred in particular to the violence in Natal, and said that it had to be stopped."

"But as is well known Inkatha has not discussed or held any substantial talks with the UDF ... For any substantial talks to take place between Inkatha and the ANC the process has to begin with and include the democratic forces in South Africa."

Dhlomo's interpretation of the purpose and content of the talks differs markedly from the ANC's — extending to claims that a major "unity conference" was planned, and was meant to culminate with a formal endorsement by ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

On July 2, Dhlomo told the annual general conference of Inkatha he had met Mbeki three times in Europe and America, and "agreed on a unity strategy between Inkatha and the ANC, based on a document I had prepared".

# Yes, we talked to Inkatha, say ANC

The ANC confirms Inkatha claims that the two sides have met. But that's about the only point where the two accounts agree, reports  
**SHAUN JOHNSON**



Thabo Mbeki

Afrapix

was not coming forward to talk to Inkatha. He promised the ANC would send a message encouraging (them) to participate in peace talks.

"He later sent me a message that somebody had in fact been sent to the UDF for the above purpose but the attitude of the UDF never changed until it was too late," Dhlomo said.

This was as far as matters got, he said. The second phase was to have involved a meeting including other senior officials of each movement.

The meeting, scheduled for January in London, never took place. Dhlomo says the ANC delegation cancelled on the grounds of having "transport problems" in Lusaka.

Phases three and four, the drafting of a common policy document followed by a unity conference chaired by "a prominent senior African statesman", thus fell away, said Dhlomo.

He told Inkatha delegates the process was further derailed because Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani announced that Inkatha central committee members would be assassinated.

"I have decided to give these details so that comrades can appreciate we have left no stone unturned in our attempts to promote black unity."

In its statement, the ANC repeated its denial that Buthelezi was a target for Umkhonto guerrillas, saying "the ANC never had plans to kill Gatsha".

ported to be a solution for the rest of the country. I explained the proposals were not (thus) intended ... though some observers saw them as a possible future constitutional solution."

The final element of phase one allegedly involved "condemnation of the Pietermaritzburg violence and a pledge to look for a joint solution."

"I told him (Mbeki) that United Democratic Front Natal leadership

on economic policy, but "I stressed we remained open to suggestions".

Similarly, Dhlomo claimed it was agreed that the two movements could "differ honourably without rearmaments" with regard to armed struggle.

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba was also raised, according to Dhlomo's version of events. "The impression I was given by Mr Mbeki was that the ANC objected ... so long as it pu

The strategy, he said, contained four "elements", or phases. The first phase involved informal talks "aimed at isolating areas of ideological conflict ... This phase was concluded after our three meetings."

Dhlomo said it was agreed that there were only "minor differences" between the ANC's Freedom Charter and Inkatha's Statement of Belief.

There was disagreement, he said, ANC objected ... so long as it pu

# Natal in new fear of alleged Inkatha vigilante extortion

CP Correspondent

INKATHA's Inanda chairman Rodgers Ngcobo has denied claims that vigilantes have killed five people and injured 25 in the past two weeks as punishment for refusing to pay transport costs to the annual Inkatha conference at Ulundi this month.

Four people were allegedly dragged out of their homes, shot and stabbed the night after the de-

gates returned from Ulundi. They are: Manunu Mtolo, 16, two comrades, one of whom is a taxi driver called Oorox and Mehlo Cebekhulu, and an unaffiliated man, Remi Khumalo.

Another girl was killed and a comrade, known as Celani, was crippled in a daylight attack. Five homes have been bombed or demolished.

"Everything is quiet. I do not know of any

deaths," said Ngcobo.

Ngcobo, 59, who oversees 600 000 people in semi-rural Inanda, north of Durban, said: "All I do is speak to the people and impress them with the philosophies and the strategies of Inkatha. We have very sound leadership."

However, his claim that only "those who pledge allegiance to the leadership of the Chief Minister" paid R12 transport costs was refuted by community leaders Mike Mkhize and Tholakele Nomusa Khuzwayo.

They say the Inkatha leader from the Mshayazafe district told people in Odlameni to pay R4 each and lost his temper when they refused.

Said Mkhize: "If they know you are a UDF activist, they come in the night and shoot you."

Early one Sunday morning a Mrs Khuzwayo's home was destroyed by a gang armed with knives, homemade guns, and R1 rifles.

"They called me a UDF amavoluntiya and asked me where the comrades were."

Mkhize and Khuzwayo criticised police for "taking sides".

"The police don't want to take our statements. They say they are too political," they said. "I have nothing to say on the matter", said the Inanda station commander, Lt Kistiah Naidoo.

"They are welcome to write or come personally to me," he said.

*Ches*  
1113  
17/1/88

# Probe into cops role in UDF-Inkatha war

**Report culprits, victims urged**

DURBAN. — The township of KwaMakhutha 35 kilometres south of here is another area to become embroiled in the battle for political supremacy between Inkatha supporters and anti-apartheid activists.

According to residents and a lawyer representing several victims, KwaZulu police have allegedly taken sides to finish off "the coolie-sponsored UDF comrades".

The lawyer, Ms Linda Zama, has submitted a lengthy telexed message to the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu government, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, about the situation in the township. Zama has received a response from the Chief Minister, who is also Minister of Police, saying "the matter is receiving my urgent attention".

KwaMakhutha is bounded by sprawling Umlazi township, the Indian area of Isipingo and the white area of Amanzimtoti.

It first hit the headlines early last year when 13 people, including eight children, were massacred by unknown gunmen.

**In hiding**

It was alleged that the gunmen had planned to kill Victor Ntuli, executive member of KwaMakhutha Youth League, but he was in hiding at the time.

Ntuli's father, Willie, and three sisters were among the 13 people killed.

The massacre shocked the South African community and the world at large but as far as is known the assassins have not yet been brought to justice. The massacre led to a fragile peace in the township with most of the known UDF members and supporters and members of the youth league fleeing the township to seek refuge elsewhere.

Residents say the township has once again become embroiled in an "intercine war" that has reduced the area to a "hell-hole" for most people.

Pensioners Laurence Mpungose, 64, and his wife, Miriam, have had all their furniture destroyed and windows damaged during a recent petrol-bomb attack. They are now using boards and logs to block their windows.

Shortly before the attack, Mpungose's 24-year-old son, Mduduzi, was murdered by vigilantes because he was an alleged "comrade".

A bewildered Mpungose, who claims he was a member of

**KWAMAKHUTHA has once again become embroiled in an "intercine war" that has reduced the area to a "hell-hole" for most people.**

**It first hit the headlines early last year when 13 people, including eight children, were massacred by unknown gunmen, alleged to have been Inkatha members.**

**The killings shocked the South African community and the world at large but as far as is known the assassins have not yet been brought to justice.**



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Looking into the matter

Inkatha, said he could not understand why his family was being harassed as they had nothing to do with "comrades".

A tearful Miriam said: "We are going through hell because another of my sons, Ndoda, is also an alleged comrade. This is just too much for us to take."

Another resident, Mr Mzomjani Ndlovu, 54, said his house was also petrol-bombed because one of his sons was a "comrade".

He said: "The attack took place in spite of my being an Inkatha member and in spite of 17 people being in the house at the time."

"I was told that my house was burnt because there was something 'smelling' about me. Following the attack I have reconsidered my membership of Inkatha."

He said racism was rife among the vigilantes, explaining: "Now these people are saying I am using Indian money to repair my house. Whatever we do they say we are using coolie money."

Another victim is 65-year-old Mrs Christina Mkhuzi whose house was attacked and television and hi-fi sets stolen.

"I don't know anything about the political troubles between Inkatha and the UDF yet I am being attacked," she said.

"I don't even know whether it's the comrades or Inkatha who are doing this dirty thing to me

"Some people say I am being attacked because my nephews are comrades."

Mrs Thengani Nduli, 40, said her house was recently attacked by about 60 people. She and three others were shot.

"The people who attacked my house are well known members of a local political organisation but the police have done nothing to arrest them, she claimed.

"These people say we are using coolie money and that we should stay away from the UDF because it is for coolies."

A young victim of the campaign to rid the township of UDF sympathisers and members is 18-year-old Mdumseni Ndlovu. He lost the sight of an eye after he was attacked by vigilantes. He was injured when his house was also attacked. "I have been forced to stay out of school while I receive treatment," he said.

Another youngster, who declined to disclose his name, showed me a scar on his face. He said he was stabbed 14 times by vigilantes because they claimed his face was "too handsome".

"They claimed that I was a

comrade", he said.

In her telex message to Chief Buthelezi, Zama said she had received no co-operation whatsoever in her efforts to assist clients who had been arrested.

Instead of courtesy and co-operation, she had witnessed incidents of some people being abused and mishandled and racist remarks against the Indian community.

She recounted this experience at the police station on June 30: "I was made to sit and wait for Warrant Officer Dlobo, who, I was told, was out at that moment. As I waited in the charge office the following remarks were made by some members of the force in my presence:

"We are tired of KwaMakhutha

**Food and clothing**

"These UDF things are sent by coolies to burn Inkatha people's homes. They get paid for every house they burn.

"We don't know why parents even want to give these things food and clothing when they are arrested. You see them coming here wearing their high-heeled shoes bringing food.

"Whenever a house has been burnt you see a coolie here. Even today you will see a coolie.

"I am waiting for my R1. It is good because I now know these UDF guys, I want to shoot at least 10 even if they have not done anything."

Zama said: "With respect, I protested again. I said talk like that coming from the police does not sound right. It is even worse when I listen to this talk as a member of the public and a lawyer.

"The police said they were just talking and they had not shot any boys."

Zama concluded her telex by saying "This report is filed after a series of attempts have been made to make police understand that they do not have exclusive rights, that even criminals still have rights.

"The answer I received is that I cannot teach them their work.

"I respectfully submit that this is an appeal for protection not for lawyers but for all members of the public against such handling and attacks."

DURBAN. — People are being urged to report the culprits in community killings to enable the law to take its course.

Mr Roy Ainslie, of the PFP Unrest Monitoring Action Group, says this is the only way escalating political killings in Greater Durban's black townships are going to be stopped from reaching the levels of Mantzburg violence.

UMAG has been spearheading the campaign to monitor violence in Durban and Hillcrest townships for more than two years.

Ainslie says "Things have changed very drastically recently. Two years ago people would make affidavits and sign sworn statements which greatly assisted in convicting perpetrators of violence.

"Now people don't want to report killings let alone make official charges."

He sees a direct connection between this factor and the recent upsurge in violence.

UMAG monitors townships like Umlazi, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, St Wendolins, Shongweni and KwaNdengezi.

It has found that killings have risen from one in January to 21 in June.

UMAG was aware of several internal factors which made people reluctant to come forward and identify culprits. A major factor was the apparent apathy of the SAP and the ZP (KwaZulu Police) in responding to serious allegations, and charges made by township people.

Ainslie says: "This leads to the perception on the part of people that it is fruitless going to lay charges and sign affidavits since nothing ever comes of those actions."

One exception was the rapid response of the ZP to the death of a 16-year old student at Gugulabasha High School and the arrest of Mr Mandla Shabalala, a member of the KwaZulu cabinet.

But the general slowness of the authorities also meant people "have no respect for legal avenues and in many cases they resort to other methods such as taking the law into their own hands."

Ainslie believes that the recent clampdown on the UDF and the constant surveillance, harassment and banning of its leadership were also contributing to the escalating violence.

An overt commitment on the part of the leaders of the two groups to ending the killings would take away the "fear of the consequences" aspect of reporting incidents of violence.

11B



Chief Buthelezi...give us a chance.

# Liberation comes from equality, says Buthelezi

POLITICAL liberation in South Africa would come about through the distribution of wealth that would come about only if people were allowed equal opportunities, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week.

He was speaking at a function at which Sasol's chairman, Dr JA Stegmann, and its MD, Mr P Kruger, donated R50 000 to the Kwazulu/Natal Flood Disaster Fund on behalf of the company.

Big business had now recognised how essential it was to exercise social responsibility, the Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said.

It knew that it could not survive by being exploitative and unless it developed genuine antipathy to-

wards classical apartheid it could not plan a survival course for the future.

He said his people were not beggars and realised that there were no easy solutions to the country's problems. They knew that political liberation would not fall from the heavens like manna.

"Above all, they know that the real distribution of wealth that we must hope for will come from a distribution of equality of opportunity," he told the Sasol executives.

"All we want is the opportunity to do something for ourselves and the circumstances in which we can do it successfully."

He said: "Unless we act together in the face of disaster, everyone will suffer." - Sapa



**GREETINGS ...** Chief Buthelezi greets Mrs Thatcher at 10 Downing Street in London where they met for talks on Tuesday.

PHOTO: REUTERS

*Care 7145 28/7/88 (116)*

## Buthelezi meets Thatcher

LONDON. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher on Tuesday, her office said yesterday.

A spokesman said Chief Buthelezi spent 50 minutes with Mrs Thatcher.

“They agreed that the key to starting negotiations towards peace was the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the suspension of violence.”

The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had expressed opposition to the use of economic sanctions against Pretoria. Mrs Thatcher also strongly opposes sanctions, saying they would hurt black South Africans the most. — Sapa-Reuter



United, non-racial SA must be the goal of any new plan'

# TWO homelands snub Govt

Political Staff

A new attempt by the Government to persuade the six self-governing homelands to participate in the proposed National Council was firmly rejected by at least two leaders yesterday.

And the two homelands, kwazulu and kaNgwane, have rejected other Government attempts to expand black political participation, including further moves to try to put blacks into the electoral college that chooses the State President.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, invited the homeland leaders to a meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the proposed council and other measures to extend political participation to blacks.

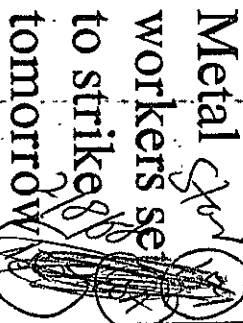
But kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to attend, while Mr Ehos Mabuza, Chief Minister of kaNgwane, attended but issued a statement in which he rejected the agenda.

From Mr Mabuza's statement it seems that an earlier Government proposal to bring blacks into the electoral college that chooses the State President was also on the agenda.

Mr Mabuza said it was "premature" to discuss black representation — such as the proposed National Council and the amended electoral college — while the homelands and the proposed legislative and executive councils for blacks outside the homelands formed the basis of a future constitution.

"These all represent structures based on the Government's group concept, the very stumbling block which excludes most South Africans from participation."

Mr Heunis refused to comment on the meeting because he said the participants had agreed



**Metal workers set to strike tomorrow**

Mass meetings of shop stewards from International Metalworkers' Federation unions at the weekend endorsed recommendations of the IMF's negotiating committee for strike action in the metal industry from tomorrow, a statement from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa said today.

The action followed the steel and engineering Industries Federation of South Africa's (Seifsa) refusal to make any further move on the wage offer it agreed with minority unions.

The statement said the IMF represented the majority of organised workers in the industry and its members rejected Seifsa's wage offer which "does nothing to reduce the wage gap in the industry".

"This gap is a result of job



## League plans action on man with 71 dogs

It's a dog's life... Miss Sandra Sloan, of the Animal Anti-Cruelty League, with some of the 71 dogs confiscated from the home of a Ro-senterville man on Friday. The league now plans legal action against Mr Willie de Waal, a schoolteacher, after confiscating the dogs and nine cats.

"I had just arrived home from holiday and gone out when the Animal Anti-Cruelty League raided my home," said Mr de Waal. "I am seeing my lawyer." A league spokesman said child welfare and health authorities were also investigating.

© Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

## Anglican bishops will

Kentridge will

Star

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"These all represent structures based on the Government's group concept, the very stumbling block which excludes most South Africans from participation."

Mr Heunis refused to comment on the meeting because he said the participants had agreed not to issue any statements.

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The statement said the IMF represented the majority of organised workers in the industry and its members rejected Seifsa's wage offer which "does nothing to reduce the wage gap in the industry".

"This gap is a result of job reservation, of the exclusion of black workers from collective bargaining in the past, and the continued practice of Seifsa to sign agreements with predominantly white minority unions and refuse to bargain properly with the majority unions..."

## 66 COMPANIES

The statement said the "legal strategic strike action" would occur primarily in the major industrial areas and at some of the companies which are important in Seifsa decision-making.

"The action is scheduled to begin on Wednesday August 3."

Numsa said 66 companies had decided to move away from Seifsa's position.

Wage increases close to the IMF's demand had been agreed in most of the 66 companies and they were not expected to be included in the strike.

Other companies which made acceptable offers on the IMF demands before tomorrow would also be excluded, the statement said.

The IMF was looking for an average wage increase of 23 percent and wanted to exchange two other public holidays for June 16 and Sharpeville Day.

Seifsa had offered increases of between 14 and 17 percent and had agreed to May 1 as a workers' holiday.

A spokesman for Seifsa was not immediately available for comment. — Sapa.

## Unacceptable

Mr Mabuza also complained that the way in which the agenda for yesterday's meeting had been drafted "unilaterally" by the Government was unacceptable because it relegated Chief Ministers to "junior status".

Mr Mabuza reiterated the conditions for participation that should be included in any agenda relating to constitutional proposals. These included scrapping the Population Registration Act, the end of the state of the emergency and the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The Government should also set a broad constitutional goal based on the principles of a united, non-racial South Africa.

Mr Mabuza said Chief Buthelezi had written to him about yesterday's meeting, stating he could not attend under a state of emergency.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, kwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, said Chief Buthelezi had refused to attend the meeting mainly because it would "create the impression that meaningful negotiation is taking place with the Government while they are really just trying to force their ideas down our throats".

● The other self-governing homelands are QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu and kwaNdebele.

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

**T**HE KwaZulu Natal Indaba, claimed to be a powerful new factor in South African politics, has established a presence close to Parliament — with Foreign Minister Pik Botha's former press secretary in charge of its new office.

Ms Mari Botha left her high-profile job in the Ministry to help the Indaba in a move aimed at "stepping up interaction with Government and those who influence Government."

She will handle the Indaba's Cape Town operations from an office which she opened this week in a house in Barnet Street — within walking distance from Parliament and the HF Verwoerd Building.

The Indaba's constitutional proposals — so far frowned upon by Government spokesmen, including the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis — have figured increasingly in debate about South Africa's future.

Indaba associate director Mr Peter Mansfield told Weekend Argus this week the opening of the Cape Town office reflected the Indaba's "determination to succeed in its mission to persuade the Government to agree to the implementation of the Indaba's proposals."

"It also reflects the growing interest in the Indaba model as a possible solution to South Africa's constitutional crisis and not just a regional solution in KwaZulu Natal," Mr Mansfield said.

"We have found particularly in the last few months a growing interest all over South Africa. This is probably due to the fact that people are beginning to realise the time has come to look at specific solutions and not just high-sounding generalities."

Mr Mansfield described the Indaba as "the only major actor with a carefully detailed and negotiated set of constitutional proposals."

In addition, the Indaba had shown that it had substantial support and interest all over South Africa.

"We think we have achieved a major breakthrough in this time of searching for a constitutional solution by gaining support from people across racial barriers and across traditional party-political and ideolog-



MARI BOTHA

# MARI'S THE CAPE TOWN INDABA GIRL

ical barriers," Mr Mansfield said.

**O**N the basis of national opinion surveys, the Indaba claims it now has significant support among white voters in all four provinces, including many Nationalists.

As part of its new initiative, the Indaba has also extended its operations to the Transvaal where an office is already operating in Johannesburg.

The Indaba claims that an increasing number of highly placed South Africans nationwide are viewing the Indaba's process and model as a possible basis for a national constitutional solution.

Last month the Indaba put out a call to its supporters urging them to stand as candidates in the October municipal elections.

According to Indaba director Professor Dawid van

Wyk, fundamental starting points of the Indaba proposals are:

- Shared decision-making for all people of the community while protecting the interests of all groups;
- The removal of discrimination and the provision of equal opportunities for all; and
- The creation of a climate of peace and good race relations.

Professor Van Wyk made it clear, however, that the Indaba itself was not in the party-political arena and would not nominate, support or finance specific candidates.

The Government has criticised the Indaba's proposals on the grounds that they do not make adequate provision for effective power-sharing.

Minister Heunis has described it as "regrettable" that "certain people" were actively propagating the Indaba's proposals.

He said the proposals did not offer all groups sufficient protection against domination.

**T**HE proposals have also been rejected by other NP spokesmen, but recently it was reported there were indications that the proposals were finally under consideration by the Cabinet after a long delay.

Ms Botha, a former school teacher, was born in Paarl and grew up in Somerset West.

After attending the Somerset West Primary School and matriculating at Hottentots Holland High School, she studied at the University of Stellenbosch where she graduated and qualified as a high school teacher in 1977.

She taught English at the Voortrekker High School in Wynberg for three years.

In January 1981 she married Mr P J (Peter) Botha of the Department of Foreign Affairs and went to Frankfurt where her husband served as vice-consul for four years.

Ms Botha joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in January 1985 and served in the department's media liaison section at Parliament.

In October 1985 she was appointed as assistant press secretary in Minister Pik Botha's office. She became press secretary for the Minister in January 1987.

Ms Botha, who was divorced about a year ago, left the Ministry last month and took up her new appointment with the Indaba.

# KILLING FIELDS CLAIM 3 A DAY

By S'BU MNGADI

SINCE Monday, up to three people have been killed every day in Natal's renewed political violence.

The past weekend alone claimed 11 lives in two days, police said in their unrest report.

The flashpoints are townships at Maritzburg, Durban and Pinetown.

Places such as Gezibuso, Sweetwaters, Mpumalanga, Dindi, Molweni, Ndengezi, and Mpumalanga are also being turned into ghost towns as hundreds of panic-stricken residents flee in the wake of fierce street clashes.

According to statistics released by Natal University's Centre for Adult Education, the number of people who died in January was 160, while in February - after the effective banning of 17 organisations - the number of dead dropped to about 14.

In April the death toll rose to 19, and in May to 26, then dropped in June to 23 and rose again in July to 29.

Last year about 300 people died in the violence.

With this week's three-a-day rate, the death toll could go to 100 this month, unless a miracle occurs.

Residents attributed the latest wave of intense fighting to "justice being taken onto the streets" following the recent acquittal of several "warlords" on murder and other serious charges.

Peter Kerchhoff of the Maritzburg Agency for Social Awareness, said the latest killings had to be seen against the background of recent stay-aways in which Natal was the hardest hit province - attributed to the high level of political consciousness in the wake of the "evil war".

"This had a bad reflection on the influence of rival groups, and they are now trying to regain lost ground at the expense of the tense community."

Kerchhoff agreed that "instant justice" was now being taken onto the streets after the acquittal of "warlords" in court cases in the past three months.

"This street or jungle justice is frightening," he said.

Observers have warned that unless peace talks between the warring Inkatha and UDF/Covatu factions resume immediately, Natal could be plunged into an even worse disaster.

Leaders of the warring factions have warned that restrictions on their organisations and themselves have made it impossible for them to control the situation.

Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman, Musa Zondi, a key figure in the peace talks, said Inkatha wanted conciliation.

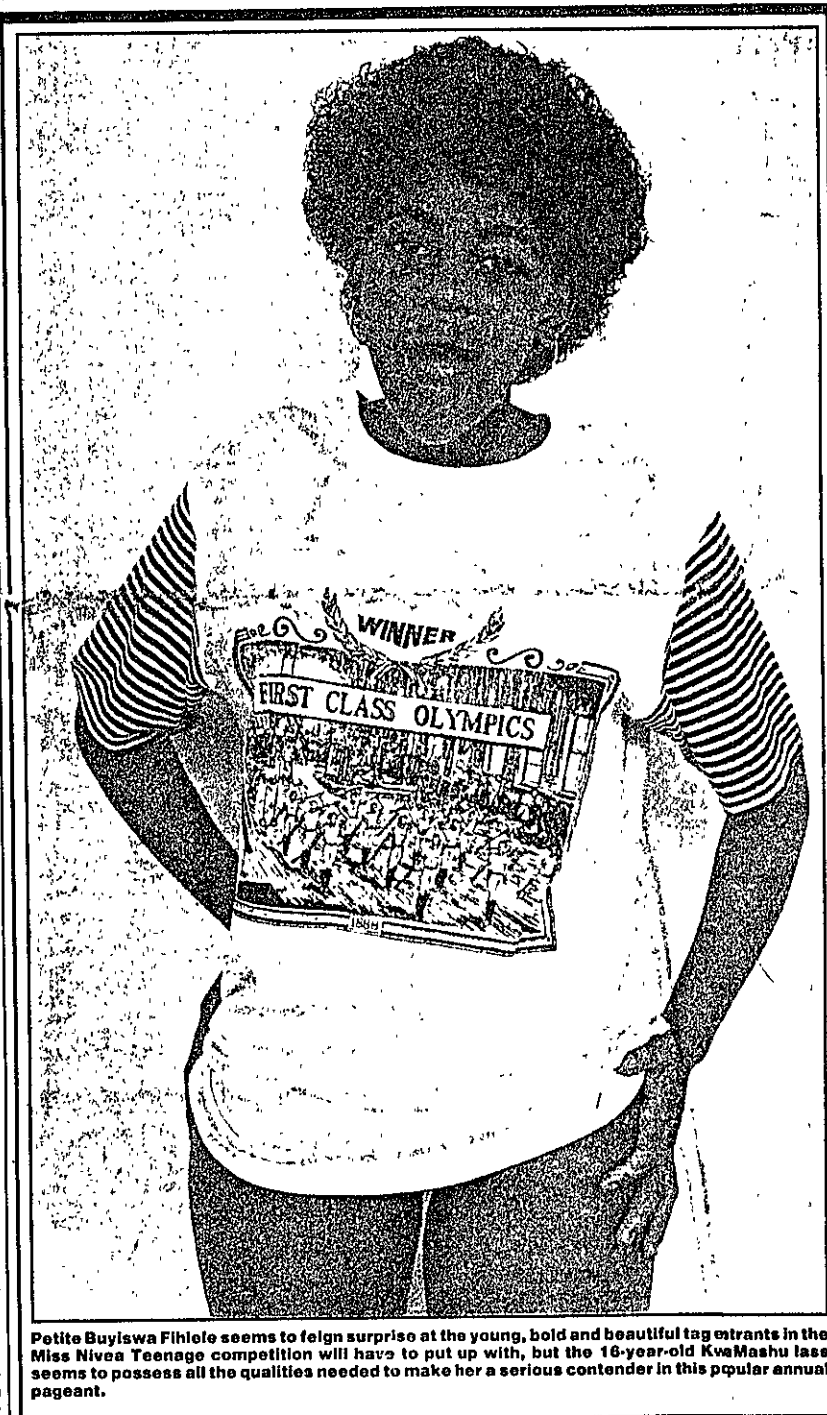
"As for peace talks, we are looking forward to reconciliation between the warring factions. We still extend our hand of friendship and hope the other side does too," Zondi said.

The peace talks were scuttled by the effective banning of 17 organisations and restrictions on Covatu and these organisations' leaders.

The government action came a few days before a historic "peace conference" was to be attended by the leadership of Inkatha, Covatu and UDF, convened by the Natal clergy at the invitation of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

A letter to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok from UDF executive chairman, Curnick Ndlovu, ask-

**Justice  
on streets  
as courts  
free the  
'warlords'**



Petite Buyiswa Fihole seems to feign surprise at the young, bold and beautiful tag entrants in the Miss Nivea Teenage competition will have to put up with, but the 16-year-old KwaMashu lass seems to possess all the qualities needed to make her a serious contender in this popular annual pageant.

## t Klerksdorp mass murder trial

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE crowd which packed the Klerksdorp Magistrate's Court this week to view an alleged rapist and mass murderer was kept guessing for the better part of the day.

David Motshekwa, 45, who was arrested last month in connection with the murder of 12 women whose decomposed bodies were discovered on a koppie in Klerksdorp, did not appear in court until after lunch.

Magistrate CW Steyn referred him to the Sterkfontein Hospital for 30 days' mental observation.

Prosecutor R de Beer asked that the case be postponed indefinitely pending the

posed.

The packed gallery, which became noisily impatient as time went by, was threatened with ejection.

Many of those attending the case were domestic workers who had asked for the day off. Some said they simply stayed away "because the case was important".

When Motshekwa finally appeared, he looked ill and talked softly to himself, with his eyes closed.

When he turned to the gallery, people craned their necks to see who he looked like, but retreated when he pointed a reprimanding finger at them.



London's  
Consulate  
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CONSUL





# DON'T TAKE SIDES, CHIEF URGES

11B

DALLAS — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday of the dangers of a Christian absolutism leading churches to take sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.



CHIEF Buthelezi

The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church. He also cautioned against "Christian adventurism" on the part of what he called way-out church leaders. "The church errs when it abandons ordinary

## Address to Churchmen

folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely-called just war which cannot be won," he said. There was no one organisation which could bring about the liberation of South Africa on its own. Apartheid was an evil which had to be fought on every level at all times. For him this spelt out the need for black unity based on a common acceptance of the need

for a multi-strategy approach. He was not going to "invent my own Christ whom I am capable of putting in a straitjacket. He told the Methodists: "I cannot say that Christ is not there across our borders where revolutionaries are being trained. I cannot say that He is not there on our borders where soldiers are deployed against the revolutionaries.

"South Africa is a deeply polarised society and I know that Christ is there on both sides of every conflict. He is therefore in every organisation because no organisation is totally right and none is totally evil."

For their part, he and Inkatha rejected the notion that reform could not take place in his country. He believed that, on the contrary, violent revolutionaries were actually delaying the end of apartheid.

This was because they attacked the South African Government

where it was strongest and in so doing they dissipated the strength that should be going into the struggle.

Chief Buthelezi said that as leader of Inkatha what he did was approved by many millions of black South Africans, yet, because of what he did, he was ostracised by the councils of international Christendom.—Sapa

There's no absolute right or wrong...

# Don't take sides, churches warned

DALLAS. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has warned of the dangers of churches taking sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.

The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what

they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church yesterday.

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## Black unity

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Dr Buthelezi said that as leader of Inkatha what he did was approved by many millions of black South Africans. Yet, because of what he did, he was ostracised by the councils of Christendom.

"I and my people are rejected by major international donor organisations. They pay in the coinage of hunger and deepening destitution. I say we can yet bring about a negotiated future in South Africa."

Sapa.

CAP 12/15 9/88

# Inkatha intimidation?

118  
220

MARITZBURG. — Supporters of three Inkatha men at the centre of an interdict application to restrain them from killing members of the Mthembu family have allegedly threatened and intimidated lawyers acting for the applicants.

At yesterday's hearing, advocate Mr Alistair Dickson, for the Mthembu family, said he had received reports of "subtle and unsubtle" threats.

"I have myself experienced subtle intimidation and my attorney, Peter Harps, not so subtle threats," Mr Dickson added.

A number of Inkatha supporters were coming to court with weapons every day. The guns are handed into security personnel and collected each time they leave the court, he said.

He said that if he got first-hand knowledge of any more threats or in-

timidation he would immediately bring a contempt of court application.

Two of the respondents are alleged to have shot two members of the Mthembu family after the family had sought the court's protection.

Advocate Mr Willem von Willich, for the respondents, said he had told the respondents that should such behaviour be brought to his attention again, he would drop their case.

However, he said "his side" had also been threatened in the townships.

Mr Justice Alexander told the gallery — which consisted entirely of Inkatha officials and supporters — that such conduct represented an interference in the administration of justice, and "should those responsible persist with such behaviour, severe action will be taken against them". — Sapa

## Hearing to be moved to November

MARITZBURG. — The interdict application is to be adjourned until November 28.

However, it is believed there will be an application for the hearing to continue.

Only one witness, the head of the Mthembu family, has finished testifying. Other members of the family are still due to testify, as well as the respondents, Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mr Thulani Ngcobo and Mr Sichizo Zuma and their witnesses.

Mr Ernest Mthembu, 35, was gunned down at the front door of the family home on July 4, allegedly by Mr Ngcobo. His brother, Mr Smalridge Mthembu, was shot and wounded, allegedly by Mr Zuma, a few days after the family sought the court's protection. —

Sapa



# PFP, NDM slam govt moves on KwaNdebele

*Cape Times 11/8/88 (118)*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE PFP and NDM yesterday "strongly condemned" SA government moves to reinstate the KwaNdebele government and validate its actions since it was illegally elected in 1984.

The Constitutional Laws Second Amendment Bill, which provides for the reinstatement of the homeland government, is expected to become law soon. The November 1984 election was declared invalid in May this year by the Supreme Court, Transvaal.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, told

Parliament in June that the only purpose of the bill was to validate legal actions of the KwaNdebele government.

However, "in view of the numerous court cases pending against the KwaNdebele government", the PFP's Mr James Rennie and the NDM's Mr Pieter Schoeman expressed grave concern in a joint statement yesterday about the KwaNdebele Indemnity Act, which protects any member of the government, cabinet or police against anything they have done between December 1, 1985 and June 11, 1987.

Support for sanctions 'appalling'

# Inkatha Youth warns churches on donations

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Youth Brigade threatened yesterday to campaign against donations to those churches whose leaders support sanctions.

The threat was made in a statement issued by the kwaZulu Chief Minister's Office at Ulundi.

The brigade has 600,000 members. The statement said thousands of delegates to the annual conference at Ulundi at the weekend unanimously rejected the Anglican Lambeth Conference's tacit support for violent revolution and sanctions on South Africa.

The statement went on: "We have always had faith that the Christian church in South Africa will play a conciliating role.

"We are therefore appalled that Anglican bishops at the Lambeth Conference rode roughshod over our feelings and announced their party political support for the ANC and for sanctions against South Africa — despite the fact that the majority of blacks in the country reject the armed struggle and sanctions."

## Call to the archbishop

The delegates called on the Archbishop of Canterbury to exhort his bishops not to pronounce on the will of black South Africans without consulting them.

They also resolved to ask all local Anglican bishops to state if they support the lead given at Canterbury (supporting sanctions) by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and to justify this theologically.

The brigade also decided to ask all Anglican congregations to state to what extent Archbishop Tutu was mandated "to support revolutionary forces and sanctions which would increase black suffering".

"We, as the black youth of South Africa, feel all church leaders ... must stand up and be counted on whether the so-called armed struggle is the answer.

## Countrywide campaign

"If church leaders of all denominations do not come out on the issue of sanctions, we, as black youth who need jobs and live in squalor and poverty, will start a countrywide campaign — each in his or her own church — appealing to black congregations not to give money, offerings or tithes to our churches.

"Our slogan will be: 'No jobs, no money, and no money, no offerings'."

The statement said that earlier the conference had voted to resist attempts to make South African youth "cannon fodder for elitist cliques" in organisations which wanted to impose their own will on the people.

"The youth are being misled into believing that violent action can gain major victories within the foreseeable future ...

"We know that noble ends cannot be achieved by foul means, and we know that violence in South Africa is now claiming more lives in black-on-black confrontations than in any other confrontations."

Sapa.

# Hard words from the chief, but peace is still all go

By CARMEL RICKARD,  
Durban

THE crucial Pietermaritzburg "peace settlement" between Inkatha and the Congress of South African Trade Unions is still in place following a Shaka Day rally outside Pietermaritzburg at the week-end.

The rally, seen as a preliminary test of commitment to the settlement, presented Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi with his first major public opportunity for comment on the settlement, to the people who will be bound by it.

However, there was some concern about the possibility of violence, particularly that there could be trouble after the meeting. In the past there has been violence following large rallies of this kind, with each side saying it was instigated by the other. Several organisations approached Pietermaritzburg mayor Mark Cornell for a meeting, intending to ask for his help in negotiating an increased police presence. However, Cornell declined to meet them, saying it was a political matter in which he did not want to become involved.

In his speech at the rally, Buthelezi referred to another expression of concern about the gathering: independent MP Jan van Eck was reported to have become involved with a petition asking that the meeting be moved to another venue because of the violence which might erupt.

Buthelezi said, "Certain white elements, in cahoots with some of our people, have again been stirring the pot of anarchy. The suggestion was made in the so-called petition that our gathering here in this way will cause further violence. Clearly such people are the initiators of the hideous violence that has cost the lives of so many innocent people. The so-called petition is no less than an effort to incite people to acts of violence."

After this tongue-lashing, and an attack on those who "fanned the flames of violence (through) trading insults and villification campaigns", Buthelezi spoke strongly in favour of the settlement: "We have come in the name of peace to wave the olive branch" — a message which kwaZulu MP Velaphi Ndlovu feels "really reached the people".

Judging from the fact that only "minor things" happened after the ral-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... "We have come in the name of peace"  
Picture: D MOODLIER, Afrapix

ly, it seemed the peace message was beginning to be accepted, he said.

"It is difficult to achieve total peace in a day. The violence has lasted a long time and many lives have been lost but the message is getting down to everyone," he said.

"The message on Shaka Day was that if there is a problem you must not take it (out on) someone else: you must confront the person involved. Our policy is based on negotiation, on talking. You must tell each one: you cannot correct someone's mistakes by fighting him."

Ndlovu echoed remarks of Buthelezi that the ball was now in the court of the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front, with whom Inkatha believed there should also be a settlement.

"If they do not support this settlement it will fail," Ndlovu said.

On their side, Cosatu lawyers spoke of the fear of violence prevalent in the area near the rally site and that many people had left their homes

afraid of an outbreak of fighting.

While there was less violence than many people had feared, they had heard of several incidents after the rally. However, they had received no official reports on which to base a formal complaint to Inkatha.

A Cosatu official said he was "cautiously optimistic" about the settlement holding. "We do not foresee any problem from our side. Although we can see some people are still attacked, the message is getting through on our side.

"The rally was a sign that there has been some improvement from their side. We were not expecting that a rally of 12 000 people could be held with so few incidents reported afterwards."

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THE TIMES 17/8/88

# Govt 'faces military coup or real reform'

ULUNDI. — The South African government faced the choice between a military takeover or legislating for an entirely new political dispensation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was addressing a meeting with the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, and senior IP members including Mr Jannie Momborg.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said he recognized the IP wanted him to become, like Dr Worrall, actively involved in helping to unify opposition groups inside and outside Parliament.

But he rejected the tricameral Parliament entirely and would do nothing within its framework.

When he said apartheid could not be reformed, he did not mean that the government must abdicate responsibility and put itself at the mercy of other groups which would meet to negotiate a new future.

"I do not live in an Alice-in-Wonderland world and I know we will either have a military takeover of the South African government or the government must legislate South Africa into an entirely new political dispensation," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

# Natal Indaba <sup>11B</sup> ~~207A~~ takes off again

*APC Times 18/1/88*  
Political Staff

THERE had been a resurgence of interest in the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba because no other real options existed, one of the co-conveners of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday.

"On the streets and in homes all over the land there is an increased awareness of and support for the Indaba, clearly proved by independently-conducted scientific market research," he said in speech delivered at the Pretoria Press Club.

Dr Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and a member of the KwaZulu cabinet, added: "Among those in government, we detect a new mood of increased accommodation and preparedness to negotiate."

"Whereas in previous days the Indaba and its proposals were rejected out of hand by the more outspoken of our government critics, today we find the 'spirit and process' of the Indaba applauded and only certain areas of the 'detail' criticized."

"The explanation for this resurgence of interest is quite simply that no other real options exist."

"Faced with the myriad problems confronting any constitutional blueprint planner in today's South Africa, those who have sought to improve upon the Indaba and those who have sought to shoot it down have been faced at the end of their labours with a blank slate."

PRETORIA

— Government's refusal to learn from constitutional mistakes made it clear

18/8/88  
B Day (11)

# Dhloomo says NP refuses to learn

the proposed National Statutory Council would fail to provide peace and stability, Inkatha general-secretary Oscar Dhloomo said yesterday.

He told the Pretoria Press Club government continued to ignore black opposition to race-based constitutional models.

Dhloomo said a chance to work out a constitutional formula, to replace the tricameral Parliament, had presented itself but government repeated its blunder of devising negotiation structures "that are not only racially-based but carry the divisions amongst blacks even further".

He added: "The NP's abject failure to produce any coherent

constitutional alternative to the current impasse is all too clearly illustrated by its so far unsuccessful attempts to woo credible black leaders into the proposed National Statutory Council."

Dhloomo cited the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba as a constitutional alternative.

"There is no reason why the Indaba model should not provide a starting point to the solution for the rest of the land."

He said the Indaba scenario provided a stimulus to the economy by offering an incentive to all the people to build a better common future and by unshackling the fetters of international economic isolation. — Sapa.

# Inkatha lodges appeal

THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday heard an appeal by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, of Ulundi, KwaZulu — in his capacity as secretary-general of Inkatha — against the dismissal of a claim for alleged defamation of Inkatha.

The claim — for R20 000 — was brought against Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd and the editor of the *Sunday Tribune*, Mr Ian M Wyllie.

The claim arose from a report in the *Tribune* on March 30, 1986, headlined "Two Killed As Violence Flares."

The claim was dismissed in the Durban and coastal local Supreme Court on May 21, 1987, when Mr Justice J A van Heerden upheld an exception by the newspaper group and Mr Wyllie. — Sapa.

17/10/87  
Sampson 118

# Inkatha in appeal bid

*CAPE TOWN 19/8/88*

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The question whether or not Inkatha as a "Universitas" and cultural movement with quasi-political interests and a non-trading artificial entity or "Persona" was entitled to sue for damages for defamation was argued in the Appeal Court here yesterday.

Judgment was reserved in the appeal by Dr Oscar Dhlomo — in his capacity as secretary-general of Inkatha — against the dismissal of a claim for alleged defamation of Inkatha.

The claim — for R20 000 — was brought against Natal News-

papers (Pty) Ltd and the editor of the Sunday Tribune, Mr Ian M Wyllie, as a result of a report in the Tribune on March 30, 1986 headlined "Two Killed as Violence Flares".

The claim was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, on May 21, 1987 when Mr Justice J A van Heerden upheld an exception by the newspaper group.

The appeal was heard by the Acting Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabe, sitting with four assessors.

Mr P C Combrink SC, with Mr M Daley, for Dr Dhlomo, said the

*116*

issue required consideration of two principle questions: "Whether or not a non-trading entity or "Persona", such as that represented by Dr Dhlomo, could suffer injury in the sense of an impairment of its reputation, and "whether the injury was one that could be redressed by invocation of the "actio iniuriarum".

Mr MDJ Wallis SC, for the newspaper group and Mr Wyllie, defined the "actio iniuriarum" principle as being directed at giving compensation for any intentional wrongful act which injured a plaintiff in his person. — Sapa



# Inkatha in clashes with churches on ANC support

S'BU'NGADI

INKATHA Youth Brigade is on a collision course with the Anglican Church following the church's recent conference in London where it declared its support for the ANC and sanctions against South Africa.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned the international community that a civil war situation might develop in South Africa if reconciliation between Inkatha and ANC was not achieved.

In a statement, the 600 000-member Inkatha Youth Brigade resolved at its 10th anniversary last weekend that unless church leaders took a firm stand on sanctions, the youth organisation would ensure that its financial support was withdrawn.

The brigade would start a campaign against

churches of all denominations which evaded the issue of sanctions, it said.

A youth brigade statement said:

"We are... appalled at Anglican bishops at the Lambeth conference in London who rode roughshod over our feelings and announced their political support for the ANC and for sanctions against SA, despite the fact that the majority of blacks in the country reject the armed struggle and sanctions."

The youth conference, addressed by Buthelezi, resolved to inform the Archbishop of Canterbury that the youth wing of Inkatha rejected the stand taken by bishops at Lambeth.

If church leaders failed to take a stand on the Lambeth conference and on sanctions, Inkatha youth would launch a country-wide campaign with the slogan: "No jobs, no mor-

ey, no offerings".

Buthelezi earlier this year, in an attack on the South African Council of Churches, suggested that parishioners withhold financial support from churches.

Addressing the conference, Buthelezi warned that the international community might see a terrible situation developing in South Africa between rival groups.

"I want to tell you that I was very recently in Portugal where I attended a meeting also attended by the Nigerian leader Gen Olusegun Obasanjo.

"The general said it was now high time the ANC and Inkatha started to talk to each other about reconciliation," he said.

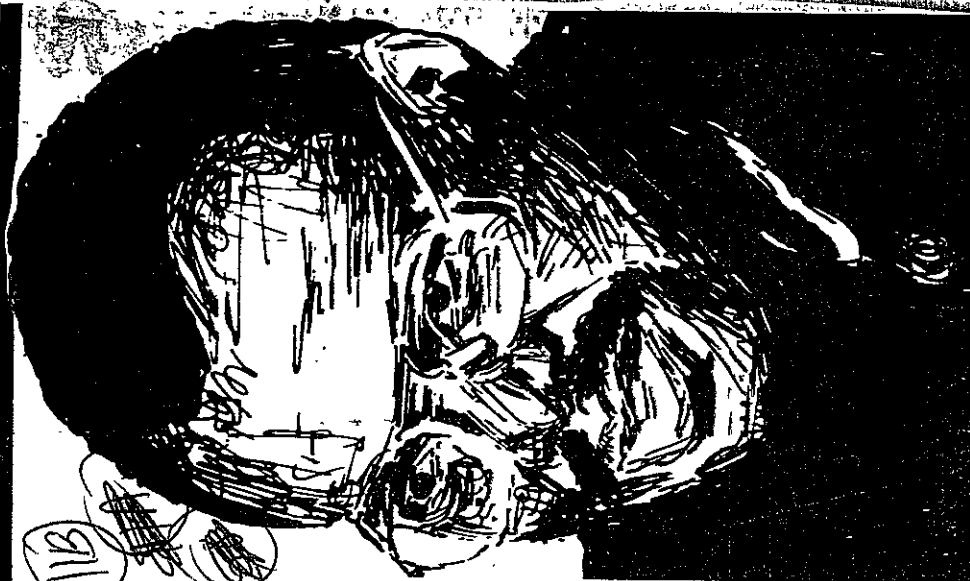
Buthelezi said he had raised the question as a matter of concern in separate talks with British Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe and Lynda Chalker.

"I pointed out that the international community is today concerned with the Frelimo/Renamo war in Mozambique and with the Unita/MPLA war in Angola, and that if they do not help to nip in the bud the conflict that is building between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and Inkatha, they might find themselves in a worse situation than the Angola/Mozambique conflict situation, here in SA.

"This will be bad news for the whole of Southern Africa because of the extent which the economy of South Africa serves the economic interest of all these countries."

He said the ANC had said loud and clear at international forums that it would ban Inkatha as an unlawful organisation if it had the chance.



Chief M Buthelezi... ANC would ban Inkatha.

11B  
B. Dey  
2/8/88

## Buthelezi calls P W a victim of apartheid

ROTHOLZ — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described President P W Botha as a "victim of apartheid" in Austria on Saturday and sought the country's support in persuading Western governments to help save SA.

If Botha did not start real negotiations with blacks he would fade into political oblivion, Buthelezi said.

In a memorandum for discussion here with Austrian Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, he warned sanctions were thrusting blacks into poverty — the mortal enemy of democracy.

He cautioned against the perception that Botha, against whose "recalcitrance" sanctions were directed, had to be the prime mover in change.

"There is insufficient recognition that the President is rapidly becoming a victim of apartheid and that he is thrashing around on the crossroads of history — quite incapable of going back and not knowing how to go forward," he said.

Non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid was capitalising on white economic dependence on blacks and developing a bargaining power that would ever-increasingly call the shots.

"The President will flounder where he is until a number of accepted black leaders approve the reform steps that must be taken," Buthelezi said. — Sapa-Reuter

# Pmb 'refugee' crisis grows as violence bubbles again

W/Mail 26/8-1/9/88

By THANDEKA GQUBULE  
THE problem of Pietermaritzburg's 5 000 'internal refugees' has been intensified by the new violence between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters say community workers.

Initially most refugees were youths but as the conflict escalated, whole families were drawn in. "Political violence is primarily responsible for the refugee problem which started last August and peaked in December and January," according to Wendy Leeb, a community worker and psychologist from the University of Natal Pietermaritzburg. "As the violence accelerates again, the problem becomes more acute."

There is a housing shortage in Pietermaritzburg which became more acute after the two waves of floods. And now the refugees have made it more acute. The communities are meeting the housing problem by "doubling up", she added.

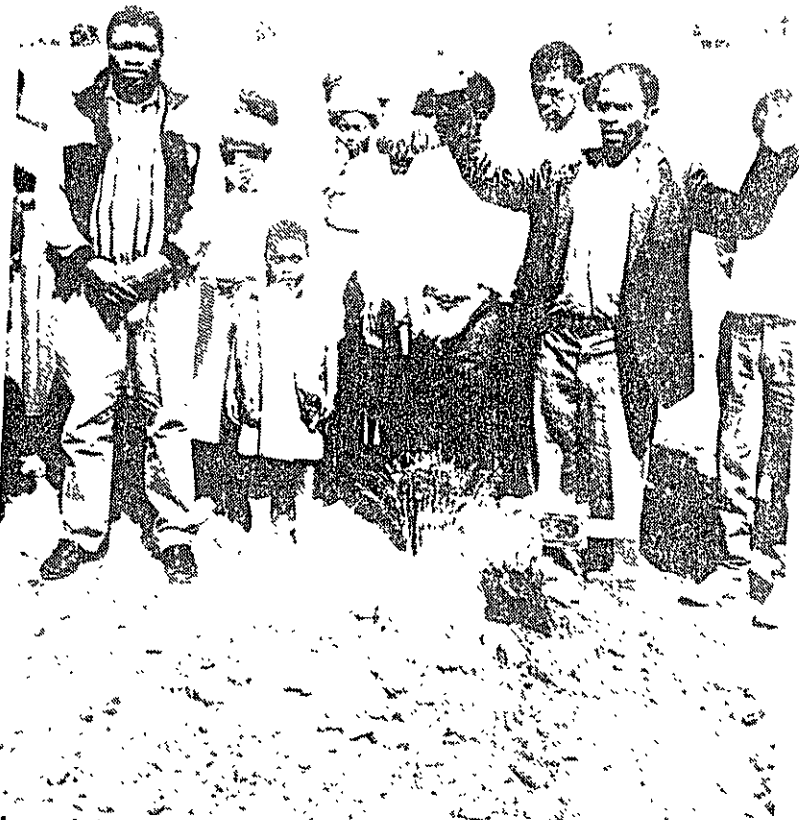
"Inkatha and non-Inkatha violence has pressured people to move from their homes and seek refuge elsewhere.

"Although patterns of movement are not too clear, people — according to political affiliation — move from areas of conflict to what they consider safe areas. As they move in this pattern their assailants follow them," Leeb said.

"The first wave of refugees moved into town from the townships and sought refuge with those who already lived in town in employers' backrooms.

"Movement from one township to another, as well as from the township to out of Pietermaritzburg, occurred as well."

A community worker for the South African Council of Churches, Azaria Ndebele, told the *Weekly Mail* the refugee problem resulted from recruitment drives by Inkatha which caused resistance and fighting among residents.



New violence, new graves: A victim of the last outbreak

Picture: JONATHAN KAPLAN

He described the pattern: the first refugees came from Ashdown township and settled in the Edendale valley. The war then followed them into the valley.

Recruitment drives in Mpumaza and Imbali also sent people into "exile".

But when Ashdown was taken over by the UDF, the first group of refugees returned from Edendale to settle in their homes at Ashdown.

Meanwhile, the second group of refugees from Imbali, who were mainly Azapo people; settled in Dark City, Sobantu — where they began a battle with UDF supporters.

According to Leeb, the conflict has had serious effects on the lives of children. Many children who leave their homes have nowhere to go. A "great number" are lost or missing.

Leeb told the *Weekly Mail* that the increase in the number of

street children was related to the political violence.

"And the insecurity and broken family life has deep psychological effects on children. They live in fear and under stress.

"Child abuse under these conditions is very common as parents are also placed under a lot of stress. A case in point is that of a domestic worker who killed four children."

The SACC runs a service to help refugees with rent. They also give food parcels to those who have lost their jobs as a result of the violence.

A committee initiated by the Black Sash is being established to help refugees. The Black Sash is trying to enlist more support from local churches as well as the International Red Cross.

But all involved agree that the ultimate solution would be successful peace talks.

# Inkatha document may lead to unity

AN Inkatha document is emerging as a rallying point for opposition unity.

Inkatha's "statement of belief" will be recommended for adoption by the Independent Party (IP) at its first national congress, starting in Stellenbosch on Wednesday.

The IP's national executive has already adopted the statement.

This happened after IP leaders met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha leaders for four hours in Ulundi last week.

Since then, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall has met other opposition leaders to discuss the document.

The Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer and Solidarity's Mr Ismail Omar have publicly supported the main provisions of the document.

## Talks

Negotiations have also taken place between the IP and the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

IP leaders are now talking of a "second phase" in implementing the statement, which will be discussed at the Stellenbosch congress.

Mr Dave Gant, co-chairman of the IP, said: "In order for the creative opposition to come together, it must rally round a shared-value system."

The IP hopes to make the

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

Inkatha document that rallying point, and points to its support from whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks.

Mr Jannie Momberg, a member of the IP executive, said: "As an Afrikaner and former Nationalist, I am enormously encouraged by this development. The discussions in Ulundi with the Kwa-Zulu Cabinet showed there is a wide area of agreement on basic values."

The Inkatha statement calls for the abolition of racial discrimination in all spheres, but recognises the identity of individuals in cultural groups, and urges programmes to open educational and economic opportunities for under-privileged people.

"Dr Buthelezi, in our opinion, has a very big white constituency. He is very well accepted by the business community," said Mr Gant.

Old Times 116

## Sanctions leave blacks 'desolate'

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned the United States yesterday that their country would become an exporter of violence if it persisted with sanctions against South Africa.

Between four and six million blacks were already unemployed, the Inkatha president said at a reception after a tour of the Cleveland (Ohio) Medical Centre.

In a speech released in Ulundi, he said blacks were being left in a position of "terrible desolation" through financial isolation, the limiting of external markets and the blocking of technological and management skills.

Blacks were being deprived of what he called their lifelines to the future.

"Right now South Africa is drifting into increasing poverty.

"We are heading towards a situation where rich juntas or despotic rulers dominate poverty-stricken masses by force," he said. — Sapa

11B  
Call for  
Indaba  
to be  
used as  
model

Sunday Times Reporter

A HOMELANDS Cabinet Minister yesterday renewed calls on the Government to consider the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals as a model for power-sharing.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu Government — and the Indaba's co-convenor — was addressing the National Party's Transvaal youth congress in Pretoria.

He said that to dismiss the Indaba in simplistic terms "does a grave disservice to South Africa and grossly undermines the image of the Government".

Dr Dhlomo told the young NP delegates: "I urge you not to dismiss the significance of the Indaba achievement — eight months of negotiation leading to agreement between people of all races and a wide range of ideological persuasions."

"We do not regard the Indaba proposals as perfect, but we do regard them as a serious and constructive contribution to South Africa's constitutional debate."

### Worthy

"At the very least, they should be seriously studied and treated as a point of departure and discussion — not only as a regional stepping stone towards the future, but as a viable way forward at a national level."

Dr Dhlomo said his government believed the Indaba had succeeded in designing a constitution that could be accepted by the majority of groups.

The proposals were a "very serious attempt" to devise a plan for power-sharing that dealt with the "two vital political bridgeheads that have to be crossed if we are to find the way forward together."

All adult citizens had the right to take part in the political system. This had to be recognised openly and directly — "not through deceptive constitutional tinkering which appears to allow participation but deprives the participants of any real power."

On the other hand, the legitimate rights of minorities had to be recognised.

# Dhlomo appeals to Nat youth

21/8/88  
Story  
11B

Pretoria Correspondent

National Party policy has allowed the Government to shape other people's futures without even consulting them, according to Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in kwaZulu.

He was addressing the Transvaal National Party Youth Congress in Pretoria at the weekend.

Dr Dhlomo said: "Today I live and work in kwaZulu, not because this is the kind of future I shaped as a young man but because the ruling party decreed that South Africans of Zulu extraction shall live, work and exercise their political rights in kwaZulu and nowhere else in their country of birth."

Dr Dhlomo, who is also co-convenor of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, challenged NP youth to break out of the present political system which had imprisoned them for many decades.

"You and I have been imprisoned and the tragedy of the present political system is that it has locked you into a macabre partnership with those who hate and despise the vision of an equal non-racial and democratic society," he said

"Similarly it has locked out those of us who are eager to play a role in working with you to achieve the vision we proclaim together for our country."

Dr Dhlomo questioned why the Indaba proposals for a power-sharing provincial government in the kwaZulu/Natal region had not been seriously considered by the NP.

He said the future must be built by all races.

"The days of whites being the architects, the consultants and the project managers, with Indians and coloureds laying the bricks and blacks digging the trenches, are gone forever. The name of the game is equality and power-sharing," Dr Dhlomo said.

# Cosatu, Inkatha bury the hatchet

11/8  
3/9/88  
Cape Times

## Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A historic settlement, signed by senior officials of Cosatu and Inkatha at the Supreme Court here yesterday, has been hailed as a major breakthrough in peace initiatives in the strife-torn Maritzburg area.

The settlement carries with it the hopes of thousands of township residents for an end to the strife.

Since the outbreak of violence in the Maritzburg district some two years ago, hundreds of people have died.

The settlement was signed here yesterday by Dr Oscar Dhloomo, secretary-general of Inkatha. Mr Jay Naidoo, secretary-general of

Cosatu, had earlier signed the document.

The settlement will also put an end to the numerous civil actions connected with the violence in the Supreme Court here.

All the interim interdicts which

## Accord welcomed

### Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhloomo said after the signing of a major peace settlement between Inkatha and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) here yesterday that he saw the latest move as a "real breakthrough".

The final settlement was reached after a week of intensive negotiations between the parties.

have already been granted, were extended to December 1 this year, when they will be discharged. This is to allow time for the implementation of a Complaints Adjudication Board which is to be established in terms of the agreement.

The board will investigate complaints concerning either of the two organizations and make recommendations. There will be recourse to the courts.

A joint declaration by the two parties states that Inkatha and Cosatu "acknowledge and regret that there has been extensive violence in the townships of Maritzburg".

Each party recognized the necessity to make it clear to their members that Cosatu and Inkatha condemned acts of intimidation, forced recruitment and violence.



# Cosatu terror accused in bail bid

CAPT. 6/9/88  
TIMES Own Correspondent 118

MARITZBURG. — A second bail application was lodged in the Regional Court here yesterday on behalf of the regional chairman of Cosatu and national first vice-president of the Transport and General Workers Union, Mr Alfred Muntu Ndlovu, who is facing charges of terrorism and attempted murder.

The charges against Mr Ndlovu include allegations that he actively helped a trained ANC guerilla on a mission in South Africa, the attempted murder of 14 pupils at an Inkatha youth meeting at Emzaweni School last year, and the attempted murder of a Mr Phillip Thabethe.

It is alleged that Mr Ndlovu instructed others to kill Mr Thabethe because he broke away from the Transport and General Workers Union to join the rival United Workers Union of SA.

The court was told yesterday that the trial, which had been set down to start yesterday, had been adjourned until November 7 after the defence encountered difficulties in obtaining suitable counsel to defend Mr Ndlovu.

An application for bail on Mr Ndlovu's behalf was first lodged in July this year, but was turned down by the regional court magistrate, Mr A J Voogt, who said there were indications that the proper administration of justice might be defeated or frustrated if Mr Ndlovu were released.

# Inkatha has its eyes on buying City Press

INKATHA has its eyes on *City Press*, the biggest-selling black-oriented newspaper in South Africa — but an obviously embarrassed Nasionale Pers will have nothing to do with the organisation.

The purchase of the popular national weekly has been on Inkatha's agenda for some time, according to sources close to the newspaper.

They say Inkatha made overtures to Nasionale 18 months ago, but were rebuffed. According to one source,

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

the "proposals were revived as recently as two months ago".

Nasionale Pers chairman Ton Vosloo told the *Weekly Mail* there was "no truth in the rumour" *City Press* would be sold to Inkatha.

Yet senior staff members insisted there had been recent approaches — again turned down by Nasionale. Senior Inkatha members had publicly spoken of the negotiations and the or-

ganisation's desire to acquire the paper, they said.

The staffers said the attempt to purchase the newspaper was an attempt to increase Inkatha's urban following.

Inkatha first intervened in the mainstream newspaper market when it bought *Ilanga laseNatal* from the Argus Group in April 1987. This resulted in a walkout by journalists refusing to work for the organisation.



1/18

W. K. G. 2-8/9/88

# The peace treaty that must endure

DURBAN — When the peace treaty between Cosatu and Inkatha was sealed at the Maritzburg Supreme Court last week, it seemed to be an awkward moment for the warring sides.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha was with local Inkatha leaders speaking among themselves and with their lawyers. Mr Alec Erwin of Cosatu stood talking with the trade union lawyers.

Both sides seemed a little self-conscious and everybody was eager to speak to milling reporters as nobody appeared to know what to do next.

There was no slick media presentation, no champagne, no exchange of cigars or wine. Just a deep appreciation that the pact between the two to hopefully bring peace to Maritzburg could have a massive bearing on South Africa's political future.

Previous peace talks have not been enough to bring violence to an end in Natal and kwaZulu, and the announcement of a complaints adjudication board did not so much usher in a wave of relief as serious apprehension over whether it would work.

## Massive damage

But there are powerful motivations for the peace to hold. Inkatha and its political opponents are aware of how much they have to lose, measured in the number of people killed and injured, the loss of public support and diversion from programmes to assault white economic and political power.

The rising death toll in Natal and kwaZulu has given everybody a glimpse into the future; at the massive damage each side could inflict unless steps were taken to stop the violence now.

Besides adding to the depressing but growing "civil war syndrome" in South Africa, the more than 1 000 deaths have reminded everyone that black-on-black political violence cannot secure political change. It merely strengthened the hands of white racist politicians determined to hold onto power.

Their most powerful argument was simple: They could not allow power to pass to people who were killing each other.

As long as the killing lasts, black political advancement is hampered, and the space open to peaceful initiatives for political change reduced.

With white voters so apprehensive of their future given their past policies, even the National Party's national statutory council could expect a lukewarm response as long as white extremists could play up a rising black political death toll.

If the parties do no more than agree to stop killing each other, this creates so much more room for middle-of-the-road political initiatives, like that presently advocated by the Independent Party.

It is trying to bring opponents of the Government together around a statement of values and princi-

A peace treaty with ramifications for South Africa's political future has been concluded between Inkatha and Cosatu. Both sides know how much they will lose if it does not hold.

ples prepared by Inkatha as a step towards taking control of Parliament and launching genuine constitutional negotiations.

As long as Inkatha was at loggerheads with other organisations, these opponents could have rejected the initiative outright. And some people backing the initiative were more than a little concerned about getting caught in the cross-fire.

Also, the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba certainly did not benefit from the political violence. Some whites who liked the direction the Indaba was going in were at the same time apprehensive that they might indirectly be party to more black-on-black violence over access to political offices that would be created if the Indaba were implemented.

Simply, there are no winners except for white racists. And everyone monitoring the violence is watching for agents from this group wanting to sabotage the peace.

Admittedly, with so many people suffering so much, a peace treaty may simply not work. Much personal bitterness still exists, giving rise to scores to settle that may outweigh any peace treaty.

But by signing it, Inkatha and Cosatu are saying that more important than arguing who started the violence and who can find the muscle to sustain it, is who is politically sophisticated enough to seek an end to it. One, or both, stand to gain enormously from showing a way out of the trouble, and by continuing to seek peace.

## Murderous clash

Admittedly the pact would more likely succeed were just Cosatu and Inkatha locked into a murderous clash. But to this, one has to add the behaviour of UDF members and Azapo.

And attacking a person from one organisation in the name of another is the culmination of several inputs spanning years in people's lives; factors which have been well documented by observers.

But signing the pact shows that both sides appreciate they have more to gain from peace. Those few awkward minutes at the Maritzburg Supreme Court building could prove vital in the next few years.

At the very least there is a concern prevailing in progressive circles that peace must be established between Inkatha and its political opponents to ensure that if political change came through the actions of one of them, the other would not develop into a Renamo-type body. — Own Correspondent.

FM.

He warns of the "complications" yet to come — including the general conditions of the emergency and the restrictions placed on "non-Inkatha members," despite widespread calls for them to be lifted, even from Inkatha Secretary-General Oscar Dhlomo.

"What we have is agreement at senior level. It now has to filter down to grassroots membership. But in this agreement there is a definite sign of hope."

Cosatu executive member Alec Irwin said the Complaints Adjudication Board — the keystone of the agreement — offered a more practical and speedy way of resolving problems in the area. "From our side we see it as a starting point."

It is widely believed that UDF members will follow the Cosatu initiative, and to some extent membership of the labour federation and the political movement do overlap in Maritzburg.

Some doubts have been raised about whether the infamous "warlords" blamed for initiating some of the violence will take the agreement seriously. Nobody seems to doubt the sincerity of Inkatha's top leadership, but observers point out that the warlords wield immense power in certain areas that they may be reluctant to give up.

Dhlomo, however, is optimistic that the agreement will allow the respective organisations to regulate each other. He said the agreement was important because it placed responsibility on each movement to monitor its members; it enabled the movements to monitor each other; and it provided a forum which was less expensive than the courts. And "most importantly it promotes the concept of political co-existence."

Pamphlets are being printed in Zulu for distribution to all Maritzburg township residents spelling out the conditions and spirit of the agreement.

88/9/16

### INKATHA-COSATU PACT Stumbling blocks

HB

The big question following last week's ice-breaking peace pact between Cosatu and Inkatha is not so much if it will end the destructive cycle of violence in the Pietermaritzburg region, but whether the leadership of the organisations have the ability to get the message to their members on the ground.

The restrictions placed on the UDF severely hamper it from conveying Friday's agreement to grassroots. In fact the UDF could not participate in negotiations leading to the agreement and the setting up of the Complaints Adjudication Board; and could not sign the agreement which all sectors of the community hope will end four years of bitter fighting.

More important, however, is that the ban on the UDF does not allow it to hold meetings in the townships. This is one of the reasons why Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, a group which has been closely monitoring the violence, is cautious about seeing any instant solutions. "I think this is a first step — from here talks can start leading to negotiations for peace," he says.

# No peace, despite Inkatha accord

CARL TRAVIS 12/9/85

22/11/85 (22/11/85)

11B

MARITZBURG. — Violent political rivalry in the townships here has not subsided, even though Cosatu and Inkatha have signed an accord, say community sources.

Although last week's police unrest bulletins mentioned only one incident in the area since the accord, the Natal Witness has received information about two other incidents last weekend which left one man dead and six others injured.

And on Wednesday evening, a group of people from Mpumaza, said to be an Inkatha stronghold, allegedly went into Ashdown and told residents: "This peace means nothing and we are coming to kill you."

A confrontation developed and both groups were allegedly dis-

persed by security forces.

The incident, not mentioned in Thursday's unrest report, has worried residents of the area, particularly 19 families who had been granted a temporary interdict restraining Inkatha members of Mpumaza from attacking them.

Last week's settlement between Cosatu and Inkatha, by which both parties have immediate recourse to justice when their members are attacked, arose out of the interdict application.

Although it was widely reported that the agreement could signal an end to the conflict in the region, analysts and lawyers believe this to be a misrepresentation.

They say that while it is a constructive step, the problem of bringing into line the supporters

of both parties is still very real.

A city lawyer acting on behalf of Inkatha, Mr Hugh Drummond, said there were parties, such as the UDF, excluded from the agreement, which "could still be acting on their own free will".

According to community sources, Mr Sqobo Ndlovu was killed by vigilantes in Chief Shayabantu Zondi's district of KwaShange on last Sunday.

Three others were injured and reported to be still in hospital.

Last Saturday, three other people were injured when their homes were attacked in Nxamalala. A reliable source identified the injured as a Mr Ngubane and a Mr and Mrs Khumalo.

A police spokesman was not available for comment on the incidents. — *Sana*

# Pmb pact a way out of a nightmare of murder

THE "peace settlement" between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha, finalised last Friday, has been hailed as the first of its kind in South Africa.

Unlike previous attempts at curbing the violence in Pietermaritzburg and other areas, the negotiators did not stop with a joint statement of principles. They went considerably further and worked out a mechanism to ensure the principles would be observed by both sides.

The settlement arose from an application brought by Cosatu against Inkatha earlier this year.

The case was referred to oral evidence last Monday, but the two sides spent the week hammering out an agreement which would both settle

the case and provide a way of curbing future violence.

A complaints adjudication board — consisting of a retired judge and two assessors, one nominated by each side — is to hear complaints against Cosatu or Inkatha members referred by any member of the public.

The board will hold an inquiry and then make recommendations, if necessary, to the relevant organisation about appropriate disciplinary action.

The board will subsequently publish its findings, its recommendations and the action actually taken by the organisation involved.

Both sides are to hold meetings to publicise the settlement's terms to members. Branch leaders must sign a document indicating they understand

**After more than 789 deaths in the past 14 months in the Pietermaritzburg area, Inkatha and Cosatu have drawn up a peace settlement. By CARMEL RICKARD and THANDEKA GOUBULE**

the content and implications.

The two parties also agreed to:

- Take action within their organisations against those who perpetrate or were implicated in violence;
- Oppose bail for those facing criminal charges for violence because they would prevent the peace agreement being implemented.
- Condemn forced removals and

recognise and respect freedom of association. This was described as particularly important as forced removals were an important reason for fights between townships.

Cosatu general secretary, Jay Naidoo, said in an interview this week that the discussions with Inkatha were not peace talks, but an agreement on principles "which could provide a useful basis for peace".

"Our position has always been that we are committed to negotiate an end to the violence in Pietermaritzburg. This represents the only way out of a nightmare of murder," he said.

An obvious omission in the agreement is the United Democratic Front (UDF), but both Inkatha and Cosatu say it was unavoidable at this stage

Inkatha secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, who, with Naidoo, signed the settlement, said there were several major difficulties in involving the UDF in the agreement.

Firstly the UDF was not a party to the court case which led to the settlement; there were also difficulties because of the restrictions on the UDF.

The third reason was that the UDF's internal structure would make it difficult for it to participate in the complaints board — the UDF has no disciplinary committee which could take up recommendations of the adjudication board.

However, Dhlomo readily conceded the absence of the UDF was a difficulty, adding: "The conflict in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere is not that much between Cosatu and Inkatha. It is mostly between Inkatha and the UDF."

He was nevertheless hopeful the new structure would help significantly in curbing the violence.

Commenting on the absence of the UDF, Cosatu's Alec Erwin said Cosatu would never purport to speak for the UDF, and had made it clear to Inkatha that Cosatu was not a "surrogate" of the UDF.

However, during the negotiating period the unions had widely canvassed the idea of the adjudication board and found it met with significant UDF support.

"We would never have gone ahead with it if the UDF was opposed," he said.

Erwin said if it should happen that a number of the complaints concerned UDF members, Cosatu would approach the UDF. Arrangements to bring in the UDF were still a possibility, but would take much longer.

"The settlement of the court case was urgent and needed to be done quickly," he said "if we had tried to bring in the UDF at that point, it would have taken too long. However, it is something we will give attention to in the future."

It could be argued many UDF supporters are members of Cosatu and so would be obliged to recognise the agreement. But the UDF supporters most affected by the violence — the youth — are generally either students or unemployed and would thus not be subject to the settlement.

In addition, there has been a lack of strong middle-level leadership in the UDF for some time, which has led to affiliates, particularly the youth, sometimes being fiercely independent with strong local leadership. They are likely to feel alienated by the settlement which has not involved them.

Despite the serious difficulty posed by the UDF's omission, both Cosatu and Inkatha appear reasonably optimistic that the settlement could achieve a reduction in the violence.

The agreement is intended to apply to Pietermaritzburg, but there are provisions for conflicts outside this area to be referred to the board, with the agreement of both parties. Both Inkatha and Cosatu hope if it works well in Pietermaritzburg its scope could be extended to the whole of Natal.

Mediators, negotiators and academics have welcomed the deal, saying it is a model which could be followed in other conflicts.

Professor of clinical and adjectival law at Natal University, Durban, David McQuoid-Mason called it an "imaginative settlement". He said mediation was not used enough in conflict resolution in South Africa, although it was popular in the United States and was a traditional form of settling disputes in African society.

● The settlement was also welcomed by Justice Page who was to have heard the application. He said everyone aware of the "carnage" of the Pietermaritzburg townships knew it was a matter of "desperate urgency" that it would stop.

He said the settlement appeared to provide the machinery for co-operation and that he hoped and prayed it would work.

However, he stressed the settlement did not mean the court was abdicating its duty to act and that both civil and criminal action were still available.

## Al-Qalam still defiant despite seizure, raids

By CHARLOTTE BAUER  
FAIZAL DAWJEE, editor of the Muslim monthly, *Al-Qalam*, has not been to work since police walked into the newspaper's Durban offices and seized the latest issue 10 days ago.

Since then members of the security police have arrived punctually each day at the *Al-Qalam* office to search for, confiscating documents, files and photographs from Dawjee's office and handing out receipts for the piles of material they take when they go.

Dawjee, who has been "keeping a low-profile", said despite the seizure of *Al-Qalam* and the "constant intimidation" of its staff, the strongly anti-apartheid paper would "not soften its line" — and would continue to call on people not to vote in the October elections.

It was an anti-election advert placed by the paper's own editorial committee which caused *Al-Qalam*'s seizure under section 9 (1) of the Media Emergency Regulations last Tuesday.

The advert, which has run in both the July and August issues of *Al-Qalam*, advises readers: "You Have the Right Not to Vote!! ... Exercise Your Right!"

Police have told the paper's lawyers this contravenes regulation 5 of the Emergency, which deals with the publishing of "subversive statements".

Owned by the Muslim Youth Movement, the 14-year-old paper has been banned under the Publications Act three times in the past year.

Currently there is an appeal pending on the March issue of the paper, banned for running an interview with executive member of the African National Congress, Jacob Zuma.

Last year's bannings of the July and October issues were both related to anti-conscription stories — the second being a condemnation of the banning of the first.

Dawjee commented that the attacks on *Al-Qalam* and on the media in general "must be seen in the light of the government's increasing constitutional instability and its inability to counter the growing opposition to its sham reform initiatives and its repressive policies".

Run by Muslim fundamentalists, *Al-Qalam* has a circulation of 13 000 nationally. Dawjee said the paper opposed apartheid because it was "commanded by God" and that "Islam is the antithesis of what apartheid stands for".



Escorted by security police, Nelson Mandela's daughter-in-law, Rennie Mandela-Perry, and his grandson, Mandla Mandela, visit the ANC leader at Constantiaberg Clinic. Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

## Mabuza plans an anti-apartheid enclave

FAR-REACHING proposals for educational changes in kaNgwane, including the setting up of democratic student representative councils, are part of Chief Minister Enos Mabuza's "total strategy for liberation" in South Africa.

Plans to revamp the "homeland's" education system were announced this week by Mabuza at a press conference in Johannesburg as part of a build-up to general elections in kaNgwane next month — which for the first time in any "homeland" will allow elected members of the legislative assembly to outnumber members nominated by Pretoria.

The kaNgwane elections were originally planned for October but appear to have been brought forward to avoid being associated with the October elections. Mabuza said people should be free to call for a boycott of the municipal polls and that it was "most unfortunate" this was prohibited by the Emergency Regulations.

"During my election campaigns education has been one of the foremost issues," said Mabuza. "It is essential to the total strategy for our liberation. We should develop a policy that

breaks away from bantu education, which is a legacy all education authorities have inherited."

Education specialist Ken Hartshorne, adviser to the now-banned National Education Crisis Committee, was commissioned by Mabuza's administration to draft a report on ways in which this could be achieved.

Hartshorne said his report stressed improved teacher training and the "need for democratic participation by all the bodies within the education system". It urges the establishment of a kaNgwane education council, representing education, church and community leaders, as well as democratically elected SRC's in schools and colleges.

Mabuza, who has stubbornly refused to accept independence for kaNgwane and defies Pretoria's plans to make the "homeland" independent, said his government would draft laws to put these proposals into effect after the elections.

kaNgwane is also drafting labour legislation that will grant domestic workers legal protection and may

even give trade union rights to farmworkers. Both these groups are excluded from the South Africa's official labour relations system.

The "homeland's" attorney, Chris Albertyn, who is drafting the Bill, said it will also grant striking workers protection against dismissal and allow union members to take part in solidarity strikes — rights which organised workers are deprived of under South African law.

Education and labour reform are clearly part of Mabuza's scheme to turn kaNgwane into an anti-apartheid enclave in the "homeland" system.

Success in the forthcoming elections will obviously boost Mabuza's chances of pushing the changes through the "homeland" assembly — and indications are that the ruling Inyandza party will sweep the polls.

Mabuza said his Inyandza party was unopposed in 42 of the assembly's 57 seats and only 14 seats would be contested by the recently formed Insika opposition party.

According to the chief minister, organisers for Inyandza have recently reported cases of white men urging chiefs in the "homeland" to oppose him. Last month Mabuza said he had evidence of attempts by "pro-Pretoria" elements to replace him.

The alleged threats to Mabuza have led to low-level talks between the Inyandza Youth League and the Lowveld Youth Congress, which was affiliated to the now-restricted United Democratic Front. Militant youth were once the most serious opposition to Mabuza's government and if the reports of attempts to topple him are correct, the chief minister has clearly used them to pull the youth into an accord with Inyandza.

## The rumours are wrong. There won't be a Dakar II

THERE won't be a "Dakar II" conference this week, despite reports that the Senegalese capital was today due to host another meeting including white South Africans and the African National Congress.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said the reports were the result of a "misunderstanding that is not surprising".

Weekly Mail Reporter

He told the *Weekly Mail* that in the wake of the Dakar I meeting a year ago, "there was a great deal of heavy speculation about another Dakar coming off."

"But there is definitely no Dakar II, and any conferences outside South Africa that Idasa is involved in are much smaller in scope and functional-

ly specific — dealing with the law, education, foreign policy and the like."

He added that these gatherings did not only include the ANC and Idasa but drew in other African and European experts in these fields.

The original reports about Dakar II were based on an agreement signed between Idasa and the African Jurists' Association in Paris in February,

# A short tour of recent hot-spots

A CURSORY survey of recent developments in all 10 "homelands" indicates a variety of factors combine to make them unstable and volatile:

**TRANSKEI**  
"Independent" since October 26, 1976  
Population officially estimated at three million, mainly amaXhosa  
Capital: Umtata  
Leader: Bantu Holomisa (Head of Military Council)

Within the space of a few years, Transkei has experienced the ousting of "founding president" Kaiser Matanzima, who was succeeded, and banished, by his brother, George. He was toppled in turn in a coup which saw Sielala Sigcau assume power for a brief period before being removed by military chief General Bantu Holomisa. Sigcau was reportedly considered "too soft" in her attitude toward the African National Congress, and was also accused of corruption. A commission of inquiry into corruption revealed massive embezzlement by former prime minister George Matanzima.

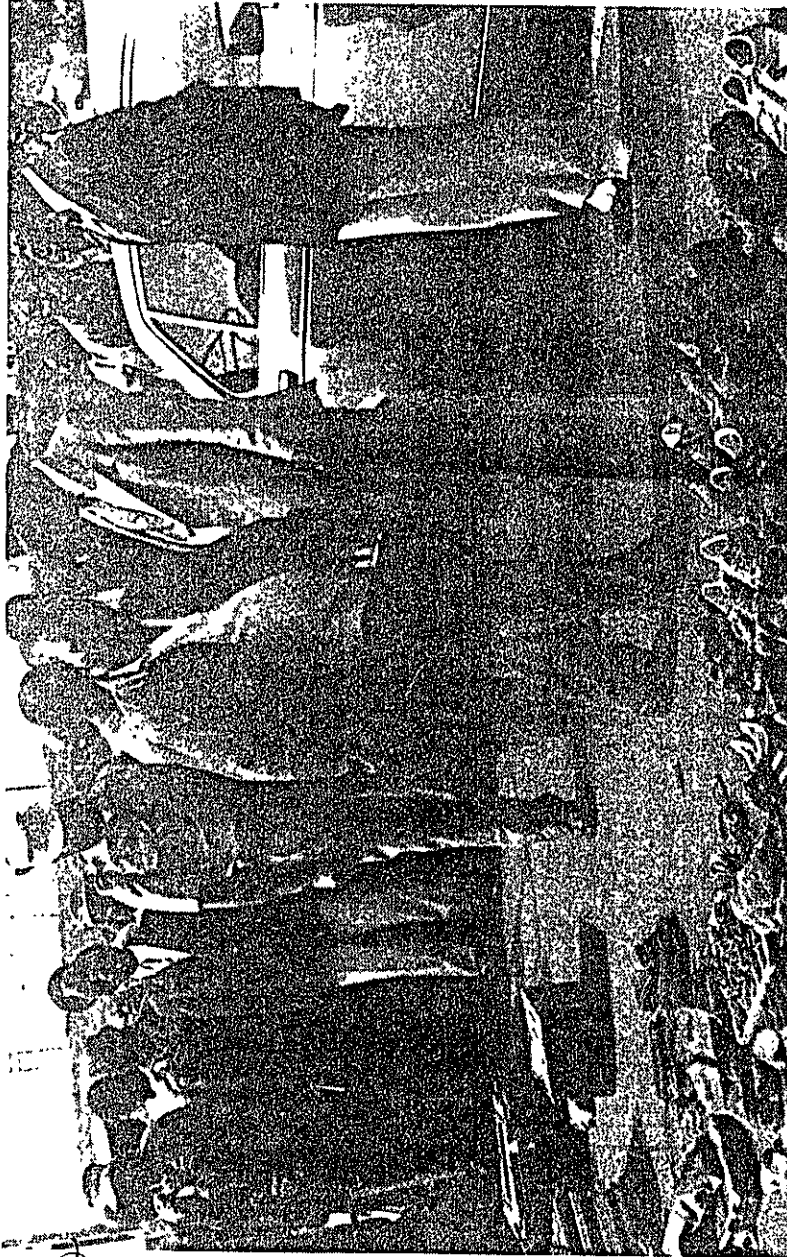
The ruling military council appears relatively stable at the moment but pressure continues for a return to civilian rule. Pretoria's attitude toward Holomisa is ambivalent. Tension with Ciskei over disputed territorial claims, persists.

**BOPHUTHATHWANA**  
"Independent" since December 6, 1977  
Population officially estimated at 1.3-million, mainly Baswena  
Capital: Mmabatho  
Leader: Lucas Mangope (President)

Long touted as the most successful element of the "homeland" experiment, Bophuthatswana boasted real economic development and substantive political stability. Of all the "homelands", it alone appeared to be making advances toward some recognition from international groups. An abortive coup early this year shattered the image, revealing widespread dissatisfaction at alleged corruption, nepotism and the favouring of seconded white South Africans for top posts in the military and the government. The tenuous authority of the "casino homeland" was also demonstrated when President Lucas Mangope had to rely for his reinstatement on the intervention of a handful of crack South African troops. A constitutional crisis has ensued, with the effective banning of the opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the continuing presence of South African soldiers.

**VENDA**  
"Independent" since September 13, 1979  
Population officially estimated at 300,000, mainly vhaVenda  
Capital: Tlokoeng  
Leader: Frank Ravele (President)

Once best-known for its "tranquility and beauty", the "homeland" is shimmering with discontent as the government this week passed a law to prevent opposition candidates from standing in elections due to take place yesterday



The aftermath of an attempted coup — Ciskei officials display arms seized after an attack on Lennox Sebe's palace in the "homelands".

Photo: Reuters

and today, unless the ruling party approves their nomination. Ravele's administration was rocked last month by an uprising involving almost every section of the population. The rebellion — including a five-week school boycott and a four-day general strike — was linked to a network of intrigue and factionalism within the government and its inability to contain a spate of ritual murders. Also released by the turmoil were allegations of nepotism and corruption, a succession dispute within the powerful Tlhwase royal family, as well as strong regional tensions between the Tlhwases, who live in the east of the territory, and members of the Mphahlele group in the west. The death of President Patrick Mphahlele earlier this year opened the way for the turbulence.

**CISKEI**  
"Independent" since December 4, 1981  
Population officially estimated at 700,000, mainly amaXhosa  
Capital: Bisho  
Leader: Lennox Sebe (President)

The latest of the "homelands" to accept full "independence", Ciskei has followed the Transkeian pattern of familial leadership disputes. "Founding president" Lennox Sebe deposed his brother Charles, who had been the "homeland's" security supreme, and was alleged to have his eye on the presidency. Charles Sebe subsequently fled to Transkei; his brother survived an assassination attempt, and unrest has sim-

mered consistently in the large township of Mdantsane. Because of its proximity to the Eastern Cape Ciskei has felt much of the effects of extra-parliamentary resistance and trade union activism. Tensions between Ciskei and Transkei, centred on disputed borders, are a seemingly permanent feature of the area.

**LEBOWA**  
"Self-governing" since October 2, 1972  
Population officially estimated at two-million, mainly baPedi  
Capital: Lebowakgomo  
Leader: M.A. Rantsoane (Chief Minister)

The death this year of the "old man" of Lebowa politics, Chief Minister Cedric Phahudi, appears to have passed without causing as much overt instability as in other "homelands". But factionalism within the administration is brewing and popular discontent in the "homeland" — which erupted some of the most violent unrest of 1985 and 1986 — is simmering. The new chief minister, M.A. Rantsoane, recently fired his powerful minister of public works, M.J. Duba, who was Rantsoane's chief rival for Phahudi's seat. Sources in Lebowa say Duba's sacking will re-open the succession dispute. This is likely to intensify tension between the ruling group (whose power base is located around the capital, Lebowakgomo), and the Mapulaneng region, which has a history of separatism and formed an area of support for Duba.

Regional and factional tensions, exacerbated by popular

discontent over the administration's failure to pay out pensions for the last few months, could make Lebowa the next setting in the series on "homeland" hot spots.

**KANGWANE**  
"Self-governing" since August 31, 1984  
Population officially estimated at 400,000, mainly amaSwati  
Capital: Loueville  
Leader: E.J. Mabuzza (Chief Minister)

This member of the "homeland family" has been most prominent in defying Pretoria. Chief Minister Enos Mabuzza has established a rapport with the African National Congress; his close links with the militant Lowveld Youth Congress, once affiliated to the now-restricted United Democratic Front; his fiercely resisted attempts to re-settle people evicted from white farms, and his stubbornly defied Pretoria's plans to make the region "independent".

**GAZANKULU**  
"Self-governing" since February 1, 1973  
Population officially estimated at 500,000, mainly ba'Songa  
Capital: Giyani  
Leader: Hudson Nisarwise (Chief Minister)

One of the least known of all the "homelands", Gazankulu has been in the news because of the flood of refugees from war-torn Mozambique. There are also reports of

growing tension over attempts to force people to join Ximozo Xaraxa, the ruling party's cultural movement, and the failure of the administration to pay teachers' salaries.

There is growing disaffection over the allocation of scarce resources to the refugees from Mozambique, and a simmering dispute following the arbitrary appointment of Nisanwisi as paramount chief of a district near Phalaborwa that was recently incorporated into the "homeland".

A long-standing territorial dispute between Lebowa and Gazankulu has also resulted in a series of mini "border wars" between villagers who live in disputed regions of the adjoining territories.

**QWAQWA**  
"Self-governing" since November 1, 1974  
Population officially estimated at 200,000, mainly baSotho  
Capital: Phuthaditjhaba  
Leader: T.J. Mopeli (Chief Minister)

This "homeland" lost about one-fifth of its potential population — and its only viable industrial region — when the Bloemfontein Supreme Court ruled recently that the Botsabelo resettlement area had been incorrectly incorporated into QwaQwa, and its 200,000 residents should revert to being "South Africans".

Discontent over signs that Mopeli is considering "independence" for the "state" — one of the smallest in the world — has been rekindled among students, teachers and the opposition Matri-A-Seciwaga party. QwaQwa was the scene of an extensive schools and consumer boycott in 1986 following allegations of corruption.

**KWAZULU**  
"Self-governing" since February 1977  
Population officially estimated at four million, mainly amaZulu  
Capital: Ulundi  
Leader: M.G. Buthelezi (Chief Minister)

The most enigmatic of the "homeland leaders", Buthelezi has defied Pretoria's wish that he accept full "independence" for his territory. However, his "national cultural liberation movement", Inkatha, which is the most powerful political force in KwaZulu, is involved in deep-rooted conflict with extra-parliamentary resistance organisations like the United Democratic Front, and with the largest trade union grouping, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

While Buthelezi appears to hold unassailable sway in most rural areas of KwaZulu, urban townships have been sites of open, prolonged warfare between Inkatha and its opponents. This has led to an upgrading of the "homeland's" security forces, and the ceding of control over some urban police stations to KwaZulu.

**KWANDEBELE**  
"Self-governing" since April 1, 1981  
Population officially estimated at 300,000, mainly amaNdebele  
Capital: KwaMahlangu (Chief Minister)

One of the least coherent of the ethnic enclaves, KwaNdebele has experienced the fiercest popular resistance to "independence" of all the "homelands". Traditional leaders in the form of the Mabhanga royal family cooperated with militant youth groupings to resist the move.

KwaNdebele's economic infrastructure is practically non-existent, most workers have to travel to the Pretoria region each day. Anti-independence activism was met by brutal vigilante attacks from the Mbokotho group, allegedly closely linked to the ruling clique.

KwaNdebele has also been the scene of assassinations — most notably that of security supremo Piet Ntuli — and succession struggles in the wake of the passing of Chief Minister S.S. Sikosana. "Independence" appears to be on the cards again, and is certain to spark another wave of resistance. Tensions are heightened by ongoing disputes over the incorporation of the Mounse and Ekangala areas.



# A Dhlomo rebuke for 3 Inkatha chiefs

THE Pietermaritzburg "peace settlement" between Inkatha and the Congress of South African Trade Unions is still on, despite weekend violence in which at least six died and over 100 people fled their homes.

The violence allegedly followed meetings held by three chiefs in Sweetwaters at the same time as a rally called by Inkatha's secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, to report back on the agreement reached between Inkatha and Cosatu two weeks ago.

The chiefs are to be called to Ulundi for questioning by Dhlomo on what happened at their meetings and afterwards. They will also be asked about their absence from Dhlomo's Inkatha

Despite the death of six people in Natal violence this weekend, there is renewed hope — thanks largely to Oscar Dhlomo's sharp action, pulling erring followers into line

## CARMEL RICKARD reports

rally at kwaMkhulu in Sweetwaters, which he estimated was attended by over 4 000 people.

About 100 people — mainly United Democratic Front aligned youths — fled the area late on Sunday. They said they were fleeing fighting which they claimed was instigated by Inka-

tha people after the "rival" meetings. No incidents were reported following Dhlomo's rally, called to discuss the new settlement under which both sides have to ensure the terms are widely publicised. In addition senior local officials have to sign statements that they understand and accept the conditions.

At Dhlomo's rally the chairmen of 39 branches signed their acceptance of the agreement and the leaders of the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Women's Brigade also indicated their approval.

Dhlomo said during the meeting he told the people that the settlement was simply a re-statement of the princi-

ples of non-violence to which Inkatha was already bound. The agreement meant others would be similarly bound to these principles.

On Tuesday, following reports of violence in the Sweetwaters area on Sunday, Dhlomo said he would investigate what had happened.

Later in the week he said he had been told that three meetings were taking place in Sweetwaters at the same time as the meeting which he addressed. After these meetings, violence flared, several people died and scores fled the area.

Dhlomo said it was not yet clear what happened but he was particularly concerned about the fact that the three local leaders and the people who attended their meetings had not been at his meeting.

One of the three "rival" meetings was called by Chief Shayabantu Zondi. Dhlomo said the chief had known about the Inkatha rally because he was in the supreme court at the time it was announced.

"We are calling Chief Zondi here," Dhlomo said, "and we will explain in no uncertain terms that we will not tolerate such behaviour."

The other chiefs who called and addressed meetings are also to be called to Ulundi.

"It seems likely the people who attended the other meetings were involved in the violence of Sunday. We do not know exactly what happened, but I will find out," Dhlomo said.

The adjudication board to hear complaints of breaches of discipline by either side, and which is the key element of the settlement, has not yet been set up as the retired judge who will head the board is not yet available to begin.

Although not all elements of the agreement are in place, the sudden violence in Sweetwaters appeared to threaten the continuation of settlement.

However, several positive factors have emerged: Dhlomo's strong response to the incidents could convince any wavering Inkatha members that he means business. It gives the same message to Cosatu: officials who began to query the *bona fides* of "certain local Inkatha leaders" after the violence, said they were "encouraged" by Dhlomo's statement on the three chiefs.

In the aftermath of the incidents, the channels of contact between lawyers and officials of both sides have also been tested, and communication appears to be working well.

Now a second level of complaints' referral is being set up — both sides are to swap names of people who can be contacted to take action when there are claims of imminent violence threatened by members of their side.



# King urges Zulus to preserve their cultural heritage

By GUGU KUNENE

ADDRESSING a crowd of more than 1 000 scantily clad maidens, King Zwelithini urged the Zulus to "nurture and preserve their cultural identity as Zulus".

The king was addressing a crowd of about 3 000 people who had arrived to celebrate the Reed Dance held at Osuthu royal residence near Nongoma at the weekend.

He said the Reed Dance was "beauty come alive and symbolises much of importance as a cultural event where the nation is shown the beauty of the maidens who are the future mothers of the nation".

"Those who retain their cultural identity and exercise that part of themselves which is the Zulu in them, will not only have the strength to carry themselves, but will also be able to lift others."

"The Zulu in us, that we turn to in times of adversity, needs to be nurtured and preserved and this can best be done by expressing it by actively participating in cultural events," he said.

"When Zulus gather together physically their strength is much more than the strength of all the individuals added together," he said.

er," he said.

Among the dignitaries attending the ceremony were officials from the American Consulate and also members of the Cabinet and businessmen.

In his speech, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi congratulated the king for reviving the Reed Dance and making it an annual event.

"Culture is not something that dates people and cultured people are not fuddy duddies from a past era. Culture is there in the forefront of social, political and economic development," he explained.

The king also said in politics today, one heard the term "urban blacks" and "rural blacks" as though they were different and had different sets of values.

"In various articles, authors are prone to talk about "tribal people" as though they too were a people apart."

He said these distinctions between groups who were people together, deeply worried him.

The king also added that the poor tended to retain their cultural identity more than their more fortunate brothers.

*Chen*  
*(116)*  
*25/9/88*



## Culture is strength

The ancient Zulu reed dance which was enacted at Osuthu last weekend was described by King Goodwill Zwelithini as "beauty come alive".

# 'Police escorted Inkatha attackers'

From ROYCO SANGWENI

DURBAN. — Several Kwa-Makhutha residents this week claimed in affidavits that Inkatha supporters, escorted by KwaZulu Police, attacked them while returning from Shaka Day celebrations.

Six residents made sworn statements to attorneys alleging that their home windows were smashed, asbestos roofs broken and door frames ripped apart.

One of the victims, Thembi Mkhize, claimed she was taken away in a KwaZulu police vehicle to another woman's home known as Mrs Ngidi.

Mkhize claims she was identified as "Sibongile", and associated with the burning of the house of Qhu Molefe, an alleged Inkatha warlord.

"I was beaten with barefists by Molefe. The KwaZulu police joined Molefe and started kicking me with boots and hitting me with bare fists as well.

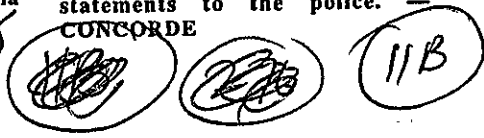
"I was later taken out of Kwa-MaKhutha to Adams mission. I was dragged out of the police van by Molefe who continued to hit me until I retaliated. This annoyed the police who then hit me again.

"As a result, I am coughing blood, my whole body is painful and I feel pain on my temples when chewing food," she said.

A KwaZulu police spokesman confirmed there had been "unrest" in KwaMaKhutha but declined to comment on the involvement of the KwaZulu police saying those people making the allegations should come forward and make statements to the police. —

CONCORDE

29/9-5/10/88  
South



# 'West made SA what it is today'

MELMOTH — It was ironic that the Western world, which had moulded whites into racists in this country, was now "beating and cajoling" South Africa for being what the West made of it, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at the inauguration of the Thubalethu Township here as part of Melmoth's centenary celebrations.

As an example of what he called the brutality of unbridled racism on the part of a British government intent then on colonial exploitation of blacks, he quoted from a speech made to the defeated Zulus in 1887 by the Governor of Natal and Zululand, Sir Arthur Havelock.

After recalling that Britain had conquered the Zulus' King Cetshwayo, Sir Arthur said: "The Queen has taken the rule of the country out of kindness for the Zulu nation.

"If they were left to themselves they would fight among themselves and others would come and take the whole country down to the sea ..."

## UNBRIDLED RACISM

Chief Buthelezi commented, "There we have it — the brutality of unbridled racism, the warped mentality of hideous benevolent paternalism, the wrapping up of white avarice in the lofty cloth of deceit."

It had all started towards the end of last century: racism, the separation of people of colour, the subjugation, and the foundations of injustice which had led to such escalating violence that the only way the Government of today could rule was through a state of emergency.

"Ironically we have now to turn to the black man for the compassion which is needed to bring about reconciliation." — Sapa.



Chief Buthelezi . . . racism begun by the West.

Star  
3/10/88

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# Buthelezi has gone too far, says 'patient' PW

By Esmaré van der Merwe, 116  
Political Reporter

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night launched a scathing attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu for blocking negotiations on constitutional reform while accusing the State President of being unable to negotiate with black leaders.

At a public meeting in Benoni Mr Botha said he had been patient with Chief Buthelezi, who had repeatedly chosen to attack him personally.

"I did not seek confrontation with Mr Buthelezi, but I have to tell him that he cannot have his cake and eat it. I think he

has now gone too far." Stw 21/10/88

Mr Botha was reacting to Chief Buthelezi's remarks at Assocom's annual congress in Durban this week.

Chief Buthelezi had on numerous occasions been invited, with other black leaders, to negotiate on constitutional reform, said Mr Botha. However, he had refused to attend a meeting between Mr Botha and other black leaders in August last year.

"I have up to now been very patient with him because I believe he is often being misled and misused by people who do not have South Africa's best interests at heart."

The Government had achieved significant breakthroughs during the past few weeks, much to the dislike of many who wished to

see conflict and chaos in the country. Something, therefore, had to be done to show that the Government was in confrontation with the country's black leaders.

Mr Botha also accused the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, of spreading false rumours about a recent meeting between the two of them.

Mr Hendrickse had said the State President had pleaded with him to co-operate with the NP to keep the Conservative Party out.

In fact, he said, he had told Mr Hendrickse not to allow the right wing to usher him (Mr Botha) out of power, since no Afrikaner leader would ever again have the opportunity to implement reform.

# Buthelezi slates PW <sup>(115)</sup> for personal attack

ULUNDI. — Chief Minister Mangosini Buthelezi has accused the State President of racism and character assassination against him over their political differences.

In a speech yesterday to the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said Mr P W Botha had made personal attacks on him when he addressed a public meeting in Benoni last night.

Mr Botha attacked Chief Buthelezi for refusing to engage in negotiations with the government, and also said that the time had come for the chief minister to decide whether he was the only black leader or one of many striving for peace in South Africa.

"I say to the State President that we must work to create the circumstances in which I can be involved in national negotiations," Chief Buthelezi said. "I say this not because I think that I am the only black who must be negotiating with (Mr Botha) but ... simply because I am one of the blacks he must negotiate with." — Sapa

Rural black 'potentially conservation's greatest ally' (11B)

Stev 111188  
Parks 'must provide benefits'

By Melanie Gosling

Conservationists have come to realise that the rural black is not simply a poacher and despoiler of the environment, but is potentially conservation's greatest ally, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said at the official opening of the Endangered Wildlife Trust's 15th anniversary symposium in Johannesburg last night.

In his address, which was read by KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Chief Buthelezi said conservation organisations acknowledged that their success or failure depended largely on the public support it received.

Conservation had enlisted considerable support in developed areas, but was "barely tolerated" in undeveloped areas.

In South Africa most game reserves, including the Kruger National Park, the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe reserves, were

surrounded by impoverished rural communities.

"The rural poor living outside the boundaries of the game reserves exist in degrading poverty. Their population is increasing and the natural resources at their disposal are decreasing. Yet they live alongside what to them is a rich treasure house of materials like thatch, firewood, meat and building materials," Chief Buthelezi said.

Animals which escaped from the reserve often destroyed

crops or cattle. It was not surprising therefore to find that the surrounding communities resented game reserves.

"For people to appreciate wildlife and game reserves they will need to receive some benefit from them. The benefits must be demonstrated rather than preached," he said.

Benefits included access to craftwork material and medicinal plants. A percentage of the revenue earned from the reserve could be used to provide a social service like a classroom or clinic.

Chief Buthelezi said the success of a game reserve's neighbour relations depended on the ability of reserve officials to:

- Want the project to succeed.
- Relate to neighbours as human beings.
- Develop programmes relevant to local needs without sacrificing conservation principles.
- To communicate these principles to the local community.

Star 2/11/88

## Land consolidation should be ready by 1990

The consolidation of land for national and independent states would be completed by 1990, the chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, Mr Jurie Mentz, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He said 15,2 million hectares of land, which had been demarcated for blacks by law, had been purchased and the

finishing touches were being put to the process of consolidation in two national states, kwaZulu and kaNgwane.

115 Mr Mentz said the President, Mr P W Botha had ordered the speeding up of consolidation. The aim was to have the consolidation completed in about two years. — Sapa.

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# Rural blacks 'degrade environment to survive'

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By Melanie Gosling

Rural blacks usually had no alternative but to degrade the environment to survive, Chief Justice Nxumalo of kwaZulu's Bureau of Natural Resources said at an Endangered Wildlife Trust symposium in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking on the theme "National Parks and Neighbours", Chief Nxamalo said when rural people damaged the environment it was not out of malice but to obtain the materials they needed to exist in their daily lives.

He said the Government had never taken the trouble to explain to rural people why conservation was important.

"All my people know of conservation is what they see happening in game reserves. They tell me the people in the game reserves care more about animals than about black people.

"When they see conservation officials, they think about being arrested."

Chief Nxumalo said to win local support for conservation a new approach, which took local needs and aspirations into account, was necessary.

Mr Tony Conway, warden of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, said the Natal Parks Board was fully aware of the crisis developing outside conserved areas regarding the decline of natural

resources which rural people needed daily.

He said it was the board's policy to try to address the people's needs, without compromising the main objective of conservation, by allowing limited use of natural resources from the game reserves.

At Mkuze Game Reserve, people had been allowed to cut thatch and reeds in the reserve and between 1983 and 1986 had bought 17 000 kg of meat from culled animals at very low prices.

At Ndumu Game Reserve, local people had bought 13 000 kg of culled meat and at Umfolozi Game Reserve they had been allowed to cut 222 tons of thatch grass in the past four years.

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# PW not negotiating, says Buthelezi

*CMF Times 4/11/88*  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha was not negotiating with black leaders in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a meeting of the Paarl Rapportryers last night.

"Despite this ripeness of time, the politics of negotiation has not got off the ground," the Inkatha leader said.

"Whatever else is happening and whoever the State President may be speaking to, he is not negotiating with the leaders that the black society in this country

*1180*  
has thrown up as its leaders. "I know, I am one of them and I am not involved in negotiations with the State President.

"Whatever he himself says, he is not involved with real negotiations with other black leaders either."

Chief Buthelezi said that in President Botha's "rather unfortunate" personal attack on him during a Benoni election meeting recently, Mr Botha said that he had on numerous occasions invited the KwaZulu leader,

along with other black leaders, to negotiate with him — but Chief Buthelezi had refused.

Chief Buthelezi said that at the meeting President Botha "talked and talked" to certain black leaders "but there were no negotiations".

"There was no negotiating agenda. There was no objective. There was no give or take.

"I know because I am in touch with black politics and I am in touch with the leaders the State President could possibly be negotiating with."

THE Cosatu-Inkatha peace pact which is hoped will wipe out the violence in the Maritzburg area was being "tested" for the first time yesterday.

The adjudication board which was set up under the pact heard its first case starting yesterday: it is expected to go on until Friday.

Appeal court judge, Mr Justice Alan Trengove and two assessors are hearing evidence behind closed doors and the entire proceedings and decision handed down will be kept secret between the two partners.

The outcome will be published only after the guilty party has taken action against members who broke the no-

## Pact is put to the test

violence pact. *Sowetan 11/18/88*

Civic, religious and political leaders say that the manner in which this case is handled will either strengthen or weaken the pact which was hammered out after intensive negotiations between Cosatu and Inkatha delegations earlier this year.

Comments from the two groups are not being made at the moment because of the sensitive nature of the hearing and its implications on the future of

the pact.

Religious leaders pointed out that they did not want to comment: they did not want to give the impression that they were biased.



**Inkatha president,  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

## Heunis didn't claim to be talking to Buthelezi

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Political Staff

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THE war of words between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, about who was negotiating with whom about what, was a misunderstanding.

Mr Heunis said yesterday that Chief Buthelezi had reacted to what he was supposed to have said and not what he actually said.

Mr Heunis was widely reported in the press as claiming to have been negotiating about a new constitution with the Chief Minister, to which Chief Buthelezi issued a sharp rebuttal, saying he was not involved in negotiations on this matter with any minister at all.

A transcript of the press conference at which Mr Heunis supposedly made the claim indicates he did not make it.

Mr Heunis said Chief Buthelezi had in the past admitted meeting him for discussions.

## Mr Heunis, Chief Buthelezi and negotiation

REPORTS last week that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had said he was negotiating with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwazulu, were incorrect, it has been established. Mr Heunis made no such claim. Accordingly, editorial comment based on this assumption in a Cape Times leading article, and in the Political Survey column on Friday was misdirected, being based on incorrect information, and is withdrawn.

Whites 'are not ready'

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# Buthelezi to compromise on one-man one-vote

SAV 16/11/88

30/11

MUNICH — Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Munich last night he was prepared to suspend his ideal of one-man one-vote in a unitary state in view of the "real terror" this concept held for many white South Africans.

He told the Minister President of Bavaria, Dr H C Max Streibl, that he was prepared to explore any constitutional form which maintained the basic principles of democracy.

This included a federal or canton system in which there was the maximum devolution of power, Chief Buthelezi said in a memorandum for their meeting here.

He shared his black compatriots' cherished ideal of a one-man one-vote system in a unitary state, which embodied the best that British parliamentary democracy had to offer.

If South Africa had such a parliamentary democracy plus the rule of law, no person or group should fear the future, he said.

"I am, however, faced with the reality that the prospects of this cherished black South African ideal strikes terror in the hearts and minds of a great

many white South Africans.

"They are wrong in being afraid of a real democracy, but it would be wrong of me not to recognise that the rightness and the wrongness of something does not create or destroy real fear."

Unlike those in other formerly colonial African states, whites in his country had nowhere else to go and had to live or die where they were.

"Nothing Africa could have ever produced by way of insurgents or revolutionaries could match the real damage that white South Africans could do to a government imposed on them by force," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said blacks would also fiercely reject anything imposed on them. Both groups would have to compromise.

"If we negotiate towards a multi-party democracy in which the winner-takes-all principle is toned down in one way or another, there are prospects of success," he said.

"It is against the background of these thoughts that I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that I will have to keep my own cherished ideals somewhat suspended while I explore every possible constitutional form which maintains the basic principles of democracy," he said. — Sapa.



# Transkei must be part of SA settlement — Holomisa

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From **GRAHAM LINSOTT**  
Special Correspondent

UMTATA. — Transkei expects to be involved in any constitutional settlement in South Africa and could even consider re-joining as an integral part.

This emerged in an interview with Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's military ruler who took power in a bloodless anti-corruption coup.

But he stressed that in no circumstances would Transkei consider becoming part of South Africa again under its present dispensation.

He also said Nelson Mandela would be free to live in Transkei if he were released.

Transkei was the first South African black "homeland" to accept independence, in 1976. Since then it has been followed

by Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda. Their independence has not been recognised by the international community and they are heavily dependent on the South African Treasury.

General Holomisa said that whatever the political future of Transkei, it would be influenced by a change of government in South Africa.

"There can be no settlement without us, whether we are part of it or whether we go on our own."

He said that at the time of independence neither the South African government nor Transkei's new rulers had properly considered such things as international recognition — political and economic — and Transkei's need for trained people.

"We were also disadvantaged because geographically we do not enjoy the infrastructure of the metropolitan areas. There was no programme to upgrade Transkei's infrastructure into that of an independent state.

They just dumped us.

"We would not go back to South Africa with its present dispensation and prescriptive laws. But if there were a settlement we could contribute. We also suffer sanctions with South Africa and we have the right to tell South Africa of our interests.

"We have provided much in South Africa. Whatever is to take place there, we have to be taken into account."

General Holomisa said Mr Mandela could live unrestricted in Transkei if he chose



**General Bantu Holomisa**

Many former members of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress were in the government service.

But Mr Mandela would not be allowed to organise the ANC in Transkei.



**CHIEF Buthelezi**  
**'Real terror'**

MUNICH — KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Munich he was prepared to suspend his ideal of one-man-one vote in a unitary state in view of the "real terror" this concept held for many white South Africans.

# kwaZulu blacks say SA peace is possible

DURBAN — Most kwaZulu blacks believe a peaceful, negotiated settlement to South Africa's problems is possible and reject violence as a political alternative.

A Research International survey involved 802 black men who were interviewed in their homes in the language of their choice.

A massive 92 percent agreed with the statement: "A peaceful, negotiated constitutional solution to South Africa's problems is possible." Three percent disagreed while 5 percent did not know.

The statement: "I believe black-on-black violence will lead to political change" drew disagreement from 78 percent of the respondents. Three percent agreed and 19 percent did not know.

Nearly the same result was achieved with the statement: "I am prepared to accept black-on-black violence as a means of ensuring dominance of my party" with 78 percent disagreeing, 4 percent agreeing and 18 percent not knowing.

The statement "I am prepared to accept black-on-black violence if it sorts out radicals and troublemakers" drew the disagreement of 77 percent, 7 percent agreed and 16 percent did not know.

Attitudes towards the presence of the security forces in the townships also showed a positive response with 64 percent agreeing that the army helped to make the townships safe for residents. The percentage of those that disagreed was 13 and 23 percent did not know.

— Sapa.



# Survey shows Kwazulu blacks against violence

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## Crime Reporter

**MOST** blacks in Kwazulu do not believe that violence — even if it is directed against a white government — is a suitable means to promote political change.

In a survey conducted by the market research company, Research International, for the Kwazulu Natal Indaba the majority of more than 800 randomly selected blacks interviewed supported both the police and the defence force.

Mr Peter Badcock, Indaba communications director, said the results of the survey showed that the majority of blacks rejected violence regardless of its purpose.

"However there is still cause for concern when reviewing the acceptability of violence as a means towards change.

"Though the proponents remain a definite minority, they are still a substantial group who could complicate things

for peacemakers," he said.

Asked to respond to the suggestion that a peaceful, negotiated solution to South Africa's problems, 92 percent of those interviewed agreed. Only 3 percent disagreed and 5 percent were uncertain.

Asked whether they agreed that black on black violence would help lead to political change, 78 percent of the respondents disagreed and 3 percent agreed.

When asked whether they accepted black on black violence to sort out radicals and trou-

ble-makers, 77 percent disagreed and 7 percent agreed. And asked if they were prepared to accept violence under certain circumstances if it brought political change, 68 percent disagreed and 17 percent agreed.

Violence against whites if it led to change was not acceptable to 60 percent of the respondents while it was acceptable to 20 percent.

Violence against a white government if it led to change was acceptable to 22 percent while 56 percent rejected it.

Star 23/11/88

Star 23/11/88

# Defence objects to Bop State evidence

Own Correspondent

MMABATHO — As a general rule, the State was under no obligation to disclose evidence except factual, the Bophuthatswana Assistant Attorney-General, Mr F Elf, told the Mmabatho Supreme Court yesterday.

He was replying to objections made by the nine members of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) charged with treason following the February 10 abortive coup.

Mr CR Mailer, for the defence, yesterday examined allegations point by point to call for further particulars to enable the accused to prepare their defence and to plead.

He asked Mr Justice EA Smith to rule on an order forcing the State to give the following information:

- How many meetings were held at the Molopo Military Base when it was taken over by the rebels on February 10 and who was there.
- Who told the soldiers that the government had been overthrown?
- Who announced that President Mangope had resigned and Mr Rocky Malibana-Meitsing had been sworn in?
- Which one of the accused allegedly conspired to overthrow the government and with whom?
- What were the terms of the alleged conspiracy?
- Which of the accused incited or instigated others to commit offences?

Mr Maler said the State had failed to set out essential particulars and the accused were entitled to a proper reply to their questions under the Criminal Procedures Act.

Mr Elf admitted the State did not have all the information, but the summary of facts in the indictment provided all the detail needed.

The hearing continues.

Step in the right direction, says chief

# Buthelezi approves move to form party

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has given his cautious support to efforts by the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement to form a new party on the political Left.

"I must necessarily applaud any attempt anybody could make to promote the broad principles of a non-racial, multiparty democratic order," he said yesterday.

The political situation was plagued with the fear that such a democracy could not be established, more than the fear that whites would not fare well if it was established, he said.

Chief Buthelezi, also the president of Inkatha, said Inkatha would be pragmatic about "how we go about putting intentions to co-operate into practice".

He had neither been briefed personally about the latest de-

velopments nor had he had the chance to discuss the issues with Inkatha's leadership.

The PFP, IP and NDM met last week at the house of the Transvaal rugby chief, Dr Louis Luyt, and sources have indicated that a new party could be established as early as January.

The three main issues to be thrashed out are a statement of principles, a name for the new party and the pressing issue of a leader, the sources added.

A special committee is to be announced this week to prepare a joint declaration of intent and a joint statement of principles.

Some sources said that not one of the three leaders — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall or Mr Wynand Malan — should lead a new party.

They favoured a charismatic, respected and high-profiled Afrikaner "such as former newspaper editor Dr Willem de Klerk".

Others mentioned Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader,

and Dr Luyt himself.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Forces to the left of the National Party are divided. We cannot wish these divisions away because many of the divisions revolve around fundamentally important issues.

"We must work our way through them and if this move among white political leaders is a step in this direction, then I welcome it," he said.

Commenting on rumoured differences of opinion between the three groups about which extra-parliamentary organisations should be involved, he said it was "sad" that that should be a problem.

"The final analysis of the South African situation is yet to be made and it is not wise right now to be rigorous in the allocation of organisations into camps.

"When things move, they may well move with an awesome rapidity which will demand radical realignments in the pursuit of a non-violent transition towards a democracy," Chief Buthelezi said.

## Robbers murder guard

West Rand Bureau

Robbers killed a middle-aged security guard at a Westonaria greengrocer's shop on Monday and escaped with about R7 000 in cash.

A West Rand police spokesman said Mr Teyi Mbali was on guard duty at the Drive-In Fruiters in Suurbekom, Westonaria, on Monday night when he was overpowered and tied up.

His assailants dragged him about 50 m away and apparently suffocated him.

They then cut the fence around the shop and broke in.

They took about R7 000 in cash from the office of the owner, Mr R M Pellers.

## Imported medicine to cost more

By Toni Youngusband, Medical Reporter

The registration of imported medicines is to cost drug manufacturers more next year — and consumers must expect an increase too.

The South African Medicines Control Council has proposed an increase of registration fees from R1 000 to R5 000 per medicine from January.

A spokesman for the MCC said this is the first increase in 10 to 15 years and is an attempt by the Government to make the MCC more self-sufficient.

"The MCC costs the Government an estimated R3 million a year to run. It was felt an increased registration fee would bring in more revenue and the MCC would become less dependent on State funding," the spokesman said.

All medicines must be registered with the MCC before they can be sold. The registration takes a minimum of 18 months.

Dr Gerhardus Oberholzer, of the Department of National Health and Population Development, said the MCC had failed to break even or keep up with general price increases for years.

"We are now trying to get to where we should be," he said.

Mr Johan Schlebusch, registrar of medicine control at the department, said he did not think the increase would be as high as was proposed.

Dental medicines, which in the past have not had to be registered with the MCC, will also be affected.

Mr Schlebusch said dental medicine, such as dental cement, came into direct contact with the patient and could have an effect on that patient's health and should be under MCC control.

The executive director of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, Mr John Toerien, said the proposed increases were "enormous" and should be implemented in phases rather than all at once.

### SURCHARGE, TOO

"We feel a three-year period is fair. The fees should be increased slowly over this period. Manufacturers are facing not only the fee increase but also an import surcharge on certain medicines and the declining rand.

"These additional costs have to be passed on to the consumer," he said.

Mr Toerien said the pharmaceutical manufacturing industry had protested to the department about the proposed increases.

A S I W R c n t l w

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# Liberal indaba: IP want Gatscha

## Black groupings important

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The national leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement were enthusiastically greeted at separate meetings of the two parties here last night.

Dr Zach de Beer, PFP leader, at an NDM meeting at St Thomas's Church Hall, said, speaking of unity talks between the two movements and the Independent Party, that a very important part of the joint approach was that the new grouping should also work in the closest possible way with black political leaders.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said the new grouping had decided to talk with the broadest possible spectrum of political organisations inside and outside the Parliamentary system.

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

AN Independent Party demand that the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, should be part of the new liberal opposition party caused a stir yesterday within the ranks of the negotiating parties.

Although the Independent Party (IP) demand appeared to break the agreement by the three parties involved not to make public their conditions for the proposed merger, the other participants, the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement, avoided making an issue of it.

Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for his comments.

The IP demand was made by one its co-chairmen and one of its representatives on the working party of the three parties to discuss the merger details, Mr Jannie Momberg.

Speaking at an IP meeting in Uvongo on the Natal South Coast, Mr Momberg said the new party "must be able to reach across the colour line and the IP is therefore adamant that Chief Minister Buthelezi is a key player in the new policy.

"Chief Minister Buthelezi is the one black leader who has widespread support and must be part of the new party."

Mr Momberg also said the IP was adamant that any new alignment must be able to "attract those disenchanted Nationalists and also those English-

speaking voters who voted NP in the last election".

He said the National Party was unable to halt South Africa's economic slide and it was therefore crucial that a new party was formed as soon as possible.

Asked for his comments, the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said: "It is certainly true that the Chief Minister is one of the important players on the scene and we will therefore be seeking to co-operate with him as well as with a number of others."

National Democratic Movement spokesmen were unwilling to comment on Mr Momberg's statement but they broadly agreed with Dr De Beer's views.

However, on the basis of discussions with senior members of Inkatha, the possibility of Chief Buthelezi's movement being part of the merger process and discussions is not considered likely.

In Durban last night Dr De Beer, speaking on an NDM platform, said he was "very happy" that coincidence had resulted in his being at the meeting.

Principles remained unchanged but policy could be changed depending on circumstances.

"There can be room in a party for people who differ about ways and means of achieving their aims, but to bring together people who have differing basic convictions is to create a false unity, which is doomed to break down under strain," he said.

CPM Timis 25/11/68

# Buthelezi nod for unity bid left of govt

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE move to unite the political parties to the left of the National Party must obviously be applauded and the emergence of a really strong multi-racial party was inevitable, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

But Chief Buthelezi, the head of 1.5 million-strong Inkatha, stopped short of saying that he would at some stage join the new liberal opposition party.

Although he applauded the developments to unite the parties, "I must add that at this stage it is too early to forecast what the final mix will be of an opposition party which unites existing parties and political organizations".

He also stressed that he was not present at last week's meeting in Johannesburg between the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, and added: "I have in a sense been witness to action without being an actor myself."

In response to an inquiry about the demand by the Independent Party's Mr Jannie Momberg that he be part of

the new party, he said: "For me history has already decreed that we shall have one multi-racial South Africa with one sovereign Parliament.

"The road I walk is a road that I see as one which merges with the road that other opposition parties walk.

"There is an inevitability about the emergence of a really strong multi-racial party supported at the grass-root level.

"I will be watching current developments with great interest."

Ever since the PFP had been stripped of its status as official opposition, there had been a growing recognition that some kind of realignment to left of President P W Botha would take place, he said.

However, some people did not understand the implications of the Population Registration Act and while it remained on the statute books, "we can do everything to maximise black-white co-operation to oppose apartheid but cannot pretend that multi-racial politics can become a reality.

"There is a division of labour in opposition to apartheid in which the best we can perhaps hope for is a multi-strategy approach in which each organisation does what it best can do in its own circumstances to oppose apartheid."

# Blacks want power sharing, not total control: Survey

**T**HE overwhelming majority of blacks in KwaZulu Natal support powersharing between all races in South Africa, with only a small minority favouring a black-only government.

They also support the free enterprise system, continued patience on the part of the black majority and a combined government for KwaZulu Natal. They oppose violent overthrow of the white government, sanctions, consumer boycotts and organised anti-Government labour actions.

These are among the final findings of a recent scientific study commissioned by the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

Asked to respond to the statement "Powersharing between all races in South Africa is the best solution", 90% between all races in South Africa is the best solution", 90% of the sample agreed, as opposed to only 4% who disagreed, with the remaining 6% undecided.

Questioned as to which specific group or groups should rule South Africa, respondents answered as follows: All races together — 40%; black and white — 15%; only black — 11%; only white — 7%; don't know — 27%.

Further statements in the survey sought to ascertain what type of political future and society were desired by respondents. The statements and their respective responses were:

☐ "When apartheid goes, free enterprise should continue and people should be given the chance to start and run their own businesses" — agree 78%, disagree 3%, don't know 19%.

☐ "The government of KwaZulu Natal should be combined or made one with the government of Natal" — agreed 65%, disagreed 9%, don't know 26%.

☐ "Different areas and groups of people must be allowed to rule themselves in the best way for them" — agree 61% disagreed 16%, don't know 23%.



Attitudes towards possible strategies to be pursued towards change were explored in further statements seeking responses. These were:

☐ "The removal of apartheid laws will allow for peaceful progress" — agree 90%, disagree 3%, don't know 7%.

☐ "The black majority must be patient and wait for the white government to make changes" — agree 51%, disagree 28%, don't know 21%.

☐ "Consumer boycotts are not a good way to bring about change" — agree 43%, disagree 28%, don't know 19%.

☐ "Violent overthrow of the present white government is the only way" — agree 16%, disagree 53%, don't know 31%.

☐ "Blacks should support sanctions as a means of political change in South Africa" — agree 11%, disagree 63%, don't know 26%.

Attitudes towards potential agents for change were explored in a concluding section of the survey. The statements and responses were:

☐ "The church has an important role to play in the solution" — agree 51%, disagree 24%, don't know 25%.

☐ "The black labour can force white government to accept black majority rights and rule" — agree 22%, disagree 43%, don't know 35%.

Respondents were highly sceptical of the ability of white political parties to solve the country's problems, with only 18% of respondents believing any of them could do so, 35% disagreeing and 47% uncertain.

Commenting on the research results, Indaba Communications Director Mr Peter Badcock said the organisation was heartened by the confirmation that blacks are firmly committed to equitable powersharing.

"The survey proves that by far the majority of blacks favour peaceful powersharing and are firmly opposed to violent solutions and radical strategies for change."

The survey was carried out by the market research firm Research International during the period July-September this year and involved an area-stratified random probability sample of 802 black adults who were interviewed personally in their own homes in the language of their choice.

The accuracy and validity of the survey has been attested to by Ms Caroline Harben, managing director of Research International.

"Great pains were taken to design a sample which could be broadly represented of the attitudes of blacks in KwaZulu Natal and would guarantee statistical validity and reliability," she said. "I am satisfied that the questionnaire was objective and met the stringent standards demanded by socio-political work."

Another survey showed that the overwhelming majority of blacks in KwaZulu believe that a peaceful, negotiated solution to South Africa's problems is possible and they reject political violence as an alternative.

Asked to respond to the statement "A peaceful, negotiated constitutional solution to South Africa's problems is possible," 92% of those canvassed agreed, 3% disagreed and 5% were uncertain.

# Call to free prisoners on political grounds

MAS  
28/1/88  
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**HANGING TEN:** B Hugshamer demonstrates his skill during the Argus/Santa Monica Spur Western Province surfing championships. The contest is being held over two weekends for the first time. The masters, grandmasters, veterans and women's championships were held at the weekend while the other divisions will be contested next weekend.

Picture: DION TROMP, The Argus

MARITZBURG. — Excited families and jubilant friends greeted the return home of released political prisoners Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala, while in Ulundi, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, welcomed their release on humanitarian grounds but urged the government "to think more earnestly about releasing prisoners on political grounds as well".

"A great many blacks remain sceptical about the intention of the National Party to bring about meaningful reform," Chief Buthelezi said.

"The release of political prisoners for clearly stated political reasons in addition to humanitarian reasons would most certainly be a step in the direction of convincing black South Africans that those whites who speak about reform are serious

## Group Areas Act

"The Group Areas Act is on the Statute Book and by all evidence the National Party intends keeping it there for as far as we can see ahead.

"The National Party still speaks about there being no majority in the country and it is still afraid of one sovereign Parliament in the future."

Chief Buthelezi said the National Party was "locked in party political conflict with the Conservative Party and the Conservative Party is campaigning against the National Party because it abandoned the political programme which was enunciated during the years preceding the years after Mr Mothopeng and Mr Gwala were jailed".

"The National Party is campaigning against the Conservative Party and yet the National Party is keeping political prisoners in jail who were jailed at a time when the National Party was doing what the Conservative Party wanted it to do.

"If there has been sound reason for the National Party to move away from its 1950s platform, then there is political reason to release political prisoners who were jailed then."

## "Didn't sleep"

ANC veteran Mr Gwala, meanwhile, was jubilantly welcomed at his Dambuza home by friends and family after being released from Westville prison on Saturday afternoon.

"My release was totally unexpected. I am still very excited ... in fact I didn't sleep last night," he said yesterday.

His delighted daughter, Lulu, said his release was "like a dream".

Mr Gwala, 69, is suffering from motor neuron disease which is believed to be terminal and which has left both his hands paralysed. His release is unconditional.

He was jailed for life in November 1975 for his involvement with the ANC. — Sapa.

## Two die in Namibia car smash

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# 'Waiting patiently' for political changes

DURBAN — The majority of black people in kwaZulu and Natal supported the free enterprise system and felt they should continue to wait patiently for the white government to make political changes, another survey conducted for the Indaba has shown.

An overwhelming majority supported power-sharing between all races, with only a small minority favouring a blacks-only government. While in favour of a combined government for

113

Owa Correspondent

kwaZulu-Natal, they opposed a violent overthrow of the white government.

Mr Peter Badcock, Indaba communications director, said the Indaba was heartened by the confirmation that blacks were firmly committed to equitable power-sharing.

"The survey proves that by far the majority of blacks favour peaceful power-sharing and are

firmly opposed to violent solutions and radical strategies to bring about change."

Research International carried out the survey between July and September and canvassed 802 black adults. *S.A. 28/11/67*

Respondents were sceptical of the ability of white political parties to solve the country's problems with 18 percent believing any of them could do so, while 35 percent disagreed and 47 percent were uncertain.



ARGUS 11/12/89

# Smashed economy 'not in blacks' interests'

## The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Blacks knew they dared not destroy South Africa's economic foundation in the name of liberation, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the official opening of the Ondini Plaza shopping centre in Ulundi.

In fact, he told Mr Chris Ball, managing director of First National Bank, Mr Gordon Hood, managing director of OK Bazaars, and other guests: "They go further and demand that we maximise economic development to maximise political progress."

The Ondini Plaza is a development project by the Kwazulu Finance and Investment Corporation, Kwazulu's business sector and the private sector. It was built in 10 months, created 120 jobs and has added further muscle to the growing town of Ulundi.

The tri-partner company concept could open doors for black people to become an integral part of the business and economic lifeblood of South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said.

### Share-owners

The cumulative joint investment by the KFC and the private sector in the past financial year was R50-million, he said. More than 2 000 people in Kwazulu owned more than 500 000 shares in 19 tri-partner companies.

Eight more tri-partner companies are to be established this year. The cumulative joint investment of the KFC and the private sector in projects recently topped R1 000-million.

They had provided more than 1 000 new jobs "at a time when sanctions and disinvestment are taking a massive toll on black workers who are losing their jobs by the thousands".

It was gratifying to see that the captains of industry were nailing their flag to the mast of black political development.

"They are ever-increasingly perceiving the present as a phase during which they must prepare for a multiracial future after apartheid. Every investment in this country, domestic or foreign, is an investment in political decency. Our liberation struggle involves not only political rights; we are also in quest of economic justice."



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2008  
Dhlomo's  
appeal upheld

BLOEMFONTEIN. —  
The Appeal Court here has allowed an appeal by Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, against an exception taken by Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd and the editor of the Sunday Tribune, Mr Ian M. Wyllie, to a claim for R20 000 damages arising from a March report in the Tribune.

The Durban and Coast Local Supreme Court on May 21, 1987, upheld the exception and dismissed Dr Dhlomo's claim.

Yesterday the Acting Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, upheld Dr Dhlomo's appeal. — Sapa

S/Times 4/12/88

BY MANDLA TYALA

A NEW book claims that African National Congress leader at one stage encouraged Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to fight apartheid from within the system.

And, acknowledging his role in the black struggle, they advised him not to "rock the boat" so as to avoid arrest.

The biography of the Zulu leader also claims that the Inkatha movement's growing popularity — not a difference in ideology — led to the acrimonious rift between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC.

Buthelezi — The Biography, published by Hans Stru- dom, Publishers and written by Wazali-born former magazine editor Jack Shepherd Smith, will be released next week.

If traces Chief Buthelezi's involvement with the ANC in the early '60s when, aged 14, he had his first meeting with Dr John Dube, first president of the ANC and founder of the Durban Zulu-language newspaper, Ilanga. Interestingly, the newspaper is now

# ANC warned Buthelezi to play it cool, book claims

owned by Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi says of those early days, shortly after the National Party came to power. "As a member of the ANC, I was torn between desires to serve my organisation and the need to devote my energies to my hereditary leadership role."

"I was Chief Albert Luthuli (former ANC president) who did more than anyone to persuade me I had no option but to combine the two roles. This I set about doing."

The young Buthelezi went on to serve on the Natal executive of the ANC's Youth

League in the early '50s.

Throughout those days, Chief Buthelezi's support for the ANC and its original, firmly stated policy of non-violence remained unshaken.

Both in South Africa and abroad I argued in public that the ANC had been driven underground by South African police brutality and it was understandable that in an exiled position, where they were rejected by the West, the Mission-in-Exile should seek recourse in violence.

"I, however, never accepted the unilateral decision which the ANC Mission-in-Exile made to commit black South Africa to the armed

struggle as the primary means of bringing about change."

The book claims that before the serious rift between Buthelezi/Inkatha and the ANC developed in the late '70s, ANC leader Oliver Tambo, a long-time friend of Chief Buthelezi, was particularly concerned that the "ANC connection" did not rub off on the KwaZulu leader and cause him trouble with Pretoria.

Says the biographer: "When Buthelezi visited (Tambo) at his home in London on his first overseas trip in 1963, the ANC leader was extremely jittery over the possibility that Buthelezi had

been shadowed by South African intelligence agents and urged him to be seen visiting South Africa House in order to 'balance' the visit to his house."

Chief Buthelezi also recalls an occasion in 1971 when Mr Tambo made a special trip to Mahabeni to personally deliver a warning to the chief who was visiting Dr Hastings Banda.

"I was quite astounded one evening when I was approached by one of Dr Banda's top men, who whispered in my ear that when I visited the Lake Oliver

Tambo would be there to talk to me.

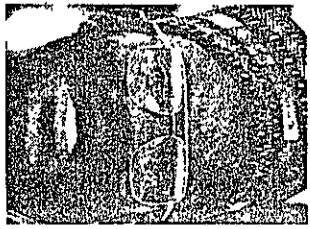
"Because the old man, Banda, was so close to the South African Government, I was scared it was some sort of trap. But the president was acting as an African patriot.

"Sure enough, when I got to the place there he was. He had come all the way there simply to warn me to 'cool it' before I handed myself in hot water."

Later, Chief Buthelezi was to meet Mr Tambo in Nigeria and Stockholm. They kept in touch via emissaries and relations were extremely cordial.

This air of comradeship, the book argues, continued until the ANC leadership saw its front-runner status being challenged by Inkatha's "phenomenal growth".

"Increasingly, they see the initiative in the anti-apartheid struggle moving from the ANC to Inkatha, an alarming development for the organisation which for generations has regarded itself as the sole, unchallenged champion of South Af-



CHIEF BUTHELEZI Told not to rock the boat

rica's black millions," claims the biographer. The bitter enmity between the two parties took on new intensity in the '80s, when public acrimony was exchanged.

The book says the most effective medium for ANC attacks on Chief Buthelezi has been Radio Freedom, which is broadcast chiefly from Addis Ababa and is beamed southwards, encompassing the whole of southern

and South Africa.

On occasion, the biographer says, Radio Freedom has broadcast not-so-subtle exhortations to put an end to Chief Buthelezi.

"One particularly vitriolic attack said: 'It is clear that this puppet Gathu is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savihbi in a future free South Africa.'"

Chief Buthelezi has fired back with charges that the ANC Mission-in-Exile is hopelessly out of touch with black attitudes and sentiments in SA and that the banned organisation these days was barely African any longer, being dominated by European communists.

Says Chief Buthelezi: "Black South Africans know that Mr P W Botha is the most powerful man in Africa and that he can direct the most efficient killing army on the continent against whomsoever he desires. It is madness to declare an armed struggle if you cannot win."

# Kwasa says no to strike

CP Res 4/12/88

CP Reporter

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THE KwaZulu Staff Association this week distanced itself from calls to strike by some of its members following the Kwazulu government's failure to implement promised salary parity for public servants.

Kwasa said the decision to strike was taken by unauthorised persons at unauthorised meetings using the banner of the association.

Kwasa added that the delegation which was charged with tackling the salary issue has been dissolved following meetings with regional delegations.

# Kwa-Zulu: Conciliation?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week in what was being interpreted in some quarters as an attempt to pave the way for conciliation between the NDM and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP).

Mr Malan confirmed yesterday that he had had an hour-long meeting with Chief Buthelezi, whose political position observers believe could have a crucial bearing on the success of the opposition unity talks currently under way.

However, Mr Malan said the meeting was part of an ongoing dialogue between the NDM and Inkatha.

Dr Worrall has consistently backed Chief Buthelezi, but the Inkatha leader has been repeatedly rejected by leaders of the so-called democratic movement with whom the NDM is most often associated.

All sides agreed at the weekend that the talks, which resume in Cape Town today, were still progressing according to plan.

# Inkatha vigilantes kill 13 in morning attack

5/12/88  
MARITZBURG — Thirteen people were killed early yesterday when Inkatha vigilantes launched an attack on non-Inkatha residents of Trust Feed, near New Hanover in Natal.

Residents, who have since fled the area, said today the attack took place at about 3 am.

They said the vigilantes began the attack by

knocking on the door of a house. When the door was opened the vigilantes opened fire, killing 12 occupants.

Another man was stabbed in a nearby house, they said.

Last week, hundreds of women and children fled the area after attacks by the vigilantes on members of a community-elected crisis committee

and its supporters.

Four people were killed, scores wounded, houses burnt, cars stoned and people injured in the attacks.

Police reported a total of 12 people killed in Trust Feed at the week end.

They said seven women and four men, including two people under 18 years, were killed and

two women were wounded.

The body of a man with stab wounds was found in a nearby house.

Those leaving Trust Feed told reporters last week that the vigilantes were coming into the area in buses and they feared a major attack against members of the 5 000-strong community,

in an attempt to drive out non-Inkatha people.

Many residents have fled to neighbouring areas and are living where they can find accommodation.

A large number are sleeping in a field near New Hanover. Others have found lodgings with relatives.

Police ordered a *Natal Witness* team out of the area today.

Last week, they confiscated the film of a reporter who took pictures of refugees.

The Inkatha central committee member under whose jurisdiction Trust Feed falls, Mr Zakhele Nkehli, said today he was not aware of vigilantes going by bus to Trust Feed and blamed the United Democratic Front for the violence.

Because the UDF is restricted, its leaders may not be quoted. — Sapa.

self", he says,  
be reached for comment.

# New book on Buthelezi tells of ANC 'jealousy'

Star 5/12/86 By Katy Macdonald

(118)

The rift between the ANC and Chief Māngosuthu Buthelezi was caused by "ANC jealousy" over the growing power of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. So claims a book about the Zulu leader, "Buthelezi — the Biography", by journalist Jack Shepherd-Smith, which is due to be released on Wednesday.

The book traces the kwaZulu leader's turbulent political career from his days as an ANC activist to his current involvement with the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

In one chapter, entitled "Buthelezi and the ANC connection", the author notes that it was Chief Buthelezi's uncle, Dr Pixley kaIsaka Seme, who founded the ANC, and says that early on in his career, the chief had been friendly with Nelson Mandela, Nobel peace prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli and exiled ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

But after the ANC had seen "the initiative in the anti-apartheid struggle moving from the ANC to Inkatha", it started seizing "every chance .. to denigrate and undermine Inkatha", says Shepherd-Smith.

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S.A. 7/12/88

## Buthelezi warns on blaming Inkatha 11B

Inkatha was not responsible for the violence in the Maritzburg area and unreservedly condemns it, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He warned in a statement that newspapers linking Inkatha and the violence would be taken to court.

"The appalling violence in the Maritzburg area continues to shock and disgust me. The reports this week of the tragic deaths in the New Hanover area are a horrifying example of the cruel and merciless manner in which lives are being taken," he said.

He said he deplored this "criminal behaviour" and wished to make it clear that the leadership and general membership of Inkatha "totally and utterly" condemned these acts of "barbarism".

"One can only hope the perpetrators of these evil deeds will be brought to justice and that no effort will be spared in making sure that they are."

The Inkatha president added: "If any newspaper or organisation or individual irresponsibly blames Inkatha for this violence, and thereby defames it, Inkatha will take the necessary legal steps to protect its rights." — Sapa.



# Buthlezi: A life in the days of SA

JOHANNESBURG. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said his biography was really about South Africa.

He was speaking at the launch of *Buthlezi — the Biography* by media consultant Jack Shepherd-Smith in Johannesburg last night.

"Quite a lot has been written about me lately. Some of it awful, some of it pretty good but what Jack Shepherd-Smith has written is distinctly different.

"I do not see it as so much a book about me. I see it rather as a book about South Africa," the Inkatha leader said.

"It is a book about events in South Africa and about me in the context of those events."

Chief Buthelezi said the biography did not give readers impressions of what the Chief Minister saw from his eyes and nor did it "attempt to get inside" him or deal with his personal memories.

"Reading the book one gathers a sense that the author sees a kind of neutralness in a process by which racist South Africa is being turned on its head

and all the ugly things being shaken out of it.

"The author sees a progress towards a multiracial society as a natural process which has, somehow or other, picked me up and carried me with it.

"I found that Jack Shepherd-Smith was the kind of man with whom I could talk quietly and naturally about important things. He had a sense of the drama of the moment with which the history of the 1980s is presenting us all."

## Important

"Every discerning reader will see why I was pleased that one of the chapters is called 'History is made by majorities; not minorities'.

"We who exercise any kind of political leadership must never delude ourselves that we are important. Jack Shepherd-Smith has made the people of South Africa so much more important than Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi. For this I thank him."

He added that the book showed the extent to which the history of tyranny was the history of how ordinary people got rid of the tyrant.

The author had put Chief

Buthlezi in the perspective of an ordinary man "working with ordinary people to bring decency which should be so ordinary in every civilised society," the Chief Minister said.

The author had taken the venom out of the "polemic tirades" other writers had attempted to dramatise in exchanges between Chief Buthelezi and ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

Jack Shepherd-Smith "does not paint pictures of insoluble conflicts between Oliver Tambo and myself.

"He paints pictures of people living out their lives in life which is full of dilemmas. The Oliver Tambo and the Mangosuthu Buthelezi that Jack Shepherd-Smith paints are Tambos and Buthelezis who can be brought together, and in terms of the idiom of the book, should be brought together.

"The book like history decrees not only that Oliver Tambo and I should get together but it also decrees that P W Botha and I should get together."

Chief Buthelezi felt the book should be recommended reading at all schools and universities. — Sapa.

## Buthelezi meets 'one of SA's black heroes'

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday met Mr Zeph Mothopeng, president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, who was recently released from prison, and described him as "one of South Africa's black heroes". *Star 8/12/88*

Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased at the opportunity of seeing the ailing PAC leader yesterday because he took every opportunity to respond to requests from old PAC and ANC members to meet them. He would now be able to take Mr Mothopeng's greetings to his own colleagues.

"As a black leader I have always campaigned for the release of all political prisoners. It makes no difference to me what organisation they belonged to when they were imprisoned. Nobody should be in jail for political reasons. One of the fundamental freedoms is the freedom of association as far as I am concerned. Without that freedom there can be no real democracy," he said after the meeting.

"For me there are some things that are quite be-

yond party politics. I have never been a member of the PAC, but I can still say that Mr Zeph Mothopeng is one of South Africa's black heroes. I was therefore very pleased to be able to respond to his request to see me, to greet him and to bring the smile of black South Africa to him as I expressed my joy that he is now surrounded by his family and friends

"I am particularly pleased to have been able to see Mr Mothopeng because I regard him as my elder and so wished to shake him by the hand as one who has suffered so much for so many years in jail and as one who has been released from jail for humanitarian reasons."

Chief Buthelezi said leaders like Mr Mothopeng were repositories of some of the wisdom South Africans would need for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The Inkatha leader added that he went to see Mr Mothopeng in the hope that he would add his voice to those calling for black unity. — Sapa.

# Chief Buthelezi visits Mothopeng

*Sowetan 8/12/68*

*113*

KWAZULU's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday visited Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the recently released leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to wish him well and to speak about black unity, both the Chief and Mr

Mothopeng said yesterday.

Mr Mothopeng said yesterday's meeting, at Buthelezi's request, was informal and centred around black unity.

"Chief Buthelezi conveyed to me his best wishes," Mr Mothopeng

said, adding that the Inkatha leader had also sent a letter expressing his good wishes.

"My fundamental task, that of uniting all the oppressed masses remains unchanged," Mr Mothopeng told Sapa.

"Chief Buthelezi also handed me a cheque for R2 000. The gesture from the Chief touched a chord within me.

"I felt, however, that there are more needy people than me.

"I then deem it fit to donate the cheque to the Soweto Old Aged Home," he added. — Sapa.



Mr ZEPH Mothopeng



CHIEF Buthelezi

# DON'T BLAME INKATHA

## says Chief Buthelezi



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi... "violence condemned".

INKATHA would take legal steps to protect itself if any newspaper, organisation or individual blamed it for the murder of 11 people at Trust Feed, Natal, early on Saturday morning, leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned.

The 11 people were killed after gunmen surrounded a house at 3am while a prayer vigil was being held and opened fire.

It was reported that Mr Pierre Cronje, National Democratic Movement MP for Greytown, told the South African Police 10 hours before the murders that residents of Trust Feed feared an attack by Inkatha vigilantes.

### Violence

In a statement Chief Buthelezi said: "I would like to make it clear that if any newspaper or organisation or individual irresponsibly blames Inkatha for this violence, and thereby defames it, Inkatha will take the necessary legal steps to protect its rights."

"Inkatha is not responsible for this violence and unreservedly condemns it."

He said the appalling violence in the Maritzburg area continued to shock and disgust him. The New Hanover killings were "a shocking example of the cruel and merciless manner in which lives are being taken."

He said: "I deplore this criminal behaviour and wish to make it quite clear that the leadership and general membership

# 'Buthelezi - the biography'

9/12/88  
SOWETAN

**THE** Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night said a biography about him was really about South Africa.

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"I do not see it as so much a book about me. I see it rather as a book about South Africa," the Inkatha leader said. "It is a book about events in South Africa and about me in the context of those events."

## Memories

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by which 'racist South Africa is being turned on its head and all the ugly things being shaken out of it.

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CHIEF Buthelezi

kind of man with whom I could talk quietly and naturally about important things. He had a sense of the drama of the moment with which the history of the 1980s is presenting us all."

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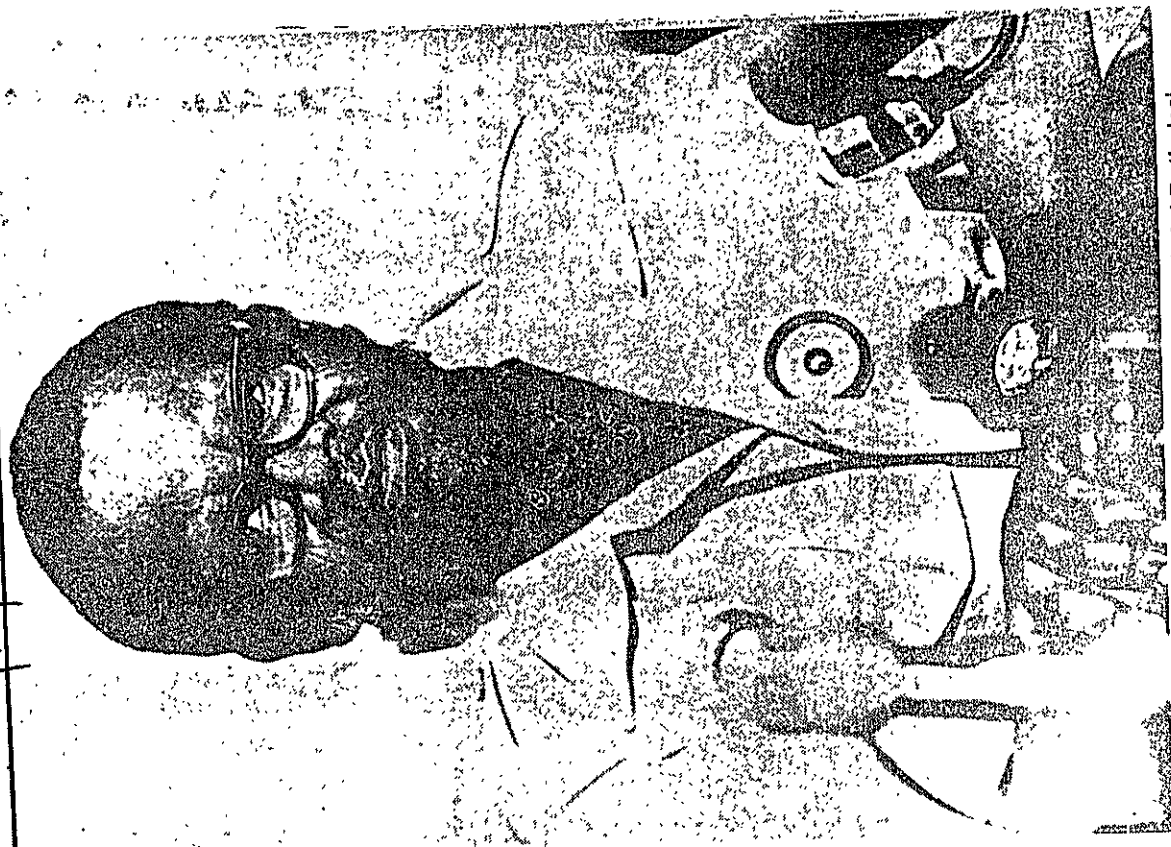
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## Idiom

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Chief Buthelezi felt the book should be recommended reading at all schools and universities.



OLIVER Tambo ... should get together with Chief Buthelezi.



Chief Buthelezi . . . shocked by violence.

# Buthelezi condemns violence, denies Inkatha involvement

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week said Inkatha was not responsible for the violence in the Maritzburg area and unreservedly condemned it.

Terming the violence appalling, Buthelezi said in a statement from Ulundi: "It continues to shock and disgust me."

He said the reports this week of the tragic deaths in the New Hanover area were a horrifying example of the cruel and merciless manner in which lives are being taken.

"I deplore this criminal behaviour and wish to make it quite clear that the leadership and

general membership of Inkatha totally and utterly condemns these acts of barbarism. One can only hope that the perpetrators of these evil deeds will be brought to justice and that no effort will be spared in making sure that they are.

"I am particularly concerned that certain newspapers are linking acts of violence to alleged Inkatha members. The leadership of Inkatha is adamant that the movement, founded on non-violent principles, abhors violence."

"Inkatha is not responsible for this violence and unreservedly condemns it." — Sapa

*AP 11/12/88*

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# WHY I SAW MOTHOPENG

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Sowetan 12/12/84

Buthelezi

on

Soweto

visit

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, has always and will always write to the "heroes of the struggle" who have been made political prisoners and who come out of jail, he said in a statement at the weekend in an attempt to clear up misunderstandings that arose over his visit to Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng last week.

Chief Buthelezi said that he asked Mrs Zora Khumalo, his representative in the Transvaal, to hand deliver a letter to Mothopeng, who was released from prison about a fortnight ago.

Mr Mothopeng expressed appreciation for the letter and said it would be nice to see Chief Buthelezi.

"The Chief Minister had to attend a function in Johannesburg on Wednesday evening and took the opportunity of arriving in Johannesburg a little earlier in order to pay my respects to Mr Mothopeng.

## SA Press Association

"When I saw him we talked about a number of things. We talked about Dr Some whom we both had known. We talked about the old Fort Hare (university) and we talked about black unity. It was a relaxed discussion between brothers," the statement said.

"At no stage during the meeting did Mr Mothopeng evidence any hostility towards me or any reservations about my visit to him," he added.

"During the visit I handed Mr Mothopeng a cheque for R2 000 from Inkatha . . . It was the organisation's money which it got from ordinary people. I handed it to him in the African tradition of this money from ordinary people being 'cleansing' money for someone who has been incarcerated for so long," he said.



CHIEF Buthelezi

# King's vision of future

BISHO — The Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill, has predicted a southern African economic community stretching from Zaire to South Africa.

He was speaking at Bisho stadium at the marriage on Saturday between his sister, Princess Nomusa, to Prince Makhobayakhawuleza Sandile of the Ciskei royal family. *Star 19/12/88*

Guests of honour included the South African Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

King Zwelithini said the marriage was a further strengthening of the family ties between the Zulus and blacks in the Cape.

## BRANCH BONES

"There will one day be a really great southern Africa on a powerful continent of Africa," the Zulu King said.

"There will be a great unity as all the nations of southern Africa tolerate only those vested interests for themselves which other nations in turn can tolerate."

Barriers of communication between nations would be eliminated and there would be what he called "an economic backbone to southern Africa."

It would stretch from Zaire in the north to Cape Town in the south and there would be "branch bones" in Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"Everywhere people and nations will begin putting first things first and everywhere there will be real unity in opposition to poverty, ignorance, and disease," King Zwelithini said. — Sapa



Star 23/12/88  
11B 30A

# 1989 a year of action for P W — Buthelezi

ULUNDI — Next year should be a year in which the State President, Mr P W Botha, puts "deed to word" and gets the stalled reform programme off the ground, and a time in which meaningful reform gathers the "substantial support" that is waiting for it, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a New Year message today.

"South Africa cannot afford to continue losing friends in the Western industrial world ... we certainly cannot afford the cost of apartheid — in terms of rands, or in terms of goodwill," Chief Buthelezi said.

"Let the moral indignation of those who are opposed to apartheid be expressed in non-violent democratic opposition to it.

"I make a particular appeal to all South Africans, whatever their race, colour or creed may be, to do everything in their power to minimise violence and the confrontation that leads to violence.

"I have always called for non-violent solutions and (have called) on members of Inkatha to refrain from expressing their anger in political violence.

"I particularly appeal for the cessation of all hostilities in the Pietermaritzburg area and I make an earnest appeal to every section of the media to be honest and responsible in their reporting of events associated with political violence," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.



Allan Hendrickse

# Election deal too late, says LP

Carl Times  
20/12/88  
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Own Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The Labour Party was no longer prepared to negotiate with government on postponing a white general election until 1992, the LP's annual congress decided here yesterday.

LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the party would "under no circumstances extend the life of Parliament" beyond the March 1990 deadline set by the constitution.

In his closing address at the end of the three-day congress, Mr Hendrickse said the government had left it too late to negotiate with the LP on postponing a white election.

The LP previously insisted on the abolition of the Group Areas Act in return for postponing the white elections, which the government favours.

Mr Hendrickse said: "We want to say emphatically, as the result of the attitude of government and its inability and unwillingness to negotiate with the LP, that we will under no circumstances extend the life of Par-

liament. Even if concessions were made now, we say 'too late'."

A general election is now expected late next year, following a recent announcement that State President Mr P W Botha intended appointing a delimitation commission for the House of Assembly early next year.

Mr Hendrickse was non-committal on whether the LP would continue its confrontational strategy in Parliament. Indications were, however, that there would be little deviation from the LP's current approach.

He said the LP would soon start setting up contacts with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid groups in line with the policy decided at the congress of taking over the negotiating initiative from government.

• Mr Hendrickse disclosed yesterday that he and LP deputy leader Mr Miley Richards had been invited to attend the inauguration of US President-elect Mr George Bush.

## Inkatha 'to decide on LP'

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The decision-making organs of Inkatha would decide whether the organisation could have any political business to do with the Labour Party at this stage, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He was commenting on a resolution adopted at the Labour Party's congress in Bloemfontein that the party would like to open talks with Inkatha.

Although the Labour Party differed from Inkatha as far as their participation in the tri-cameral parliamen-

tary system was concerned, the organisation had never adopted the attitude that it should not speak to them.

"In 1984 we failed to persuade the Labour Party from participating in the tri-cameral parliamentary system in which we blacks are excluded," he said.

"Their decision to continue to participate shows that we have not been successful in influencing them as far as this decision is concerned.

"The matter seems to rest there at present and we have nothing further to say to them," he said.

# Closed-door talks strive for peace in Natal

Stev 31/12/88

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MARITZBURG — Intense negotiations, which are believed to involve the ANC, UDF, Inkatha, Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches, are taking place behind closed doors in a bid to resolve the conflict in Natal's troubled townships.

Sources say the negotiations aim to get all parties to sit down at one table to thrash out a peace formula.

The sources say a meeting has been set tentatively for January 25 in Harare.

It is believed the ANC leadership — in particular, Mr Oliver Tambo, publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, and secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo — are very concerned at the violence in the townships, which has cost nearly 700 lives this year alone.

The violence has also left hundreds homeless.

It is believed the ANC has been monitoring the Inkatha-Cosatu "peace accord" closely, but sees it as inadequate because it does not involve the other major party to the conflict — the UDF.

Sources say representatives of some of the parties met in Lusaka recently and decided it was essential to hold a round-table conference of all parties.

But it is believed that while the parties would welcome open and frank discussions on the violence, because of the immense political differences between some of them, the negotiations are now at an extremely delicate stage.

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said this week though he had not received any message about the Harare meeting, he had received messages "from Mr Tambo, through third parties, expressing concern about the violence in the greater Maritzburg area and Mpumalanga".

UDF sources were tightlipped over the possibility of a meeting in Harare. They said while the UDF would welcome it, the leadership, because it was restricted, would not be able to attend. But community leaders could represent the organisation. — Sapa.

"WE," said one speaker to the 5 000 delegates assembled in Ulundi, "are following the Moses of South Africa." Their throaty response rendered dissent unthinkable.

The statement captured the atmosphere of last week's Inkatha annual general conference, and if there is a single word to sum it up, that word is "rapture".

There are no prizes for guessing its object: the President of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. In Ulundi, Moses equals Mangosuthu.

Ulundi and, more particularly, Ulundi during the annual pilgrimage of Inkatha devotees, is both the shrine and source of the indeterminate power of the "national cultural liberation movement".

It may be isolated in the KwaZulu hinterland, but Inkatha at least has somewhere to sit pretty. Ulundi is a haven of a sort not enjoyed by other black political forces.

There is no sense of threat to the shrine: what security arrangements were in evidence were confidently cursory. Soldiers manning a road-block at its entrance were safe in the knowledge that it would take a reckless "comrade" indeed to venture into the Inkatha enclave.

What Inkatha's power is, precisely, remains an enigma. But Buthelezi used this occasion to serve notice — unequivocally, even by his own lights — that rapprochement with mainstream extra-parliamentary movements is not yet critical for his survival, even if he pronounces it desirable.

Despite the tragic bloodletting in greater Pietermaritzburg, in which Inkatha has suffered losses as heavy as those of its opponents, irrespective of persistent claims that Inkatha is losing support in Natal's urban areas, and notwithstanding accusations of vigilante activity, Buthelezi is manifestly not begging for a deal.

One can see why, in Ulundi. He heads an organisation which, unlike the battered structures of, say, the United Democratic Front, has emerged relatively unscathed from successive States of Emergency. (Not entirely unscathed: Inkatha has also faced restrictions on meetings and occasionally, its media.)

But its positioning has allowed processes of politicisation and organisational entrenchment to continue unabated. Hence the huge, precision-tuned conference. And hence, given the ferocity of repression against his opponents, Inkatha's ability to scold and threaten them with relative impunity.

But the differential levels of state attack are not in themselves a sufficient explanation for Buthelezi's buoyancy.

Inkatha is also sustained by its very (efficient) nature, and the conference

# The Law as laid down by the Moses of Ulundi



Inkatha's Buthelezi: dehonoured both ANC and UDF

reflected this. Buthelezi himself attributed its survival, even after being roundly condemned by the pre-eminent internal and external resistance movements, to "unparalleled internal solidarity".

Inkatha's strength, he said, "is monolithic; it is granite-like; it is unshakeable". His critics would probably agree, but would ascribe it to its strictly hierarchical structures, its patronage, and its "strong-arm" tactics.

Certainly, there is never any shortage of such symbols at an Inkatha gathering.

At this year's conference, hardly a delegate did not sport some Inkatha paraphernalia: khaki safari-suits, green, yellow and black ties, tri-coloured epaulettes, black berets, Buthelezi badges. In addition, the youth corps were in quiet evidence, uniformed in brown fatigues, black military boots and black berets.

But this is by no means unique to Inkatha. It is the more abstract, inescapable fact of the reverence in which Buthelezi is held that makes the

Largely unscathed by the Emergency, Inkatha has positioned itself so that it may scold and threaten its foes with impunity and present to the world a spectacle of strength and solidarity

**SHAUN JOHNSON**

reports from the Inkatha congress at Ulundi

strongest impression. Shades of authoritarianism can of course be read into this cult of personality, but its reality cannot be denied.

The adulation translates itself into the resolutions emerging from the conference.

This is how it works: Buthelezi makes a long speech in which he sets out his analysis of events — in the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary spheres — over the past year. In each case, he lets it be known what he

thinks should be done about it.

The delegates then debate the contents, impassionedly, through the day and most of the night. Resolutions emerge the following morning. They codify, sometimes using the same phraseology, the president's vision.

The only difference, often, is that they are made even more hard-hitting. This year, for example, Buthelezi devoted a significant portion of his speech to denouncing the ANC "mission in exile", and the "Cosatu-UDF alliance".

When the inevitable resolution appeared, it called on Buthelezi to "cease being so lenient in his attitude to the leadership of the ANC Mission in Exile and to ask him to convey to Mr Oliver Tambo that Black South Africans say enough is enough."

This is not to suggest that the debates are "rigged" in any way. There simply is unanimity and conformity, established over many years. The delegates' inputs are vibrant, but not material. In the beginning there was the word, and the word was what Buthe-

lezi said it was. This is now entrenched, uncontroversial practice.

The process of voting is a similarly graphic demonstration of the conformism of the Inkatha hard core. A resolution — invariably lengthy — is read out, translated, and delegates are asked: "And what is your response, dear comrades?" Hands are lifted, papers shaken in the air, approval is chanted. There is no such thing as a *nem con* motion at the annual general conference. Nobody bothers to count: concurrence is absolute.

In this way Buthelezi is most certainly justified in claiming a mandate. Whether it is the spontaneous will of the people ... well, that is another question.

Who are the thousands, many of whom have travelled by the busload from outlying areas, and who derive such obvious pleasure from being part of the movement? They represent branch structures all over KwaZulu and Natal, and some come from beyond the boundaries of the Inkatha heartland.

They look, to the unscientific eye, to be mostly middle-aged, more of them women than men. That they are genuine devotees is beyond question. The drive along the King Dinizulu Highway to Ulundi's Unit A, where the conference is held in huge marquees on a dusty field, is clearly a profound experience for them.

They are elected as delegates, in Inkatha's own words, "by the poorest of the poor". They are themselves by no means affluent. This is not representative of black South Africa, but certainly of some part of it, and Inkatha has moulded them into a political force they would not otherwise be.

And there is a gentle, effective avuncularity in the way Buthelezi relates to these people, the fibre of his movement.

In pressing them to distribute propaganda, organise meetings and generally agitate on behalf of Inkatha, he coaxes, wheedles, smiles beatifically: "Do you take these documents (copies of his policy speech) and put them in boxes at home to let them rot?" "No, no," murmur the faithful. There is a genuine wish to please him.

This is the friendliest face of Buthelezi, on his home turf. But it, along with all the other aspects of his annual conferences, tell friend and foe alike that he is a politician who knows how to exploit the materials he has at hand.

## After the lull: signs of new Natal violence

THERE are ominous portents of a renewed wave of violence in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

Isolated instances of attacks affecting supporters of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have been reported — even during the current "lull" in hostilities — but these seem to have been on the increase around the time of Inkatha's national conference in Ulundi.

While Inkatha blames its opponents, UDF sympathisers say the reign of the "warlords" has not been brought to an end by a spate of court actions.

Speaking in Ulundi last weekend, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told delegates: "Even as we gather together, attempts are being made to renew attacks against Inkatha." He told the *Weekly Mail* after the conference "the coals had never ceased to smoulder. I fear it is far from over." Other delegates claimed their homes had been attacked after they left for Ulundi.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

THANDEKA GQUBULE reports that over the weekend, a UDF supporter was allegedly shot dead. In separate incidents, UDF and Inkatha supporters clashed in Imbali township, and houses of several Inkatha members were allegedly set on fire.

## A fiercer antagonism towards the ANC

THE resolutions emerging from the conference reflect a solidification of previous policies rather than shifts in strategy.

There is, however, intensified antagonism toward the African National Congress and to the "UDF-Cosatu alliance". Hostility between the sides is not new, but in the wake of efforts to halt violence in Natal and reported contacts between the ANC and Inkatha, the vehemence of the conference indicated failure in these regards.

The gathering passed a resolution blaming the ANC's "Mission in Exile" for thwarting moves toward "black unity", and "informing (its) leadership that we regard criticism of our president (MG Buthelezi) as a criticism of ourselves".

Inkatha "warned that (the ANC) is making it increasingly difficult for us to think in terms of taking initiatives to bring them back into the main struggle to establish a just society in South Africa."

In his presidential address, Buthelezi said the ANC was "declaring a war unto death" against Inkatha, and that Inkatha's "hand of friendship had been spurned". This "spirit of



Oliver Tambo

hate against Inkatha had been breathed into the life of the UDF and Cosatu by the ANC," he claimed.

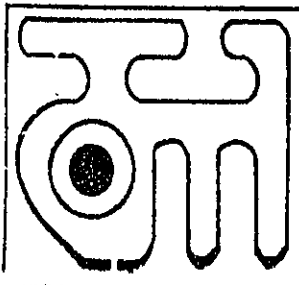
Buthelezi told the conference he believed ANC president Oliver Tambo "owed him a response" after an alleged Inkatha initiative to set up a top-level meeting.

Inkatha says following meetings between secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo and ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki, a high-level delegation travelled to London for "further talks". The ANC snubbed the delegation, Inkatha claims.

Expressing personal bitterness, Buthelezi said his "offer" was made "from a position of strength. I am not making it as some kind of political beggar."

Other resolutions reaffirmed Inkatha's

- Opposition to sanctions
  - Rejection of a "new version" of the National Council
  - Commitment to the constitutional proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba
  - Rejection of the regional services councils and the tricameral system
  - Commitment to a "black unity" which "accepted a multi-strategy approach"
  - Rejection of armed struggle
  - Approval of the KwaZulu government's involvement in the Joint Executive authority as a "stepping stone" to a legislative authority, and
  - Demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.
- In his report, Dhlomo claimed Inkatha's paid-up membership stood at 1 582 110, 40 000 up on last year's figure. The Inkatha Youth and Women's Brigades claim memberships of 601 202 and 442 991 respectively.



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BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

1989 -

# Inkatha accepts meeting

INKATHA would consider meeting with United Democratic Front and Cosatu leaders in talks hosted by the African National Congress to end the violence in Natal and KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.

Newspaper reports have said that the ANC intended to invite the groups and the South African Council of Churches to talks in Harare, Zimbabwe, later this month.

Monitoring organisa-

Sawetam 5/1/89 118

## ANC

tions have reported that at least 821 people were killed in political violence in Natal/KwaZulu last year.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader, Dr Buthelezi said: "I have received no message from the external mission of the ANC with regard to such a meeting.

"I have received indirect messages from



**CHIEF Buthelezi**

Mr Oliver Tambo (ANC leader) through third parties expressing

concern which I share with him concerning black violence in this region.

"I never make decisions about things that are no more than speculations in the media, as that is impolitic in the extreme.

"I am prepared to consider participation by Inkatha in any meeting set up to diffuse violence on a mutually agreed date convenient to us and other parties," Dr Buthelezi said.

## LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT, 1988

Act No. 83, 1988

labour practice which has been referred to the council **[in terms of section 43, a decision in favour of which all the representatives of all the parties to the council have voted or have given their concurrence in writing, shall be the decision of the council]** a decision by the council shall only be binding on the parties to the dispute, if such parties have agreed to the decision in writing.”

## Insertion of section 27A in Act 28 of 1956

8. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section 27:

## “Settlement of disputes by industrial council

- 10 27A. (1) (a) Unless an agreement entered into by the parties to an industrial council provides otherwise, a dispute existing in any undertaking, industry, trade or occupation in any area where an industrial council has jurisdiction in respect of the matter in dispute, may, if the parties to the dispute are—
- 15 (i) one or more trade unions;  
 (ii) one or more employees; or  
 (iii) one or more trade unions and one or more employees, on the one hand, and  
 (iv) one or more employers' organizations;  
 (v) one or more employers; or  
 20 (vi) one or more employers' organizations and one or more employers,
- on the other hand (hereinafter referred to as the parties to the dispute), be referred by such party to that industrial council, and such industrial council shall endeavour to settle the dispute.
- 25 (b) If a trade union or an employers' organization refers a dispute to an industrial council, the reference shall be accompanied by a certificate signed by the secretary and by the president or the chairman of that union or organization or by any two persons authorized thereto by the constitution of that union or organization, stating that in taking the steps which led to the dispute and in making the reference, the union or organization and the office-bearers or officials concerned in the matter have observed all the relevant provisions of the constitution of the union or organization, as the case may be.
- 30 (c) (i) A party referring a dispute to an industrial council in terms of paragraph (a), shall at the same time furnish proof to the satisfaction of the industrial council that a copy of the reference to the industrial council has been sent by registered post or delivered by hand to the other party or parties to the dispute.
- 35 (ii) For the purposes of this section any reference to a trade union and an employers' organization shall be construed as a reference to—
- 40 (aa) a registered trade union or employers' organization; or  
 (bb) a trade union or employers' organization which submits a prescribed certificate, issued by the registrar, stating that such trade union or employers' organization complies with the requirements of sections 4A, 8 (5) (a) (i) and (ii) and 11 (4) (a), as the case may be.
- 45 (iii) A trade union or employers' organization may assist any individual or individuals to refer a dispute of such individual or individuals to an industrial council as contemplated in paragraph (a), and may assist such individual or individuals to have that dispute settled by an industrial council.
- 50 (d) No dispute shall be referred to an industrial council—
- 55 (i) unless the reference is made within 21 days from the date on which any party to the dispute has notified every other party to the dispute by registered post or by notice delivered by hand that a deadlock has been reached concerning the dispute: Provided that no dispute may be referred to an industrial council after the expiration of 90 days from the date on which
- 60

# Talks with KwaZulu welcomed

11/1/89  
11B

## Political Staff

THE leaders of the Independent Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Progressive Federal Party have welcomed the decision by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, and Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, to set up a joint committee to probe obstacles blocking negotiations between KwaZulu and South Africa.

Dr Zach de Beer, national leader of the PFP, yesterday welcomed the news that talks were to take place between KwaZulu and South Africa. "Anything that leads to a clearer understanding by the government of the needs and wishes of black South Africans can only be helpful," he said.

"It is to be hoped that similar talks between the government and other black leaders will also be arranged soon."

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the IP, said his party encouraged meetings of this kind, especially if they had the

effect of contributing to better understanding and if this led the government to reconsider its negative attitude towards implementation of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

The leader of the NDM, Mr Wynand Malan, said he regarded the talks as a positive step.

Chief Buthelezi and Mr Heunis said the establishment of the committee was "acknowledgment of the fact that there are obstacles impeding the process of negotiations".

Sapa reports from Durban that Mr Heunis had to accept tough preconditions before Chief Buthelezi would sign the joint agreement.

According to a government source, the preconditions Chief Buthelezi set for the talks were that they lead to the dismantling of apartheid, go hand-in-hand with the release of senior political prisoners such as Mr Nelson Mandela and allow all "real" black leaders to take part in negotiations for a new constitution.

The decision to form a joint committee indicated that Mr Heunis had accepted these points, the source said.



# Buthelezi call to Zulus to ignore SA govt's RSCs

3/11/82 Own Correspondent 11B

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DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told the KwaZulu Local Government Association to have nothing to do with Regional Services Councils (RSCs).

Buthelezi said RSCs would fail and people would hold the councils responsible for the increased deprivation that would occur.

Addressing a meeting of the association at Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi repeated his rejection of RSCs on the grounds that he had not been consulted about their introduction.

"I will not be intimidated by this big stick which the SA government says it is not waving at me", Buthelezi said. "I say bluntly it is the duty of the central government and regional authorities at the provincial level to service the needs of communities, large and small, in SA.

"The SA government cannot escape this responsibility, and to fear that communities will be left without essential services because they do not become involved in RSC's is a fear which we can cast aside."

## Administrative

The KwaZulu leader said the SA government would not dare to introduce a situation in which the rejection of RSC's by blacks resulted in real mass deprivation.

Buthelezi said that, according to an Assocom study, it was estimated that of the R400m which RSC's were expected to collect through levies each year, 60-70% would be used up in administrative costs alone.

Government was determined not to remove the Group Areas Act or the Population Registration Act and so was eager to implement legislation setting up these poor imitations of non-racialism.

Buthelezi said that, since 1982, when the KwaZulu government had published the findings of the Buthelezi Commission, central government had not been prepared to look at any proposals from blacks. Pretoria was obsessed with the idea of playing God to blacks *ad infinitum*.

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T BOTHA

# Buthelezi attacks SA's 'political' churches

CAF 70-15 13/1/89  
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked what he saw as the politicisation of the church in South Africa and hit out at church groupings who "side with revolutionaries who kill for political purposes".

In a sermon delivered at the parish church of Saint Michael, Chief Buthelezi, who is in London for a short visit, said that instead of a united voice from the church proclaiming truth and justice, the political process tried to seduce one priest after another into various political movements.

"There are those who dare proclaim Christ to be one or another brand of ideological revolutionary," he said, adding that there was no common Christian front against apartheid and injustice.

He warned against the formation of a Marxist one-party state in South Africa, saying that he would not want to overthrow one master only to find himself under the feet of another.

# Buthelezi criticises

113

Sowetan 13/1/89

# church on violence

**LONDON — Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday condemned church groups in South Africa that support political violence.**

"I abhor all political

violence and I am appalled at the extent to which the church is divided in itself on the questions of tactics and strategies and the relationship between means and ends," he told

an Anglican congregation in London.

He said he sometimes stood in "total, astounded disbelief" over the "many important church groupings who side with revolutionaries who kill for political purposes."

He attacked "attempts to make one priest after another the property of one political movement after another." — Sapa.

# Buthelezi talks to Mrs Thatcher

Star 12/11/84 The Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu reiterated his opposition to sanctions during a 40-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher yesterday.

Earlier, in an address at the Church of St Michael, he had again underlined his opposition to violence, attacking South African clerics for siding with revolutionaries who killed for political purposes.

Opposition to sanctions and a condemnation of the armed struggle are two of the lynchpins of Britain's policy on South Africa.

Downing Street said the talks had looked at the contribution Britain could make in South Africa, including the continued refusal to adopt punitive economic sanctions. A spokesman said that Chief Buthelezi had thanked Britain for its help.

Mrs Thatcher has no plans to visit South Africa yet. She has said previously that she will not go until Nelson Mandela is free and the reform programme is again on the move.

## VIOLENCE DISCUSSED

Chief Buthelezi also spent half an hour each with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and with Minister of State in the Foreign Office Mrs Lynda Chalker yesterday.

A Foreign Office spokesman said the issue of violence had also surfaced and in particular the recent unrest in Natal.

"They also looked at the prospects for getting internal negotiations going."

A spokesman for Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha leader's primary reason for coming to London had been to deliver the address to the City of London New Year service at St Michael's.

He had then been invited, as many visiting politicians are, to the Foreign Office and Downing Street. He will be in the British capital until Sunday.

● The City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, which yesterday celebrated 1 000 days of non-stop picketing outside the South African Embassy, has handed a petition with 500 000 signatures to the office of Mrs Thatcher.

The petition called on Mrs Thatcher to reinforce her condemnation of apartheid with sanctions and to investigate the activities of the South African Embassy.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... denies  
Inkatha is to meet ANC.

**Buthelezi: no**

**ANC meeting**

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has denied rumours of a meeting between Inkatha and the ANC — reported to be scheduled for January 25 — to discuss the conflict in Natal's troubled townships.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on his return from Britain Chief Buthelezi said he had not been directly approached by the ANC.

#### THIRD PARTY

It was reported earlier that Inkatha, the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and the SA Council of Churches were to meet in Harare this month in a bid to resolve the black-on-black conflict in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi revealed that his cousin, SACC president Bishop Manas Buthelezi, was the "third party" who had conveyed to him Mr Oliver Tambo's concern about the violence.

Chief Buthelezi said the recently-established joint committee between the governments of kwaZulu and South Africa to address obstacles impeding negotiations should not be interpreted as a significant breakthrough.

Buthelezi tells of Eminent Person's offer

113

# ANC-Inkatha rift: Obasanjo peace bid

B/day 19/11/89

FORMER Nigerian leader General Olusegun Obasanjo had offered to assist in healing the rift between Inkatha and the ANC, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Buthelezi said Obasanjo, a member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, had told him at a conference in Portugal in May last year he intended approaching British Minister of State Lynda Chalker with a request that



● BUTHELEZI

PETER DELMAR

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "use her influence towards the resolution of the rift between Inkatha and the ANC".

Buthelezi said: "He had in mind the idea that the British PM could approach an eminent head of state in Africa to get me and (ANC president Oliver) Tambo around the table to try to resolve the conflict."

Buthelezi said he had discussed the proposed initiative with Thatcher and Chalker during a visit to the UK last July, but was not at liberty to give details of their response.

"All I can say is that they were not against such an idea if the psychological moment for it came."

Buthelezi confirmed that differences between the ANC and Inkatha featured in discussions he had with Thatcher, Chalker and Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe last week.

The ANC this week joined Buthelezi in denying that a meeting would soon be held with Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to discuss the continuing violence in Natal.

□ Buthelezi said yesterday he regarded it as significant that at a recent meeting with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, the Minister had agreed to set up a joint committee to identify obstacles to negotiation between the two.

"This, by implication, is an admission (by Heunis) that there are obstacles," he said.

# What's the black leaders' stance?

Sowetan 20/1/89

**T**HE implications of talks between black leaders and the National Party have been much discussed following this week's meeting between Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After a cool relationship since before the Ingwavuma debacle, through the launching of the Tricameral Parliament and culminating in President P W Botha personally attacking Chief Buthelezi in the run-up to the municipal elections, three people from Inkatha and five from the South African Government met at Mr Heunis' request in Durban this week.

They issued a statement afterwards saying negotiations were an urgent necessity in solving the political problems of South Africa.



CHIEF Minister Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi.



MINISTER Chris Heunis.

## Obstacles

Acknowledging that there were obstacles impeding the process of negotiations, they agreed that a joint committee would be appointed by their governments to identify and address the obstacles and to formulate principles on which there was common ground.

"The committee will report back to the respective governments and upon the receipt of such a report a further meeting will be held between us," the statement said.

For years, Chief Buthelezi, along with other black leaders, has said he would talk to the Government if it led to the end of apartheid and if everybody were free to

talk. Black leaders frequently used the term preconditions to describe their stand.

Chief Buthelezi has said on many occasions that he was wary of being involved in false-start negotiations.

Inkatha and Government sources said this week that KwaZulu's appointments to the committee would stick to Chief Buthelezi's points that talks had to lead to the end of apartheid, that senior political prisoners had to be freed and that anybody could come to the negotiation table.

If Inkatha did not demonstrate consistency on the issues, it would be finished as a political party, Inkatha sources pointed out.

## FOCUS

"It would be up to the Central Government "to accept or reject this," one person said.

Government sources said that at the meeting, Chief Buthelezi's position on these three points actually hardened. They also said that initially Mr Heunis had tried to confine the issue of negotiations to a Ulundi-Pretoria axis, but Chief Buthelezi was adamant that when he spoke of negotiations with the Government, he encompassed the whole country.

Inkatha sources pointed out the numerous attacks Chief Buthelezi had mounted against Mr Heunis in recent years, particularly over the Tricameral

Parliament and Regional Services Councils, over which black leaders were never consulted.

Inkatha sources pointed out that Chief Buthelezi was not likely to change his position on fundamental preconditions on the strength of one meeting with Mr Heunis.

"He would not have allowed the talks to go any further unless he were certain that his preconditions would be met," the source said.

## Clarity

In a statement to the South African Press Association this week, Mr Heunis said: "Firstly, there was never any question of any agreement being signed or to be signed between the Chief Minister and myself, therefore any statement that I had to accept preconditions is

unfounded and devoid of any truth.

"Secondly, we had agreed to set up a committee to iron out obstacles to negotiations. A statement to the effect that preconditions had been set before the committee was to be appointed is also incorrect. The purpose of the committee to be established was fully explained in the joint statement of the Chief Minister and myself which simply relates to two issues:

"Firstly, the recognition that negotiations are an urgent necessity in solving the political problems of South Africa. This has been the point of view of my Government for many years.

"Secondly, we acknowledge that there are obstacles impeding the process of the negotiations and for that reason we had agreed to set up a joint committee, firstly to identify and to address these obstacles as well as to formulate principles

This week's talk came after Mr Heunis said in November that he was talking to Chief Buthelezi. The Chief Minister responded by saying he was not.

"From that, we can read that Mr Heunis has had to look to new ideas to get things going," the source said.

on which there is common ground."

A source said that the talks took place at Mr Heunis' initiative. His reputation has been much questioned lately as he had been charged with getting negotiations going with black leaders, but did not seem to be producing results.

Securing Chief Buthelezi's co-operation publicly to take an explanatory meeting further would be regarded as his biggest success yet.

# Communist in Buthelezi's committee

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A listed communist, Mr Rowley Arenstein, is one of four people chosen by the Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to serve on a committee with the central government to iron out obstacles to negotiation between KwaZulu and Pretoria.

A banning order imposed on Mr Arenstein in 1953 ended in March 1986. However, he is still listed and may not be quoted.

By last night no response had been received from the office of Mr Chris Heunis, the acting State President.



# Govt set for talks with once-banned attorney

Own Correspondent

11B

DURBAN — Nearly 38 years after listing Durban attorney Mr Rowley Arenstein as a communist and condemning him to a life of bannings and house arrest, the Government was set yesterday to begin talking to him about the country's political future.

Mr Arenstein was named by kwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi as one of four people to sit on a joint committee with delegates proposed by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, now the Acting State President.

The committee was set up at a meeting between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Heunis in Durban earlier this month.

Based on a mutual appreciation of the need for negotiations, it is to identify and report on obstacles to negotiations.

The other three men in the KwaZulu delegation are the Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the Minister of Health Dr Frank Mdlalose and Mr S J Maphalala, who is a lecturer at the University of Zululand and a member of the Inakatha central committee.

Mr Arenstein has served as an adviser to Inkatha in recent years and addressed its rally in Ulundi last year. He has been involved in the ill-fated Maritzburg peace talks that attempted to bring an end to the political killings in the area.

# Evidence points to violation of peace declaration principles

116

EVIDENCE made out of a very strong *prima facie* case of a flagrant violation of the principles of the Cosatu/Inkatha peace declaration by Chief Shayabantu Zondi and Induna Lawrence Zuma — both Inkatha men — Mr Justice Leon, convenor of the Cosatu/Inkatha Complaints Adjudication Board said in a statement released yesterday.

The apparent violation had been by way of acts of intimidation, violence and threats of extreme violence, directed against residents because they belonged to

organisations which had policies differing from those of Inkatha.

The *prima facie* evidence further indicated that violence and threats were used with an intention to induce membership of Inkatha.

The board earlier recommended that Inkatha urgently investigate further the conduct of the two men in relation to two incidents and that unless satisfactory grounds and/or valid explanations of their conduct were forthcoming Inkatha take disciplinary steps

26/11/89

against them. Inkatha was told of the recommendations and was given an extension to January 16 to comply with the agreement by responding to the board's decision.

## Evidence

However by yesterday, Inkatha had not done so, citing delays caused by the holidays and the absence of key personnel and lawyers.

A further Press statement would be released when Inkatha responded. The board

heard evidence of three youths and family members who said that on March 10 last year the respondents, Chief Zondi and Induna Zuma, stopped a group of youths, including the complainants. They threatened them with a firearm and assaulted one after others had run away.

They also allegedly threatened to kill the complainants and acted against them because of their United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliation and support.

Another complainant also said he had been assaulted by

them, and that they had also gone to schools in an attempt to threaten UDF sympathisers.

Another complainant said that on February 6 last year he was stopped while driving his vehicle and was assaulted by both respondents and threatened with a firearm.

He believed that they had attacked him because of the affiliation to Cosatu and he said he was at a meeting at which Chief Zondi had publicly said that he would not tolerate Cosatu members residing in his area.

*APL TMS 8/2/89*  
**'Inkatha' guards guilty  
of murdering 7 children**

*116*  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Two Lindelani community guards were found guilty in the Supreme Court here yesterday of kidnapping eight children, murdering seven of them and attempting to murder another.

Before giving judgment in the trial of 11 Lindelani men — all alleged Inkatha members — Mr Justice Broome withdrew their bail.

The court found Emmanuel Khanyile, the leader of the community guards, and Bhekani Wilfred Phewa guilty of 16 of the 17 counts of murder, attempted murder and kidnapping.

A Lindelani clerk, Lucky Mtshali, who left before the children were killed on March 16, 1987, was convicted on eight counts of kidnapping. Another clerk, Siphso Dube, who issued Inkatha membership cards, was convicted of being an accessory.

The court accepted the evidence of the sole survivor of the attack, Mr Duncan Mntambo, who was kidnapped as he was walking along the road in KwaMashu. He was forced into a kombi taxi where he was assaulted by a group of armed men.

Judgment continues today.

# Buthelezi warns Inkatha chiefs to 'behave'

CMG Times  
20/2/89  
116

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned some Inkatha leaders that unless they behaved properly they would be "left behind".

In his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee in Ulundi he said the violence in the greater Maritzburg area had spread to other black townships because certain Inkatha leaders were "not sufficiently rooted in the people".

Some of the "black liberation movement's" local and regional leaders were behaving "as though the struggle is a way of life and as though they are going to die or retire doing what they are doing", he said.

Chief Buthelezi reminded the central committee that Inkatha had rejected violence.

There was growing belief nationally and internationally that Inkatha had failed to meet a challenge. It was painted as a has-been organisation which worked within the status quo and was incapable of making necessary transitions.

But Inkatha would adapt in spite of recalcitrance within the organisation, Chief Buthelezi said.

"I have always said... if it is too hot in the kitchen, get out."

Chief Buthelezi also warned of the consequences should Mr P W Botha try to continue to hold on to the state presidency. It would be a major blunder and would destroy the NP from within if he tried to rule without being either a political party boss or a majority leader, he said.

He said no one would wish a stroke on a political enemy and expressed sympathy for Mr Botha's family.

However, he hoped Mr Botha would not bungle the laying down of his presidency.

Electorates could not serve two masters and the situation was, therefore, that real political power in white politics was up for grabs. — Sapa

rights organisation.

*Call to MKS 20/2/84*  
**Inkatha in photo row**

DURBAN. — Inkatha has requested the Weekly Mail to prove that a front page photograph published of an attempted stabbing in Maritzburg was that of an Inkatha member lunging at a member of the UDF, as alleged in the caption in the 20-26 January issue. The photo depicted a man with knife drawn lunging at a fleeing man.

# Mandela's question ... INKATHA APOLOGISES

*Sowetan 20/2/89* (113) (113)

ULUNDI — Inkatha's central committee has resolved to apologise to the Mandela family for the "unseemly behaviour" of some blacks, including the UDF, in distancing themselves from Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a statement released to Sapa the committee made a plea for the world to be "civilised" about the wife of the jailed

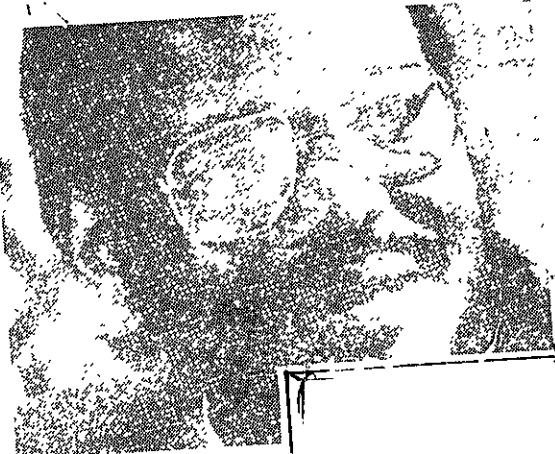
former ANC leader and to "presume innocence until a person is proved guilty".

The committee said its members were aware of how vicious political propaganda based on accusations not yet proven could be, and that it heard the accusations against Mrs Mandela with a deep sense of disquiet.

At a meeting addressed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is KwaZulu's Chief Minister and an old friend of Nelson Mandela, the

committee resolved:

- To ask the world to remember what it is like for a young wife and mother to be isolated from her husband and to be left isolated for 26 years;
- To apologise to Dr Nelson Mandela and to Mrs Winnie Mandela for the unseemly behaviour of some blacks, as shown by the UDF's unseemly haste to distance itself from Mrs Mandela in case they are proved wrong by association with her. — Sapa.



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi.

# Heunis, <sup>11/4/89</sup> Dhlomo <sup>11/3/89</sup> meeting <sup>11/6</sup> was an <sup>2007</sup> ice-breaker

## Political Staff

THE proposals of the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba have been submitted to the Cabinet more than two years after the Indaba reached agreement on a single authority for the region.

This was announced by acting-President Chris Heunis after the first of a series of crucial ice-breaking meetings between Kwazulu, the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba and the government.

The chairman of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said in an interview after yesterday's meeting that it had been a breakthrough for the Indaba in that important misunderstandings had been resolved.

It had been the first meeting between the government and the Indaba since the report of the Indaba was handed to the government by then chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence.

## "MISCONCEPTION"

The Indaba had also been under the "misconception" that the government had rejected the proposals.

Mr Heunis cleared this up by saying that the proposals had been referred to the Cabinet along with comment from the Kwazulu government and the Natal provincial administration.

Also cleared up was a misunderstanding that the government was avoiding negotiating with the Indaba.

"Mr Heunis confirmed that he would talk to the Inadaba and said he would address the Indaba," said Dr Dhlomo.

Yesterday's meeting started with a touch of humour when Mr Heunis looked at the bank of Press cameras and quipped to Dr Dhlomo: "They must be here for you. They don't come here often."

## SIGNIFICANCE

Asked about the significance of the talks Mr Heunis said: "It is a discussion between leaders" and passed the question to Dr Dhlomo who said: "It depends on the outcome".

The second meeting, scheduled for tomorrow, will be officially opened jointly by Mr Heunis and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The parties intend to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground."

The Natal National Party leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, will lead a government team and Dr Dhlomo a Kwazulu team in the negotiations over stumbling-blocks to real negotiations.

The talks follow a meeting between Mr Heunis and Chief Buthelezi in Durban in January.

# SA/KwaZulu committee meets

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M 10/04 2/7/67



**Political Staff**  
**CAPE TOWN** — The first meeting of the joint committee of the SA and KwaZulu governments will be held at Tuynhuys today. The meeting will be attended by Acting President Chris Heunis and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The committee was appointed after discussions between Heunis and Buthelezi in Durban on January 9.

During these discussions, it was agreed a

joint committee would be appointed by the two governments to identify and "address obstacles which were impeding the process of negotiations" and to formulate principles on which there was common ground.

The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said in Durban last night a broad-based, top-level advisory board on education had been established — bringing together 23 top educationists.

Indaba education policy director Johan van Zijl said the move was arguably one of the most significant developments in edu-

cation in many years.

He believed the advisory board could change the face of education in Natal and help to forge education systems and structures to take the region into the 21st century.

Van Zijl said the launch of the board followed widespread concern that Natal's fragmented educational environment failed to address the realities of a rapidly changing, multi-cultural society.

"An economically embattled Natal cannot afford the wasteful duplication and triplication of under-utilised educational

facilities. The board could provide a vehicle for rationalising the use of facilities and resources."

The board was likely to address matters such as teacher training, educational financing, effective use of manpower, legislation and policy.

Indaba communications director Peter Badcock said the establishment of the board underscored the organisation's continuing commitment to change at all levels.

He said recent events had demonstrated the Indaba's proposals featured prominently on the reform agenda, and this important forum for discussion on education would contribute greatly to the formulation of future direction.



## Successful start to talks

B/DAM 31/3/89

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The first round of talks aimed at paving the way for negotiations between the SA and KwaZulu governments was described as "successful" by the ad hoc committee yesterday.

In a joint statement the committee said the next two rounds would be in Durban on March 23 and April 13.

A source close to the talks said the scheduling of the next meetings was a clear indication the talks had made progress.

The rotating chairmen of the joint committee, Oscar Dhlomo and Stoffel Botha, said the meeting had adopted the terms of reference of the initiative. These are to identify the obstacles impeding the process of negotiations; to address these obstacles, as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground.

Yesterday's ground-breaking first meeting was also attended by the acting President and Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, and KwaZulu, Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

# Heunis to open Ulundi Assembly

Political Staff

THE acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, will open the first session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Political observers see this move as highly significant, following the first meeting in Cape Town last week of the joint committee of the South African and KwaZulu governments.

Earlier this year Mr Heunis, who is Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and they decided to appoint the committee to investigate obstacles to negotiations for a new

9/3/89 (118) ~~RE~~  
(constitutional dispensation for South Africa which would include all population and cultural groups.

This joint effort will be one of the matters to be discussed during the session.

The present situation regarding the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is also expected to be raised.

The achievements of the KwaZulu/Natal joint executive authority are also likely to come under scrutiny, as well as the concept of the "Greater Indaba" enunciated last week by the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk.



Mr. Gatsha Buthelezi

# Buthelezi to Heunis: Seek white mandate for a new SA

11B  
CME tint 15/3/89

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday confronted Acting State President Chris Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate for a new South Africa.

In an impassioned call following Mr Heunis's opening of the 5th session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here, he urged the NP to get electoral support for releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Act and for negotiating a non-racial democratic future for the country.

And he assured the central government that if it sought such a mandate it would get the support not only of a majority of whites but of blacks who did not even have the vote.

"You must put yourself in a position where you can campaign in black society against the far right and the far left (and) from whatever political faction opposition comes," Chief Buthelezi said.

Democratic ideals could not be preserved by dictators or fascist governments, and they could not be presented when they were in a kind of suspension while the government ruled through emergency powers.

The KwaZulu leader said that his people were encouraged by new NP Leader Mr F W de Klerk's recent policy statements as well as by recent statements by Mr Heunis. He hoped that he could meet Mr De Klerk soon.

Chief Buthelezi said it would not be possible to negotiate a new political dispensation without the SA government and the National Party being party to the negotiations.

"The South African government is a de facto and de jure government. It is childish to jump up and down and call it an illegitimate government.

"The government is wrong, it is not representative, it is not democratic — but it is the government of the day and it is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions," he said. — Sapa

The main issue of a trial which began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday was whether Inkatha, the kwaZulu-based organisation, had the right to sue for defamation.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann reserved his judgment.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd and Mr Joe Latakomo, former editor of *Sowetan*, which published the articles about which Inkatha had complained.

An action by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who sued in his private capacity, was settled.

If Inkatha wins the case, it

## Inkatha, Argus in 'right to sue' test case

has been agreed the amount for damages arising from the alleged defamation will be R7 000 — if it loses, the matter will be dismissed with costs.

This arrangement was made to get the test case to court as soon as possible. Both parties agreed the issue would be of great importance to newspapers and organisations such as Inkatha and to political parties.

This test case flows from events in 1986. Late in March the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) held a conference in Durban. On April 1 and April 8, *Sowetan* carried reports which dealt with resolutions taken by delegates and allegations concerning the hiring of buses and who was responsible for attacks on delegates.

This trial is the sequel to

other court cases. The *Sunday Tribune* carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading company, had no right to sue.

This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The Appellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice. But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open.

Mr Mike Daley appeared for Inkatha and Mr Brian Doctor appeared for the Argus.

# INKATHA SUES 11B



ZULU warriors and women in traditional garb sang and danced at the opening of the first session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi this week. Mr Chris Heunis, who was then acting State President, officially opened the session.

THE main issue of a trial, which began in the Rand Supreme Court this week, concerns whether Inkatha has the right to sue for defamation.

The action was brought by Inkatha's secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his private capacity.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Ltd and the former editor of the *Sowetan*, which published the articles complained of, Mr Joe Latakomo.

The articles were published on April 1 and April 8, 1986, and dealt with matters discussed at the National Education Consultative Committee (NECC)'s congress held in Durban at the end of March 1986. (The NECC has since been banned.)

The trial, being heard by Mr Justice M S Stegman, is the sequel to other court cases. The *Sunday Tribune* carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading company, had no right to sue.

This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The appellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice.

But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open.

The amount mentioned in papers was R25 000. (Proceeding)

## Union dismisses organiser

THE East Rand branch of the Food and Beverage Workers' Union has dismissed an organiser for attending the recent workers summit.

Mr Mbikwa Cindi said at a regional conference of the union which was held at Reiger Park, near Boksburg, he was criticised for canvassing union members to attend the workers summit which was held at Wits two weeks ago.

He was accused of having acted without the mandate of the region. Mr Cindi however said he stood by his action and said he did that in good faith. "This summit was of paramount importance to workers whether organised or not," he added.

## TGWU talks

THE Transvaal branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union holds its annual general meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall on Sunday. The meeting starts at 9am.

## 4 condemned

FOUR black people were due to be executed in the Pretoria Central Prison this morning, according to Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman Mr Brian Currin.

## BOSS SLAIN

for the Soweto police, Lieutenant-Colonel Fanyana Zwane, said the motive for Mr Makhubo's murder was unknown. No one had been arrested.

### Great loss

Mr Makhubo, a boxing promoter, was treasurer of the Wit-

watersrand Taxi Association.

His death has been described as a great loss by both family, friends and taxi association members.

Funeral arrangements have not been finalised yet. Mr Makhubo is survived by his wife and two children.

## Released

AT least five people who were detained in terms of the state of emergency in the Northern Transvaal were released in the past 10 days.

They are Mr Henry Valtyn Kekana of Mokerong near Potgietersrus, Mr Louis Mnguni, a lecturer at Turfloop, Mr Alex Nchabeleng of Apel in Sekhukhuneland, Mrs Marie-Stella Nova Mabitje of Sovenga and Mr Paul Mathole of Tembisa.

No <sup>not Times</sup>  
<sup>21/3/89</sup>  
'peaceful  
change'  
under <sup>11B</sup>  
CP govt?

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says that if the Conservative Party becomes the ruling party in South Africa, he has a gut feeling that even those people committed to peaceful change might be forced to reconsider that commitment.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, the KwaZulu Chief Minister replied to a weekend statement by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP.

Dr Treurnicht had challenged the KwaZulu leader to say if he stood for a black-dominated South Africa, whether he recognised the rights of the white community and whether he wanted blatant black "baaskap" in the guise of power-sharing.

Chief Buthelezi said the whole world knew that he stood for a domination-free South Africa. He strove for a multi-party democracy, the rule of law and the freedom of political association.

23/3/89

4 Cape Times, T

# Buthlezi deplores govt plan for black minister

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he will never serve as a minister or deputy minister under the present tri-cameral parliamentary system.

He said the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, wrote to him last month asking what the attitude of the KwaZulu government should be towards the ~~South African~~ Constitution Amendment Bill which provides for the appointment of a black cabinet minister.

Delivering his policy speech in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said it was deplorable that the government had announced its intention to create a post for a black cabinet minister or a deputy minister.

Nothing could act to alienate him more from the present cabinet as much as the appointment of a black person to it, he said.

This showed a blindness to the extent to which the present constitution was rejected by blacks.

He said there was now more reason to oppose this amendment to the constitution than ever before.

Star 23/3/89

## Conduct of SAP is questioned

# Vlok asked to probe police role in troubled areas

By Mike Siluma,  
Labour Reporter

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), accusing police of doing too little to curb the activities of Inkatha-supporting "warlords" in the strife-torn Maritzburg townships, has called on the Minister of Law and Order to investigate the conduct of police in the conflict.

Cosatu, together with allied organisations, has launched a multi-pronged campaign to end the Maritzburg violence, involving big business and foreign governments with representation in South Africa.

Cosatu's plans were divulged by its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, at a media conference attended by Cosatu lawyers and officials of the restricted United Democratic Front (UDF).

### Justice

Cosatu released a report by its lawyers which alleges that the police failed "to play their role adequately in the administration of justice".

Referring to the state of the Complaints' Adjudication Board, set up last September in an agreement between Cosatu and Inkatha, Mr Naidoo said it was being hampered by the fact that Inkatha officials against whom complaints had been laid had refused to appear before the board.

Mr Naidoo said a letter was sent to Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, expressing Cosatu's concern about the continuing violence in Maritzburg townships and the role of police.

"We have called for a high-level public investigation and have indicated that for the peace process to succeed, the restrictions on individuals, Cosatu

and the UDF should be lifted," said Mr Naidoo.

Cosatu lawyers had asked for Mr Vlok's reply by March 15 but this had not been forthcoming.

The spokesman for the Minister, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said he could not confirm that the letter had been received. He said it was unreasonable for the Minister's office to be expected to comment on Cosatu's "wild" allegations at short notice and without being given an opportunity to investigate them.

Cosatu lawyer, Mr Nick Haysom, said he did not believe the conduct of the police in Maritzburg townships related only to individual policemen, but that "the attitude from the top is that Inkatha is an ally and other groups against Inkatha are seen as the enemy".

It is understood that representatives of foreign embassies in South Africa, including the British and Americans, have been briefed on the situation in Maritzburg in an effort to mobilise local and international support to end the violence which has claimed more than 1 000 lives.

● General Hennie de Witt, Commissioner of Police, has ordered an investigation into the possibility that the press conference and memorandum released by Cosatu could be a breach of the restriction orders placed on Cosatu by the Minister of Law and Order last year.

General de Witt said people who had made allegations of police involvement in acts of violence and injustice in the Maritzburg area would be invited to assist the police in their investigation.

Should they refuse to disclose factual details to substantiate their claims they would be subpoenaed to produce their evidence, the statement said.



## New Inkatha call on Cosatu claims

Business Day Reporter

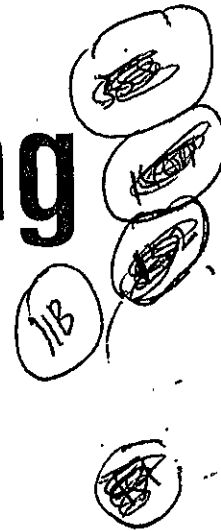
INKATHA yesterday expressed concern over Cosatu's failure to supply it with details of a report alleging collusion between the SAP and leading Inkatha members in the Maritzburg area. The report, released last Wednesday, said residents had lost confidence in the administration of justice because of an apparently deliberate SAP policy of obstructing the prosecution of perpetrators of violence which had cost hundreds of lives in the past year.

Inkatha said it had called on Cosatu to furnish it with full copies of all documents and the details of all information contained in the dossier.

"In the circumstances, Inkatha does not know if the allegations do, in fact, involve any of its members and whether they are accurate or not," the statement said.

It added that Inkatha was totally committed to the peace accord devised by the two organisations last year.

# Time for bargaining in steel industry



WAGE negotiations to set 1989 minimum standards in the wages and working conditions of the metal industry's 361 000 employees resume today.

Fourteen trade unions are engaged in the talks with the employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa), representing 3 500 firms.

When the parties first met on March 20, the unions tabled wage increase demands of between 17 and 98 percent, while employers offered an increase of about 10 percent for certain categories of workers.

In addition to demands for higher wages, union demands include improved social security benefits, job security and the recognition of March 21, May 1 and June 16 as paid holidays. March 21 is the anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langa shootings. May 1 is regarded by black unions as Workers' Day, while June 16 commemorates the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

Seifsa demands include the exclusion of small businesses from the scope of the negotiations, relaxing restrictions barring the employment of workers without formal qualifications in artisan jobs and removing limitations on the length of overtime.

• The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has refuted a statement by the management of Grootvlei Mine that an impending retrenchment programme, involving 1 700 workers, had been concluded with NUM.

In a statement last week, management said the retrenchments were

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

necessitated by the low gold price and diminishing ore reserves. Management said the terms of the retrenchment followed consultations with NUM and other employee bodies.

A spokesman for the NUM said no agreement had been reached between the union and management, and that negotiations on the matter were continuing. The public announcement by management "undermines the process of bargaining" and the union, said NUM.

### Strike

• The strike by NUM members at Rustenburg Refineries has continued, despite a resumption of negotiations between the union and management, the union said. According to NUM, 800 workers are participating in the strike. The management figure is 500.

• The Banking Insurance, Finance and Assurance Workers' Union (Bifawu) and Auto and General Insurance Company (Ltd), have reached a recognition and procedural agreement enabling the union to negotiate wages and working conditions for more than

100 black employees, the union said; and

• Inkatha has denied any knowledge of allegations of collusion between its followers and police in anti-Cosatu/United Democratic Front activities in the Maritzburg conflict.

Reacting to a statement by Cosatu last week that police were siding with Inkatha-supporting "warlords" in the conflict, Inkatha said it was "most concerned about the matter, particularly in the light of the Cosatu/Inkatha peace accord, signed last October.

An Inkatha statement said Cosatu had not referred details of the allegations to Inkatha — in the spirit of the peace agreement."

Inkatha said peace could only be attained by "negotiation and co-operation." Saying it was still "totally committed to the peace accord and to working towards peace," Inkatha called upon Cosatu to provide it with full information concerning Cosatu's allegations. More than 1 000 people have died in the conflict, which involves followers of Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF.

# Peace returns to Maritzburg street

MARITZBURG — Peace has returned to Maritzburg's Retief Street, scene of bloody clashes between apparent Cosatu and Inkatha supporters, according to traders and residents in the area.

They say the deployment of a mobile police unit at the corner of Berg and Retief streets a few weeks ago had improved matters dramatically.

Local reporters on a number of occasions watched "Amaqabane" (comrades) and a gang sporting Inkatha berets, ties and badges clash in Retief Street.

With gang members toting guns, knives and spears, bloody battles were fought while people watched from their balconies and rooftops.

Mr Malcolm Hoskins, who owns a panel-beating business in Retief Street, and who long campaigned for the establishment of the mobile police unit, said this week he was "very appreciative".

The traders all complained, however, that business had not yet returned.

"The people who were scared off by the violence haven't returned yet."

Police liason officer Major Pieter Kitching said arrests had been made for various types of crime. — Sapa.

# Power will come to those relevant to blacks' needs

ULUNDI — Political power in SA would only come to those who were relevant to the needs of blacks, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Racist, white minority rulers, black revolutionaries and "celebrity leaders" would be discarded by burgeoning economic realities, Buthelezi said in a memorandum for discussion in the Netherlands.

Buthelezi said political groups would be picked up or discarded until SA's political scene was dominated by those who set out to achieve what could be achieved and ceased trying to redirect history.

The NP's apartheid policy was doomed because it flew against historic trends in the development of SA's society, and was becoming the casualty of its misconceptions.

The NP began to "flounder" when, economically, it had to treat SA as one place, but politically, denied it was.

Revolutionaries assumed blacks could be abstracted from SA's central economy for long enough to ensure its collapse. They did not understand that SA's blacks made an invaluable contribution to keeping the wheels of industry turning.

Where black survival was at stake, blacks contributed to "assuring minimal degrees of normality", he said.

Democratic forces at work in SA were very real, and an unstoppable process of urbanisation was taking place. — Sapa.



● BUTHELEZI

Agreement between Anglo and the NUM by Business Day.

# Inkatha calls on rivals to help end group strife

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, the churches and all concerned organisations to support Inkatha in ending the killings in black communities.



He outlined a plan to declare 1989 the Year of Action for Peace and end the internecine strife that has left more than a thousand dead, largely in Natal, and undertook to raise money from the world's churches for the campaign. Addressing Inkatha's Central Committee, he said: "I call on the ANC's National Executive in Lusaka to unambiguously say that the killings in Natal and KwaZulu must now cease."

● **BUTHELEZI** He pleaded for an end to political propaganda which demanded violent retribution and urged the start of a publicity campaign by radio, TV and pamphlet to end "the killing mentality".

Buthelezi outlined points of action for an Inkatha peace campaign at grassroots level, but said a multi-party and multi-strategy approach was needed.

Inkatha members should stand shoulder-to-shoulder with members of the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations to outlaw violence.

Buthelezi released the text of Nelson Mandela's letter to him in which he said it was an indictment against blacks that they could not combine to halt the violence.

□ Police yesterday reported several incidents in Natal. At Taylors Halt, a man was stabbed to death. At Inanda, houses were burned and a police vehicle stoned. In Imbali, a youth was arrested after shots were fired at police and their vehicle. — Sapa.

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# Minister 'threatening peace'

ALAN FINE

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WHILE Cosatu and the UDF hold a political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three abhorred apartheid and shared a common commitment to achieving peace in Natal, Cosatu and UDF affiliates said yesterday.

However, they said they were concerned at the recent intervention by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, which appeared to be aimed at undermining a major political initiative to break the cycle of violence.

Vlok told Parliament on Monday Cosatu and the UDF were acting on instructions from the ANC/SACP alliance and their previous peace efforts had therefore been hollow. He announced the SAP would launch an iron fist campaign to end the violence.

Cosatu and UDF representatives told a media conference they were prepared to

meet Inkatha to remove any obstacles to a common peace initiative.

Restricted UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said Vlok's announcement jeopardised this process.

□ SAPA reports the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit has made a major breakthrough in investigations into the killing of former hunger-striker Chris Ntuli, and has arrested four suspects alleged to be members of "Sinyoras" — a gang of criminals.

Police also report five people have died violently in Mpophomeni, Natal.

Four black men were stabbed to death and four wounded when a group attacked private dwellings in the area. The body of a 76-year-old black man was found with stab wounds.

# Cosatu, UDF men back Natal peace talks

113 By Mike Siluma  
Labour Reporter

Renewed efforts to end political violence in Natal's black townships were given a spur yesterday when representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) gave unqualified support to a

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"peace conference" with the kwaZulu-based nationalist movement Inkatha.

It was announced at a Johannesburg media conference that the talks would be convened by prominent Natal clergymen and other leaders.

An estimated 1 200 people have been killed in the Maritz-

burg area in fighting between followers of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha from January 1987 to last month.

In a statement, Cosatu and UDF affiliates said they were committed to exploring all necessary options to remove obstacles to a peace process.

Inkatha spokesmen were not available.

# PEACE

Southern 27/1/89

11B

# HOPES

# RISE



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

## Cosatu, UDF to meet Inkatha

**THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and UDF affiliates yesterday supported fresh attempts to end violence in Maritzburg's townships where more than 1 000 people have died in clashes.**

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, representatives of these organisations said they were prepared to attend a "preparatory meeting" with Inkatha to pave the way for a peace conference involving the warring factions.

The call comes in the wake of a plea to community organisa-

**By LEN MASEKO**

tions by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a massive drive be launched to end the killings.

"While Cosatu and the UDF largely share a common political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three organisations share an abhorrence of apartheid and are committed to

achieving peace in Natal", Cosatu and the UDF affiliates said in a statement.

The "mass democratic movement" was consulting with its constituencies on the issue.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, came under fire at yesterday's conference for the "iron fist" operation he has

earmarked for Natal's townships.

The organisations condemned Mr Vlok's "iron-fisted" approach towards the violence in the area, saying: "It would seem to us that when we are on the verge of a major political initiative to break through the cycle of violence, the apartheid State has moved systematically to undermine the political process that we are engaged in.

"It would seem to us that the Government never learns from its errors of the past," they said.



# Inkatha rejects peace initiative

INKATHA's central committee has rejected a peace initiative put forward by Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, but has decided to push ahead with its own plan to end the political killings in Natal and KwaZulu.

Members of the committee meeting in Ulundi said the Cosatu/UDF initiative was undemocratically conceived.

"We as the central committee would fail to convince Inkatha's general conference and Inkatha's democratic structures nationally that this peace initiative was beyond reproach and was conceived as an initiative which is unblemished in terms of anticipating party political gain in the pursuit of the cessation of violence."

Cosatu and UDF had secured the support of the African National

Congress for their peace initiative, and were prepared to mould it with Inkatha's proposed peace plan.

A team of convenors, including the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, was prepared to try to help bring the contending organisations to peace talks.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, told the Inkatha central committee in his opening address to them that "we must distinguish between real peace initiatives and tactics and strategies to establish party political supremacy presented in the guise of peace initiatives.

We would be the last in the world ever willingly to destroy any prospect of moving away from political violence to the kind of peace in which democratic decisions can be made," Dr Buthelezi had said.

He attacked Cosatu officials in his address and felt the Cosatu/UDF initiative would be no more than a talking shop approach.

Inkatha's central committee commended the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance on "their eventual realisation that the policies of Inkatha and its president, which eschew political violence, need to be supported by all the people of South Africa including the followers of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu."

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# Inkatha bid for ANC peace talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The central committee of Inkatha resolved at the weekend to call on the leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC mission-in-exile to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to establish a joint initiative for peace in KwaZulu/Natal.

The envisaged talks would be at a mutually acceptable venue "so that the political organisations directly involved in the violence which is now hindering the liberation struggle can democratically establish a joint initiative and joint priorities in the pursuit of peace in the KwaZulu/Natal region," a statement from Chief Buthelezi's office said.

# Buthelezi slams CP's 'camp guard' attitude

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has likened the attitude of Conservative Party town councillors in Krugersdorp to the behaviour of concentration camp guards.

Dr Buthelezi, his wife and Kwazulu Cabinet Ministers have been invited by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to attend a fund-raising function in the town hall in July.

But the CP-controlled town council will not allow some black members of his entourage and other "members of non-white races" into the hall.

Dr Buthelezi said the decision was made because they were black.

## Defended

The decision was defended by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated CP MP who is closely linked with Krugersdorp.

Dr Buthelezi accused Mr Derby-Lewis of playing with words hypocritically: "Having the right to place conditions on the use of a city hall is one thing.

"Nobody disputes that a city council has the right to do so, in the sense that it commands the decision-making machinery which can make such a decision.

"Those who were in command of prisoner-of-war camps, whether they were camps in the Anglo-Boer War or in World War 2, had this same kind of right to ill-treat people.

## "Naked racism"

"The gestapo acted within what was their right in this sense of the word. The rightness in this legalistic sense of the word is totally divorced from rightness in the moral sense of the word.

"Were I a white, I and my entourage would not even have to receive city council permission to be in the city hall. It is sheer naked racism which is applied against us."

Dr Buthelezi said that Kwazulu would not pay any regard to race when deciding on visits to the region.

"The total damage that this kind of re-emerging racism is doing to South Africa and therefore to the interests of whites as much as to the interests of blacks, can hardly be overstated. When the polecat makes the smell, all are affected except himself," Dr Buthelezi said.

# Buthelezi nails concept of common representation

MCS 9/5/89

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The Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The possibility of a single legislative body representing all South Africans has been hailed as a step in the right direction by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In an address to Parliament last week, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, sketched the outline of a policy which implied, among other things, a single legislative body representing all South Africans.

Dr Buthelezi arrived yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport from Portugal where he had addressed delegates to the third annual meeting of the International Academy for Development in Freedom.

He said the idea of a democratic government in which the responsibility of government was divided and shared by all was a major shift in policy, following the State President's announcement in 1983 that no such development would take place.

## Must be encouraged

"I think this is more than election talk. Whenever those in power do something right they must be encouraged," he said. "I don't mind whether the single legislative institution is based on federal or unitary principles."

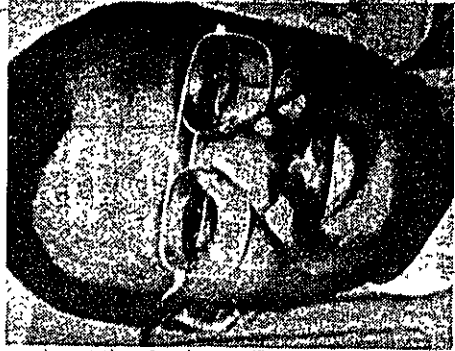
Speaking in Pretoria yesterday, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, criticised the newly formed National Forum, saying the most important political leaders had been left out.

Addressing about 200 students at the University of Pretoria, Mr Malan said the irony of the founding of the forum for blacks was that the most important political leaders were not encouraged to become involved.

"Never mind the extra-parliamentary leaders who cannot be involved since no provision has been made for them in discussions."

He said that the new forum gave the impression that the government had given up involving homeland leaders and national state leaders in further political processes.

"The National Forum was established with an eye on the election and will apparently go ahead with the support of a minimum number of blacks," said Mr Malan.



Chief Buthelezi



Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha who holds the other key to peace.

### Inkatha—UDF talks *Sowetan 12/5/87*

A MEETING of leaders of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to try and end the violence in townships in Natal and KwaZulu may be held on May 20 at Ulundi, SABC radio news reports.

*113*  
The KwaZulu chief minister and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in the legislative assembly at Ulundi he had suggested this date after receiving support in principle from UDF and Cosatu leaders for peace proposals made by him and Inkatha.

# Inkatha proposes date for Natal talks

Cape Times 12/5/85

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Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has suggested to the leaders of the United Democratic Front and Cosatu that a meeting be held between himself and themselves at Ulundi on May 20 to discuss the violence in Natal.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi referred to a letter from the UDF and Cosatu leaders this week proposing an urgent meeting of the heads of the three organisations at a mutually acceptable venue.

In the letter, dated May 9, the leaders, Mr Archie Gumede, a president of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the organisation, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu thanked Chief Buthelezi for his letter of April 29 and copies of the resolutions of a meeting

of the Inkatha central committee held on that day.

"We remain of the view that we share common ground. We have no objections in principle to your proposals," they write.

"The need for a successful peace initiative is now absolutely critical."

The leaders suggest that the purpose of the initial meeting should include the full motivation of the various proposals of the parties concerned on a face-to-face basis.

It will also be necessary to discuss how the ANC and other organisations will be involved in the initiative, they state.

The leaders will also have to discuss and find solutions to the practical and logistical problems of any joint meeting between the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha that might be agreed upon, the UDF and Cosatu spokesmen point out.



**FREEDOM SALUTE ...** More than a thousand people attended a Namibia solidarity rally at the University of the Western Cape yesterday. Speakers included (from third left) Mr Mark Behr, a conscientious objector, Mr Ben Ullenga, a former Swapo fighter, Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general secretary, Mr Mandla Gxanwana, a union organiser, and leading activist Ms Cheryl Carolus.

PICTURE: ANDRE KOOPMAN

# Swapo 'will help ANC in SA fight'

*CAM Twp 15/5/87*

## Staff Reporter

MORE THAN 1 500 people yesterday packed the University of the Western Cape main hall, to listen to a former Swapo guerilla speak at the jubilant launch of the Namibia Solidarity Support Committee.

Speakers included Mr Ben Ullenga, a former guerilla with the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Mr Vincent Lekora, of the Namibian National Students' Organisation, Mr Dullah Omar, activist

leader and advocate, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, activist Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Mark Behr of the Conscientious Objector Support Group.

Mr Ullenga, who was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment after being captured by the SA Defence Force, said the Namibian people regarded it as their duty ultimately to liberate SA.

"We in Swapo feel that this fight of

ours is not going to end with the Namibian liberation, but will go on until the last vestiges of apartheid have been destroyed.

"Swapo will have to look at the ANC and see what they need, and then we will be duty-bound to give them what they need to fight in SA," he added to loud applause.

He said SA was arming pro-SA government parties in Namibia "to the teeth" and was openly training paramilitary forces.

Mr Ullenga said apartheid still existed in Namibia and "progressive forces" were still denied freedom of movement and association.

Mr Lekora said the impending Namibian independence had shown that the SA Defence force was "prone to defeat".

"It is this defeat and jubilant victory of the Namibian people that we should use to enhance the struggle in SA," he added.

# 'No purpose' in action on witdoeke

Supreme Court Reporter

A POLICE captain took no action against a mob of armed witdoeke because it "would not have served any purpose", the Supreme Court heard yesterday. Minutes later, however, he fired teargas to disperse comrades.

This was the evidence of Captain Hendrik de Wet Oosthuizen in the R200 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church of Africa and 21 KTC residents who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed by witdoeke vigilantes between June 9 and 11, 1986.

Capt Oosthuizen said that on June 9 he had been ordered to go to KTC to assist the riot police in keeping fighting factions apart. While he was at the Administration Board offices about 1 000 armed witdoeke walked out of Crossroads down NY5.

He suspected they were on their way to fight and drove his Casspir past them in the direction of NY5. He wanted to see with whom they were going to fight and where.

On the corner of NY5 and NY78 he found a large group of thousands of comrades and warned them to disperse within five minutes. The comrades did not react to his warning and some of them stoned the Casspir.

He then dispersed the comrades by firing teargas and turned back in the direction of the Administration Building where he found the witdoeke. When he asked them to turn back, they complied, Capt Oosthuizen said.

Capt Oosthuizen said he had seen witdoeke enter KTC in small groups but there was nothing he could have done to stop them and even shooting a few would not have served any purpose.

The hearing continues on Monday.

Capt. Truik

19/5/86

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*CAL Times*  
**Cosatu** *19/5/89*  
**rejects**  
**Ulundi as**  
**a venue**

**JOHANNESBURG. —**  
The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front have rejected Ulundi as a possible venue for talks to resolve the ongoing factional violence in Natal.

A statement from the two organisations yesterday said Cosatu and UDF affiliates met in Durban to consider their response to the "insistence" of Inkatha to hold the joint meeting on May 20 in Ulundi.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-controversial and neutral venue be found," the statement said.

"We have indicated that we are prepared to meet in any venue in Durban or any other mutually acceptable venue."

Scores of people have died in factional violence in the Natal region blamed largely on opposing factions supporting Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu. — Sapa

# Natal peace talks in jeopardy

By Mike Siluma,  
Labour Reporter

The much-awaited weekend talks between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), Inkatha and United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates — to end political fighting in Natal townships — are in jeopardy, because of Inkatha's insistence that they take place in Ulundi.

Following a proposal by Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that the talks be held in the kwaZulu capital of Ulundi, leaders of Cosatu and the UDF affiliates yesterday suggested that the meeting take place in a neutral venue.

In a joint statement, Cosatu and the UDF affiliates said they were committed to the talks,

but were "regrettably" unable to accept Ulundi as a venue.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-controversial and neutral venue be found. We are prepared to meet ... at another mutually acceptable place," the organisations said.

They believed that all parties serious about initiating a peace process in Natal should not "let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any further delay to this meeting".

Chief Buthelezi said he was "sorry that (UDF and Cosatu leaders) have problems about coming to talk to me where I am located".

He said other prominent figures involved in the peace pro-

cess — Archbishop Denis Hurley and the Rev Athol Jennings — were prepared to meet him in Ulundi.

"It is for you to prove, by your conduct, whether you were serious at all about being involved with me and Inkatha in the peace initiatives ... I have no intention of going to Durban or anywhere else in order to fulfil your wish to meet me," said Chief Buthelezi.

He added he would continue with his own efforts to secure peace in the area.

The proposed meeting comes after more than 1 000 residents died in fighting between the followers of Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha in recent months.

# INVITE IS REJECTED

By ALI MPHAKI

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and UDF affiliates have rejected an Inkatha invitation to hold a meeting at Umtata on Saturday.

In a statement released jointly by Cosatu's secretary, Jay Naidoo, and UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, the two

said they were unable to agree to the proposal of a meeting at Umtata.

The meeting, among others, was to discuss the on-going "war" in the Maritzburg area between affiliates of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha, which has claimed hundreds of lives.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-

controversial and neutral venue be found. We have indicated that we are prepared to meet in any venue in Durban or any other mutually acceptable venue," Naidoo and Morobe said.

The two spokesmen indicated that if all parties are serious about the peace process "then we will not let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any further delay to this meeting."

## Province asks staff to stay at J G Strijdom

DIANNA GAMES

THE province has joined Wits University in urging staff not to leave the J G Strijdom hospital in view of Wits' decision to maintain all services until the year end, pending a government decision on whether to return it to a general affairs hospital.

Transvaal Hospital Services Director Dr Hennie Van Wyk said he was pleased with the university's urging staff to stay on but said he did not want to speculate on what might happen if government did not change the hospital's "own affairs" status, as requested by Wits.

The hospital's bed occupancy has been declining since 1985, when it was 73%.

In 1986/87 it was 62%, 1987/88, 56,6%, and so far this year it was 52,16%. However, the number of patient days dropped from 7,9 a patient to 6,9 last year, which brought down the occupancy, Van Wyk said.

A spokesman for the J G Strijdom said only three staff members had formally applied for transfers to other hospitals since the change to "own affairs" on March 31, and not 12 as has been reported.

She could not say if superintendent Dr Anette van der Merwe would be prepared to reconsider her resignation for the moment due to the university's stance.

Van der Merwe, who is on leave, resigned due to the hospital's change of status and is due to leave at the end of June.

## UDF/Cosatu reject Ulundi as venue

COSATU and the UDF had rejected Ulundi as a possible venue for talks to resolve the ongoing factional violence in Natal, the two organisations said yesterday.

They said Cosatu and UDF affiliates had met in Durban for an urgent meeting to consider their response to the "insistence" of Inkatha that the joint meeting be held on May 20 in Ulundi.

"Regrettably we are unable to agree to the proposal of such a meeting taking place in Ulundi."

"We believe it is essential a non-controversial and neutral venue be found."

"We have indicated we are prepared to meet in any venue in Durban or any other mutually acceptable venue."

Cosatu and UDF also believed it all parties were serious about the peace process — "and we certainly are" — then "we will not let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any more delay to this meeting".

Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi released the text of a letter he had sent to UDF/Cosatu saying he had no intention of going to Durban "or anywhere else" for the talks.

He said he was sorry the UDF-Cosatu had "problems about coming to talk to me where I am located (Ulundi)" — therefore the ball remained in their court. — Sapa.

Soweto 25/4/89

# BUTHELEZI HITS PRESS

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## Anger over editorials on peace talks

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the English Press over editorials about the breakdown of peace talks between his organisation and the UDF/Cosatu delegation.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Buthelezi read out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the *Sunday Tribune* and *Natal Witness* editorials that dealt with the fact that Cosatu and the United Democratic Front would not go to Ulundi for talks aimed at ending the Natal violence, as they did not see it as a neutral venue.

He told members of the assembly: "Both these newspapers select

news items and shape them in such a way that it is Cosatu and the UDF who benefit most from their existence.

"They are in fact perceived to be pro-UDF and therefore partisan. Both of these newspapers ought to know that if they are perceived in this way their editorials as I

have read them, it can only act to worsen the situation."

Buthelezi said he had always fought for the freedom of the Press and could not imagine how any democracy could work without a Press free to express public opinion. But these editorials "are bound to compound the problems we are facing."

Peace discussions contained "delicately poised issues where angels really do fear to tread. It is precisely where angels fear to tread that the *Sunday Tribune* stomps all over the delicate issues involved," he said.

He continued: "I say to white editorial writers: 'Get off the backs of

those who really are working for peace. Leave Inkatha and leave Cosatu and the UDF to find the common ground that I know we can and should now find'."

Sowetan 26/5/89

# Buthlezi warns US companies on sanctions

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CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthlezi warned top United States oil company executives yesterday of the dangers of heeding pro-sanctions clerics and ignoring the demonstrated views of 85 percent of black South Africans who reject disinvestment.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president made a plea for realism about sanctions in a memorandum for discussions here with Mr R F Johnson, chief executive officer of the Caltex Petroleum Corporation in Dallas, and South African Caltex chiefs Mr W C Dunning and Mr J D McKenzie.

Buthlezi referred to the recently published Gallup poll (commissioned by the Chamber of Mines) finding that the



**BUTHELEZI**

overwhelming mass of blacks in South Africa rejected disinvestment.

As "an old campaigner" he had long known the truth of this. Each year he received standing ovations at mass Inkatha annual general conferences for his personal stand

against the punitive economic isolation of South Africa.

"I know what people want and I give it to them in Inkatha," he said. For each of Inkatha's more than 600 000 card-carrying members there were at least two or three blacks quite willing to join.

It was therefore not surprising that any reputable market research organisation would find that blacks rejected sanctions as the method of fighting apartheid. — Sapa.

Holidau 

# Funeral called off after threats

MARITZBURG. — The funeral service of the husband and daughter of a leading Natal trade unionist — due to be held in Impendle on Saturday — was called off at the last minute amid threats of vigilante violence.

According to community sources, the threats were directed at the chief of Impendle, Mr John Zuma.

Last weekend an attack on Mrs Jabu Ndlovu and her family in Imbali left her husband and daughter Khumbi dead. Mrs Ndlovu, who is an official of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), is fighting for her life and is unaware that her husband and daughter are dead.

"At Hammarsdale, a black residential area in Natal, a mob of blacks shot and killed two black men and a black woman after which they set the deceaseds' private home alight," the SA Police report said yesterday.

At Dobsonville, Soweto, in the Witwatersrand, arsonists damaged a shop. At Lamontville near Durban, arsonists extensively damaged a private dwelling. — Sapa

AT least 11 people were killed in townships around Durban at the weekend as black-on-black violence continued, with at least five knifings and six shootings involved.

Two people were knifed to death in KwaMashu, north of Durban. Mr Vusumuzi Dladla (30) and Mr Siphwe Thabethe (22) were stabbed to death on Saturday. A man has been arrested in connection with the death of Thabethe.

A man is expected to appear in court in connection with the death of Mr Sandile Nsibandé (27), who was

# 11 slaughtered

stabbed to death at Lindelani township, near KwaMashu.

Mr Ernest Madikizela Mngadi (35), was knifed to death in Ntuzuma township, near KwaMashu, on Sunday night.

Seven people were killed in the

greater Mpumalanga area at the weekend.

They were an unidentified man of about 19 who was knifed to death in Mpumalanga township. Mr Aaron Sifiso Mncwabe (18) and Mr Bonginkosi Phillip Hlongwa (26), were

shot dead in the same area.

An unknown man was also found dead. Mr Jabulani Gwala (32) and an unknown man of about 45 were shot dead at Shongweni and at Georgedale an unknown woman of about 55 was shot dead.

Mpumalanga police said many houses were attacked by stone-throwers and others were shot at Mpumalanga township at the weekend. This resulted in the death of Mr Mdu Sibiya (17), who was shot dead at one of the houses.

# 'DROP YOUR PRIDE AND END KILLINGS'

THE Black Management Forum — established to identify, promote, develop and provide effective management leadership among black people — has urged black leaders not to allow differences of venue to torpedo the proposed peace talks.

SOWETAN  
REPORTER

Peace talks between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were supposed to take place on May 20, but floundered because of disagreement over the venue.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha was adamant that talks should take place in Ulundi, while the Cosatu camp suggested that they take place at a neutral place.

The BMF said yesterday that the blood of innocent souls that was flowing should make black leaders think and for sense to prevail.

"The senseless killing, brutality and dehumanisation of our society must stop forthwith. Individual pride of our leaders is subordinate to the interests of the black nation as a whole," said the BMF.

For too long the struggle for political liberation and economic emancipation had been held back because of private agendas, pride and unnecessary political infighting among and within black leadership.

"The march to the highway of freedom, the march to Pretoria and Cape Town has been undermined by wanton senseless killing of innocent victims because of power-mongering.

"Innocent and humble sons and daughters of Mother Africa have been caught in the crossfire for political supremacy among blacks," the BMF said.

The BMF urged all the key players, without whom peace would not be possible, to swallow their pride as "differences on the venue is just a luxury that this nation cannot at all afford."



# Thugs rampant in these killing fields

Star 21/5/89



Natal's black urban communities always were poor, but they had a simple dignity. This they have lost, torn away in a brutalising and degrading frenzy. Some observers claim Inkatha impis are led by police vehicles. Police say this is nonsense, and that there is a vast difference between being led and being tracked.

The worst violence at Maritzburg occurs in a belt around the Edendale Valley where there is interaction with the kwaZulu districts of Vulindlela and Sweetwaters. But it is by no means confined to that belt.

The UDF/Cosatu accuses Inkatha chiefs of organising violent impis which rampage against non-Inkatha communities. They are supported by a Democratic Party observer who says he saw such an impi being led by police vehicles as it moved against the township of Mphophomeni near Howick.

The police respond that it is impossible to arrest an armed impi of 300 men; that there is a difference between keeping track of an impi and leading it.

Inkatha quarters will concede unofficially that certain chiefs have stepped out of line.

But they maintain that the chiefs' membership of Inkatha is incidental. They are acting primarily as chiefs, ruling the way their fathers and grandfathers did.

When strangers arrive uninvited in their area as refugees and refuse to accept their authority, they react harshly. So much for Maritzburg.

In Mpumalanga near Pietermaritzburg there are indications that much of the violence is due to a

complicated feud between two Inkatha factions. At Molweni, in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, Comrades are killing Comrades.

Inanda New Town, near Durban, is a great confusion with vigilante groups springing up, some apparently in support of Inkatha but nevertheless fighting one another; others apparently a genuinely independent reaction to anarchy.

Everywhere criminality is rampant, gangsters masquerading under the names Theleweni (Inkatha) and Amaqabane (UDF).

The violence certainly was precipitated by rivalry and conflict between Inkatha and the UDF, but it has gathered its own momentum and got out of hand. It is much more complex than suggested by laboured neo-Marxist class analysis or simplistic suggestions of generation differences.

Natal's black urban communities always were poor and disadvantaged, but they had the neighbourliness and solidarity of Ubuntu (African humanism) and a simple dignity.

This they have lost, torn away in a brutalising and degrading frenzy.

It is difficult to see what they have gained in return.

Call comes after death of official

# Cosatu, UDF urge Natal peace moves

Star 2/6/89 (11B)

By Mike Siluma.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) have made a strong call for a peace initiative to end political violence in Natal's black townships, following the death yesterday of a key Cosatu official.

Mrs Jabu Ndlovu (41), a shop steward of the Cosatu-affiliated

National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), died in hospital from injuries suffered in an attack on her house on May 21. Her husband and daughter were killed during the attack.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, attended by top-ranking officials from UDF and Cosatu, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the death of Mrs Ndlovu was "a further tragic and forceful state-

ment on the need to end the killings in Natal".

Cosatu and the UDF affiliates had again "communicated to (Inkatha) the need for a peace conference and an effective peace process".

Mr Naidoo said that because of continuing political killings, the people of Maritzburg had decided to take protest action from June 5 to 7.

He reiterated Cosatu's position that the proposed peace conference between Cosatu, UDF affiliates and Inkatha be held at a neutral venue, and not Ulundi, as Inkatha insists.

● The employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, has, after being requested by Numsa, agreed to approach Cosatu, Inkatha and the State in an attempt "to bring an end to the escalating violence" in Natal, a Seifsa spokesman confirmed yesterday.

● Up to 1300 people are believed to have been killed in political fighting in Natal townships.

Some far  
2/6/84  
118

## Invite to peace meeting

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, yesterday sent a letter to senior executive members of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions inviting them to address the central committee of Inkatha at Ulundi tomorrow.

He said in the letter that he was inviting them to Ulundi to have preliminary talks about a peace conference where the question of a neutral venue would be discussed.

This was in response to a letter the two organisations sent him earlier yesterday.

0 of a/c

# Heunis lashes out on delays in councils

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The establishment of regional services councils in Natal had been delayed for political reasons without the wretched circumstances of blacks in parts of Natal being considered important.

The accusation was levelled last night by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis in a statement rejecting as untrue and malicious reports that he was responsible for the delay in RSCs in Natal.

## KWAZULU BLAMED

He did not say in his criticisms who was responsible for the delay, but it would appear they were directed at kwaZulu.

He said agreement reached by the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority on RSCs still had to be ratified.

Mr Heunis said reports stating he had been the obstacle to resolving the dispute in the region over RSCs were "obviously untrue and even malicious".

"I wish to point out that in parts of Natal black people are living in wretched circumstances while sufficient funds for the upgrading of those communities are not available."

## POLITICAL CAPITAL

"The delay in the province has had the result that they have had to do without millions of rands that could have been used for this purpose.

"While political capital was being made over a long period out of the establishment of RSCs, the circumstances of these communities were apparently less important.

"I find it unfortunate the impression is given ... I have been standing in the way of an individual approach to RSCs in Natal," said Mr Heunis.

# Inkatha, UDF to meet at agreed venue

*Sowetan 8/6/87*

*115*

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has agreed to ask one or two of his colleagues to meet at any agreed venue with UDF/Cosatu officials for an initial meeting on the Pietermaritzburg violence.

The agreement was made with a delegation from the Anglican Provincial Synod (now sitting in Durban) who met with the Chief Minister in Ulundi, Zululand, on Tuesday afternoon.

Buthelezi also indicated his Cabinet's readiness to meet alternately at different venues such as at Ulundi and at Cosatu's head office.

Buthelezi said he was also hoping for a meeting of the four presidents of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu to draw up a plan for a peace initiative in Natal.

# Peace talks postponed

Sowetan 15/1/89 11B

THE proposed meeting between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF to discuss ways of bringing peace to strife-torn Natal and Kwa-Zulu may now be held "some time next week".

The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said the Organisation had received a letter from Cosatu and the UDF late on Tuesday suggesting three dates for the meeting.

Dhlomo said due to prior commitments the three dates — yesterday today or Saturday — did not suit Inkatha.

Dhlomo said Inkatha had suggested Monday or Friday next week and they had



**DR OSCAR DHLOMO**

informed Cosatu and the UDF of the suggestion in writing — Sapa.

(11B) (20/20) Wmair 15-22/6/89.

# No-bail plea in trial of squatter boss

DISGRACED Inkatha Central Committee member Thomas Mandla Shabalala, already facing murder and attempted murder charges in the supreme court, could have his bail revoked following an urgent court order against him.

Shabalala is due to appear in the Durban Supreme Court in August on a number of serious charges, along with his former lieutenant, Emmanuel Khanyile.

Khanyile is already on death row after his conviction for the massacre of seven kwaMashu schoolchildren, murdered at a cemetery and their bodies dumped into a ditch.

Although not an accused in that

**Four youngsters allegedly beaten on the instructions of Thomas Shabalala fear they may be attacked if the former Inkatha man goes free before his murder trial. CARMEL RICKARD reports**

case, Shabalala's name was mentioned several times in evidence, with the judge commenting on the dubious role he had apparently played.

His pending supreme court appearance is in connection with the death of a high school pupil, Bheki Gcabashe, last year.

Shabalala was released on bail of

R500 in the Gcabashe case, coupled with strict conditions including an order not to attend any gathering apart from meetings connected to his business. He runs a complex network of businesses from his headquarters in the vast shackland of Lindelani outside Durban.

Evidence given in the schoolboy massacre case was that he was in charge of a number of armed *amabutho*, described in court as "community policemen", who "run" Lindelani.

Shabalala has been implicated in a number of incidents of violence, and was eventually suspended from the

Inkatha Central Committee last year, the only ICC member to be acted against in this way.

Allegations about Shabalala were back before the court last week when four kwaMashu high school pupils were granted an urgent application against him, his son and two other people from Lindelani.

The boys, who cannot be named as they are under age, alleged they were taken from their homes close to midnight on May 22 by a large number of armed men, among whom they identified several Inkatha members.

They claim they were taken to Shabalala's headquarters where more armed people were crowded into an office. They discussed what should be done to the boys, whom they alleged were members of the "comrades" and, according to the boys' statements, "some of the group said (they) should be crucified like Jesus".

They were then assaulted for many hours, during which various people including Shabalala, a prominent councillor from kwaMashu and members of the kwaZulu Police, all entered the room. Some joined in the assaults, others taunted and threatened them.

One boy said that at about 8am he was taken to another office and told to wait for instructions from Shabalala. When he arrived he allegedly said the group of abducted boys were "comrades" that "needed to be killed."

The beatings continued, in one case until midnight the next night.

One boy claimed that on the second night after his abduction, he was still held captive when someone came in and said an SADF hippo was "coming to Shabalala's premises".

"I was told to run away," he said.

However, he collapsed on the way home and was found the next day.

His family then raised enough money to hire a vehicle to take him to the polyclinic for treatment.

All four boys said they were no longer staying at home as they feared for their lives. They said their assailants warned them that they would be dealt with if they did not become Inkatha members and attend regular meetings three times a week.

Following these allegations, made in the urgent application by the boys, lawyers acting for them have written to the attorney general, enclosing a copy of the court papers and requesting that he consider cancelling Shabalala's bail.

If this were to happen, Shabalala, one of the most powerful figures in Durban's enormous informal settlements, will be held in jail until his supreme court trial in August.

# 4 Inkatha men killed

118



## Sapa

The injuries occurred in at least two separate incidents. One of the deceased was Mr Funiswe Nsele (48) from Enzomusha. Three Inkatha members — Moffat Cibane, Zwelibanzi Ngcobo and Phumokwakhe Hlongu — were injured in the incidents and are in King Edward VIII hospital.

According to an Inkatha driving instructor who lives in KwaMashu, most of the people who attended the meeting came from the black squatter townships of Lindelani, Besters and Enzomusha, and did not live in KwaMashu.

He said white men in police uniforms were involved in dispersing groups of people who did not wish to attend the prayer meeting.

### Harass

He said one uniformed man had started to harass a group of men who did not wish to attend the meeting. He pulled out his gun and shot at one man in the group, but missed and hit an Inkatha member who had just alighted from a bus instead.

Mrs Stephanie Miller, who is involved in the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group, said she was called into the townships because there were injuries.

Meanwhile, ten men of peace will shake hands in Durban sometime today. They will try to look casual, relaxed and confident. For the time being they will forget their rivalry and disagreements.

Their warm, friendly smiles will conceal the years of uneasy tension, political slogans, war chants and bitter recriminations that have cut a dismal chasm in the heart of communities suffering a common bondage.

Foremost in the minds of the Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu delegations will be the senseless atrocities committed under the banner of their organisations in Natal's townships. Nowadays it

is rare for anyone to know who initiated an attack — or why. It just happens.

Like last week's gunning down of four men in a Shongweni shebeen. They were sipping their drinks when gunmen, part of a large crowd, burst in and fired aimlessly at patrons. When the hysterical screams for mercy had subsided four men lay dead as tiny rivulets of blood mixed with the spilt liquor on the floor.

"This is an animal's place. I curse the day I came here," a victim's relative cried.

Across the cool hills — at Mpumalanga — the next day, magistrate HT Gama hurriedly packed his family off to safer pastures. The previous night a large group of people had arrived at his house threatening him. Minutes after they left, he heard shots.

The next day Gama offered his condolences to the family of 25-year-old neighbour Norah Mdaweni who was killed by an unidentified gunman. Gama echoed the sentiments of the men who have decided to meet today when he said: "I've had enough".

### Helpless

So too have the province's entire black community, the thousands of refugees who flee the armed groups baying for blood, the desperate pupils who long to fill the empty classrooms and helpless mothers who watch while their children are swallowed by the violence.

Leading Inkatha's delegation, which includes Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi, is secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, calm, diplomatic and rational.

Facing him are the UDF's Murphy Morobe, Dr Diliza Mji and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, Alec Irwin and Siphon Ngcalashe: calm, diplomatic and rational.

**KWAZULU** Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi wept yesterday as he told about 5 000 people at the Princess Magogo Stadium that four Inkatha members had been killed while on their way to the meeting in KwaMashu, Durban. Chief Buthelezi called for an end to the black-on-black violence which was preventing black people from getting rid of "the hideous racial discrimination and totally unacceptable inequality which blacks suffer before the law".



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Why do these sad men smile? . . . tenants move their meagre  
They have been moving from church to church in an attempt to

## 4 killed, 3 injured on eve of Inkatha/UDF peace talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Four Inkatha members were killed and three injured on their way to an Inkatha prayer meeting in kwaMashu near Durban yesterday — on the eve of exploratory peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu-UDF alliance which start today in Durban.

KwaZulu police have launched a full investigation into allegations that mystery white men were seen in kwaMashu township during the height of yesterday's clashes, and murder and attempted murder dockets have been opened.

Fighting broke out when some kwaMashu residents lined the streets to protest against Inkatha members being bussed into the township for a prayer meeting at the Princess Magogo Stadium which was addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Fourie, district commandant for kwaZulu Police, said he was the only white policeman inside the stadium where Inkatha held a rally.

"I have heard about allegations of mys-

tery white men in kwaMashu yesterday and we have already started investigations to find out who they were."

Captain Reg Crewe, a spokesman for the South African Police public relations division in Pretoria, said there were three incidents at kwaMashu in which four people were killed and five others injured.

It is believed during one of the bloody clashes the groups, apparently members of Inkatha and the UDF, charged each other with knives and pangas.

Chief Buthelezi wept as he announced the deaths and injuries at the end of a prayer rally for peace.

Wiping away tears, he told a crowd of about 5 000, many carrying knobbed, wooden fighting sticks, that the attackers were suspected members of the UDF. He said that "talk which is not followed by action is disgusting".

Representatives of the warring factions in the ongoing violence in Natal were due to meet this morning at a Durban hotel.

## Joint bid to end Natal violence

# Inkatha and UDF pleased with talks

### Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF delegations are to meet again soon — after “constructive” talks yesterday in Durban that were aimed at ending the political violence in Natal and kwaZulu.

After their 5½-hour meeting, the delegates emerged to issue a joint statement, but told reporters that they had agreed not to add anything verbally.

Nearly 1 900 people have died in political violence in Natal and kwaZulu since the beginning of 1987, according to Democratic Party monitors and an unrest study group at the Maritzburg campus of the University of Natal.

After weeks of behind-the-scenes negotiations, the Cosatu/UDF delegation was represented by Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general-secretary; Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary for the UDF; Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa; Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa; and the Cosatu representative for Maritzburg, Mr Siphon Gcabashe.

They met Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha; Dr Frank Mdlalose, chairman of the national council; Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, a mem-

ber of the central committee; Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade; and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a member of central committee.

The joint statement handed out after the meeting said: “The deliberations were conducted in the most constructive spirit, which it is hoped can become manifest throughout our communities.

“The discussions were intense and wide-ranging. A full report is being worked on which will be presented to our organisations and presidents.

“Given the issues discussed and proposals considered, this joint meeting wishes to reiterate the calls that have been made by our respective leaders that there must be an end to this senseless violence tearing our communities apart.

### End to propaganda

“To this end we call for an end to hostile propaganda against each other, which does not contribute towards the creation of an environment for peace.”

In this regard, the delegates also called on the press to report with sensitivity and responsibility.

“We further agreed that towards obtaining peace there must be freedom of association, freedom of expression of political views or affiliations, and freedom of residence regardless of one’s political views or affiliation.

“We commit ourselves to a process that would begin to expose and isolate all those elements we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence among our people.”

“We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards uniting our people in a way which could decisively strike a blow against apartheid — and not our people.”

The delegates also agreed to meet again shortly to follow up yesterday’s talks.

## Stop insulting us — Buthelezi

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday called on the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front to stop insulting Inkatha by calling it a central element in the apartheid system.

He said this in a memorandum for a meeting in Durban between representatives of Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF about peace initiatives.

“You can criticise Inkatha for being wrong, you can slam it for

blundering, but if you want to talk to Inkatha then stop insulting it by calling it a central element in the apartheid system”.

An effort had been made to “exclude Inkatha from all decent communities of man”.

“Cosatu and the UDF have to sort out their priorities. We have to put the objectives of peace above party political interests and we in Inkatha must be assured that the UDF and Cosatu want to deal with us honourably, straightforwardly and openly,” he said. — Sapa.

# Natal peace talks to resume today

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF leaders were due to resume their peace talks in Durban today on the question of Natal violence — in which an average of two people a day died during May, according to figures from unrest monitors.

The Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group said 31 people were killed in Durban townships in May. This brought to 507 the numbers of deaths they had logged in political violence since the start of 1987.

In Maritzburg townships, 32 people were killed in May, the Community Agency for Natal Inquiry at the University of Natal in Maritzburg said. This took their death toll to 1 325 since the beginning of 1987.

After their "constructive" talks at Durban's Royal Hotel on Monday, the 10 representatives of Inkatha, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front were due to meet again today.

The delegates have so far declined to make their discussions public. But a statement said on Monday a report was being prepared to present to their organisations and presidents.

The Cosatu/UDF delegation comprises Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general secretary; Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary; Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa; Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of SA; and a Cosatu representative from Maritzburg, Mr Siphon Gca-

The Inkatha delegation is made up of Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general; Dr Frank Mdlalosi, chairman of the national council; Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, a central committee member; Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade; and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a central committee member from Mpumalanga.

# Inkatha: Carefully working to end the Natal bloodshed

51 Times 25/16/89

PEOPLE are dying in the greater Maritzburg area and people are dying beyond it in areas to which violence has spread.

I do not know what the UDF and Cosatu are doing on the ground to bring about peace because we are still in the process of drawing towards each other in the only way that this can be done — carefully, in a step-by-step move to avoid bungling.

If I do not yet know what the UDF and Cosatu are doing on the ground, I do know what I and Inkatha are doing on the ground about peace. Above all I know that what we are doing is based on compassion, love for South Africa and the need to establish democratic power-bases among the people.

On the human level, we act out of compassion; on the political level we act to stop killing so that democracy may emerge.

Inkatha has held more than 100 meetings with the people most affected by violence, in Prayer for Peace rally after Prayer for Peace rally across the length and breadth of KwaZulu/Natal.

I personally have already

## Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, responds, in edited form, to last week's article on the violence in Maritzburg (113)

held a mass prayer meeting at KwaMakhuta which is one of the spots most troubled by violence. I went there to rally the people on the ground — where a people's rejection of violence must take place.

Last Sunday I attended a mass prayer meeting at KwaMashu to rally black South African support for peace initiatives. This Sunday I go to Edendale to hold a mass prayer meeting there with those who are actually being affected by the violence.

At these meetings I read a letter from Dr Nelson Mandela to me because in it he makes a clarion call for peace and in the letter it is quite clear that he wants his message of peace to be spread.

It is wrong to suggest that I am involved in some kind of seedy programme, or of wheedling my way into pub-

lic favour among more radicalised black South Africans.

As leaders are being drawn together by the groundswell of black political forces, any leader who acts in a petty way will be endorsed out of relevance in all strife-torn localities.

Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF leaders seeking to establish an agenda and the protocol and circumstances which will make that agenda successful, are all experienced men. There are things that must be done the right way and I am going about doing what must be done the right way.

Dr Mandela is the real president of the ANC. If I was not committed to black unity, why would I sing the praises and acclaim the greatness of the real president of the ANC, which has been so hostile to Inkatha for so long?

**A** historic meeting between the African National Congress and Inkatha will take place soon in an attempt to end the violence in Natal.

The peace conference, possibly in London or Lusaka, will involve ANC national executive committee members and the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

A major spin-off from that meeting could be the forging of ties, however shaky at first, leading to a closer relationship or at least an agreement to accept each organisation's differing anti-apartheid approach, according to sources.

But it has also been learnt the ANC would emphasise that it would not discuss matters outside peace in Natal during the meeting with Inkatha.

Although parties involved in the peace talks last week refused to reveal the nature of their discussions, independent sources confirmed that a meeting between leaders of black political organisations was a priority which was being examined.

"These current talks are the start of a logical sequence of events. The agenda will go beyond peace in the region," said a source.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said last week: "If our participation in such a meeting is necessary to end the violence in Natal, the organisation will take part in the peace initiative."

"Everybody wants the peace process to succeed. We all want the violence in the townships to end," the spokesman said.



Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi



UDF's Archie Gumede

# HOPE FOR END TO SLAUGHTER

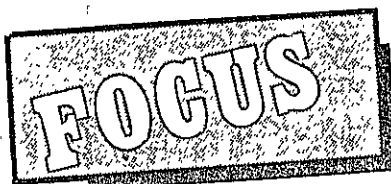
## Historic meeting between ANC and Inkatha set up

He was referring to last week's talks between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu which aimed to stop the violence in Natal.

The ANC spokesman said the organisation would consider a request to take part in a peace conference if Inkatha UDF and Cosatu made an approach.

Sources in the country believe a meeting of the "big four" would not face the problem of a suitable venue which proved to stand in the way of recent attempts to meet.

They said Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha president Chief



By QURAIISH PATEL

Mangosuthu Buthelezi had emphasised recently that without the involvement of the ANC, any peace initiative would probably be futile.

Chief Buthelezi, in his presidential address to Inkatha about two months ago, said what was needed was a "statement of intent" that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu could sign as separate organisations with Inkatha.

"Inkatha is not likely

to be involved in such initiatives unless there is proof that the leadership of the ANC Mission in Exile support it," said Chief Buthelezi.

Inkatha thereafter adopted a resolution calling on the "presidents and national leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC Mission in Exile to meet our president and leaders of Inkatha at a mutually acceptable venue so that the political organisations directly involved in the violence can establish a joint initiative in the pursuit of peace in the region".

Last month in attempts to set up a peace conference, UDF president Archie Gumede sent a letter to Chief Buthelezi calling for a meeting to discuss, among other concerns, how the ANC and other organisations would be involved in the peace initiative

Sources also refer to a recent letter sent to Chief Buthelezi by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela who said "Obviously, my fervent hope is to see in due course, the restoration of cordial relations which existed between you and OR (Oliver Tambo) and between the two organisations in the Seventies"

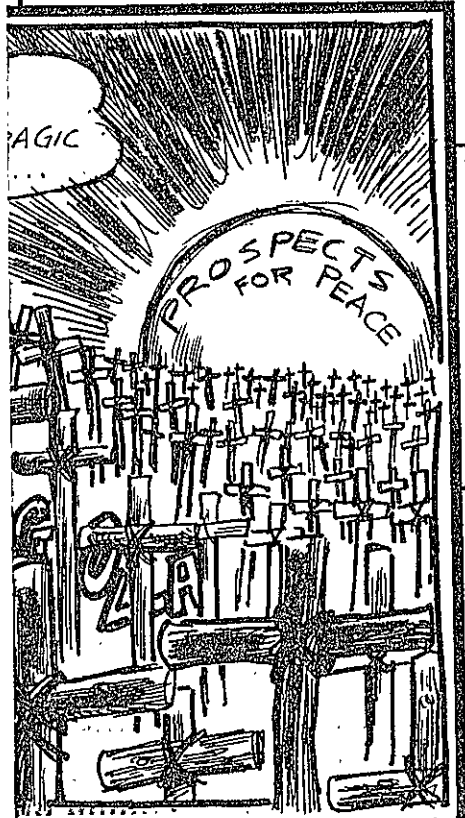
### Fight

In his closing remarks at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Friday, Chief Buthelezi said he had told Tambo and members of the ANC executive "that if they wanted a fight they could have one. This year I moved away from that theme".

"As we turn 1989 into Year of Action, it must not be we who fail in the pursuit of national reconciliation and peace based on mutual respect for different groups doing different things in an overall multi-strategy approach."

He also referred to a recent ANC radio broadcast which called on "all our compatriots inside and outside the trouble-torn areas of Natal, whether belonging to the UDF, Cosatu or Inkatha... the primary concern must be that of ending the carnage... it is not us the oppressed who have gained but it is the apartheid regime"

Chief Buthelezi said "I must state I welcome this change in attitude of the ANC's leadership"



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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# PEACE HOPES GET

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THE peace process in Natal and KwaZulu received two powerful boosts at the weekend.

But there is still no finality on a meeting of the leaders of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress.

At least 6000 people attended a UDF-Cosatu peace rally at Currie's Fountain, Durban, on Sunday. It was the first open-air rally that Cosatu and the UDF had been allowed to hold since 1987, when they held a peace rally in Maritzburg.

The police allowed the rally to take place on condition that speakers restricted themselves to speak about peace and that no banners of banned organisations

# A BOOST

## 6000 attend

### Durban rally

were displayed. Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF publicity secretary called on the Government to take action against people who were responsible for the violence. He said the important element in the

peace talks had to be reconciliation. Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu secretary-general, said the movement for peace had to become rooted in everyday life. He said there had to be a joint

commitment to isolate vigilantes and to put pressure on the people who were arming them.

Meanwhile in Ulundi, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee at the weekend that the theme for Inkatha's annual general conference would be "a year of action and organisation for peace and preparation for the future."

Inkatha praises UDF and Cosatu on initiative

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha central committee has applauded the UDF and Cosatu for their participation in peace talks aimed at ending violence in Natal.

In a series of resolutions adopted at the weekend, the committee said it was "appalled at the black-on-black confrontations which destroy black opposition to apartheid, and which shame everyone in the black struggle for liberation".

The committee expressed appreciation for indications from the ANC that the exiled organisation also supported the peace moves.

"We record our thankfulness that Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu are now exchanging ideas as organisations involved in the struggle," the committee said.

"We have always called for a united front against apartheid."

The committee reaffirmed Inkatha's commitment to non-violence, and expressed anger at the government, which it blamed for delaying negotiations.

The government's attitude had disillusioned many, said the committee.

"However, we warn black South Africa not to be so blinded by anger and disillusionment that they cannot see a start to the process of negotiation when it does emerge."

Inkatha urged black anti-apartheid organisations to support positive measures adopted by new NP leader F W De Klerk, emphasising, however, that if De Klerk wanted the organisation's support he had to initiate talks among rank-and-file members of the NP for the speedy and unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Trevor Bisseker. Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Moon. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

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SPECIAL



# Quitting SA 'a vote for revolt'

Staff Reporter

The kwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has condemned the Mobil Oil Company for its decision to quit South Africa, describing the move as "hideously wrong".

Speaking at a lunch in Ulundi for Mobil's vice-president, Dr Sal Marzullo, the Chief Minister said yesterday that South African blacks saw every withdrawal by overseas companies as a vote in favour of violent revolution.

"There must be an end to this stupidity before too much damage is done by those who claim to be doing something for our benefit," he said.

Large companies which continued to invest in South Africa were by extension allied to the forces which would

bring the changes that nobody else could produce.

Acknowledging that Mobil had committed itself to assisting black interests in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said some international companies showed no interest, once they had left, in continuing with projects they had started ostensibly to improve conditions. "I find it brutal that morality is so relative," he said.

If it had been right for the Sullivan Code signatories to be here because the Reverend Leon Sullivan correctly said that they could help by remaining, then they should still be here.

Their input had been positive, despite their assessment that the SA Government needed a push. He asked: "But why push the South African Government with the pain of our poverty?"



Cap. Times 11/1/87 (118)

## Buthelezi denies corruption claims

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that he ran a clean administration.

Chief Buthelezi was responding to an appeal on Wednesday by Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to step in and halt alleged massive corruption in KwaZulu.

The KwaZulu leader said yesterday: "Mr Clive Derby-Lewis is trying to throw mud at me and the KwaZulu government. I run a clean administration."

"There is no Transkei-type of corruption and graft in KwaZulu." — Sapa

# Buthelezi's plan to end apartheid

ULUNDI. — Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night disclosed that a document which could lead to a new, powerful united force in South African politics has been prepared for a proposed meeting soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's National Council, he said he could see future historians tracing a new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister was referring to a document — details of which have not been made public — drafted by delegates of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu at their recent peace meetings in Natal.

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at today's annual conference of Inkatha. He would ask his party's delegates to present the conference with a synopsis of the recent joint talks.

Last night's national council meeting had to formulate certain relevant amendments to Inkatha's constitution, which the conference would have to consider.

## Presented to ANC

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, he said: "We still have to face up to the question today of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance."

"Because it has still to be presented to the president of the ANC, I cannot distribute it or quote from it in full."

Chief Buthelezi said his "gut feeling" was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-ap-



Dr Buthelezi

praising their attitudes towards Inkatha as part of their re-appraisal of the South African situation, and the major developments which were likely to emerge.

Today's conference needed wisdom to examine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct.

"We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face."

The Inkatha president pointed out that this year's Inkatha conference was taking place "in the midst of a leadership crisis" in the National Party.

If NP Leader Mr F W de Klerk did become State President with complete control of that office after the September elections and took meaningful steps towards the politics of negotiation, Inkatha would have to throw its full weight behind any developments which were positive.

If the ANC, in particular, and the UDF and Cosatu were reading the times correctly, they would know that major shifts were taking place in the whole of Southern Africa.

He believed that they knew that the hate which had led to

the "hideous" killings spreading from the greater Maritzburg region to other parts of Kwazulu and Natal was destroying black unity and had to be stamped out.

"I must say that, on face value, the document being presented to the four presidents — myself, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Archie Gumede (of the UDF) and Mr Elijah Barayi (of Cosatu) — is positive and represents a very major advance towards really meaningful black politics," Chief Buthelezi said.

Without revealing the major content of the document, Chief Buthelezi did disclose the following points:

"It is proposed that the four presidents meet and that the agenda will be to examine the document drafted after their meetings.

## Peace conference

"It is proposed that the presidents appoint two committees. One would be a permanent consultative committee which attends to ongoing needs to overcome difficulties between the organisations.

"The other is a joint peace committee which will be set the task of organising a peace conference which would bring about an organising committee representing Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

"The peace conference would also appoint a joint peace rally committee which would be responsible for a mass rally in a troubled area. There would also be separate joint peace committees to organise rallies in the widest possible range of areas where violence has taken place."

The Inkatha president commented: "These proposals cannot be faulted from the point of view of Inkatha's politics ... we must do nothing from our side that scuttles them." — Sapa.

# Inkatha, ANC and UDF in peace bid

Star 8/7/89

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## Talks could herald 'a new political era'

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night disclosed that a document, which could lead to a powerful new united force in South African politics, had been prepared for a meeting to be held soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's national council, the kwaZulu Chief Minister said he could see future historians "tracing a whole new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document".

Chief Buthelezi was referring to a document — details of which have not yet been made public — which had been drafted by delegates of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions at their recent peace meetings in Natal.

### Conference will debate proposals

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at today's annual general conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said, adding that he would ask his party's delegates to present the conference with a synopsis of the recent joint talks.

Last night's national council meeting had to formulate certain relevant amendments to Inkatha's constitution which the conference would consider.

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, "we still have to face up to the question tomorrow of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative" as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance had suggested.

"It is where we go from here that we have to be cautious about," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I can well see future historians tracing a whole new political era, and in fact the final collapse of apartheid, to this very document and to the united action that it made possible.

"Because it has still to be presented to the president of the ANC, I cannot distribute it or quote from it in full just now."

Chief Buthelezi said his "gut feeling" was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-appraising their attitude towards Inkatha as part of the re-appraisal of the South African situation.

Today's conference needed wisdom to examine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct. "We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face," he said.

© TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

# Peace talks are on!



BUTHELEZI

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S/Times 9/1/75

By PETA THORNYCROFT and SHAUN HARRIS

ANC President Oliver Tambo and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to hold "end the bloodshed" peace talks in London within a month.

An ANC source said negotiations towards dialogue between the two leaders — who have been at loggerheads for decades — had been going on for some time.

And locally, an important decision, vital to a joint attempt by the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha to end the endemic political violence in Natal, will be taken later today at Inkatha's annual conference at Ulundi, KwaZulu.

The Sunday Times was told that the ANC was "deeply worried" by the spiralling bloodshed in Natal.

### Risks

The banned organisation is believed to have anticipated that some of its supporters might be "confused" by the meeting between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi, given the ANC's long-standing anger at the Zulu leader's anti-sanctions and anti-violence stance.

"It has come to a point where, regardless of the political risks, the ANC wants an end to the fighting in Natal. Apart from trying to end the

## ANC set to meet Inkatha

slaughter — which is an immediate task — the ANC's longer-term aim has always been unity among blacks. But the primary objective is to stop the killing now," said the source.

There are some in the ANC who believe that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has exercised considerable influence from behind his prison walls in getting Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi around a negotiating table.

They point to Mr Mandela's letter to Chief Buthelezi written from Victor Verster Prison earlier this year as being a starting point in the process towards peace in Natal.

Of all the much-publicised meetings between the ANC-in-exile and people from inside the country, political observers believe the one between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi will be the most significant to date.

Ever since Mr Tambo left South Africa in 1960 after his second banning order — and the subsequent banning of the ANC — to head the organisation's external mission, relations between him and Chief Buthelezi have grown increasingly hostile.

Chief Buthelezi has often indicated he would be willing to meet Mr Tambo, but the ANC has always turned him down.

### Rallies

Meanwhile, at Ulundi today the more than 5 000 conference delegates will be asked to consider a proposal to accept and implement the "joint peace plan" — a result of earlier meetings in Durban between delegates from Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF — or reject it and continue with the series of peace rallies Chief Buthelezi has been conducting in the region.

However, it is unlikely the joint peace plan will be scuttled. Chief Buthelezi made it clear in his presidential address to Inkatha's National Council on Friday night that he favoured the initiative.

The only matter open to debate today will be whether Inkatha decides to accept the joint plan.

Although the Inkatha leader would not disclose details of the proposal — he wants the presidents of the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF to consider it first — he did sketch an outline of what it encompassed.

After next month's meeting of the "big four" — Chief Buthelezi, Mr Tambo, the UDF's Archie Gumede, and Cosatu's Elijah Barayi — to examine the combined document, it is proposed that two committees be appointed. One would be a permanent consultative committee to try to overcome "difficulties" between the respective organisations, and the other a joint peace committee.

ANC President Oliver Tambo and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to hold "end the bloodshed" peace talks in London within a month.

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BUTHELEZI

BY PETA THORNYCROFT and SHAUN HARRIS

Peace talks are on!

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# Historic alliance formed

THE African National Congress and Inkatha are on the verge of forging a historic alliance expected to lead to a joint bid for negotiations with the Government.

This startling development follows surprising and unexpected disclosures last week.

A meeting between ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is being arranged, possibly within a month, ostensibly

To Page 2

# Alliance forged

From page 1

ably to discuss peace in Natal.

It will bring together the United Democratic Front, Inkatha and Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC.

Delegations from the three internal organisations met last month in a series of meetings and agreed on a joint set of proposals to end the spiralling violence.

A major proposal was a meeting of the four presidents — Tambo, Buthelezi, Elijah Barayi of Cosatu and UDF co-leader Archie Gumede.

In terms of these proposals, the meeting of the four presidents will appoint a permanent consultative committee to attend to on-going difficulties as well as act as a joint peace committee.

## Task

The task of this committee will be to organise a peace conference.

In the series of on-going meetings between the four organisations a broad based unity against apartheid is likely to be formulated. Inkatha would then not be part of any deal with the Government without the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC also being involved.

Referring to the joint peace proposals Buthelezi said at the weekend: "We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely new face."

In an unrelated development last month the ANC asked supporters to assist in drawing up a negotiation strategy in a bid to prepare for talks with the Government.

Jan 10/1989

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# Talks may herald united black front

## Own Correspondent

**DURBAN** — The possibility of an historic meeting between Inkatha and the African National Congress to end violence in Natal was further enhanced at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told more than 5 000 members of the movement that Mr Oliver Tambo was now prepared to meet him and that a possible meeting was being discussed.

It is believed that the meeting would be held in London, the venue of a meeting between the two organisations in 1979.

It is also understood that the

meeting will involve the ANC national executive committee members, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and leaders of the UDF.

Addressing the Inkatha conference in Ulundi at the weekend, the Zulu leader said the ANC had broadcast a statement condemning black-on-black confrontations and calling for successful negotiations between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF.

## TALKS ABOUT TALKS

"I understand that a statement has been made in which the ANC say that Mr Oliver

Tambo is now prepared to meet me.

"Formally, however, I have received no such invitation and I can only say that there are talks about talks and a possible meeting is being discussed; that is all for now," he said.

He emphasised that if there were no end to vitriol and mud-slinging between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance on the one hand and Inkatha on the other, it was doubtful if they were going to create peace.

It was still early to say how negotiations between the UDF, Cosatu, Inkatha and the ANC would actually pan out.

"In the event, it will probably be direct discussion between myself and, say, Mr Tambo which will be the most important part of what transpires.

"Formal conferences must be held but, beyond these, the real work needs to be done by the leaders themselves. Let us now meet as leaders of the oppressed," he said.

Referring to the letter written to him in February from Victor Verster Prison by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said Mandela was calling for solidarity in the approach of all the black political organisations concerned.

# Buthelezi to meet Tambo

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday confirmed a meeting between himself and head of the external mission of the ANC Oliver Tambo was being discussed.

Buthelezi said, however, reports that the meeting would be held either at the end of this month or early in August were "premature" and could prejudice the deliberations.

He said the meeting was unlikely to be held in August as his schedule was already heavily booked.

The Inkatha president, addressing the annual conference of the movement, which was attended by 5 000 delegates, said he was glad President P W Botha had met restricted ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuis early last week.

Inkatha secretary-general Oscar

Own Correspondent

Dhlomo said at the conference that government was seriously considering the unconditional release of Mandela.

He said this had been the outcome of talks held in May between himself, Inkatha national council chairman Frank Mdlalose and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

He told the Inkatha delegations that Nelson Mandela had grown in stature as a statesman while under incarceration.

The Minister had said the processes of the release of Mandela had started.

His eventual release would depend on the conduct of his colleagues who had been released before him, Coetsee had said.

The Justice Minister had added that government expected that, once he was released, Mandela would play a constructive role in negotiation politics.

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15/Day 10/7/64



# First peace rally held in Maritzburg



Jay Naidoo ... call for commission of inquiry.

MORE than 6000 people attended an incident-free Cosatu/UDF peace rally held in Edendale, near Maritzburg on Sunday. *Sowetan 11/7/89*

The meeting, held at the Wadley Stadium, follows a similar meeting of the alliance held at Currie's Fountain in Durban last weekend. These were the first two peace rallies held by Cosatu and UDF. *(11/7)* *(11/8)*

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu, urged those present to become fully involved in the peace initiatives in Natal, which he said had the support of the Cosatu/UDF alliance, Inkatha and the African National Congress.

Naidoo called for an independent commission of inquiry into the ongoing violence which has claimed more than 2000 lives. *(2/11/89)*

## Need for peace

Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo, national president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa also emphasised the need for peace in Natal and said his organisation wished to be included in the peace talks.

There was a strong police presence along the road to the stadium and at the rally. Maphumulo thanked the South African Defence Force and South African Police for their unobstructive presence.

No incidents of violence were reported.

# Joint peace plan urged by Inkatha

Sowetan 11/7/89

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THE Inkatha conference in Ulundi, Zululand, yesterday urged the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to continue with peace initiatives while the basis for joint action between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions was negotiated.

Passing resolutions towards the end of a two-day Inkatha conference

in Ulundi, the conference further urged Buthelezi to continue expanding what he was doing until positive joint action taking place with equal pace with what Inkatha was doing proved to be effective.

The conference also resolved to call upon Cosatu and the UDF to do what each could do to bring about an end to black-on-black violence

even now while a peace process was being negotiated.

Praising Buthelezi "for the bold way in which he has mounted a meaningful grass-roots peace initiative which is reaching out to the masses," the conference resolved to call upon the ANC to continue in its support for negotiations between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

Sowetan 13/7/89.

# BUTHELEZI TO MEET TAMBO

LONDON — Inkatha's London office has confirmed that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo in August, probably in the British capital, for talks about how to end the fighting in the Natal townships.

The movement's chief representative, Mr Ben Skosana, said the arrangements depended on the report on peace initiatives which was being compiled by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

## Talks to end the fighting among blacks

They had already produced a draft copy and were working on a final report to be ratified by the president. "It is then that Buthelezi will meet with Tambo."

He added: "I was informed that the report proposes that the

meeting be held outside Africa, probably in London. They are looking at August . . . to hold the meeting. (11B)

Skosana said the UDF and Cosatu had proposed Harare as a venue, but Inkatha had said Zimbabwe or any other African country was "not actually neutral as far as Inkatha was concerned."

"We proposed the USA or Western Europe. But I think they all preferred London," he said.

merican tour this week were Keith Richards and Ron Wood. Picture: REUTERS

# Govt gives go-ahead to KwaNatal forum

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Political Staff

IN a marked softening of government criticisms of the KwaNatal Indaba, the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday agreed to the establishment of a forum between the Indaba and the government.

The proposal for the forum, which would consist of five government representatives and five Indaba representatives with a rotating chair, is to be considered by the government and by the Indaba Steering Committee.

The call for the establishment of the forum followed talks yesterday in Durban between Mr Botha and two members of the Indaba Steering Committee, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## Peace hunt

is still on

Peace talks will continue in Natal next week, in spite of the rising death toll in strife-torn townships around Maritzburg which has reached 80 since the weekend — including 24 in the Mpumalanga-Georgetown area.

Leaders involved in the talks yesterday made urgent efforts to establish communication between the two sides to help prevent further violence.

The Commissioner of the kwaZulu Police, Brigadier Dries Laas, said after spending several hours in the Mpumalanga area that he was shocked to find that there were still signs of the disturbances, including barricaded streets.

Extra policemen have been moved to the area.

In Howick yesterday, a strong contingent of police was standing by to prevent simmering tension between rival groups becoming open fighting.

— Staff Reporter, Sapa.

(113)

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# New violence won't stop peace talks

TWO of the leaders involved in the peace talks aimed at ending violence in Natal vowed that the talks would go on in spite of the violence tearing apart the community of Mpumalanga (half-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg).

At least 25 people were killed over the past four days.

And as top brass of the KwaZulu police went on an all-day tour of the violence-ravaged township on Wednesday to hold meetings aimed at working on a plan to restore peace, unrest spilled over to Mpophomeni near Howick, fuelling speculation over the future of the talks.

The education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of SA, Mr Alec Erwin, said they needed to continue to bring about the end of the killings in Natal.

He said, from various unrest monitoring groups, there had been a decline in violence in Natal since the talks started and he hoped that they would not be affected by Mpumalanga.

The chairman of Inkatha's National Council and member of the Inkatha delegation to the talks, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said the bloody clashes at Mpumalanga were not the sort of thing that should stop parties from going on with the talks.

"It means we must apply our minds even more intensely at the talks and appeal to the



Mr Frank Mdlalose ... appeal to community.

community to stop fighting," he said.

Mdlalose said it was unfortunate that the clashes between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu camp would keep on happening, but these should not be allowed to interfere with the talks.

He said he had a telephone conversation with one of the UDF/Cosatu peace members yesterday and they both agreed that it was unfortunate that the clashes occurred and that they should not be allowed to occur.

They also discussed the importance of putting an end on vilifications of members from both camps.

"We agreed that it was wrong for any of our members to call leaders with their first names and to use abusive language against leaders for any organisation," he said.

Stewart 21/7/84

11B

# PAC row — old wounds open

LONDON - The call for negotiation and an end to violence by the breakaway Natal region of the PAC has opened old political wounds here, and prompted a new flurry of attack and denial by all three parties concerned.

The statement, issued by Mr Velekhaya Shange, in the name of "the Natal region in exile (Ibutho/regiment-Ukhiphinkunzi) of the Pan Africanist Congress", praises the

"mighty efforts" by Chief Buthelezi to convince South African whites and the world that negotiations in the conflict in South Africa "are of cardinal importance for human progress".

It also denounces violence in any form, and attacks the April 18 statement from PAC headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam that the movement was unable to negotiate with the South African authorities.

The statement was swiftly attacked by the PAC office in London, and branded it as "an obvious dirty trick" by a man who had been "closely associated" with Inkatha for 10 years.

"He definitely does not speak for us," said London-based PAC spokesman Rodney Funeke.

And Mr Joe Mkwana-si, the PAC's administration secretary, currently in London from Dar-es-Salaam, said:

"Our position is absolutely unchanged. We know Shange well, and he in no way acts as a mouthpiece for the PAC. His statement therefore is completely invalid."

He branded Shange as an Inkatha supporter "who just hasn't openly declared himself a member of Inkatha".

Inkatha's chief representative, Mr Ben Skosane, also denied Shange had any connection with his organisation. But he added: "We know him as a Zulu living in London, but it is just a smear to say this is a bit of disinformation by Inkatha."

But according to Shange himself, it was the PAC which was out of step with the real needs of the people of Natal, and of the rest of South Africa.



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Sowetan 28/7/89

# Gosatu, Inkatha close ranks on black on black violence

INKATHA, Gosatu and the UDF have called on their members to close ranks and "strive towards unity to enable the oppressed to strike telling blows against the common enemy."

A joint statement issued here yesterday after a meeting between the three organisations on violence in Natal says they were "deeply outraged at the spate of senseless violence in

Mpumalanga and other areas involving their members and resulting in the loss of life and limb of people who would otherwise be alive to pursue our struggle against apartheid to the bitter end."

"This (violence) happens while we have embarked on talks to bring about peace among the oppressed and to stop the continuation of senseless killings and destruction of property of innocent

people in the hope that the peace process will have a chance of being implemented to the benefit of us all."

The three called on their members to:

- "Give leaders of our organisations a chance of implementing the peace process by desisting forthwith from further acts of violence and hostility against fellow oppressed.

- "Close ranks and strive towards unity which alone will enable the oppressed to strike telling blows against the common enemy."

The statement said the organisations reiterated their previous call to the Press to report "in a manner conducive to the peace process and thus help us in this difficult task of restoring peace and reconciliation among our people".



ULUNDI — Inkatha has resolved to call on all black groups in South Africa to "think and plan actively" for black unity, and has urged the ANC to involve itself in peace talks.

This was among the resolutions passed by the central committee of the Inkatha National Cultural Liberation during a meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

A statement issued by the office of the Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, says:

"We have always said that there is a need for a multi-strategy approach; and a multiplicity of attacks on apartheid alone would eradicate it and establish a fair and just democracy.

"We note that moves of great historic importance have taken place in Angola and Namibia

# Inkatha calls for a united black strategy

and we believe that there is a momentum in making the right moves to which we must add.

The central committee resolved, among other things, to:

● Urge the ANC to respond to the call by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to involve itself in peace talks;

● Urge Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, to follow the suit of the president of Inkatha and publicly declare his willingness to attend a meeting between the Inkatha president and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu alliance.

"We, the members of the cen-

tral committee of Inkatha, are aware that the politics of transition hold difficulties for all political groupings in South Africa. We are aware that real constitutional change is being retarded because white politics generally, and the National Party in particular, wants change but cannot bring itself to make the bold steps that are needed. We therefore also resolve to:

● "Recommit Inkatha to be allies of any group which commits itself to struggle for an open race-free democracy in South Africa, and as one sovereign country which will have

one sovereign Parliament resting on a universal adult franchise system of voting;

● "Reiterate our willingness to negotiate individual and group right protection within the framework of the race-free democracy we demand;

● "Call on all other black groups to offer white South Africa safe custody through the transitional period which lies ahead;

● "Call on the National Party in particular and on other white political parties, to go forward trusting in God and trusting in the principles of democracy, if for no other reason than that only deepening crisis can surround white politics where it stands now." — Sapa.

(Report by G van Oudtshoorn, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

*CMT Ink 3/7/89*  
**Buthelezi**  
congratulates  
Hurley on 50

*CMT Ink 3/7/89*  
**Inkatha to call for black  
unity, ANC in peace talks**

**Own Correspondent**

**DURBAN.** — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday congratulated Archbishop Denis Hurley on his golden jubilee — in spite of their personal political differences.

He said he hoped they could sit down and discuss not only the matters on which they differed but those they held in common as well.

In a letter, Chief Buthelezi said the archbishop had earned the respect of black South Africa.

● Archbishop Hurley celebrated 50 years in the priesthood in Durban yesterday. The event was attended by 12 000.

**ULUNDI.** — Inkatha has resolved to call on all black groups in South Africa to "think and plan actively" for black unity, and has urged the ANC to involve itself in peace talks.

This was among the resolutions passed by the central committee of Inkatha during a meeting here at the weekend.

A statement issued by the office of the Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says: "We have always said that there is a need for a multi-strategy approach, and a multiplicity of attacks on apartheid alone would eradicate it and establish a fair and just democracy.

"We note that moves of great historic importance have taken place in Angola and Namibia and we believe that there is a momentum in making the right moves, which we must add to. And we also believe South Africa is close to that point in history where right moves can be made inside the country.

"We, the members of the central

committee of Inkatha, are aware that the politics of transition hold difficulties for all political groupings in South Africa. We are aware that real constitutional change is being retarded because white politics generally, and the National Party in particular, wants change but cannot bring itself to make the bold steps that are needed," the statement said.

It also said the committee was aware that "crisis politics could well lie ahead", and that while apartheid was "already doomed, great difficulties lie in the way of progress towards a democratic future".

Chief Buthelezi on Saturday delivered a hard-hitting address to the central committee, and warned that if they were not prepared to involve themselves fully in South Africa's black struggle, they should get out.

People were not in the central committee to "feather their nests" or for prestige, but because they had had a "gutsful" of apartheid and of failure to eradicate it, he said. — Sapa



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

# SA on the brink of new age - chief

113

*South Africa*  
3/8/89

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday South Africa was on the threshold of a new age in which whites would accept racial integration as their only hope of survival.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said this in a speech to a group of international bankers in Johannesburg.

"I am not saying this because I believe there will be a change of heart among white South Africans. I believe this because (they) will be as pragmatic as necessary to protect their vested interests."

Although the country would have to live through a difficult transition period, there were a number of factors which indicated the time was ripe for a non-violent means of bringing about a new South Africa, he said.

These factors included:

- "The failure of the externally-based "armed struggle" to bring about change despite the "really massive international, financial, diplomatic and military aid given to revolutionaries;
- "The acceptance by the Soviet Union, the United States, Cuba and Angola that Southern African issues could not be settled through violence;
- "The fact that the vast majority of blacks still demonstrated favoured non-violent means of achieving equality espoused by the original ANC;
- "And the fact that, although black democracy had been shackled by draconian laws and the banning and jailing of individuals and organisations, one can clearly see that black South Africans vote with their feet in support of non-violent tactics and strategies."

# Inkatha support for Tambo

11B



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

**THE Inkatha Youth Brigade** resolved in Ulundi to convey to African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo their hope that he would recover from his illness.

The resolution was among several passed towards the end of a two-day annual general conference of the brigade in Ulundi, Zululand.

The brigade said the youths were inspired by their president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had never allowed political differences between himself and his black brothers and sisters to destroy his affinity to them.

## President

The brigade also resolved to convey sentiments to acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, that they would lead among the black youths to ensure that youths would back any

## SOWETAN Correspondent

really meaningful step to establish negotiations between black and white.

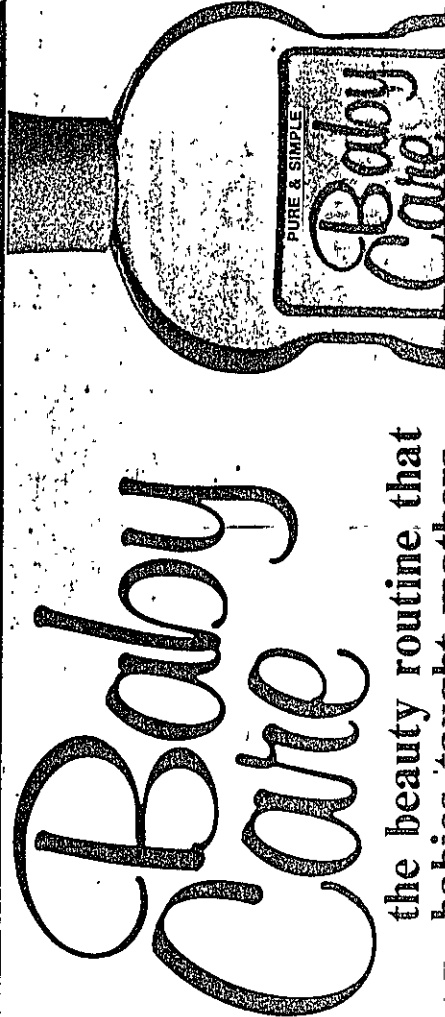
They said they had note of developments in the ruling National Party track.

and observed the growing anticipation of South Africa and the world that De Klerk would do something definite to put politics of negotiation on track.

“We observe that Dr Nelson Mandela has had discussions with Mr P W Botha at Tuynhuys and we observe that President Kaunda of Zambia recognises Botha as a South African white leader who pointed South Africa in the direction of change,” said the brigade.

The brigade called black youth everywhere to support the historic progress towards peace and unity among blacks

# YOU PAY LESS AT DISCOUNTS



the beauty routine that

Sunday Times 3/09/89

# THE PEACEMAKER

## THANKS TO CAPTAIN RAY, THERE'S NEW HOPE OF CALM IN THE VALLEY OF DEATH

A POLICEMAN has emerged as the unlikely harbinger of peace in an area so fraught with political violence that it has been aptly named the Valley of Death.

Ardent United Democratic Front and Inkatha supporters fought a two-year war in the Shongweni Valley in the Natal Midlands.

Between 50 and 80 percent of the 40 000 people living in the area fled the violence, leaving their homes to be looted. At least 150 people were shot, stabbed or burnt to death, and hundreds more were injured or maimed for life.

Even the chief, his induna and his councillors fled the valley.

Schools in the area have been closed since the beginning of the year, buses have not run and the roads have not been graded for months.

But last Sunday, acknowledged UDF leader Thulani

**I think the people of Shongweni have shown the world that laying down arms and negotiating is the way to peace. I hope this peace will spread**

Zulu and local Inkatha chairman Victor Sibisi embraced and shook hands in a public pledge of peace and reconciliation at a police strongpoint while nearly 700 of their followers cheered and toy-toyed encouragement.

The leaders also discussed rebuilding the ravaged area.

Unarmed army officers and policemen, including Natal riot unit commander Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, looked on with approval.

But for Captain Ray Harrald, 42, who is doing a three-month stint as head of the riot unit at Shongweni, it was a scene he will never forget.

The quietly-spoken Pretoria father of two, who says he is a committed Christian, is regarded by UDF, Inkatha and outside observers as a major protagonist in the amazing peace initiative.

The breakthrough is the most significant move in years in the Natal-KwaZulu political violence. It was the first-ever meeting in Natal where grassroot leaders of the two factions pledged peace between each other.

This week families were already returning to the war-torn valley in battered vans, and old enemies were greeting each other with beer.

For two years members of

Report: RYAN CRESSWELL

Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

the opposing factions risked their lives when they crossed invisible lines that marked out UDF or Inkatha turf, but by Thursday the psychological barriers were already crumbling.

Captain Harrald was constantly greeted with smiles and friendly waves as he drove past shattered huts and groups of people discussing the new turn of events. He appears to have gained the trust of both sides.

This is unusual because throughout the fighting in Natal, both sides, especially the UDF, have made accusations claiming that the police were not impartial.

Captain Harrald, who normally works as an instructor and English/Afrikaans interpreter for the SAP, said: "When I came here at the beginning of July I said to my men that all the people in the area were entitled to the same treatment."

"I also impressed upon them that everybody should be treated the same way no matter what their political affiliations were. They carried out this policy very well."

"I then set about speaking to as many people as possible. Making contact was vital. I realised that negotiation was the way."

Early in August the owners of a bus company asked Captain Harrald to try to set up a meeting between them and the community leaders so that buses could be re-introduced.

The policeman felt the time was right and set up a meeting at a police strongpoint in the abandoned Charles Memorial School on August 13. Things went well and Captain Harrald pressed for a much larger meeting.

During the initial discussion the Inkatha delegation, whose members had left their traditional knobkerries at the door after suspicious UDF supporters insisted on it, packed up and stormed out claiming they had been insulted.

After some fast talking by Captain Harrald and an apology from the UDF, things simmered down.

"At that time nobody trusted anybody else, but I could sense there was a chance for peace and I pushed hard for a meeting. It was finally agreed to hold a formal peace meeting."

"Sunday was the day fixed for that meeting and it was amazing. There was not a weapon in sight and the people were cheering. Afterwards both groups left together."

"I feel very positive about this and I think the people of Shongweni have shown the world that laying down arms and negotiating is the way to peace and stability. I hope this feeling will spread. There is still a long way to go," said Captain Harrald.

The Shongweni Valley is next to Mpumalanga, a notorious and riot-torn hotspot.

Shongweni businessman and chairman of Sunday's historic meeting, Mr John

Mkhize, stayed in the valley throughout the two years of terror. Pointing to burnt-out houses across the road from his shop, he told chilling tales of midnight murder and arson. But now his optimism about the future in the area is obvious.

"In this war the main thing was for one side to kill more people than the other. There was also a criminal element. Most people slept in the forest at night because they did not want to be trapped between four walls."

"However, the peace moves seem to have been a success. "Now, as you can see for yourself, Inkatha people are being greeted with beer by UDF members. Families are already moving back. I am sure tonight we will hear the sound of many hammers as the men repair their shattered homes," he said.

While he spoke, several UDF "comrades" and Inkatha supporters shared beers to welcome people who were paying their old neighbourhood a visit for the first time since they fled the fighting.

During Sunday's meeting Mr Mkhize paid tribute to Captain Harrald.

He said "We have in him a dignified and professional man I have worked with him and he is exactly what I have described"

SUNDAY TIMES, September 3 1989 / 17



MEDIATOR ... Inkatha and UDF supporters, former deadly enemies, share a joke with Captain Ray Harrald in Death Valley

Shongweni could quite easily have become the valley of a thousands deaths. But Friday was the first day of Spring and it was the time for fresh blossoms; it was the time to lay down the spears dripping with blood.

The time for killing was over it was the time for peace.

In the yard of the Charles Memorial School, restricted local United Democratic Front leader Thulani Zulu stared across the valley deep in thought. He was reflecting on the tragedy that had driven him to turn against his old-time school pal, Victor Sibisi, the local Inkatha leader.

Staring back at him were the homes deserted by thousands of people who escaped into the night when violence slithered into their tranquil valley.

Many will return in the fresh breeze of Spring but the graves of more than 150 people stand as an accusing reminder of the bloody battles that drove more than 5 000 into the bush.

Across the rolling hills, Mpumalanga whimpers as its children seek comfort.

A haunting melody on a tuneless piano drilled out of a classroom. Sixteen-year-old David Ntuli, who left school in 1987, was pradding inently at the keys.

He had wandered back some days ago and uncovered a hidden talent for music. A policeman stationed at the school taught him to play Nearer My God to Thee and David has been hanging around the school every other day.

When Sibisi strolled into the school yard a little later, Zulu greeted him warmly. And they began talking.

"There was a time," said Sibisi, "when I could think of nothing else but a final meeting with Thulani. I was thirsting for his blood. I imagined

**LAST week Inkatha and members of the United Democratic Front reached a peace settlement which promised the hope that violence in the Natal - KwaZulu area that has been going on for more than four years is about to end. The peace pipe was smoked at Shongweni and two men belonging to the opposing groups shook hands. They promised to lay down their spears. The first scent of the longed-for stability in this tortured area seemed about to be born. Sowetan Correspondent Quraish Patel was there.**



In tune with peace . . . Inkatha leader Victor Sibisi, Captain Ray Harrald, Thulani Zulu and piano player David Ntuli.

# The time for killing over

*Sowetan 4/9/89*

us facing each other with spears...today we are brothers again."

Joined by store-keeper and former teacher John Mkhize, the men began talking about opening the schools, getting a bus service into operation, fixing classrooms, building a community hall, a sportsground, encouraging the refugees to return

**By QURAIH PATEL in Durban**

to their homes, raising funds.

It was a time to build. "What do you think, Captain?" John Mkhize asked the policeman in their midst.

Captain Ray Harrald is not just another policeman to the men and women in Shongweni.

He is friend and confidant. He was the man they wanted as chairman at a peace meeting. He had earned their respect as a man and they would invite him into their homes.

When he returns to Pretoria this month to be with his family he has not seen in many weeks, Harrald will become a part of the folklore old men and women will share with their grandchildren.

They will tell the story of the white policeman who came into their lives during the days of terror. They will recall how they looked at the policeman

**FOCUS**

**Today we are brothers say former enemies**

with suspicion. They will remember how the policeman came into a shop and extended his hand in greeting - and won their hearts with his deeds.

They will also repeat his words to them "I was disturbed at what I saw when I arrived here. There was a complete lack of trust between the people. I wanted to show the people that as a policeman I was impartial and sought only to help in restoring the peace."

Then followed the deeds. One day last month, residents approached the captain and assist in getting the bus

service back into the area. Harrald immediately spoke to the opposing group's leaders and arranged a meeting with their supporters.

They would meet to talk about the bus service. Packed into a classroom, with Harrald in the chair, a tense meeting began.

Then disaster. Someone made a nasty remark. The Inkatha delegation walked out. The meeting was over.

Zulu leapt up to follow the Inkatha supporters. Outside the school gate, Zulu begged the men to return to the meeting.

"I could see he wanted peace," said Sibisi. "So I told my men 'Let's go back and hear what he has to say'."

The storytellers of the valley won't forget to mention how Harrald used that opportunity to turn the meeting into a quest for peace.

Harrald said, "As soon as the meeting re-started, I told the people I would remove anyone who caused any problem. Deep down the men wanted peace."

"In an amazing show of co-operation Zulu apologised for the offending remark and the Inkatha people applauded his peace offering."

So August 13 turned out to be a blessed day for the people of the valley.

"After that the rest just happened," said the captain.

That's not entirely true. It was the captain who suggested that each leader hold talks with supporters to formalise a peace pact.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Don't back rightwingers, Buthelezi tells white voters

By Helen Grange

Mar 29 1984 118  
kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned white voters not to support the right wing in today's election.

Speaking on his return from the United States, where he addressed several US state officials, Dr Buthelezi said a return to "Verwoerdian apartheid" would be disastrous as it would justify those who advocated violence as a tactic of opposition.

He added that he was fully supportive of the pre-election defiance campaign, as long as it remained peaceful.

"As soon as an incident of violence occurs, it plays directly into the hands of the right wing," he said.

It was imperative that blacks "got their act together" to "pull off their liberation" in South Africa. Inkatha could not do it without the ANC, Cosatu and other anti-apartheid groups; — and they could not do it without Inkatha. It had to be a joint effort.

Dr Buthelezi spent a few days in the state of Alabama, where he was entertained and given freedom of the City of Birmingham by its mayor, Mr Richard Arrington.

(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Natal peace talks shaky - Buthelezi

KWAZULU Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for his Inkatha central committee's guidance in the light of serious obstacles to continuing the peace initiative between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance.

In his presidential address to a special meeting of the committee, he disclosed that the future of the peace talks was being bedevilled by certain factors.

One problem related to differences between Inkatha and the alliance over the composition of delegations who would attend proposed peace talks between presidents of the organisations.

Another related to questions of the alliance's peace *bona fides* following a recent strong attack on Buthelezi by leading ANC spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki and a document purporting to be an instruction to alliance members to use the talks to undermine the Inkatha leaders.

~~11B~~ ~~11B~~ ~~11B~~ Southern 25/1/89

## Outnumbered

Buthelezi said the original composition proposal was for Inkatha, the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu each to send five delegates to the meeting of presidents.

Inkatha had rejected this on the grounds that it would be outnumbered virtually three to one because the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance was what he called "one political conglomerate."

It had counter proposed therefore that it and the alliance should each appoint 20 delegates.

The UDF/Cosatu group's Dr D Mji and Mr A Erwin had then proposed that Inkatha, the ANC and Cosatu could each send as many delegates as it wished, with a minimum of 10.



11/13

# 17 hurt in clash

Soweto 27/9/89

AT LEAST 17 people were injured when supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front clashed at Howick yesterday.

Police had to use stungrenades, birdshot and shotguns and pistol fire to disperse them.

According to the South African Police daily unrest report, fighting broke out between the two groups at Mpophomeni.

The groups were armed with guns, knives and knobkerries.

Major Reg Crewe, a police public relations officer in Pretoria, confirmed that the groups involved were members of the UDF and Inkatha.

Crewe said the police were fired on with AK-47 rifles and R1 rifles when they ordered the groups to disperse.

# Thatcher in 'warm' talks with Mabuza

CAPE TIMES 29/9/89

(16) (13) (28)

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Kangwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza had an "exceptionally warm" meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday amid speculation that he could become a key figure in efforts to initiate talks between the ANC and the South African government.

Mrs Thatcher spent an hour at 10 Downing Street with Mr Mabuza, Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and former Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman in talks that were described as friendly and valuable.

The meeting will be followed up next week when Mrs Thatcher continues her series of high-level South African contacts by holding private talks with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

There are rumours, on which her office has not commented, that she will soon be meeting a senior South African cabinet minister, who will bear important news from Pretoria.

The unprecedented spate of meetings with senior South African political figures has created speculation that Mrs Thatcher is close to agreeing to meet the ANC for the first time.

She has said nothing in public to indicate a change of heart although her own Foreign Office has repeatedly told her that she is making a mistake.

It is understood that this was also the message of Mr Mabuza, who has indicated his willingness to act as a go-between in an attempt to initiate "talks about talks" between the SA government and the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher has a very high regard for Mr Mabuza and values his unique position as the only homelands chief minister who is respected by the exiled ANC leadership in Lusaka.

Mr Mabuza and his executive flew to Lusaka a year ago for talks with ANC leaders who subsequently accepted that his tough line with Pretoria qualified him as an "integral part of the MDM" and a man they could deal with.

Mrs Suzman said the main tenor of the meeting yesterday was a strong warning from Mrs Thatcher that "she needs all the help she can get from South Africa if she is to fight off the immense demands for new sanctions".

● Britain is ready to stand alone against proposed new financial sanctions to be mooted at the Commonwealth leaders' summit next month, top government officials indicated yesterday.

11B

# A Sixteen years for Inkatha cop

By SIBU MNGADI

A NATAL judge this week called on KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi - in his capacity as the KwaZulu Minister of Police - to investigate claims that KwaZulu police were being recruited by Inkatha.

Judge J. Didcott made this call during a Supreme Court case in which a former member of the KwaZulu Police and Inkatha member, 25-year-old John Mthunthutho, was sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment for murdering UDF activist Joshua Molefe in February last year.

Giving evidence, a youth claimed he had been instructed by Mthunthutho to show the way to Molefe's house to a group of five men, where Mthunthutho wanted to arrest a crime suspect.

Judge Didcott said: "A more plausible explanation is that this group was a hit squad sent to kill Molefe because of his alleged association with the UDF.

"It is possible that all five people were part of a criminal plot."

He referred to evidence by Mthunthutho that, while training in the KZP, he had been urged

to join Inkatha.

Mthunthutho told the court it was "suggested" by the officer in charge during his training at Amathuku Police College, Ulundi, that they should sign up.

Judge Didcott asked the officer in question, a Lieutenant-Colonel Dube, to come to court so he could put Mthunthutho's allegations to him. However, Dube denied Mthunthutho's claims.

The judge said it was not for him to make a finding on who was telling the truth.

"I cannot say (Colonel) Dube so impressed as a witness that I consider the

matter to be a closed one.

"On the contrary, it is specifically referred to the attention of whichever minister in the KwaZulu government exercises responsibility for the KwaZulu police, to investigate and decide what should be done if he should come to the conclusion that there is or has been any policy or conscious effort to recruit policemen into Inkatha."

The KwaZulu Minister of Police is Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha.

Judge Didcott said the police had to be neutral if they were to perform

their function properly.

They also had to be seen to be neutral if public confidence was to be maintained.

"There must be no grounds whatsoever for even a suspicion that they are on one side or the other."

As long as the situation of strife continued, members of the KwaZulu police who identified themselves with either side did a great disservice to public confidence in their neutrality.

The judge said he trusted that his remarks would be "considered most earnestly" by "those to whom they are directed".

During the trial, the State said Molefe, Maxwell Zulu and four others were watching television in the diningroom of 684 KwaMashu township.

Mthunthutho and a 14-year-old youth entered the house and demanded that Molefe and Zulu accompany them.

Mthunthutho was armed with an R1 rifle and the youth with what was later found to be a toy pistol.

When Mthunthutho got Molefe outside, he shot him in the chest. Zulu was also shot and injured.

The youth and three others witnessed the kill-

ing. Mthunthutho told the court that on that night he was on guard outside the house of a prominent Inkatha member whose life had been threatened.

A group of young people, including his co-accused, asked him to go with them to fetch R11 000 of Inkatha's money from a house.

He left his post and followed the youth, Mthunthutho said.

In acquitting the 14-year-old youth, the judge said although he had been at the scene at the time of the incident and most "certainly lured Molefe to his death", the State could not prove beyond reasonable doubt that he had known Molefe was about to be killed or even assaulted.



# Holomisa promises referendum at funeral

Argus 2/10/89 (116)

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembus was reburied under an ANC flag in a ceremony that marked a turning point in Transkei politics, with the military ruler pledging a referendum on Transkei "independence".

Chairman of the military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa told about 15 000 mourners sitting under ANC and SACP flags that he was prepared to call a referendum on the issue of Transkei's independence if people wanted one.

He said it was up to the people to decide on whether they wanted to remain independent or be reintegrated into the rest of South Africa.

## Follows exhumation

Major-General Holomisa was speaking yesterday at the Bumbane Great Place about 40km from Umtata.

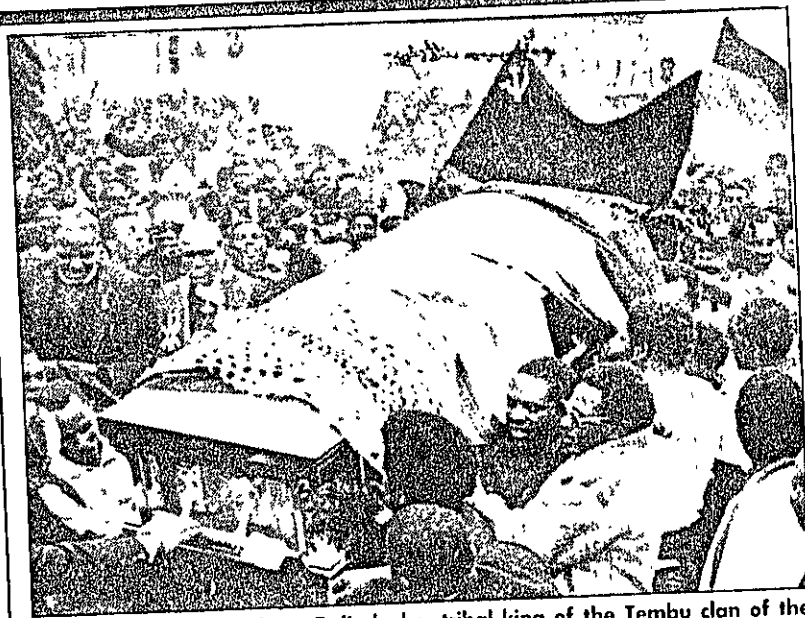
The funeral follows last week's exhumation of Chief Sabata's body from the family graveyard on the other side of Bumbane, and subsequent post-mortem. Chief Sabata had been buried there in 1986, when the Matanzima brothers stole his body.

In the ceremony, Chief Sabata was given a king's funeral and reburied in the paramount chiefs' graveyard.

The widespread support for the Sabata and the Dalindyebo family was obvious during the funeral.

Supporters from all walks of life flocked to Bumbane, from small villages in Transkei from as far afield as Johannesburg, Cape Town and even Upington. Mourners arrived in buses, taxis, on horseback and on foot, wearing suits, miners' helmets, and traditional blankets.

Chief Sabata's widow, Mrs NoMoscow Dalindyebo, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Holomisa, Miss Stella Sigcau and a Co-satu delegation consisting of Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr Elijah Barayi and Mr Moses Mayekiso also attended, although Chief Sabata's exiled heir Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo was not present.



The coffin of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, tribal king of the Tembu clan of the Xhosa, and cousin of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, is carried to the grave at Bumbane yesterday.

# Transkei presents SA with unity challenge

Star 2/10/89

Political Staff, Sapa, Reuter and AP

UMTATA — The South African Government could face a major challenge to its grand apartheid plan if Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa acts on his suggestion yesterday that a referendum be held on the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa.

Speaking at the mass funeral of Tembu king Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, attended by about 40 000 people — including black political, trade union and church leaders from all over South Africa — General Holomisa said:

"If the people want to be part of South Africa, we shall hold a referendum."

There is little doubt in political circles that a referendum would produce a "yes" verdict.

But there has been no suggestion from South African Government sources that the four independent homelands would be free to rejoin South Africa.

At the funeral yesterday, anti-apartheid leaders joined tribal chieftains in an unprecedented challenge to Pretoria's homeland policies at the funeral of the Xhosa chief.

Dozens of black political, trade union and church leaders were among more than 40 000 people at the burial of the tribal king and cousin of jailed nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela, in what was described as the biggest funeral in Transkei's history.

Activists from all over South Africa streamed to the funeral, where they sang anti-apartheid songs and waved the flags of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.

The funeral platform was shared by liberation organisations, senior members of the Tembu clan and Transkei government spokesmen.

It was the first time anti-apartheid activists have been allowed to campaign in a black homeland.

Chief Sabata, a fierce opponent of the homeland system, died in exile in Zambia in 1986. He was driven out of Transkei by the Pretoria-backed ruling Matanzima family in 1975. His remains were exhumed last week for reburial.

## Man faces barrage of questions from investors



Swaps's clients services manager Mr Hennie Coetzee (left) faces dozens of angry Johannesburg. Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Swaps supporter was beaten to death, and threats were made by June Beazley

# Teachers told to join Inkatha or be called traitors

*1165*  
*CMT Tink's 3/2/89*

MARITZBURG. — The KwaZulu government has warned Umlazi schoolteachers that if they refuse to join Inkatha, they will be considered traitors by the KwaZulu government.

Mr Winnington Sabelo, a senior member of Inkatha's central committee and a KwaZulu MP, accompanied by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, spoke to teachers from at least 60 schools at meetings held on Tuesday and Thursday last week.

Mr Sabelo warned the teachers the time had come when their jobs could no longer be guaranteed.

"Be warned that we have been instructed by Ulundi to move from school to school compiling lists of all teachers . . . the lists will uncover all those who are not part of us," he told the teachers.

Mr Sabelo said the KwaZulu government had finally devised a new system of screening all people applying for jobs, including teachers.

"We will have to know exactly where they stand politically before they are even considered for the jobs," he said.

The teachers were also told they risked losing many fringe benefits, including housing subsidies.

— Sapa

CAT 1418  
4/10/87 (118)

# 'Traitors' statement queried

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O D Dhlomo, has asked for clarification of an alleged warning by a KwaZulu MP to schoolteachers that they would be considered traitors if they refused to join Inkatha.

The MP and senior member of Inkatha's central committee, Mr Winnington Sabelo, allegedly said this in an address to Umlazi schoolteachers last week.

Dr Dhlomo said he had asked Mr Sabelo to clarify the statement, which he said was "in conflict with the policies of the department" and which Mr Sabelo maintained had later been distorted in press reports.

"Mr Sabelo has undertaken to issue such a clarification in due course," Dr Dhlomo said — Sapa

# Inkatha, Soviets, EC states to confer



Gatsha Buthelezi

From ROBERT GENTLE  
LONDON. — Within hours of official confirmation yesterday of the Paris Indaba, it emerged that a top-level conference on South Africa featuring Inkatha, the Soviets and EC countries will take place at the weekend in Saarbrücken, West Germany.

It is being organised by the Dutch-based Foundation for Economic and International Co-operation, a body which describes itself as non-aligned and admits to having strong links with Inkatha.

*Conf. 10/15 4/10/89 (11B)*  
Unconfirmed reports suggest that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be present at the conference, which starts on Friday, barely 24 hours after his scheduled meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher at Downing Street.

Informed sources said the provisional guest list includes a senior member of the Soviet Union's academic think-tank on African affairs; senior business figures from Britain, Portugal and West Germany; and a number of leading academics.

These include Professor William Gutteridge of Birmingham University, the man who initiated and organised the first major meeting between the Soviets and white SA academics earlier this year in Britain.

Prof Gutteridge confirmed that he would be attending but said he was not at liberty to disclose any further details. The organisers in Holland also declined to comment, saying only that the theme would be "peaceful change in SA".



974 7/14/85 5/10/84 116

# Kwazulu Indaba to expand national role

THE KwaZulu Natal Indaba plans to develop and expand its national role.

Confirming Indaba's intention to head for a national role, executive director Mr. Peter Mansfield told the organisation's recently held annual meeting:

"Far from withering away with the passing of time, the Indaba Foundation has matured into an organisation playing an ever-increasing catalytic role at both regional and national level."

He said the Indaba's negotiation experience would be "of immense value" as South Africa moved towards and into a negotiation phase.

"This experience — the successes as well as the mistakes — will be made

available nationally," Mr Mansfield said.

The Indaba's resource development and its growth into a series of co-ordinated programmes designed to help prepare society for change have prompted the establishment of a second "Indaba-in-Action" foundation.

The Indaba's chairman, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, argues in the organisation's 1989 directors' report released this week that too many South Africans spent too much of their time reviewing past mistakes and divisive conflict.

"How much better it would be for all if that energy and attention was refocused on future options and opportunities," Dr Dhlomo said.

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## Message from the Chairman

This report is in many ways an unusual and surprising one. First, it is unusual because it starts with the future. I regard this as an exciting departure point, for the simple reason that too many of us spend too much of our time reviewing past mistakes and divisive conflict. How much better it would be for us all if that energy and attention were refocused on future options and opportunities.

How much more positive it would be if we could explore a vision for the future rather than rake through the ashes of the past.

Second, this report is surprising in that it exists at all. The Indaba organisation is nearing the end of its third year of operation. Its critics, and these exist on both the left and right of the political spectrum, scarcely credited that it would survive beyond its inception. They did not, I fear, fully grasp the potential that the Indaba proposals had to light a beacon of hope in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans of all races.

Nor did they understand the developing dynamism of the Indaba organisation and its ability to draw from the Indaba experience, to pilot that flame of hope into the uncharted waters of reform and future planning.

It is on this last point that I would like to focus my message. For a non-racial, democratic future to be realised, and its full and vital potential recognised, a process of identification and planning must take place. For the apartheid structures and shortcomings of today to be effectively replaced, for the division and distrust of many decades to be reshaped, and for a climate to be created in which South Africans can negotiate their common destiny, we need examples to follow and resources to draw on.

It is into this area that the Indaba has grown, driven by the certainty that in negotiation politics lies the answer. By the conviction that we CAN pull back from the abyss of conflict and civil strife. And by understanding that past negatives must be replaced by a practical, comprehensive and positive plan. As this report will show, this is the end to which the Indaba is committed and working, as its programmes and activities take on an increasingly national character and importance.

Oscar Dhlomo

Dr Oscar Dhlomo

## THE YEAR AHEAD : 1990 AND BEYOND

The role of the Indaba in helping South Africa move forward into negotiated change and the post-Apartheid era that lies beyond has never been more relevant than it is today. Far from withering away with the passing of time the Indaba Foundation has matured into an organisation playing an ever-increasing catalytic role at both regional and national levels.

The future has never been easy to predict largely due to the fact that the South African political environment in which the Indaba operates is in a continuous process of flux and change. What seems to be a fact of life today can often turn out to be a fact of history tomorrow.

Nonetheless, the Indaba has learned from its successes, mistakes and failures over a three-year period. In addition it has developed roles which are clearly of major importance. Thus its medium term future is reasonably clear, but the emphasis placed on its various activities and programmes will depend upon factors beyond its control and upon the financial resources that are put at its disposal.

The Indaba started as a regional initiative designed to help unblock the South African political log-jam. Since then its national significance has grown. It is the Indaba's intention to continue to develop and expand this national role.

The Indaba's negotiation experience will be of immense value as South Africa moves towards and into its negotiation phase. It is the Indaba's intention to make this experience (the successes as well as failures and mistakes) available to South Africa.

The Indaba has recognised that it is vital that the concepts involved in "Win-Win", "Interest-based" negotiation are introduced into and absorbed by the South African political culture. It is for this reason that the Indaba has developed a Negotiation Skills Training Programme which it is making available to leaders across the political spectrum.

The Indaba is a result of its history, research, experience and proper development. It is ideally placed to offer a vital resource to South Africa's future negotiators. For example, its experience and understanding of the processes of climate-creation, trust-building and consensus-seeking would be foolish to ignore.

Building the future is not just about negotiation and constitution-making. Just as important is preparing the people of South Africa for the inevitable non-racial future that lies ahead.

In this regard the introduction of the Indaba proposals in the KwaZulu Natal region should be seen by all democrats, irrespective of their political persuasion, as an important opportunity to get all South Africans used to the idea of non-racial government in other regions and in South Africa as a whole. It is for this reason, more than any other, that the Indaba will continue its efforts to persuade the South African Government to agree to the introduction of the Indaba plan, or an acceptable variation thereof, in the KwaZulu Natal region. By so doing we believe we can facilitate the process of change at a national level.

It is also important to change the attitude of individuals. The Indaba would like to double and redouble the activities of its Unity Through Youth programme and provide an ever-growing number of students with the skills and experiences that will be essential to them in the post-negotiation era.

Education is one of the most pressing needs facing our society - equality is not an end in itself. Nor is quantity. Besides being discriminatory, South Africa's educational systems are outdated and unsuitable for preparing the youth of today for the challenges of the 21st century. The Indaba's Advisory Board on Education is busy designing such a new system and can be expected to play a significant and constructive role in developing a national education system for the future.

Economic development is the third vital factor in designing the post-Apartheid future. As many countries in the underdeveloped world have shown, the best laid constitutional and educational plans are of little value if they do not have the necessary economic development to support them. There is no doubt that South Africa will need a massively expanding economy if it is to care for its people and meet their reasonable needs and aspirations. It is for this reason that the Indaba is in the process of appointing a Director of Economic Policy Development tasked with the establishment of an Economic Advisory Board to look at ways and means of promoting economic growth.

All these tasks cannot be completed in a day or a year or even in a decade. But it is important that we all start to turn our attention to them. 1990 and beyond will see the Indaba increasingly making a substantial input into the design and creation of a democratic, non-racial South Africa that cares for its people, plays an important role in Africa, and assumes its rightful place on the world stage.

## 1988/89 : THE YEAR'S REVIEW

### Introduction:

This 12-month review (1 August 1988 to 31 July 1989) identifies as it does the Indaba's growth into two distinct spheres of operation. The experience of almost three years of sustained pressure for change, and the repeated demonstration (through independent research) of support for it, has developed in the Indaba a resource of national significance.

It is a resource that manifests itself in the identification of those factors that are required to facilitate change, and then investigates and where possible introduces them. This process of "planning for peace" is arguably the key to providing a structure and climate in which positive negotiation can begin to take place, it is also a process which is goal-oriented, yet strategically flexible.

The nature of this work and the continuing pressure for constitutional change underlines the Indaba's constructive approach to unbaring the gates to South Africa's full potential and a major role in Africa as a whole.

### Operational Philosophy:

In setting out this guiding philosophy, it is important to restate certain key points that have remained constant factors since the Indaba organisation's inception.

- The Indaba remains non-partisan and does not align itself with any political party. It is however committed to interaction with ALL political parties and groupings, without bias or favour, with a view to playing a catalytic role in evolving an acceptable and workable national solution.

- The Indaba's attitude and approach to Government remains non-confrontational, in spite of the organisation's absolute opposition to apartheid. This position has been justified by the measurable progress shown in recent months in regard to dialogue on the Indaba proposals and programmes for change, detailed further below.

- The Indaba has continued, over the 12-month reporting period, to be almost entirely South African-funded. Where external donations have been received, these have been directed into one or more of the Indaba's programmes in the educational or negotiation fields. It is anticipated however that in the future significant international funding will be sought for the full range of the Indaba's activities as it is increasingly recognised as a key national resource.

- In regard to the Indaba proposals for non-racial power-sharing at regional level in KwaZulu Natal, it has been recognised that it is the process of negotiation politics that is important rather than the finite detail of the proposals themselves. This fact has been clearly transmitted to Government and other key players, and has led more than any other single factor to progress in this regard.

It is also important to reclarify that the Indaba has never seen its proposals as an end in themselves, but rather as step in national solution-seeking. As a consequence of this philosophy it is likely that the real process of consensus-seeking and full negotiation can now begin.

- In the full conviction that such negotiation - at both a regional and national level - will produce consensus over a process period, the Indaba remains committed to the principle of democratically testing the outcome through one or more referenda.

- The Indaba remains determined to share its experience and growing resource with any groups or individuals positively committed to peaceful change and negotiation-politics. It has no "pride-of-ownership" in this regard.

### Structural Development:

The Indaba has developed two distinct spheres of operation in response to the perceived need to play a catalytic and facilitative role in both the regional and national process of change.

While there has been a natural evolution of structures within the Indaba, it is anticipated that 1990 will see the formalisation of this separation into two distinct but associated Foundations.

### The KwaZulu Natal Indaba Foundation:

It is anticipated that the existing KwaZulu Natal Indaba Foundation will continue to operate with the pursuance of regional constitutional reform as its principle objective, in a short to medium-term time frame. It will remain directed by the present Steering Committee, and will seek to initiate full negotiations with Government and other key groups with the present Indaba proposals serving as agreed points of departure.

## Negotiation



## Skills Programme

### INDABA IN ACTION

Negotiation Skills training is available to any political party or grouping across the political spectrum.

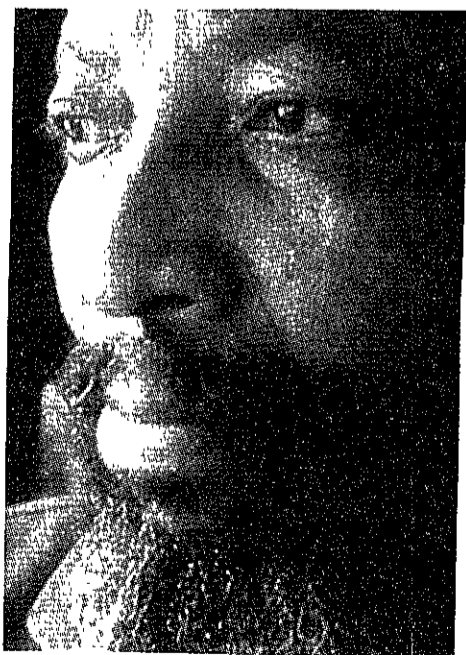


The UTY programme brings together senior high school students in an apartheid-free environment.

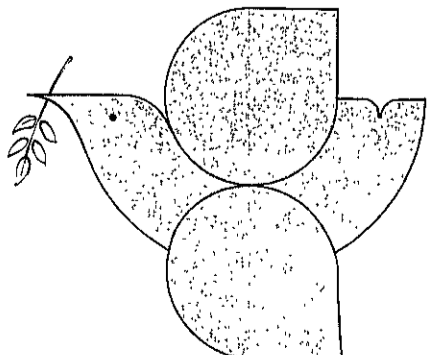
## TOGETHER WE ALL WIN!



It is the process of negotiation politics that is important rather than the finite detail of the proposals themselves.



A democratic, non-racial South Africa is destined to play an important role in Africa.



"Planning for peace" is the key to providing a structure in which positive negotiation can take place.



BOOKS

## Courage, comradeship, hidden cowardice — and sudden death within 30 days

The Poor Bloody Infantry: 1939 — 1945, by Charles Whiting (Arrow)

WORLD War II books continue to roll off the presses unabated, but this one is better than most.

The author has written almost 100 volumes and several of them are on the theme of this one — the fate of the Poor Bloody Infantry in a war where human life was regarded as cheap and almost infinitely dispensable.

The book is not really a history and has nothing to do with the politics of World War II.

It is rather the story of the men, the PBI, who paid the highest price for the failure of the politicians and goes to make it a story about undoubted courage, hidden cowardice, comradeship and cruelty on a grand scale.

### Danger

But mostly it is a terrible story of sudden and violent death.

In 1944 the life expectancy of a subaltern was little more than 30 days and of the "ordinary footslogger" perhaps (very perhaps) just double that figure.

In the opinion of Charles Whiting, the infantry were "condemned men from the very start, and they knew it."

The infantry of any and all the armies were in constant danger and among them death was simply the

normal thing.

Many of the war's infantrymen were pushed well beyond the limits of human endurance — on the side of the allies as well as the enemy.

In his consideration of the PBI, the author paints a panoramic picture of the infantryman in Europe (in retreat and in invasion), in Burma, in the African desert, in Italy and on the Pacific islands.

The general picture one gains is of very inadequately trained men led by very inadequately trained officers.

Just what was the point of training men properly when they were merely cannon fodder meant for a quick death?

In many ways this is a heart-rending account of what war can do to men. It is not a pleasant book, but one which well illustrates the futility of war.

Basil Leverton

## Revealing new biography of Winston Churchill

Churchill's War, by David Irving (Arrow)

THE writer of this first volume of a new biography of Britain's World War II leader is an established non-fiction author and here offers what he terms a "non-hostile" story of Winston Churchill.

He asserts that Churchill possessed a stranglehold on British public opinion and was dead set on getting America into the war. Churchill's drinking excesses and other personal faults receive full attention. Constant lack of money was one of these and an interesting fact was that when Churchill was an the point of selling his residence, Chartwell, the South African mining fancier, Henry Strakosch, bailed him out.

The book is long, and a second volume will enable a fuller judgment of the author's effort. It is masterfully researched (although access to family papers were denied to the author) and it is a mine of new information on a great man. It makes for gripping reading.

Basil Leverton

## Vivid account of the SA War

A Soldier in South Africa, 1899 to 1902. Edited by S B Spies (Brentnurst Press)

THIS is the sixth volume in the Brentnurst Press series of rare books and items. It concerns the previously unpublished story of one man's experiences of three years of war and is made up mainly of a diary obviously written in the heat of the moment.

The man was Lieutenant Eustace Abadie of the 9th Lancers. He arrived at Cape Town the day before the outbreak of the South African War and was moved immediately northwards as part of Lord Methuen's advance upon the besieged town of Kimberley.

Abadie's baptism of fire occurred at the battle of Belmont and he was also involved in the fights at Graspan and Modder River. At Magersfontein he was present when the Boers inflicted a severe defeat on the British army.

Lieutenant Abadie wrote his diary in an engaging style and recorded both the important happenings of the day (usually related to tactics and the like) as



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Lieutenant Abadie wrote his diary in an engaging style and recorded both the important happenings of the day (usually related to tactics and the like) as well as the more trivial — on December 14, 1899, he included in his account of the day the following: "Well, I expect Christmas here will be a poor one, but a trifle exciting."

**Rhodes**

At Kimberley he stayed at the De Beers sanatorium and there met a Mr Maguire and also a Mr Cecil Rhodes. "We had a most excellent dinner, including champagne, and foolishly sat up till twelve o'clock. It was great getting into a decent bed for once."

The editor of this volume has done very well in reproducing the text of this interesting diary and also by inserting suitable historical commentary where necessary. The text is well supplemented by 63 illustrations of situations in the South African War when Abadie was involved in it. These illustrations are of the best quality and give the text a very strong touch of realism.

The value of this publication lies in the often shrewd observations of the diarist and in the experiences of himself and other soldiers. His analysis of the military conduct of the war is a thread which runs through the book and, in general, Abadie recreates the atmosphere of South Africa as it was in those dismal days of war.

This excellent volume serves a double purpose — as a personal account of the South African War and as an Africana collector's piece. Once again Brenthurst Press has come up with a winner!

Basil Leverton

**Golda Meir  
— the legend**

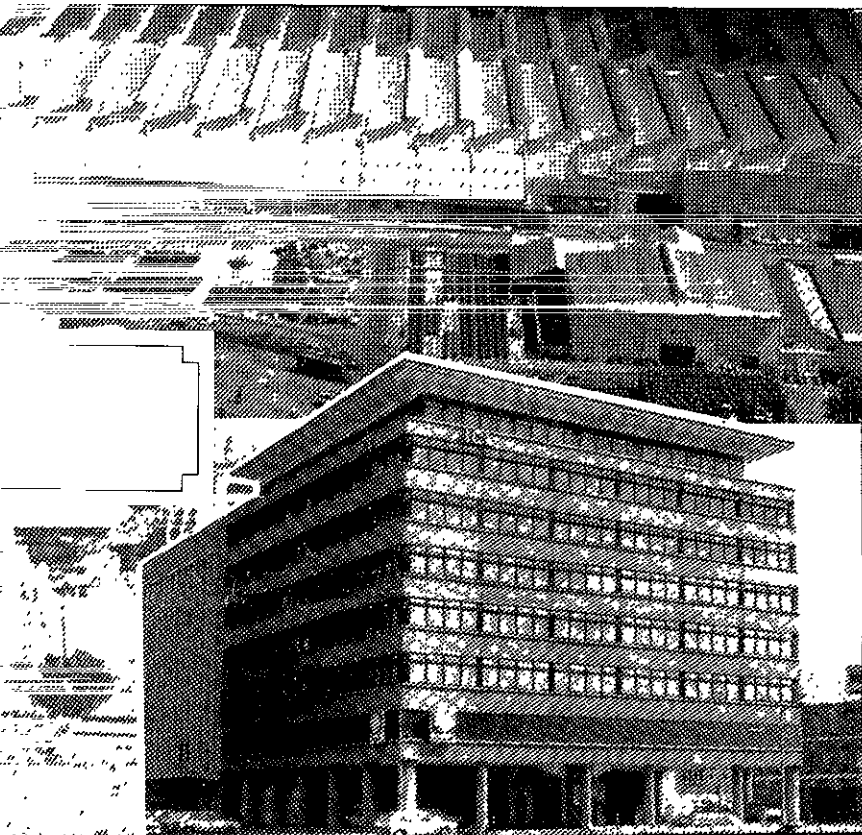
*Golda Meir: The Romantic Years, by Ralph G Martin (Piatkus)*

THERE can't be many people who do not know who Golda Meir, once Golda Mabovich Meyerson, was. But as is the case all too often of people like Golda, it is the public face which is the most often shown and anything else gets tangled in a mass of gossip and hearsay. What was it that made Golda Meir what she was? This is the question that Ralph Martin sets out to answer.

This is not a full biography of Golda Meir. It is an account of her formative years, of her roots, of the people she loved and who shaped her. This is the story of the birth of a legend, intertwined as it was with the birth at the time of the world's oldest and youngest nation on that grim and heady day in 1948.

Alma Hromic

**FINANCE  
HOURS**



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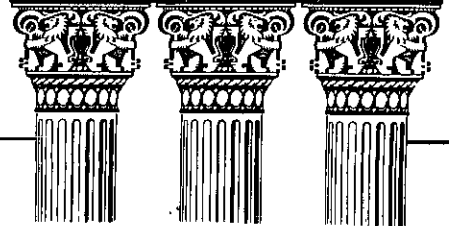
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# Holomisa pressing ahead with 'unity' referendum plans

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## Political Staff

TRANSKEI leader General Bantu Holomisa is pushing rapidly ahead with plans for a referendum to test whether Transkeians want to be re-united with South Africa.

He said last night that the country's ruling Military Council had debated the "mechanics" of a referendum yesterday and that he would make an announcement on how it would be held when research on implications and costs was complete.

He said the three options in a referendum would be to become part of South Africa, to become part of a federation or to remain independent.

## POSSIBILITY

General Holomisa first raised the possibility of re-unification with South Africa at the funeral of Tembu king Sabata Dalindyebo in Umtata at the weekend.

The South African government reacted cautiously.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the government had received no official communication from the government of Transkei and could not comment on the statement.

However, President De Klerk said that the leaders of the TBVC states had "an open door to discussions with the government".

He was reacting to a statement by General Holomisa that the independent homelands

were not sure if they were invited to Mr De Klerk's planned negotiations for a new South Africa.

Responding to Mr Botha's statement that no official communication had been received from the Transkei government on the re-unification question, General Holomisa said none would be immediately forthcoming.

"I don't think we need to approach them at this stage. We will take our own decision in our own interests."

General Holomisa also rejected speculation in the British press that he was contemplating a political alliance with the African National Congress.

The report also said that Mr Nelson Mandela was arranging, through his son Makghato and the Transkei government, to build a house in Umtata.

Makghato is Mr Mandela's son from his first marriage.

## "NO CONTACT"

General Holomisa said there had been no contact between his government and the Mandela family about building a house.

But he had heard that Mr Mandela had sent word through the Xhosa chiefs who regularly visit him in jail that he would like to upgrade the house he already owned in Umtata, neglected for years.

# Natal violence

## new initiatives

5/10/89  
Staff Reporter

The drive to end the Natal violence would continue with or without Inkatha's participation, representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front said yesterday.

At a media conference in Johannesburg, Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Alec Erwin and former UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said there had been an upsurge in violence since Inkatha's moratorium on regional peace talks.

Ten days ago, Inkatha's central committee withdrew from the talks "until there was a prospect of success".

Complaining about the composition of delegations to a proposed conference involving the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha, it also demanded an apology for derogatory remarks by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki.

At yesterday's conference, Mr Naidoo said Cosatu and the UDF had launched "initiatives to bring together like-minded people in the interests of peace".

"The choice facing Inkatha's Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is whether he wants to be part of this."

Mr Erwin said since the talks broke down, close to 100 people had been killed in Natal.

Local peace initiatives were threatened and conflict had spread to the Natal South Coast.

In the past two years, close to 2 000 people had been killed, 30 000 homesteads destroyed and up to 15 000 people had become refugees.

Mr Erwin also said Cosatu and the UDF remained unhappy about the police role in the conflict. Allegations continued that police were refusing to intervene in attacks on the organisations' members.

● See Page 15.





UMTATA. — The Transkei Council of Ministers and the Military Council did not intend to cause the surrender of Transkeian independence to the apartheid situation which currently prevailed in South Africa, the chairman of the Military Council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said in a statement yesterday.

He said the progress of the negotiation process would have a bearing on the timing of a referendum on the constitutional future of Transkei in post-apartheid South Africa.

"The government of Transkei is committed to playing its role in the negotiation process and is geared to hold talks with all interested parties whose inputs will shape the future destiny of Southern Africa.

## Holomisa: Transkei will talk to all on future

"Our Department of Foreign Affairs and Information has been charged to consult all documents produced by organisations and international forums dealing with the negotiation question. This will also entail consultations with all organisations in Southern Africa and abroad who are willing to talk to us."

Maj-Gen Holomisa said he and his government were not compe-

tent to decide on the future constitutional position of Transkei. Such a decision would have to be made by the Transkeians themselves by means of a referendum.

The matter had been the subject of discussion at a joint sitting of the two councils on Wednesday and a resolution was taken which called for the appointment of a representative committee whose terms of reference were:

● To consider the advisability of a referendum in relation to the envisaged political changes in South Africa;

● To look at the mechanics of conducting such a referendum;

● To recommend suitable forums in which the referendum issue would be debated as a measure to ensure broad participation in the making of "this historic decision".



WEEKEND ARGUS SPECIAL REPORT

A new spate of high-level moves and talks about South Africa shows the heat is on for President F.W. de Klerk to start moving. There are signs that Southern Africa and leading Western countries are paving the way for the promised "big indaba" for a new non-racial democratic South Africa. But the key player — the South African government — is keeping a remarkably low profile. FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent, examines the latest developments.

Weekend FORGUS 2

A "big indaba" of sorts on South Africa's future rapidly gains momentum across international boundaries, the absent player remains the South African Government.

It is just over six months since Mr F.W. de Klerk, now State President, raised new expectations with his announcement that the time for the "Great Indaba" had come.

His message at his first public meeting as newly-elected National Party leader on March 1 was: *The present state of affairs in South Africa cannot continue. Things will have to change drastically. We must start talking earnestly.*

He was echoing the "big indaba" proposal put forward last year by then President Mr P.W. Botha — but with an added sense of urgency, later underlined by the exclusion once more of the country's black majority from a general election.

Since Mr De Klerk's dramatic statement there has been a fresh spate of high-level talks — some involving the African National Congress as a potential key player in future constitutional negotiations for a new South Africa.

The signs have been that the road to the promised "Great Indaba" was rapidly being carved out, in South Africa and abroad.

Yet this week Mr De Klerk himself poured cold water over the expectations he has raised. He disassociated himself and his government from talks between prominent Afrikaner leaders (including his brother Professor Willem de Klerk) and the ANC in Britain last week.

And his negative response to such talks is being interpreted as a clear indication that the Government is unlikely to take part in a high-level "indaba" planned to take place in France in November and involve more than 100 South Africans, including ANC and, originally, government officials.

The proposed meeting, reported to be backed by President Francois Mitterrand, was said to now be in the balance.

Meanwhile various other events this week show that a big debate on South Africa's future is gaining momentum and new urgency.

United States policy-makers gave South Africa nine months to take important reform steps as threats of further tough sanctions loomed.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher warned that the South African government would be judged by its political achieve-

# INDABA - The Empty Chair

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ment and had limited time to get results.

A top-level conference on South Africa featuring Inkatha, the Soviets and EC countries is being held this weekend in Saarbrücken, West Germany. Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to attend — barely 24 hours after a scheduled meeting with Mrs Thatcher at Downing Street.

An international campaign was launched by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London to prevent rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt, \$11-billion of which is due by the end of next year.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, responding to the American warning, told a meeting in Munich, West Germany, that sanctions had serious implications for social and political reforms as well as for South Africa's economic development; and

Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa added a dimension to the debate by announcing he was pushing ahead with plans for a referen-

dum to test whether Transkeians want to be reunited with South Africa.

With indications that Transkei's move will be followed by similar ones in at least some of the other black homelands, new pressures are being exerted on the Government to get started on constitutional negotiations.

General Holomisa is one of several influential black leaders who appear to be working towards a formidable black unity which could become a major factor at such negotiations.

He first raised the possibility of re-unification with South Africa at the funeral of Tembu king Sabata Dalindyebo in Umtata last weekend — an event marked by a strong ANC presence.

The South African government reacted cautiously, with President De Klerk saying the TBVC states had "an open door to discussions with the government".

Other homeland leaders who have played a major role in political moves include Kangwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Kwazulu



Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mabuza had a meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher last week amid speculation that he could become a key figure in efforts to initiate talks between the ANC and the South African government. He was accompanied by Idasa director Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and former Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

The Kangwane leader has also had talks with ANC leaders in Lusaka. Both he and Dr Buthelezi have said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the repeal of apartheid legislation and the return of exiled leaders are prerequisites for constitutional negotiations.

Meanwhile the idea of seeking the reunification of black homelands with South Africa is said to be gaining ground among democratic-minded organisations outside the homelands.

Mr Mike Olivier, chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum, said his organisation supported the idea and that he believed referendums could be held in all the homelands.

He believed most of the supporters of the Mass Democratic Movement were also striving for a united South Africa.

Professor Pieter Potgieter, head of the department of political science at the University of Potchefstroom, believes the position of the homelands could be an important bargaining chip in future constitutional negotiations.

But though developments point in the direction of re-integration, it may not be easy to achieve, especially if South Africa is reluctant to have the homelands back. The disadvantage of an added economic burden could outweigh the limited advantages.

Still, there is a strong current of thought towards re-integration.

Professor Potgieter said a significant trend was an apparent narrowing of the gap between traditional and progressive leaders in the homelands — a move which could influence their political thinking about the future.

For at least some of the homelands, major advantages of such a move would include economic survival and the prospect of a form of international recognition.

Economic survival, in fact, is becoming a matter of urgency. As South Africa's ability to finance their budgets declines, homelands face the hard realities of fending for themselves.

For ordinary homeland citizens the most important considerations would already be economic. There can be little doubt that in the event of a referendum in Transkei, for example, the masses would opt for re-integration.

Researchers of the Africa Institute in Pretoria also believe the status of the independent homelands may be an important factor in future negotiations.

An institute spokesman said that at least some homeland leaders — possibly in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — were likely to seek re-integration with South Africa.

Another important consideration for homeland governments is the prospect of some form of international recognition, unattainable under the present set-up.

Such thinking is expected to receive new impetus once SWA/Namibia becomes independent. An internationally-recognised Namibia will underline the contrast between "real" independence and homeland independence.

# Mandela release soon, says Inkatha leader

*Cyt Ticks 7/10/87* (115)

DURBAN. — A top Inkatha official says KwaZulu has reached an agreement with the government on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said he was sure the prisoners would be released in the near future.

Dr Dhlomo said this in West Germany yesterday while addressing the conference of the Foundation for European and International Co-operation.

Dr Dhlomo said prospects for constitutional negotiations were extremely promising and, if the government removed some of the obstacles in the way of starting the negotiation process, peaceful change could soon take place in South Africa.

He said negotiation and not revolution was the gateway to a new democratic South Africa.

stimulate the blood lust of fighting dogs.

A Mafia-style organisation — with members who have a secret code of conduct and who bet

Anybody with information is asked to contact Captain Tiny Nortje at (011) 834-4005 off

# Indaba to launch black Who's Who

Political Reporter

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba is soon to launch a comprehensive Who's Who of black achievers in the area, to be followed by similar publications for the eight other economic regions of South Africa.

Sponsored by donations from the private sector and advertisements in the book, it will feature between 2 000 and 3 000 names of people living in or originating from the area.

Fields to be covered include commerce and industry, health and social work, labour, education, medicine, the media, sport, music and entertainment, religion and conservation.

Inclusion in the black Who's Who will be decided by an independent editorial board drawn from all shades of

political, academic, educational and professional opinion.

The purpose of the publication is to raise the profiles of key players in the black community and to make them more accessible to both the wider South African and international communities.

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba said it would not seek to control the contents of the book. Support for the Indaba was not a prerequisite for inclusion.

It motivated its decision to focus on blacks only by saying white, Indian and coloured achievers were generally well-known.

"If negotiation is to stand a chance, relevant individuals must be drawn to the conference table. This requires their identification and adequate background detail," the Indaba said.

STAR (11B)  
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# Thatcher best as 'honest broker'

STR  
The Star Bureau

11/10/89 (11B)  
LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has delivered a strong plea to Mrs Thatcher and her government to intervene in South Africa.

He has in mind an "honest broker" role for Mrs Thatcher in leading the drive for change.

His appeal, made at a fringe meeting at the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool yesterday, is expected to please the British Premier, who is known to cherish hopes of taking a more active part in solving the South African question.

Chief Buthelezi believed the prospects of the politics of negotiation getting off the ground to dismantle apartheid and establish a just society had never been greater in the more than 40 years of National Party rule.

## GROUNDSWELL DEMAND

"There really is a groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa into a multi-party, multi-racial, Western-type democracy," he said. "It is because the ideal of the majority of black South Africans is to evolve towards the kind of democracy which Great Britain would really applaud, that gives added importance to Mrs Thatcher as an honest broker.

"History demands it.

"But more importantly, it is because the return of South Africa as a favoured state amongst Britain and its Commonwealth allies will be judged as the best for all by all that we turn to Mrs Thatcher and ask her to take the lead."

# Buthelezi in EEC <sup>CME TMD</sup> appeal to <sup>11/10/87</sup> Thatcher <sup>118</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. — KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, asked the British government to help curb European Economic Community desperation with South Africa which was making it harder to end apartheid peacefully.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday in a statement that the vast majority of South African blacks admired Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's approach to reform in South Africa.

Addressing a lunch in Blackpool, where the ruling Conservatives were holding their annual general conference, he said leaders in Mozambique and Zambia had spoken encouragingly about Mr F W de Klerk, and he was also impressed with the way the new State President's style differed from that of his predecessors, he said.

have not yet been received.

*CASE TINTS 12/10/89 11.6*

## Sigcau call for civil rule

UMTATA. — The former prime minister of Transkei, Miss Stella Sigcau, has called on the military government to unban politics and hand over the reins to a civilian government as a step towards a referendum on Transkei independence.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

# Transkei leader in bid to end labour crisis

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Transkei's youthful military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, determined to draw industrialists to his country and create much needed job opportunities for the people, is locked in a major labour crisis.

Factories in Transkei's industrial hub — Butterworth — closed following a breakdown in negotiations between workers and employers last week.

There were also reports of looting and there were rumours that whites were leaving the country until the strikes were resolved and the tension eased.

General Holomisa spent much of last week meeting both workers — who do not have trade unions — and industrialists, some of whom were threatening to remove their factories if "trouble" continued.

## NEW POLICY

The President of Transkei, Mr Tutor Ndamase, is expected to announce a new labour policy this week to co-incide with the celebrations of the 13th anniversary of the state.

Last week, however, General Holomisa, was in the thick of the fray, discussing problems with both sides.

Workers were demanding another look at minimum wages, ill-treatment by employers, job security, workmen's compensation, sick leave, salary disparities between Transkeian companies and their sister companies in South Africa, lack of recognition of service and experience, unlimited working hours, lack of training and lack of communication between employer and employee.

The industrialists had their problems too. A number had established factories in the Transkei because labour is traditionally cheaper in the independent states and there are fewer problems with trade unions. Some factory owners complain that labour may be "cheap" but productivity is low and skills limited.

General Holomisa and his government, in the words of an Umtata businessmen, walked a tightrope. They had to find a way of ending the strikes without sacrificing workers' rights — or frightening away potential investors.

At the end of the week, General Holomisa admitted the Transkei would not be able to "escape" trade unions forever.

"Workers want representation," he said.

# Violence erupts after peaceful Umtata march

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — Violence erupted after an orderly march by 10 000 people through the streets here yesterday.

The crowd marched to the Botha Sigcau Building where 13 representatives of workers handed a petition to the chairman of the military council, General Bantu Holomisa.

Transkei police liaison officer Lieutenant M S Mkiwane said a section of the crowd had later marched to Ngangelizwe township.

On their way, they met the Ngangelizwe police station commander and started attacking his van.

The station commander locked himself in the van and called for help. The counter-insurgency unit arrived and dispersed the crowd with teargas.

Lieut Mkiwane said the crowd re-assembled and attacked policemen as they alighted from public transport taking them home. One policeman was injured and taken to hospital.

Yesterday's rally, which was approved by the government, was aimed at collectively lodging common grievances of Transkei workers.

● General Holomisa told the workers' committee the military government was committed to the atmosphere of change in Southern Africa.

He said his government wanted to make certain the black peoples of Southern Africa were emancipated from oppression.

Regarding the workers' grievances about labour problems, he said the government was handling the matter and the workers should expect relief soon.





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The Argus, Wednesday October 25 1989 17

# Call for inquiry into murder of 11 people

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**DURBAN.** — Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje has repeated his call for an independent commission of inquiry into the murder of 11 people last December at Trust Feed near New Hanover after an inquest magistrate found circumstantial evidence placed suspicion on two special constables.

## Warned

"I had warned the police before the incident took place and I had reports of police beating present right up to the incident."

Mr Cronje, who closely monitors the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu and has been involved in efforts to end the fighting, said the New Hanover inquest was an informal one. People were not represented nor was there cross examination.

"Cross questioning is needed to ascertain guilt or not. I asked for a judicial com-

mission of inquiry at the time because it was just an isolated incident in an area that had no long history of violence and there were allegations of police complicity.

"In the light of all of that, I then asked for a commission. It would be a good opportunity to perhaps get to the causes of the violence in Natal," Mr Cronje said.

The inquest magistrate, Mr A Fresse, concluded that there was circumstantial evidence placing suspicion on two special policemen, Special Sergeant Dumsani Ndwalana and Special Constable David Khamube.

There was also possible complicity on the part of Lieutenant Brian Mitchell, the former New Hanover station commander. Mr Fresse said after a three-day inquest.

Mr Fresse said that the evidence was not enough to conclude that the policemen had murdered the people. He would refer the inquest

papers to the Attorney-General, who initially declined to prosecute.

The 11 Trust Feed victims, including six women and two children, were killed while they were holding a wake for a person who died of natural causes.

The inquest heard that just before the massacre a voice outside the door said "You Shanqase, have left us and gone to the other side."

the land and clashes over the wishes of people for several years.

The people killed were: Mr Mselani Ntuli, Mr Shangase, Mrs Sethu Shangase, 29, Mkhondeni Shangase, 9, Muzi Shangase, 4, Mrs Filda Ntuli, 40, Mrs Fikile Zandi, 29, Mrs Mariltha Xaba, 48, Mrs Sarah Nyoka, 65, Mr Alfred Zita, 66, and Mrs Desteru Sibhole, 60.

Mr Dudu Shangase, 36, asked who was there. The person outside said "Police."

Before he could open the door Mr Shangase heard another voice saying that Mr Shangase had "gone to the other side", said the Durban attorneys who investigated the massacre.

They said it was strange that the initial reports blamed Inkatha vigilantes, but most of the people killed were members of Inkatha.

The Trust Feed area, between Wartburg and New Hanover, does not fall in KwaZulu, but is administered by the Natal Provincial Administration between 5 000 and 6 000 people live there.

Certain people have title to land and others live on black landowners' land as tenants. There have been disputes over

The black landowners' Association resolved to approach the KwaZulu government to have Trust Feed incorporated into KwaZulu. However, the youth in Trust Feed were dissatisfied with their parents' decision to approach KwaZulu.

In April, 1987 a demonstration look place and youths shouted African National Congress slogans, insulted the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and stripped other youths who would not join their organisation.

In October 1987 homes belonging to Inkatha people were attacked, allegedly by youths.

Inkatha members were told to leave the area and some were chased in the streets. Some Inkatha youths were killed, the attorneys said.

# Buthelezi 15 stands by attack <sup>CM 7-11</sup> <sub>26/08/79</sub> Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he stands by a speech in which he attacked the chairman of the Transkei military council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The statement was released after General Holomisa's threat to sue Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi was quoted as calling on General Holomisa to stop peddling his political agenda.

He challenged General Holomisa to attempt a coup in Ciskei and KwaZulu. In his statement faxed to General Holomisa, Chief Buthelezi said: "While I stand by the views expressed by me in the speech, I regret that Major-General Holomisa found the imagery offensive."

## Buthelezi <sup>118</sup> in Transkei *at the 8/11/87* unity call

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has asked the leader of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, to make Transkei part of South Africa again and to return to the "brotherhood of decision-making".

In a letter to General Holomisa, Chief Buthelezi said that in the future there would be only one South Africa and one Parliament, and every political grouping including the ANC would be present, according to a weekend report.

"There will be one South Africa and that one South Africa will come about because of an emerging black unity based on a multi-strategy approach in which each can do what each can do best in his or her own circumstances." —

# Pik and Holomisa to discuss referendum?

Art Tint 9/11/89 (118) 102

## Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI's plans to hold a referendum to decide if the territory should rejoin South Africa is expected to feature high on the agenda when Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha meets General Bantu Holomisa in Umtata today.

Mr Botha will be the first of a string of political leaders to visit Transkei for talks with members of the ruling Military Council and politicians in the homeland in the coming weeks.

Pretoria has been placed in a predicament recently by General

Holomisa's expressed willingness to turn back the grand apartheid clock and end Transkei's homeland status if that is what Transkeians want.

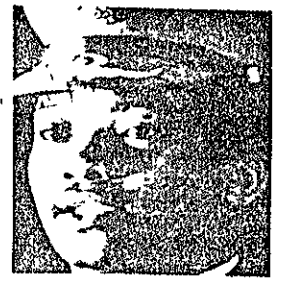
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose relations with General Holomisa have been strained lately, has urged the military leader to move away from Transkei's "independent" homeland status.

A statement issued by the office of the Military Council in Umtata yesterday indicated that apart from general political and economic developments in the

region, today's discussions with Mr Botha will focus on "the financial backlogs" sustained by Transkei in the past 14 years.

"The question of funding of projects in Transkei, which has received less attention than it deserves, will come up for discussion," the statement said.

Other politicians due to visit Transkei shortly include the three co-leaders of the Democratic Party — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan



General Holomisa



Mr Pik Botha

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**Transkei  
lifts  
bannings,  
emergency**

CAF Tint  
9/11/89  
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**Own Correspondent**  
**EAST LONDON.** — The state of emergency in Transkei and banning orders on 15 organisations were lifted by the military government last night.

This was announced in a statement released by the liaison officer to the Military Council, Mr Gilbert Zwakala.

Included among the list of previously banned organisations now declared lawful in Transkei are Swapo, the UDF and Cosatu.

The ANC and the PAC were not on the list.

In announcing the steps, the military government said it was committed to "promoting dialogue aimed at the creation of a climate of change in Southern Africa".

"The government reviews, on a continual basis, the laws which stand in the way of this ideal."

It said that the state of emergency, declared on June 30 this year, would be "lifted forthwith".

**'Political activity** (116)  
CAIT TWA 10/11/89  
**remains suspended'**

**Own Correspondent**

UMTATA. — Political activity in Transkei remained suspended despite the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of 15 organisations on Wednesday, military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"We are a military government and political activity remains suspended," he said, adding that the situation would be reviewed from time to time.

Five political organisations remain banned in Transkei. They are the ANC, PAC, SACP, the Marxist Front and the Azanian Liberation Movement.

# Transkei's promise to Pik on ANC, PAC

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The chairman of the military council of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, yesterday gave Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha the assurance that he would not allow Transkei to be used as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa.

General Holomisa was speaking in regard to the Transkei government's consideration to unban the ANC and PAC.

Both General Holomisa and Mr Botha addressed a gathering at the South African embassy here after the meeting between the military council, council of ministers and Mr Botha in the cabinet room in the Botha Sigcau building.

## Left crumbs

The main thrust of General Holomisa's speech dealt with the question of Transkei being left South Africa's economic crumbs at independence, and Transkei's efforts to provide for her people on meagre resources.

Transkei was a victim of political circumstances and was denied access to international aid of any kind, he said.

# Petrol blaze damages home of Zulu prince

ARGUS 15/11/89 11B  
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Petrol was set alight after being poured into the house of the senior prince of the Zulu royal family, Prince Israel Mwayizeni Zulu, at Nongoma in Zululand.

Deputy commissioner of KwaZulu police Brigadier Siphon Mathe said an attempted arson docket had been opened after unknown people broke a window, poured petrol into the living room and set it alight at the weekend.

He said two sofas, a carpet, a piano, a TV set and curtains were burned.

He said the prince and princess were not at home and their three children, who were in the house, were not injured.

The prince has been at the centre of controversy because of his support for the newly formed Congress of the Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).



Prince Israel

Prince Israel, who is the uncle of King Goodwill Zwelithini, acted as his regent from 1968 to 1971.

In March he resigned from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly because of ill health.

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the prince was being wooed by the United Democratic Front.



# Top-level bid to end Natal violence could emerge from plea by King

PKGus

20/11/89

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## The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports

A top level bid to end the political violence in Natal and Kwa-Zulu which has claimed 2 300 lives in the past three years could emerge from King Goodwill Zwelithini's address to 75 000 people in Durban yesterday and the response from released African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

King Goodwill yesterday accused the freed African National Congress leaders of spurning the Zulu nation by not inviting him and the Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the welcome-back rally in Johannesburg recently.

The Zulu monarch invited the ANC leaders to "sit down to talk . . . about the issues I raise".

Speaking from his Soweto home today, Mr Sisulu said it was a "high-

ly welcome" sign that the Zulu king and Dr Buthelezi wanted to speak to the released leaders.

Mr Sisulu said the first thing they would want to discuss were peace talks to end the Natal KwaZulu political violence, which he said had come to a standstill after a beginning which was full of promise.

"If by talking we can inject new life into it, so much the better for everybody," Mr Sisulu said.

Successful, honest discussions about peace "really would open up discussion in other, wider fields," Mr Sisulu said.

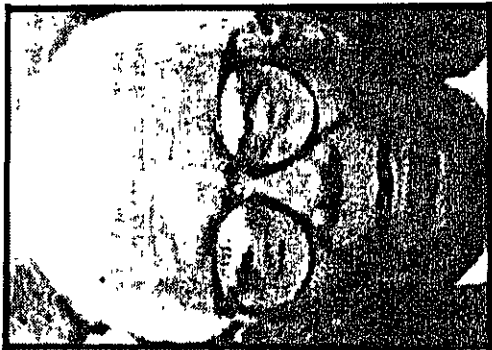
Mr Sisulu made an impassioned plea for peace in Natal and Kwa-Zulu when he addressed the welcome home rally in Soweto recently.

He said today that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was "absolutely disturbed" by the continuing violence. He is vitally interested in this.

"He wrote to Dr Buthelezi and pointed out that he was very disturbed by that situation. Mr Mandela certainly will be very keen for talks on this issue."

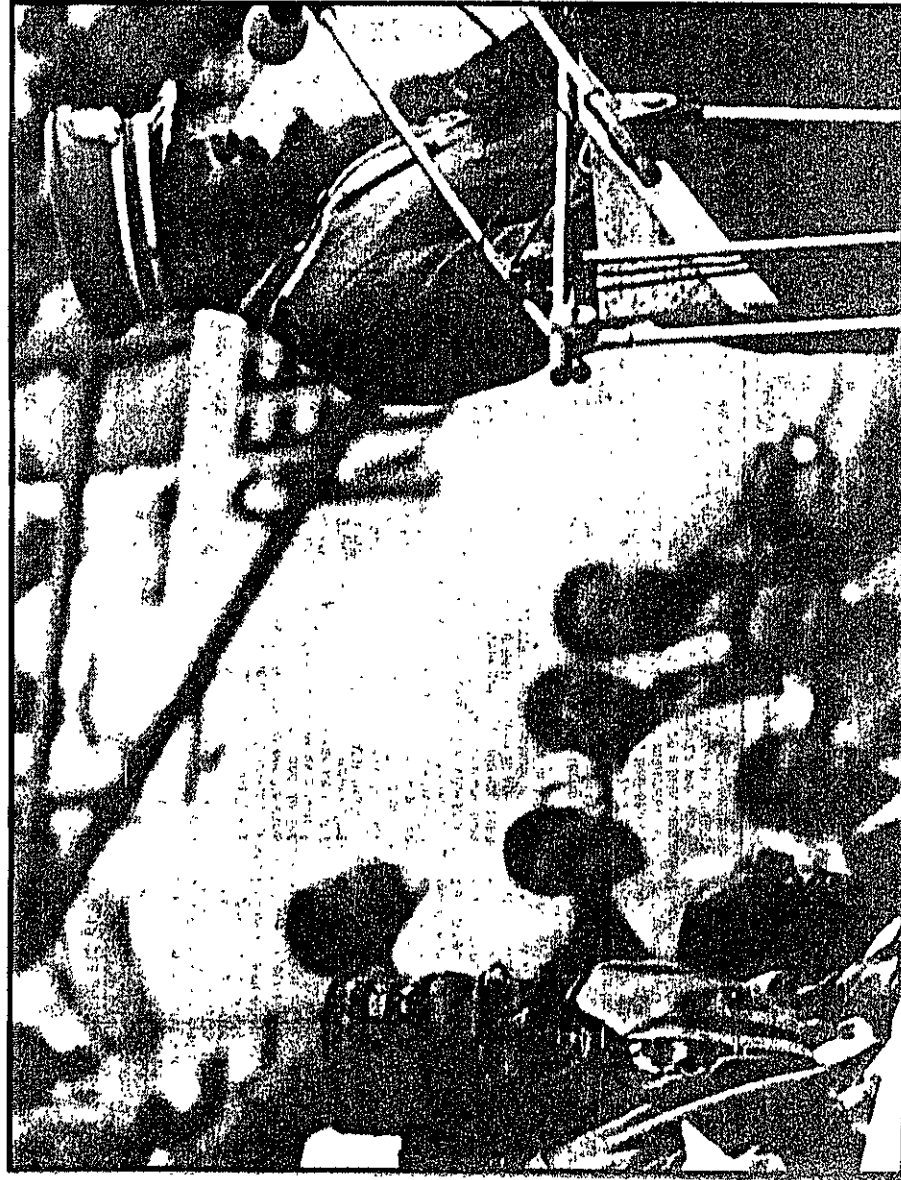
Mr Sisulu said he and the other seven released leaders had received a personal letter from Dr Buthelezi, which he would reply to this week.

One of the central points in the peace talks was that Dr Buthelezi felt a meeting between the leaders of Inkatha, the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front had to be held.



Mr Walter Sisulu

# King calls for black unity



Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini tells a rally of more than 70 000 Zulus at Kings Park Stadium in Durban at the weekend that their leaders did more than anyone else to win the release of ANC leaders.

At left is King Goodwill's uncle, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

**K**ING Goodwill Zwelithini, King of the Zulus, yesterday appealed to about 75 000 people at King's Park Stadium, Durban, to put party political considerations aside and strive for black unity among the Zulu people.

King Zwelithini and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, arrived at the event waving at the crowd from the back of an open tuk-tuk.

Although many people wore traditional dress or sported inkatha colours or carried traditional fighting sticks and shields, the atmosphere was staid, with the crowd hardly singing.

King Zwelithini said there could be no major change in South Africa without the support of the Zulus.

"There can be no successful negotiations with the South African government by any black group if they try to ride roughshod over us as a Zulu nation.

"In the great and important missions that history has allotted to the Zulu people, there has never been any party politics. When we act as a people, we act beyond party politics.

"Measure all political parties and all liberation movements against the criteria of whether they unite Zulus or divide Zulus from each other.

"You know that the UDF and Cosatu have come into your midst to turn you against Inkatha. Is it because Inkatha is led by a Zulu?"

"I say to the leadership of

## Sapa reports from Durban



the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF: leave my people alone and let them do their Zulu thing ... So that we can have ... a multi-party democracy."

King Zwelithini criticised the ANC for not sending him a message about the welcoming of the eight recently released ANC leaders at a public meeting in the Transvaal.

"I know of no single person who has campaigned for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all the Rivonia trialists more than the leader of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yet when his (Mr Mandela's) fellow prisoners are released not a word is uttered to acknowledge this.

### 'Insulted'

"The Zulu nation was spurned in this rejection," he said.

The king accused seven veteran African National Congress (ANC) leaders of snubbing him and his people after their release from jail and called for a early meeting with them.

"I as king of the Zulus ... received not one single message from them," he said to roars of disapproval from the crowd.

He said the turnout at the rally emphasised the importance of an early meeting with former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders freed with him last month.

The gathering was the second tribal imbizo (convention) of King Zwelithini's 20-year reign.

King Zwelithini said the six million-strong Zulu nation had been insulted last month by the failure to invite either the king or his hereditary prime minister, Dr Buthelezi, to a Johannesburg rally to welcome the ANC leaders back from prison.

"The Zulu people as the Zulu nation was spurned, been excluded. I was spurned, the Zulu nation was spurned."

About 75 000 people attended the day-long Johannesburg rally, which passed without incident despite the illegal display of ANC flags and banners.

Dr Buthelezi, Zwelithini's uncle and a prince in his own right, endorsed the king's call for a meeting, saying he and Sisulu should cooperate to bring peace to South Africa.

"Let us now sit down and talk about how not to hurt each other," Dr Buthelezi said in an apparent reference to two years of violence between supporters of his Inkatha political movement and of organisations loyal to the ANC.

More than 2 300 people have died in almost daily clashes around Durban and Maritzburg.

Mr Tsebe 21/11/89

# Sisulu welcomes talks with Zulus

(115)

MARITZBURG. — Talks between KwaZulu leaders and newly released African National Congress leaders would be "highly welcomed", former ANC secretary

general Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Mr Sisulu was reacting to a call by King Goodwill Zwelethini and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — made at a rally of more than 70 000 people in Durban on Sunday — for talks between themselves and the ANC leaders.

King Goodwill told the rally he and the Zulu people had been spurned because the released leaders had not contacted him since they were freed from jail.

He went on, however, to invite the ANC leaders to talks on negotiations and reconciliation with himself and Chief Buthelezi.

The king said no one had done more to ensure the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his fellow Rivonia trialists than Chief Buthelezi.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi echoed the king's call for talks.

Talks would be about peace between "black and black", and unity in putting South Africa first, he said.

In response, Mr Sisulu said he would regard such talks as important and would discuss the call for talks with his colleagues.

He said if such discussions took place they would be primarily about Natal violence.

Commenting on allegations by King Goodwill that the Zulu people had been snubbed because they were not invited to the welcome home rally in Johannesburg a fortnight ago, Mr Sisulu said he was sure no snub was intended. He said as far as he was aware the rally had been open to all who wished to attend.

In his speech on Sunday Chief Buthelezi said: "You know that the UDF and Cosatu have come into your midst to turn you against Inkatha."

He said one of the reasons for calling the convention was to urge an end to a campaign of "vilification".

"The killing-talk, the hurling of insults, the singing of vile songs about the leader of the Zulu nation, all make up a recipe for killing." — Sapa



MR SISULU ... 'talks important'

# Teargassing: <sup>CPE</sup> <sup>TruTS</sup> <sup>27/11/87</sup> Holomisa sorry

UMTATA. — Transkei's military leader yesterday apologised to the ANC leaders who were teargassed by a "renegade" group of policemen on Saturday.

Two people were shot dead and four injured in the pandemonium that followed the teargas incident.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who blamed "renegade" policemen for the incident, apologised twice to Mr Walter Sisulu and other visiting ANC leaders.

The first apology came in a statement and the second in a message read to a crowd of 80 000 attending the ANC rally at the Independence Stadium.

The incident occurred when police fired about 10 teargas canisters into Umtata's Unity Hall where more than 400 people had gathered to hear Mr Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Andrew Malengeni speak.

General Holomisa, who said he saw the attack while travelling past the hall in a car, apologised to the leaders, saying the police action appeared to be unprovoked.

A commission of inquiry will be appointed today to investigate the incident and report not later than Friday.

Gen Holomisa said he had ordered his police commander to apologise over Radio Transkei to the ANC leaders and all the people affected.

The leadersemerged from the hall unharmed.

Mr Sisulu said he had accepted General Holomisa's apology.

General Holomisa's brother, Mr Patekile Holomisa, a member of the Transkei Reception Committee, established to welcome the ANC leaders, blamed "Pretoria's agents" in the police force for the incident.

During an address by the ANC's Mr Elias Motsoaledi yesterday, one of the official cheerers shouted out to the crowd: "General Holomisa is the man of the people. General Holomisa is stronger than teargas."

The crowd roared its approval and the thousands stamped their feet.

Mr Sisulu, 77, in his first speech in Transkei since his recent release from prison, told the huge crowd at the stadium: "The homelands policy, once the cornerstone of grand apartheid, divide and rule, lies in tatters. Pioneering efforts in the Transkei are destroying the foundation of the Bantustan regime."

Speaking to General Holomisa, who was seated on the stage, Mr Sisulu said: "You are proudly carrying forward the struggle against tribalism as you fight to reunite our people into a single and undivided nation."

Mr Sisulu said the ANC welcomed the call by General Holomisa for a referendum among the Transkei people.

He rejected the South African government's proposed "black elections" for a negotiating forum.

CAC Trans

1/12/89

(11B)

~~(11B)~~

**Own Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — The government is not ideologically obsessed with groups, President F W de Klerk said again at a press conference here yesterday.

He was speaking after two hours of discussions with a top KwaZulu delegation led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Government opponents were making negative propaganda of the group issue, Mr De Klerk said.

"The reality of diversity cannot be ignored." It was a powerful force, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said at the press conference that there is a need to be wary about talk of cultural groups.

He said that at the meeting the Nelson Mandela release issue had been

## FW denies govt group obsession

raised and Mr De Klerk had assured him the matter was being seriously addressed.

Mr De Klerk intervened to say an announcement would be made as soon as the government was ready.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been encouraged by Mr De Klerk's direct style. He never tried to indulge in petty and cheap politicking, like his predecessor.

Mr De Klerk said discussions were cordial and centered on the need for negotiation.

# Inkatha plans mass Day of the Vow rally

Sunday Times Reporter

INKATHA is to hold a mass rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on December 16 — the Day of the Vow.

The Central Committee of Inkatha resolved at a meeting in Ulundi yesterday that the rally should be held so that its supporters could "pledge their commitment to eradicate apartheid".

The meeting comes exactly a week after the planned Conference for a Democratic

Future organised by the Mass Democratic Movement.

The organisers declined to invite Inkatha to this meeting, which was seen as a snub to the movement's leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha said yesterday it was willing to work with organisations which had the same goal and would publicly state its refusal to become involved in negotiations with the Government until Mr Nelson Mandela had been released.

## Inkatha 'hit squad' claims

(113)

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The first witness to give evidence yesterday before the Commission of Inquiry into township violence alleged that Inkatha had a "hit squad" operating under instructions.

The man asked the chairman, Mr R S Douglas SC, that he not be identified and Mr Douglas ruled that his wish should be respected.

Many of the allegations he made cannot be reported as the commission is not a judicial one and the press does not enjoy the privilege that it would under a judicial commission.

The man said violence in Edendale had stopped because there were no Inkatha people there.

He said he had gone to the Plessislaer police station to apply for a firearm licence. He was told it would be easier to get one if he joined Inkatha.

Evidence continues today. Nov 6/12/87.

S/Times 17/12/89 (110)

By CHARIS PERKINS

POLITICS in South Africa has entered an era of no return, said the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in Soweto yesterday.

Speaking as president of Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi told 3 000 people at an open-air rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre that there could be no real negotiations on the future of South Africa until black unity became a reality and Nelson Mandela was unconditionally released.

Hundreds of people were bused from Natal to be at the rally. A group of men wearing traditional impi warrior dress — many of them from Sweetwaters, Natal, where some of the fiercest Inkatha/UDF clashes have taken place — danced and sang in the amphitheatre's dusty arena.

# SA entering era where justice will triumph — chief

"But above all else I know that we are now entering a new era in South African politics and that it will be an era in which justice will triumph over tyranny."

Dr Buthelezi made it clear that, while he believed all organisations opposed to the Government had something to bring to the negotiation table, any negotiations would have to be conducted in an atmosphere of justice and freedom — something that could not be achieved without black unity.

"There will be no freedom in this country for any individual, for any group, until there is freedom for all," he said.

"There can be no justice if there is no freedom, and there can be no freedom if there is no justice — the two go hand in hand," he said.

who last addressed a rally in the township in 1986, appealed to anti-apartheid movements to work towards unity.

"I know that politics is oppression and oppression is racism," he said, "and that nothing is easy and most certainly nothing is certain in South Africa."

Huge banners festooned the arena. "Sanctions equal economic terrorism," said one. "Thanks Mrs Margaret Thatcher for your stand for us," said another. A third announced: "We applaud Mr de Klerk for releasing Mr Sibusu and other prisoners."

Welcomed by Soweto's Mayor Mr Samuel Mkhawanazi, Dr Buthelezi,



CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... 'there can be no justice in SA without freedom'



CMF 719/11  
18/2/89

# Buthelezi discloses govt's 'Charter'

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has disclosed details of a remarkable document in which the government spells out its own "Freedom Charter" for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The document, in the form of a letter from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to UN chief Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, sets out the government's formula for "a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Addressing a mass rally in Soweto on Saturday, the Inkatha leader called on President F W de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.

He said the document "screamed out" for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela so that he could also comment on it.

Chief Buthelezi said the document had flaws. The Group Areas Act was not mentioned, nor was the question of universal adult franchise, and there was suspicious mention of freedom of "disassociation".

— Sapa

B/Dan 22/12/89

(118) (103)

# UDF-Inkatha negotiation prospects 'looking good'

DURBAN — Prospects for future negotiations between Inkatha and the UDF looked good yesterday when representatives of the two organisations met informally at a beachfront hotel to discuss violence in Natal.

They agreed to meet again early in the New Year.

The four representatives, who held a secret meeting earlier this week, were Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha national council chairman Frank Mdlalose, National Medical and Dental Association president Dr Diliza Mji, and National Union of Metalworkers of SA education officer Alec Erwin.

In a statement afterwards, they said the meeting had been held to "explore

### Own Correspondent

ways of assisting local communities in the troubled areas of Natal and KwaZulu and to address the problem of violence jointly.

"The meeting also reviewed past events and explored obstacles impeding the implementation of the July peace proposals, which would have culminated in a conference of the presidents of Inkatha, Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC.

"Those at the meeting expressed grave concern at the resurgence of violence in these areas and urgently appealed for calm and peace, especially during the festive season," the statement said.

Earlier this week the Durban city council said it would appoint a steering committee on January 9 to arrange a conference to find solutions to the unrest in Natal.

Council management chairman Jan Venter said representatives from central and KwaZulu governments, commerce, trade and industry would be invited to the conference.

Meanwhile, police spokesman Charl du

Toit said a suspect was detained early yesterday in connection with the killing of Chief Mbambo of Molweni near Hillcrest, who was gunned down as he left his kraal earlier this week.

There were no reported incidents of violence in black townships in the Durban and Maritzburg areas during the past 24 hours.

According to the official police unrest report, a group of blacks fired shots at a police van at Ndaleni near Richmond, causing extensive damage.

### No injuries

Police returned fire and drove off their attackers.

At Lamontville near Durban, a car was extensively damaged when it was set alight by a group of people.

No injuries were reported.

Two men were arrested in Cape Town after allegedly setting fire to a railway carriage between Nkabela and Khayalitsha stations.

### NATAL UNREST DEATH TOLL

September 1987 to January 1989: .....	668
February 1989 — December 20 1989: .....	441
Past 24 hours' official toll: .....	0
<b>TOTAL: .....</b>	<b>1 109</b>

BLACK POLITICS - HOMELANDS

JANUARY - JUNE

1990.

... service knew of his efforts  
Picture REUTERS

# 10 killed in UDF-Inkatha clash

MARITZBURG — Ten people were killed and 15 others wounded in a bloody battle between UDF and Inkatha members at Wartburg near Maritzburg on Sunday.

According to the SAP unrest report, UDF members set fire to the house of an Inkatha member, C Ndlovu.

"Other Inkatha members came to his assistance and in the ensuing gun battle nine UDF members and an Inkatha member were shot dead and 15 UDF men were wounded," the report said.

There were no arrests. No further details of the attack were given.

At Chesterville, near Durban, an uniden-

Own Correspondent

... person fired a shot, wounding a black man. At Inanda, a group of blacks set two houses and nine huts alight, injuring a black woman. Four men were arrested.

According to yesterday's unrest report the body of a black man with stab and bullet wounds was found at Inanda.

In another incident in the area a shop was damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

Police arrested 12 youths after a group gathered illegally in the Bulwer Trust area (Doringkop) and took part in an illegal procession.

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3/11/90  
S/D... 113

# Inkatha leader shot dead

MARITZBURG — A prominent Inkatha member, Imbali councillor Mr Thu Ngcobo, was shot dead in the centre of Maritzburg on Monday.

He was hit twice in the chest outside a fast-food outlet and died in hospital after being taken there by a passerby.

Mr Zamani Mlambi (25) was also hit in the chest, and died later. (118)

The Ngcobo family were on their way to a picnic and had stopped to buy food in Church Street, a friend said.

Mr George Scharambus, the owner of Chicken Licken, where the shooting occurred, said the shop was packed with customers when Mr Ngcobo ran in, followed by a man with a pistol.

There was a scuffle and two shots were fired, one hitting the roof and another the wall. bhw 4/11/90

Mr Ngcobo fled, but was hit twice as he reached the pavement, Mr Scharambus said.

Mr Ngcobo's wife and two of his younger children were in his car outside the shop, and witnessed the shooting, according to an Inkatha member.

Mr Scharambus said a spent 7.65 mm cartridge was found inside his shop and removed by police. No statements were taken from staff who witnessed the shooting.

Police released few details about the incident, saying an investigation was pending.

Police liaison officer Mr Henry Budhram said the motive for the killing was unknown and there had been no arrests.

The father of the other man killed, Mr Josiah Mlambi, said his son was not involved or connected with any political movement.

Mr Abdulá Aweta, also an Inkatha member and Imbali councillor, said Mr Ngcobo was regarded "as a strong and prominent member of Inkatha who had done everything the movement had required of him".

He said Inkatha knew who had carried out the shooting and had passed on details, including a car registration number, to police.

Mr Aweta said Mr Ngcobo was unarmed when shot. — Sapa.

NEGOTIATIONS

**Buthelezi's intent**

KwaZulu and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi believes a start towards negotiations can be made, judging by the letter which Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent to the UN Secretary General on December 7.

Addressing a rally attended by 3 000 supporters in Soweto on December 16, Buthelezi read extracts from Botha's letter: "The SA Government is irrevocably committed to the creation of a new SA based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system. In the political field the aim is the creation of a free and democratic political system . . ."

The letter then goes on to declare various rights and freedoms Pretoria is committed to achieving.

Buthelezi takes issue with the fact that the declaration is "unilateral and, therefore, of greatly reduced utility." He had appealed to President De Klerk, at their meeting on November 30, for a "Statement of Intent which both black and white could sign."

Buthelezi believes that De Klerk "should now say to me and other black leaders that there is this document on the table and that black and white leaders should now get to-



**Buthelezi . . . call for a statement of intent**

gether to amend it (and) sign it to create the momentum we need to put the politics of negotiation squarely on track."

While not "spurning" Botha's letter, Buthelezi believes it contains other "flaws" — such as the absence of an undertaking to scrap the Group Areas Act, which is a "stumbling block" to negotiations. Nor does it mention universal adult suffrage, an "issue that must be placed on the table."

Buthelezi also warns that "every black leader will be suspicious of the words 'freedom of dissociation'" (one of the principles mentioned in Botha's letter, together with freedom of association and movement). He suspects that "it is a built-in mechanism to ensure that whites living in white suburbs can continue living in white suburbs."

According to Buthelezi, the State President "needs to say specifically which Act he rejects when he rejects apartheid. I, for example, have done more to destroy the homeland policy than any other single black leader. I want the State President to tell me that apartheid is dead and that he rejects previous governments' homeland policies."

He said that he would bring to the negotiating table some of the fruits of the Buthelezi Commission and of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba. "In this document that could be turned into a Statement of Intent, there must be added that which is the best that, for example, the ANC could bring."

Buthelezi's speech was otherwise largely taken up with recalling all the appeals for black unity that he has made down the years and reiterated last Saturday in what was almost a plea for acceptance of his "multi-strategy approach." He also repeated that he would not enter negotiations until Nelson Mandela is released.

# Inkatha and UDF leaders can't control lower ranks'

GREG WYR

INANDA — During the bright and sunny days, the lush green hills and township streets full of children give a deceptive sense of serenity.

But during the sultry nights the area becomes a battleground in a black-on-black power struggle that is three years' old and still — except for isolated pockets (see adjoining story) — raging out of control.

## Furious pace

Supporters of the United Democratic Front, a nationwide anti-apartheid coalition, and Inkatha, a relatively conservative Zulu group, have been killing one another at a furious pace since late 1986, leaving an estimated 2 500 dead.

The violence, which began around Maritzburg, has spread across Natal and is at its most intense just outside Durban itself.

"There's no way to avoid the fighting. Everyone is involved," said Thlani Ncwane (19), a supporter of the UDF.

"Even if you are peaceful, you must de-

ferend your home against attack," said Ncwane, whose chin is scarred from a bullet wound.

More than 160 blacks died in factional violence near Durban in December, the highest monthly toll yet, according to a monitoring group from the Democratic Party. In November 62 died.

In Inanda, rows of burned-out houses sit inconspicuously on gently rolling hills. Frightened residents seek sanctuary in churches and the homes of their white employers and friends. Young men gather in small groups to patrol their neighbourhoods through the night.

## Teenagers

"The political temperature just keeps rising," said Roy Amstle, head of the Umst Montoring Group. "The legal situation has collapsed and the leadership on both sides is not active in controlling its members."

Natal's conflict began heating up in 1987 as the rest of the country's

black townships began cooling off after two years of turbulence.

Recent reforms by President F.W. de Klerk, such as allowing opposition rallies, have not eased the tensions in Natal. Most combatants are in their teens and early 20s, and their focus is largely on the local power struggle rather

than national political issues.

Poverty, unemployment, lack of political rights all are cited as causes for the Natal violence, although the same conditions prevail elsewhere. What distinguishes Natal is that it is the one part of the country where two powerful black factions

exist side by side.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the black political force in Natal. His Inkatha movement, which claims 1.5 million members, dominates rural areas.

But when the United Democratic Front was established in 1983, it won support from young,

urban blacks who embraced the organization's aggressive anti-apartheid tactics and its alignment with the ANC.

"The UDF advocates sanctions, boycotts and strikes to put pressure on the Government and generally favours a socialist-oriented economy."

Chief Buthelezi is a proponent of capitalism

and says sanctions harm all blacks.

Militants consider the chief a collaborator with the Government because he participates in the homeland system. But the Zulu leader says he sees tribal government simply as an interim step on the road to majority rule.

Chief Buthelezi often is cited as the black leader most acceptable to whites, and the Government has tried to draw him into negotiations.

However, a Government official, who requested anonymity, said surveys indicate the chief has minimal support aside from his fellow Zulus, who account for about 7 million of South

Both groups concede they have large numbers of young supporters they cannot control.

Frustrated Presidents have taken the law into their own hands, forming "ad hoc committees" and "people's courts". Police had been unable or unwilling to stop the carnage, said Mr Amstle. His monitoring group had recorded 1 500 violent acts in three years, but only five prosecutions. He said his group had submitted dozens of affidavits to police, but charges had not allowed.

Vlok Toppalpa

The UDF says police refuse to act against Inkatha and sometimes as-



READY FOR ACTION: Pungas, pick-handlers knobkerries and assegais are the order of the day as this group of Inkatha supporters travels to a meeting.



**ACTION:** Pangas, pick-handles knobkerries and assegais are the order of the day as this group of Inkatha supporters travels to a meeting, prepared for any confrontation with UDF members.

6/11/90  
 ... began ... after two ...  
 ... than national political issues.  
 ... Poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and lack of political rights all are cited as causes for the Natal violence, although the same conditions prevail elsewhere. What distinguishes Natal is that it is the one part of the country where two powerful black factions

exist side by side.  
 Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of kwaZulu, was long the major black political force in Natal. His Inkatha movement, which claims 1.5 million members, dominates rural areas.  
 But when the United Democratic Front was established in 1983, it won support from young,

urban blacks who embraced the organisation's aggressive anti-apartheid tactics and its alignment with the ANC.  
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 Chief Buthelezi often is cited as the black leader most acceptable to whites, and the Government has tried to draw him into negotiations.  
 However, a Government official, who requested anonymity, said surveys indicate the chief has minimal support aside from his fellow Zulus, who account for about 7 million of South Africa's 28 million blacks.  
 A well-advertised Buthelezi rally in December drew only 3 000 people to a 15 000-seat stadium in Soweto in site of hundreds being bussed in from hundreds of kilometres away.  
 "Black-on-black violence has become uglier and uglier and has now got about as ugly as it can get," Chief Buthelezi told the rally. "Without (black) unity we can forget about ever being able to destroy the white oppression."  
 Both sides have called repeatedly for peace, but talks broke off in August.

Both groups concede they have large numbers of young supporters they cannot control.  
 Frustrated residents have taken the law into their own hands, forming "defence committees" and "people's courts".  
 Police had been unable or unwilling to stop the carnage, said Mr Ainslie. His monitoring group had recorded 1 500 violent acts in three years, but only five prosecutions. He said his group had submitted dozens of affidavits to police, but charges had not followed.

### Vlok 'appalled'

The UDF says police refuse to act against Inkatha and sometimes assist Inkatha members carrying out attacks.  
 Police deny any bias and say they are unable to build criminal cases because potential witnesses, fearing reprisals, will not testify.  
 Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, accompanied by Chief Buthelezi, recently visited several townships. He described the poverty and violence as "appalling".  
 Police have added 700 men to the forces in the area, but the Government has not offered long-term proposals to address the problems.  
 — Associated Press.



**S**PREADING black-on-black violence that is the despair of the anti-apartheid movement has turned this beautiful South African valley into a battlefield of guns, spears and stones.

The Umsindusi valley, its green slopes framed by majestic flat-topped mountains, is one of the new killing grounds in a three-year-old feud between rival anti-apartheid groups.

More than 2 000 people have died and up to 100 000 have been made homeless in the fighting between warriors of Inkatha, supported by traditional Zulus and favoured by big business, and the United Democratic Front, which is denounced by the Government as a communist front.

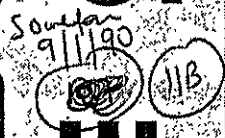
Both groups want to end apartheid but differ on tactics. Inkatha favours change from within the structures created by Pretoria, a strategy the UDF rejects.

They acknowledge that the violent rivalry harms the black cause in its confrontation with Pretoria. The death toll has accelerated in recent months.

The fighting has raged mainly in urban shanty towns around the cities of Maritzburg and Durban and in KwaZulu.

But human rights campaigners say the bloodshed is beginning

# Fear in valley of death



## FOCUS

to move into isolated rural areas like the Umsindusi valley, which contains the KwaZulu villages of Nyavu and Umsindusi.

Nyavu backs Inkatha. Umsindusi is sympathetic to the UDF.

"The rural areas are set to explode," Mr John Aitchison, an adult education specialist at the University of Natal, told a conference on the unrest which he has monitored closely.

Human rights activist Mr Roy Ainslie said the urban townships were "tied up".

"Alliances have been formed and most areas are committed one way or the other...Now the rural

areas are up for grabs."

Signs of violence were everywhere when white assistant parish priest Mark Hay and a Reuter correspondent made a walking tour of the eerily silent villages.

The villages, home for 10 000 Zulus, face each from opposite slopes across a river running along the valley floor.

Hundreds have fled during the fighting, which killed up to 40 people, badly wounded 100 and wrecked more than 60 homes.

Dozens of huts, rough round shelters built of mud or sand and cement, lay deserted and in ruins. Walls were pock-marked by bullets and shotgun pellets or were smashed in.

Villagers pointed to places where they said friends were hacked,

shot, stoned or burned to death. Doors of the few inhabited buildings, including Umsindusi's tiny stone church, were barred with corrugated iron sheeting, benches and chairs.

Saying he was on a peace mission, Hay asked a group of Nyavu women to pass word to their village chief that he wanted to mediate talks on ending the violence.

Nyavu warriors standing on buildings high up the valley watched Hay tour the village chief's fire-blackened home, wrecked just days before by a raiding party from Umsindusi.

Umsindusi villagers said the attacks began in earnest in September when an Inyavu raiding party, chanting war songs and battle cries, crossed a bridge over the river armed with spears, sticks, petrol bombs and home-made firearms.

In the worst incident, Nyavu attackers on December 2 were alleged to have killed six people in Umsindusi. Residents, echoing UDF charges



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha's president

of state bias towards Inkatha, said it was one of several Nyavu attacks in which police participated. Police deny it.

Hay arrived in Umsindusi later that day and evacuated dozens of villagers facing an attack by 300 armed men from Nyavu who were approaching the bridge to cross to Umsindusi.

"The men...were marching in a group with knives and shields," Hay said.

"They were marching in a solid line and were deadly silent. It was an intense, concentrated march."

Just then 19 white canoeists appeared on the river at the end of a trip.

When Hay explained the situation they ran for their parked cars and drove off, leaving two canoes behind.

Villagers in Umsindusi said the main motive for the December 2 attack was to kill a herbalist named Thabethe who made concoctions prized as a protection against bullets.

A woman cleaning Thabethe's deserted hut said he had escaped the attack and was in hiding.

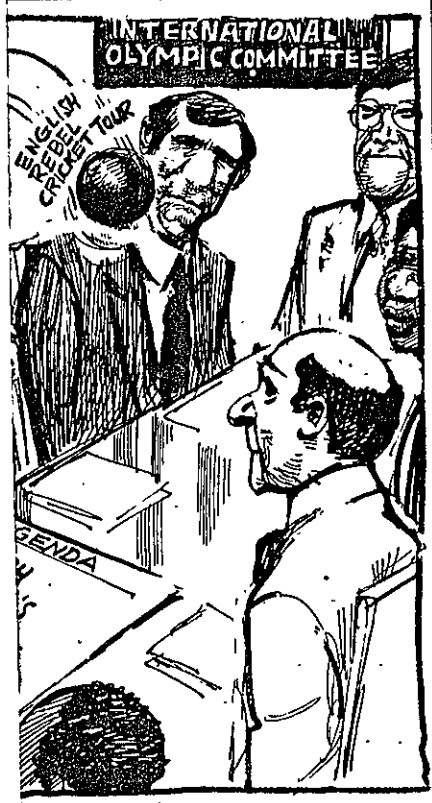
She said fighters drew strength by sprinkling their heads with herbs and scratching themselves with knives dipped in Thabethe's medicine.

Three elderly men huddled over a bottle of beer outside an Umsindusi hut said they were sleeping rough in nearby woods for fear their homes would be attacked at night.

"We need to farm, but fighting prevents us," said one.

The violence eased in late December after Umsindusi won a court order forbidding attacks on the village by the police and Nyavu.

Human rights activists said the conflict would continue to spread. - Sapa-Reuter.



### The Media Council

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Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Council/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matthaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# FW faces a tough agenda on Transkei mission



Gen Holomisa

*Cape Times 11/1/70*  
Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — Today's visit to Transkei by President F W de Klerk was "very significant", the country's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday.

Gen Holomisa made it clear that his government intended raising questions posed by "extra-parliamentary" groups, including the unbanning of liberation movements and dropping of the state of emergency, with Mr De Klerk. Transkei also wanted clarity on what role independent states would play in negotiations towards a new South African constitution.

Other questions to be raised included the Land Act, the Bantu Education Act, the continued existence of homelands and many parliaments, the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts and the return of political exiles.

Today's meeting is scheduled to begin at the government guest house in Umtata at 10am.

# Holomisa asks FW for cash

CHT Times 12/11/90



## Thatcher: 'I would love to visit SA'

CHT Times 12/11/90

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit South Africa this year, after ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's anticipated release. "I would love to go there," she said, confirming her readiness to accept a long-standing invitation from President F W de Klerk.

Her enthusiastic wish to visit South Africa was expressed in an exclusive interview with the Daily Telegraph of London, after she had been briefed on developments by Sir Robin Renwick, British ambassador to Pretoria.

After her talks with Sir Robin, Mrs Thatcher said she was confident of Mr Mandela's early release and the only question remaining was "precisely when and how" it would happen.

She said: "It would enable me to go there. I do not think one should necessarily just dash there."

"Again, you would have to judge the time when it was best for those in charge of the forward movement. One does not want to do anything that hinders, but only to help. But I would love to go."

Mr George Jones, political editor of the Daily Telegraph, said Mrs Thatcher was "full of praise for the way President De Klerk was handling the dismantling of what she described as the 'shocking invention' of apartheid".

## Seasick teenage sailor rescued by air

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A BARELY conscious teenage yachtsman was yesterday airlifted by helicopter from his father's storm-damaged yacht off Hondekilbaai on the West Coast and flown to Cape Town.

Rescue co-ordinators said Joshua Kuijs, 16, of Johannesburg, was dehydrated from three days of sea-sickness after a storm hit the 10-metre Die Wilderman, skippered by his father Mr Henk Kuijs, on Tuesday.

Table Bay port control officers received a mayday call at 6.20am yesterday. An Albatross aircraft and Puma helicopter fitted with long-range fuel tanks were sent out.

According to Mr Arthur Vink, the Hout Bay Yacht Club's marina officer, Mr Kuijs and his three-man crew sailed from Hout Bay at 7am on Sunday. They were headed for the Netherlands.

A storm struck them some 120 miles north of Dassen Island, wrecking their navigational equipment.

The Albatross found the yacht about 4.20pm yesterday and radioed the position to the Puma, waiting at Port Nolloth. The helicopter hoisted the ill teenager aboard and flew to Cape Town.

The helicopter landed at Vesterplaant about 9.25 last night, after a refuelling stop at Elands Bay, and the boy was taken by ambulance to Groote Schuur Hospital.

## Painting slashed

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A valuable

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Transkei was a failed political experiment which faltered because South Africa did not plough enough money into making it viable, military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In a bombshell address to President F W de Klerk at their first meeting yesterday, General Holomisa said South Africa had "compromised" Transkei's independence and reneged on Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's promise that separate development would be made to succeed "at all costs".

At their Umtata meeting President De Klerk advised General Holomisa to hand over to a civilian government and to refrain from any referendum regarding the future incorporation for Transkei, General Holomisa said.

"If this was not advice but a threat in a velvet glove then we can expect problems

"We are not going to listen to him," he added.

On his arrival Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his deputy Mr Leon Wessels, was met by a group of 40 placard-wielding people at the airport.

Some of the placards read "We are not Transkeians we are South Africans", "Unban ANC", and "Down with homeland system".

General Holomisa said Transkei would require an immediate capital injection of R4bn to provide housing, hospitals and roads.

Money formerly earmarked for the mercenary government of the Comoros and other countries should immediately be switched to support Transkei.

"The lack of economic viability and assistance negates our independence of the Republic of South Africa."

He said there was debate over the wisdom of "clinging to independence" in view of the changes happening in South Africa.

"The views of the present government are that South Africa has shifted political goal posts by openly disavowing a society based on group domination

"The commitment to embark upon profound political changes that for

the first time embrace black representation in the South African parliament has aroused great interest."

Outlining the reasons for the coup which put him in power, General Holomisa said few people had realised the seriousness of the problems in Transkei at the time.

"Those who held sway at the time disregarded the laws of the country and failed to adhere to their oaths of office.

"Businessmen who wanted to invest in Transkei had to pay huge sums of money before they could be granted the required licences — the infamous Sol Kerzner bribe of R2m is a case in point."

General Holomisa later told BBC television that negotiations in South Africa should take place under an outside mediator.

## Met fav under g

Staff report

NO chances are being taken over her at the Phillippi at Rixon.

The iron filly, whose wins in Queen's Plate, in which she is in the land, is quoted as a Cape's premier race. The new Blue Cossack, is on offer at

Rixon said yesterday that had prompted the placing of was simply a precautionary measure take chances".

The Met carries a stake of almost a minor consideration the millions of rands that will race by punters all over the of Waitui in straight and exotically

And so a guard will be on stable day and night right up day, January 20.

Rixon said that in spite of record — she has won three s

**JUST ARRIVED!**

**THE BIG LENS**

**500 mm TELEPHOTO**

**f.8**

**FOR AUTO FOCUS AND MANUAL CAMERAS**

FITS MOST SLR MAKES

EG NIKON, CANON, PENTAX, MINOLTA

# Holomisa asks FW for cash

CMT Tink 12/11/90  
118

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Transkei was a failed political experiment which faltered because South Africa did not plough enough money into making it viable, military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In a bombshell address to President F W de Klerk at their first meeting yesterday, General Holomisa said South Africa had "compromised" Transkei's independence and reneged on Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's promise that separate development would be made to succeed "at all costs".

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"We are not going to listen to him," he added. On his arrival Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha and his deputy Mr Leon Wessels, was met by a group of 40 placard-wielding people at the airport.

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"The commitment to embark upon profound political changes that for the first time embrace black representation in the South African parliament has aroused great interest."

Met fav

## Thatcher: 'I would love to visit SA'

CMT Tink 12/11/90

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit South Africa this year, after ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's anticipated release.

"I would love to go there," she said, confirming her readiness to accept a long-standing invitation from President F W de Klerk.

Her enthusiastic wish to visit South Africa was expressed in an exclusive interview with the Daily Telegraph of London, after she had been briefed on developments by Sir Robin Renwick, British ambassador to Pretoria.

After her talks with Sir Robin, Mrs Thatcher said she was confident of Mr Mandela's early release and the only question remaining was "precisely when and how" it would happen.

She said, "It would enable me to go there. I do not think one should necessarily just dash there.

"Again, you would have to judge the time when it was best for those in charge of the forward movement. One does not want to do anything that hinders, but only to help. But I would love to go."

Mr George Jones, political editor of the Daily Telegraph, said Mrs Thatcher was "full of praise for the way President De Klerk was handling the dismantling of what she described as the 'shocking invention' of apartheid".

JUST ARRIVED!

## Seasick teenage sailor rescued by air

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A BARELY conscious teenage yachtsman was yesterday airlifted by helicopter from his father's storm-damaged yacht off Hondekloppaal on the West Coast and flown to Cape Town.

Rescue co-ordinators said Joshua Kuijs, 16, of Johannesburg, was dehydrated from three days of sea-sickness after a storm hit the 10-metre Die Wilderman, skippered by his father Mr Henk Kuijs, on Tuesday.

Table Bay port control officers received a mayday call at 6.20am yesterday. An Albatross aircraft and Puma helicopter fitted with long-range fuel tanks were sent out.

According to Mr Arthur Vink, the Hout Bay Yacht Club's marina officer, Mr Kuijs and his three-man crew

R J. C. J.

Outlining the reasons for the coup which put him in power, General Holomisa said few people had realised the seriousness of the problems in Transkei at the time.

"Those who held sway at the time disregarded the laws of the country and failed to adhere to their oaths of office.

"Businessmen who wanted to invest in Transkei had to pay huge sums of money before they could be granted the required licences — the infamous Sol Kerzner bribe of R2m is a case in point."

General Holomisa later told BBC television that negotiations in South Africa should take place under an outside mediator.

"They have no other choice. We can't sit at a negotiation table chaired by them."

The South African government "must recognise they represent only a minority", he said.

## under g

Staff report  
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And so a guard will be on stable day and night right up to day, January 20.

Rixon said that in spite of her record — she has won three of the last three starts — he had Wainui had opened such a stake for the Met.

Fillies do not have a good record. The last to win was Renounce, and she was carrying less weight than

● Racing — Page 15

CAPE TOWN (115) (115) (115)  
January 15, 1990

## SAP man held in Transkei, says SA

UMTATA. — The South African ambassador to Transkei, Mr Gert Terblanche, has confirmed an SAP constable from Soweto and a former Transkeian policeman are being held in connection with an alleged murder attempt on Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The two men were arrested on December 29.

General Holomisa said in an interview with the SABC yesterday that the men had admitted they were part of a group whose aim was to topple his government. He said the group was in hiding in South Africa.

The policeman, Constable Mhloti Phillip Mabundla, and Mr Cleopas "Schoolboy" Maxibukoare were being held in Transkei, he said.

He appealed to Pretoria to adhere to a treaty between the two countries under which neither was allowed to use its territory for acts of aggression against the other.

Police said earlier Const Mabundla had been stationed at Klip-town in Soweto.

Meanwhile, a former member of the military council, Lt-Col Craig Duli, has denied he was involved in an alleged attempt last year to topple the military government. — Sapa

## 43 die in disco blaze

ZARAGOZA, Spain. — An electrical fire broke out in a discotheque early yesterday, giving off poisonous smoke that killed 43 people.

The victims were trapped in the basement of the club when the fire broke out and many of the dead were found "still sitting in their chairs", said deputy mayor Mr Luis Nieto.

The speed with which people died may have been due to hydrocyanic acid — used to produce acrylics — in the smoke. — Sapa-AP

# Plot: Holomisa calls for SA's help

UMTATA. — The Transkei Government has called for the co-operation of the South African Government in the arrest of a former Butterworth businessman, who is alleged to have put up the money for a plot to assassinate Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The businessman has apparently taken refuge in SA.

In a statement General Holomisa called for the SA Government's assistance in arresting Mr V Mbotoli, "said to be under heavy guard in South Africa".

The issue of Transkei's alleged destabilisation by "a certain businessman" had been raised by President T N Ndamase during Mr F W de Klerk's visit to Transkei on January 11, the statement said.

CAP 6 Tim B 16/1/90  
118  
3  
"This matter has been raised on numerous occasions."

General Holomisa, in an address during a visit by SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, had said he wished to assure Transkei's neighbours his country would not be used as a springboard for attacks against any of them.

The Transkei leader said co-operation with regard to Mr Mbotoli by the SA Government would help remove any suspicion incurred by Mr Mbotoli's hiding in that country.

"Within this context, the denial of prior knowledge about this issue by the SA Government cannot be understood." — Sapa

FW, Sebe <sup>CAP-  
Tink</sup>  
plead for <sup>19/1/90</sup>  
togetherness <sup>(116) (S) (A)</sup>

**Political Staff**

THE time had come for people who shared the same values throughout Southern Africa to stand together, President F W de Klerk and President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei said yesterday after a two-hour meeting.

The people of Southern Africa should move closer together, putting aside ideological differences and resisting radical influences, they said in a statement released by the South African embassy in Bisho.

President De Klerk assured President Sebe that Ciskei had an active role to play in shaping a new South Africa.

The statement said the two leaders agreed that future political developments in Southern Africa had to be based on consultations between governments on a continuous basis.

During the discussions, Chief Sebe presented the South African delegation with a document, which reflected the Ciskei government's thinking on possible future constitutional developments in South Africa.

President De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, and other senior officials.

The Ciskeian delegation consisted of various cabinet ministers, as well as Chieftainess Nolizwa Sandile, Mother of the Nation, senior chiefs and government officials.



*Capt. M.B. Piliro*  
**Holomisa:  
Army to  
stay on**

**PORT ELIZABETH.** —  
Transkei's military  
leader, Major-General  
Bantu Holomisa, says he  
and the military council  
will hand over to civilian  
rule only when corrup-  
tion is cleaned up.

Continuing his haw-  
kish political attitude of  
last week when he met  
South African President  
F W de Klerk, General  
Holomisa said Trans-  
kei's relations with  
South Africa were cor-  
dial, but the country  
would not tolerate  
"alien" domination in its  
affairs.

He said: "Any funda-  
mental changes in the  
political framework in  
South Africa will impact  
positively on our future  
and the pace of socio-  
economic denudation  
everywhere in black  
communities in the  
SATBVC states."

were running at about 15% to 30% of capacity, he said.  
Formerly Johannesburg High

ed library books, a piano, an overhead projector and science equipment, McGurk said.

# Vlok's planned talks criticised

**CHARLENE SMITH**

DISSENT has arisen about a planned series of meetings with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Durban tomorrow to secure peace in the violence-ridden areas in Natal.

Some of those invited say Vlok's office has ignored repeated requests for an agenda and they find it impossible to send mandated delegates if they do not know the purpose of the discussions.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet will not comment on these allegations, but says the talks will include members of the UDF, Inkatha and "interested individuals".

At least one group has declined the invitation. A group of prominent church leaders, including Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley and former Methodist president Khosa

Ngojo, who applied for an interview with President F W de Klerk last year and were referred to Vlok to discuss an end to the conflict, were among those who complained about the lack of an agenda.

They faxed a letter to De Klerk yesterday expressing their concern that their attempts for a private meeting to discuss the Natal violence were being ignored. They said Vlok had invited them to a further series of talks he was having with church people in Cape Town on January 29, but there was insufficient notice given of that meeting.

Vlok's discussions will be held at the Tropicana Hotel on the Durban beachfront tomorrow.

B10 27 24/11/90

USE PRO-Wilson's death is great loss?

# Union conflict at Haggie Rand plant still unresolved

ADELE BAILETA

A DATE has not yet been set for a meeting to resolve the conflict between Inkatha's United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) and the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) at Haggie Rand's Germiston plant. Five workers have died and eight have been injured in inter-union conflict at the plant since September last year.

Haggie Rand's efforts to hold a meeting on January 17 with the unions to try and resolve the issue failed when Numsa withdrew at the last minute over a disagreement about representation at the meeting.

A management spokesman said there had also been three attempted shootings, eight voluntary resignations believed to be associated with the violence, and 11 workers had left the plant without giving reasons.

B/Don 28/11/90

The latest death occurred earlier this month when Numsa member Julius Nkosi was shot dead in Katshehong.

Uwusa spokesman A B Shundu said the battle between the unions began in September when Numsa embarked on an overtime ban. He said Numsa workers had tried to intimidate Uwusa members to join the industrial action. "Our policy is negotiation and we do not support Numsa in the overtime ban. Our aims and objectives on the shop floor are different from Numsa's," he said.

A Numsa spokesman denied its members had been intimidating other workers, saying many Numsa members had not taken part in the overtime ban. He said Uwusa members had, unprovoked, attacked Numsa members. Numsa pulled out of the January 17 meeting after a request that shop stewards from the Germiston and Jupiter plants be present turned down by management.

The company spokesman said management believed it was not necessary to have Jupiter shop stewards at the meeting as there was no violence at that plant.

But the Numsa spokesman said the union felt there was the potential for the conflict to spread to the Jupiter plant.

NUMSA CLARK CONCERNING

# Natal peace plan to be unveiled

By S'BU MNGADI

RECENTLY-released ANC leaders, backed by the ANC and the MDM, will unveil a bold plan at Durban's King's Park Stadium next month to end the Natal violence.

After a three-day meeting between ANC veteran Walter Sisulu, six other former detainees and other MDM leaders, and the national executive committee and members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, a statement was issued saying the ANC viewed "this continuing massacre of the people" as totally unacceptable.

The statement said the situation in Natal was a national problem which required the direct intervention of "our national leaders to interact with the people affected by this violence and all other forces interested in ending it".

An attempt to end the violence would be made without delay.

Dr Diliza Mji, national president of the National Medical and Dental Association and member of the National Reception Committee, yesterday confirmed an open-air rally would be held on February 18 and the MDM

*C/Press* 28/1/90  
expected over 100 000 people to attend.

Mji also represents the UDF in a five-man Cosatu/UDF delegation to the peace initiative with Inkatha.

Meanwhile, the joint Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu working committee has adopted a dual approach - to continue to remove obstacles in the way of implementing the peace proposals and to concentrate on local peace initiatives, without appearing to be interfering unduly.

Mji said two members from each delegation of the joint working committee had been meeting in-

formally since December to try to revive the peace process "scuttled by KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi when it had reached an advanced stage last August".

Buthelezi declared a moratorium on further peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance "until there is the prospect of success".

Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo echoed the Namda President's comment that the local-level approach to the problem seemed to be working.

# 'African heads may have to mediate in Natal'

ULUNDI — Natal's devastating violence might finally need the mediation of African heads of state, KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a representative of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko yesterday.

Buthelezi, also Inkatha president, stated the possibility in a memorandum on discussions with former Zairean foreign minister Bula Nyati Mandungu, who is now special advisor to Mo-

butu. He said it was time to get negotiations going in SA by telling State President F. W. de Klerk "we are prepared to back anything he does to legis-

late real change into existence". He was not afraid of a white president taking the right steps in the right direction. But there was need for caution about proposing a "once-only, big-bang event" which would launch black politics into a position of ascendancy and make whites subservient.

The violence in Natal between the "ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance" and members of Inkatha had already cost more than 2,000 lives, and he feared that unless it was diffused, national negotiations might not take place despite white willingness for them. Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

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118

# Natal leaders seeks asylum in Transkei

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), Chief Mhlabuzima Mapumulo of Kwazulu Natal near Maritzburg, has sought political asylum in Transkei.

Chief Mapumulo, who arrived in Umtata on Saturday morning, told reporters at K D Matanzima Airport that he decided to flee after his house was burned down on Thursday night. He blamed Inkatha and special constables for the incident.

He said there had been a dispute between him and another chief over a certain piece of land which Chief Mapumulo claimed belonged to his area. Since the dispute became an issue he had lived under constant harassment.

"After I identified some of the people behind the campaign I filed an urgent Supreme Court interdict asking the court to restrain these people from harassing me and my family," Chief Mapumulo said.

He said the application is due to be heard at 2.30pm on Friday in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg.

Chief Mapumulo is expected to meet the authorities today.

# Inkatha seeks 'broad' ANC links

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — In a move which could help defuse the bloody feud between Inkatha and the UDF in Natal, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has expressed the need for a broad anti-apartheid coalition with the ANC.

In an interview with the Guardian newspaper yesterday, Inkatha leader Buthelezi said no approach had yet been made by leaders of the recently unbanned ANC for such a coalition.

However, he said, relations between himself and ANC leader Nelson Mandela remained warm.

While there had been no meeting with Mandela, he said Mandela had indicated he hoped such a meeting could take place once the exiled ANC leadership was allowed to return home and Mandela was out of jail.

Buthelezi noted that an invitation to Walter Sisulu, another senior ANC leader, still stood. He added he was himself a member of the ANC while at university and formed Inkatha in the late 1970s with the encouragement of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

No approach had yet been made to

him since the seven ANC leaders were released from life imprisonment last year, or since the ANC was unbanned last week.

But he told the Guardian: "We are always prepared to join hands with other anti-apartheid forces."

However, Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo stressed that: "If there is to be any coalition, the ANC must not dominate. There must be collective leadership, equal responsibility and autonomy of the groups in a coalition." (113)

The UDF, which is closely linked to the ANC, has been locked in a struggle with Inkatha members for the past three years, during which more than 2 500 people have died.

The ANC has recently shown an increasing readiness to form alliances with organisations opposed to apartheid but which work within the "system", among them Transkei military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa and, recently, the Labour Party.

06/12/90  
M/D/M

### Give and take

Government's pre-negotiation process may be eased by the formation of a small, informal committee of influential leaders. They would be able to discuss issues and plan agendas for presentation in a broader forum.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen denied this week that there are already plans for a committee (comprising himself, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi). But he does not rule out the possibility of a "small group of influential leaders" performing ground-breaking tasks.

Viljoen is understandably vague about how he sees negotiation getting off the ground. But he says the process must be as comprehensive and inclusive as possible.

"We will take initiatives and will welcome initiatives from the other side. We are prepared to discuss any problems the ANC or other parties may have in order to find an acceptable interpretation of government's policy."

He says mutual trust and confidence are obviously keys to successful negotiations. While the ANC may be suspicious of government's intentions, government in turn has "considerable reservations" about the ANC's attitude towards violence.

Viljoen insists that the National Party will

enter negotiations with an open agenda and no preconditions. Even though it feels strongly about particular issues, the party is prepared to "lay them on the table."

"We are convinced," he says, "that we will be able to take enough (in the negotiating process) to justify what we will have to give."

Viljoen concedes that re-orientating white South Africans to accept change is a "real problem," but believes that the "political risks" necessary to break out of the cycle of conflict and violence must be taken as soon as possible. ■



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CAF Times  
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# 'I'm ready to negotiate now' says Chief Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants to start negotiations with the government immediately — and says that if the ANC are not ready, it's "their problem".

Chief Buthelezi has come increasingly under the spotlight in the British press as the prospect of negotiations looms closer.

In a lengthy interview with the Times, published yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said President F W de Klerk had "fulfilled all my conditions for negotiation and so I'm ready to negotiate now".

"If the ANC aren't ready, that's their problem. They chose the armed struggle path and criticised people like me who stayed inside the country and organised."

"Well, now we've got our organisation and I don't see why we should sit around waiting for them to get their act together."

Elsewhere in the interview, Chief Buthelezi told the Times that resolution of the bloody feud in Natal was fundamental to negotiations.

He said neither Inkatha nor the ANC would be keen to sit down with the other while the violence continued. Peace was also essential for proper elections.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed the ANC had departed from its historic tradition while in exile, becoming out of touch with its grassroots. He said Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to have a house built in his native Transkei was a clear sign he hoped to consolidate his support there, thereby becoming the only ANC leader with both a large rural and urban following.

On the possibility that the ANC would demand the fusion of his organisation with it, he said this was unacceptable.

He added that it would be folly to disregard the fact that he, as a member of the Zulu royal family, represented something real.

# Haggie seeks help on inter-union violence

610-1 9/2/90

WIRE-ROPE manufacturing giant Haggie Rand had sought intervention from the SA government, the KwaZulu government and Seifsa in a bid to resolve inter-union violence at its plants, a company spokesman said yesterday. (S) (IB) (USA)

He said letters were sent last week to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi and Seifsa asking for their cooperation in ending the conflict that had left one worker dead at the Jupiter plant and five others dead at the Germiston plant. Six workers had also been injured.

The spokesman said concern over the

ADELE BALETA

deaths had prompted the move.

Attempts by the company to meet the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) and Inkatha's United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) to discuss the violence were unsuccessful.

The unions have not yet responded to company telexes sent on February 2 requesting another meeting to discuss conflict that arose in September when Uwusa opposed Numsa's call for an overtime ban.

The spokesman said the dead and injured were Zulu and the company believed Buthelezi's help might ease the situation.

# Only Mandela can end the Natal violence

W/maill 9/2-15/2/90

● From previous page

These structural problems are caused by "the collapse of apartheid planning" and inability to deal with the rapid urbanisation in Natal, particularly around Durban.

University of Natal labour researcher Ari Sitas said a pattern in the conflict had been noted in which newly established squatter communities fought more permanent township settlements for access to water and other civil amenities.

Sitas said this gave rise to the phenomenon "warlordism" where residents were forced to pay protection money and homage to local gang leaders. These "warlords" tended to join Inkatha for protection from arrest by the KwaZulu or South African Police, he said.

Hindson said a peace settlement that was not accompanied by a coherent development plan was bound to fail. Unemployment, cited by many academics as a leading cause of the conflict, would have to be countered by stimulating Durban's economy.

He said the possibility of achieving such a long-term plan would be considerably improved if the two sides could reach a political settlement.

Chances of such an agreement being reached were more likely with the help of an unbanned ANC, which would be able to organise local branches to tackle the problems of squatters, housing, civil amenities and even such issues as the jurisdiction and boundaries of Natal's urban areas.

Hindson also pointed out that organisations operating without government restrictions would also be able to exert more effective control over those elements within their own ranks who wanted to act against a peace accord.

But, according to Morris, whether peace will come to Natal depends on how Buthelezi sees his options in the search for a negotiated settlement for all South Africa.

Morris believes the Inkatha leader has three options: he can seek an accommodation with the ANC, he can seek recognition for being the primary political force in Natal or he may seek a DTA-type option by aligning himself with the middle ground — the coloured Labour Party and the array of Indian parliamentary forces.

The latter option depends on how these groupings see their own options, the second would most likely isolate him in a minor regional role, leaving the first as the most attractive.

However, Morris says, Buthelezi has set his sights too high if he hopes to have equal status with the ANC, and would be better off seeking recognition as a constituent in the forces for national change.

## COULD A FREE MANDELA END NATAL'S VIOLENCE?

BY THANDEKA GUBULLE

FREEDOM for Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC could provide the key to ending Natal's civil war, say researchers who have monitored the three-year conflict.

University of Natal political scientists Mike Morris and Doug Hindson believe peace talks presided over by Mandela are likely to succeed because both sides claim to owe at least some respect to the ANC leader. Morris says Inkatha has tried to make a distinction between Mandela and the ANC and that both the UDF and Inkatha have quoted Mandela in justifying their cause. He added that neither side would want to fall foul of Mandela's counsel. Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would also acquire the advantage of enhancing his own stature by entering

into a peace drive with Mandela, Hindson and Morris believe.

Buthelezi wants a prominent place in any framework for negotiations, a place that would assure him sufficient influence over his adversaries. His inability to achieve this has been a factor leading to the failure of previous peace initiatives, they believe.

Buthelezi has also indicated that he is willing to serve under Mandela in a national government and has taken exception to what he sees as attempts by the UDF and Cosatu to oust him from the anti-apartheid fold.

Buthelezi is said to want some recognition from the anti-apartheid movement and is irritated by claims that he is an extension of the apartheid system. Morris said Inkatha's role in the Natal conflict had been "very problematic" but

that there were "deep structural causes to the war that need to be addressed".

In his watershed speech last week President F W De Klerk cited the Natal conflict as one of the reasons why the State of Emergency could not be withdrawn fully.

But Hindson believes that the emergency regulations will not solve the Natal conflict, which instead requires a coherent development strategy as well as a political accord between the two sides.

Walter Sisulu and other ANC members have also said that the Emergency is delaying Mandela's release, a further factor delaying the search for peace in Natal.

Morris says that even if the political parties reach a peace settlement, "structural problems" in the region will still generate violent conflict.

OTO PAGE

# We must put our houses in order, says Inkatha chief

View from Ulundi - KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spells out his opinion.

LET me first of all say that the death, destruction and suffering breaks my heart. I have had close friends and colleagues murdered and maimed.

I read terrible accusations that Inkatha leaders are allegedly to blame.

We are painted as hypocrites who speak of peaceful change while eliminating our opponents.

Members and supporters of Inkatha have tragically been involved. Equally, members and supporters of the UDF, Cosatu and other groups have been involved. Individuals acting on their own have been involved.

None of us can shirk responsibility for our actions and it rests on our shoulders to do what we can to put a stop to the barbarous behaviour.

There are differing viewpoints. "Goodies" and "baddies" are pigeonholed. This has got us nowhere.

What must we do? It is time we all put our houses in order.

I must quote from an ANC document dated June 1985 - entitled "Commission on Cadre Policy, Political and Ideological Work - Commission on Strategy" - which throws light on political aspects of the problem.

"The openly counter-revolutionary role that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has assumed is noted. Buthelezi, unlike Mphahlele, 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."

In June there were peace talks in which members of UDF/Cosatu participated with Inkatha. They produced a document which they read in front of the presidents of ANC, Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

They recommended a conference abroad in which these organisations were to be represented. They decided that all should be represented by a 10-member delegation. The Inkatha Central Committee called for a moratorium on these talks while the question of the number of each delegation was sorted out.

The Committee recommended Inkatha have a delegation of 10, Uwasa 10 and members of the PAC in the Natal/KwaZulu region also 10.

I wrote Oliver Tambo a letter on August 1 before he had a stroke which suggested a number of dates on which I was prepared to see him in London.

I did not receive acknowledgement of that letter from Tambo or from secretary general Alfred Nzo.

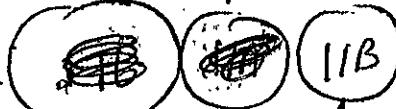
A South African Congress of Trade Union's position paper at this time stated: "The onus is on us to neutralise Gatsha once and for all. The snake that is poisoning South Africa needs to be hit on the head."

While the moratorium was declared I allowed Dr OD Dhlomo, the secretary-general of Inkatha, and Dr FT Mdlalose, our National Chairman, to talk to Dr D Mji of the UDF and Alec Erwin of Cosatu on December 19 and 20.

They agreed to jointly brief Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia Trialists released with him. Dr Mji and Erwin undertook to ensure that this was done. But no response was received and the next thing we heard Sisulu and his colleagues had gone on an extended tour.

I am asking that we all put political considerations aside and join hands in cleaning up this mess.

B/Day 14/2/90



# Inkatha ends peace talks

DURBAN — About 8 000 Inkatha members decided at a rally in Mpumalanga yesterday they would suspend their peace talks with the UDF because Inkatha was convinced the UDF was not honouring the agreement.

And a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said more troops were to be sent into Natal and KwaZulu in a bid to contain the escalating violence, which has left at least 51 people dead since Sunday.

The Mpumalanga rally was held on a patch of waste land between the Inkatha-dominated squatter area of Woodyglen and Ward 10. Placards reading: "The UDF was the first to murder", "Are these peace talks slowly poisoning us?" and "Enough is enough" had been erected in Unit 10 by Inkatha youth.

Inkatha Central Committee member Nqobisizwe Nkehli said in view of the recent upsurge in violence in the area in which at least 17 people have died, the rally had resolved to suspend the six-week-old peace talks.

He said Inkatha inhabitants of Ward 10 had been trapped in the area by "UDF comrades" who had barred their only exit from Mpumalanga on a road which ran

Own Correspondent

through UDF-dominated Unit 3.

He said on Monday a man going to work at Cato Ridge abattoir was hauled off a bus by "comrades" and burnt while 60 passengers were prevented from going to work.

Nkehli said 12 people involved in the incident were missing, but he believed they had gone into hiding.

He said the long series of recent UDF attacks signified that it was "all sides of the UDF here involved in the violence. Now we have resolved to suspend the peace talks and withdraw our delegates."

He criticised the fact that the original UDF delegation had been replaced at least twice since talks began.

Meanwhile, fighting continued in many of Natal's townships yesterday, with a number of incidents of arson, and refugees continued to flee from the strife-torn areas.

Police said a 13-year-old schoolgirl was stabbed to death by a mob in Lamontville. Staff and students at the Mangosuthu Technikon in Umlazi were sent home because of fears of violence in their area.

Residents in Kwa Mashu said children had been called out of their schools "to come and fight" yesterday, and houses in K-section were burnt.

In Inanda the atmosphere was very tense, with residents arming themselves with pangas and firearms before leaving their homes. Small children were spotted siphoning petrol out of underground tanks at a garage which was gutted during the violence.

Police said no incidents occurred in Inanda yesterday.

● Comment Page 12

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — February 12 1990.....	605
Past 24 hours' official toll:.....	9
<b>TOTAL:.....</b>	<b>1 282</b>

IDEOLOGY F/M 16/2/90

### Mellow views

A veteran communist and old ANC member, banned for nearly 40 years, believes Nelson Mandela and the ANC may not be seriously considering nationalisation.

Rowley Arenstein (71), a former attorney until he was disbarred in 1967, was freed of restrictions on February 2 when President F W de Klerk unbanned the Communist Party. (11B)

Since 1953 Arenstein has had several banning orders served on him, spent 18 years under house arrest and served a four-year jail sentence for furthering the aims of communism. He now holds views broadly supportive of recent political reforms in the country, though he remains a committed communist.

He worked with Mandela in the Congress Movement before the ANC leader was imprisoned. He was already a member of the

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 16 1990

F/M 16/2/90 (11B)

Arenstein says he hopes to return to a legal career and expects his wife will start writing again. Their two daughters are attorneys. ■

# Leaders set for ANC-Inkatha talks

By S'BU MNGADI

11B

THE ANC internal leadership, headed by Nelson Mandela, is set to hold talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the Natal violence this week. *9/18/2/90*

The talks will precede the big welcoming rally planned for Mandela next Sunday at King's Park stadium in Durban.

Details of the talks were finalised

in Johannesburg on Thursday when Diliza Mji and Willies Mcunu, both members of the UDF-Cosatu committee involved in peace initiatives with Inkatha, met senior ANC leaders - including Mandela.

Mji told *City Press* yesterday the ANC leaders would tour the trouble spots and meet the people affected by the violence before meeting Inkatha.

■ To Page 2

## ANC, Inkatha to talk

■ From Page 1

On Friday, Buthelezi criticised Mandela's comment that police were supporting Inkatha in Natal.

He said Mandela should question those who had informed him because their information had led to errors of judgment. *9/18/2/90*

In a statement on Friday he said people in the Indelani area affected by the violence had approached him with allegations of partisan police action.

He had approached Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to investi-

gate the matter "so if there was any truth in the matter, we could act against the stated involvement of the SAP."

"Vlok came, saw, and made a statement. In that statement he pointed a finger at the UDF."

"Now Mandela says there is evidence the SAP is supporting Inkatha in violence against the UDF that the police incite and says: 'One of the clearest illustrations of this was when Vlok met Buthelezi and accused the UDF of being responsible for the violence.'"

Buthelezi stressed he was reacting to Press reports.

"I react cautiously because Mandela is who he is and I have not yet sat down to talk with him on a wide range of issues."

It is thought Mandela will be in Natal for four days after his visit to Lusaka, where he is expected to confer with exiled ANC leaders.

Natal has historical significance for Mandela and the ANC.

Mandela's last public appearance before incarceration was the All-In African People's Conference in Maritzburg, called in response to the white electorate's decision that the Union of South Africa would become a Republic on May 31, 1961.



Kwazulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

# He's coming to Natal

BY S'BU MNGADI

116

ON hearing ANC leader Nelson Mandela was coming to Natal next Sunday, a senior political activist remarked jubilantly: "The Bible says 'In the beginning there was the voice', and we say, 'In the beginning there was Nelson Mandela.'"

It's, against, such messianic entology that Mandela will arrive in Natal to face a monumental task: stopping the mindless carnage there, a task everyone across the political spectrum has undertaken and failed: dismally to bring about.

Even adversaries, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Cosatu president Elijah Barayi, were optimistic this week that peace talks presided over by Mandela were likely to succeed.

Mandela stressed the solution to the strife lay with the UDF-Cosatu-Inkatha peace initiative, on which Buthelezi declared a moratorium in August last year.

Early this week Mandela told his first Press conference in Cape Town the ANC differed fundamentally from Buthelezi on the issue of violence, the attitude towards government structures and economic sanctions, but added it seemed proper to try to settle problems in which Buthelezi was involved amicably because he had a following.

"Nothing would please us more than that they (Inkatha) should join us," Mandela repeated — a suggestion which Buthelezi rejected when first raised by the media before Mandela's release.

"He has shown his agony (over the killings), and the pain of the man is loud and clear in the letter he wrote to me," Buthelezi said, referring to a letter he received in 1988. He said Mandela had chosen to address the issue of the Natal violence through him rather than through the ANC.

Buthelezi hoped Mandela would lobby for his (Buthelezi's) readmission into the MDM

fold, while he expressed reservations that the UDF, ANC and Cosatu would exploit the peace initiative.

Buthelezi also fears, like former general secretary Walter Sisulu and his recently released comrades, Mandela might be "monopolised" by the ANC and its traditional internal allies.

Nonetheless, Inkatha has booked Durban's King's Park Rugby stadium for March 25 to welcome Mandela and other leaders.

The ANC, on the other hand, plans to invite the Zulu King Zwelithini to share a platform at next Sunday's Durban rally with Mandela and other ANC leaders.

The ANC leaders said their Durban rally would precede a crucial meeting between the ANC, Buthelezi and King Zwelithini to discuss the continuing violence.

Mandela's attendance at Inkatha's rally seems likely to depend on whether Buthelezi, and to some extent his Kwazulu Cabinet, will allow the Zulu King to accept the ANC invitation.

Office 1812190 Cape Town 1812190



# Mandela, Buthelezi to discuss unrest

EDYTH BULBRING and  
CHARLENE SMITH

113  
ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed to meet to discuss the Natal violence and other issues, and ANC leaders plan a tour of the province's trouble spots next week. 51/2/90

Walter Sisulu and other key ANC leaders, will visit the violence torn areas of Natal on February 22 in an effort to bring peace to the area, which is seeing an average of three deaths a day and where unrest has left more than 70 000 refugees.

Sisulu said those in the ANC party would include Ahmed Kathrada, Wilton Mkwayi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Nelson Mandela would arrive in Durban on February 25 where he will address a rally at Durban's King Park.

The ANC leaders would be briefed by the inter-organisational committee, set up by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, on February 22 and would meet other individuals and the families affected by the violence, Sisulu said.

Mandela telephoned KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday to inform him of his arrival in Natal on February 25, Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday.

He said the conversation was cordial and the two agreed to meet when their schedules permitted although a date was not set.

Late last week Mandela accused the

□ To Page 2

## Unrest

91/2/90  
SAP of "inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the UDF" in Natal. He condemned Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok for blaming the UDF for the violence without meeting them.

However, in a statement released on Friday Buthelezi accused Mandela of not checking out the facts either.

Buthelezi said recently residents of the strife-torn areas had come to him "deeply concerned by what they saw as SA Police involvement in the violence against them." He said he contacted Vlok who visited the area and blamed the UDF.

115  
Tribal chiefs in the Pietermaritzburg area met yesterday to discuss peace moves in the region. Late last week key leaders in Natal, including church leaders, were in Harare discussing the conflict with the ANC after failing to secure a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

A researcher for the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Natal, in Pietermaritzburg, which is monitoring the violence, said there were estimates that 5 000 people had fled the area in the past week. The Pietermaritzburg town council is sheltering 400 refugees.

□ From Page 1

# Buthelezi speaks on Mandela 118

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INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday the Press had incorrectly created the impression that difficulties had arisen between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela, so heightening the Natal conflict between Inkatha and ANC affiliates.

Buthelezi said he had been in contact with Mandela who was reported to have said police were siding with Inkatha in the conflict which has claimed thousands of lives.

We discussed the reports indicating conflict between us and while I do not want to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela, I say that I am entirely at ease and satisfied that there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there.

Buthelezi said. On Friday Buthelezi denied police supported his Zulu Inkatha movement and said Mandela's comments reflected an error of judgment.

The Inkatha leader's statement on Saturday came almost at the same time that Mandela's aides said the ANC leader would travel to Natal to address the problem of violence.

is meeting senior officials of the Botswana government, a spokesman said yesterday.

*Ent Times 20/7/80*  
**Mangope says no to ANC**

MMABATHO. — President Lucas Mangope yesterday said Bophuthatswana would never be re-incorporated into South Africa and said the ANC could not be allowed to mobilise there.

(11B)  
T'kei to meet  
ANC, PAC  
2/2/90

UMTATA. — Senior Transkei military officers are to meet executive members of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, among other groupings, to ascertain their views on Transkei's future political role.

Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday that following a meeting of the Military Council, it had been decided that a Defence Staff Council (DSC), comprising senior military officers, would meet the executive committees of the ANC and PAC and any other relevant organisations, to ascertain their perceptions on political developments in Transkei. — Sapa

# Mandela <sup>Care Trip</sup> <sup>21/2/90</sup> sees Swedish delegate <sup>11B</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met a representative of the Swedish legation, Mr Jan Lundvik, and 15 chiefs from Transkei in separate meetings at his home.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Lundvik said the Swedish legation had called for the meeting to make preparations for Mr Mandela's coming visit to Sweden where he will also see ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Wide-ranging matters, including the South African political situation, were discussed.

Mr Lundvik said the Swedish government and its people were confident the ANC leader would make a great contribution to the South African political scene.

The Swedish official, who posed for pictures with Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, after the meeting, added that they warmly welcomed his visit to Sweden.

A leader of the delegation of chiefs, Chief Anderson Joyi, said they had come to see Mr Mandela to discuss the situation in the country.

They had also requested that the ANC patriarch visit the graves of dead relatives in Transkei.

Chief Joyi said Mr Mandela indicated that his visit would take place later as he was now attending to political matters in Johannesburg.

The head of the four million-strong Zion Christian Church, Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyana, also met Mr Mandela yesterday.

Tomorrow the ANC leader will host Mr Victor Sefera of the Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and will meet Azapo representatives, the National Reception Committee said.

On Friday Mr Mandela will meet leaders of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party in separate meetings. — Sapa

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS PHOTO

## Indaba cuts 113 staff

SEVERAL top staffers in the KwaZulu Natal Indaba have lost their jobs and the reason has been given as financial cuts.

Rumours that the organisation had run into problems were accentuated when, soon after the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other organisations, Indaba officials declined to make any official comment.

# ANC brings Inkatha and Cosatu to peace talks

6/10 of 22/7/90

**DURBAN** — ANC and Inkatha leaders will discuss the Natal violence for the first time at a meeting here today, as part of the ANC's "peace mission" to the strife-torn province.

The mission will include visits by ANC leaders to troubled townships and discussions with people directly affected by the violence.

It will end with mass ANC rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on Sunday. The rally will be addressed by Nelson Mandela.

Organisers said yesterday that between 175 000 and 250 000 people were expected.

ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni arrive at Louis Botha airport this morning and will meet representatives of Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance this afternoon.

Leading the Inkatha delegation is secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

The Cosatu/UDF representatives are Dr Dilliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association, and Numsa education officer Alec Erwin.

One of the organisers Anne McKay estimates costs for the rally as approaching the R175 000 mark.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that

Own Correspondent

unrest victims admitted to Natal/KwaZulu hospitals are stretching health services to their limits and officials may call for help from the SA Defence Force.

Northdale Hospital medical superintendent Dr L. Dwartaprasad told reporters yesterday trauma-related cases had more than doubled over the past few years.

## Severe wounds

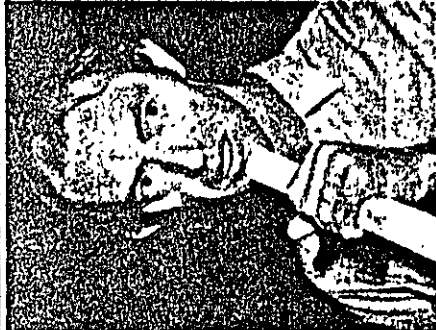
Trauma-related cases came from all over the Edendale valley. Many patients were afraid to go to the Edendale Hospital.

Whereas in the past the hospital had dealt with between 350 and 450 cases a day, the Northdale Hospital was dealing with more than 800 cases a day, he said.

"About 50% of our black out-patients

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1988	683
February 1989 — February 28 1990	625
Past 24 hours official toll:	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>1 317</b>



● ERWIN... Numsa delegate



● DHLOMO... Inkatha leader

come in with severe wounds and have to be admitted," he said.

ACHMED KARIEM reports that the spate of faction killings in Johannesburg since last March, in which at least six people have died, originated in the Masinga area of Natal, according to Natal University (Maritzburg) adult education head John Aitchison.

Aitchison, a prominent researcher on the Natal conflict, said yesterday land pressure had been a problem at Masinga — an impoverished area bordering white-settler land — since the turn of the century.

"The tribal dispute has no political content in the real sense, and has been exacerbated by the way SA has been ruled," said Aitchison.

Johannesburg's most recent faction fight, witnessed by a Business Day reporter, flared on the streets of Hill-brow this week and involved at least 10 people from rival Zulu groups.

The incident, in which a 24-year-old man was gunned down, took place on Tuesday night around 8pm outside the Mimosa Hotel in Louis Botha Avenue.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said police found nine spent cartridges at the scene of the murder.

He said it was a tribal matter "and these groups believe nobody should interfere".

SADF contingents sent to

## Homeland leaders forum planned

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Lebowa government is to launch a black homeland leaders consultative forum aimed at co-ordinating the move towards a negotiated political settlement in South Africa.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Lebowa's Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike, said his Cabinet, accompanied by a constitutional committee acting as an advisory board on constitutional matters, met Minister of Education and Training Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen in Cape Town to discuss "matters of mutual interest" and "the question of negotiations".

Mr Ramodike said a memorandum — proposed by the Lebowa government and based on a joint declaration of 1985 by the late Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr CN Phatudi, and the ministers of Kwazulu, Transkei, Qwaqwa, and Kangwane — would be forwarded to homeland leaders for consideration.



# History's made as Inkatha,

## ANC in talks

w/ Mand 23/2 - 1/3/90 (11B)  
By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

AS a major new drive for peace gets under way in Natal, officials of the African National Congress and Inkatha sat down together last night for their first encounter in over 10 years.

The meeting, described as "historic" by delegates of both organisations, was a four-sided briefing on the Natal violence, in which two senior Inkatha delegates and two from the UDF and Cosatu, told an ANC delegation led by Walter Sisulu their perspectives of the conflict, and their suggestions for a resolution.

Coming at the end of a long day of ANC fact finding in the violence-torn townships, the meeting marked the culmination of many, so far unsuccessful, efforts to get the ANC and Inkatha engaged in face to face discussions about the violence.

Both sides appear to be throwing their weight behind peace efforts, and are urging their supporters to give the peace process a chance.

Speaking at a news conference after the ANC delegation arrived in Durban, Sisulu said he regarded the meeting as historic and that it was a very wise decision for all parties to meet.

"My message is one of peace," he said. "We want to do everything to bring about that unity, that peace in Natal."

Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo agreed.

"This is the first time the ANC component of the peace talks has become involved, and that involvement is critical to the success of the peace process.

"It is very significant that we are meeting, and we hope much will come from it by way of finding how to end the Natal violence, and how to permit political peaceful co-existence in the region."

Hard on the heels of Dhlomo's comments, the Inkatha Central Committee issued an unprecedented statement last night, urging their supporters and everyone in Natal to "welcome Mandela" and to make his visit to Durban "an honourable and memorable event in the history of our country".

The ICC statement also appears to encourage its members to attend Sunday's rally, which, if the message is heeded, could push the numbers at the rally to an unprecedented size.

ten rule that you never ask anyone's name, and even if you know it, you never use it.

"My parents do not sleep at night. Each time I come back I have to reassure them I have not killed anyone. I do not think I am ready to do that."

NATAL VIOLENCE FIM 23/2/90

**High stakes**

A meeting between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi has yet to be announced. Mandela will address the first rally of the unbanned ANC in Natal — Inkatha territory to many — on Sunday.

For this reason, as well as the backdrop of the Natal violence, there is great interest in the event and in what Mandela will say.

Relations between Mandela and Buthelezi are supposed to have been cordial over the years but the chief's relationship with the ANC in exile is another matter. (113)

Replying to journalists' questions last week, on government's decision to send 1 000 troops into Natal (while the ANC calls for troops out of the townships), Mandela said he didn't think more troops would help; a judicial commission of inquiry was needed.

He claims one of the problems complicating the situation is the role of police. "There is evidence that they have been actually inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the UDF."

Buthelezi responds: "Sadly, the facts do not tally with the interpretation Mandela places on them and he should seriously question those who give him the kind of background information which leads him to make these kind of serious errors of judgment. . . I am on the telephone and he is on the telephone but he did not even pick up the 'phone to check my side of the story." Recrimination against him and Inkatha "by no less a person than Mandela are just intolerable," says the KwaZulu leader.

He adds: "The ANC, which Mandela wants to instruct him, has done nothing about the violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region." His letter suggesting a meeting with the ANC president was not acknowledged.

According to Buthelezi: "The Inter-organisational Committee set up by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to explore ways of organisational co-operation in eliminating violence, is only teetering on because UDF and Cosatu have just not got any answer back from the ANC about the issues we have tabled. ANC Lusaka cuts us dead, cuts the peace process dead. I wonder whether Mandela will receive any instructions at all."

He adds: "Where, Dr Mandela I ask, is your hand of friendship?"

Answers to such questions could emerge at King's Park stadium, Durban, on Sunday.

Mandela is also due to address a rally in Bloemfontein later on the same day. He is likely to travel to Lusaka next week, then on to Dar es Salaam and Sweden, for talks with the ANC's national executive committee and ANC president Oliver Tambo.

The question of Mandela's formal post in the ANC does not appear to be a problem for the ANC or himself. Insiders scoff at any suggestion of a problem over leadership. Secretary general Alfred Nzo recently described Mandela as a "national leader as well as one of the leaders of the ANC." In his first

speech after release Mandela observed that the leadership of the ANC gets elected at a congress.

Since the ANC's next national conference is to be held in SA on December 16, perhaps the leadership issue will be cleared up then.

In its formal response to President FW de Klerk's initiatives the ANC executive announced last Friday that it would send a delegation (including ANC figures already here) to meet him to discuss obstructions to the start of negotiations.

For the moment, Walter Sisulu has been appointed chairman of a largely technical committee to arrange the ANC's re-establishment in SA.

# ANC and Inkatha meet in 'historic' peace talks

b/day 23/2/90

278 113

DURBAN — The first steps towards peace in Natal were taken yesterday when ANC leaders met Inkatha leaders in Durban — a meeting described by all concerned as historic.

And, in a surprise move, Inkatha central committee members in the greater Durban area encouraged their members to attend the ANC rally on Sunday to welcome Nelson Mandela as a "hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation".

Both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who is also KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, were positive about the meeting and said they hoped it would lead to peace in the province.

Dhlomo said it was the first time the ANC component of the peace talks had become directly involved, and that this was "very significant".

ANC leaders arrived in Durban yesterday and toured townships outside Maritzburg, meeting community leaders to discuss the violence.

Despite steady drizzle enthusiastic ANC supporters in the townships

## Own Correspondent

chanted and waved ANC flags and banners.

A meeting was held behind closed doors at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre with about 50 township representatives from areas which have been the scene of death and destruction for the past three years.

Sisulu said criminal elements exacerbating the situation in Natal were the product of poor social conditions.

These conditions would have to be put right by providing people with adequate education.

Meanwhile, Inkatha central committee members in the Durban area said in a statement that Mandela's visit to the strife-torn province was "highly welcome".

"We accordingly expect that most people, black people in particular, will go to greet this hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation,

after 27 years of incarceration for the noble ideals of our struggle for freedom."

They appealed to everybody for calm as "we are concerned that fresh violence may break out" as emotions build up closer to the day of the rally.

They called on rally organisers not to let enthusiasm and emotions lead them to act in a provocative and offensive manner which would lead to violence.

"We call upon every self-respecting black patriot to render the historic visit by Dr Mandela to Durban an honourable and memorable event in the history of our country."

□ In their unrest report yesterday, the SAP said a man was killed and two men and two women wounded when shots were fired by people who attacked buses with stones and petrol bombs in several incidents at Edendale in Natal, Sapa reports.

The police said the death and injuries occurred in one of the incidents in which shots were fired by the attackers.

A man was wounded by unidentified attackers in a shooting incident at Taylors Halt in Natal.

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — February 21 1990.....	629
Past 24 hours' official toll.....	1
TOTAL.....	1 298

0/04 27/2/90

113

# Zulu king's special envoys deliver secret message to Kaunda

**LUSAKA** — A four-person Inkatha delegation left Lusaka yesterday after delivering a message from King Goodwill Zwelithini to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

The visit, the first to Lusaka by members of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, did not include formal discussions with the ANC.

However, yesterday morning they held a brief informal meeting with ANC presidential affairs secretary Anthony Mongalo.

KwaZulu Health Minister Frank

**CHARLENE SMITH**  
Mdlalose, who headed the delegation, said he could not reveal the purpose of the visit, nor the contents of the message to Kaunda from the Zulu king.

The other members of the delegation included KwaZulu Justice Minister the Rev C J Mletwa, Deputy Welfare and Pensions Minister Prince Gideon Zulu, and protocol officer Ruth Makiwane.

The members of the delegation are all Inkatha Central Committee members.

Mdlalose said he was more hopeful than ever for a peaceful outcome to the present peace talks in Natal.

He said Inkatha hoped to have meetings soon between the presidents of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu and their respective delegations, as well as talks at a lower level between chiefs and leaders in strife-torn Natal.

"It is needed that all sides realise they cannot bash their opposition into accepting their philosophy."

"We have to live and let live with our

differences and our differing political ideologies," Mdlalose said.

Mdlalose said Inkatha would be happy to formally meet the ANC.

However, he said, no response had yet been received to an invitation for talks sent to the ANC by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in August last year.

He said Inkatha would like to take part in negotiations, although they were not sure whether or not the ANC wanted them to take part.

From CHRISTINA SCOTT DURBAN. - Inkatha vigilantes and battle-hardened comrades did the toyi-toyi together in a KwaMashu border zone hours after ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call for peace and unity in Durban last weekend.

The amaSinyora - described by Mandela as "notorious" gangsters who exploited the Inkatha/UDF war - raised a white flag from their base in Siyanda squatter camp and negotiated with marshalls in red headbands.

Then gangsters, Inkatha youth and UDF comrades marched together, despite grumblings on all sides from people demanding retribution for losses suffered in war.

The comrades marched into Richmond Farm, where they recently burnt more than 60 shacks in violence triggered by Mandela's release where Inkatha and UDF supporters greeted each other warmly.

The community later decided that each household would donate R5 for an ox braai.

Not every reunion went so well. Busloads returning from the peace rally convened by Mandela were ambushed by gun-wielding Inkatha vigilantes as they passed through Malagazi and Mshayazafwe shacklands south and north of Durban.

A high school next to Malagazi was attacked by armed Inkatha vigilantes who demanded a list of pupils who had attended the rally and 32 imijondolo (shacks) were

# White flag!

South 113-713/90

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Hours after this huge crowd listened to Mr Nelson Mandela call for peace, Inkatha vigilantes and battle-hardened comrades did the toyi-toyi together.

torched in response.

A man was necklaced, a UDF fighter was shot dead, a teacher and two pupils hospitalised and several people treated for injuries in the three days of fighting that broke out on the dividing line between Inkatha/Malagazi and UDF Umlazi.

Senior UDF leaders quoting Mandela's words of peace from the rally were rebuffed by angry young comrades who declared, "the only peace is when we flatten those people".

But a police negotiator shuttled between youths and UDF leaders in U-section, Umlazi, and Inkatha vigilantes and homeless shack-dwellers standing on the dividing line road.

And by Tuesday, 3 500 people from both sides were marching together in celebration.

Mandela's announcement that the ANC would meet with Inkatha leader and homeland Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was booed by the estimated 150 000 crowd at Sunday's peace rally.

Hundreds of youths left during

his speech because of heat exhaustion (100 people needed treatment for this alone), protest at Mandela's words of peace and frustration because he spoke in English.

Mandela told the women to bring peace to Natal by showing "your sons, your brothers, and your husbands ... the real enemy".

However, a middle-aged woman who therefore confiscated a crude wooden AK47 brandished by a jubilant youth was later surrounded by a crowd who ordered her to return it. - DURBANNEWS

# Buthelezi asks Bush to lift sanctions against SA

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON (AP) — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged President George Bush to ignore the ANC's objections and move swiftly to end sanctions because they served only to perpetuate "confrontation" and "winner-takes-all politics". After a brief visit to the White House — his first since President

11/3/82

Bush took office — Chief Buthelezi said he "welcomed" Mr. Nelson Mandela's call for an end to the violence in Natal but made clear he still had major differences with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi argued that the "race-gaps" must be bridged in the course of negotiation, not afterwards, to assure that an all-embracing national will evolves to make democracy work.

"There is no question of them going into the country to surrender.

"But we are in a different political climate now. We need to move toward an acceptable mutually binding ceasefire."

However, Mr. Hanani said that for the ANC to tell their cadres to suspend the armed struggle "when there is violence from the other side" would be wrong.

"Once the government talks to the ANC about a mutual ceasefire and, once violence against peaceful demonstrations is not there I won't have problems sitting down with the SADF to discuss our role as an army of soldiers who will protect a non-racial democratic SA."

Mr. Hanani said Umkhonto we Sizwe had been training cadres inside SA since 1982. He would not reveal the size of the force but said this training would continue.

Responding to questions about the white extreme right wing, he said the right wing was mobilising because they believed the Nationalist Party was betraying all the aspirations of the Afrikaner.

He said if this led to factions emerging in the police and army this would cause a lot of turmoil in the white community and even lead to the assassination of Nats seen as sellouts.

He said the ANC was concerned about this. "Would the army intervene on the side of the right wing, feeling that everything they have fought for in Angola and Namibia is being ground to dust?"

The 47-year-old former lawyer, turned military commander, said: "I'm characterised as a ruthless person. That is not so. The question of the armed struggle has nothing to do with me as a person, I am not at all ruthless and believe now is the time for conciliation."

He said: "We must convince whites that a peaceful SA must mean a changing of the social positions of the black community. Whites cannot have an impoverished community and sleep well. It is an obvious threat to social stability and peace."

"The distribution of wealth must be addressed by whites."

# Inkatha reacts favourably to Mandela peace initiative

Staff Reporter

Inkatha has reacted favourably to the speech made by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban on Sunday.

A statement issued by the movement's general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, commended Mr Mandela on his "constructive comments" about the violence that has plagued Natal and assured him that his comments were in line with Inkatha's own views.

## PERSONAL INTEREST

Mr Mandela urged the people of the province to take their guns, knives and pangas and "throw them into the sea".

"We see hope in the fact that for the first time since the violence started, ANC leaders are taking a personal interest in attempts to end it," said Dr Dhlomo.

Inkatha urged all the warring factions in the area to heed Mr Mandela's call for peace and reconciliation.

On relations between Inkatha and the ANC, Dr Dhlomo said: "We are humbled by Mr Mandela's acknowledgement of the role that Inkatha has played in refusing to negotiate with the Government unless political prisoners were released and banned political organisations unbanned.

"Once again, ANC leaders appear to be acknowledging, through Mr Mandela, that the struggle for liberation belongs to all oppressed and is not 'owned' by certain organisations to the

exclusion of others.

"This is a welcome development which augurs well for future political co-existence and multi-party political activity in our country."

Dr Dhlomo said they looked forward to a time when Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would one day share the same political platform. He added that only the enemies of peace and black unity would wish otherwise.

However, warned Dr Dhlomo, this could not be achieved because of "protracted attempts to demonise, vilify and marginalise Dr Buthelezi (Inkatha leader and kwaZulu's Chief Minister).

"To do this is tantamount to planting the seeds of a future civil war in our country," he said.

## INDABA COMMENTS

Regarding Mr Mandela's unfavourable comments on the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha accepted that Mr Mandela's advisors were themselves unfamiliar with the aims of the Indaba because they had declined to participate in the Indaba negotiations when they were invited to do so in 1986.

As chairperson of the Indaba, I am sure the Indaba Steering Committee would have preferred to personally brief Mr Mandela on these issues before his public comments on them.

"It is regretted that this was not possible," said Dr Dhlomo.

'Blacks must ignore differences'

# All must join talks - Chikane

By Chris Whitfield,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Rev Frank Chikane has said in a remarkably conciliatory interview here that political differences should not prevent black groups such as the ANC and Inkatha from joining negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches said on BBC television yesterday: "I think we need to accept that black groups will have different political perspectives. So there is nothing strange about them having different views about sanctions and about violence.

"But the key issue is that they can all sit around the table and on the basis of the support of the majority, produce a constitution that will serve the interests of South Africa."

Mr Chikane, whose organisation has in the past clashed with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was being

interviewed after Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal to end the fighting in Natal.

He had been asked how significant, in the light of the differences between the ANC and Inkatha, the township war was to the future of South Africa.

Mr Chikane did, however, make a pointed reference to Chief Buthelezi when he said he was expecting the Inkatha leader would "also act as a statesman and call on his people to stop the violence which is not advancing anybody's cause".

He said President de Klerk was using the Natal violence as a reason to retain the state of emergency, "which I do not believe is the basis on which the state of emergency was called".

Mr Chikane added that Mr Mandela had a lot of influence in South Africa and he was convinced the "people of Zululand" would heed the ANC leader's call to cut out the violence.

Mr Chikane was due to take part yesterday in the Southern Africa Coalition's national lobby of the British parliament to support sustained sanctions.



Some little  
w/ Mandel 2/3-8/3/90.  
miracles since  
Mandela's <sup>11B</sup>  
rally speech <sup>11B</sup>

While Natal's 'truce' is patchy, the change in mood since Mandela's weekend speech has been little short of miraculous, reports CARMEL RICKARD

NEW songs on the buses back from the African National Congress peace rally in Durban last weekend said it all: "Mandela says let's stop killing each other. Our real enemies are in Pretoria."

Since the urgent plea by Nelson Mandela for the feuding with Inkatha to stop, there have been scenes that unrest monitors describe as little less than miracles.

"Comrades from kwaMashu's J and K sections had a joint toyi toyi with their neighbours from Siyanda and Richmond Farm, long regarded as the strong hold of Inkatha.

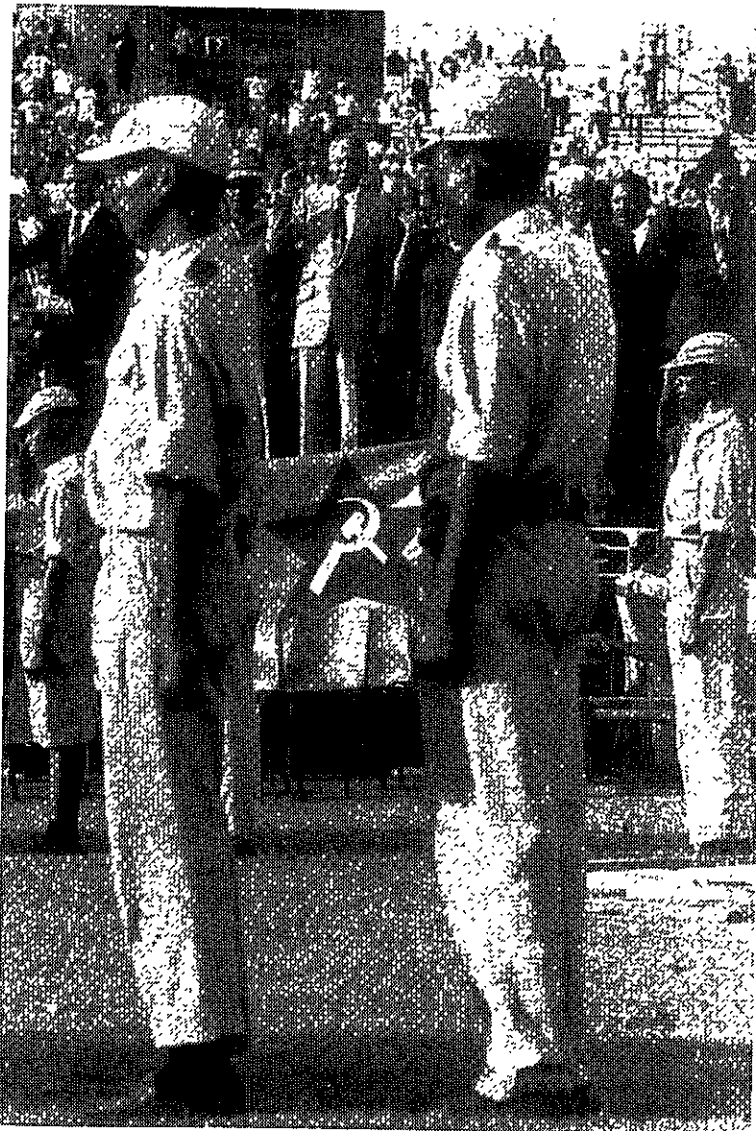
White flags flying, the two groups danced and sang. Most astonishing of all, some members of the Sinyoras — the vigilante gang booed by 150,000 people at the rally — came out to join the peace dance.

"Comrades" who have grown up on the myth of the terrifying and invincible Sinyoras commented afterwards they were surprised they were all "so thin".

However, the peace is very patchy, and monitors are concerned that unless it spreads from K and J section to other parts of kwaMashu it could come seriously unstuck.

Despite improvements in a number of townships, with several local peace initiatives being negotiated, there have still been incidents since the rally. Monitors do say, however, that things are much quieter than usual and point out that a number of "comrades" are putting their lives on the line, taking great risks in urging peace on their communities.

Worst hit places are Inanda, where a taxi was ambushed on Monday morning leaving two dead and a number injured, and, a new arrival on the current conflict scene, the Umlazi/Malakazi area.



A guard of honour parades for Nelson Mandela at the huge ANC rally in Bloemfontein last week.

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

As in several other townships, buses going to Umlazi U section were stoned on the way back from the rally by vigilantes, allegedly from Malakazi, and on Monday the same vigilantes went to local schools demanding the names of those who attended the meeting.

This led to a series of incidents, and at least five people died during the week, with some 600 families added to the list of refugees whose homes have been torched.

However, even in this area peace prospects appear promising with a second round of discussions due to take place today.

Commenting on Mandela's olive

branch to Inkatha, that organisation's secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said it was most welcome, and that he hoped now that the ANC was becoming involved in the peace plan it would make good progress.

Asked to comment on the mixed response by the crowd to Mandela's conciliatory tone on Inkatha, Dhlomo said the key question was whether ANC supporters in the townships would heed their leader's words of peace — ANC supporters, on the other hand have expressed similar reservations about the attitude of Inkatha supporters.

Dhlomo said the growing number of local peace initiatives were also welcome. "Mandela's call has helped at the leadership level and it does have a psychological effect on the people on the ground if first-level leaders speak in this way."

Dhlomo said the first thing that would have to happen was that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mandela, with their colleagues, would have to meet and work out a modus operandi.

Senior Inkatha adviser Rowley Arenstein, the only visible Inkatha supporter at the rally, was even more optimistic, saying the speech would begin a new phase and would "change the face of politics in Natal".

He predicted a joint rally to be addressed by Mandela and Buthelezi "within months".

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# Buthelezi pours the praise

IF THERE were any who doubted President F W de Klerk's sincerity, "they can now be assured that they were wrong", kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"Perhaps most importantly of all, what Mr de Klerk did ... creates a

situation in which it should be clear to all that there could now be no going back for him.

"South Africa is thrust into the last decade of the 20th century in which apartheid will be scrapped and the people of South Africa will be given the opportunity of

deciding the future through the politics of neogotiation.

"If blacks now fail to bring about the radical change they have struggled for for so long through non-violent means, they will only have themselves to blame.

"South Africa's long line of heroes and martyrs should applaud the statement that black leaders can now realise the dreams of the struggle. I say this because the dreams of the black struggle for liberation are wholesome South African dreams which will shower benefit on every citizen of the country, regardless of race, colour or creed, when they are realised."

Dr Buthelezi added that there were difficulties ahead.

"The politics of transition will remain the politics of dealing with these difficulties.

"We are, however, now in the position where black and white can together look forward to grasping the thorny nettles of South African politics." — Sapa.

CMF. T915  
5/3/90

# Holomisa calls on US to <sup>116</sup> 'lean on' Pretoria

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE United States "must lean heavily on" Pretoria to immediately remove the obstacles to a negotiated non-racial democratic settlement, the leader of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, advised a delegation of visiting US congressmen yesterday.

"After all, blacks were never party to the formulation of the obnoxious policies which landed South Africa in this quagmire," the homeland leader said in a hard-hitting statement to the US lawmakers.

General Holomisa said that no negotiations were likely to take place between the South African government and its leading opponents unless President F W de Klerk met "all stipulated demands".

The pillars of apartheid remained in place.

Mr De Klerk had so far created an "equivocal impression" regarding the return of political exiles. Nothing short of a general amnesty would satisfy political organisations.

"The SA government cannot simply expect black leadership to make concession after concession when it has really conceded nothing up to now," General Holomisa said.

# Natal: Buthelezi under fire

CAP TALKS 8/13/90 (11B) ~~11B~~  
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will find himself under severe pressure to act more firmly against violence in Natal when he meets Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher at 10 Downing Street this afternoon.

Chief Buthelezi will be in London on his way home after talks in Washington with President George Bush.

The Inkatha leader's reputation has become tarnished following reports suggesting his movement was largely responsible for the bloodshed in Natal.

British government officials welcomed the chief's recent statement that he wanted peace with the ANC, but political sources claimed Mrs Thatcher would tell him bluntly that he had to act emphatically and quickly.

# Buthelezi in landmark talks with Thatcher

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LONDON. — In what was probably one of his most significant visits to Downing Street to date, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi again endorsed Mrs Thatcher's policy of avoiding sanctions at any cost.

During the 45-minute meeting yesterday Chief Buthelezi thanked the British Prime Minister for her "courageous stand" in deciding, in spite of intense criticism, to lift the British ban on new investment in South Africa.

His support for her stand will have provided some comfort for Mrs Thatcher after her recent clashes with the European Community on the issue.

## "AMMUNITION"

And his insistence that the majority of blacks reject such economic measures will have given her "ammunition" for her expected meeting in April with Mr Nelson Mandela, who will argue his view that most blacks want increased sanctions pressure.

Mrs Thatcher and Chief Buthelezi, who according to Downing Street hold "similar views" on the situation inside

South Africa, yesterday also underlined the need for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi told Mrs Thatcher that while Inkatha and the ANC differed markedly on the question of sanctions and the armed struggle, these were simply "tactics" and were not fundamental enough to keep the two organisations at loggerheads.

He said he had high hopes for his own meeting later this month with Mr Mandela.

It was time, he said, for blacks to "get their act together" and lay down their arms. Mr Mandela had a significant reconciliatory role to play.

"Mr Mandela is coming to see me as a friend and I am looking forward to talking with him."

The problem of violence in Natal was particularly pressing, as it could hinder reform if allowed to continue, he said.

Whites were "clearly now prepared to get negotiations on track and it will be tragic if we as blacks cannot get our act together".



**SALUTE**  
 ... Chief Buthelezi greets a crowd of well-wishers at Jan Smuts Airport on his return to South Africa yesterday. He met President Bush and Mrs Thatcher during his visit. He told the media at the airport that he applauded Mrs Thatcher for her stand on sanctions. Chief Buthelezi also slammed the Harare Declaration — the ANC's negotiation strategy.  
 Picture: REUTER

JOHANNESBURG. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has slammed continued sanctions and criticised the ANC's strategy for negotiations — the Harare Declaration.

Speaking on his arrival yesterday from the United States and Britain, where he met President George Bush and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher respectively, Dr Buthelezi said he had applauded Mrs Thatcher's decision to relax sanctions measures against South Africa. He called on Mr Bush to do the same.

Mr Buthelezi said the next step along the road was negotiation and there should be a willingness

CHIEF TIMES 7/3/90  
**Buthelezi slams sanctions**

to meet President F W de Klerk's political initiatives halfway.

"All parties must participate in negotiations and not follow the Harare Declaration." Time was of the essence.

He said the Harare Declaration — which has been adopted by the

Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations General Assembly and the Conference for a Democratic Future — made similar proposals to the path followed in Namibia, and the same sort of constituent assembly.

He said the violence in Natal would be one of the main issues discussed by him and the ANC vice-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a meeting after Mr Mandela's return from Sweden.

Chief Buthelezi said that both he and King Goodwill Zwelethini would be meeting Mr Mandela who had expressed his agony at the violence. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



**TALK SHOW** . . . Mr. De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi at Tuynhuys after discussions on the constitutional negotiation process yesterday. The talks were held in a "constructive spirit", they said.

*CAN 7/4/90 8/3/90*  
**Buthelezi more hopeful than ever**

*11B* *25/4*  
**Political Staff**

KWAZULU chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he had never been more hopeful about the future of South Africa than now.

Speaking informally to the media in Tuynhuys after more than two hours of discussions with President FW de Klerk about getting negotiations going and maintaining the momentum of change, he said the conflict in Natal had also been on the agenda. Asked if he thought lifting the state of emergency would end the violence in the province, he said: "If I were running the country — and I am not so ambitious as to want to — I would find it very difficult to lift the emergency in relation to Natal/KwaZulu.

"The people are pleading for the troops to come and protect them." Chief Buthelezi, who arrived from America and Britain on Tuesday, said his information was that the violence in Natal was "flaring up again".

Asked if he was hopeful about future of the country, he said: "I have always had hope but, in my entire career, I have never been as hopeful for the future of the country. "I think we will be able to sort out our problems. We are on our way." Sapa reports that in a joint statement Mr De Klerk and Dr Buthelezi said the discussions centred mainly on the constitutional negotiation process and emphasised the need for negotiations for a new constitution to start as soon as possible.

# Buthelezi for peace, but no talks yet

w/ Mand 29/3-15/3/90  
By CARMEL RICKARD (11 B)

THE first speech by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi since returning from his foreign tour, will have disappointed those hoping Inkatha's moratorium on official Natal talks would be lifted.

Speaking in Natal for the first time since the trip during which he met with George Bush and Margaret Thatcher, Buthelezi condemned the fighting, but did not use the opportunity to match Mandela's generous comments on political opponents which was a bold hallmark of the African National Congress leader's speech.

Addressing a KwaZulu prayer breakfast in Durban yesterday Buthelezi said he welcomed Mandela's call for weapons to be thrown into the sea — a call he had repeated while in the United States.

He said he was "unutterably appalled" by the "truly awesome" violence which was raging, and warned it could wreck the "politics of negotiation".

But where Mandela went out of his way to praise Inkatha and Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader did not respond in the same vein.

Commenting on the statement by Mandela that the ANC was committed to peace, he said, "I pray to God that (Mandela) makes it stick on an organisation which has made the armed struggle and violent revolution its primary means of liberating South Africa."

Far from lifting the moratorium on talks imposed by Inkatha because of the alleged lack of *bona fides* by the ANC/UDF and Cosatu, Buthelezi reiterated his complaints about the ANC leadership. It had been hoped he would make some announcement on the moratorium following Mandela's speech and the growing number of joint local peace initiatives.

On the other hand Buthelezi did say he hoped talks with Mandela, due as

soon as the ANC leader returned from his overseas visit, would improve prospects for peace.

He commented the planned talks and the contact he had had with Mandela since his release from jail were the "first glimmer of hope" he saw in the Natal situation.

He also said there should "now be a healing of our land", and that the time had come for "forgiving and being forgiven unconditionally".

Buthelezi might not have regarded the prayer breakfast as a suitable forum to urge the warring people of Natal to lay down their arms — or he

may have thought his response made in the USA was sufficient — but since Mandela's King's Park call, Buthelezi's speeches are being closely watched by many in the townships.

Unrest monitors said unless there were clear indications from Ulundi that Buthelezi appreciated the risk Mandela had taken in his call, and unless he reciprocated the placatory tone of Mandela's speech, the ANC leader could find himself out on a limb.

"Mandela has in fact been demonising Inkatha and Buthelezi to his followers. But there hasn't been the kind of response we hoped for, and this is threatening to alienate youth from Mandela's message."



# Flickering hopes

**NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN**

DURBAN — It was the lighted candles that broke the ice.

The prayer service in Ntuzuma near Durban recently was tense at first when members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) filed into a massive tent and faced each other grimly from opposite sides.

But when it came time to exchange candles, they embraced each other and wept, and promised that never again would they attack and hurt one another.

It was not the first time such promises have been exchanged. There have been several attempts before to secure peace after nearly three years of bloody confrontation, killings, rapes, arson and looting which has left nearly 3 000 people dead and thousands of homes destroyed.

But on each occasion the violence has broken out again. Now Natal residents are sceptical about these grassroots peace initiatives.

In the immediate area surrounding Durban alone, the violence claimed 178 lives in December, 107 in January and 105 in February, according to the co-ordinator of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group, Roy Ainslie. So far this month at least 18 people have died.

## Deep-rooted causes

There have been ongoing peace talks between leaders of Inkatha and the Council of SA Trade Unions/UDF alliance, and every so often the violence simmers down, raising hopes among victims that their lives will return to normal once again.

But reality paints a different picture. The violence is far too deep-rooted and complex to simply disappear overnight.

Many political analysts have described the Natal violence as symptomatic of problems apparent in the rest of the country. Appalling socio-economic conditions have created a general feeling of discontent among black people, who are forced to compete for inadequate and limited resources, which in turn has given rise to "tsotsism" and criminal activities.

Rapid urbanisation, lack of infrastructural resources for residential purposes and widespread unemployment are very serious problems in Natal. Durban, said to be the second fastest growing city in the world, is surrounded by massive and constantly mushrooming squatter areas, where between 500 and 1 000 people can depend on the same single tap for water. Families are squashed into tiny tin-and-mud shacks, which wash away every time it rains. There is no electricity, no sewerage system and no roads.

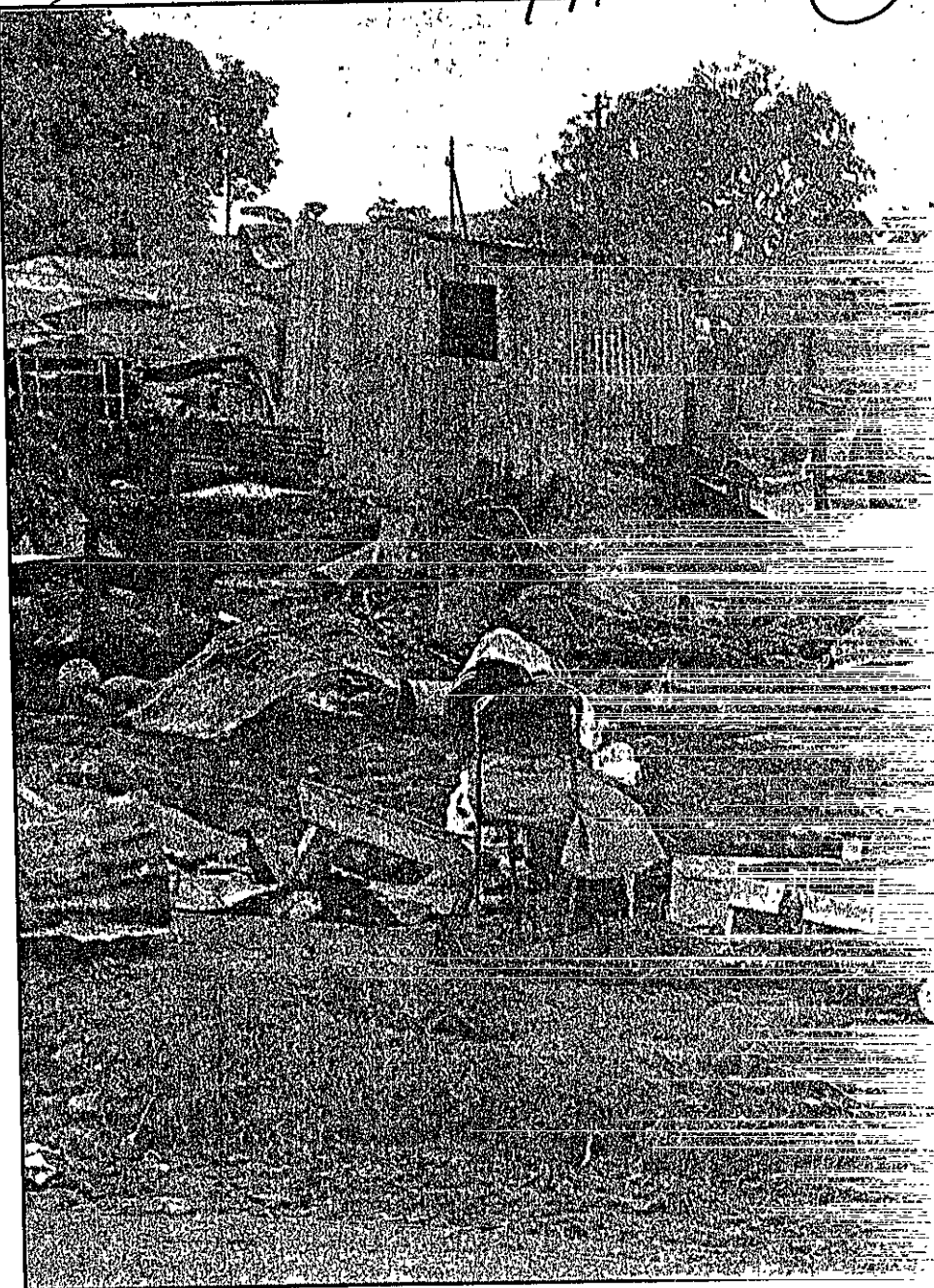
Gangsterism is on the increase. There are at least 10 well-established gangs operating in Durban's townships, who leap on the political bandwagon and constantly perpetrate atrocities in the names of Inkatha and/or the UDF or ANC.

And the problem of violence is compounded by the political struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance.

Research into reasons for the violence has been widespread. John Aitchison, director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg, suggests that there are two reasons for the violence: That it is simply a later occurrence of the revolt

against government structures that started elsewhere in 1984/85, or that it is by nature a different conflict altogether, between differing political factions.

He said the two are not mutually exclusive, but that the second option is more compelling, and would certainly explain



RUINS OF WAR: To these despairing Natal squatters, caught up in a miasma of misery, these

## UDF-Inkatha clashes take no heed

occasions.

Formal peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance have followed a path fraught with difficulties. They took over a year to get off the ground, and late last year the Inkatha central committee declared a moratorium on the talks.

However, although the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, believes these peace talks have not achieved much, the leaders who are involved are cautiously optimistic about their success.

KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture,

Dr Oscar Pieterse believed the violence — began in June, the rate of deaths decreased to an average of 35 per cent.

The violence again late last year, the peace talks

# opes of peace

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In a miasma of misery, these appalling conditions represent home . . . until violence should come their way once again.

## no heed of peace moves

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Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said he believed the peace talks had had a good effect on the violence — when they began in June last year, the rate of unrest-related deaths decreased from an average of 35 a month to nine.  
The violence escalated again late last year when the peace talks collapsed,

but Dr Dhlomo said he believed the slight decrease apparent so far this year was due to the re-establishment of "two-a-side" talks and constant calls for peace by all leaders concerned.  
He said it was also of importance that the Joint Peace Committee had decided to concentrate

more on the promotion and encouragement of local peace initiatives, instead of concentrating on arranging a meeting of national leaders.  
Cosatu/UDF leaders have stated their position as "100 percent behind the peace initiatives".  
Both the National Union of Metalworkers of

South Africa (NUMSA) education officer Alec Erwin and the president of the National Medical and Dental Association, Dr Diliza Mji, have pointed out that one of the quickest ways of bringing peace to the townships would be to have completely impartial security forces and quick access to courts.  
And so the violence continues — an insidious cancer in the green hills of Natal.

## White mom to sue over black baby

GEORGE GORDON

NEW YORK — A white woman gave birth to a black baby after the sperm of her dying husband was allegedly mislaid in a mix-up at a laboratory

In the first case of its kind in the world, Mrs Julia Skolnick is suing a sperm bank

She claims her daughter, now three, is already the target of racial discrimination.

Mrs Skolnick's lawyer said "She loves the little girl, but she is heartbroken. Emotionally she is devastated"

Mrs Skolnick will tell how her husband got cancer and left sperm at the medical bank in New York after he learnt that his chemotherapy treatment could affect his chances of fathering a child

Later, as his illness grew worse, his wife called the sperm bank and said "I want to have his child. It will be the bond that will link us forever."

But the child was born black, and the stunned parents took the baby girl for tests which confirmed that Mr Skolnick was not the father. He died last year

Lawyer Mr David Gould claimed "There is little doubt that the sperm bank got the sperm mixed up."

### Mental anguish

The court papers were sealed at the Supreme Court in Manhattan in October, and the first details have just emerged in the *New York Law Journal*.

The suit is against Idant Laboratories and Dr Hugh Melnick, who performed the insemination.

Lawyers say that no such legal action has been tried before. Neither has there been a case in which a mother

es between youths and vigilantes. The clashes left 25 people dead.

# Inkatha violence rumour 'irresponsible' - KCA

By SOPHIE TEMA

c/Press

11/3/90

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THE Katilehong Civic Association has rejected rumours that Inkatha or a group of Zulus were behind the violence that rocked the township this week.

A spokesman for the KCA yesterday said the "irresponsible" rumours might result in more violence and deaths in the township.

He said: "We do not believe the rumours that Inkatha or a group of Zulus are attacking residents.

"In fact, Inkatha has dissociated itself from the violence and it is a fact that the perpetrators of the

Katilehong disturbances are vigilantes hired by the taxi people to attack residents.

"In the march we held in the township on Wednesday we had the support of the hostel dwellers."

A spokesman for the Katilehong Residents' Committee yesterday said a meeting was held between residents and hostel dwellers on Friday in an attempt to resolve the disputes in the area.

Both groups resolved to hold another meeting at 8am today with residents, hostel dwellers and the township's youth.

12/3/90 (118)

# Inkatha alternative to Harare Declaration

ULUNDI — Inkatha's central committee has produced a working document alternative to the ANC's Harare Declaration, Inkatha president and kwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Inkatha had "for some time" been working on an alternative to the Harare Declaration, which was not a people's document, "but one based on the Namibian Resolution 435 and a reflection of the ideology of the ANC leadership, particularly the wishes of the ANC exiled

members", Chief Buthelezi said in an interview.

Inkatha's commitment to constituent politics gave its members a personal stake in strategies, "unlike the process that prevailed with the drawing up of the Harare Declaration".

Inkatha's alternative, which was not yet a conclusive document, would properly represent the peoples' wishes "and not a declaration imposed from above on those below".

The paper was discussed by Inkatha's central committee on

Saturday, Chief Buthelezi said.

He was totally opposed to the economic policies laid down in the Harare document.

African states which had embarked on a socialistic economic path had recognised their mistakes.

They had realised capitalism, not socialism, generated wealth, but despite this the ANC and its affiliates had "studiously ignored" this pattern.

Only a free economy was capable of generating the wealth necessary to promote the aspi-

rations and welfare of the blacks, Chief Buthelezi said.

● At Saturday's meeting, Inkatha's central committee pledged full support for peace talks with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and called on all black organisation to back President de Klerk's act of "white political boldness" with what it called black political honour.

It applauded what ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other released political prisoners had said in committing themselves to ending violence among blacks. — Sapa.

Sowetan 12/3/90

# Inkatha is seeking black support for FW's moves

11B  
HAP

INKATHA'S powerful Central Committee has pledged full support for peace talks with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and called on all black organisations to back President F W de Klerk's "white political boldness" with what it called "black political honour".

The committee resolved on Saturday to urge De Klerk to get negotiations off the ground now for a new democratic constitution and to be bold in his rejection of Far Right detractors.

It applauded what ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other released political prisoners had said in committing themselves to ending violence among black people.

The committee took a firm decision to intensify Inkatha's own action for peace and to do everything it could to make "the ongoing peace initiatives between Inkatha and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu alliance" as successful as possible.

It further called on all black organisations and political and community

leaders to support "every move anybody makes" for peace.

In its resolution calling for black backing for De Klerk's initiatives, Inkatha said that this would be "fulfilling the dreams of past heroes and martyrs of the struggle - and those of the majority of blacks today - of negotiating a political settlement in South Africa."

## Preamble

In a preamble to the peace resolution, the committee said it had always supported and applauded Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and had looked forward to the abatement of black-on-black confrontations once this had been done.

It noted "with deepening concern", however, that violence showed no signs of abatement in the KwaZulu/Natal region and that it showed signs of escalating elsewhere in the country.

It also recorded that, while there was not "specific loud and

publicised condemnation" from the ANC, UDF or Cosatu of each act of violence, "we really do applaud what Mandela and other released political prisoners have said in commitments to ending black-on-black confrontations." - Sapa.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

# Blood ties, bantustans and war to the finish

Star 12/3/90  
11B

*The Struggle, a History of the African National Congress* by Heidi Holland (Grafton R24,99)  
Reviewed by PATRICK LAURENCE

In the late 1970s Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the man who led Transkei to nominal independence, sought to visit the jailed Mr Nelson Mandela on Robben Island.

The arch-collaborator, as he was seen by ANC activists, wanted to confer with the man who symbolised resistance to apartheid. Chief Matanzima's mission was to secure Mr Mandela's release and to offer him high office in Transkei.

There was a Faustian ring to it. Acceptance by Mr Mandela would have meant giving his blessing to bantustan policy, which, as an integral part of apartheid, the ANC leader had resisted all his adult life.

## Offer complicated

The offer was complicated by blood ties. Chief Matanzima and Mr Mandela were cousins as well as political enemies.

Heidi Holland, in her new book on the ANC, provides an insight into the relationship between the two men.

"Kaiser or 'KD' as everyone called him, was fond of Nelson," she writes of their younger days in Transkei. "He admired Nelson's kindness, especially towards his family, and he found the young Mandela agreeably thoughtful company



Mandela: did not allow sentiment about his relationship to Matanzima to cloud his judgment.

"Whatever Nelson said was well considered and worth hearing," KD once remarked.

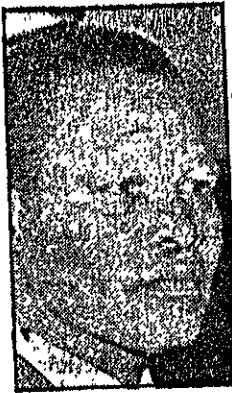
"Matanzima and Mandela were distinctively tall young men who shared the features of their common *inkosi* grandfather. They were both Xhosa aristocrats, dignified with straight

backs and proud heads. Both were destined to be leaders in the struggle for South Africa, though in opposing camps."

## No sentiment

Holland, an experienced journalist, recalls that Mr Mandela did not allow sentiment to cloud his judgment when Chief Matanzima's request for a meeting reached him in prison.

"Mandela put it to the vote, obtaining clearance from the authorities to hold meetings in two sections



Matanzima: admired his cousin Mandela's kindness and found him agreeably thoughtful company.

(on Robben Island) holding ANC men. A traitor in the eyes of Congress ... Matanzima was told not to come."

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, gave the ANC leader's reply to the offer.

"He will not stay in a homeland under any circumstances. If he is banished there, he

would return to Johannesburg immediately."

Holland's account of the ANC is an unashamedly popular history. It is readable, providing the broad picture skillfully and accurately, illuminating it with details like the one described above.

## Hunger strike

The book was completed last year. The epilogue includes an account of the hunger strike by detainees which marked the beginning of the process which culminated in President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

Judging by her last chapter, "The Foreseeable Future," Holland did not anticipate the speed at which events have moved in the past six months. She is not alone, however. She has lots of journalists, analysts and diplomats for company.

Her warning about the dangers of polarisation if the National Party and the ANC cannot reach a *modus vivendi* remain apposite, however.

The Conservative Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress remain in the wings, as she reminds us, waiting to fight the final war to the finish.

Holland provides interesting data on why the ANC is committed to nationalising key sections of the economy.

"With the wealthiest whites in South Africa — some 5 percent of the population — owning 88 percent of private wealth in the country, and the entire black population owning only 2 percent, it is very obvious that any black constituency will demand redistribution of wealth."

① Vanda lifts  
② ban on <sup>CHC-12/3/70</sup>  
③ ANC, PAC

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The Vanda government has lifted the ban on the ANC, the PAC, the SA Communist Party and other political organisations in the state.

Vanda president Mr Frank Ravele, who made the announcement in Thohoyandou, said people held merely for being members of these organisations would be released.

He said, however, that the lifting of the ban did not mean terrorism or acts of violence would be tolerated.

Protest marches would not be allowed to become springboards for lawlessness, violence and intimidation.

Mr Ravele said his government had investigated the possibility of reincorporation into the new South Africa and the issue would be high on the agenda at tomorrow's special sitting of the Legislative Assembly. — Sapa



# Inkatha body supports peace talks

ULUNDI — Inkatha's powerful central committee has pledged full support for peace talks with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and called on all black organisations to back President F W de Klerk's act of "white political boldness" with what it called "black political honour".

The committee resolved on Saturday to urge De Klerk to get negotiations off the ground for a new democratic constitution.

And it applauded what ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and other released political prisoners had said in committing themselves

to ending violence among black people.

The committee took a firm decision to intensify Inkatha's own action for peace.

It further called on all black organisations and leaders to support "every move anybody makes" for peace.

In a preamble to the peace resolution, the committee said it had always supported and applauded Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and had looked forward to the abatement of black-

on-black confrontations once this had been done.

It noted "with deepening concern", however, that violence showed no signs of abatement in the Kwa-Zulu/Natal region and that it showed signs of escalating elsewhere.

□ Buthelezi has introduced a document entitled Inkatha's Declaration in 1990 — the organisation's version of the ANC's Harare Declaration.

The document was released at the start of the central committee meeting and distributed to committee members for their approval.

Buthelezi urged members to clarify their position on the Harare Declaration, which he said was not their document and on which they were not consulted when it was drawn up. — Sapa.

## Mandela trims schedule after doctor's order to rest

MOROGORO — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela cut short his engagements in Tanzania on Saturday after doctors ordered him to rest, ANC sources said.

Mandela had frequently looked worn out by his punishing schedule since his release a month ago, but this was the first time the 71-year-old leader had cancelled engagements to rest.

Mandela flew to the central Tanzanian town after visiting an ANC military training camp near Iringa in southwestern Tanzania.

Mandela's trip to Sweden this week to visit ANC leader Oliver Tambo has been shortened by one day because of the outbreak of violence in SA, but will still take place, organisers said.

Senior ANC officials including secretary-general Alfred Nzo and chief foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki have arrived in Stockholm to co-ordinate Mandela's four-day stay, which begins today.

But a fifth day which would have culminated in a mass rally in Stockholm's Globe arena has been cancelled in view of the violence, Swedish visit organisers said on Saturday.

Soon after arriving in Stockholm, Mandela will meet ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is convalescing in a local clinic.

Tomorrow, he will meet Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, whose Social Democratic Party has given the ANC support and funds. Later Mandela will address Sweden's single-chamber parliament.

On Wednesday he is scheduled to meet British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock and British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. — Sapa-Reuter.

### NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — March 8 1990:.....	673
Past 72 hours' official toll:.....	15
<b>TOTAL:.....</b>	<b>1 356</b>

## UNITED SERVICE TECHNOLOGIES LIMITED

(Incorporated in the British Virgin Islands)  
("Uniserv")

### Declaration of dividend on the "B" variable rate cumulative convertible preference shares

Notice is hereby given that preference dividend No. 2 of 15,5 cents has been declared for the year ended 28 February 1990. This dividend is payable to the holders of the "B" variable rate cumulative convertible preference shares registered in the books of the company at the close of business on Friday, 23 March 1990.

Dividend cheques will be posted on or about 30 March 1990.

By order of the Board  
L R Samuels *Secretary*

Johannesburg  
12 March 1990



# Buthelezi discloses new plans Inkatha strategy differs from ANC



INKATHA'S central committee has produced a working document alternative to the ANC's Harare Declaration, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in an interview in Ulundi, Kwazulu, at the weekend.

Inkatha had "for some time" been working on an alternative to the Harare Declaration,

which he labelled "one based on the Namibian Resolution 435 and a reflection of the ideology of the ANC leadership, particularly the wishes of the ANC exiled members".

Inkatha's commitment to constituent politics gave its members a personal stake in strategies, "unlike the process that prevailed with the drawing up of the Harare Declaration."

Inkatha's alternative, which was not yet a conclusive document, would properly represent the peoples' wishes "and not a declaration imposed

from above on those below."

The paper was discussed by Inkatha's central committee on Saturday, Buthelezi said.

# 'UDF started Natal fight'

Sowetan 15/3/90

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11B

THE United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were spending thousands of rands to establish a violent force to oppose Inkatha, but they would never succeed, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said during his policy speech at Ulundi yesterday.

Buthelezi asked how Inkatha could be involved in the politics of negotiation while violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region was taking place.

"The carnage that is going on across KwaZulu/Natal must now cease. Inkatha has not been crushed by this violence. Inkatha will never be crushed by violence.

"Cheap politics trying to make political gain out of violence against Inkatha is not going to succeed. We can face realities around us without distorting them," he said.

Buthelezi said thousands of



BUTHELEZI

rands were being spent on propaganda against Inkatha in the form of affidavits blaming Inkatha for violence.

"The UDF has its university groups researching and document-

ing conflict and presenting their politically motivated findings which pretend that the glass - when it is broken - is only broken on one side and that Inkatha is the enemy of democracy," he said.

He cited the Luthuli tribal area as an example of UDF-instigated violence. An Indian-driven minibus had visited the area and "bought access" to one of the indunas, who was paid R500.

Others who joined the UDF were given R50 each.

"When this had been done, guns were brought into the area by the same people and then in typical fashion a conflict was manufactured at the Luthulu High School.

"Students were persuaded to go on strike to confront the principal on an issue which could easily have been solved in other ways.

"Again violence broke out, with the UDF drawing first blood. While five people were attacked violently, one of them was castrated in broad daylight," he said.

# Homelands in flux

## Polis to decide on resuming SA status

Call TAPS 15/3/90. 118

### Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Three of the four independent homelands have taken decisions to hold referendums to decide whether or not to opt for reincorporation into South Africa. Bophuthatswana, the only independent homeland which has not taken such a step, has, however, not closed the door on such a move.

Ka-Ngwane's Chief Minister, Mr Enos Mabuza, has called for the homeland system to be dismantled and a peaceful transitional period to lead into a "democratic non-racial government".

Bophuthatswana's Foreign Minister, Mr Solomon Radebe, said yesterday that they had rejected the SA of the past, which was why they took independence.

"The transitional SA is in a state of flux and not yet in place, no one knows what will happen, and the post-apartheid SA is yet to come. We don't know which one we should join."

Venda, which has been racked by violence in recent times, yesterday announced that it would hold a referendum on the issue of reincorporation, while Ciskei announced at the time of its coup last week that it would hold such a referendum.

Yesterday, the Transkei Military Council and the Council of Ministers appointed a special five-man cabinet committee to formulate the mechanics of a referendum on reincorporation.

Draft legislation will be made publicly available for comment, General Bantu Holomisa said, and after that a date for the referendum would be set.

Mr Mabuza said he believed much of the present violence was because certain homeland political organisations were "intolerant of other political organisations".

"There is no doubt in my mind that the violence in Natal, as an example, which has continued for three years, is because

of Inkatha's refusal to allow other organisations to exist."

Mr Radebe said he believed the present violence in the homelands had been caused by euphoria following State President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech. He said they were aware of "intimidation and coercion and pressures inflicted by activist groups".

● The Ciskei Military Council detained more than 15 high-ranking government officials and executives of parastatals in the past few days "to investigate allegations of corruption".

The MD of the Ciskei People's Development Bank, Mr Thami Sondiyazi, was detained by three security policemen on Monday at his office in Bisho, members of his staff said.

Mr Sondiyazi accompanied deposed president Lennox Sebe to Hong Kong.

Other sources said at least 15 senior officials, including two Ciskei Radio journalists, had been detained "on suspicion of corruption".

# Natal killings: Mandela, Buthelezi

STOCKHOLM - ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to contact Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

urgently when he returns to South Africa on Sunday to arrange a meeting on the continuing Natal violence.

In an interview broadcast on Swedish television on Monday night, Mandela said: "One of the first things I intend to do when I go back to South Africa is to telephone Chief Buthelezi and arrange a meeting with him."

He said the "black on black" violence and killings in Natal had been a

## meeting in the office

Source 15/3/90

118

source of great concern to him even while he had still been in jail.

The situation had become increasingly difficult in Natal as so many people had lost their beloved ones, so losing the ability to face the problems objectively.

There was, however, a sign of hope now that all concerned had agreed a meeting between the warring Zulu Inkatha movement and the ANC affiliated United Demo-

cratic Front/Cosatu alliance had become imperative.

Chief Buthelezi has already extended an invitation to the ANC leader to meet him and the Zulus' King Goodwill Zwelithini at the earliest opportunity, and a meeting is now pos-

sible even before the ANC leader travels to Windhoek for Namibia's independence celebrations next Wednesday.

Mandela said in a television interview a return to peace in Natal was impossible without agreement between Inkatha and

the UDF/Cosatu alliance, and emphasised his top priority was to end the killings.

Earlier, Mr Mandela told his interviewer the ANC would review all its policies, including those on sanctions and the armed struggle, if President Fw de Klerk's government instituted the fundamental changes being demanded of it.

# Inkatha is 'bleeding'

15/04 15/3/90

113

# Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — Inkatha was losing ground in some rural districts in KwaZulu and there were certain urban and peri-urban areas where Inkatha members could not declare themselves for fear of reprisals.

This was said by KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his policy speech to the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Buthelezi said Inkatha had received "wounds" and was "bleeding". he said the idiom of "toyi-toyi" was "dangerous" and was drawing blood, politically speaking.

However, because Inkatha had suffered losses through violence, it did not mean that the organisation had been weakened politically.

Inkatha was now probably stronger in centre-stage politics than it had ever been before, Buthelezi said.

He admitted that Inkatha had done too little to document what had actually taken place in Natal/KwaZulu.

The UDF/Cosatu factions in the conflict had spent tens of thousands of rands gathering "propaganda" against Inkatha in the form of affida-

vits blaming the movement for violence.

Meanwhile in KwaMakhuta, near Amanzimtoti, more than 15 000 singing, dancing, and flag-waving residents attended a mass meeting yesterday to protest against the presence of the KwaZulu police in the strife-torn township.

## Climax

The climax of the meeting, which was fairly well-disciplined, was the handing over of a memorandum by representatives of KwaMakhuta to the local KwaZulu police station commander.

A general stayaway was called for after the fatal shooting by an unknown "hit squad" of Raphael Mkhize and his wife Dudu of KwaMakhuta.

SA Police media liaison officer Col G J A Everson confirmed last night that incidents of unrest had been reported at or after the meeting.

□ Sapa reports that SAP liaison chief

Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said yesterday that the recent spiral of violence in SA could be attributed to political rivalry, socio-economic factors, crime, the "euphoria of freedom" and the return of legal protest.

Stadler said: "Politics does play a role — there are people trying to escalate violence."

He denied unrest was worse now than in the crisis period of the mid-1980s.

Meanwhile, human rights groups yesterday demanded to know why police were increasingly using live ammunition such as birdshot and buckshot to quell unrest.

"Why are guns being used? It's not a war," said Detainees Parents Support Committee spokesman Audrey Coleman.

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:.....	668
February 1989 — March 13 1990:.....	697
Past 24 hours' official toll:.....	3
<b>TOTAL:.....</b>	<b>1 368</b>

# Mandela can 'thank Inkatha for release'

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela can thank Inkatha for his release, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday during his policy speech.

"I walk very tall today, when I know that were it not for what we in this House did, South Africa just would not be where it is today. Dr Nelson Mandela would not now be released. Mr F W de Klerk would not even be State President."

He said the establishment of the Buthelezi Commission had done much to uplift the black community in South Africa.

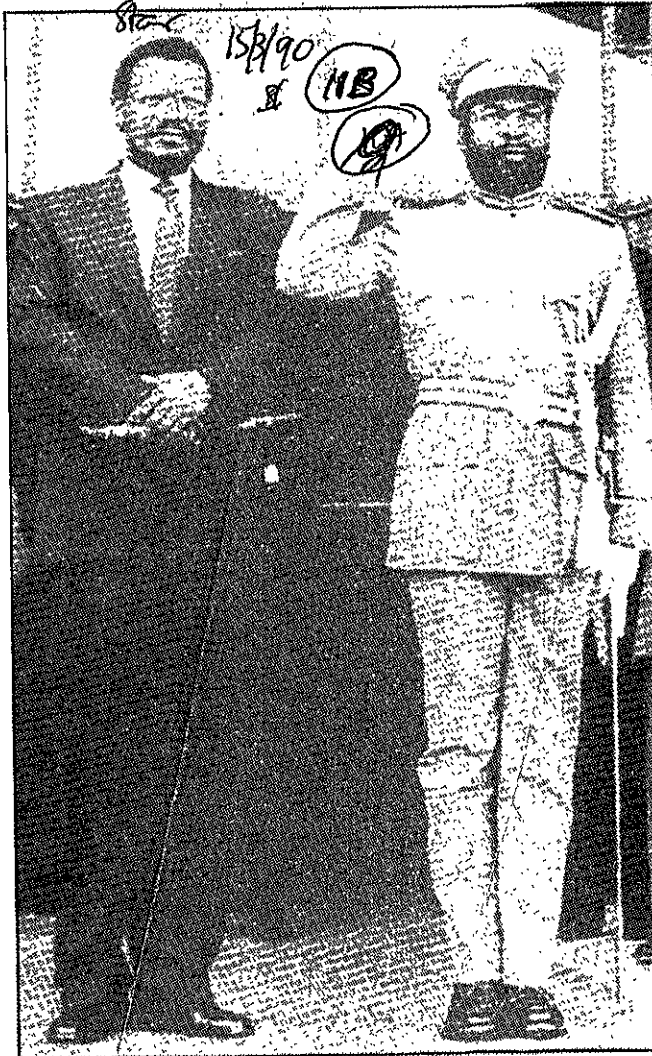
"When I get off a plane in Frankfurt, in London, in New York or in Washington, I actually get the feeling of walking that much taller than my God-given physical stature because of the Buthelezi Commission and because of the many other things I have done with you and with others.

"The struggle has increased my pride in myself and my people and in my country."

He said if Inkatha had succumbed to apartheid, it would have been trampled the same way as people in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were trampled upon.

"Mr P W Botha would have succeeded in establishing his dreamed of Confederation of Southern African States and the world would have been faced with the realities of apartheid as *real politik*.

"We put an end to it. The



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the opening of the kwaZulu legislative assembly this week.

homelands policy fell because of what we did. I am proud of this assembly that did it. When the history of this period is finally written in the perspective of time, that fact will come out very

clearly.

"Even Dr Mandela, in addressing the welcome meeting for him at King's Park on February 25 said that he is grateful for what Inkatha did for his release".

15/3/70 (118)



Mr 'Terror' Lekota ... Inkatha should join majority of the people.

## Inkatha rival document divisive, says UDF

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Inkatha's plan to draw up a rival document to the Harare Declaration was a belated initiative compared to the ANC document which had already been endorsed by the majority of South Africans and the international world, United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said yesterday.

He was reacting to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's remarks at the weekend that the Harare Declaration was an ideological document drawn up by an ANC elite. Chief Buthelezi announced that Inkatha's central committee was discussing an alternative to the Harare Declaration.

Mr Lekota said the Harare Declaration, among other things stipulating the ANC's preconditions for negotiations, had been drawn up after wide consultations with internal democratic organisations.

Dismissing the Inkatha initiative, Mr Lekota said Inkatha should rather "join the majority of the people" in accepting the Harare document.

"An attempt to stand alone can only be divisive and therefore delay the process of negotiation."

Mr Lekota added that even the South African Government recognised the practical value of the Harare Declaration. This was demonstrated by the Government's willingness to release political prisoners, one of the preconditions spelled out in the document.

CHE TIMES (18)  
10/3/90 (B)

## Dhlomo calls for SA peace indaba

### Political Staff

DR Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the KwaNatal Indaba, yesterday called on President F.W. de Klerk to convene a "peace indaba" to end political violence and intimidation.

In a speech to the South African-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he also warned black leaders that they too had a responsibility towards creating a climate for negotiation. He said unless Mr De Klerk could show visible economic benefits from political change "we could lose him".

Black leaders who still called for more punitive sanctions and wanted to continue the "armed struggle" should reassess their position and start talking now, or future rulers of South Africa could inherit a "wasteland".

Dr Dhlomo, whose strongly pro-negotiation speech was made against a background of increased government interest in the KwaNatal Indaba's own proposals, said some black leaders were still trying to fight a war that was over or trying to force open a door which was already ajar.



# No well-drilled impi — judge

8/22 17/3/90 (110)

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi believes in "proportional retaliatory violence" but there is no evidence that he commands "well-drilled impi regiments" who carry out acts of criminal violence on his behalf.

With that core finding, the Appeal Court dismissed an appeal by Mr Denis Beckett, editor of Frontline, against the award by the Supreme Court of R12 000 to Chief Buthelezi for damages.

## Sequel

The award for defamation, granted by Mr Justice J Howard, was the sequel to the publication in Frontline of an article by British journalist Mr Stephen Robinson.

The Appeal Court judgment upholding the Supreme Court decision was delivered by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice M M Corbett, with the concurrence of

four Appeal Court judges.

In his 44-page judgment, a copy of which was obtained by Saturday Star yesterday, Mr Justice Corbett identified the key offensive words in the Frontline article.

They are: "His (Chief Buthelezi's) 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."

In a bid to justify the statement about the "thuggish operations" of the "well-drilled impi", counsel for Mr Beckett submitted speeches by Chief Buthelezi as evidence that he had incited his followers to violence, directly or indirectly.

Mr Beckett's counsel also cited several episodes in which Inkatha men allegedly behaved in a "thuggish manner".

"(Chief) Buthelezi is unquestionably given to the use in his speeches of colourful imagery

and of strongly emotive language," Mr Justice Corbett said. He labelled some of the Inkatha leader's utterances aggressive and bellicose.

"Some of the sentiments expressed by him are such as would not be approved by peace-loving persons; and certainly the retaliatory action advocated by him on certain occasions ... would often be likely to exceed the lawful bounds of self-defence."

But, Mr Justice Corbett said, Chief Buthelezi's statements had to be seen in the context of the "endemic internecine feuding" between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

In advocating "retaliatory action" — in demanding an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth — Chief Buthelezi espoused a philosophy consistent with Mosaic law but not in "accord with the teachings of Jesus Christ."

He believed, the Chief Justice said, he was acting defensively and deterring Inkatha's enemies from further violence; his purpose was to warn "aggressors that they could not attack In-

katha with impunity".

The violent episodes cited by counsel for Mr Beckett related to the "deplorable" manhandling in 1979 of a journalist outside Chief Buthelezi's office, violence in kwaMashu and Umlazi in 1985, and confrontations between students and Inkatha members at the University of Zululand in 1980.

## Negotiation

Chief Justice Corbett said of Chief Buthelezi: "The evidence shows that he was at the relevant time a firm adherent of the policy of solving the country's problems by negotiation ..."

He added: "There is no evidence that the alleged thuggish behaviour of (his followers) was in any way influenced or inspired by (his) philosophical dissertations."

Inkatha has a membership of 1,5 million and an even wider circle of supporters, the judge said, adding: "Its leaders can hardly be held responsible for everything done in its name or its interest."

# Buthelezi gets place at table

3 Times 18/3/90  
118 Sunday Times Reporters

IN a dramatic development, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has won the endorsement of Dr Kenneth Kaunda as an important player in the South African peace initiative.

The boost from the Zambian President — who also feted ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela a fortnight ago and sees himself as a mediator in the South African conflict — will strengthen Chief Buthelezi's claims to a place at the table when the country's future is negotiated.

In an unannounced move the man whom many feared would be left out in the cold flew to Lusaka in a private jet on Friday to attend a formal state banquet in his honour at State House.

It was his first official reception in Zambia since 1974.

Last night he met privately over dinner with Dr Kaunda.

The Zambian president called him a "key player" with a "major" role to play in South Africa's future.

"We in Zambia hold you in high esteem as a fellow freedom fighter."

## Overwhelmed

"Now we have our brother Nelson Mandela out of prison, now we have President De Klerk... I believe we now have three men in South Africa who should be able to do something for us and hence your coming here makes us very proud indeed," Dr Kaunda said.

And Mr Mandela, who flew home yesterday after two weeks abroad, welcomed the news that Chief Buthelezi had been to Lusaka, saying President Kaunda was "a senior statesman".

Mr Mandela said it was "urgent" for him to meet Chief Buthelezi, but this would not be possible before Namibian independence on Wednesday.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by three Kwa-Zulu officials — Interior Minister Denis Madide, Health Minister Frank Mdhloso and Education Minister Oscar Dhlomo.

He said he had been overwhelmed by the invitation to visit Zambia.

"For us it symbolises something I cannot express in words as far as the liberation of all the people of South Africa are concerned."

## **Buthelezi in Zambia**

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda welcomed Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Zambia on Friday for three days of talks and described him as a key figure in efforts to end apartheid.

"You fought for the rights not only of the Zulu people but all the people of South Africa," he said.

Kaunda has urged reconciliation between Buthelezi's Inkatha and the ANC before they enter negotiations with President FW de Klerk.

Kaunda, who last received Buthelezi in Lusaka in 1974, said he had a major role to play.

"Now we have our brother Nelson Mandela out of prison, now we have President de Klerk . . . I believe now we have three men in South Africa who should be able to do something."

Buthelezi was met at Lusaka's international airport by Zambian Prime Minister Malimba Masheke and Foreign Minister Luke Mwananshiku.

Buthelezi was accompanied by KwaZulu Interior Minister Denis Madide, Health Minister Frank Mdhla-lose and Education Minister Oscar Dhlomo. Sapa-Reuter

*press 18/3/90*

*(11B)*

*118*

Cape Times 11/3/70 (11B)

# Holomisa releases diplomatic letters

JOHANNESBURG. — The war of words between Transkei Military Council leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha over the Sol Kerzner bribery affair heated up at the weekend when Gen Holomisa released confidential diplomatic documents to support his claim that pressure was being put on him to drop possible charges against Mr Kerzner.

Gen Holomisa released correspondence between himself and the South African ambassador to Transkei, Mr G P D Terblanche, after Mr Botha on Friday denied claims that he tried to get Gen Holomisa to dismiss criminal charges against Mr Kerzner.

Mr Kerzner and Cape Town attorney Mr David Bloomberg jointly admitted to the Harms Commission of Inquiry into Certain Cross-Border Irregularities early last year that they had paid a R2m bribe to former Transkei Prime Minister Mr George Matanzima.

In a letter sent by Gen Holomisa to Mr Terblanche on March 1 this year, he cites three occasions on which the matter was officially raised with him.

"On two occasions during discussion in my office during January and February this year you raised the matter (of the R2m bribe by Sol Kerzner).

... Botha also raised the same matter with me on January 11 this year during the lunch hour at our Presidential Palace.

"Both your argument and his is that we should not prosecute Kerzner and allow him to proceed with his business expansion in Transkei," the letter says.

In his reply to Gen Holomisa, Mr Terblanche said Mr Botha had never discussed Mr Kerzner with him "nor did he instruct me to raise or press Kerzner's case with you".

The sole purpose in raising the matter was to find out when the gambling rights issue would be clarified, Mr Terblanche said in his reply dated March 6 this year.

"When I referred to Kerzner I had only the interest of Transkei at mind, not of Kerzner or anybody else," he said.

An out-of-court settlement on the gambling rights issue was reached in January between Sun International and the Transkei government.

A Cape Times correspondent reports that Transkei Attorney-General Mr Chris Nel said it was possible criminal charges might be brought against Mr Kerzner but that there was "a vast body of evidence to traverse".

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by Pretoria.

President Jose  
Eduardo dos Santos of Angola are ex-  
pected today. — Sapa-Reuter

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# Buthelezi back from 'high-level' Zambian talks

Cape Times 19/3/90

116

JOHANNESBURG. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday returned from what he described as a "high-level reception" in Zambia where President Kenneth Kaunda has set himself up as mediator between Inkatha and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said, on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, that although he had not asked Dr Kaunda to act as mediator between the two groups, he was seen as an honest broker and the only person with the necessary credentials to act as mediator.

"He has the confidence of the ANC leadership and I have always had confidence in him — and he has had no problem with me over the years," Chief Buthelezi said.

He would not elaborate on what role Dr Kaunda saw for him in SA's future, saying the president was "a humble man".

Concerning talks on the violence in Natal between himself and ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said no date had been set and such a date would be a "matter for negotiation" between Mr Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi told leading Zambians on Saturday night of prospects of post-apartheid SA's key role in what he called "one huge sphere of economic interest" involving all Southern and Central Africa.

"The SA economy must be linked to those countries around us," he said. — Sapa

## HOME DELIVERIES

The illustration shows a delivery van with the 'Cape Times' logo on its side. The van is parked in front of a house with a tree. The van's windows display various news snippets:

- Left**: 'From KZN... Mr. M... for P... these ha... political d...'
- Middle**: '... 1976... 208 45...'
- Right**: '... of a six month... and F W de K... only by from... work... stability...'
- Bottom Left**: '... only oppo... ment... In... speech... the... Commover... time warn... pressure... changes w...'
- Bottom Right**: '... of nations... explosive 20... raised the res... a of being "a... seeking to... South Africa... taking place...'

# Kaunda mediator between Inkatha, ANC <sup>APR 45</sup> Buthelezi <sup>11B 820</sup>

19/3/90

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groups, he was seen as an honest broker and the only person with the necessary credentials to act as mediator.

"He has the confidence of the ANC leadership and I have always had confidence in him — and he has had no problem with me over the years," he said.

He would not elaborate on what role President Kaunda saw for him in South Africa's future, saying the president was "a humble man".

But his invitation to Chief Buthelezi was a "measure of the high esteem" in which the Zulu leader was held and signified that he was considered a "player" in the future.

As far as talks on the violence in Natal between himself and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were concerned, Chief Buthelezi said no date had been set and such a date would be a "matter for negotiation" between Mr Mandela and the Zulu's King Goodwill Zwelithini. — Sapa.

Sugar MT Edgemoor	+ 15.3	+ 14.1	+ 2.4	+ 2.2	13	11/87 - 12/88
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Sugar Sezela	+ 15.3	+ 14.1	+ 2.4	+ 2.2	13	11/87 - 12/88
Sugar Umfolozi	+ 16.6	+ 15.2	+ 3.5	+ 3.3	13	11/87 - 12/88
Sugar Umzimkulu	+ 3.9	+ 12.0	- 1.1	- 3.3	4	06/88 - 10/88
Building TVL:B	+ 3.8	+ 11.9	- 1.1	- 3.4	4	06/88 - 10/88
Building TVL:C	+ 22.5	+ 22.5	+ 9.0	+ 9.0	12	11/87 - 11/88
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# Kaunda is honest broker — Buthelezi

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## HUMBLE

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As far as talks on the violence in Natal between himself and ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela were concerned, he said no date had been set and such a date would be a "matter for negotiation" between Mr Mandela and the Zulus' King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Mr Mandela had last contacted him on February 17 when he telephoned to inform Mr Buthelezi that he had been released from jail.

Mr Mandela had told him he would again contact him once

he had returned from Stockholm.

In his speech to Dr Kaunda Chief Buthelezi addressed economic rather than political issues, saying that the South African economy should be linked to the economies of the entire sub-continent.

He spoke of "free market forces" and the stimulation of economic development and said the highest possible degree of industrialisation in South Africa was vital for the whole of southern Africa.

"Africans must do to this southern African region what the Japanese did to Japan and what the Germans did to Germany after World War 2," he said.

He added that every African could become a cog in the "productive machine" and that he was adamant that the final victory against apartheid should not destroy the economy of the country.

## DANGER

As a priority, there had to be a redistribution of wealth after political victories.

"Anyone who pretends that this simply means taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots is a danger to man and society."

He also made conciliatory statements aimed at whites, saying racism should be "scrubbed out of our souls".

He warned against "political adventurism" and said he was heartened by Dr Kaunda's call for a cessation of violence in SA.

"It is now time to lay down arms. It is now time to stop war talk." — Sapa.

# ANC, Inkatha for talks at king's residence

20/1/90  
Own Correspondent

(118) Executive Assembly.

DURBAN — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu has agreed to hold peace talks with Inkatha in Nongoma, kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced in Ulundi yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday told the assembly he had strong reservations about Mr Sisulu's having the "temerity" to request a meeting in Nongoma.

In a letter to King Goodwill Zwelithini, head of the royal Zulu family, Mr Sisulu pointed out he would like to have a meeting as soon as possible.

"In what way is he contributing to peace if he talks this way to our people?" he asked.

However a meeting should be held in Nongoma — residence of the king — and not in Ulundi, seat of the Legisla-

Mr Sisulu also said in his letter that Mr Harry Gwala, the only ANC executive living in Natal, should be invited to the peace talks. Chief Buthelezi said this was acceptable.



Lebowa <sup>CPC</sup>  
<sup>T-9</sup>  
calls for <sup>21/3/70</sup>  
<sup>116</sup> an end to  
homelands

PIETERSBURG. — The Lebowa government yesterday called for the scrapping of the homeland system.

A plan drawn up by the Lebowa government for all homelands to make a joint approach to Pretoria for the repeal of the Homelands Act is to be presented to Lebowa's Legislative Assembly on Friday, the Chief Minister, Mr. Nelson Ramodike, said yesterday in Lebowakgomo.

A statement by the Lebowa government described the system of homelands as illegitimate, promoting ethnicity — a weapon for divide and rule.

It called for the restructuring of regional and local authorities on a non-racial basis under one government.

Mr. Ramodike said he supported the call by the UDF for the gradual phasing out of homelands.

He said though the ANC was the most popular organisation in the country at present, it was important that it should recognise other political groups, beliefs and affiliations within the country and prepare to involve them in negotiations. — Sapa

Sowetan 2/3/90

# 'Blacks must join whites in talks'

BLACKS could achieve liberation if they negotiated with their "white brothers and sisters" in creating a democratic South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said in his policy speech at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that he accepted Afrikaners as "white Africans."

"They are my brothers and sisters, they are my compatriots and the transition that Mr de Klerk (the State President) is now leading is a transition that is rapidly leading to the point in which race and colour will cease to be the determinant of who is allied to whom," he said.

## Racism

Buthelezi said he, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government had never attempted to fight racism with racism: "We are not anti-white. We are just anti-apartheid. We have ingrained in us a loathing for racism."

However, he said, it was necessary to liberate South Africa in a black/white joint effort.

"The struggle will fail if it turns into a struggle against whites per se. I have a deep unshakable faith that the struggle will be victorious.

"Who among us here would have predicted that Dr Nelson Mandela would come out of jail saying that he believed in the sincerity and integrity of a South African State President? Dr Buthelezi asked.

## Peaceful

"When I say this, I am talking about the non-violent struggle which started in 1912 with the formation of the African National Congress, when African leaders buried the hatchet and vowed to look for peaceful solutions," Buthelezi said.

He said the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha had long seen the possibility of negotiation with whites. He said that had the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba failed, his politics would be different today.

"When the late Chief Albert Luthuli (Nobel Peace Prize-winner and ANC leader) brought the ANC to its zenith of power in the '50s, he did so holding out a hand of friendship to whites. He would then have gladly, willingly and joyfully sat down with whites to share thinking about compromise solutions on how to establish a democracy."

and robbery de-

"This was the most difficult investigation of my career and

## Buthelezi to speak at Inkatha rally

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is to address an Inkatha rally at King's Park Stadium on Sunday.

A spokesman for Inkatha said Dr Buthelezi was expected to talk about the escalating violence in Natal and the progress which had been made towards establishing a meeting between the leaders of various political organisations involved in the violence.

The rally's declared purpose is to give thanks for the recent release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

He said at least 100 000 people were expected to attend.

Meanwhile, the Natal Church leaders' group has issued a statement calling for an atmosphere of peace both before, during and after the holding of the rally.

**Natal rally**

11B

*Sowetan 22/3/70*

KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is to address an Inkatha rally at King's Park Stadium in Durban on Sunday.

Sowetan 22/3/90

11B

# Attacks on Inkatha to be probed

A South African Police general is to investigate allegations that men wearing items of security forces uniforms were involved in attacks on Inkatha members in KwaZulu.

The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has ordered the investigation.

This stems from a report by Brigadier Sipho Mathe, Deputy Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week that people dressed in items of security force-type uniforms had been involved in acts of violence and death against Inkatha.

At least four people wearing camouflage and SADF browns were allegedly involved in an attack on an Inkatha chief's

household near Hammarisdale at the weekend that left 15 people dead, including two special constables of the KwaZulu police.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has subsequently asked for black members of the SADF to be removed from KwaZulu, saying they were antagonistic towards Inkatha.

Buthelezi said that white soldiers were welcome to stay on.

By yesterday morning, his request had not been conveyed to Mr Vlok's office officially.

Senior officers from the Defence Force, KwaZulu Police and the SAP have met to discuss the allegations, and decided they would be investigated by Lt Gen Stan Schutte.

The SAP have said they wanted the allegations tested against the facts straight away, and if they were true, then the law must take its course.

The SAP have cautioned, however, that imposters dressed themselves up in items of security force uniforms to further confuse issues when they carried out acts of violence.

Relations between some members of the KP and the SAP have not been too cordial lately as the SAP have arrested two members of the KP in connection with serious charges stemming from the unrest against them.

The SAP have pointed out that removing the black soldiers would mean removing almost the entire SADF presence, because most of SADF members serving in the trouble spots were black. This could result in chaos.

News in Brief

*CPA 7/11/90 24/3/90 (11B)*  
**Bop wants to stay free**

**MMABATHO.** — The Bophuthatswana National Assembly yesterday unanimously rejected a call for the re-incorporation of the independent homeland into South Africa.

NEWS

# Soldiers implicated in Kraal killings

PATRICK LAURENCE

THESE is prima facie evidence that anti-Inkatha comrades are volunteering to serve as soldiers in the SADF in order to tip the balance against Inkatha in the on-going civil war in Natal, Mr Gavin Woods, executive director of the Inkatha Institute told Saturday Star yesterday.

The latest evidence came in the wake of the attack on the homestead of an induna, near Hammansdale, last weekend, in which 15 people were killed, all of whom were reported by police to be Inkatha sympathisers.

An SADF beret and

cartridges from a rifle or rifles similar to those used by the SADF were found on the scene, Mr Woods said.

The attack led to demands by the kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for the immediate withdrawal of black soldiers from the areas under his jurisdiction. He accused them of wanting to "oblitrate" Inkatha.

The attack was on the kraal of Induna M Gwala, who had been killed in earlier conflict. Pro-Inkatha youths and, according to the SAP, three special constables were helping to guard the kraal.

The attack, judging

## Comrades join army to fight against Inkatha'

from an account giving by police spokesman Major Reg Crewe, was well-planned and executed: the attackers, armed with handgrenades and an AK-47 rifle, hurled handgrenades into the kraal and when its occupants fled they were gunned and hacked down.



ANGRY: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Two special constables were killed in the attack and an R1 rifle — the standard weapon of SADF soldiers — and a "machine gun" — were stolen from them by the attackers. Major Crewe said.

Researchers from the Inkatha Institute are

busy collating evidence, including sworn statements, about the attack, Mr Woods said. It was the "clearest evidence to date" that black soldiers were implicated in attacks on Inkatha, he added.

Over the months the Inkatha Institute had collected "60 affidavits" from six different areas, in which local people identified SADF soldiers as aggressors in action against residents in Inkatha areas.

Besides Hammansdale, Mr Woods named Lindelani and Richmond Farm specifically. In a statement to the kwazulu Legislative Assembly Chief Buthelezi added another area: kwamakhathu.

Mr Woods described the Institute's research as detailed, empirical and thorough. "We go to the source," he said. Its investigation into violence in Natal-kwazulu started three years ago.

His conclusion was that there "appears to be a strategic campaign" by some black soldiers against Inkatha; "ex-comrades" have infiltrated the SADF, he reckoned, when they are not under the supervision of white officers, "they use their resources" against Inkatha.

Mr Woods did not mention any specific battalion. In talks between the kwazulu Police, the SAP and the SADF, following Chief Buthelezi's demands for the withdrawal of black soldiers, Battalion 121 fell under the spotlight. It is a Zulu battalion affiliated to the Natal Command. The allegations are being investigated.

# warlord attack

## Abducted youth dies in local chief's kraal

By CHARLES MOGALE

WIDESPREAD fear of a "Zulu" attack has gripped the eastern Transvaal area of Driefontein following the fatal assault on a young man by alleged Inkatha warlords.

Themba Dlamini, 28, died after a brutal assault on him at the local royal kraal. The local chief, Samuel Gweje Yende, is believed to have strong Inkatha ties.

Themba died seconds after his shocked father Meshack found him covered in wounds and writhing in pain in the chief's kraal two weeks ago. Themba was buried in Driefontein yesterday.

Three suspects incriminated in the assault were arrested more than a week after the incident, following intervention by human rights advocates. They were released on bail immediately.

According to affidavits made to lawyers, Themba was abducted by three men travelling in a yellow Volkswagen Golf on March 6.

The car was driven by Gilbert Mjwago, a suspected police informer. Also in the car were Chief Yende and Mbuti Yende.

Themba and a friend, Gisi Dlangamandla, had taken their families' cows to the grazing fields when the men confronted them and asked about a black calf.

"We told them we had not seen it anywhere, and invited them to come and look at our cows. Suddenly, Gweje grabbed Themba, and handcuffed him. He was thrown on to the back seat before the men drove away with him," said 17-year-old Gisi.

He ran to tell Themba's parents and Themba's father Meshack rushed to the royal kraal.

"His wrists were tied together by a rope attached to the roof. He was lying on the floor, writhing in agony. He had only his underpants on. His thighs and buttocks were full of wounds, they were swollen and full of blood. He saw me but could not speak," Dlamini said.

"Then Yende and Mjwago arrived, and after that Themba died. Mjwago went up to his body and said: 'He died quickly, I was planning to come and hit him with the handle of my whip'," he said.

Themba's hands were untied and his father was told to take his body away. When Dlamini went to the police station later to lay a charge, he met the three suspects coming out. No steps were taken until the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) briefed advocates who spoke to a police general in the Eastern Transvaal.

The three men were taken in, but immediately released on bail. When *City Press* visited Driefontein on Friday, the atmosphere was tense as chanting residents waiting for the corpse to be brought for the night vigil.

Beauty Mkhize, wife of the slain human rights leader Saul Mkhize, confronted police driving in eight vehicles and pleaded with them to leave.

Residents scattered as they saw the police, but later regrouped. The area was abuzz with rumours that an Inkatha attack was imminent.

CITY PRESS, March 25, 1990 ★

AGE 2

# Fears of



porting apartheid".  
Sapa.

## Butelezi calls for peace

**CHIEF** Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on all black leaders drawn into confrontation to act together - to condemn violence wherever it occurred.

At a rainwashed thanksgiving service marking the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, he condemned countrywide violence as a barrier to black liberation.

And he called on all blacks to place South Africa first by putting an end to delaying tactics and getting on with negotiations for a new all-race constitution immediately.

- Sapa.

*Sowetan 26/3/90*

115

AM-704H 26/3/90 (11B)

## **Inkatha adds new colours to its flag**

**Own Correspondent**

**DURBAN.** — The Inkatha colours have been changed following the unbanning of the ANC.

Previously the Inkatha colours and those of the ANC were the same — green, yellow and black.

Now red and white have been added to the Inkatha colours to avoid confusion.

According to an Inkatha source, the white represents peace and the red the blood of those who have been killed in the struggle for liberation.

The new colours were seen for the first time at Inkatha's thanksgiving service at King's Park yesterday.

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King angry after telephone call

# Mandela to meet KwaZulu leaders

DURBAN — African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will lay wreaths at the graves of Zulu kings Chaka and Ceteswayo before he meets Inkatha president Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini for talks, probably this month.

Chief Buthelezi said the meeting, which he and Mr Mandela had discussed by telephone on Saturday, would involve the king as well.

Addressing a rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela had telephoned the king on Saturday. King Zwelithini had been called out of his meeting with the Amakhosi (chiefs) at Ulundi to answer the call.

Chief Buthelezi said it had been a lengthy conversation, during which Mr Mandela had tried to persuade the king to agree to meet at Nongoma (site of the king's palace) and not at Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu. The king had refused. Chief Buthelezi, who was also at the meeting of Amakhosi, had then been told that Mr Mandela wanted to speak to him.

"His first words to me were 'The king is very angry with me,'" Chief Buthelezi said.

In trying to co-ordinate a date for the talks, Mr Mandela had explained that he first wanted to lay wreaths at the graves of Chaka and Ceteswayo.

"I always think that, judging from his speech here last time, he likes to pay tribute to the Zulu kings, the past heroes, and so on. I think it's a positive move. I find nothing wrong with it," Chief Buthelezi said.

A date for the meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and the king had yet to be decided upon, the chief said.

"It should be this month. I don't see why it shouldn't be this month," Chief Buthelezi said.

Although attempts to contact Mr Mandela from Durban yesterday were unsuccessful, it would seem from this and earlier reports that the ANC has agreed to compromise on the venue issue, and talks will take place at Ulundi.

At yesterday's rally, Chief Buthelezi urged black leaders to act together to condemn violence wherever it occurred, and said countrywide violence was a barrier to black liberation.

He called on blacks to place South Africa first by putting an end to delaying tactics and immediately proceeding with negotiations for a new constitution. — Sapa.

Mr 26/3/90 (118)



"Return to school" . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with his wife, Winnie, at the University of the North yesterday.

## 'Thousands homeless in Natal's killing fields'

Staff Reporter  
Between 50 000 and 70 000 people have been rendered homeless by intense fighting in kwaZulu-Natal, Operation Hunger executive director Mrs Ina Perlman estimates.

Speaking as the relief feeding organisation approaches its 10th anniversary, Mrs Perlman cited "the killing fields of Natal" as just one of the critical hunger points in South Africa.

Her organisation had responded to appeals from 10 000 people urgently in need of food and blankets in the area, and expected the number to double by the end of this month.

Other problem areas were:

- Northern and north-western Transvaal, blighted by severe drought, massive layoffs from farms and retrenchments from mines.
- Parts of the OFS and north-western Cape, where seasonal labour had been reduced after poor spring rains.
- The Eastern Cape, where the townships were overflowing and the small agricultural towns were severely depressed.

Mrs Perlman warned that retrenchments, hunger and despair would continue even if South Africa's economy lived up to optimistic predictions.

"First and foremost, new urban jobs will be few and far between; there will still be retrenchment, there will still be job loss."

Despite a proud record over the past decade in which time the child death rate had been cut, children had become more educable following the introduction of proper feeding schemes, and thousands had been employed in self-help projects, the road ahead looked bleak for Operation Hunger.

"The need for feeding remains and will continue for many years. We need maximum support if 1990 is to be the beginning of the end to hunger, deprivation and want in our land," Mrs Perlman said.

ULUNDI. — In negotiations on South Africa's political future, he would argue for total democracy and fight for the acceptance of free enterprise as the only way to ensure democracy, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

For the first time he publicly outlined the issues he will be taking to the negotiating table.

At the same time he expressed concern over the proposed April 11 talks between the government and the ANC over preconditions to negotiations, saying there were indications the ANC was preparing to "pack its bags and go home" as an option,

# Buthelezi will fight for 'total democracy'

*CAF Times 27/3/90 (11B)*

should negotiations get tough.

In his address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he said he believed the ANC was adopting a confrontational position in the politics of negotiation and said that if the ANC was sincere about negotiations it no longer needed to continue with its armed struggle and

continue its call for South Africa's punitive economic isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said the main issues he would be taking to the negotiating table included:

- That South Africa should be a sovereign state.

- That there could be only one sovereign parliament, no matter how

the country's "minority problems" were dealt with.

- That there had to be universal adult franchise, possibly with an entrenched Bill of Rights, which could protect minorities without in any way making the vote of one South African of lesser or greater importance than any other vote.

Fundamental issues already tabled included the Harare Document, which he believes is an official summary of the ANC's present position.

"This is a totally no-go document as far as I am concerned. It expects the South African government to hand over power.

# Inkatha leader takes tough stance against ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the ANC, calling it and other black political organisations "the worst things in the black struggle for liberation".

In a paper read for him yesterday by Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose at a conference in Johannesburg on "Eastern Europe: Implications for Southern Africa", the chief said the single most important spin-off of developments in East Europe was that international economic support for the ANC and other "radical" black organisations would be drastically cut.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister further dismissed the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as a myth which had now been exploded.

## NEXT GOVERNMENT

He said there were people in SA and abroad who saw the ANC as the only anti-apartheid monolithic force which would inevitably become the country's next government.

Some even visualised negotiations in which the National Party would be talking only to the ANC "while the rest of the parties present applaud or support one of the two".

Chief Buthelezi warned: "It is just not going to be like that and I believe that this myth that the ANC is the alternative ruling party in South Africa is still going to prove very costly."

He appealed to Mr Nelson Mandela to "join me in the heightened faith that negotiations can succeed because it will be only negotiations that can establish justice."

Events in Eastern Europe encouraged negotiations and enhanced President de Klerk's credibility tenfold. Mr de Klerk still needed a lot of black support to continue with reform, and it was critical that he received this backing, the chief said.

The ANC's insistence on winner-takes-all politics and its refusal to guarantee white minority protection meant the beginning of an end for the organisation.

# Inkatha Declaration unveiled

Star 29/3/90 (118)  
Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — Inkatha has revealed details of its alternative to the ANC's Harare Declaration in the form of a detailed working document called the 1990 Inkatha Declaration.

Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, revealed the document in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday. The document was described as a "draft paper for debate" and has already been presented to Inkatha's central committee.

The document calls for: the protection of minorities, no domination by any group over another, participation by all in the governing of South Africa on the basis of equality before the constitution and of universal adult suffrage, and the freedom of movement and residence within SA's borders.

## NEW ORDER

"The ANC has stated its opening position clearly in the Harare Declaration and we from our side need to state quite clearly what our starting position is going to be," Chief Buthelezi said.

The document's preamble says: "The transition from an old order to a new order must be a people's transition and the negotiating process must incorporate all political parties. Negotiation should strive to develop a constitutional model and aim at establishing not only political orders, but also social and economic orders acceptable to the majority of people in all the country's race groups."

The first part of the paper, called A Democratic Political System to Meet the Requirements of South Africans, states that "All people shall participate in the governing of the country on the basis of total equality before the constitution and on the basis

of universal adult suffrage through freely chosen representatives. The rights of individuals shall be protected under the law regardless of race, colour, creed or sex.

"There shall be the right of parents to choose the kind of education they wish for their children and to seek private tuition when the education of the State does not meet with their approval."

On minority issues, it says: "There shall be protection of minorities in ways and means . . . which do not violate the principles of democratic government in any way."

On the economic front it provides for all to have the right to own property and freedom to pursue their entrepreneurial skills.

Provision is made for consultative mechanisms in which organised agriculture, mining, commerce, banking and industry would participate "to advise the Government on the best ways to avoid the dangers of free marketeering and exploitation on the one hand and the dangers of State control that curbs productivity on the other hand".

The document adds that "there shall be the right of any members of any cultural group to preserve his or her culture and to put his or her culture into practice", provided these comply with the rule of law.

Principles of the document could best be introduced "if a negotiated settlement is reached in a non-violent debate and action".

"After the successful conclusion of the negotiations a free and fair election for a new democratic government for South Africa shall be held," the document says.

"Black South Africans should reciprocate the boldness of President de Klerk in politically stepping past lines of no return by abandoning "all or nothing" politics."

# Nationalisation will be fatal, says Buthelezi

11B

THERE is an urgent need to redistribute wealth in South Africa but talk of large scale nationalisation was "fatal", Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Monday.

"I will side with anybody at the negotiating table who will fight with me for an economic system based on the principles of responsible free enterprise," he said during his policy speech at the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly.

"We are going to face very difficult economic circumstances in this country.

## Wrong

"There is going to be an urgent political need, as well as an urgent humanitarian need, to redistribute wealth in South Africa as effectively as we can. I do not talk the language of nationalisation because I think it is fatal talk," he said.

Buthelezi said he questioned calls made by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, for the continuation of the armed struggle, the need for nationalisation, and the continuation of sanctions and international pressure against South Africa.

Although he respected Mandela and did not intend attacking him, his message to him was, "My friend, you are very wrong on these issues.

## Revolution

"You are wrong for yourself, you are wrong for the ANC and you are wrong for South Africa," he said.

"If we talk nationalisation too hard, the wealth we are arguing about will finally be consumed in a racist conflagration as white

scorched earth policy meets black scorched earth policy.

"Simply put, white South Africans would rather kill you than talk about living under a Marxist-type socialist state in which private ownership does not exist.

"If we talk the language of nationalisation, not one foreign company

is likely to bring in any new investment into South Africa," he said.

Despite talk of nationalisation, Buthelezi said there was groundswell demand for a responsible free enterprise system that could produce wealth and create jobs, he said. He did however sound a note of caution.

"The poorest of the

poor do not want dreams and promises. They want a roof over their heads and they want care for the sick. They want education for their children. "If they do not get these things, people in South Africa will revolt against whoever rules.

"Wherever mass poverty has spread in Africa, revolution has followed," he said.

# Mandela offer still stands says Buthelezi

Cap. Times 29/3/90  
1180



Mandela

ULUNDI. — Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to his home at Mahlabathini and the invitation by the Zulu king to meet him at Ulundi still stood, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.



Buthelezi

He said Mr Mandela had been in contact with him on a number of occasions since his release from prison.

"Mr Mandela and I are old family friends and his visit to my home is a natural expression of that friendship. Mr Mandela and I were in the ANC Youth League together and later, when he was practising as a lawyer, he attended to my wife's father's estate after he died."

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela's visit to his home was therefore not something about which there should be any speculation.

"We will meet at my home as we have arranged from the outset and we will meet whenever Mr Mandela's very busy itinerary makes it possible to do so. But the visit should take place in the relatively near future."

He said Mr Mandela wrote to him from jail last year expressing "deep concern about the hideous black-on-black violence which has reached unprecedented proportions in this region of South Africa".





CHIEF BUTHELEZI



NELSON MANDELA

# ANC in bid to halt violence

DEPUTY president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will jointly address a mass rally in Natal on Monday in an attempt to halt the growing violence in the province.

A spokesman for Buthelezi said yesterday the rally would be held "come hell or high water", and appealed to employers in Natal to give as many workers as possible time off to attend.

The publicity spokesman for the internal wing of the ANC, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, confirmed the meeting would take place.

"We have been in contact with the various parties. And it is certain the meeting will take place on Monday. The publicity department is at present holding a series of meetings after which a formal statement will be issued.

*Sowetan 30/3/90*

## Taylor's Halt

*[Signature]*  
11B

"People are dying horrendously in Natal, and that is the reason it is going ahead as soon as possible," he said.

According to Buthelezi's office, the rally will be held at Taylor's Halt, outside Maritzburg, one of the most violent areas of conflict between supporters of Inkatha and those of the United Democratic Front, a coalition of organisations sympathetic to Mandela's ANC.

The rally was due to get underway at 10am, the Buthelezi spokesman said. - Sapa.

## Leaders in joint peace bid

# 20 more die as 'civil war' erupts again

By Craig Kotze

At least 20 people died yesterday in fighting in Edendale's "valley of death" — with no end in sight to the most vicious phase to date of the Inkatha/UDF power struggle in Natal.

Heavy fighting broke out again last night in the area's townships and early today police were combing the area for casualties. More bodies are expected to be found.

The latest killings in the steadily escalating "civil war" brings the known death toll this week to 36. Police said two people were killed on Tuesday, 14 on Wednesday and at least 20 yesterday.

Hundreds of people are feared injured and hundreds of houses have been burnt down in the fighting.

Today the situation in the area was described by police as "still extremely tense".

Efforts to stop the violence are being made in various quarters.

Democratic Party leaders met President de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday while ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi will jointly call for peace at a Natal rally on Monday.

### Called

Maritzburg mayor Mr Mark Cornell has called for martial law to be imposed and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok will meet police generals today.

President de Klerk was told more men were needed on the ground in Maritzburg and that refugees had to be helped.

The boiling Edendale cauldron threatens to engulf other areas in Natal. Police said three people were killed in fighting elsewhere on Wednesday.

In Edendale yesterday, houses were again targets of petrol-bomb attacks, with 25 homes attacked in Myandu alone. In the Haza area, police used birdshot to disperse 800 people who were fighting each other.

Black Sash women walking with a

Women for Peace protest march in Edendale were arrested, fingerprinted, photographed and threatened with detention in Plessislaer yesterday, said Mr Radley Keyes, regional director of the Natal inland region of the Democratic Party.

They were later released. Mr Cornell called for the ANC to "get its act together", like Inkatha, in a practical attempt to end the spiral of killings, burnings and destruction in Natal.

The mass rally to be addressed by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will be held at Taylor's Halt near Maritzburg on Monday.

Mr Cornell said he feared that Maritzburg could become a battlefield.

"Help us, please. If it takes the army to do so, then send in the army. Edendale is burning and I

really fear that Maritzburg itself will become the scene of full-scale fighting.

"We have more than 2 000 black refugees living in white areas in Maritzburg and they have brought their feuds with them. Yesterday, a 14-year-old youth was shot in Maritzburg."

### Appoint

Mr Cornell said the ANC should appoint a "peace representative", as Inkatha had done, to accompany security forces and point out trouble-makers.

"Until we work together, until there is an agreement, there will be no peace. The people at grassroots level, people like Cosatu, want the troops here, but the ANC won't negotiate until the troops are out of

## Pig's head shocks Kramer

Staff Reporter

Stex 30/3/90

Jacobs

"Shocking, disgusting and sickening" were the words used today by the only Jewish town councillor in Boksburg, Mr Issy Kramer, to describe the discovery of a pig's head on his seat at a council meeting last night.

Minutes before the council meeting began, the head, wrapped in a Star of David flag, was found on Mr Kramer's seat.

In the ensuing chaos, the leader of the National Party in the council, Mr Chris Smith, called for the meeting's adjournment to tonight and said the police should be called immediately.

A still shaken Mr Kramer told The Star today, "We were still talking on the council chamber floor when we were told to take our seats, since the meeting was about to begin. I sit between (Mr) Smith and councillor Dawn

"Dawn, who pulled my chair out so that I could sit down, was the first to see the pig's head. Smith then shouted 'Don't touch it. Don't touch it, call the police'."

"I was shocked and I felt very sick afterwards. It is only a mentally sick person who could do what was done. It shows that there is a small group of people in this country which is unable to face reality and the inevitability of political change."

Mr Kramer, a lawyer and independent councillor, said the incident could have been triggered by the Pretoria Supreme Court's decision yesterday to overturn the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council's reintroduction of petty apartheid in November 1988.

He read to The Star an anti-

Semitic document distributed before the meeting by ... and Mrs Trudie van der ... wife of CP councillor Mr van der Merwe. Mr van der Merwe later confessed to having drawn up the anti-Semitic document, according to Kramer.

The document extracts from a speech by the House of Assembly, Eric Louw in 1937, saying Africa already had a large Jewish population.

"We owe it to the future generations of South Africa to let this problem now before you late," the document said. Mr Louw as having said ...

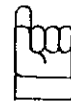
NP leader Mr Smith condemned last night's ... and said he hoped the ... would soon prosecute ... was responsible for it.



Katrina Ngubane mourns over the body of her brother-in-law who was killed yesterday during violent faction fighting in the township Edendale outside Maritzburg.

Picture by Reuters

### Can you comma



When you speak, ... Can you talk easily to strangers, superiors, alike?

In other words, do you have

★ Speak up with confidence

★ Address a group spontaneously

★ Make powerful telling statements

**Open offices**

**in T'kei**

118  
M-745  
3/13/90

UMTATA. — Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has urged recently unbanned organisations to open up offices in the homeland, organise workshops and hold meetings with a view to "properly politicising people and mobilising support".

In his address to the paramount chief of the Gcaleka region yesterday, he warned that newly won freedoms were not a licence for certain people to do as they pleased.

"We have embarked upon programmes to curb the spreading of these anti-social tendencies and redress the incalculable harm and damage they might have inflicted on our communities," he said. — Sapa

## Murder accused is threatened by mob

By SBU MNGADI

press 11/4/90



118

AN angry crowd this week threatened to kill KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Interior and member of Inkatha Central Committee, Samuel Jamile, who is due to face several murder charges.

Teargas and birdshot were used to disperse the chanting 1000-strong crowd outside the Pinetown Magistrate's Court and several people were injured.

The undisclosed charges arise from the assassinations of five prominent Clermont community leaders, and attempts to kill others - including UDF co-president Archie Gumede - between 1987 and 1989.

The trial was adjourned to April 27.

An hour later the chanting group reluctantly dispersed. However, shops along Anderson Road were broken into and looted.

# T'kei chiefs stripped of power

Cape Times  
3/4/90  
116

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Transkei's ruling Military Council has ordered fundamental changes designed to strip chiefs of their political power, politicise the population and stop politically motivated killings.

The changes are part of a "determined reformation" to scrap the old style of government in the country and introduce a "new order".

Major-General Bantu Holomisa told chiefs and paramount chiefs of the Gcalera regional authority last week that they would have to remain out of politics.

"Their decision-making must not be influenced by religious and ideological inclinations. The position of traditional leaders is such that what they do or say must never be criticised or assailed.

"I am conscious of the fact that in the past paramount chiefs were actively involved in politics, they were even coerced to participate in politics of oppression, something that has dented the image of the institute of chieftainship in the eyes of loyal subjects," General Holomisa said.

They must accept the inher-

ent and inviolable right of their people to express their views without fear of intimidation, victimisation or possible future reprisals.

The problem had been caused by, "faceless fortune-seekers who are bent on imposing the will of unknown tiny cliques upon the overwhelming majority of the people".

General Holomisa said all political parties must be allowed to hold meetings with none getting preferential treatment.

"The murderous intolerance for the expression of a divergent political viewpoint must be condemned. I feel compelled to issue a stern warning to the irresponsible elements that the government will not hesitate to use power to protect human life."

Other points he raised were:

● Problems in the country's educational system had arisen because South Africa had not provided sufficient funds while heaping massive fringe benefits on its own civil service.

● The police would in future have to co-operate with political organisations to fight infiltrating hooligans who caused trouble.

CAR. Trust 3/4/90 (11B) (11B) (11B)

# Buthelezi: Church has vendetta against us

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told top church leaders, including Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Denis Hurley, that they should be talking to the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC if they really wanted to stop the widespread slaughter in Natal.

In a strongly worded memorandum to an SA Council of Churches delegation here yesterday, Chief Buthelezi accused the churches of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people

were dying.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the peace rally and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with President F W de Klerk.

They were afraid because peace negotiations could expose them as not having the following they claimed, he said.

Meanwhile people were being "chopped up and burnt alive . . . and a whole new generation is being warped by violence".

The SACC had channelled millions of rands of overseas money to causes funded by the

pro-ANC, UDF and Cosatu organisations, and nothing to the Inkatha projects, he said.

The ANC's Radio Freedom in Lusaka had repeatedly called on youths to band together and kill black town councillors, policemen and others denigrated as "collaborators" because they did not accept the ANC's violent strategies.

"I and my followers are (in those terms) already sentenced to death. It is as simple as this."

Addressing the Rev Frank Chikane of the SACC, he said he would continue his peace efforts and that he still be-

lieved black leaders should go and stop the killing.

"I still say it is hideously wrong and cowardly of the ANC to stop Dr Mandela from sharing a platform with me so that we could stop the killing."

An SACC statement said the church leaders asked for the reactivation of a peace plan involving a conference between Inkatha, the ANC and other political and trade union organisations.

They also suggested a major peace conference in Natal, jointly organised mass peace rallies and joint peace committees at grassroots level. — Sapa

118

3/4/90

Cape Times, Tuesday

# Lennox Sebe's son appears in court

**BISHO.** — General Kwane Sebe, son of deposed Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe, made a brief appearance in Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court yesterday with five co-accused who face various charges.

Gen Sebe, former head of the disbanded Ciskei Elite Unit, appeared with two members of his squad and three officers of the Ciskei Defence Force.

Before the packed court, where tight security was maintained, were Gen Sebe, second-in-command of the unit Major-General M W Tantsi, the head of the Defence Force, Brigadier N Zwelendaba, and Brigadier V Sixishe.

Others from the Elite Unit were Colonel M X Noyila and Lieutenant K W Makom.

The accused were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. Bail was not granted and the hearing was postponed to April 27.

According to the summary of facts before the court, the Ciskei attorney-general had decided to charge the accused with contravening the Explosives Act, four counts of attempted murder and two charges of malicious damage to property and arson.

— Sapa

fort of I

# Mandela's bid for peace



**AGONY OF NATAL:** stunned residents watch their homes go up in flames

BY CHRISTINA SCOTT  
PIETERMARITZBURG  
— Talks on a Natal  
ceasefire between ANC  
and Inkatha have been  
put on ice after Kwazulu  
leader Mangosuthu

Buthlezi tried to hijack  
a joint rally proposed by  
Nelson Mandela.  
"Our people are not  
fighting Inkatha," stressed  
Mandela, who later added  
"we are vigorously search-  
ing for peace".

"But not fighting does  
not mean we will not  
defend when attacked."

An "astounded" Mandela  
told a press conference  
here that Buthlezi had  
flouted an agreement to  
leave the venue and date of  
a joint rally to the decision  
of local leaders.

Mandela vetoed  
Buthlezi's suggestion to  
host the rally in an Inkatha  
territory because it did not  
involve grassroots deci-  
sion-making, then heard  
on radio that that the two  
would address a rally in  
Taylor's Halt on April 2.

"This angered our mem-  
bership. Our people felt  
very much distressed and  
the feeling became so in-  
tense that I had no choice  
but to cancel," said Man-  
dela. South 4/4-194/90  
Mandela, visited the  
"Valley of Death" and of-  
fered words of hope but no  
snap solution.

Roads barricaded with  
burnt-out cars — the smell  
of burning rubber still in  
the air — Mandela viewed  
petrol-bombed homes and  
entered a church to meet  
some of the 10 000 people  
displaced by the fighting in  
Edendale Valley.

The Natal war started  
here three years ago and  
the 80 deaths in a week of  
recent fighting is threat-  
ening to sidetrack the path  
to reform.

"We are not fighting  
against Inkatha at this

moment," he told a surging  
crowd of hundreds of  
youths at the Edendale Lay  
centre.

"We are fighting against  
Apartheid and the policy of  
racial oppression."

"The violence must end,"  
he said — then added that  
ANC leaders would not "do  
anything you, the people  
do not want us to do —  
even if we think our way is  
correct."

Although Mandela was  
unable to offer any solu-  
tions to the fighting, he  
left the way open for a  
meeting with his regional  
rival, KwaZulu homeland  
leader Mangosuthu  
Buthlezi.

Religious leaders includ-  
ing Nobel peace prize  
winner Archbishop  
Desmond Tutu, consulted  
Buthlezi in Ulundi and  
briefed Mandela in  
Pietermaritzburg at the end  
of his township tour.

The Natal war will also  
be on the agenda when  
Mandela meets informally  
with State president FW  
De Klerk on Thursday.

In the meantime, an inde-  
pendent commission of in-  
quiry has asked the United  
Nations to step in and ap-  
point impartial overseers  
for a peacekeeping force to  
replace police and soldiers  
now patrolling the town-  
ships.

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# A mindless cycle of revenge that goes beyond ideology

Sowetan 4/4/90

113

**Sowetan staffer MICHAEL TISSONG visited Natal and pieced together a story of horror out of control in the killing fields of the province. He contends that political affiliations are no longer a factor in the fighting.**

WHAT started as a fight for political hegemony between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Natal has snowballed into a war that today goes beyond ideology and political affiliation.

Four years ago the area around Maritzburg was known as one of the quietest, politically, in the country.

Community leaders called the shots and people listened, but did not necessarily accept whatever was said.

The political jostling between Inkatha and the UDF increased and became deadly serious when lives were lost in clashes over commemoration dates, stayaways and songs denigrating Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The deaths were avenged by relatives and friends and the spiral started. As more people joined in, political associations became secondary to avenging a friend or relative killed by the rival group.

## Differences

Loose groupings under the names UDF and Inkatha were formed in many areas where there was fighting but few, if any, people directly involved in the clashes could say what the political differences between the two groups were or what their political group stood for.

There is also no evidence that these groupings were directly started by either the UDF or Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses to one of the clashes say it was like watching a scene from the TV series *Shaka Zulu*:

"After shootings at night, large groups gathered on two hillsides in the morning and faced one another across a valley.



Armed men walk through the streets of Edenvale Valley near Pietermaritzburg. More than 55 people have died in the Natal violence since Friday.

There were no flags or placards or the shouting of slogans to indicate which group was Inkatha or which was UDF.

Neither group carried AK47s, which might have indicated ANC support of the UDF group. The weaponry was R1 rifles, handguns, homemade firearms, assegais, sticks, pangas and knives.

The groups charged at one another and met in the valley where there was fierce close-range fighting before the groups scattered and left their dead behind for the police to pick up.

That night again shooting was heard across the hills.

Men, women and children streamed out of the area carrying some of their belongings. Behind them the carnage continued and houses burned.

People who sought refuge in the white areas of Maritzburg

were hunted down and increased the possibility of SADF involvement in the fray. (The Government has now sent in more troops into the area.)

In recent weeks, ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leaders Buthelezi and Oscar Dhlomo have appealed for the fighting to stop.

## Leadership

Despite these appeals by the top leadership on both sides, the fighting has gone on and become worse. In less than a week, the body count has come close to 60.

This has emphasised the point that there is no line of command between either the Inkatha or UDF leadership and the people directly involved in the fighting.

If there was this line of com-

mand, the UDF would have pulled in the reins on its members and Inkatha would have done the same because the bottom line is that the horror does not serve the interests of either party nor those of the liberation struggle to which both organisations say they are committed.

A contributing factor is that urbanisation in the growth points of Maritzburg, Pinetown and Durban has increased at an alarming rate. Durban, which is growing at a rate of between 50 and 100 metres a day, is currently the second fastest growing city in the world behind Mexico City.

People living in these areas have also cited tensions between the lifestyles of the people who have lived near the cities for a long time and those who have recently come from the rural areas where customs hold strong.

THE African National Congress' withdrawal from the April 11 talks with State President FW de Klerk has dented the movement's image, both internationally and among whites at home.

The announcement came the day after another controversial ANC withdrawal, this time from the joint peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

In the five days since the ANC's announcements were made, the movement has faced a barrage of criticism from foreign governments and the local press — and a sustained attack from the government on SABC television.

At the same time Buthelezi has sought to make political capital out of the issue and used the withdrawals to lambast the ANC.

The dip in the movement's image appears to have been partially mended by the announcement of tomorrow's meeting with De Klerk and by Mandela's visit to the Natal trouble spots earlier this week.

The unrest — and the resultant breakdown in the negotiating process — has created problems for both parties. It has given fuel to those who criticise the ANC for entering too hastily into negotiations; it has also helped those who criticise De Klerk's reforms for leading to a breakdown in law and order.

The reason given by the ANC for cancelling the April 11 meeting was last week's police violence in Sebokeng and other townships.

The *Weekly Mail* can reveal that the decision to call off the talks was made shortly after Mandela and his colleague Walter Sisulu visited Sebokeng and spoke to victims of the violence. They were reported to be truly horrified by what they saw and heard.

They told ANC representative Jacob Zuma that they believed the talks should be called off, and this was conveyed by him to the ANC National Executive Committee. This

# The streets are in flames ... and the ANC gets blamed

W/M 5/4 - 11/4/90

*The ANC faced a barrage of criticism this week ... but can it be fairly expected to 'control' the township violence?*

By GAVIN EVANS, PHILLIPPA GARSON and IVOR POWELL

decision was confirmed on Friday and announced on Saturday evening.

Justifying the move at a press conference yesterday, Nelson Mandela said that if it had been whites who had been shot in Sebokeng, "there would be a national uprising of whites which would lead to the fall of the government." Because it was blacks who had been killed, there had been little outcry.

ANC and Mass Democratic Movement leaders are adamant that the police "violence" was sufficient grounds for withdrawing from the talks, stressing that it was a protest which reflected the mood in the black townships.

"We thought the government would restrain its security forces as we move towards initial contacts, but now we find that people staging peaceful demonstrations are being shot down in cold blood," said ANC representative Tom Sebina.

The ANC has been sharply criticised for an inability to control its forces and moving slowly since its unbanning two months ago.

However, they counter this by

pointing out that they have been banned, harassed and persecuted for decades, and particularly during the State of Emergency. It would be unrealistic to expect them to have the structures to control things.

At the same time, ANC representatives have acknowledged that they have had problems controlling youth elements, usually not active in organisations, who have been incensed by police violence.

Natal ANC convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota says the government clampdown over the last few years has led to the creation of a *tsotsi* element with its own agenda.

"These people use the colours of our organisations yet carry out actions alien to the movement."

Lekota says it is a "mean trick" to expect the organisation to have control over these people who are not its true members. "The government is responsible for the rot we have to contend with today."

Natal University political scientist Dr Ian Phillips said he believed the ANC was a "politically mature" movement whose leadership was

now united in favour of negotiations.

"But at the same time the situation in the country is extremely fragile. People have been too altruistic in believing that peace was about to break out the minute the ANC was unbanned

"You must remember that the perspective of people in the townships is very different from that in the boardroom."

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe says the situation is "pregnant with expectations" and disappointment will inevitably result in violence.

"Negotiations cannot take place in a vacuum and the ANC's postponement of talks with the government implies the organisation is sensitive to the real issues on the ground."

Professor Alf Stadler of the University of the Witwatersrand's politics department said the ANC wanted to avoid a situation "where talks were an exercise in crisis management.

"What the state negotiators would have been doing was to place the violence high on the agenda and try to make the ANC take responsibility for ending the unrest.

"This would have placed them at a severe disadvantage in presenting any demands — like those around the return of exiles or political rights for blacks."

He said the ANC was facing an "impossible situation" where "any kid who can stitch three colours together to make a flag is labelled as an ANC member".

In reality, Stadler argues, the ANC support base is that of a broad resistance movement and has yet to be forged into a coherent front demanded by a political party.

"De Klerk has emerged as a very skilful politician and has been largely successful in keeping the ANC off-balance. He has allowed concessions but then not allowed space for these to be turned into grassroots reality."

11B

## Buthelezi also in Cape Town today

*W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90*  
**INKATHA** President Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be in Cape Town today, as will African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who will be meeting State President FW de Klerk — but there are no known plans for them to meet in the city, reports **CARMEL RICKARD**.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela said this week they were committed to the private discussions so badly needed to help bring peace in Natal, but there is still no indication when these talks will be held.

A source close to the ANC leadership said yesterday "it was possible"

●To PAGE 2

## Buthelezi also to meet FW

*W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90*  
 From PAGE 1  
 that Buthelezi and Mandela would "bump into each other in Cape Town". However, there were no plans he was aware of, for any talks in the city at this time.

Mandela will be in Cape Town for the informal discussions with State President FW de Klerk which replace the "talks about talks" called off by the ANC last week.

Buthelezi is also to participate in talks with De Klerk along with other leaders of non-independent homelands, as part of de Klerk's negotiation process.

Since a joint rally scheduled for Monday of this week was called off, both Mandela and Buthelezi have reiterated their willingness to meet for private talks.

Two other attempts to get peace efforts going were made in Pietermaritzburg yesterday.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, fresh from discussions with both sides — a lengthy "pastoral visit" to Buthelezi as well as talks with Mandela — met with local church leaders before leaving on a lengthy tour of the worst stricken areas.

He said he had no doubt that both Mandela and Buthelezi were committed to peace but it had to be remembered both were members of organisations and he added: "It will not do for the leaders to be too out-of-step with their followers."

Tutu said the church wanted to "bring about a meeting of minds" and to facilitate talks. Referring to the midlands conflict, he said: "We are desperately anxious about the loss of life and the loss of property here."

A second peace effort yesterday was headed by Imbali community leader Albert Hlope. He invited a number of people to discussions in the City Hall. The meeting, however, was inconclusive as some key invited representatives did not arrive.

*W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90*

# No tit-for-tat clashes to blame, says UDF/Cosatu committee

Police are not trying to stop the bloodshed, says a UDF/Cosatu joint committee. They also allege Inkatha supporters are responsible for an increase in attacks. By CARMEL RICKARD

THE sudden upsurge of attacks and killings in the Natal midlands area has been blamed on Inkatha supporters, with the police accused of "not seriously trying to stop the fighting"

The allegations have been made by the Joint Working Committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front, the group representing both organisations which is responsible for dealing with the violence

The JWC criticised media suggestions that blame for the attacks lies with "a 50-50 tit-for-tat series of UDF-Inkatha clashes"

Challenging this perception, the JWC asks how this view could be reconciled with the fact that there were few, if any, Inkatha refugees; that virtually all of the estimated 14 000 refugees have sought shelter in UDF areas; that the areas which have been devastated have all been UDF areas; and that most of the dead have come from these UDF areas.

The JWC version of events is that on Tuesday morning, over 2 000 Inkatha supporting warriors launched a massive attack from Mpumuzi into Caluza and Ashdown.

The next day an impi of Inkatha supporters moved out from the Elandskop area and devastated four UDF areas. Thousands fled and the attackers looted their livestock and other possessions.

On Thursday there were further attacks on UDF areas, with a continuation of the looting and a major attack on Mpophomeni. That evening non-Inkatha houses in Imbali and Elandskop came under concerted attack.

"This picture (of armed Inkatha supporters attacking UDF areas or homes) continued up to Tuesday."

As a result of the attacks, "all the non-Inkatha areas in the Vulindlela district have been devastated".

The JWC said the scale and effect of the violence over the last fortnight has been horrendous and unprecedented in the three-year war.

On the causes of the latest upsurge, the JWC dismissed as inadequate the theory that it was in retaliation for stoning of buses going to and from the Inkatha rally a fortnight ago.

"It is the most systematic, co-ordinated and concerted onslaught undertaken in the past three years. The brutality of the attack bears no



Security forces arrive at the top of Caluza soon after residents repulse an attack by alleged Inkatha supporters from Mpumuzi

Picture: ARON MAZEL

## Natal's 'hope' gets brutally invaded

By THANDEKA GQUBULE  
Pietermaritzburg

A NEW form of colonisation is taking place in Natal. A community gets invaded and the conquerors move in and settle there.

The community of Table Mountain was recently overrun by a neighbouring community. Table Mountain had previously been the "hope of Natal" — the only area in the troubled province in which United Democratic Front and Inkatha supporters lived side by side in peace.

But over the weekend Table Mountain was overrun by Inkatha supporters from kwaMnyavu. They ransacked the area, allegedly leaving more than a dozen dead and many homesteads destroyed.

The police unrest report, however, listed only five people killed in a

clash on Saturday, and noted the discovery of two more bodies on Sunday.

The police, who refuse to enter Table Mountain, have cordoned off the area.

"Yes, we are the Manyavus," armed youths who spoke to reporters at Table Mountain, "We will kill anything that is a comrade. We will kill the chief if he is a comrade."

They told the *Weekly Mail* that they are poised to take over the chieftainship of the area. The residence of Chief Mhlabundzima Maphumulo, who last visited the area

with a police escort, had been razed by attackers.

Maphumulo, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, is now in Europe with advocate RS Douglas. They went to consult with the United Nations judicial department about an interim report of an independent commission of inquiry into the Natal war.

Maphumulo's subjects are in a refugee camp at Mason's Hill near Edendale valley. Their livestock and possessions have been acquired by the invaders.

A patrolling policeman said: "Most houses have been burned. It is even too dangerous for police — the Inkatha invaders said they would kill us too."

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"The areas which suffered the brunt were far away from the alleged stoning."

"Secondly many of the victims of the attack could not have been connected to the 'stonings'."

The JWC suggests three factors. After every major Inkatha rally there have been complaints of attacks on "UDF areas". The attacks took place as "conservative forces throughout the country are losing political ground to the ANC".

The third reason lies in the historical position of Edendale, "which has

always been a progressive area" in which Inkatha has failed to establish a presence.

Another significant factor, according to the JWC, is the role of the police who have allegedly often not disarmed or dispersed the impsis of Inkatha supporters when they have gathered to attack. The police were also accused of preventing the army from being deployed in trouble spots, of not adequately protecting people against violence and looting, of not sending forces to trouble spots even when informed of impending attacks

or fighting in progress, of siding with Inkatha and of inadequate investigations when the suspects were Inkatha members.

"The clearest possible statement of police partiality has been Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's consultation with Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi about the situation in Pietermaritzburg. Why did Vlok not speak to any other concerned parties? The community sees the meeting as a council of war. The fact that this has not received much negative comment in the South African press is revealing in itself."

## Inkatha rejects report on Natal violence

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90

THE UDF-Cosatu Joint Working Committee (JWC) report on the violence in Natal has been slammed by Inkatha Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

"Cosatu's statements are just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims and a distortion of Dr Buthelezi's concern for the welfare of all victims of violence and their safety and his search for peace," Dhlomo said.

He said the JWC report was based on an analysis by the Maritzburg Centre of Adult Education, a group of "pro-Cosatu and UDF academics".

He said the centre had refused to note complaints of casualties by Inkatha and that "many of their statistics have in the past proved baseless."

Dhlomo also took issue with the JWC's mention of "Zulu impsis", which he described as misleading because the conflict was an ideological and not an ethnic one. "Zulus are fighting Zulus so talking of impsis is just historical licence," he said. He blamed UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Buthelezi-Mandela peace talks and instead making provocative statements.

# Holomisa wants to address Parliament

CAP-Trans 6/4/90

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UMTATA. — The Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, yesterday called on Parliament to allow him to address it to answer claims by South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

If Parliament denied him the opportunity to present his case, General Holomisa said, he would like to have a live television debate with Mr Botha over the minister's accusation that Transkei has failed to control spending.

General Holomisa was commenting on remarks by Mr Botha that poor financial control by the military government in Transkei had played

an important role in worsening an already precarious situation.

In replies to questions in the House of Assembly, Mr Botha had said advice offered to General Holomisa was regarded by him as interference.

This referred to advice given by Mr F W de Klerk earlier in the year during a visit to Transkei when he called on the military council to speedily institute a civilian government.

It was after the visit that General Holomisa and Mr Botha exchanged words over General Holomisa's claim that Mr Botha, together with the South African ambassador to Transkei, Mr Gert Terreblanche, had exerted pressure

on him to withdraw envisaged criminal charges against the hotel magnate, Mr Sol Kerzner.

General Holomisa said yesterday that wrong impressions might have been created in the minds of the South African members of Parliament by the replies given by Mr Botha in parliament over Transkei's financial situation.

"I vehemently maintain that those answers are tantamount to a deliberate, gross distortion of facts with the sole purpose of painting the Transkei government as a black sheep of the Ecosa (Economic Community of Southern Africa).

"I urgently request the South African Parliament to grant me access to it so as to give them a clear, precise, picture

of our financial position.

"The request should be treated as a special dispensation to allow me to share the same platform with their foreign minister," he said.

The general said South Africans were deluded into believing that their taxes were being wastefully spent by Transkei and were therefore entitled to both sides of the story before an unfair, biased verdict was passed on the matter, to the detriment of Transkei.

"If the South African Parliament cannot allow me to debate this issue with Mr Botha in their chamber, I challenge the Minister of Foreign Affairs to a live TV debate on the issue so that the matter can be settled once and for all."

## Homeland leaders criticised by residents

115  
CMT 7/1/78 6/4/78

JOHANNESBURG. — Homeland leaders — particularly in Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu, — have come under fire from disgruntled homeland residents who, according to the Sowetan, are voting with their hearts and feet and not the ballot.

The Johannesburg-based newspaper yesterday reported that letters had been pouring into its offices from people living in the homelands.

Most had been written by ordinary people complaining they were not consulted on independence or that they had been bulldozed into accepting it.

There are appeals in the letters to both Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk for help.

The newspaper quotes one letter which says: "Please Mandela save us from this pathetic situation. We are sick and tired of the oppressive laws of (President Lucas) Mangope. He is as authoritative as the apartheid government."

Another complains of rife unemployment, a poor education system and an inadequate water supply.

— Sapa

~~11B~~ 11B

members of Inkatha and ANC-UDF groups reached civil war proportions, both Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed their vulnerability as leaders.

For Mandela, the crisis was perhaps the worst. First he had to watch the violence in Natal and KwaZulu escalate to its worst level only days after he made an impassioned call for peace at the ANC's Durban rally on February 25. Then this week, there was the farcical uncertainty surrounding the cancelled peace rally at Taylor's Halt, where he was meant to share a platform with Buthelezi in an attempt to end the violence.

From the conflicting reasons given by ANC members for the cancellation — Ahmed Kathrada said the "atmosphere" was not right; Archie Gumede said the venue, apparently an Inkatha-controlled area, was unsafe for Mandela — it seems clear there is some sort of conflict within the ANC leadership. This seems to be manifesting itself as a split between the recently released older leaders and UDF members who have been calling the shots in Natal while Mandela and Walter Sisulu were still in prison.

Natal is proving to be an unhappy place for Mandela. Despite being the home of Inkatha, arguably the ANC's biggest rival, every time the ANC deputy president has visited the region it has placed a further strain on his political credibility afterwards. Events following Mandela's rally in Durban show he has alienated a sector of his following and put his reputation on the line with what some now regard as having been a naive appeal for peace.

This week's cancelled rally seems bound to lose him more support, this time from the ANC's more moderate followers. Early this week, he was visiting Maritzburg township with an ANC delegation and a meeting had been planned with Buthelezi for later in the week — and this could be his last chance to make up lost ground in Natal. But arrangements around Mandela showed their customary confusion.

For Buthelezi, the wholesale slaughter in Maritzburg has also strained his credibility as a leader. This time he was the one calling for peace; but the violence has clearly shown that at some level down the Inkatha hierarchy, Buthelezi is being ignored.

There are always claims and counter-claims every time violence flares up in Maritzburg, but this time it is clear that Inkatha cadres have openly been playing a major role in leading attacks on known UDF areas. The scale of organisation and logistical back-up behind the well-armed impis — coupled with wide-ranging reports that many of the attackers were based in last month from northern Natal — led to suspicions that co-ordination of the violence could be taking place at a fairly high level.

There have been claims that UDF-ANC members provoked the fighting by stoning and shooting at buses returning from an Inkatha peace rally. But that seems a flimsy reason for provoking violence of the proportions now seen.

NATAL VIOLENCE F/M 6/4/90

## Looking for leaders

The past week's fighting in Maritzburg, the worst this battle-scarred region has yet seen, clearly shows one thing: national leaders have little control over their organisations.

As bloody, well-organised battles between

~~11B~~ 11B ~~11B~~

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In the attacks which have been taking place in the past week, the pattern seems to have been one of well-armed Inkatha bands systematically moving through Maritzburg townships, flushing out "enemy areas" and hunting down ANC-UDF members. A disturbing new trend is that women and children have become indiscriminate victims of the violence, which in the past was generally limited to fighting between the men and youths on either side.

Even the police acknowledge that they have had to persuade armed groups of Inkatha members to turn back. All of which seriously undermines Buthelezi's call for peace and raises questions about the amount of control he has over his organisation.

The death toll reached horrific proportions. At least 50 people were killed in the week to Monday April 2, with unofficial reports quoting the figure as high as 100 dead.

Last month alone, around 300 people were killed in violence in Natal.

Hundreds of houses have been razed and an estimated 11 000 refugees have flooded into the city of Maritzburg, with authorities and support groups trying to house them in churches and community halls. Officials are now asking for the Edendale valley, centre of the violence, to be declared a disaster area, while Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell wants martial law to be declared in the area.

Commerce and industry have been particularly hard hit by the violence, with absenteeism reaching record levels. SA Chamber of Business president Brian Kurz has been meeting members to decide how best to respond to the violence and the plight of employees. The chamber is also contacting Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in an attempt to resolve the violence.

Vlok, who met Buthelezi on Saturday, has promised that reinforcements from around the country will be sent to Maritzburg. The SADF, which in these situations falls under the command of the riot police, have also been doing patrols, which are now likely to be stepped up. Vlok also acceded to a request from Buthelezi to remove black SADF members from the townships; the KwaZulu leader said they were in some cases supporting the ANC and UDF. In turn, accusations are again being made that the SAP are favouring Inkatha in the conflict. Reports from the Democratic Party unrest monitoring group earlier this week said it appeared as if the police were beginning to disarm people selectively, effectively taking weapons away from "comrades" only.

They also said the conflict had reached the worst proportions yet seen in the bitter history of the area, marked by an almost military onslaught from Inkatha.

As the FM went to press, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, back after a brief respite from active politics, was meeting Buthelezi at Ulundi, apparently in an effort to get peace talks back on track.

With the violence at its present level it is debatable how much good a meeting be-

tween Mandela and Buthelezi is going to do. But it is a necessary step if anything is going to be done to end the carnage.





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# Army <sup>CHK trips 6/4/90</sup> <sup>11B</sup> coup in Venda

**THOYOYANDOU.** — The entire government of the nominally independent Venda homeland resigned yesterday leaving the deputy chief of the Venda Defence Force, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, to step into power.

Colonel Ramushwana told Venda by way of a broadcast over Radio Thoyoyandou that he intended being in charge of the homeland until it was reincorporated into a new South Africa.

The ousted president of Venda, Chief Frank Ravele, is understood to have written a letter which announced that he and his entire government were resigning.

Colonel Ramushwana's announcement came at 3.10pm. He said he had assumed power and that the army chief, Brigadier H

Steenkamp, had been forced to resign and leave the homeland immediately.

Colonel Ramushwana announced a commission of inquiry into government corruption and nepotism and said that while former government officials had not been taken into custody, they would be brought to book and jailed if found guilty.

He also announced a commission of inquiry into the ritual murders which have racked the homeland for several months.

He said the ANC, UDF, PAC, SACP and other political parties were welcome to talk to him but warned they would not be allowed to demonstrate or forcibly propagate their goals in the homeland. No intimidation would be allowed, he said.

The coup was greeted with singing and dancing in the streets.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night confirmed the resignation of the Venda government.

Mr Botha said a report about the resignation of Mr Ravele and the take-over by the army had been received from the SA ambassador's office in Venda.

"The South African government had called upon Colonel Ramushwana to avoid all forms of violence," Mr Botha said.

President FW de Klerk said yesterday that the government planned to give "whatever assistance it could" to Venda "to ensure we don't have a repetition of what happened in the Ciskei". — Political Correspondent and Sapa





# Pik challenged by Holomisa to live television debate

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

ARGUS 5/4/90

TRANSKEI military leader General Bantu Holomisa has challenged Foreign Minister Pik Botha to a live television debate on the government's allegations about Umtata's poor financial management.

He was responding yesterday to a reply given by Mr Botha to a question from Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin.

The question concerned claims by General Holomisa that Mr Botha had tried to persuade Transkei to drop charges in connection with alleged irregularities against hotel magnate Mr Sol Kerzner.

Mr Botha said in his reply that neither he nor any member of his department had exerted any pressure on Transkei to drop charges. He was not even aware of such charges.

In his reply, Mr Botha repeated claims that Transkei's financial control was wanting and that South Africa's advice had been regarded as "interference".

## Casino rights

Mr Botha also said his department had asked General Holomisa on various occasions whether finality had been reached on the question of Sun International's casino rights because the uncertainty surrounding this issue was having an adverse effect on potential investment in the homeland.

But General Holomisa yesterday hit back, claiming Mr Botha was protected by the privilege of parliament from being tested on his claims.

The general said he would willingly appear before parliament and answer MPs' questions on any matter concerning the Transkei and business deals with hotel groups.

"Failing that," he said, "I am willing to debate the matter live on television with the Foreign Minister."

He, in turn, repeated his claim that Mr Botha had tried to put pressure on Transkei to come to a settlement in the case involving Mr Kerzner.

He said this had occurred at lunch during the visit to Umtata by President De Klerk and Mr Botha in January.

# Homeland summit to follow on talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**IN a shock move the majority of leaders of the non-independent homelands last night pulled out of the crucial Tuynhuys talks scheduled for today.**

The homeland leaders were due to meet President F W de Klerk before talks between the government and a top ANC team led by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last night the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerit Viljoen, said "it appears considerable pressure — and even intimidation — have been applied to some of them".

A second senior government minister said: "It's nothing but intimidation. It now appears that only Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu, and possibly Chief Kenneth Mopeli of Qwa

Qwa might attend today's meeting.

Government sources said that it appeared the leaders of KANgwane, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and Lebowa could be "no shows".

The failure of homeland leaders to attend today's talks constitute a significant blow to the government's plans to ensure that a large number of moderate "system" leaders play an active role in talks about a new constitution.

However, Dr Viljoen said last night that in view of the importance "to get negotiations off the ground" the government had decided nonetheless to "proceed with the discussion" with those leaders who do attend.

He noted that Chief Buthelezi had confirmed his intention to turn up.

Another government source also blamed pressure from the ANC for the boycott but said that talks scheduled later today with Mr Mandela and his three-man team would proceed.

At the talks Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will both

lead top teams.

Mr Mandela will be assisted at the meeting by recently released ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, who last month came to South Africa to help set up talks between the ANC and the government.

The government's four-man team is expected to be Mr De Klerk, Dr Viljoen, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Despite the ANC's decision to scupper the official round of talks scheduled for April 11, the fact that four senior members from both sides will be meeting in Tuynhuys was seen as significant.

Mr De Klerk last week insisted that preliminary talks with the ANC would not only deal with impediments to negotiation but would involve a search for "a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions".

But yesterday Mr Mandela indicated he did not intend talking about peace proposals.

"If the State President says this meeting is intended to discuss peace, he is mistaken. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations," he said.

These include the return of all exiles under a general amnesty, the release of all remaining political prisoners, an end to all political prosecutions and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Turning to the scrapping the scheduled official meeting, Mr Mandela said suspension of talks was the unanimous decision of the national executive committee (in Lusaka) supported by the leadership inside the country after people had died in police action.

Mr Mandela said he had been involved in attempts at bringing about talks between the government and the ANC for three years and would not now turn around and give "flimsy reasons" for not meeting with the government.

The suspension of the talks prompted speculation of an open split in the ANC over talks with the govern-

CAPL TRNS  
5/4/90

11B

CAPP Times 5/4/90 (118)

## MP: Inkatha has big role

**MARITZBURG.** — Inkatha was being seen internationally as destined to play an increasingly prominent role in political developments in South Africa, Mr Renier Schoeman (NP, Nominated) said yesterday.

Speaking at a standing committee meeting on provincial affairs, Mr Schoeman said Inkatha had championed negotiation politics and non-violent political change since its founding in 1975.

Mr Schoeman praised Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for standing firm for so many years on his opposition to violence and sanctions, saying he was "consistent in his strongly held beliefs". — Sapa

# Pik criticizes Holomisa's planning

118 By BARRY STREEK, *THE TIMES* 5/4/90  
Political Staff

THE deteriorating relations between Transkei and South Africa worsened yesterday after the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, sharply criticised the head of the homeland's military government, General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Botha said poor financial planning and control by the military government had "played an important role in worsening an already precarious situation".

"Advice which is proffered to General Holomisa is regarded by him as interference."

He made these comments in the House of Assembly after a question from Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) about whether he or his department made

any representations to the Transkei government about the pending prosecution of Mr Sol Kerzner, the former casino boss.

Mr Eglin's question arose from press reports that General Holomisa had alleged that Mr Botha and/or the South African ambassador in Umtata, Mr Gert Terreblanche, had exerted pressure on him to withdraw the criminal charges against Mr Kerzner.

Mr Botha said he had already denied these allegations by means of a public statement.

Sound financial and planning control was of importance now and, regardless of differences over the question of whether or not Transkei should have become independent, financial control remained the most important prerequisite for sound administration.

# No tit-for-tat clashes to blame, says UDF/Cosatu committee

Police are not trying to stop the bloodshed, says a UDF/Cosatu joint committee. They also allege Inkatha supporters are responsible for an increase in attacks. By CARMEL RICKARD

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Challenging this perception, the JWC asks how this view could be reconciled with the fact that there were few, if any, Inkatha refugees; that virtually all of the estimated 14 000 refugees have sought shelter in UDF areas; that the areas which have been devastated have all been UDF areas; and that most of the dead have come from these UDF areas.

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On the causes of the latest upsurge, the JWC dismissed as inadequate the theory that it was in retaliation for stoning of buses going to and from the Inkatha rally a fortnight ago.

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Security forces arrive at the top of Caluza soon after residents repulse an attack by alleged Inkatha supporters from Mpumaza

Picture: ARON MAZEL

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By THANDEKA GQUBULE  
Pietermaritzburg

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THE UDF-Cosatu Joint Working Committee (JWC) report on the violence in Natal has been slammed by Inkatha Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

"Cosatu's statements are just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims and a distortion of Dr Buthelezi's concern for the welfare of all victims of violence and their safety and his search for peace," Dhlomo said.

He said the JWC report was based on an analysis by the Maritzburg Centre of Adult Education, a group of "pro-Cosatu and UDF academics".

He said the centre had refused to note complaints of casualties by Inkatha and that "many of their statistics have in the past proved baseless."

Dhlomo also took issue with the JWC's mention of "Zulu impis", which he described as misleading because the conflict was an ideological and not an ethnic one. "Zulus are fighting Zulus so talking of impis is just historical licence," he said. He blamed UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Buthelezi-Mandela peace talks and instead making provocative statements.

# Chief is not someone to be messed with lightly

FEW people feel neutral about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of kwaZulu. He is either loved and admired or hated and feared. But he is never ignored.

A descendant of Zulu kings Cetshwayo and Dingizulu, Chief Buthelezi has been at the centre of the political stage for 20 years. He is unlikely to be pushed aside during the last crucial decade of the century.

He first came to national prominence in 1970 when he was elected by his fellow Zulu notables as kwaZulu's chief executive officer. His title later changed to Chief Minister as kwaZulu advanced constitutionally under Pretoria's grand apartheid plan to establish "self-governing" and "independent" black states.

Chief Buthelezi survived challenges to his authority by the Black Consciousness movement in the 1970s and, more recently, by the United Democratic Front and African National Congress.

His political foes and he have an abundance of them — see him as ruthless rather than

when he was elected by his fellow Zulu notables as kwaZulu's chief executive officer. His title later changed to Chief Minister as kwaZulu advanced constitutionally under Pretoria's grand apartheid plan to establish "self-governing" and "independent" black states.

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His political foes and he have an abundance of them — see him as ruthless rather than

tough. The Appeal Court reflected on his robust qualities in a recent judgment, in which it upheld a Supreme Court finding granting him R12 000 damages against the editor of Frontline magazine, Mr Denis Beckett.

"His utterances are at times aggressive, even bellicose," the Appeal Court said. "Some of the sentiments expressed by him ... would not be approved by many peace-loving persons."

He espouses a philosophy of retaliatory violence — an eye for eye, a tooth for a tooth — which is consistent with Mosaic law but "not in accord with teachings of Jesus Christ". By advocating retaliatory violence, his purpose is to "demonstrate to aggressors" that they cannot attack Inkatha with impunity and thus to "deter future violence", the court said.

Chief Buthelezi is, in idiom of American slang, not a man to be messed with lightly. He is physically brave, judging from his cool reaction when he was faced by chanting, taunting young black radicals at the 1978 funeral in Graaff-Reinet of Pan Africanist Congress leader

## Brave

Chief Buthelezi is, in idiom of American slang, not a man to be messed with lightly. He is physically brave, judging from his cool reaction when he was faced by chanting, taunting young black radicals at the 1978 funeral in Graaff-Reinet of Pan Africanist Congress leader

## Personality



**MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI**

Written by: **PATRICK LAURENCE**

er Mr Robert Sobukwe. He remained calm and dignified in the face of grave personal danger, telling the jeering youngsters he was a descendant of Zulu kings, and refusing to run even when the youths began to throw stones at him.

Judging from opinion polls, however, Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has lost substantial support in the past 15 years. It dropped from a pre-eminent position

tion in 1977 to only one-third of that of the ANC — or one-quarter of the combined strength of the ANC/UDF — in 1987.

Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha nevertheless remain important political players as the scramble for possession of the commanding heights gathers momentum; they may even hold the balance of power between the National Party and the ANC.

## Detractors

Some of Chief Buthelezi's political foes in the ANC have remarked derisively that he will be at the negotiating table on the NP's side. It is unclear whether remarks of that kind — echoed recently by no less a person than ANC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki — are made to goad Chief Buthelezi or whether his detractors really think he is irrevocably in the "Government's trenches".

Two points, however, can be made with confidence: first, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not share the view that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are lost to the black nationalist cause; second, Chief Buthelezi, whatever else he may be,

is nobody's marionette. On the second point it is important to recall that the quarrel between the ANC and Inkatha was prompted in large degree by Chief Buthelezi's refusal to allow the ANC to dictate to him. Inkatha, which has the same colours — black, green and gold — as the ANC, was founded in 1975 with the blessing of the ANC to help mobilise the masses and keep the spirit of resistance alive.

The ANC accuses Chief Buthelezi of building Inkatha into a personal power base; Chief Buthelezi counters by accusing the ANC of trying to "hijack" Inkatha for its own ends.

Either way it is clear that Chief Buthelezi is a man of strong willpower. He is not — to borrow a phrase which former President Botha liked to use — a political weakling.

Mr Botha recognised as much. Chief Buthelezi stood up to him at a time when many people were cowered into silence. The chief refused to see Mr Botha for more than five years after the President made the mistake of wagging his finger at him.

In retrospect it is clear

that Chief Buthelezi helped thwart the arch-rivals of the ANC, the Zulu of Transkei and the Xhosa of Ciskei. When Chief Buthelezi refused to accept Pretoria's offer of a "black state" for the Zulu, he helped to bring about the end of the apartheid system. He is a man of courage and conviction. He is a man who has stood up to the might of the apartheid system and has won. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is not a puppet of the white man. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement of the people. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for freedom and justice. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for a better South Africa. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for a better world.

## Refusal

Chief Buthelezi refused to accept Pretoria's offer of a "black state" for the Zulu, he helped to bring about the end of the apartheid system. He is a man of courage and conviction. He is a man who has stood up to the might of the apartheid system and has won. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is not a puppet of the white man. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement of the people. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for freedom and justice. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for a better South Africa. He is a man who has shown the world that the ANC is a movement for a better world.

Mandela and his PAC counterparts, Mr Zeph Morthopeng, were still imprisoned and their organisations banned. He is not likely to withdraw from the contest now. He will be around fighting — hopefully in a metaphorical sense — to the end.

# Buthlezi offers 'centre ground'

JOHANNESBURG. — KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday issued a statement offering whites "centre-ground politics" and change as "an orderly advance into sanity".

In a message wooing white South Africans, he said it was urgent that black and white had a "multiplicity of choices not only around the negotiating table but in the elections which would follow.

"I will see to it that there is not going to be a simple Hobson's choice

between the devil and the deep blue sea. I will see to it that centre-ground politics is rich in its offering to South Africa's body politic.

"I will garner the goodwill that Inkatha, among others, has sown in the hearts and minds of blacks. I will employ goodwill for the sake of South Africa."

"It is now not a black versus white affair. The issues which now arise are the issues of national honour, justice and peace for all." — Sapa



Armoured vehicles move into Edendale this week, after President FW de Klerk sent the army into the strife-torn areas around Maritzburg.

## Inkatha blamed for violence

COSATU has accused Inkatha of launching the biggest wave of violence in Natal in three years and the police of playing a dubious role at a time when conservative political support is losing ground to the ANC.

But the SAP has condemned allegations that it was taking sides in the Natal fighting, and suggested the ad hoc committee making the allegations was biased.

In a statement from Maritzburg on Tuesday, Cosatu said the recent 10-day wave of violence could not be attributable to the stoning of Inkatha buses as suggested in Press reports.

Cosatu added there was considerable doubt the buses carrying Inkatha members to the rally on Sunday, March 25, in a police convey were stoned.

"The scale and effects of the violence of the past 10 days is unprecedented in the three-year war simmering between Inkatha and Cosatu/UDF," it said.

Since March 25 more than 80 people had died, and at the height of the violence more than 12 000

people were directly involved in the conflict, Cosatu said. The present spate of violence had displaced some 14 000 people.

The SAP said the accusations that they were assisting Inkatha was "again the order of the day".

"It must however be pointed out that when the SAP approach Inkatha they are usually willing to listen ... whereas the situation with the UDF supporters proves the opposite. This further invokes the impression that the police assists Inkatha."

The statement said the SAP was doing all it could to contain the situation. The fact that the police had long ago called on the SADF for assistance "gives the lie to the allegations that the police prevented or hampered SADF assistance".

"While the SA Police is not averse to objective and constructive criticism, it does appear the ad hoc committee is itself biased in its approach to this matter and regards finding fault with police action, under very trying circumstances, as more important than

honestly attempting to seek a solution to the feuding."

Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dlomo also charged that Cosatu based its memorandum of the present violence on a report compiled by the Centre of Adult Education in Maritzburg - which Inkatha has discounted because it is run by pro-Cosatu and UDF academics.

Dlomo said: "Cosatu's statements are just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims and a distortion of Dr Buthelezi's concern for the welfare of all victims of violence and their safety, and his search for peace."

He said for Cosatu to talk of "Inkatha Impis" was patently misleading because the conflict was ideological, not ethnic.

"Zulus are fighting Zulus so talking of impis is just historical licence." Cosatu itself had stated publicly that the conflict in Natal was a Cosatu-UDF alliance against Inkatha. "All these people involved in Natal are Zulus.

"Instead of issuing provocative statements Cosatu should be backing peace talks." - Sapa.





Troops move into the war-torn Edendale valley, scene of the worst of the past fortnight's violence

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

LIKE a person recovering from a nightmare, I'm sobering up to the fact that last Thursday I cheated death.

Out on a job in the war-torn Mpu-malanga township, I escaped a shower of bullets from my pursuers — both Inkatha-supporting vigilantes and South African Police men.

Dark plumes of smoke spiralled from the many houses which were ablaze. The tranquility of the warm afternoon was shattered by the continuous sound of gunfire. Attackers were indiscriminately burning houses in Unit 3 — a United Democratic Front stronghold — shooting everything in sight and looting.

Camera in hand, I got out of the car and ran down the path leading to an area called Esihohobeni. Alfred Ndlovu of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) had a house there. I saw with alarm that Ndlovu's house was burning.

Four khaki-coloured police vehicles kept driving up and down the street. About 10 minutes later — round 2.45pm — two SA Defence Force vehicles appeared on the scene.

I ran towards some of the burning houses and bumped into three youths. They told me breathlessly: "Othelwenti (Inkatha vigilantes) have descended upon the place. They are with the boers (police)."

I scanned the neighbourhood. It was enveloped in thick black smoke. I saw about 200 men shooting everything in sight, breaking into houses, looting goods and setting them alight. One police vehicle — again a khaki-coloured van — was driving slowly behind them.

I started clicking away at the crowd and the burning houses. Then I heard a voice calling out behind the haze of smoke. "There goes another dog."

There was the rat-a-tat sound of gunfire. I dived instinctively onto the tarred road.

I started up and sprinted for my life. Another round of prolonged shooting shattered my eardrums. I dived onto the ground again. But I got up again — bullets were whizzing above my head, bullet after bullet hitting the ground just a few centimetres from where I lay.

No sooner had I started running

## I flee from the dead ... into the laughter

**'I dived instinctively into the road as bullet after bullet hit the ground just centimetres from where I lay ...'** Journalist FRED KHUMALO describes how he resigned himself to death after an attack on him by vigilantes

again than I saw a police van close on my heels. One of its occupants was looking out of a window, his gun belching a torrent of bullets. By now I was so tired of running and dodging bullets that I resigned myself to my fate. I threw myself into a nearby bush of tall grass, exhausted.

The van parked a few metres from my hideout and two white occupants scanned the area for a few moments. Then they drove away.

In spite of my tiredness my sight was still intact — I managed to see and memorise the van's registration number: BFY434B.

I emerged from my hideout and was confronted by four pangawelding youths. Tired and hopeless as I was I stood rooted to the ground, seeing death closing in on me.

To my relief one of the youths cried: "Run! They are now close by!" Another youth shouted: "What's this person doing? Taking pictures while we're dying? Run! They are close by!"

The boy was cut short by another rattle of gunfire. It sounded so close one could feel the ground shaking — or was it because my knees were already wobbly?

We all dived onto the ground.

I got up I ran for the last time towards the car whose driver, my col-

league, was anxiously waiting for me. Off we drove.

When I came back that afternoon the township was awash with noise: women wailing for their beloved ones who had been killed, police vans driving up and down the streets, people trying to salvage some of their belongings from the houses which were still burning.

The policemen were busily questioning people, compiling statements in so diligent a manner that you wouldn't believe they were the ones who had been openly collaborating with the attackers a few hours ago.

"The statements they pretend to be compiling are absolute nonsense because they are the ones who were killing our children and looting our property," a woman wailed in Zulu.

"Yes, it is an undeniable fact that you have been sent by Pretoria to revenge the death of (Captain Deon) Terblanche" — a Riot Squad officer who was recently killed by his black junior. The black constable, Roy Ngcobo, died while in police custody. "You're out on a campaign to wipe out the black nation," a young man said to a white policeman.

A shebeen king moaned: "These bastards took all the beers in the fridge."

A gale of laughter. Unhealthy laughter. Laughter is inevitable sometimes. Some people die laughing. Some laugh while dying.

Some people were already leaving the township with the small belongings they had managed to salvage from the flames.

Others stood rooted to the ground not knowing where to go. All they had in the world had been reduced to worthless ashes. Their hopes had disappeared in smoke.

At the end of the day we counted 100 burnt-out houses, five corpses — one of them being Constable Ngcobo's father.

Other sections of the township were tense and rumours about imminent attacks by Inkatha abounded.

One man told me derisively: "We want guns, not newspaper reports. What use are newspapers? We will not use newspapers to hit back. We will beat them with guns."

# Attacks were by the whole community, says Inkatha

W/ Mail 12/4 - 19/4/90  
Allegations have been made  
against Inkatha on the recent  
attacks on UDF communities. 1/13  
Inkatha researchers reply.  
By CARMEL RICKARD

A MASSIVE onslaught against "United Democratic Front communities" in the Natal midlands and Mpumalanga was the result of outrage in the "Inkatha communities" about the behaviour of many of the comrades.

That's the explanation given by researchers at the Inkatha Institute when asked about the recent upsurge in violence.

They were commenting on a serious new trend in the conflict: large groups of people from areas associated with Inkatha attacking areas labelled UDF.

Unlike previous violence, which usually took the form of attacks on selected houses, the new fighting has brought assaults on entire communities.

The Joint Working Committee of the UDF and Cosatu has said the attacks were by large, armed "Inkatha *impis*". At the height of fighting in the midlands late last month, monitors recorded seeing about 12 000 armed men in the field, most of whom were members of these "Inkatha *impis*", according to the JWC.

However, Inkatha Institute researchers said after interviewing large numbers of people involved in the fighting, or closely associated with it, they have come to a different conclusion.

They do not dispute large numbers are involved, but say it is incorrect to say the attacks are orchestrated or planned by Inkatha leadership.

Institute director Gavin Woods said they discovered enormous anger over the "tyranny" exercised by comrades living in "UDF areas".

This growing anger and the potential for an explosion had been detected three or four weeks before the Midlands blew up.

"There was escalating harassment by comrades of commuters going through the valley from outlying areas to town. People reported these incidents to the police. When nothing happened, people complained the police were supporting the comrades."

He said on March 24 a woman and her child were badly stoned on Edendale Road. The next day buses going to an Inkatha rally were stoned. A mini bus was burnt with a number of passengers inside.

The following day barricades were set up on the roads and a vehicle belonging to Chief Shayabantu Zondi — who claims a constituency of 100 000 people in the Mpu-muza area — was stoned. The chief's child was slightly injured.

"This appear to have been the catalyst.

"There was a lot of discussion and a decision manifested itself that these people in the communities being terrorised by the comrades would go and deal with them," Woods said.

"People told us it was the whole community who became involved. Yes, there was an input from Inkatha structures in the area but it was not an Inkatha card-carrying decision. It was more a question of the community being taken beyond its tolerance.

"It's interesting to us that many involved in the attack were people from an age group not usually involved in the fighting. Up to now it's been the youth doing the fighting. But these were adults — many were aged 50 or so.

"It came up quite clearly that it was the anger of the whole community — not just the Inkatha elements in it. It wasn't just Inkatha people who were being harassed and intimidated.

"We can understand the reasoning for attacking whole areas although we cannot condone it."

He said researchers from many areas were hearing complaints about the youth running amok and terrorising communities.

"On the whole the people we spoke to have not talked about Inkatha and UDF. They are simply complaining about the comrades and say they want to live in peace and improve the quality of their lives.

"They feel they have achieved some success through the attacks. The communities have certainly shown the comrades that they mean business," said Woods.



Bloody conflict . . . A woman mourns beside the body of her brother-in-law, killed at Edendale, outside Maritzburg, during a recent clash. Despite calls by Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi for an end to the carnage, the killing continues.

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## Once they were all friends . . . now it's war

African National Congress supporter Christopher Ngubane, of Mpophomeni near Howick, is baffled by the fighting which has plighted his pastoral village since 1985.

"In fact, I don't know why we're fighting. I can't even say what the problem is. Once we were all friends here," he says.

Right up to three years ago, he and the men from his section of the village would drink with the Inkatha men on the opposite side of the valley.

"Then came the strike of 1985 and the fighting started. Now we don't sleep at night. They come through the grass and shoot. Their houses are not far from ours, maybe a few hundred metres away. I really don't know why we have this fighting."

This story is heard repeatedly from good, honest people whose children are being slaughtered and houses are being burnt in the killing fields surrounding Maritzburg. In many ways their dilemma reflects the confusion surrounding a conflict which has become endemic.

As the killing goes on, a maelstrom of accusations and counter-accusations are being tossed between the ANC-UDF alliance and Inkatha. The UDF say they are not the protagonists. The police, they say, are collaborating with Inkatha. They accuse the press of presenting the current wave of unrest as a "50-50 tit-for-tat series of UDF-Inkatha clashes".

But most refugees had fled from truckloads of armed imps, the areas devastated were mostly UDF support-bases, and most of the dead were from UDF areas.

Inkatha has dismissed the claims as "distorted", as "another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims". It has blamed the UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Mandela-Buthelezi peace talks by making provocative

Good, honest people are seeing their children being slaughtered and their houses bombed in Natal's killing fields, reports **DAWN BARKHUIZEN**

statements.

However, political observers believe that the unparalleled violence, which started before 1985, stems from a jockeying for positions at the negotiating table and an all-out battle for constituencies.

The analysts see ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's talks with homeland leaders (resulting in four of them boycotting talks with the State President), coupled with his declared intention of forming a broad anti-apartheid front and his announcement that he was not yet ready to speak to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as a clear attempt to isolate the Inkatha leader.

### Systematic onslaught

Chief Buthelezi on the other hand is having none of it. He says he will not take orders from the ANC. Before his recent meeting with the State President, he said Inkatha was still the black political organisation with the largest membership and that he already had a mandate to start negotiations.

The joint working committee of the UDF and Cosatu in Maritzburg say Inkatha attacks on their homes and families during the recent wave of unrest were the most systematic, co-ordinated and concerted onslaught undertaken in the past three years. They had come at a time when "conservative forces throughout the country are losing ground to the ANC", they said.

Soldiers have been deployed in an attempt to stop the mayhem — but this must

be seen, at best, as a holding operation and a bid to restore law and order rather than resolve the fundamentals of the conflict.

The first hurdle in combating the crisis is to get opposing leaders together, but as Mr Mandela is not prepared to see Chief Buthelezi, the chances of this seem remote. Other steps needed to resolve the conflict include:

- Vast upgrading of living standards and the provision of jobs.
- The restoration of police credibility at a time when accounts of police bias abound. This is a key issue, according to DP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje.
- The eradication of a vast backlog of court cases — criminals are known to be at large because the courts cannot cope.

Scores of people have been killed in the latest clashes. Every morning, workers from the Ad Hoc Crisis Committee scour morgues for bodies. Every day, lists are pinned up at the refugee camps in an effort to trace families.

At Imballi, where UDF and Inkatha supporters live in close proximity, fighting takes place daily. Unrest monitors say you can watch a "living fireworks display every night" at Imballi.

When The Star team visited the locked, empty houses, burnt-out cars and homemade roadblocks bore silent testimony to the events of recent weeks.

One man, unable to take it anymore, was loading his furniture onto a van and moving out lock, stock and barrel. The attackers had come from a house less than 200 m away, he said, pointing over his back fence.

Most of the people have fled the area. The only ones you see moving are those walking slowly towards the main road, their possessions perched on their heads.

# The issues behind Natal bloodletting

More than 200 people have died this month in fighting in townships outside Maritzburg. Nearly 13 000 destitute non-Inkatha people have moved into refugee camps. **MONICA NICOLSON** spoke to people heading organisations battling to cope with the crisis about the reasons for the carnage and possible peace solutions.

The Edendale road through Maritzburg's townships meanders into the foothills of the Berg in what should be an idyllic rural setting — but behind this tranquil scene lies bloody chaos, destruction and death.

In the past three weeks, the area has witnessed more than 200 people burnt, shot or hacked to death in the war between Inkatha and non-Inkatha groups. Nearly 5 000 people have died in the Natal conflict since September 1984 and many more are expected to die in the place people have named The Valley of Death.

There is no doubt in the minds of The Midlands Crisis Relief Committee (made up of numerous organisations) that Inkatha launched a massive, well co-ordinated attack on non-Inkatha people at the beginning of the month.

Inkatha members say the ANC provoked the attack by stoning buses returning from an Inkatha rally on March 25.

Mr John Aitchison of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, Maritzburg, said "the Inkatha attack" was far too co-ordinated and sustained to be merely a response to provocation.

"Anyway, the areas which suffered the brunt of the attacks were far away from the alleged stonings. Plus, many of the victims were young children, women and old people."

Mr Aitchison believed the unbanning of the ANC and the Inkatha's "rapid loss of support" threatened Inkatha leaders and that much of the conflict was about Inkatha's struggle to command the allegiance of black people in Natal.

"People have become too politicised and Inkatha's methods are seen as a regression to the worst aspect of tribal life.

"While Mr Mandela has made positive calls for peace, Chief Buthelezi has not matched these. He has obviously not given clear instructions to his chiefs to end the war," he said. Chief Buthelezi strongly denies this.

In a statement at the end of March, Chief Buthelezi said he arranged to share a platform with Mr Mandela at Taylor's Halt just outside Maritzburg, but that Mr Mandela had pulled out at the last moment because of the fighting.

## Inkatha stronghold

Chief Buthelezi rejected excuses that the chosen venue was an Inkatha stronghold and said he would meet Mr Mandela anywhere.

Mr Aitchison accused the police of supporting Inkatha forces, making the situation even more dangerous. Police have denied this.

He said the clearest possible statement of police partiality was Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's consultation with only Chief Buthelezi about the situation.

On the other side though, Inkatha forces are blaming the black SADF troops for being biased and taking up arms against them. Chief Buthelezi called last week for all black troops to be removed from the townships.

Chief Buthelezi said last week that police had also been involved in attacks against Inkatha

members, and that was why he had contacted Mr Vlok and arranged for the private meeting.

Democratic Party MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, has been monitoring Natal's tribal troubles for the past 10 years.

He said that although the war could be partially attributed to a criminal element and socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment, the recent violence went beyond that.

Mr Cronje said that to control the violence, neutral forces must be deployed to arrest any thugs and criminals and show them that they could not go around doing as they wished.

Mr Aitchison said peace initiatives would not be successful because it was not in the interests of one or more parties to have peace.

"The main stumbling block appears to have been the State and Inkatha." He said the township war was in the short-term interests of the Government as it kept pressure off the State when Inkatha saw the ANC as the enemy, rather than the State, and it kept Inkatha occupied so that it did not have time to address the long-term cost-benefits of its relationship with the State.

He suggested going back to the peace plan agreed to by both opposing parties in June last year. Although Inkatha withdrew their support at the last moment because of technical problems, he thought these could easily be sorted out.

## Big conference

"A big conference should be organised with regional committees set up to hammer out points of conflict. Outside bodies and joint monitoring groups should be brought in to ensure fairness," he said.

Maritzburg Associations for Christian Social Action spokesman Mr Peter Kerchoff said peace lay in Inkatha's hands since they had declared a moratorium on the peace negotiations in September last year, and it was up to Inkatha to start negotiations again.

Chief Buthelezi has been outraged at allegations that he was the main obstacle to peace.

At a central committee meeting of Inkatha, he said: "It is the ANC which declared the armed struggle to be the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa and it was the ANC which moved from hard military targets to making soft targets of the public.

"It is now sordid to drag me into the political arena as the man most responsible for violence in Natal when I have done more to stop violence in this region than any other black leader. I have gone to the areas worst hit to hold rallies to gather the people together to tell them to rally together for peace."

According to a statement released by the Joint Working Committee of Cosatu and UDF, all parties need to examine the factual situation before a peace process was possible.

"Cosatu and the UDF remain absolutely committed to achieving peace in this area. However, faced by the reality of violence, people cannot be condemned for defending themselves if other measures failed," the statement read.

# Don't meddle in politics, Buthelezi warns Cosatu

Apr 18/1990 (115) (12/3/89)

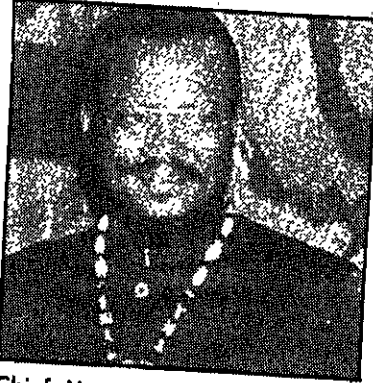
ULUNDI — kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a scathing attack on the Congress of SA Trade Unions, yesterday accused the organisation of aiming to become a government.

In his policy speech delivered in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said Cosatu was building a power base which went far beyond that which a trade movement would require to do its trade union job.

"I predict that we will yet see the Cosatu dog bite the ANC master and shake it like some vicious brute turned master killer.

"The way Cosatu is developing, it is quite clear that Cosatu is looking forward to becoming a Cosatu government over a Cosatu-run South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he would not tolerate political interference in trade unionism. Nor would he tolerate trade union interference in his politics.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... scathing attack.

"There are two totally incompatible roles that Cosatu is trying to play. It is trying to use workers and it is trying to spend workers in the pursuit of national political objectives, while it is trying to define a worker role to increase SA's economic efficiency."

Chief Buthelezi questioned how Inkatha could sit down and talk peace with Cosatu while the union

continued treating him as a leper and Inkatha as a pariah organisation.

Mr Buthelezi said the demoralisation of Inkatha came from the fact that he had never given the word for Inkatha to go out on pre-emptive attacks.

"God knows if I had to say yes, let us go and clean that mess up there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of the greater Pietermaritzburg area."

He said, however, that this would not be right.

Inkatha was committed to establishing a fair and just society through negotiation, he said.

"There is going to be a new dynamic in Inkatha this year — a new claiming of new areas of centre-ground politics, a new striking of new alliances and new accords to create ever-widening circles of support bases for the politics of decency and justice." — Sapa.

● See Page 13.

# Root cause of Natal violence

In this second of a three-part series, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher, argues that party politics could be the root cause of the prolonged faction fighting in Natal.

There is a process of forgetting in the public consciousness, an attrition of memory which results in the failure to relate current events to their constitutive histories.

Just so with the current political conflict in Natal. The carnage in Maritzburg and the wave of killings in Mpumalanga are not self-explanatory, discrete occurrences, but part of a long inter-ethnic struggle which has gripped the Natal Midlands for more than two years.

An understanding of the causes of this interminable conflict is essential in order to assess the motivations behind the most recent incidents.

In this region, the bitter warfare between Inkatha and supporters of the UDF and Cosatu has claimed well over 2 000 lives, wrecked family and community life, turned tens of thousands of people into refugees and caused incalculable mental and physical damage.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the origins of the conflict. Some favour what is known as a "socio-economic" argument which states that the fundamental causes are poverty and joblessness which, coupled with an angry and volatile township youth, find expression in violence.

## Criminal behaviour

In this version, the political nature of the violence is downplayed, and the violence is seen primarily as criminal behaviour on a wide scale.

The theory has certain attractions. Certainly unemployment and a lack of hope contribute substantially to the humid climate of violence that hangs over the region. But as an explanation, it is insufficient.

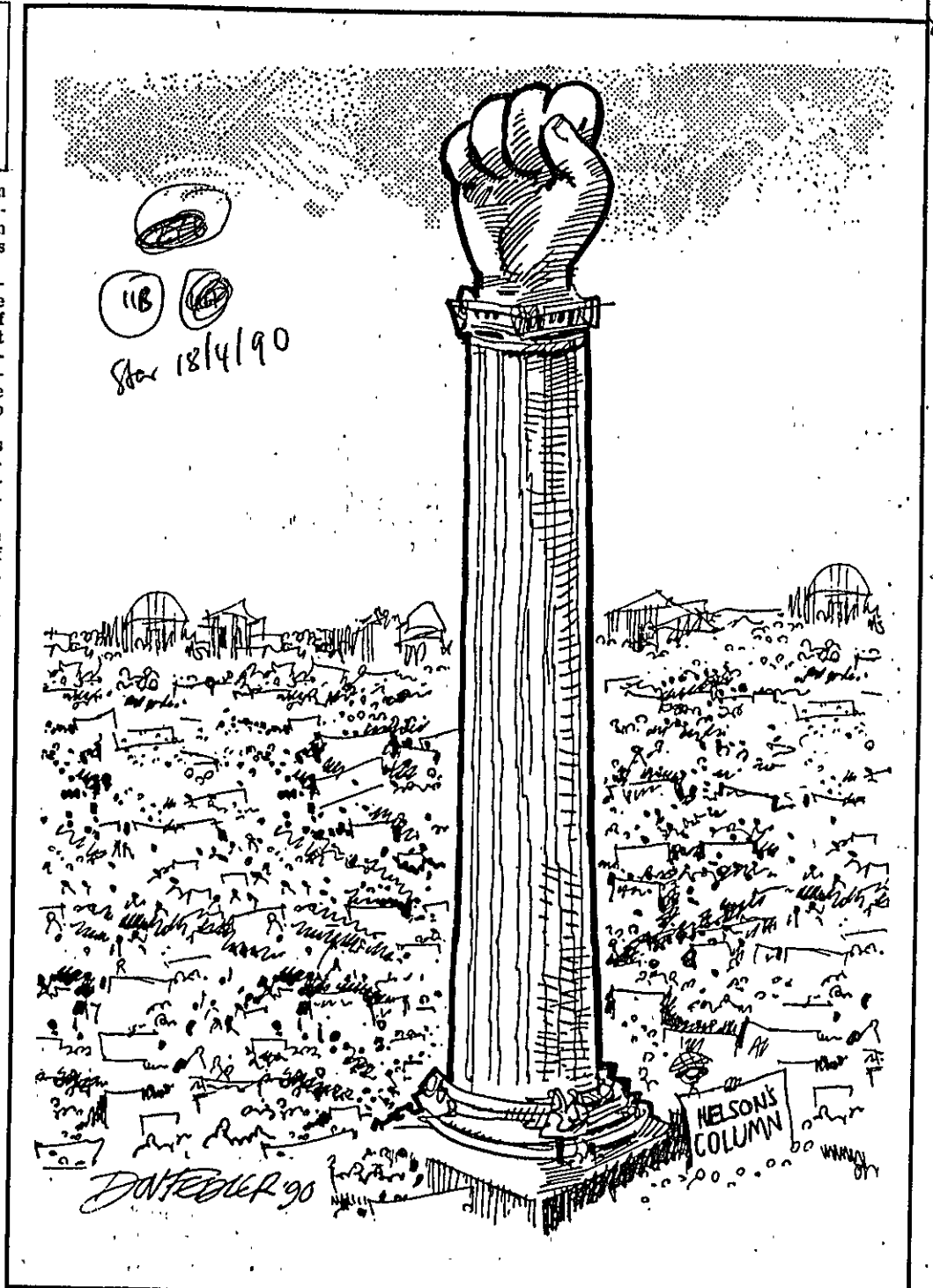
Poverty and unemployment are neither unique to the Midlands nor higher there than elsewhere.

In addition, the residents of the area perceive the violence as primarily political. Although many are only vaguely aware of the specific ideological messages of Inkatha and the UDF, they firmly identify the protagonists by political organisations.

A second theory sees the violence as a result of a rural-urban, generational cleavage, whereby older, rural-based Zulus, with a strong sense of tribal tradition, react strongly against younger, urban, cosmopolitan Zulus.

This theory, too, has appeal and accords to a fairly typical political profile as well. However, again the theory is too general. Both Inkatha and the UDF have cross-generational support, and the terrain of conflict has not been merely rural-urban, but rural-rural and urban-urban as well.

Ultimately, the causes of the war are more party political than these analyses concede. Both Inkatha and the UDF perceive the political nature of their conflict. According to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the fighting in the Midlands is the latest development in an ANC-orchestrated campaign to destroy the organisation.



The UDF, by contrast, sees itself as the victim of a joint strategy devised by Inkatha and the State to crush all "progressive" organisations in Natal.

It is not surprising that two such incompatible political movements should fall into dispute.

## Modern image

Although it adopts an anti-apartheid stance, Inkatha is a strongly conservative organisation, strong in rural areas, which relies on and appeals to Zulu nationalism and pride.

The UDF, on the other hand, presents an aggressively modern image, and its campaigns tend to focus on problems facing the urban black population. The UDF's broad, supra-ethnic appeal directly opposes the narrow nationalist ethic of Inkatha.

This challenge is recognised by

Inkatha and many of the anti-UDF denunciations issued by officials in the organisation are crudely racist stamps: loyal supporters of Inkatha are warned of sinister whites, Indians and Xhosa in the UDF, intent on manipulating and undermining Zulus.

Why this long-standing political enmity should have erupted so dramatically in Maritzburg the other week, and again in Mpumalanga last week, remains a moot point.

One explanation is that the pally crowd at the Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 (8 000 as opposed to the ANC's 150 000 on February 25) may have highlighted, yet again, the threat posed to Inkatha by the UDF.

Inkatha's invasion of non-Inkatha areas in Maritzburg and Mpumalanga can be seen as an initiative which tries on the one hand to drive the UDF out of the

region, and, on the other, to win over the residents in these areas to the cause of Inkatha.

If this is the case, the military exercise was singularly misconceived, as the majority of the victims of the attacks come from this constituency.

## War of attrition

But there is a second, related, explanation of the explosion in the Midlands. For more than two years, the region has been in the grip of a slow, wearing war of attrition; a stalemate in which both sides control specific areas, and skirmishes take place along borders, rather than across them.

It is possible that the latest attacks constitute an attempt by Inkatha to break free of this impasse, to cross borders, annex territory and so change the political geography of the region.

CAT Time 18/4/90  
**Buthelezi:  
Cosatu has  
plans to <sup>(116)</sup>  
~~take~~  
take power**

**ULUNDI. —** KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a scathing attack on the Congress of SA Trade Unions, yesterday accused the organisation of aiming to become a government.

In his policy speech delivered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said Cosatu was building power bases that went far beyond those which a trade union movement would require to do its job.

"I predict ... that we will yet see the Cosatu dog bite the ANC master and shake it like some vicious brute turned master killer," he said.

"Trade unions have a job to do. Black political parties have a job to do and God help South Africa if we do not keep these two separate.

"The way Cosatu is developing, it is quite clear that Cosatu is looking forward to becoming a Cosatu government over a Cosatu-run South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi questioned how Inkatha could sit down and talk peace with Cosatu while the union continued treating him as a leper and Inkatha as a pariah organisation. — Sapa



# Quick fix won't help Natal

19/4/90

LIB

## Communication must be established on ground

At the height of the violence in Maritzburg at the end of March, after 30 people had been killed in a single day, it was announced that Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr Nelson Mandela of the ANC would address a joint rally at Taylor's Halt in the rural area of Vulindlela.

The following day the ANC withdrew and the rally was cancelled. The general response was one of shock and outrage. The ANC was castigated for maliciously aborting the peace process.

The ANC claims that it had never agreed formally to the rally in the first place. The announcement was leaked, leaving the ANC in an embarrassing position.

In fact, a rally at Taylor's Halt — the site of numerous clashes between Inkatha and UDF supporters — would have been a dangerous experiment. It could easily have become a battleground.

More significantly, the bluster surrounding the rally is indicative of a strangely short-sighted approach to the question of peace in Natal.

The approach, which can be summarised as the "rally mentality", places all hopes for peace on a meeting or on a joint rally addressed by both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

A recent newspaper editorial declared: "A joint rally could save Natal", and articles by journalists and other political commentators focus almost exclusively on the political obstacles to such a meeting.

Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would certainly serve some purpose. Both are charismatic and respected leaders. Their words have clout; people listen to what they say.

An Inkatha-ANC palaver would send a signal to the effect that both sides were getting serious about peace.

However, such a meeting constitutes only the first, and easiest,

ologies of partisanship, bad faith and obstructiveness are still there.

It is up to the police to flush out the perpetrators of violence comprehensively and in an even-handed manner. When this happens the cycle of violence and revenge will be broken as people no longer take the law into their own hands.

● Second, both Inkatha and the ANC and UDF must strengthen their intermediate and local levels of organisation. Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will have neither influence nor purchase without a formal, disciplined chain of communication.

● Third, a socio-economic development plan is needed. Apart from the need to resuscitate devastated areas and repair the ravages of war, the foot soldiers on both sides must have some alternative to fighting. The development proposal for Natal announced by the State President in early April is a first, but insufficient, step.

The Government has to regain the trust of communities which have been ignored and neglected for years. A development plan under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs will not succeed in this respect.

Rather, the Government should make development funding available, to be administered by a third party who enjoys credibility with all sides. In other words, something is needed similar to the R2 billion general development trust fund to be administered by Mr Jan Steyn.

None of these measures is straightforward, nor will their implementation be easily achieved. But at least they are something positive to work towards.

These difficulties notwithstanding, ultimately none of the parties has any choice: without a solution to Natal, the much vaunted forthcoming negotiations on the future of South Africa will be just so much empty talk.

In concluding his series examining the violence in Natal, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher, says the short-sighted "rally mentality" is not helping in the search to find a solution to the conflict.

stage-post on the road to peace.

The history of the war in the Natal midlands is littered with broken peace attempts. Every few months a new round of meetings — "talks about talks" and sometimes even "talks" — have been convened between top-level executive officials in Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, and each new initiative has been hailed a major breakthrough.

Unfortunately, none have proved either "major" or a "breakthrough".

### Bad faith

Inkatha and the UDF tend to attribute each fresh breakdown to bad faith on the part of the other, and to some extent both have been guilty of this. However, the failure of all peace initiatives to date is the product of a far more fundamental and intractable problem.

It is one which exposes the limits of the rally mentality, and undermines high level, high profile diplomatic activity between officers of the rival organisations.

What each successive failure has illustrated more and more clearly is that the process of translating the decisions of top-ranking officials into action at the grassroots level is fraught with difficulties. There are two compounding aspects to the problem.

The first consists of the lack of

intermediate organisational structures; there is no reliable mechanism to relay signals from the top down or the bottom up.

And even where a chain of command still exists, there is no guarantee that local officials will follow the directives of their national executives. UDF "comrades", for whom the war is a way of life and mistrust of Inkatha the most fundamental component of their world view, were not prepared to heed Mr Mandela and "throw their weapons into the sea".

Likewise, Inkatha warlords, many of whom have reaped large material and political rewards from the war, will not necessarily accede to Chief Buthelezi's calls for peace.

The second aspect of the problem is the fact that the original political dispute has spawned a host of local, personal feuds.

These gloomy prognostications do not mean that there is nothing to be done for Natal. There are three major steps that should be taken immediately and in conjunction with one another to bring about a substantial reduction in the levels of violence:

● First, the police must show themselves to be an honest, impartial professional force. The police have forfeited the trust of the black residents of the midlands and their recent actions show that the old path-



# Buthelezi digs in his heels over Ulundi talks

*Sowetan 19/4/90*

11B

IF Inkatha could not talk peace with dignity in Ulundi then it could not talk peace at all, Inkatha leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Ulundi this week.

Commenting in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on last year's proposed peace talks between Inkatha and Cosatu/UDF national leaders, which the latter group agreed to but declined to hold at Ulundi, Buthelezi said he had now dug his heels in over the venue.

Ulundi was a "proud place for us" where King

Cetshwayo reigned and was finally defeated by the British army.

People had politically "spat" on Ulundi but still expected him to sit down with them and talk peace, Buthelezi said.

"On this I have dug my heels in because if we

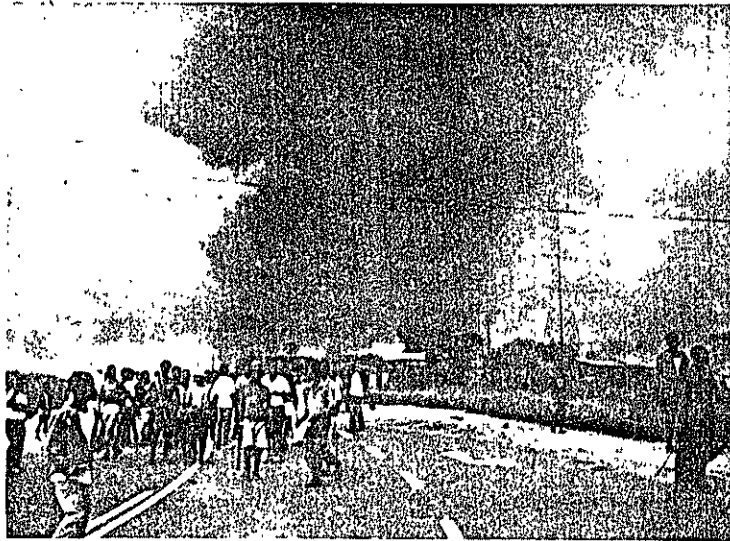
cannot talk peace with dignity, then we cannot talk peace - full stop.

"If anyone wants to talk peace then they can talk peace at Ulundi.

"I say simply come and talk to me here and then I will go to talk to you where you are.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI



**FLASHBACK:** Smoke billows from destroyed homes in Natal as residents flee from death



**FLASHBACK:** Residents in Natal guard their houses with home-made weapons

WHEN the African National Congress takes over power in South Africa, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy that tolerates the political views of others — even Inkatha.

This assurance is given by Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator.

The ANC is "totally opposed" to armed force to solve the differences between it and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's group, he says.

"The very people who constitute membership of Inkatha are ordinary men and women who are suffering under apartheid. The struggle we are waging is also a struggle for their freedom.

"It is therefore important that members of the UDF, the ANC, Cosatu and all other allied organisations must make it plain that they are committed to freedom not of one section of the population or the other, of the members of one organisation or the other

### **An ANC government will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy**

"We are interested in the freedom of the entire people.

"Even when the movement takes power in this country, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy — which implies the tolerance of the political views of others, even those who disagree with us sharply," says Lekota.

He suggests to the people of Natal to stop the fighting, that the mentality, "I belong to this party, and you belong to that party", as the reason for the bloody conflict there undermines the commitment to democracy and a multi-party system.

### **'People say the police give Inkatha members guns and bullets'**

Lekota says the ANC believes the search for peace in Natal is a worthy effort and that peace will be reached, even though previous peace talks have failed.

A solution could be found if the "poor communications" between the ANC and Inkatha are opened and improved.

He remarks, however, that there appears to be a feeling that Inkatha is not serious about talks

"As things stand now, it is very difficult that any lines of communication can begin to operate between ourselves and Chief Buthelezi.

# All shall be free — even Inkatha

"De Klerk is clearly committed towards Buthelezi as an ally. He therefore cannot be trusted with a task of this nature."

The UDF recently launched a campaign to have the security forces removed from the townships.

### **'We are interested in the freedom of the entire people'**

Lekota says "the people on the ground" corroborate the view that the level of violence in Natal will subside if the police are removed.

"They are saying that Inkatha attacks them because it enjoys the protection of the police, because the police give the Inkatha members guns and bullets"

Popular defence units have been set up after reports were received of imminent attacks by Inkatha on residents of Umlazi and Clermont.

"It is doubtful that we will be able to appeal to the other side to desist because that process has been going on for a long time and we have not been successful in it," Lekota says.

### **'De Klerk is committed towards Buthelezi as an ally'**

Talks with Inkatha are taking place, but on an informal basis. Diliza Mji, a representative of the UDF/Cosatu joint working committee, and Numsa's Alec Erwin, for instance, have been involved in talks with Frank Mdlalose, the KwaZulu minister of health and an Inkatha central committee member, and Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary general.

However, Lekota says, some of Inkatha members involved in these talks are "not very popular within their own ranks". They also appear not to have influence and control over their constituency

He puts the number of refugees from the conflict in Natal at 15 000 and says the government should declare parts of the province a disaster area.

The government should also set up trust funds to re-house these refugees and tend to their material needs.

**The ANC is fighting for freedom also for Inkatha members — so the fighting in Natal should stop. People under an ANC government would still be free to belong to Inkatha. So says Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator. He spoke to FAROUK CHOTHIA:**



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At the same time, political education should be intensified in the townships, so that various affiliate organisations can have an in-depth understanding of the cause and sources of, and participants in, the conflict.

"We believe that — with a deeper understanding of the problem — the communities involved will tend to be in a better position to contribute in the search for peace," Lekota says.

He agrees that, while the ANC is trying to secure support in Natal,

Inkatha appears to be wanting to assert its authority and prevent the movement from doing so

"Many of our supporters have been driven out of areas in which Inkatha has control

"We have no intention of stopping any organisation from seeking membership and from winning people towards its own policies.

"However, the fact that the others are doing this kind of thing means they are not committed to democracy in the sense that we understand democracy.

"If the trend persists, any election in the regions would not accurately reflect the views and feelings of people. It is a matter of deep concern to us," says Lekota.

It is in the ANC's interest to have peace so that it can communicate its message more effectively.

### **'We have no intention of stopping any organisation from winning people to its own policies'**

"It is in the interest of those who have no message that they should make as much noise as possible, to make it impossible for people to hear what the liberation movement has to say," Lekota says.

"The intensification of the conflict is calculated to create an atmosphere in which the movement — now unbanned, clearly very popular and armed with a viable policy — should not be in a position to communicate with the masses of the people."

### **'The resolution of the conflict does not depend on bringing in additional police'**

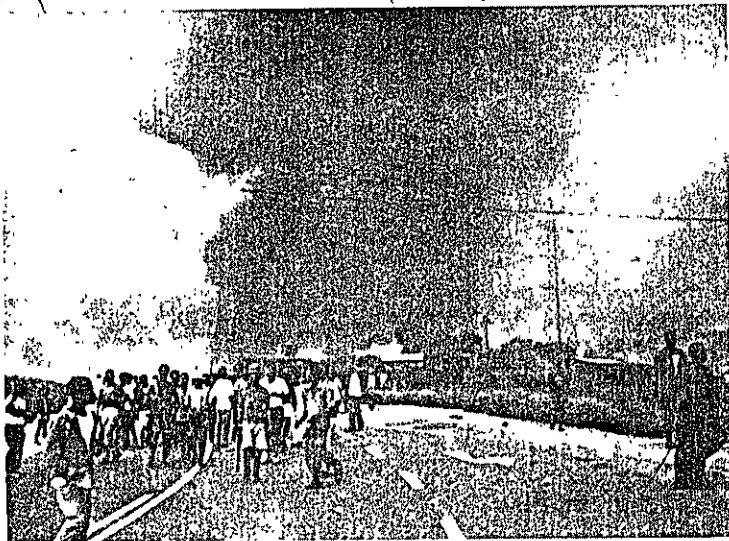
If the security forces are withdrawn, the government and the leadership of credible organisations should agree on who will maintain law and order in the townships.

"The resolution of the Natal conflict does not depend on bringing additional police and the army into the townships because of the known role they have played there," he maintains.

Lekota believes the conflict will make it difficult to debate, but it cannot be allowed to stop the negotiation process.

"The liberation movement will not instruct MK to attack and fight until or unless the talks do not proceed or fail." — NEW AFRICAN

118



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ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are introduced to the Cuban youth delegation that attended Sayco's congress in the Eastern Transvaal

PIC: GILL DE Vlieg

# Militant youth attack Gatscha

From MONO  
BADELA

LEKAZI (Eastern Transvaal).— Inkatha chief Gatscha Buthelezi was strongly attacked at a significant congress of the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco) held here last weekend.

Sayco president Peter Mokaba called the Kwazulu leader an "enemy of the people".

"There's no way we can win Buthelezi back - he is lost cause," he said.

He urged the youth to join the ANC's armed wing.

He made the call because the government continued to draft white youths into the SADF's training camps, he said in his address to more than 1500 delegates from 700 youth congresses and rep-

*South 19/4 - 23/4/70*

resenting some 1,5 million members.

Mokaba said it was now legal to join the ANC's armed wing.

It was "muddled thinking to say MK should be dismantled before negotiations," Mokaba said.

The ANC's deputy president Nelson Mandela opened the congress to rousing applause and heaped praise on KaNg-

wane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza for his role in aligning his people with the views of the ANC.

Mabuza himself attended the conference held in a jam-packed cinema in Ezinyamazane.

A delegation of the ANC Youth section expected to attend the conference from Lusaka

failed to arrive due to lack of clarity on the issue of indemnity for returning exiles.

Foreign delegates as guests or observers to the congress included two Cubans from the Union of Young Communists.

Other guests included students from the predominantly Afrikaans "Youth for the SA - Jeugkrug".

# Gatsha in bid to cut paper's funds

South  
11/4-29/4/90

11B  
[Handwritten marks]

By CHIARA CARTER

THE Natal-based independent newspaper, The New African, has strongly denied an accusation by Kwazulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi that the paper has incited violence in the strife-torn province.

Buthelezi accused the weekly of "fanning the flames of black on black violence" in a memorandum submitted to European Economic Community (EEC) heads at a meeting in Durban last weekend.

The New African co-editors, Mr Siphon Khumalo and Mr Ricky Naidoo, said Buthelezi had attempted to persuade the EEC heads not to fund the paper.

They said he had used a confidential document which the paper had previously submitted to the Kagiso Trust.

Similar confidential documents were quoted by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to justify demanding a maximum registration fee when the paper was launched last year.

## Ordinary people

In a statement to be released on Thursday, Khumalo and Naidoo said the newspaper could not be held responsible for the violence in Natal, which began before the paper was launched.

The statement said the paper had tried to present the viewpoint of ordinary people — unlike the way in which the commercial media and government had portrayed events.

They said they had sought in difficult circumstances to give a "balanced picture" of the ongoing conflict in the region.

"We have become the only English weekly in the country that reflects the degree and extent of the violence in this province," the statement said.

"We have given prominent coverage to attempts and initiatives to bring about peace in this region.

"We totally reject the accusations that the overall effect of our reports is to encourage any form of violence," the co-editors said.

The statement said The New African had covered pro-Inkatha events and had carried advertisements in which a range of organisations and businesses called for peace.

## Refused to comment

The statement said Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders had consistently refused to comment on New African stories and that Buthelezi had accused several other newspapers of being biased against Inkatha.

These included Umafrika, the Daily News, the Sunday Tribune and the Natal Mercury.

The statement accused Buthelezi and the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, of themselves having made statements which incited violence.

It cited a meeting of chiefs summoned to Ulundi four days before the attack on Edenvale, a township on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg, began.

The New African said that by trying to cut off the paper's funding, Buthelezi was guilty of censorship.

"This act is a strange one from a politician who so eloquently speaks volumes of his commitment to the freedom of speech and association.

"He is in effect attempting to stifle the free flow of information, an act which no civilised country can tolerate.



Moodley said Masemola had become a "symbol of black resistance and held a special place in the hearts of" foul play was suspect, Shinnars said allow them imme

## 150 youths flee to Lusaka

ALAN FINE

ABOUT 150 youths have fled from Natal to Lusaka in the past two weeks to seek sanctuary with the ANC from violence in the province, ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday. *Bl Day 1914/190*

He said most had been flown to Lusaka from Swaziland via Maputo with the assistance of the UN High Commission for Refugees, after being told by the authorities they could not stay in Swaziland.

ANO reports the people range in age up to 24, while one four-year-old child had also arrived. All were well.

□ Sapa reports five people died — three of them women — neklaced to death near Port Shepstone — in violence reported by police yesterday.

Another man was stabbed to death and a woman injured at Imball, Pietermaritzburg, after a mob petrol bombed and stormed a house.

□ Sapa reports from Ulundi that a former Inkatha member, Gideon Mdletshe, was shot dead when unknown assailants, armed with AK-47 rifles, attacked his home at Esikhawini, Empangeni.

A KwaZulu traffic policeman was critically wounded in Umlazi when he was shot in the stomach by a mob.

□ KwaZulu police announced they had arrested four people in connection with the killing of Rifleman Stoney van Wyk of the Cape regiment at Mpumalanga at the weekend.

□ At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) alleged members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco said it had videotaped evidence of Inkatha "defectors" who allegedly revealed Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training "against apartheid and against the ANC".

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as "untrue and patently ridiculous".

# Sayco alleges Inkatha youth Israeli-trained

CAT Tufs 19/4/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday alleged that members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco vice-president Mr Mnyamezeli Boozi said Sayco had videotaped evidence of Inkatha "defectors" who allegedly revealed that Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training.

"We are in possession of evidence from defected members of Inkatha that Inkatha has been sending its youth to Israel for training."

He said that for the "protection of the individuals" the informants could not be named.

Reacting, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as "untrue and patently ridiculous".

"As president of Inkatha I state, quite categorically, that I have never sent any members of Inkatha to Israel for military training and I most certainly have not sanctioned, and neither has anybody else in Inkatha, any action whatever designed to enable my supporters to engage in acts of violence against the ANC or any other organisation. These allegations are pure and utter drivel."

● Sayco will be dissolved and the ANC Youth League re-established in co-operation with the Lusaka-based ANC Youth Section, Sayco said yesterday.

Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Rapu Molekane were re-elected president and general secretary of Sayco at the congress at the weekend.

On the Natal violence, the Sayco congress resolved to endorse ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's call for a peace conference. But Mr Mokaba stressed that Chief Buthelezi would not be included in the peace process. — Sapa

# Buthelezi wants <sup>CAT</sup> <sup>19/4/90</sup> 'central role <sup>116</sup>

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is determined to play a central role in shaping the country's future, despite efforts by Mr Nelson Mandela's supporters to isolate him.

"They are saying all sorts of things about me, including that they are going to kill me, not by shooting me, but politically," Chief Buthelezi said at the weekend.

"At last we are on the road to real negotiations leading to multi-party elections in this country."

The Inkatha president said he wanted to be among black nationalists negotiating the end of apartheid with President F W de Klerk.

The bloody power struggle between Inkatha and radical ANC supporters in the townships of Natal has claimed more than 3 000 lives since it erupted in 1984, with more than 500 killed since the beginning of this year.

— Sapa-Reuter



# Success of a new SA constitution hinges on 'broad political participation'

A new South African constitution can only be successful if it is the product of broad political participation.

In "Shaping a Future South Africa", Anglo American's team of writers suggests how broad-based participation can be achieved in the process of drafting a new constitution.

They identify three stages in the constitution-making process.

First, proposals should be drafted by various authors reflecting all the key parties to political conflict.

Apart from rich international expertise, SA groups such as the kwazulu/Natal Indaba, the ANC and the National Party have already tabled proposals for constitutional change.

These documents suggest some important areas of agreement a united (though not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, the independence of the judiciary and a bill of rights.

The authors say an expert individual or group could chart areas of agreement as well as a set of alternatives. Foreign expertise could be enlisted to examine what SA could learn from other societies.

"Shaping a Future South Africa A Citizens' Guide to Constitution Making" suggests how ordinary South Africans can participate in drawing up a new constitution. **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** reports

"We must look for countries of comparable levels of economic development, industrialisation and urbanisation. Brazil, Mexico, Portugal, Greece and India may all have something to offer in this regard."

Second, alternative proposals should be debated by all groups with significant political power — on the condition that they are willing to compromise. The process of debate should allow for leaders, to discuss concession or deadlock issues with their supporters.

"Constitutions agreed to by leaders without the step-by-step knowledge and support of their followers are unlikely to be effective."

A third stage is the ratification and adoption of agreed compromises by the broadest and most inclusive process of popular participation possible. In divided societies like South Africa, constitutions not only need the support of numerical majorities but also those politically organ-

ised minorities on whose co-operation the constitution depends.

This suggested process raises many problems. Which individual or group enjoys sufficient confidence across groups to be entrusted with the drafting of proposals, how can the type of debate needed be initiated, and what form of popular but inclusive endorsement would indicate broad-based support?

The authors suggest that the starting point should be the drafting of a bill of rights, a principle which has been accepted by most major players.

"The purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure the necessary degrees of freedom for all citizens to join or form political parties, articulate and debate political aspirations, and engage in peaceful political activity."

"At the same time this concept is designed to protect public order against political violence."

"Surely this instrument — If supported by a political culture which makes it more than a piece of paper — holds the promise of reconciling freedom and order in a way that will make a debate about future constitutions both possible and constructive. Perhaps the first debate should be about the bill of rights."

Urging all citizens to take command of their destiny by participating in the drafting of a new constitution, the authors conclude: "Democracy is not South Africa's inevitable or automatic destiny. In history government by consent has been the exception rather than the rule. Yet there are grounds to believe that democratic politics are possible in South Africa."

"Popular cultures, indigenous and imported, which cherish liberty, key democratic institutions such as the courts, the press and universities, economic interdependence, and — perhaps crucially — a set of alternatives, all of which seem much less attractive, all suggest the possibilities for a meaningful, inclusive democracy here."

"Much will depend on the expectations SA's citizens express and the accountability they demand of their political leaders."

# Accusations traded as slaughter goes on

SA 22/4/90 By Dawn Barkhuizen

Accusations and counter-accusations are flying between the political players in the Natal war about their roles in the violence.

Inkatha president and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has vehemently denied claims that he is behind the slaughter. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) maintains that it and its UDF/ANC affiliates are the victims.

## Buthelezi says:

"I am ready and willing to play my part (to bring peace) in whatever way I can."

In a strongly worded statement, Chief Buthelezi said he was doing his utmost to bring an end to the bloodshed and that while the violence continued, it was not violence of his making.

"I truly believe that the origins of the violence, now out of control, were not of Inkatha's making. I can't stop it. Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC can't stop it. The UDF can't stop it. Cosatu can't stop it. Church leaders can't stop it. The whole ghastly situation appalls me ... I want no part of it. Inkatha wants no part of it."

Earlier this week, he described Cosatu as power hungry and "looking forward to becoming a Cosatu-government over a Cosatu-run South Africa".

"It was Cosatu which created the low-pressure system ... which originally sparked off violence which spread and spread and which is now enveloping vast areas. It is they -- Cosatu -- who came to sow death and destruction."

## Cosatu says:

"From our side, we are prepared to do everything in our power to bring peace to the region."

Responding angrily to criticism levelled at it by Chief Buthelezi, Cosatu accused the Inkatha leader of making "wild and unsubstantiated allegations" which were the "height of irresponsibility at a time when our people are dying in Natal".

"This kind of language only creates a climate in which Cosatu members are identified as targets for the warlords and kwaZulu police," a statement said.

"In the past few weeks it is Cosatu and UDF members who have faced the brunt of violent vigilante attacks. Documented evidence has shown that the violence in Maritzburg in recent weeks has been the result mainly of invasions by armed Inkatha impi raiding non-Inkatha areas."

## Buthlezi warns of 'awesome spectacle of absolute power'

WIM on 20/4 - 26/4/90  
INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthlezi launched a surprising attack on Cosatu in a speech to KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly this week.

He said the Congress of SA Trade Unions was building power bases inappropriate to a union and prophesied a fall-out between the African National Congress and Cosatu.

"I predict we will yet see the Cosatu dog bite the ANC master and shake it like some vicious brute turned master killer." (113)

Buthlezi alleged Cosatu "turns to maul any worker who does not agree with it" and claimed it was responsible for the violence in Natal.

He repeated his demand that he was prepared to meet for peace talks only in Ulundi and that he could mobilise Inkatha fighters should he wish to do so. (100)

Buthlezi claimed Inkatha members were demoralised because he had not given the word that they should "get out and go on pre-emptive attacks".

"People come to me crying for a word so they can get going with retaliation. God knows if I had to say yes, let us go and clean that mess up, there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of the Greater Pietermaritzburg area."

He added that he did not believe such action would be right, but the timing of his remarks is extraordinary, given the wide-spread belief that Inkatha supporters are behind the Pietermaritzburg bloodbath.

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# Inkatha marches

Sowetan 30/4/90

INKATHA supporters on Saturday held a march in central Johannesburg to call for peace in South Africa.

Mr Themba Khoza, publicity secretary and chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade for the West Rand region told Sapa the march was held for the following reasons:

- \*To encourage the suspension of talks about violence;
- \*To call for an end to defamatory and insulting remarks about the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Mangosutho Buthelezi;
- \*To encourage talks about talks in South Africa;
- \*To encourage politi-

cal tolerance among blacks;

\*To call on all black and white political organisations to put South Africa first before party politics; and

\*A call for the leaders of political organisations to be responsible for the actions of those organisations.

The marchers, many wearing Inkatha T-shirts and some wielding batons marched down Sauer Streets, up Bree Street, right into Smal Street and back down Commissioner to the Inkatha headquarters at the corner of Commissioner and Sauer Streets.

Mr Khoza said there were no incidents during the march. - Sapa.

# NP seeks Inkatha alliance

8/7 mes 22/4/90

THE National Party and Inkatha are exploring an alliance. The process is in its early stages, but tentative talks are under way.

President F W de Klerk said in Parliament this week the NP favoured forming alliances for negotiations and the constitutional process that would flow from them. A senior NP source said later the possibility of an alliance with Inkatha, specifically, and with other parties was being discussed.

By LESTER VENTER

Encouraging reaction had already come from Inkatha, he said.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, responded cautiously yesterday.

He confirmed Inkatha was considering forming alliances and was aware the NP was interested, but said Inkatha had not yet discussed this directly with the NP.

Dr Dhlomo did, however, hold out two likelihoods.

First, he said, informal alliances could form at the negotiating table.

the KwaNatal Indaba, of which Dr Dhlomo was chairman.

President De Klerk's reference in Parliament to a common voters' roll with group protection was seen — both within and outside the Government — as steering towards an Indaba-style structure of a non-racial lower House of government, with an upper House in which cultural, language and ethnic groups exercised veto powers.

The Government and Inkatha held an exploratory meeting on February 20 and will meet again on May 7 — only days after the Government and the ANC meet for their first formal talks.

## Values

Second, more formal alliances would become important in preparations for elections that would follow negotiations.

Dr Dhlomo said the NP's "race policies" embodied in laws such as Group Areas, Population Registration and "own affairs" were obstacles.

Both the NP and Inkatha believed alliances would dispel an impression that negotiations were purely between blacks and whites.

They would demonstrate it was a debate about competing value systems, not competing races.

In addition, there was concern about the headway the ANC was making in bringing a variety of black groups — including homeland leaders — under its umbrella.

Moreover, the NP was showing growing interest in

## N Tvl win

NORTHERN Transvaal beat Transvaal 24-9 in the Teljoy rugby challenge at Loftus Versveld yesterday. Northerns scored five tries to Transvaal's one.

## Steph to wed

PRINCESS Stephanie of Monaco has announced her engagement to French property magnate Jean-Yves Le Fur, a palace official said yesterday.

## Sexy Greta

NEW YORK publishers Simon and Schuster will soon release a sexually frank biography of screen legend Greta Garbo, who died last week.  
● See Page 21

id Magazine

# Join forces to beat the forces of violence

STW 22/4/90

118

POLITICAL leaders have lost sight of a fundamental truth of life: that human beings never think alike, that they are bound to belong to different movements, parties and religions, much as they like different styles of clothes.

We have leaders of political movements who want to triumph alone, who do not debate issues, but strive to destroy those movements unlike their own. This leads, ultimately, to seeking to destroy other human beings. It means creating an atmosphere in which people with murderous, sick psychologies can vent their sickness upon other human beings.

It is a grotesque abnormality for any political party to aim at capturing or winning the loyalty and following of all groups and members of society. A normal political party, anywhere in the world, aims at winning the majority of voters, which normally is more

## Herbert Vilakazi

professor of sociology at the University of Zululand, makes an impassioned plea to black political leaders to unite to end the conflict

or less a quarter of the population.

Wanting to capture the following of all groups and members of society is chasing after an impossibility, an impossibility which is only achieved through violence and repression of dissent; wanting to capture the allegiance of all groups, associations, and members of society is the very essence of totalitarianism. Human history caught a terrifying glimpse of that in Nazism and Stalinism.

### Disrespect

Political parties or movements should be charged with dynamism, yes, but also with humility.

Our leadership must display that elementary, great, and noble trait: recognising the possibility of being wrong; and the need to talk with others not in your movement; and never have as an aim of your movement the allegiance of all groups and members of society, and destroying another movement or faction: this inevitably leads to genocide.

We also have the problem of our youth. We have youth nurtured by an educational system which was designed by people who were totally lacking in the basic respect for the human being called African. The entire society created by white supremacy, and the educational system created by that white supremacy, filled that society with disrespect for the human being.

I am not saying that all of us have succumbed to this inhumanity. The over-

whelming majority of us are still shocked by this wanton disrespect for human life, by this wanton violence and killing of human beings.

We have become silent, and have withdrawn into our private feelings and thoughts, as self-defence. We have become silent and cowardly out of fear.

Now we must stand up and speak out. We either want the war, the wanton violence and killing of countless human beings in Natal to continue, or we want to stop it.

The African community is in flames. Which groups of individuals, upon seeing a wild, consuming fire around them, would not instantly drop what they were doing and look for buckets of water to hurl at the flames? That is precisely what we should be doing.

### Prejudices

The ANC/UDF, PAC and Azapo leadership should stop immediately their partisan activities and pay attention to putting this fire out. If we want this war stopped, the leadership of these organisations must approach and talk to the other major party in the war, Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

When one talks to ordinary, adult people, one encounters dismay at the refusal of the ANC to talk to Chief Buthelezi. However, this is not a matter just for the ANC and Chief Buthelezi alone.

The PAC and Azapo — in-

deed, all Africans — must stop their routine activities and fill buckets with water to douse this fire which is consuming the African community.

We must not pander to the prejudices of those who urge us to postpone putting out this fire until their prejudices are satisfied.

Does it make any sense to say that we want the unity of all anti-apartheid groups and movements, and yet refuse to work for amicable, friendly, co-operative relations with the largest movement of rural and semi-rural people we have, Inkatha, and with the leader whom they respect and follow?

### Disunity

It does not make any sense whatsoever to me; and I believe it is time to speak out.

The vitriolic war against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha is introducing the ethnic factor into political conflict among Africans, and this could spell doom for the liberation struggle of the black masses.

Whether we like him or not, Chief Buthelezi is a major factor in South African political life; he, and Inkatha, intend participating in the electoral politics of the new South Africa.

By painting him as the arch-devil of South African political life, are his enemies not creating a terrible problem for the future? Are we not preparing civil war for this country?

If any movement is determined to destroy Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi the logical end of that determination is an increase in the scale of war among Africans, and the physical killing of Chief Buthelezi.

Should we opt for that, the entire African community shall be so charged with tension that violence may very well spread to all parts of

the country. The enemies of majority rule in South Africa will do everything possible to trigger violence, and encourage disunity throughout the country.

The last line of defence, for racist interests, is nation-wide violence and war among Africans. Agents provocateurs are undoubtedly moving up and down the country, looking for such opportunities.

When Mrs Victoria Mxenge was murdered, word went out that she was killed by Inkatha, and many a "progressive" comrade swore death to Inkatha. Now it is revealed that Mrs Mxenge may have been killed by the death squads.

At Umtata, we are told that individuals wearing ANC T-shirts and walking alone are captured, put into cars, to be beaten up viciously. Word is out that the people perpetrating these acts are PAC. Undoubtedly, PAC has absolutely nothing to do with these acts. It is most likely the agents provocateurs out to trigger war between ANC and PAC.

### Wounds

All organisations should hold hands, issue a common statement denouncing such acts and imploring the African masses not to react irrationally to such provocations. Otherwise this land shall go the sorry path of Uganda.

Should we opt for the continuation of this war between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, then we may as well paraphrase King Shaka's last words, as he lay dying from the wounds inflicted upon his body by his own brothers, and say: "Ngeke sili-buse" — We shall never rule this land.

● Extracted from a speech at a graduation ceremony in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

## at of of old

in spite of privatisation and deregulation.

Sooner or later the black majority will have to face up to the harsh realities of economics — to the fact that there are no free lunches in today's world.

One would hope that this lesson will be learnt a little less tragically than it was learnt by the people of Mozambique. — RICHARD N YELLAND, Steenberg.

## Barend's lot

THE Government, says Mr

all around the head... unprepared... traffic — I try to have eyes

# Blacks afraid power-sharing talk 'is a ruse'

emc 11/13/19 11B

**THERE** were fears among blacks that the government's plans for power sharing were nothing but a ruse to entrench political privilege for the ruling party, the chairman of the Military Council in Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, told the ANC rally in Umtata.

Gen Holomisa said power sharing meant different things to different people but the only way a democracy could be brought about in South Africa was for the majority party in an election to become the government.

He said black leaders should demand the establishment of a transitional government in order to remove the distrust.

Blacks are also concerned about President F W de Klerk's assurance that the results of any negotiations would be put to the white electorate for approval.

"Does this mean that if whites reject the negotiated constitution the whole negotiation process would have been an exercise in futility?" he asked.

He said it should be clear to the National Party that the 1989 election was the last whites-only election in South Africa. — Sapa

significant, we are saying not enough has been done to make us reconsider any of our strategies."

The ANC supported the holding of a referendum on the future of Transkei as it would show the world the bantustan policy had not worked.

He said it was common knowledge that the ANC totally rejected the "bantustan system" and had since its inception called on the people of South Africa to reject it.

"Therefore the referendum is not intended to decide whether or not the people accept the Bantustan system, but to demonstrate to the world that the system has never had popular support." — Sapa

# Dhlomo: Alliance possible

DURBAN. — The government's reform efforts and attempts at alliance politics could well lead to collaboration between Inkatha and the National Party, said Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha.

"We are cautiously optimistic about the news of a possible alliance," he said. "We believe in alliance politics in Inkatha and we are working on a strategy to forge alliances."

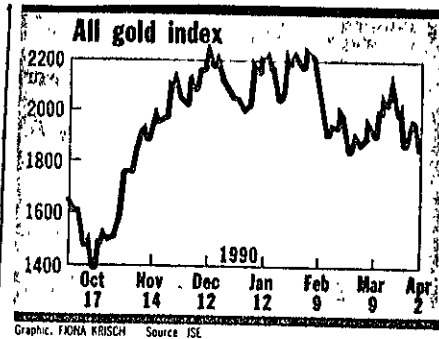
"We are aware the National Party is doing the same thing. If it continues to reform itself as it's doing at the moment there could certainly be an alliance between Inkatha and the National Party."

However, Dr Dhlomo emphasised that if such collaboration occurred it would not only involve Inkatha and the National Party. "It will include many parties — black, white, Indian and coloured."

"The politics of the future as we see it will be determined by alliances consisting of people of common ideology and not skin colour — the opposite of what it is now."

The Democratic Party's co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said it would be politically fatal for Inkatha to form an exclusive alliance with National Party and doubted whether it would happen.





DIAGONAL Street was mauled yesterday by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6,6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the \$370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's \$369 after trading in a narrow band in featureless conditions.

The JSE overall index plummeted almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3 128 as a sharp 4,2% weakening in the finrand investment unit failed to stem the downward tide with share prices substantially lower in dollar terms.

"Markets are driven by sentiment and yesterday we had not just one but a combination of three negative factors," a dealer said.

Analysts said the nosedive in political sentiment on the external front was reflected in the sharp downtrend of the finrand while, internally, sentiment could be mea-

# Move on talks hits trading

MERVYN HARRIS

sured by the Krugerrand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R983 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5,2% (103 point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1 857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels, after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its \$25 loss.

More depressing was the way leading industrial shares wilted under the weight of the negative factors with the index shedding 3,2%, or 96 points, to 2 880.

Dealers said the only positive factor to emerge was the lack of heavy selling after London instigated the initial downturn. There was only selective offloading of shares by local institutions which also nibbled at some stocks on their way down.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

# Inkatha alliance with NP possible — Dhlomo

**The Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — Political develop-  
ments will make it imperative  
for all political organisations  
to seek alliances — and if the  
government continues its pre-  
sent programme of reform  
there could be an alliance be-  
tween Inkatha and the NP at  
some stage, according to In-  
katha secretary-general Dr Os-  
car Dhlomo.

Dr Dhlomo emphasised, how-  
ever, that there were no discus-  
sions between the two organi-  
sations and that the possible  
alliance would include other  
parties.

This follows growing ru-  
mours that Inkatha and the NP  
have been meeting to discuss  
the possibility of a future alli-  
ance.

"Inkatha is investigating the  
possibility of alliance politics,  
and I believe the NP is doing  
the same.

"If we ever reached the stage  
of alliance politics, we would  
consider the policies of the var-  
ious potential partners.

**DEMOCRATIC POLICIES**  
"This means that if the NP  
were found to be pursuing poli-  
cies which we found were dem-  
ocratic and in the interests of a  
new South Africa, then obvious-  
ly they would be potential can-  
didates."

"We wouldn't turn them  
down simply because they  
were the NP."

Responding to criticisms by  
the co-leader of the Democrat-  
ic Party, Dr Denis Worrall,  
that an alliance with the NP  
would alienate Inkatha from  
the majority of blacks in the  
country, Dr Dhlomo said they  
obviously would consider such  
an step only if they had a man-  
date from members.

"The stumbling blocks pre-  
venting any alliance between  
based policies, such as the  
Group Areas Act and the Land  
Act.

"If they (the NP) were to  
abolish these, we would have  
no reason to disagree with  
them. They would be no differ-  
ent from the DP."

# I was barred, says Mandela

*Sowetan 24/4/90*

11B

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress prevented Mr Nelson Mandela from meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs in the Bhunga building in Umtata yesterday that he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal but the fighting had continued.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet, Buthelezi. He had even been willing to accompany Buthelezi to some of the worst-hit areas to make a call for peace.

"But when I told my

## ANC followers did not favour meeting with Buthelezi

people about this, they nearly throttled me," Mandela said.

They had told him they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them. Within days of his visit to Natal two ANC supporters were killed.

The ANC alleged that Inkatha, working in conjunction with "the police" were responsible for the deaths.

However, he was still willing to work for peace in the region, Mandela said.

Meanwhile, Mandela

yesterday called on chiefs and paramount chiefs in Transkei to support the ANC because they had always been part of the liberation struggle.

He said there had been a misunderstanding in the past that chiefs were not welcome in the ANC. This impression had been created by the youth during the years when the ANC was banned.

Not only had they believed that chiefs were not part of the ANC, but in some cases had seen them as collaborators with the system. The liberation struggle should



**NELSON MANDELA**

go hand-in-hand with traditional beliefs.

"We cannot be united if we reject any group," Mandela said.

Earlier yesterday he met Transkei officials at the presidential palace in Umtata.

After the meeting he and chairman of the Transkei military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa described the talks as fruitful. - Sapa.

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# Churchmen wasting time 118 Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Chief Minister of kwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told a group of top churchmen including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley and the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, they were wasting their time meeting him in Ulundi.

"It is to Mr Mandela you should go. It is to Mr Gwala you should go. It is to Mr Sisulu that you should go. Go to these people who have again re-committed the ANC to intensify the armed struggle.

"Go to the people who are calling for more killing and training cadres for more killing if you want to stop the killing."

He accused the ANC of pulling out of the joint Maritzburg meeting with Inkatha because it was "too frightened to stand up for peace", and said the ANC pulled out of discussions with the Government because it was "frightened of talking peace".

Chief Buthelezi said: "They will be exposed for what they are, hypocrites, who claim to have the following but will be shown to have no following when people do not heed calls for peace. Mr Mandela made his call. What did it help?"

He nevertheless pleaded for the help of the SACC in supporting an application by Inkatha to establish refugee camps in the Maritzburg, Umzumbe and Ndabwene areas to which people were flocking.

"Help me care for the maimed and the broken and then we can talk a lot more meaningfully about what we can do to reconcile warring factions," Chief Buthelezi said.



would be deployed in an  
Picture by Associated Press.

they feel it will drag the fighting into town," says Mrs Haswell.

# Churchmen wasting time Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

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NO price is too high to pay for peace, so the saying goes - but what has happened to the peace process in Natal?

So far, the road to peace has not been smooth at all. In turn, peace initiatives have repeatedly been suggested, attempted, squashed and spurned by the parties involved.

The only initiative which really got off the ground was the peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF in June last year. These broke down last September when Inkatha declared a moratorium on the talks, but since then representatives of the two sides have continued to meet sporadically.

However, in recent weeks the peace process has, according to some, relapsed into nothing more than a slanging match between Inkatha and the UDF.

Now everyone is asking what needs to be done to set the peace process in earnest motion once again.

## Democracy

According to Mr Radley Keys, regional director of the Natal Midlands for the Democratic Party and leader of the party's unrest-monitoring group in the area, the answer lies primarily in the political education of members within both organisations and the re-establishment of law and order in affected areas through the courts.

Together with this, the dismal socio-economic conditions in Natal's black townships need to be redressed.

"There must be a political education campaign within each organisation to explain to their members what democracy is all about," Keys said.

"Both Inkatha and the UDF espouse democracy, but in both organisations at some levels there is absolutely no tolerance of opposition."

## Upliftment

He said another vital need was for the police to remove criminals from society.

"More than 2 000 people have died in our area alone since 1987, and at the most there have been 10 convictions for murder in the courts.

"Known murderers, prominent people in many cases and often out on bail, are still carrying on their nonsense.

"Until law and order and a normal judicial system is re-established, people will not respect the law. They do not see justice being done," he said.

# Political education needed in Natal - DP

Sowetan 25/4/90

He said the political situation was aggravated by the appalling socio-economic conditions in Natal's black townships, and the Department of Development Aid should embark on their upliftment programmes without delay.

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Mr Gavin Woods, agreed that socio-economic conditions had played an immense role in fueling the violence.

According to research done by the Institute, around 90 percent of all violence in the province is perpetuated by youth.

"A youth sub-culture of violence has definitely come into being, a sub-culture where human life has very little value. The youth find their lives in a frightening limbo with harsh and unstable circumstances all around them. They, more than anything, are the tragic product of the apartheid environment," said Woods.

## Approaches

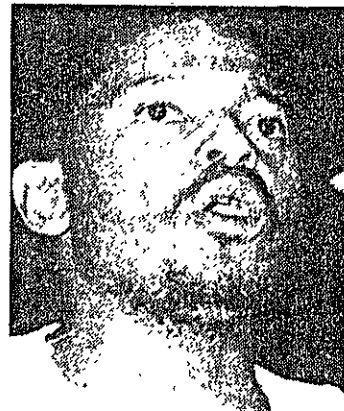
"They have heightened expectations that things are going to change, that many good things will come their way ... the reality of their deprivation is frightening, and no direction is left to them to follow other than the political."

Woods suggested three possible approaches to ending the violence.

One was the adopting of the Government's recently announced two-part plan, which included a mass injection of security forces into war-torn areas to quell the fighting, combined with an intensive socio-economic upliftment programme.

Another was KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's adoption of a sustained "hearts and minds" campaign of national proportions to try and cultivate extreme disgust at the violence throughout society.

However, Woods himself



TERROR LEKOTA

believes the most effective approach would be to combine both of the above, and then launch a joint campaign of the national leaders, where they would address joint public rallies and meetings in each of the problem areas.

"These would have to include the message that the violence must stop immediately, and that all past grievances must be buried and forgotten.

"Political education is also necessary - people are going to have to realise that it is necessary to move into conventional politics, and expressing allegiance to a political organisation must be done only through conventional activities."

## Structures

This was echoed by the national publicity secretary for the UDF and ANC convenor in southern Natal, Mr Terror Lekota, who said the ANC was in the process of setting up conventional political structures - which it had been unable to do before February 2 this year - and it was hoped that this would channel the energy and frustration of the people constructively.

He agreed that a sub-culture of violence and lack of discipline had set in to certain communities, and said some sectors had lost touch with the political direction of the

FOCUS

ANC, or had joined without really understanding what the organisation was all about.

This was largely due to the fact that the ANC, being banned, had not been in a position to operate normally. Lekota said they were doing all they could to build up the organisation as quickly as possible.

He said the ANC was committed to a multi-party democracy and intended to emphasise this through political education programmes.

"Where Inkatha has support, it must be allowed to continue. If we can't co-exist with Inkatha, then we can't co-exist with any other political parties," he said.

Regarding the ongoing two-on-two peace discussions between members of Inkatha and members of the Cosatu/UDF alliance's Joint Working Committee (JWC), he said although the talks had been productive, "we have the distinct impression that hardly anything can come of them now."

"Quite frankly, at the moment we don't foresee a speedy meeting between ourselves and the Inkatha leadership.

## Peace talks

"We have the impression that the Inkatha representatives involved are themselves no longer as confident as they were about the productivity of these talks."

"We believe now that peace will not be found so much between us and Inkatha as between us and the Government - we think now that the emphasis should be placed on the meeting between the ANC and the State President in May," said Lekota.

Both Lekota and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said they were optimistic about the future, as they believed the majority of people in Natal supported the message of peace.

However, Dhlomo - a kingpin in the ongoing talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance - said he believed the ongoing talks with the JWC had been productive, and it was "the resurgence of very unhelpful vitriol aimed at Inkatha, especially from certain UDF ranks", which had hindered the fragile peace process. - Sapa.

**M**OBILISE, organise for the final offensive! All youth to battle! All youth to the frontline! — so summons the current issue of New Nation in a "report" on the recent SA Youth Congress (Sayco) gathering in Kanygrane.

This is not journalism. It is a trumpet call to action, subsidised by the Catholic Church, the paper's principal paymaster.

I end a five-week stay in SA with the impression that it is somewhat *outré* to take such things seriously. Good people are supposed to believe that Zwelekele Sishulu, New Nation's editor, does not really mean it. His organisation, the ANC, is really quite decent at heart, but the poor dears have this rather wild constituency that they can't afford to alienate. Their bloodcurdling rhetoric has nothing to do with the necklacing of children or the show trial and execution of a Steadville, Natal, councillor by youths bent on hijacking existing civil authority.

**R**eally? This is the kind of thinking that encouraged the world to stand by while Hitler prepared for the elimination of 6-million Jews. The Nazis were not actually that anti-semitic, commentators like Walter Lippman opined after trips to Berlin in the '30s, but they had to make a show of it to keep the lumpen proletariat happy.

Let me pay the ANC and its formations the supreme compliment of believing what they say. When Sayco declares Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi "an enemy of the people" and calls for Umkhonto we Sizwe-backed "defence units" to confront Inkatha, it must be taken at its word. Sishulu himself must likewise be deemed an honest man, when, in an editorial next to the Sayco feature, he applauds the emergence of a one-party state in Zimbabwe and calls for its emulation here.

"In our struggle," he writes, "we can no longer afford to have grey, undefined areas. Now, more than ever before, it is the people or the regime." Those who do not join the

# Way must be found for decent majority to write its destiny

By Day 25/1/90

SIMON BARBER

"The people" (i.e. the ANC) will "inevitably gravitate towards the government and all it represents" — and are therefore legitimate targets for the corrective ministrations of the young lions.

One of the most depressing things about this country is the capacity of its liberal white elites to find excuses for the ANC. Give the ANC time, they say. After so many years in jail, its leaders need space to get their act together. Nationalisation and the armed struggle are mere bargaining chips. Besides, you can't expect Nelson Mandela to stop glorifying violence until he has firmly established his authority. Nor can you expect this to happen overnight because the government so effectively smashed the movement's command structure. These people have to get organised.

Indeed they do, but what they mean by organised is not quite the same as nice white people think. There is, for example, a lot of organising going on in Natal. Children are being organised with petrol-filled tyres.

Beneath the exquisite socio-babble of the pundits — most of whom lap up the "data" provided by ANC/UDF fronts and spokesmen as though it were the revealed and only truth —

the carnage in the Natal townships is very simply explained. There is a civil war going on to determine the shape of the table at which the government will negotiate its surrender and, therefore, whether the "new" SA shall be a one-party state or a multi-party democracy.

One may have doubts about the democratic convictions of Inkatha, but that is not the point. The point is that it is another party and the ANC is not prepared to brook another party. Anyone who is not with the ANC is against it and faces a choice between re-education and liquidation, "Terro!" Lekota's hurt remonstrances that the ANC is only trying to defend itself notwithstanding.

**W**hy this should be a mystery is a mystery in itself. The ANC has made its objectives entirely plain by its "peace" proposal — namely that President F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela should do a joint tour through Natal, thus having the government effectively bless the ANC's assertion that it is the sole representative of the local black population. At his meeting with De Klerk on

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April 5, Mandela rejected the suggestion that Buthelezi be part of the tour. In his, or his organisation's, view, SA's Yalta should be attended only by Stalin and Roosevelt.

Inkatha is not the only horn in the ANC's flesh. Attacks on PAC/Azapo/Black Consciousness (BC) also continue, though not at the pace of the late '70s and early '80s when the ANC set out to drive BC from the face of the eastern Cape. Somehow, this grisly episode has slipped from people's minds, too.

Mandela has promised a prompt investigation into the torture claims by ANC dissidents. This neatly glosses over the fact that these allegations are merely the tip of a long-ignored iceberg. Scores of BC followers who fled the country after 1976 were placed in detention camps in Angola and Tanzania with the active co-operation of the UN High Commission on Refugees representative in Lusaka. She happened to be the wife of a senior ANC official. Their fates are largely unknown, though one survivor told a US Senate investigator two years ago of how she had been repeatedly raped by her captors in Quatro, an infamous gulag in Angola. Merely to highlight such events is

not enough. The intimidation is everywhere. Among other results it has led to a near total suppression of free speech in the townships amounting to censorship as severe as anything ever imposed by the white government.

The Institute for Race Relations recently held a round table discussion with four black journalists. Themba Molefe of the Sowetan recounted how he had had a tyre placed round his neck in Tzaneen simply because his newspaper was suspected of BC tendencies. The Star's Kaiser Nyatumba complained it was impossible to question black leaders freely. "If you do that now, they 'give you a call'." The effect is that nearly all news emerging from the black community has a heavy ANC slant.

My fear is that the white establishment is sliding into functional cahoots with the ANC and its totalitarian project because the establishment lacks either the guts or the basic humanity to do otherwise. It wants order internally. It craves an end to harassment by outside powers who see the situation through the ANC's eyes and look on Inkatha and the Africanists — and anyone else for that matter — with sneering contempt.

**W**hen a heavy-thinker employs by one of the world's largest corporations can suggest that MK be brought in to help quell unrest on the grounds that its presence would legitimise the use of force, one begins to sense that this country's long nightmare may have only just begun. A one-party state condoned by a specially protected white *nomenklatura* is a recipe for continued agony.

The only ray of hope is De Klerk's suggestion of a political realignment based on values rather than pigmentation. A way must be found to release the vast decent majority of SA to write its own destiny. Absent that, and Natal is the future, and the only rules that will apply are regulations R-1 and AK-47.

□ Simon Barber has returned to Washington and his regular commentary will resume on May 8.

# Holomisa hints at 'consumer action'

Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON.** — Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday hinted at possible consumer action by his country against Border towns which "harboured elements bent on destabilising Transkei".

In a hard-hitting speech to the East London Chamber of Commerce, General Holomisa also called on South Africa's Minister of Justice to table the findings of the Harms Commission into cross-border irregularities, saying this would reveal individuals who had not paid taxes and incidents of fraudulent documentation.

General Holomisa said that if towns in South Africa harboured destabilising elements, Transkei would have to use the only weapon available to it.

"There is only one thing we have been blessed with and that is buying power," he said.

He warned the people of East London, Queenstown, Stutterheim and King William's Town that his government might not have the facilities to combat the



**TEA BREAK ...** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela chats with Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

violence which could erupt in Transkei as a result of orchestration by outside forces.

He said that when the state of emergency had been lifted and the media were free, it would be shown that black-on-black violence in South Africa had been orchestrated by the "system".

General Holomisa said the free flow of trade in the region had been hampered and severe limits had been placed on the free movement of people, but the ad-

vent of Ciskei's military government had thrown this overboard and demonstrated that strong historical ties existed among the people of Ciskei and Transkei.

"Transkei, Ciskei, Border and the Eastern Cape form a single economic entity.

"If at this regional level, whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians can learn to listen to one another and appreciate another man's point of view, this attitude will percolate through to the whole of South Africa," General Holomisa said.

He called on white Eastern Cape residents to serve as an example by initiating the abolition of the Group Areas Act, which had succeeded in preventing any meaningful contact among the various races.

Meanwhile, at Quakeni, near Lusikisiki, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday addressed a rally of some 8 000 people.

His address to chiefs centred mainly on issues he had raised on Monday, when he apologised for the mistaken views propagated by the youth that the ANC and traditional leadership were incompatible.

WASHLINES



26/4/90

11B

2 Cape Times, Thurs

## **Inquiry into**

## **Holomisa**

## **claim urged**

**EAST LONDON.** — The chamber of commerce here has called for an urgent investigation and action by South African authorities into Transkei allegations of "destablising elements" being harboured in South Africa.

The chamber was reacting to a warning by the military leader of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, that his country could take consumer action against towns which harboured forces bent on destabilising Transkei.

In a statement released yesterday, the chamber said it noted the serious issues raised by General Holomisa with concern.

"We will bring these matters to the attention of the State President and relative government departments to seek clarification and resolution," the statement said.

# Claim: KwaZulu govt has own military wing

Art Title 26/4/80  
11B (17) (276)

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The weekly publication Umafrika said in an article this week that the KwaZulu government has its own armed wing, trained and equipped with weaponry from East Bloc countries.

It also alleged that KwaZulu is in a position to wage effective guerilla warfare, like Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

The newspaper said it had been investigating the squad for some time.

It said an independent probe had revealed that at least 200 people from KwaZulu had gone for training at an unknown location in 1986.

Umafrika said the group learned to use weapons such as assault rifles and sub-machine guns, and to handle mor-

tars, limpet mines and handgrenades.

The article said the men underwent training in urban and guerilla warfare, unarmed combat, releasing hostages, intelligence service and security. The training took seven months.

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) alleged last week that Inkatha youths were being trained in Israel. The vice-president of the organisation, Mr Nyami Boo, claimed that Sayco had video-taped evidence from Inkatha defectors.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied the allegations, describing them as "untrue and patently ridiculous".

The Israeli embassy in Pretoria has also denied that it has given military training to Inkatha members.

## In Brief

### Boycott 'war talk'

TRANSKEI ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa was engaging in war talk, Mr C J Badenhorst (EL North) said, referring to reports that the general had threatened a consumer boycott of South African towns that harboured elements destabilising Transkei.

CAC Temp/AB  
26/4/90

(455)

# 10 000 march to Jesus - with iron bars and knives

MORE than 10 000 Inkatha members and supporters participated in a pro-police peace march at the weekend.

They sang, "we are going to Jesus" while march organiser, Lindelani community leader Thomas Mandla Shabalala, carried a two-metre high cross through the streets.

Most participants, however, carried sticks, whips or clubs, and many carried even more lethal weapons including iron bars, knives, spears, axes, and clubs. An international television crew said a marcher pointed a home-made firearm at them.

This display of weaponry took place under the nose of the security forces, out to ensure peace.

Durban's Legal Resources staffer Howard Varney, among those monitoring the march, said when he approached a policeman on duty to draw his attention to the weapons he was told that they were "cultural weapons".

Varney said questions would be asked in parliament about the attitude of police to such dangerous weapons being carried during marches.

He said it would also be asked if exceptions were made for Inkatha. "Would the police also turn a blind eye if the United Democratic Front were to arrange a procession of armed marchers?" Varney asked.

Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow is to find out through parliament whether any action is planned against the organisers of the march, and whether the police intend making a statement informing the public what the police, and the kwaZulu Police in particular, regard as "permissible conduct" as far as the display of dangerous weapons was concerned.

The march began in Lindelani and wound its way a considerable distance through Richmond Farm and kwaMashu to the police station where Shabalala handed over a petition to the KZP station commander for transmission to the commissioner of kwaZulu police.

The petition, which Shabalala said

it was billed as march for peace, with 10 000 people singing hymns, led by a man with a giant cross. But the strange thing was that most marchers carried sticks, whips, knives or clubs ...

was signed by thousands of people in kwaMashu, Lindelani, Ntuzuma, Siyanda, Inanda and Hambanathi, criticised calls "from other organisations" that the police should be removed from the townships, but agreed with demands that the police should be impartial.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and kwaZulu's minister of police, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, were also urged to ensure co-operation between the KZP, the SAP and "white members of the South African Defence Force".

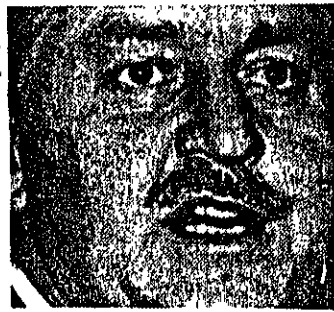
They were asked to consider establishing a second police station in Ntuzuma and transferring the Inanda police station to the KZP.

Protesters said they were "appalled" at the call for the police to withdraw from the townships at a time when people were suffering at the hands of "hooligans who have ruined the socio-economic and political life of the community".

In particular they complained about residents being "sentenced to death" by people's courts and "brutally murdered by glue-sniffing hooligans". They said workers were forced to join stayaways which cost them their jobs, and they also complained "education was in ruins" because schools had been turned into "political camps".

Shabalala said afterwards the communities were "sick and tired of the killings, injuries and arson".

"We want law and order in our townships. We want them to bring more members of the police, but they must be police who will really not take sides. We are against the petitions by other organisations who want the ZPs out of the townships."



PRESIDENT ...  
Lucas Mangope

FOREIGN MINISTER...  
Pik Botha

*COPY TIMES 27/4/90*

# Pik warns of plot to oust Mangope

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Political Staff

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night the government had received reports of a Harare-based plot to depose Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope.

South Africa and Bophuthatswana were preparing to repulse the planned invasion by former opposition leader Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, he said. "Steps have been taken to meet him if he tries to come in."

Mr Metsing is alleged to have been behind the last attempted coup when South Africa sent its security forces in to assist Mr Mangope's own forces.

Mr Botha denied a claim by CP spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, that SA was preparing to topple President Mangope and replace him with Mr Metsing.

"What sort of morality have we sunk to in this parliament? It's untrue, totally untrue, and no-one less than President Mangope himself can confirm what I say.

"It was the government which shortly after President Mangope's election, when a coup was attempted, went in when he called for support.

"We went in while the CP was sleeping."

out.  
CAPT Timp 27/4/90 (11B) (11B)

## Call to end KaNgwane govt

LOUIEVILLE, KaNgwane. — A call for the dissolution of the KaNgwane government was made yesterday by the homeland's Chief Minister, Mr Enos Mabuza.

Opening the second ordinary session of the homeland's Fourth Legislative Assembly, Mr Mabuza said he hoped KaNgwane's political structure would be wound up within a year. "We are straining at the leash to cast off our bastard status." — Sapa

# Backlogs 'due to no access to capital'

CAPT TINTS

28/4/90

Own Correspondent

(113)

UMTATA. — The socio-economic backlogs in Transkei existed in all black communities in South Africa and were the result of a lack of access to capital resources, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In a parting message of gratitude for the "warm reception and hospitality accorded me and my entourage by the people of Transkei", Mr Mandela said the backlogs fuelled the ANC's drive for an even distribution of national wealth and the establishment of a single South African Parliament.

"With the establishment of the ANC interim committee in Transkei, we hope that the people of the region will have the golden opportunity of acquainting themselves with the policies of the organisation," he said.

Mr Mandela described the manner in which the military administration of Major-General Bantu Holomisa assisted him and his delegation to reach people in the dispersed villages of Transkei as an "example we wish other bantustan leaders to follow".

# Inkatha call 115

SUPPORTERS of Inkatha marched in central Johannesburg at the weekend to call for peace in South Africa.

Mr Themba Khoza, publicity secretary and chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade for the West Rand region, said the reasons for the march were:

- \* To encourage the resumption of the suspended talks on violence;
- \* To call for an end to defamatory and insulting remarks about Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi; *Sowetan 30/4/90*
- \* To encourage talks about talks in South Africa;
- \* To encourage political tolerance among blacks;
- \* To call on black and white political organisations to put South Africa first before party politics; and
- \* To appeal to leaders of political organisations to take responsibility for the actions of those organisations.

The marchers, many wearing Inkatha T-shirts and some wielding batons, marched through five streets in the city and ended the march Inkatha's Johannesburg headquarters in Commissioner street.

There were no incidents during the march. - Sapa.



Ste 1/5/90

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## kwaZulu Minister calls for end to violence

ULUNDI — A senior kwaZulu Cabinet Minister yesterday called on the ANC to end its armed struggle and to stop using intimidation as a strategy for gaining support.

Chief Simon Gumede, Minister of Works, was speaking during the debate on the Chief Minister's policy speech in the Leg-

islative Assembly in Ulundi.

He strongly criticised the ANC's commitment to sanctions and "violence", and asked if — once blacks achieved full political rights — it would "employ the people who had lost their jobs because of sanctions.

"Would the ANC be able to woo foreign companies back to

invest in a future free South Africa? Will it be able to provide a viable economy through nationalisation?" he asked.

"I call on it to abandon the armed struggle for the benefit of black people and for the good of our country," Chief Gumede said. "This is not the time for confrontation." — Sapa.

# 'War' declared on Inkatha

2/5/90  
Own Correspondent (113)

CAPE TOWN — Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo issued a virtual declaration of war against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement during a May Day rally at the Athlone Stadium.

Speaking to a capacity crowd of about 12 000 yesterday, Mr Naidoo said all avenues to find a peaceful solution in Natal had failed and the only way to resolve the problem was to fight.

Mr Naidoo claimed Chief Buthelezi told a meeting of Zulu chiefs in Natal on March 23 that they should place themselves on a war footing because they were going to war against the enemy that threatened them and the people they governed.

"There is no more hope for

peace with Buthelezi while he talks like this. Our enemy has two faces — one is Buthelezi, the other is De Klerk and his SAP and SADF."

Mr Naidoo said President de Klerk was to meet the ANC today, something the Nationalists had been trying to avoid for over 40 years, because he wanted to be part of the new South Africa.

"Yet he calls Buthelezi his ally. He cannot be part of a new South Africa if he sides with him.

"Mr de Klerk can end the violence in Natal in two weeks if he removes his SAP and stops the supply of arms to Inkatha."

He described the situation in Natal as "more death and destruction than that caused by the two world wars".

3/5/90

## Solutions still attainable (1/2) - Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Solutions to the violence in Natal were still attainable, and fighting was not the only way to resolve the problem, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Anyone who cared about the people in Natal's violence-torn townships would do "everything to seek peaceful alternatives to problems of whatever nature".

He was reacting to a statement made at a May Day rally in Cape Town by Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, who said all avenues to find a peaceful solution to the violence in Natal had failed and the only way to resolve the problem was to fight.

Mr Naidoo was reported as saying there was no hope for peace with Chief Buthelezi, and "the only option is to fight, in dealing with Buthelezi".

The Cosatu leader said President de Klerk, who "calls Buthelezi his ally", could not be part of a new South Africa "if he sides with a murderer".

In his comment yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said although he would not respond to Mr Naidoo's statement "without considering them within the context of his entire statement", he wanted to point out that "any statements like those quoted are tragic".

This was more so because he and Inkatha were "totally committed to finding peaceful solutions to the political problems and the horrific violence endemic in South Africa".

The KwaZulu leader said he had always condemned violence, "whether it is as a result of apartheid or as a result of the armed struggle or of any other destructive behaviour".

He appealed for mutual "decency and respect" between political organisations, and called on their leaders to come together "to end, once and for all, the murder and mayhem".

# Bees attack

~~11B~~  
11B

Sowetan 3/5/90

# Inkatha march

A GROUP of between 8 000 and 10 000 Inkatha supporters who marched to the Esikhawini police station, near Empangeni, were attacked and dispersed - not by the police but by a swarm of bees on Tuesday.

The peaceful march, to deliver a petition expressing support for the KwaZulu police, lasted five hours after which leaders handed the petition to Esikhawini station commander Lieutenant ZM Dlamini.

Soon after handing over the petition to Dlamini a swarm of bees attacked the crowd.

## Angry swarm has 10 000 fleeing in all directions

They then fled in all directions.

The petition expressed confidence in the KwaZulu police and called for the introduction of their patrols in the adjacent rural areas.

Handing over the petition, Mr John Mkhwanazi, who is a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly, said his tribe was concerned

about incidents of violence in the township. The violence had now spilled over into the rural areas.

He called for co-operation between the South African Police and the KwaZulu police to stamp out the violence.

Dlamini told the leaders the petition would be conveyed to Ulundi.

The march was led by



**Inkatha president  
Chief Buthelezi.**

chiefs, members of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and local township councillors.

CN-704 5/15/90 (11B) 206

# ANC intends breaking Zulu power, says king

ULUNDI. — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini warned a gathering of KwaZulu chiefs here yesterday that the ANC was intent on disrupting their unity as a means of destroying Zulu power.

King Goodwill said this was part of the ANC plan to break down everything in the country and "put the pieces back together in such a way that South Africa becomes the ANC's property".

He told of people going into townships and rural areas intent on setting families against each other, of burnings and killings and attacks on KwaZulu offices, personnel and personal property.

These were not really attacks against Inkatha or the KwaZulu government, he said, but attacks against the people of KwaZulu because they were Zulus with a proud record.

"They want no proud Zulus left. They only want subservient black Africans who say, 'yes sir, no sir, anything you like sir' to the ANC." — Sapa

# Buthelezi slams 'wipe out' speech

*STimes 6/5/90*

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A CALL by ANC Natal leader Harry Gwala to "wipe out" Inkatha members if they attack his supporters has been slammed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "irresponsible, aggressive and provocative".

Mr Gwala told the 10 000 strong crowd at a May Day rally at Edendale Valley Stadium, Maritzburg, to defend themselves if they were attacked by Inkatha. "Let us wipe them out if they attack us," he said.

The statement brought a strong reaction from the Inkatha and Kwazulu head.

Chief Minister Buthelezi said: "To say that Inkatha members are attacking others is incorrect. The statement which reads 'Let us wipe them out if they attack us' is highly irresponsible, aggressive and provocative."

He claimed the statement would result in increased attacks on Inkatha members.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, said yesterday that the killings in Natal would have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence. Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by the SAP and Kwazulu police was crucial to bring about peace in the area, he said.

In this week's talks between the Government and the ANC, clear lines of communication had been established to ensure police acted impartially in dealing with violent situations in Natal.

# Killings must end - Mbeki

7/5/90

Soweto

THE killings in Natal will have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's Director of International Affairs, said at the weekend.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence in Natal.

Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by both the SA Police and the KwaZulu Police was crucial to bring about peace in the area.

The police should not be allowed to enter into the conflict or to stand back and to allow one side to be given the opportunity to attack the other.

He said in last week's talks clear lines of communication had been established to ensure that the police acted in an impartial way in violent situations.

Mbeki said before the killings were brought to an end, a political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha was out of the question.

# Those Indaba ideas have come full circle

S/Tues 13/5/92

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LIKE happy days, the Indaba is here again. However, before the hackles rise over a connection between the Indaba and happy days, let it be known: the Government has yet to agree that implementation of the Indaba proposals in Natal would make sense, and the ANC has yet to admit that the Indaba was not just an Inkatha thing. Why the fuss, then? At least three points are worth mentioning. First, it is clear to anyone who was involved in the Indaba experience of 1986 that the same scene is playing itself out at the national level today. Take the attempts to get participants to the negotiation table. The details differ, but the essence is similar. Some profess their belief in the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and are willing to commit themselves. Others prefer to take the

## The KwaNatal experience contained useful material for South Africa's current constitution builders, says Professor Dawid van Wyk of Unisa

hard and defiant line: "We don't talk unless... it's on our terms." Part of the dilemma lies in the lack of a challenge to participate. And the best challenge history and the nature of politics would suggest is to have an election, ideally based on proportional representation.

### Pitfalls

So far, the Government appears to be going for the Indaba principle in assembling the round table. Participation is by invitation and, furthermore, open to anyone who can convince the convenors that he or she should be present. This ap-

proach has its advantages, but also its pitfalls. A lesson from the Indaba for the national heavyweights is: Don't omit anyone who can ruin the plan. Namibia has shown there is no sole and authentic representative of the people. Overwhelming evidence points to a plurality of political interests in South Africa that can hardly be represented by two or three players. A related lesson is: Don't be misled into the belief that because the constitutional plan is a good one it will be accepted by those who did not participate in its framing. The Indaba had to dis-

cover that even some who shared in the process eventually denied their role because they were not altogether happy with the outcome. Imagine the feelings of those who did not participate at all. The second reason why the Indaba can be said to be on the return is evident from the events of the last weeks. Like happiness, the smiles and cooing oozing from Cape Town after the first formal meeting between the Government and the ANC will mean different things to different people. Whatever the

meanings, and whatever the interpretations, it is clear a pleasantly surprising discovery was made, especially by some of the "Boere". "One can talk to these guys". The Indaba had its share of hard-nosed opponents learning they could actually talk about sensitive matters quite pleasantly, especially if the setting is conducive as well — like the imposing city council chamber in Durban or the stately Grootes-Schuur. There is a third reason for the return of the Indaba. The basic question that haunted the Indaba was how to marry the cry for universal suffrage with the need of certain groups for meaningful participation in the process of government and protection from sheer majority domination. The same question hangs ominously over South Africa today. The demands are quite explicit: the Government wants group participation

and protection while the ANC has made it clear in emphatic terms it will pursue every avenue to prevent groups from even being mentioned at the negotiation table. The Government's position may explain its recent preferences, in terms more gracious than before, to the Indaba and, specifically, its two-chamber system. A salient lesson from the Indaba, and one often missed in the effervescent, if not paranoid, debate about groups and minorities, is that groups or minorities should not be regarded as given for constitutional purposes. **Decide** In other words, it should not be said that groups or minorities are a fact and in need of participation and protection. White South Africans, in particular, fall prey to this kind of reasoning. They refer to ethnic experiences elsewhere and tend to speak on behalf of "all the other South African minorities", working on the assumption that what they perceive to be the other minorities feel the same. In the Indaba, Afrikaners reached a point where they said, in so many words: "We want to be recognised as a group, regardless of how others feel." **Fears** The importance of this was fourfold — first, they were speaking for themselves only, and they demanded a solution had to be found to accommodate them; second, it was left to other groups or minorities to decide for themselves whether they wanted to be constitutionally recognised

Third, it showed that one party claiming group participation and protection was sufficient to put the item on the agenda — to keep it off the agenda, all participants will have to be convinced. Finally, it showed clearly that the question whether groups would be discussed at the negotiation table was not dependent on the fact that groups existed, but on the constitutional self-awareness of any such groups. The ensuing debate, then, was not about how given groups should be protected, but about mechanisms to accommodate the fears of persons with a strong sense of group identity. The Namibian experience underscores this point. In spite of a rich variety of ethnic groups, the overwhelming majority of Namibians felt it was unnecessary to reflect that fact in their constitution. **Agreement** The Indaba, on the other hand, concluded in 1986 that it had to do so to some extent in order to reach agreement. Hence its well-known two-chamber system with background groups and limited vetoes, guaranteed participation in the Cabinet, cultural councils, economic advisory council, proportional representation, bill of rights and rigid constitution. In the spirit of "let bygones be bygones", it might not be a bad idea for all concerned to dust off their personal copies of the Constitutional Proposals of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba. They abound with food for constitutional thought at a time when the same old problems will have to be addressed by a new Indaba.



5 Times 13/5/90

# My name's on Inkatha hit list says academic

By TERRY van der WALT

EVERY night before going to bed Dr Aaron Ndlovu fills his bathtub with water in case of fire.

He might have felt silly doing so until last weekend when his precautions saved the lives of himself and his family. Vigilantes tried to set his home alight in the early hours of the morning, but the flames were doused with water from the tub.

A senior lecturer in political science at the University of Zululand, Dr Ndlovu said his name was on a hit list of people opposed to Inkatha and he faced another attack at any time.

He claimed another academic on campus was also on the list, which had grown from an initial eight names.

He said Inkatha was trying to eliminate existing and potential ANC supporters in the Mtunzini and Empangeni areas. "I understand this was made public by chiefs in the Empangeni area recently," he alleged.

The allegation was strongly denied yesterday by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Inkatha does not have a hit list. Any allegations that it does are untruthful and absurd," he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said Inkatha's strength was based on democratic and peaceful principles.

"It is the ANC which is committed to a political programme of armed struggle, ungovernability and dealing with so-called 'collaborators' and 'sell-outs'," he said.

## Surrounded

Dr Ndlovu said feelings were running high in the area and, with a meeting of Inkatha-controlled chiefs taking place in Empangeni today, there are fears of more violence and attacks.

Three other people in the area whose names appeared on the alleged hit list had been attacked in the past month, he said. One of them, an ANC stalwart, had been killed.

"Mr Gideon Mdletshe's Port Durnford kraal was surrounded by armed vigilantes and he was hacked to death," said Dr Ndlovu.

"He was one of the ANC veterans who joined Inkatha thinking it was a substitute for the ANC and then went back to the ANC when it was unbanned. That was his only crime," Dr Ndlovu said.

The home of former Cosatu regional secretary Jeremiah Ntombela was also attacked, but high fences around the property prevented serious damage.

"The home of another ANC supporter, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, was attacked and destroyed by fire, but he escaped," Dr Ndlovu said.

Talking to the Sunday Times about the hit list did not endanger his life any more than it already was, he said.

"If they are bent on eliminating me, then the world might as well know about it."

He said he had long been singled out by Inkatha as one of its chief opponents. In 1983 he was lambasted by Chief Buthelezi in the Legislative Assembly.

# KwaZulu minister 'formed hit squad to kill opponents'

By S'BU MNGADI

PINETOWN police are searching for two missing members of the KwaZulu Police, known only as Vela and Vusi, who allegedly carried out assassinations in Clermont, Durban, between 1985 and 1989 on the instructions of KwaZulu's Deputy Interior Minister, Samuel Bhekizwe Jamile.

Jamile, 60, a senior member of Inkatha's Central Committee and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was last week charged with five counts of murder, seven of attempted murder and three of incitement to murder. His co-accused, Msizi Hlophe, 19, is implicated in all the charges.

The case is set down for hearing in the Maritzburg Supreme Court on June 4.

Jamile, a prominent herbalist who operates his muti business in Kranskloof, Clermont, was arrested at his Ulundi ministerial home on February 19 - a day after an exclusive article in *City Press* had linked him to the assassinations of five Clermont community leaders and plots to kill others.

Hlophe was arrested weeks earlier. Both men have been repeatedly refused bail.

UDF co-president Archie Gumede is named as one of the people Jamile allegedly tried to kill.

Vela and Vusi are implicated in three murders and plots to kill many other people.

The indictment cites disagreement over the proposed incorporation of the freehold suburb of Clermont into KwaZulu between 1982 and 1985 as having led to the killings.

The defunct Clermont Advisory Board (Cab) under the chairmanship of attorney Aubrey Nyembezi, was opposed to incorporation.

Jamile favoured incorporation.

During September/October 1985, Nyembezi stood for election to Cab while Deputy Minister, and stood for

election to the Inkatha committee against advocate Vuka Tshabalala.

On the night of October 10, 1985 Jamile's men, including Hlophe, fired shots at Nyembezi's house and set it alight with Nyembezi and his wife inside.

Jamile was also a member of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce and Industry, of which businessman and anti-incorporation activist Obed Mthembu was a chairman, while Pearl Tshabalala - wife of advocate Vuka Tshabalala - Zazi Khuzwayo and Emmanuel Khuzwayo, both Cab members, were also members.

On various occasions, the indictment alleges, Jamile clashed with Mrs Tshabalala and Mthembu. One of these incidents resulted in him being ordered by Mthembu to leave the meeting.

Jamile procured a group of men, including Hlope, Vusi and Vela, and incited Thokoza Paulos Ntshalintshali to join the group.

Joseph Bhekuyise Khumalo, who was staying in the Inkatha leader's house, told Richard Phili of the plot.

On hearing this Jamile, accompanied by Vela and two others, allegedly took Khumalo and his girlfriend Thoko Shabalala to a deserted spot in the Mamba Valley in Riverside, where Khumalo was shot three times in the head.

Shabalala's throat was cut with a blunt instrument and she was dragged into the bush and left for dead, but she survived.

On October 15, 1989, on Jamile's instructions, Hlophe fatally gunned down Pearl Tshabalala.

Four days later a group that included Hlophe shot at Obed Mthembu and his wife several times before Mthembu's house was set alight, but the couple escaped.

It is also alleged that Hlophe and another man, acting on Jamile's instructions, killed Clermont taxi operator Nicholas Mkhize on July 15, 1988.

ANC, Inkatha  
chasm widening,  
says Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The chasm between the African National Congress and Inkatha was widening with fewer prospects of ending the Natal violence, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said here.

He was reacting to a report from Washington in which Eastern Cape United Democratic Front leader Mr Mkhusele Jack said it was only a matter of time before Chief Buthelezi would "find himself with no support at all".

"TRAGEDY"

The UDF leader said that Chief Buthelezi should be "left alone" because any attempt to bring him into the Natal peace process would lend him credibility.

Chief Buthelezi said that public statements by members of the ANC and UDF indicating they did not want the ANC's Nelson Mandela to meet the Inkatha leader was widening the chasm between the organisations.

It was a "tragedy" because the Natal violence could never be ended without the involvement of all parties, including Inkatha.

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## Inkatha claim settled

DURBAN. — A damages claim for R150 000 by Inkatha central committee member Mr Thomas Mandla Shabalala against City Press was settled in the Supreme Court here yesterday. The details of the settlement, which was reached out of court, were confidential.

Sec 11/5/90



# Unravelling motives: old and new feuds overlap



A woman with the body of her brother-in-law in the Edendale valley.

The struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC has spread from the large urban concentrations to several rural areas. It has taken different forms.

At Table Mountain, outside Maritzburg, a traditional chief has aligned himself with the ANC. Elsewhere — and especially on the lower South Coast — it has taken the form of youth mobilisation in opposition to the chiefs.

Such a struggle inevitably overlaps with clan-based factional animosities (usually based on competition for scarce resources, followed by blood feuds), which have smouldered in parts of Natal for decades. In places they are difficult to distinguish.

When the occupants of a minibus are massacred in an ambush at mid-Mlolo, is it part of the Umluhulu faction fight (a disputed chieftancy) or part of the urban struggles in Mpmalanga or Kwakwakhutza, which are not too far away?

When Xhuvavi clansmen attack and burn out the territory at Fable Moom-tain of Chief Mhlabuzama Maphumulo, is it over their territorial dispute, which dates back to 1936, or are they fighting as Inkatha against the man who formed the ANC-affiliated Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralasa)?

**The Killing Fields of Natal**  
GRAHAM LINSOOTT

It might be both. It is not easy to unravel. Chief Maphumulo (who has disappeared from public view since the attack on his territory) is an interesting and enigmatic figure.

## Opposition

He was chairman of the Mpmalanga Regional Authority, an organ of the KwaZulu Government, yet had been at loggerteams for years with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He attempted to form a party in opposition to Inkatha, then won a case in the Supreme Court against the KwaZulu government, which had attempted to depose him from the chieftancy.

He allowed large numbers of refugees from unrest areas to settle in his territory, quickly building up a youthful, radicalised population in an area that was otherwise traditional and an Inkatha stronghold. Then came Contralasa (the associa-

The conflict between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC is sometimes difficult to distinguish from clan-based fights. In the third of a series on the Natal violence, The Star looks at this issue.

tion with the neighbouring Ximba clan) and, not too long after its formation, the attacks and the burnings. His radicalised youth fled to Maritzburg.

Today Chief Maphumulo's area is being administered by his traditional Indians (whom is not quite the same thing as by Inkatha).

Chief Maphumulo, chairman of Mpmalanga Regional Authority, chief at Table Mountain, president of Contralasa — and now in hiding — seems to provide some kind of nexus between the struggle in urban Mpmalanga and rural Table Mountain.

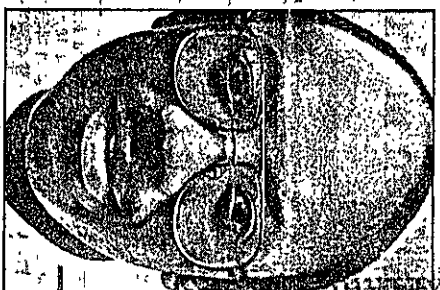
The lower South Coast has suddenly become a cauldron of violence. In the previously somnolent Umluhulu district, more than 40 people died in a month of shootings and burnings. Similar incidents have happened in the townships outside Port Shepstone, where even small children have been beheaded.

A puzzling feature of this violence is the number of abatsakathi (witch-doctors) who have been victims. Witch-burning has never been a feature of Zulu society, and police wonder if it might be part of a campaign to undermine anything traditional.

## Rallying

Four lesser chiefs at Umluhulu have virtually given up administering their areas. Two stronger ones are standing firm and rallying people against what they say is a deliberate UDF/ANC campaign of violence against the institution of chieftancy.

Dr Diliza Mji, a member of the ANC's convening committee for southern Natal, says Inkatha has reacted violently to legitimate mobi-



Diliza Mji of the ANC's southern Natal convening committee.

lisation. It has declared war on youths, he says.

Youths are liable to be shot or beaten simply for wearing T-shirts. Mr Mji says, but the tactic is counter-productive because it is winning for the ANC great numbers of people who were formerly uncommitted.

Personnel of the Inkatha Institute say there have been persistent reports of a mysterious minibus in the Umluhulu district, which is believed to have been distributing money, weapons and literature to the youths, most of whom are unemployed.

The South Coast seems to have provided the latest twist in a spiral of violence that has been halted only by the intervention in large numbers of the Defence Force.

However, Natal's "traditional" violence has not been entirely eclipsed. Eight people died last month in a faction fight at Tugela Ferry, near Greytown (a feud first recorded in 1888). The month before, 20 died at Harding, in southern Natal, in a dispute over grazing rights.

## Mabuza pro-ANC claim

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Enos Mabuza, was involved in promoting a pro-ANC political party in Ingwavuma, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged here yesterday.

Officially opening KwaZulu Conservation Week, Chief Buthelezi alleged that Mr Mabuza had donated a few thousand rand to the party, which was allegedly anti-Inkatha.

Reacting to the statement, Mr Mabuza said the allegations "are quite without foundation". — Sapa

CM-Trip 16/5/90 (116) (117) (118)



Complaints . . . President Mangope

## Mangope to meet govt over right-wing violence

BY JOHN SCOTT

PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is lodging a complaint with the South African government about right-wing violence against citizens of his country.

In an interview here yesterday he told me he had received a report that morning about "two serious assaults on my people for no apparent reason".

In each case the badly beaten victims were hospitalised. One incident occurred just across the border on the road to Rustenberg, and the other near Ventersdorp.

"I don't know whether this is the start of such problems," said Mr Mangope, who could not recall them happening before. "We are taking the matter up with the South African authorities."

The president is also worried about the emergence of left-wing radicalism in his 13-year-old independent state, and suspects the ANC of trying to destabilise his authority.

He refuses to allow the ANC to register a political party in Bophuthatswana, on the grounds that it is not a Bophuthatswanan organisation.

But yesterday he set up a cabinet committee to investigate contact with a whole range of political organisations including the ANC.

"We want to meet such organisa-

tions and keep informed of their policies and principles."

He said he was also keeping his options open in response to constitutional negotiation in SA.

"Any decision to consider amalgamation with South Africa on a federal or confederal basis would depend on the type of constitution the new South Africa has.

"There must be at least two things: The total abolition of apartheid and a new constitution better than the one we already have."

He sees the role of Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi as being crucial in the constitutional talks.

His other two main options were maintaining Bophuthatswana's independence, or joining up with Botswana, which seemed to be less likely.

Asked whether he had ever considered relinquishing the presidency to a successor, he replied: "My future is behind me. I have no ambition. It will be for my people to decide if they still need my services or not."

He mixes freely with the public at the Molopo Sun Hotel opposite the government complex here and even queues up with everyone else at the lunch self-serve carvery.

For a man who has already been abducted in an attempted coup, was he not taking a risk, I asked.

He replied: "You can be assassinated anywhere, even if you take the greatest precautions."

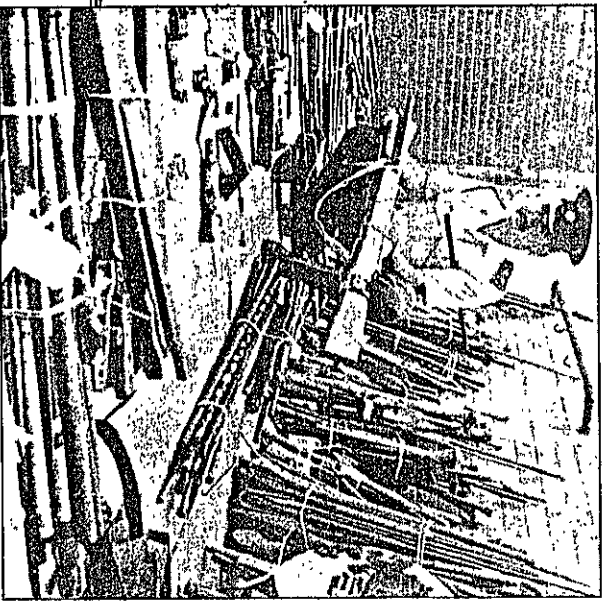
118 SKL 17/5/90

# 'Reef gun-runners' provide arms for the slaughter

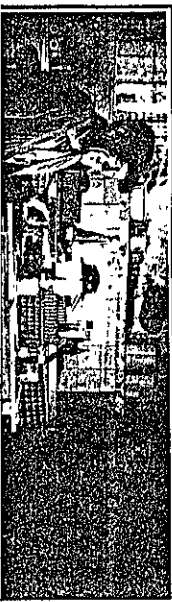
The Killing Fields of Natal  
GRAHAM LINESCOTT



Guns are easily available in Natal, though expensive. In the fourth of a series on the Natal violence, the Star examines this new, frightening dimension of the conflict.



A police officer displays weapons captured in Edendale — a year ago. Despite police action, illegal arms have continued to flood into Natal, so that now there are more than ever before.



You can buy an AK-47 in Natal these days for between R3 000 and R6 000. A fully automatic R-1 service rifle will cost between R1 800 and R2 000, while the less popular R-4 costs between R1 400 and R1 500. Ammunition is R4 a cartridge for the R-1 and the R-4, R150 a clip (R3 a cartridge) for the AK-47. (Long bursts of fire should presumably be avoided.) But people are paying these enormous prices. And the weaponry is available.

Natal is flooded with illegal arms as never before. Ninety percent of the casualties in the conflict have gunshot wounds. A few years ago it would have been less than 50 percent.

Well-placed sources maintain that when Inkatha forces came down the hills at Edendale late in March, they were met initially by withering automatic fire from AK-47s until the defenders lost their nerve and ran.

The police do not altogether discount it. They say it is difficult to gauge Inkatha's losses because they carried away their dead and wounded. The sudden proliferation of modern weaponry brings a new and frightening dimension to the conflict.

## Stepped up

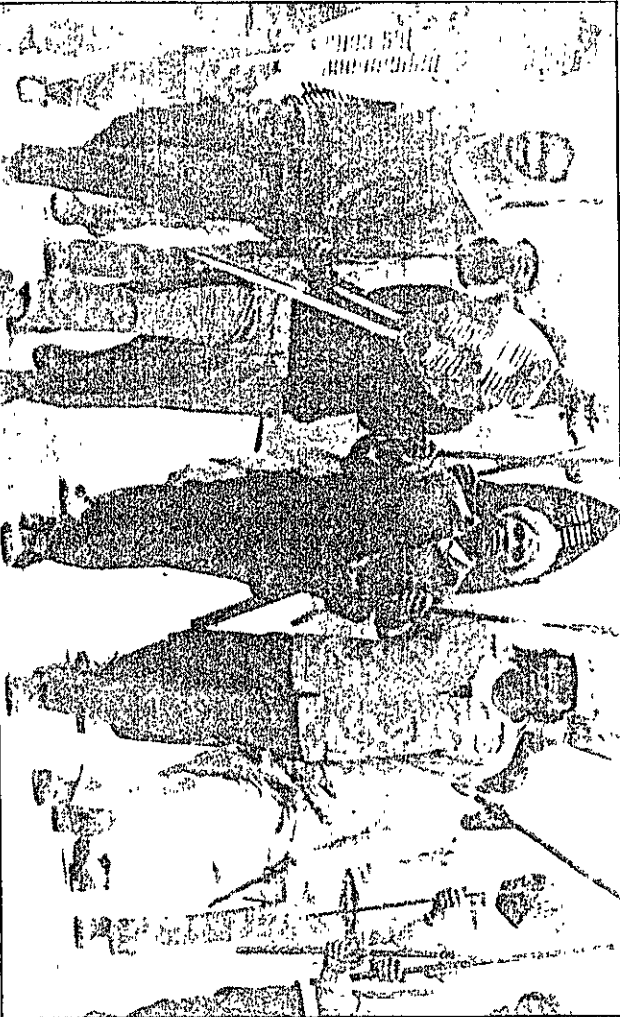
Where are the firearms coming from? Gun-runners on the Reef are supplying them, say the police. Natal always had more than its share of illegal firearms — due to the endemic faction fighting of some rural areas. But now the supply has stepped up.

The police are aware that trained and armed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) groups have infiltrated the conflict areas and have a capacity for training and activating local groups. But they believe MK are not present in significantly greater numbers than before, nor particularly active.

They are not responsible for the sudden availability of weapons, ranging from the AK-47s and R-1s and R-4s mentioned to revolvers, shotguns and the Lee Enfield .303 rifle (still prized at R2 000).

These come from illegal dealers who have horned in on the Natal conflict in the way of arms dealers anywhere in the world. Where they obtain the weapons is uncertain.

AK-47s are relatively rare (hence the price) and probably originate from the war in Angola. R-1s and R-4s are probably stolen or are left-overs from the war in Rhodesia. Another feature of illegal arms in Natal is the



Armed and on the march... Inkatha members in the Edendale area during March carry weapons which are primitive for an area in which 90 percent of casualties of the conflict have gunshot wounds.

number of home-made "Quasha" guns (between R200 and R300 each) which fire bullets of 22 calibre upwards. Some are relatively sophisticated and are turned out for profit in backyard factories.

KwaZulu police recently confiscated a fearsome weapon in which six pipes revolved around a firing-pin. It took 12-bore shotgun cartridges. And it worked.

A source spoke of being offered five World War 2 Sten guns last year at R200 each. Just about every illegal weapon to be had in Natal can be heard in the Mzimbalanga Symptom.

Guns that are heard all night in the township. It sounds like fullscale war, yet usually there are no bodies next day. Police presume that house-

holders with weapons fire them at intervals to warn off all-comers.

The police and the army are making systematic weapons sweeps and are confiscating huge numbers, they say. Yet they do it with mixed feelings because they realise many of the firearms discovered are owned for defensive rather than offensive purposes.

"These places are so dangerous you can't blame a man for wanting a gun," said one senior officer. "The only thing to do is sweep the whole area clean."

The number of weapons held has sobering implications. It obviously increases the risk to which the security forces are exposed. And it means that further conflict could be a great deal more bloody.

**TOMORROW**  
The difficult role of the SADF.

Darrat counte hae



# Buthelezi invites ANC, UDF, Cosatu to talk

Stc 16/5/90 Political Reporter

KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday issued an invitation to leaders of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu to meet him and the leadership of Inkatha to find a solution to the violence in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi, reacting to accusatory press statements allegedly made by the leaders of the three organisations, said in a statement his hand of friendship had always been extended to those who wanted to talk to him, and this policy remained.

He said statements issued simultaneously to the press by the ANC, Cosatu and students at the University of Natal attacking the KwaZulu police and himself as the homeland's Minister of Police with regard to the Natal violence were "clearly a concerted campaign" to further destabilise his government.

The ANC convenor for southern Natal, Patrick Lekota, said yesterday the ANC would renounce the armed struggle if Inkatha was disarmed and Chief Buthelezi's powers as Minister of Police were removed by the Government.

"This is only fair. We cannot expect our people to lay down their arms if they are still being attacked," he said at a meeting at the University of Natal.

areas, but has so far been quiescent.

involved.

attempt to end the violence in the area.

# KwaZulu police accused of taking sides as 'Inkatha in uniform'



On guard ... South African Defence Force men in full combat gear stand outside an Umlazi police station to prevent clashes between local residents and members of the KwaZulu police. At the beginning of April, more than 100 000 protesters staged a demonstration against the presence of the KwaZulu police in the area.

The KwaZulu Police (KZP) in particular come in for harsh criticism and allegations of partiality towards Inkatha in the townships they control, such as Umlazi and KwaMashu.

An application for restraint on the KZP is now before the Natal Supreme Court. It alleges indiscriminate shootings in KwaMashu.

Dliza Mji says the KZP are Inkatha in uniform and are directly responsible for the violence in the townships.

"There is no Inkatha any more in these areas, except in the KZP. They are doing the fighting, they are keeping the violence in Natal stirred up, so that people will believe there still is an Inkatha," Dr Mji says.

Roy Ainslie says the KZP are an irritant. Their attitude is provocative and aggressive.

"At a UDF funeral in KwaMashu a few weeks ago, the KZP arrived and started driving their vehicles right at the marshals and aiming their weapons at them.

"It was highly provocative and I had to go and get the Defence Force to come between the two sides.

"At another UDF funeral the KZP arrived and said it had been banned. Crowds were there, the coffins were being brought down the hillside. It was crazy.

"When I remonstrated, they threatened to shoot me. I got in my car and once again had to call in the Defence Force to get things sorted

out."

Brigadier Jac Buchner, Commissioner of KwaZulu Police, categorically denies his men are involved in the conflict on any side.

"We support the lawful authority, which is the KwaZulu Government. To the extent that Inkatha is part of that lawful government, I suppose you could say we support Inkatha.

"But when we encounter armed people gathering, we act against them no matter who they are. These things usually happen at night and it is impossible to tell which side they are on.

"We have had occasions when we have come across an armed group of Inkatha people and they have put down their weapons, saying 'We're Inkatha', expecting to be left alone. They were very surprised when we arrested them.

"We have had occasions when UDF people have pretended to be Inkatha, putting down their weapons and expecting to be let go. They were just as surprised when we arrested them."

Brigadier Buchner says the KZP is a highly disciplined force. Certain individuals have stepped out of line during the conflict and they have been placed under arrest.

"Every round of ammunition has to be accounted for. Any shooting incident is investigated by an officer who makes inquiries in the area.

"My men are working under enormous difficulties and in great personal danger. They are concerned only with law and order."

11B

18/5/90

**AWB** *Cart*  
*Truth 8/11*  
**shock at** *170*  
**'drastic** *HB*  
**defection** *11B*

PRETORIA. — The AWB has reacted with shock to the announcement by Blanke Veiligheid leader Mr Hennie Muller that he had joined Inkatha.

"Is he not aware of the fact, and the lessons from the past, that Zulus would definitely not protect Boer women and children?" AWB chief secretary Mr C A "Kays" Smith said in a statement yesterday.

The AWB executive committee had learnt with surprise and shock of Mr Muller's drastic step to join Inkatha, Mr Smit said.

Inkatha recently denied that Mr Muller, leader of a white group in Welkom said by many blacks to be vigilantes, had joined the Zulu nationalist organisation. — Sapa

**crack of dawn**



No, Dear, Father Christmas hasn't come early this year. That's a heavily disguised member of the CCB going to give evidence to the Harm's Commission.

**Syfrets Cape Times**

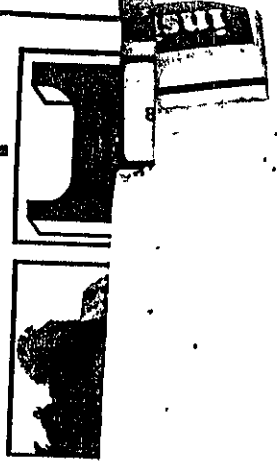
**Share Challenge**

**TODAY'S PRIZE:**  
**R400**

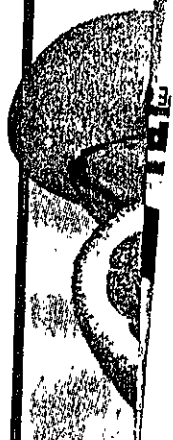
**TODAY'S INDEX:**  
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# Warlord did not live to face murder charges

By S'BU MNGADI and SAPA

**NOTORIOUS** Inkatha warlord and Imbali town councillor, Jerome Mncwabe, who died in a hail of AK47 gunfire in his own backyard this week, is believed to have been behind the recent killing of South African Council of Churches official Rev Victor Africander.

But Mncwabe's family and Inkatha colleagues this week claimed he "would not hurt a fly" and was a "scapegoat for others' offences".

Across the road from his house and elsewhere in Maritzburg, people openly celebrated, saying "it's long overdue".

Police spokesman Lt Henry Budhram said Mncwabe was shot in the left shoulder and back at 7.30pm on Wednesday as he opened his kitchen door. He was certified dead on arrival at Grey's Hospital.

At 9.30pm on Thursday, Mncwabe's neighbour Mbhaveni Ngcobo - a UDF activist - was also gunned down in his taxi.

Police confirmed Mncwabe had been held for a few hours after the assassination of SACC executive member Africander at Imbali on May 3. The priest was driving his six-year-old granddaughter Thandekile to school when he was shot by a man wearing a balaclava.

A pistol found in Mncwabe's possession a few metres from the scene was sent to ballistics experts in Pretoria for tests, but police cited lack of evidence for the suspect's release.

Mncwabe had two murder charges and one indict over his head at the time of his death.

In November 1987, Mncwabe - a former security guard - was charged along with Nko-

sinathi Mncwabe, for the murder of Mduduzi Dlamini, Bongani Mselelu and Victor Mthiyane in Imbali. Mncwabe admitted shooting the two youths at point blank range, but said it was in self-defence. He was found not guilty.

Mncwabe appeared in court charged with the murder of Sipho Magubane in August 1988. He was released on bail of R200.

He appeared in court again in August 1989, accused of murdering National Metalworkers' Union of South Africa shop steward Jabu Ndlovu, her husband and their daughter, Khumbuzile. He was released on R750 bail.

With Themba Mtshali and a 17-year-old youth, he was charged with the murder of Sifiso Zondi, who was shot dead on December 2, 1989.

Prosecutor SG Maritz said Mncwabe was known as a "warlord" in Maritzburg.

Mncwabe denied this. He was released on R1 000 bail in February.

On Friday police confirmed several people had been questioned in connection with Mncwabe's death and that two AK47 cartridges were found at the scene.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by K Naldeo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

4/11/90 (11/8)

### **Inkatha may debate membership**

INKATHA members are expected to open organisation membership to all races after its annual meeting later this year.

Inkatha general secretary Dr. Oscar Dhlomo said the central committee had already taken such a decision, but had "no power constitutionally to determine policy without the general conference".

# Thousands march in anti-sanctions rally

CAP TINTS 21/5/90 118

DURBAN. — Between 5 000 and 8 000 Inkatha followers jammed the streets in Durban's city centre at midday on Saturday, to present memoranda to the consuls of the United States, Britain, West Germany and Italy.

The marchers chanted and toyi-toyed their way to the offices of the British consul, where memoranda were handed to representatives of the four countries.

The memoranda, read out in public, expressed the appreciation of the black communities of Natal-KwaZulu to the governments for their stand against discriminatory government practices in South Africa.

However, a call was made to these governments to start restoring South Africa's economy by lifting existing barriers to free trade and investment.

The memoranda also expressed approval of the exploratory talks held recently between the South African government and the ANC. — Sapa

# Bop looks at option of joining 'new SA'

By DON LILFORD, News Editor

17/6/90 22/5/90 118

ON the tricky question of possible incorporation in the "new" South Africa, Bophuthatswana is playing the cards as close to its chest as a Sun City black-jack dealer.

## POLITICS

While leaders in other independent homelands — notably Transkei and Ciskei — have wasted no time in calling for consolidation, Bop is keeping its options open.

Far and away the most successful of the independents, it has the most to lose — historically and materially — from a bad spin of the wheel of fortune.

## Options

In Bop today, three options are being considered:

- To remain a sovereign independent state within South Africa's boundaries.
- To join South Africa in a still-to-be-devised federal system.
- To unite with neighbouring Botswana;

Emotionally it is the third option that appeals to most of the opinion-makers in this tiny nation of 3 000 000 people.

They regard the people of Botswana as "blood brothers" who became separated when British Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1895, while Northern Bechuanaland (Botswana) remained a British Protectorate.

## Reunification

While, spiritually, the Batswana people may be one, there are many obstacles in the way of reunification. Not least is the fact that Botswana — as a member of the Organisation for African Unity and a frontline state — cannot appear to be too friendly with a country that, internationally at any rate, is still regarded as a South African surrogate.

Reincorporation into South Africa would seem to be the logical step. But that does not

appear to find much favour at present, despite the fact that Bophuthatswana is heavily dependent on South Africa — for all its energy needs, among other things.

Having regained national identity, the Batswana people are fearful of being dominated again by one or other of the groups currently engaged in the power struggle in Southern Africa.

The spectre of the ANC, which they perceive as Xhosa-dominated, looms large in the minds of many decision-makers.

"We take our independence very seriously and we are looking at all the options," President Lucas Mangope told a party of visiting South African newspapermen in Mmabatho recently.

"Obviously we are watching developments in South Africa very closely. Should they come up with a constitution which we feel is an improvement on our own, we might ask for incorporation in a federal system."

## Style

The bottom line, he said, would have to be no discrimination in any shape or form. And, certainly, the capital, Mmabatho, is a shining example of how different races and cultures can mix in harmony in Southern Africa.

The city has a wonderfully relaxed and unselfconscious air, quite unlike anything I have experienced in South Africa.

This may be due, in part, to the laid-back style of the president. He eats regularly at the Molopo Sun and his presence there does not so much as raise an eyebrow. On the day we had lunch there, he took his place in the queue for the buffet, his only obvious bodyguard an alert young man who stood close by, eyes flicking over the other diners, while the president selected his nosh. Those diners, incidentally, seemed to come from all parts of the globe.

Second to the absence of racial tension, it was the style



President Mangope

and quality of the young people in Bop which impressed me most. Almost without exception those we met were articulate, well informed, confident and forward looking.

Just one example of this occurred when we were taken on a tour of the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation's new headquarters in Mmabatho. We were shown into a studio where a young woman radio announcer was presenting her daily programme.

## Panache

In between making announcements in several languages, answering phone calls from listeners, playing records and articulating advertising "puffs", she somehow found time to answer rapid-fire questions from a bunch of inquisitive journalists. She handled the ordeal with the panache of a veteran.

"How old are you?" asked one.

"Twenty," she replied.

"Obviously overtrained," murmured another, before putting his question: "Where did you study?"

"Right here in Bop," came the reply. "I've never worked anywhere else."

Everywhere we went there was the same evidence of young, highly-trained people taking over positions of responsibility. The fledgling air force, for example, has two

qualified born-in-Bop pilots. It is about to launch its own pilot training scheme, using Swiss-built aircraft and former SAAF instructors who have become citizens of the country.

In the 13 years since independence, Bophuthatswana's achievements have been considerable. With platinum the cornerstone of the economy (the country produces 40 per cent of the world's requirements), Bop has balanced its budget for the last four years and has almost eliminated foreign debt. There are imaginative programmes to stimulate industrial development and improve social welfare.

And, earlier this year, Sun International Bophuthatswana (SunBop) announced it would spend R1 000 million expanding Sun City and building a new resort at Babelegi, north of Pretoria.

## Indications

While the potential is there, the problems, too, are immense. There are enormous difficulties in educating and uplifting a population, 80 per cent of whom live in rural areas. There are physical difficulties, too, resulting from the fragmentation of Bop into six landlocked "islands" stretching in a crescent from north of Pretoria to Thaba Nchu on the Lesotho border. (The claim in Mmabatho is that the majority of the farmers on the land in between actually favour incorporation with Bop).

There are problems from non-Batswanas settling in areas such as Ga-Rankuwa, near Pretoria, where there have been outbreaks of unrest that have adversely affected business confidence and the tourist industry.

However, the indications are that Bophuthatswana can overcome these difficulties — if it is left to determine its future by the High Rollers who are playing for such heady stakes in Southern Africa at present

**Political Staff**

**THE** KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's search for a local constitutional option has been put on hold because of the planned "great indaba", which appears closer than expected.

A terse joint statement by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator, and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, after a meeting yesterday between the delegations, said: "It was agreed that in view of the impending national ne-

**Natal Indaba put on hold**

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gotiations, pursuit of constitutional options at a regional level should be held in abeyance."

It is understood that while this does not necessarily mean the end of the Natal Indaba, it will mean a delay in formal

consideration and therefore any possibility of the implementation of its proposals.

With the "great indaba" in mind, it appears the government is determined to get national negotiations going.

Dr Viljoen said that Indaba should be given the opportunity of submitting its proposals to the coming national negotiations.

President F W de Klerk has repeatedly stated that the talks should be as representative as possible.



# Inkatha leaders knew of 'hit squads', says officer

*South 23/5 - 29/5/90*

*11B*

ANOTHER piece of the puzzle of the KwaZulu Police (ZP) hit squad scandal in Natal fell into place last week when a ZP officer confirmed its existence. In an affidavit to a Durban lawyer.

The policeman claimed there were two hit squad units — one under the leadership of a deputy commissioner of Police.

Claiming that Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) members were also aware of the hit squad's existence, the policeman is set to shake the pillars of power at Ulundi in Dirk Coetzee-style with his revelations.

It will also give added impetus to the campaign of the African

National Congress (ANC) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to press State President FW de Klerk to strip KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthezi of his police powers.

## Attacked

Claiming that both hit squad units were based in Ulundi, the policeman sketched out their composition and tasks, and identified two training camps — one at Amatikulu, the other at Umkuze.

According to the policeman, former ANC guerillas who joined the ZP belonged to the hit squad.

"These persons are highly trained as ANC guerillas and were

at Amatikulu, a training camp for the KwaZulu Police.

"They attacked UDF activists in all the areas in Natal," the policeman claimed.

Luthuli, Constable VP Shange and Constable MV Ngubane (also known as Tallman) were "responsible for attacks on comrades at Mpumalanga", the policeman said.

"During the day, they (police) would perform official duties and at night work with vigilantes and attack UDF supporters and activists," he said.

According to the policeman, all ZPs were told to be Inkatha members. On a "certain day" the whole unit in Ulundi had to produce membership cards, he claimed.

"But, in order for them to carry fire-arms, they are given documents as police reservists," the policeman alleged.

Special constables were used to guard Inkatha members and obtained arms and ammunition when an attack was to take place.

## Arrested

"There is an instruction that members of Inkatha should not be arrested by the KwaZulu Police.

"When an Inkatha person is arrested, a phone call is made to Ulundi and an instruction is conveyed for the release of that person," the policeman claimed.

Rumours of a ZP hit squad have been circulating for the past month, with the first revelation being made by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Sayco said hit squad members received training in Israel.

Subsequent reports — which appeared to be independent of Sayco's sources — said the hit squad received training for seven months to use weapons such as AK 47 rifles, Uzis, G3s, mortars and limpet mines, and training in unarmed combat, releasing hostages, intelligence and security.

## Sebe staying rent-free in government house

*Chit. Times* 23/5/90 Political Staff *116* *118*

THE former life president of Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, is not paying rent for the government-owned house he is staying in at Waterkloof Heights, Pretoria, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

The house was owned by the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, he said in reply to a question tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr Lester Fuchs (DP, Hillbrow).

Mr Wessels also said the military government in Ciskei had not been officially recognised by the South African government.

**W**ILL South Africa, or Azania as some prefer to call it, go the same route as other African states after independence?

We don't want to suffer endless conflict like that between the MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola, or that between the Frelimo government under President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo bandits in Mozambique - or even that between President Robert Mugabe's Zanu government and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu in Zimbabwe.

As the ANC enters a new phase of preparing to negotiate with the government, political organisations to its left and right are openly showing anger at being left out in the cold.

Their disapproval of the ANC/NP negotiation process - which started with talks about talks in Cape Town recently - could easily lead to the same problems as in Angola, Mozambique or Zimbabwe.

So strong is this feeling that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has openly appealed for political tolerance among all anti-apartheid movements.

He probably raised this matter with other African

## □ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyela

class 27/5/90

# Stop this infighting



I also agree with Mandela when he says the ANC is not the only player in the political game and that other anti-apartheid forces have contributed to the liberation struggle.

What black people want to see is a programme of action from each organisation.

We would hate to see a day when those who fought National Party rule are labelled dissidents or bandits simply because they hold different political views.

We would hate to see Itumeleng Mosala of Azapo, Mthopeng of the PAC and others who paid a heavy price for the liberation of their people forced out of parliament while others such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Hudson Ntsanwisi and other homeland and community council leaders are making laws inside parliament.

This is the time to start speaking with one voice, and the only way to do so is to form the strong alliance that Mandela is speaking about.

If we waste time by fighting each other now and in a post-apartheid era, we will be taking pressure off the NP government.

It is this unity that Mandela believes will give rise to an alliance of all black forces.

I could not agree more with him. There is no doubt that the ANC, being the oldest liberation movement in South Africa, has better and more organised structures than other black liberation movements.

The attendance at political rallies since the ANC was unbanned shows it has mass support.

The marches that have taken place in most major cities in an effort to force the government to dismantle petty apartheid have paid off. Some of the important results are the opening of hospitals and possibly white government schools next year.

post-apartheid South Africa. As a result, Mandela held meetings with Azapo of the black consciousness movement, and privately met PAC president Zeph Mthopeng in an effort to form an alliance of all anti-apartheid groups.

These efforts are aimed at redirecting the liberation struggle towards a common enemy rather than dispersing it through infighting.

The ANC has painstakingly avoided criticising other anti-apartheid movements, Mandela told black editors in an informal meeting this week.

"I have insisted on this for the simple reason that I believe in unity in action," he said.

leaders on his recent tours of African states.

The ANC is presently enjoying centre stage and appears to be stealing the limelight from other political organisations. Its leaders have talked with President de Klerk's government, much to the anger and annoyance of the PAC and Azapo.

These groups have criticised the ANC for selling out and pretending to be the sole and authentic representatives of blacks.

This may just be the beginning of worse things to come should the ANC be the next government.

One man who seems to be aware of this danger is Mandela, who this week spoke openly about his fears of dissident groups in a

# Inkatha to become political party

ULUNDI — Inkatha is transforming itself "from a liberation movement into an all-South African political party", Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office in Ulundi has announced.

This decision was taken at an Inkatha central committee meeting in the KwaZulu capital at the weekend.

According to a statement, the committee said Inkatha would be "a major player in the elections which will follow the politics of negotiation" in South Africa.

"There must be at least three contenders in the striving to establish a new democratic government," the statement said in an apparent reference to the ongoing talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

"Otherwise, South Africa will emerge as the consequences of the kind of give-and-take which is no more than the division of the spoils of war between the only two contending parties," it added.

Inkatha called specifically on "all other black political organisations not to treat South Africa as a place where the spoils of war should be sought".

## Tolerance

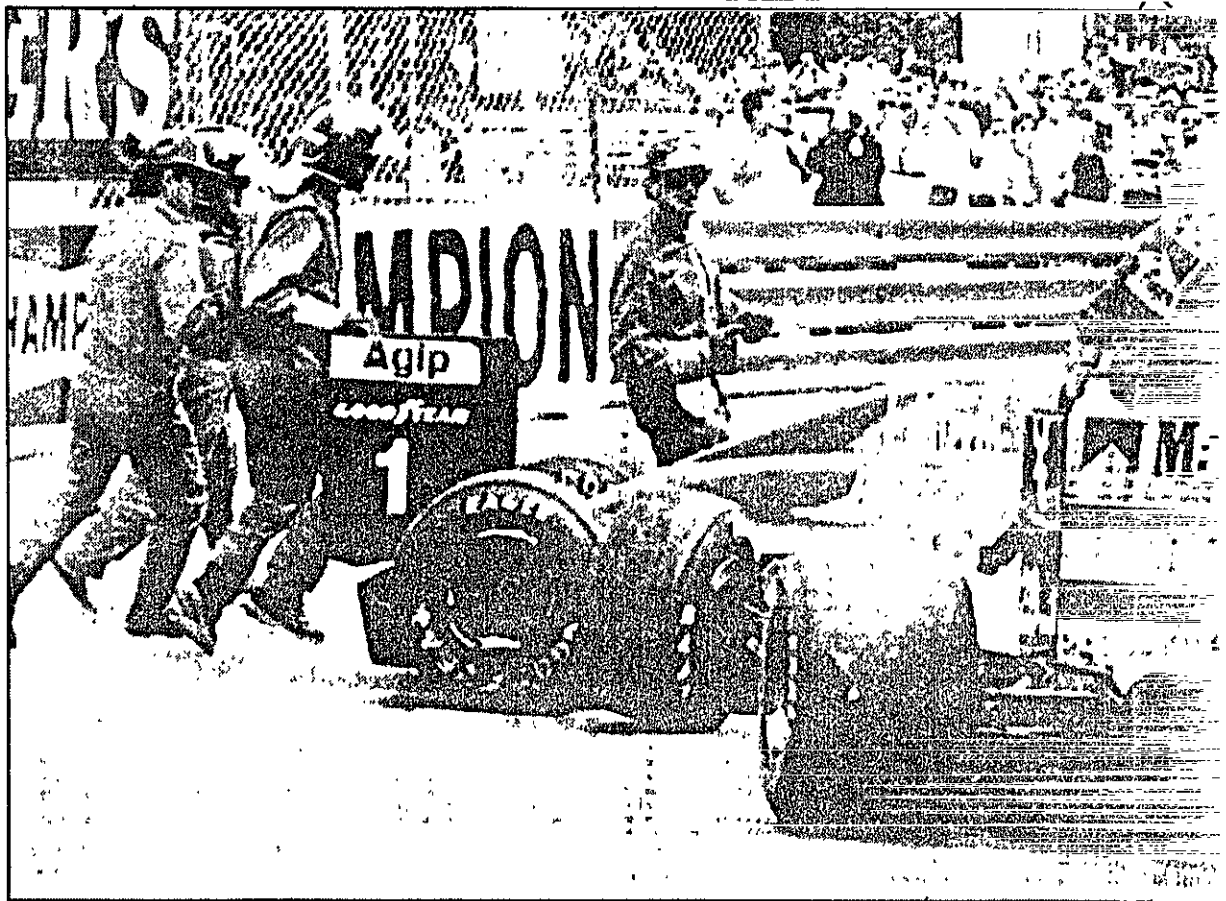
Inkatha called "on all political organisations, and particularly all black political organisations, to be as tolerant to opposition as they would expect a ruling party to be tolerant to opposition after the election which will follow negotiations".

There was a specific request that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela hold discussions with Chief Buthelezi "in order to ensure the maximum degree of peace and stability within which all political groups have free and open access to all black communities.

The central committee pledged "to encourage a really full representation of South African political interests in the politics of negotiation by independently thinking participants who are respected in their own rights."

Regarding the violence in Natal, the central committee maintained that there had never been any official Inkatha decision "to employ violence for political purposes".

It also denied allegations that some 200 Inkatha members had undergone military training in Israel, or that members had been trained for hit squads anywhere outside South Africa. — Sapa.



First-lap crash . . . Alain Prost begins to climb out of his Ferrari after the collision with Gerhard Berger's McLaren. The race was won, for the second year in a row, by Brazil's Ayrton Senna.

# Senna races to narrow Grand Prix

MONTE CARLO — Ayrton Senna of Brazil won the Grand Prix of Monaco for the second straight year yesterday, leading from start to finish and beating France's Jean Alesi by 1.087 sec.

For Senna, in a McLaren-Honda, it was his third Monaco victory. Alesi, in a Tyrrell-Ford, had to hold off Senna's teammate, Gerhard Berger of Austria, in the later stages of the 78-lap race over 259.58 km.

Thierry Boutsen of Belgium finished fourth, with Alex Caffi of Italy and Eric Bernard of France another lap back in fifth

and sixth.

Senna had built a lead of more than 26 seconds by the end of 60 laps. With Berger pushing Alesi and Senna having slight problems, the margin was cut over the last 18 laps.

The victory increased Senna's lead in the world championship standings to 22, five more than Berger.

Senna finished in 1 hour, 52 min, 46.982 sec, for an average speed of 138.097 km/h, which broke his 1989 record.

"I was too aggressive early," Senna said. "After two-thirds of

the race I had problems with the engine and started to slow down. And when you slow down, you lose the ultimate pressure in the engine. I was slowing down to minimise the risk."

Two of Senna's major rivals were involved in a first-lap crash that caused a restart of the race. Berger's McLaren-Honda crashed into Alain Prost's Ferrari as Berger tried to pass Prost on the inside of a hairpin turn just past the casino.

The wreckage blocked the track and caused a 30-minute delay. Neither driver was injured and they jogged back to

the pits to get into

Prost's back-up car for a few laps. On the 31st lap, the pits with batteries and never returned.

Another Ferrari, Nigel Mansell of Britain, had a hard charge during a pit stop to

He moved from 11th to 10th by the 64th lap but had gearshift problems.

So far this season Senna won the US Grand Prix, the Brazilian Grand Prix, and the San Marino Grand Prix.

The next race is in

## Italian champion motorcyclist is killed

RIJEKA (Yugoslavia) — Italian rider Eros Manfredini was killed in an accident shortly after the start of a 250 cc European championship motorcycle race yesterday, track doctors said.

Manfredini (21), was involved in pile-up, involving 12 other riders, on the first bend of the race.

The crash occurred after Luxembourg rider Ivo Pavalainen hit a straw-ball 300 m from the

start while travelling at 200 kph.

He fell and his Yamaha's petrol tank exploded. Other riders crashed in the confusion and Manfredini, also riding a Yamaha, was hit by motorcycles trying to escape the melee. He died instantly.

Track doctors said six riders were injured in the accident, including Briton Nigel Bisworth and Hollander Joergen Van der Gruenenbergh who were taken to Rijeka's emergency medical centre. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Dutch b

DALECIN (Czech) Dutchman Dave Strydom was taken to hospital after a crash during the 250 cc motorcycle race yesterday, the Czech agency reported.

No other rider was injured. The race was

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NEWS

# Inkatha to become political party

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This decision was taken at an Inkatha central committee meeting in the KwaZulu capital at the weekend.

According to a statement, the committee said Inkatha would be "a major player in the elections which will follow the politics of negotiation" in South Africa.

"There must be at least three contenders in the striving to establish a new democratic government," the statement said in an apparent reference to the ongoing talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

"Otherwise, South Africa will emerge as the consequences of the kind of give-and-take which is no more than the division of the spoils of war between the only two contending parties," it added.

Inkatha called specifically on "all other black political organisations not to treat South Africa as a place where the spoils of war should be sought".

## Tolerance

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Regarding the violence in Natal, the central committee maintained that there had never been any official Inkatha decision "to employ violence for political purposes".

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# Inkatha enters fray

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"There must be at least three contenders in the striving for a new democratic government," it said in an apparent reference to the talks between the Government and the ANC.

## Spoils

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CAPE TOWN 28/5/90

# Inkatha 'changing to all-SA party'

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ment," the statement said in an apparent reference to the on-going talks between the South African government and the ANC.

"Otherwise South Africa will emerge as the consequences of the kind of give-and-take that is no more than the division of the spoils of war between the only two contending parties," it added.

Inkatha called on all other black political organisations to "treat South Africa as a place where the healing of the scars of war ought to be nurtured".

The committee also asked that

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela hold discussions with Chief Buthelezi "to ensure the maximum degree of peace and stability" for all black political groups.

The committee said there had never been any official Inkatha decision to employ violence in Natal for political purposes.

It also denied allegations that 200 Inkatha members had undergone military training in Israel, or that members had been trained for hit squads anywhere outside South Africa. — Sapa

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# Inkatha awaits Treurnicht ire

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha expects Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht to be their strongest opponent at the pending negotiations.

Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, speaking at a press briefing, said there was no better weapon than talking about differences.

He said Inkatha had had no problem talking to the CP. Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, when a member of the National Party, once led a delegation in talks with Inkatha.

## Strongest

Dr Dhlomo predicted that Inkatha's strongest opponent at the negotiations would be Dr Treurnicht "because he represents a direct antithesis of what we all stand for: power-sharing through negotiations, peaceful change, and the abolition of apartheid".

Inkatha did not see the ANC as an opponent, because "we

share the same objectives.

"We differ so vehemently on strategies to get there that our differences appear to be differences of principle.

"We would not say we are more moderate than the ANC, just more pragmatic."

Right-wing groups would not be a danger if the present momentum towards negotiation was maintained, he said.

For the new constitution to have credibility with most South Africans it should be negotiated by as many people as possible.

Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha would emerge leaner and sharper through its conversion to a political party aimed at non-racial elections for a new government.

People would be held together in the party by common interests and common ideology, rather than skin colour.

Of the political violence in Natal, Dr Dhlomo said it could end only with a joint effort — reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC.



# Actstop plans meeting with Vlok on attacks

28/5/90

By Abel Mushi

AB

In a bid to counter alleged police and Inkatha attacks on its members, Actstop announced last week that it was planning to meet with the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss the issue.

Cas Coovadia, Actstop's publicity secretary said that the organisation had already spoken to the Democratic Party to arrange a meeting with the Commissioner of Police.

Actstop claims that on January 11 this year, the landlord of Goldway Mansions in Johannesburg had ordered an "impi" of Inkatha men to assault tenants after he had had disputes with them about rent and the condition of the building.

On April 26, the organisation claims, the chairman of the West Rand branch of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza, led about 50 Inkatha youths who broke down doors, damaged furniture and assaulted tenants of Claridge Court in Joubert Park.

Tenants were told by the police to go back and stay in Soweto when they reported the matter and charges were only accepted when an attorney intervened.

It is also alleged that plain-clothes policemen from John Vorster Square raided Heathgate Court in Joubert Park on May 15 and broke down the door of an Actstop official Nathaniel Kgaria.

The police arrested the naked Mr Kgaria on suspicion that he was an immigrant. Mr Kgaria, who pleaded not guilty, was released on bail.

An Inkatha spokesman said the organisation did not condone any acts of violence from their members.

He told The Star that the organisation would contact Mr Themba Khoza to get an account of what happened.

Stressing that the police acted only within the boundaries of the law, an SAP spokesman said a policeman guilty of such misconduct would have to "explain his actions in a court of law or to his superiors in terms of the Police Act."

He denied claims that the police had harassed Actstop members in particular.

**'Surprise' at  
attack by  
Mandela**

MABOPANE. — Mr Nelson Mandela's stinging attack on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the Pretoria rally at the weekend is unlikely to affect the homeland's effort to meet the ANC.

In reaction to the tongue-lashing, the office of the president in Mmabatho said the attack "did cause some surprise".

It added: "We are a country which has... an attitude of peace, goodwill, harmony and good relationships with our neighbours and organisations of goodwill who are working towards stability and freedom in the sub-continent." — Sapa

FIM 116190

liaisons have taken place, but this one doesn't seem on. All the two have in common is conflict with the ANC and some other groups in extra-parliamentary politics. And even then, Inkatha's opposition to the ANC is far more subtle and complex than that of the CP. (S) (113) (S)

Buthelezi used to be an ANC member; Inkatha was originally formed with the blessing of the ANC's external mission, later to part on ideological differences. The CP's dislike of the ANC is much more simple — they represent its worst fears about a black takeover.

This can probably be seen in Buthelezi's response to Treurnicht's call for the chief minister to join his stand against the "ANC, communism and terrorism," made at Saturday's Voortrekker Monument rally.

It would not be surprising if Buthelezi had



Treurnicht

Buthelezi

his tongue in his cheek when he replied that the CP leader should join his stand against intimidation politics, because then "he would ... have to do the only thing that can possibly be done to ensure that peace, stability and prosperity characterise the future — ensure that the 1912 aims and objectives of the ANC are actually put into practice and form the basis of much of the legislation which will govern a future democratic and prosperous SA."

Which does bring up a second similarity between the respective leaders: while Treurnicht felt so strongly about Nat leaders deviating from the original Verwoerdian line that he split from the party and formed the CP, Buthelezi feels that some ANC leaders, particularly those on the external mission, have betrayed the original aims of the organisation he once belonged to. ■

CP AND INKATHA FIM 116190

### Not on the cards (S)

Talk of an alliance between Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is intriguing. But it's unlikely to happen, judging by the two leaders' references to each other at the weekend. (S) (113)

On the Machiavellian dictum that "my enemy's enemy is my friend," some bizarre

# Inkatha dealt major blow as Dhlomo quits

W/ARCOS 2/6/90  
Weekend Argus Correspondent (116)

DURBAN. — Inkatha and the Kwazulu government were dealt a major blow when the influential Dr Oscar Dhlomo announced his resignation from politics.

Dr Dhlomo, 47, Inkatha's general secretary and the Minister of Education and Culture in Kwazulu, announced in the Legislative Assembly at Ulundi yesterday that he would resign from Inkatha, the Cabinet and the Assembly at the end of the month.

Dr Dhlomo said that it was "time for him to make way for others" and that he had informed Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his decision to resign.

He has been Chief Buthelezi's most trusted lieutenant and number two in Inkatha. He has had a strong moderating influence on Kwazulu politics.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

"I thanked him for affording me the opportunity to make a modest contribution in the service of our people," Dr Dhlomo said.

"After June 30, I intend to rest and reflect on various options pertaining to my future occupation."

Dr Dhlomo added that he wished to devote more time to his family and other interests.

He has made a significant contribution to Kwazulu/Natal and South African politics in the past decade.

He was instrumental in Kwazulu's decision not to accept independent status from the South African government — a decision which thwarted the National Party's homelands policy and was one of the factors bringing about its eventual collapse.

He played a leading role in the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba, the creation of the Joint Executive Authority and in discussions between Ulundi and Pretoria on South Africa's political future.

Dr Dhlomo tried hard to secure an end to the political violence in Natal and Kwazulu and bring about peace.

He played a key role in the peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance last year, which culminated in the signing of a joint peace treaty. This treaty was later rejected by the Inkatha Central Committee, which placed a moratorium on the peace talks.

Politicians said they did not expect Dr Dhlomo's absence from politics to be permanent.

The Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, said he had expected Dr Dhlomo's resignation for a long time, but declined to comment further.

Chief Buthelezi said he regretted Dr Dhlomo's resignation.

"I am sure that Dr Dhlomo will succeed admirably in whatever he chooses to do after he has had a period of rest and after he has had time to consider his options."

(118) Star 2/6/90

# Race on for the new Zulu crown prince

THE race for political succession to the crown of KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is now wide open following the dramatic resignation yesterday of Inkatha general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Dr Dhlomo's announcement of his resignation — effective on June 30 — from Inkatha, the Kwazulu Cabinet and the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly could lead to severe jockeying as candidates attempt to fill the post of crown prince, a position Dr Dhlomo clearly held, observers said.

The Inkatha official's career rise in Inkatha and national politics has been meteoric in the short time that he has been active.

## Honours

Born 47 years ago in Umbumbulu, the soft-spoken Dhlomo graduated with a BA in history and anthropology from the University College of Zululand before obtaining a University Education Diploma.

With his certificates under his belt, he spent a stint as a teacher at a Durban school while continuing his studies. He obtained a BA Honours degree from Unisa in 1970.

In 1974, Dhlomo was appointed as a lecturer in didactics at Zulu-

## Dhlomo's resignation rocks the boat



**DR OSCAR DHLOMO: Meteoric rise in KwaZulu.**

land's university. One year later, he gained his M Ed.

After gaining sponsorship, Dr Dhlomo travelled to Britain, the US and several African countries where he researched teaching training for his doctoral thesis, which he was awarded through Unisa in 1980.

His political career began in 1977 when he resigned his lectureship and entered the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

According to "Who's Who in South African Politics", he said he was joining the assembly as Chief Buthelezi needed support in his stand against accepting homeland independence.

In May 1978, he was appointed to the KwaZulu Cabinet, taking the portfolio of Minister of Education and Culture. The following month, he became the secretary-general of Inkatha YeNkululeko Ye Sizwe — the national cultural liberation movement.

His positions in both posts have never been challenged to any degree and many observers agree that he has acquitted himself admirably.

## Violence

It was Dr Dhlomo who sat on a joint Inkatha-UDF/Cosatu working group in an attempt to end the bitter internecine violence in Natal. Similarly, he travelled the globe putting forward the views of Inkatha.

Apart from schools in the strife-torn area of Natal, pupil unrest in other parts of KwaZulu never took on the proportions reached in other parts of South Africa.

It was widely believed that at the negotiating table, he would have been Chief Buthelezi's right-hand man. — Sapa.



# Dhlomo quits Inkatha post

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Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and right-hand man of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has quit.

His sudden resignation yesterday, against the background of the violence in Natal, has sent shock waves through the Zulu organisation and comes as a major setback for Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, reacted last night "with regret" to the resignation.

"He has played a very important role in the development of Inkatha and the development of Inkatha's outreach in the world," Chief Buthelezi said.

Dr Dhlomo, minister of education and culture, also resigned from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

The affable 47-year-old was

widely tipped as Chief Buthelezi's successor. His resignation comes at a bad time for Chief Buthelezi, with Inkatha locked in a deadly power struggle with the African National Congress and its allies in the United Democratic Front and Cosatu.

Dr Dhlomo said yesterday that after 12 years of public service he felt it was time to make way for others so that he would be free to devote more time to his family and other interests.

His career in Inkatha and national politics has been meteoric in the short time that he has been active.

He graduated with a BA in history and anthropology from the University of Zululand before obtaining a University Education Diploma.

He then taught at a Durban school while continuing his studies and obtained a BA honours degree from Unisa.

After gaining sponsorship, Dr Dhlomo travelled to Britain, the United States and several African countries where he researched teacher training for his doctoral thesis which he was awarded through Unisa in 1980.

His political career began in 1977 when he resigned his lecturership and entered the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Dr Dhlomo is also chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and vice-chairman of the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu-Natal.

Mr Peter Mansfield, former executive director of the Indaba, said he hoped the politician's withdrawal from politics was not permanent.

Professor Mervyn Frost, professor of political science at the University of Natal, said the resignation would have a profound effect on peoples' perception of Inkatha.

TOP OF THE TIMES today

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SUCCESS OF FAMILIAR  
CO-OP — Page 18

## Inkatha Youth Brigade calls on ANC to control supporters

Staff Reporter

The Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday called on leaders of the ANC and its allies to discipline their supporters "to prevent inter-organisational violence erupting in Soweto".

Speaking at an Inkatha rally in Soweto, Themba Khoza, chairman of the West Rand Youth Brigade, appealed to ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to publicly condemn and dissociate himself from statements promoting violence against other political organisations.

Mr Khoza said: "Our members in Emndeni, Zola, Diepkloof and Meadowlands are

being assaulted, forced out of their homes to attend political meetings, had their membership cards burnt and forced to join the ANC. This has been happening for the past two months.

"Victimised Inkatha members have been threatened with death if they reported intimidation incidents to the police. Defenceless people have been left with no option but to report intimidation incidents to kangaroo courts. Should violence erupt, Inkatha must not be blamed," Mr Khoza said.

"We must be realistic and admit that there will be no process of negotiation about the future if blacks can hardly tolerate each other."

# Inkatha claims victimisation in Soweto

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**By PHANGISILE MTSHALI**

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday called on leaders of the ANC and its allies to discipline their supporters "to prevent inter-organisational violence erupting in Soweto".

4/6/90

Speaking at the Inkatha peace rally in Soweto, Mr Themba Khoza, chairman of the West Rand Youth Brigade, appealed to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to publicly condemn and disassociate himself with statements promoting violence against other political organisations.

In an emotional speech Khoza said: "Our members in Emndeni, Zola,

Diepkloof and Meadowlands are being assaulted, forced out of their homes to attend political meetings, had their membership cards burnt and forced to join the ANC. This has been happening for the past two months.

## Blamed

"Victimised Inkatha members have been threatened with death if they reported intimidation incidents to the police. Defenceless people have been left with no option but to report intimidation incidents to kangaroo courts. Should violence erupt, Inkatha must not be blamed," Khoza said.

"We must be realistic and admit that there will be no process of negotiation about the future if blacks can hardly tolerate each other."



# Dhlomo still contemplating his future role

INKATHA general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday he would contemplate whether he would play a wider, mediatory role in SA politics only after leaving his post on June 30.

In a move that surprised SA political circles, Dhlomo announced on Friday he had resigned from Inkatha, the KwaZulu cabinet and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

In an interview Dhlomo denied rumours that he had quit after a clash with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Asked if he saw a role for himself in SA

politics, Dhlomo said: "I am prepared, but not in a parochial or party political role."

Sapa reports that Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) predicted Dhlomo would continue to play a leading role in the politics of the future.

Peter Mansfield, who resigned on Friday as executive director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, said yesterday: "I would like to see Dhlomo play a role in the greater SA political scene."

Dhlomo said he had been considering quitting for more than a year.

THEO RAWANA

"Now that the road to negotiation is no longer an uphill struggle, I have felt it is far more positive to bow out."

He said the Indaba, in which he was deeply involved, had also completed its task. He said while government felt it was not practical to implement the Indaba's proposals with negotiations about to begin, ways would be found to convey them to the negotiating table.

The SA Youth Congress saluted Dhlomo for his decision to resign from Inkatha, saying he had thereby distanced himself from "the atrocities that have been perpetrated by Buthelezi and the warlords".

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# Dhlomo denies plans to join ANC, UDF

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's right-hand man, yesterday dismissed as "pure speculation" rumours that he was moving across the political spectrum to the ANC or UDF.

The rumours followed Dr Dhlomo's shock announcement on Friday of his resignation from politics.

"There is absolutely no truth in these rumours whatsoever. Perhaps people are expressing their own wishes — which I have no quarrel with.

"I have made it clear that I am leaving politics altogether. Contrary to popular belief, I did not consult with Mr Mandela before resigning. I have not been in contact with the ANC at

all except when we met with a delegation led by Mr Walter Sisulu.

"While people are free to speculate, their speculations should not be taken seriously."

When asked whether he was still committed to Inkatha, its principles and its leader, Dr Dhlomo replied that he still supported Inkatha's principles for a non-racial democratic future.

He said he regarded Dr Buthelezi as "a significant political leader and I still trust in him.

"I have nothing negative to say about Inkatha, KwaZulu or Chief Buthelezi."

Dr Dhlomo said of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba that he felt it had succeeded in some aspects and failed in others.

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# No request for Sebe extradition

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EAST LONDON. — A formal application has yet to be made by Ciskei to the South African government for the extradition of Mr Lennox Sebe.

On Friday, a week after the ruling military council announced its intention to apply for the former president's extradition, the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said it had received no application. However, it is expected that Ciskei's ruling military council will release a statement in this regard early next week.

At present Mr Sebe is, according to the department, "temporarily accommodated in Pretoria in a vacant house as agreed between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Brig (Oupa) Gqozo", head of Ciskei's council of state.

Last week the council said "thorough, ongoing and exhaustive investigations" had brought to light serious charges resulting from Mr Sebe's "abuse of power". Investigations were incomplete but it was clear a warrant for extradition would be sought.

The department said that no application for Mr Sebe's extradition could be dealt with as long as South Africa did not recognise Ciskei's government.

— Sapa

# WHY OSCAR QUIT

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c/News 3/June 1990

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BLOW

## ANC, PAC in urgent talks to stop wave of violence

c/News 3/6/90 (238)

By CONNIE MOLUSI

AS a wave of violence among black political groups swept the Reef this week, desperate leaders were frantically consulting each other yesterday to produce a fundamental political shift.

"As political control of the State is weakened, turbulence is endemic as part of readjustment," he said.

As news of the violence



## Clashes with Buthelezi led to Inkatha chief's resignation

CP Reporter

A POWER struggle with KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi probably led to the resignation of Dr Oscar Dhlomo from Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government this week.

Dhlomo's resignation - which is widely seen as a blow to Inkatha, and its leader's personal prestige - follows persistent rumours of clashes between the two leaders.

Highly-placed sources in the KwaZulu capital Umtata have indicated that a second senior minister may resign soon.

Dhlomo, who resigned from the KwaZulu Cabinet, the Legislative Authority and as general secretary of Inkatha, was instrumental in eroding the power of the KwaZulu Government, reliable sources told City Press. He did this as chairman of the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) - a joint body of the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

Under Dhlomo's leadership important functions of the KwaZulu Government were transferred to the JEA. It is believed Buthelezi was furious that Dhlomo did not fully inform him about this power shift, which made the KwaZulu government less relevant.

Dhlomo will now also have to resign his chairmanship of the JEA.

Nelson Mandela had cancer by top unclothes "Gus" Ge-novated from Mandelata's non-malig-a horde of

He did this as chairman of the Joint Executive body of the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

Under Dhlomo's leadership important functions of the KwaZulu Government were transferred to the JEA. It is believed Buthelezi was furious that Dhlomo did not fully inform him about this power shift, which made the KwaZulu government less relevant.

Dhlomo will now also have to resign his chairmanship of the JEA.

Although Dhlomo, a former academic who comes from a family of businessmen, indicated this week he had no intention of joining any other political party, it is expected he will "lie low" and then join the ANC.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday denied at a Press conference that Dhlomo had consulted him before resigning. Senior ANC officials said Dhlomo had no contact with the ANC except in the Cosatu/Inkatha peace talks in Natal.

The talks could have succeeded if Dhlomo was in charge of Inkatha, the officials said.

Observers believe Dhlomo realised he could play a meaningful role in the peace process only as a non-member of Inkatha.

It is rumoured in Natal that Dhlomo realised Buthelezi had become increasingly unpopular in black politics after the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and because of his hostile attitude towards the ANC/UDF alliance.

Announcing his resignation from all his positions effective from June 30 this year, Dhlomo thanked Buthelezi for giving him the opportunity "to make a modest contribution in the service of our people".

Buthelezi said in a statement on Friday evening he accepted Dhlomo's resignation with regret.

He thanked Dhlomo for the role he played in the Buthelezi Commission, in the JEA and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Dhlomo this week said he was still hopeful that talks could take place between Buthelezi and Mandela.

Although relations between the two leaders had been cordial, "up to today Mr Mandela has not been given the opportunity to hear Dr Buthelezi's side of the story," he said.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

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The advertisement features a large bottle of Bell's Scotch Whisky on the right side. The bottle has a white label with the brand name and 'EXTRA' visible. The background is dark with a subtle pattern. The headline is in a large, bold, sans-serif font. The tagline at the bottom is in a smaller, serif font.

## Ciskei's police chief accused of plotting

*AMP Times 5/6/90* 116  
BISHO. — Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General Lulana Madolo, has been dismissed and is being held for interrogation about an alleged plot to overthrow the government.

The chairman of the ruling Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said here yesterday that General Madolo had been a key figure in the plot.

He said the main object of the conspiracy had been to install the former chief of the Ciskeian security forces, Mr Charles Sebe, as head of state.

Mr Sebe escaped from prison last year after being jailed for plotting against his brother, the deposed president Mr Lennox Sebe.

Brigadier Gqozo said the new commissioner of police would be Major-General Zebon Makuzeni.

# Inkatha is home for this Nat

THE National Party has lost one of its faithfuls to Inkatha following the decision by the organisation to become a political party opened to all races.

Mr John le Roux (45), who lives in an NP-controlled East Rand town, risks being scorned and ostracised by neighbours for openly following Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a leader he has admired for years.

"I have long shared the president's ideas and beliefs but there was no way I could openly support him," said Le Roux.

"Now that he has opened membership to other races I saw no reason to delay my application to join the movement.

"A number of right wing people may be tempted to harass

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

me. I am not afraid. Everyone has a right to exercise freedom of choice."

Le Roux, a married father of three and manager of a Pretoria company, said he had been gathering information about Inkatha for the past 18 months.

"The minute I heard about the decision, I contacted the chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade West Rand region, Mr Themba Khoza. I have signed my membership form and I feel great about it," Le Roux said.

Inkatha spokesman Khoza said the matter of opening their ranks to other races will be formalised at their annual general meeting.



MR LE ROUX

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## Inkatha decision 'nonsensical'

The decision by Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly not to take part in Regional Services Councils had lost the territory R1 billion in development funds over the past five to six years, Mr Luwelyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the second reading of the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Bill, he said Inkatha and the Legislative Assembly made the "nonsensical and selfish" decision because the RSCs "were spawned by the tricameral system".

"Much-needed development has been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency."

He said an amendment to the Bill had proposed that profits on the retail sale of water and electricity by the Durban municipality over the past four or five years be transferred to the yet-to-be-created Joint Services Boards. According to the mayor of Durban this totalled R174 million.

The amendment had been defeated, but the LP still believed that this redistribution of wealth to less privileged communities was justified. — Sapa.



# Murder: KwaZulu politician in court

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu Deputy Cabinet Minister Bekizizwe Samuel Jamile (60) of Clermont yesterday pleaded not guilty in the Maritzburg Supreme Court to five counts of murder, seven of attempted murder and three of incitement to murder.

His co-accused, Msizwe Hlophe (19), also pleaded not guilty to all 15

charges. (116) (116) 8/6/90

The alleged offences mostly took place between October 1985 and October last year.

One of the charges alleges that Mr Jamile incited Lawrence Ntshalingtha to murder Archie Gumede, president of the UDF.

The hearing continues.

# KwaZulu police: what

now?

Towards the end of April, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) compiled a 150-page memorandum, based on court records, research, press reports and eyewitness accounts, detailing atrocities allegedly committed by members of the SAP, the KwaZulu police (ZP) and Inkatha.

The document was commissioned by the ANC and used in discussions with the Government at Groote Schuur at the beginning of May.

Shortly after the talks, the ANC called on the Government to disband the ZP and strip Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, of his powers as KwaZulu Minister of Police.

The ANC said it considered the disbanding of the KwaZulu police to be one of the preconditions for the suspension of the armed struggle, and Cosatu warned that unless there was a quick response by the Government, workers would stage a week-long stayaway.

Complaints against the ZP have increased recently. In April, the Supreme Court granted a temporary interdict restraining the ZP from assaulting or otherwise attacking residents of KwaMakhutha township on the Natal South Coast.

The application was lodged by two black policemen who said in evidence that they had observed members of the ZP, although not under attack, indiscriminately shooting at people.

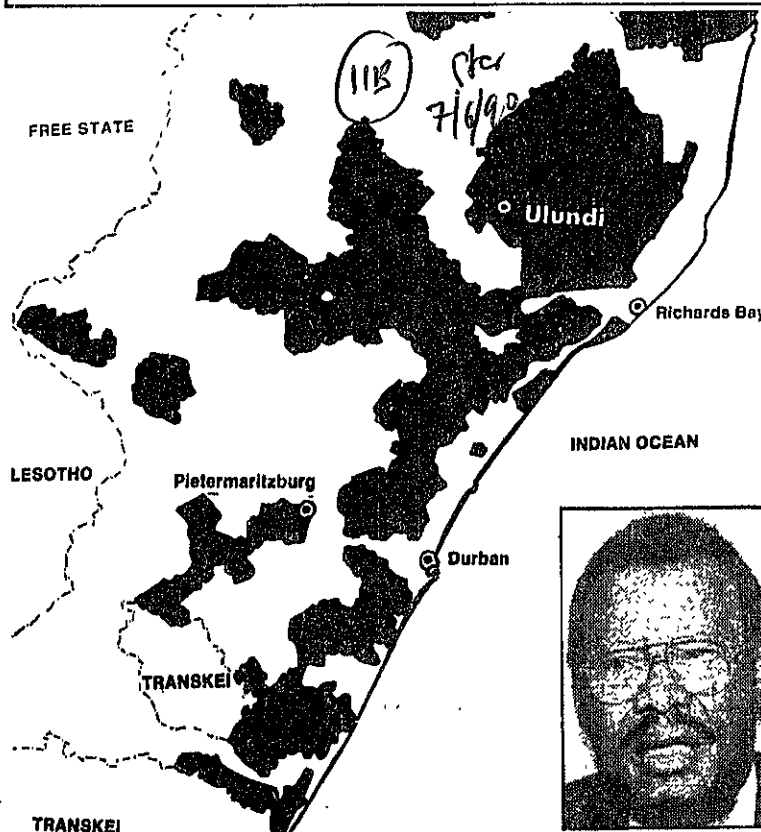
In addition, Natal lawyers have laid numerous complaints detailing obstructive and unprofessional behaviour on the part of the ZP.

Set against this, however, are opposite reports which detail acts of integrity by the ZP in Mpumalanga.

There the ZP is seen as a line of defence against the depredations of the South African Police, and although relatively ineffectual (on occasion the ZP is confined to barracks as the SAP conducts its operations in Mpumalanga) the cry of "Viva ZP!" is not uncommon.

The linking of the ZP to Inkatha

**MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher who has worked extensively in Natal and who is the author of "An Unofficial War: Inside the Violence in Pietermaritzburg", which is to be published next month, looks at the role of the KwaZulu police.



The shaded areas in Natal shown above make up KwaZulu, where Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (inset) is Minister of Police.

is perhaps an inevitable consequence of the lack of definition between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

If it is true that the ZP merely acts as a professional army on behalf of Inkatha, then there is no doubt that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha enjoy a remarkable advantage in the struggle for political power in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi has dismissed the issue as a smear campaign, designed "to further unsuccessfully attempt to destabilise the KwaZulu government and my leadership role".

Gerhard Mare, a University of Natal sociologist and a long-time Inkatha watcher, believes this response of Inkatha's reflects an understandable reluctance to concede that the matter is even contentious.

Since the mid-1970s, the KwaZulu government, and later Inkatha, has been consistent in its demands for greater power, the most important of which was to demand the right to train and deploy its own police force.

But even if, on the evidence, there is a *prime facie* case for disbanding the ZP, is it a realistic demand?

Mare thinks that it is. "The ZP is an oddity. It is a discredited, peripheral component of the South African security system and there is no logical reason for its existence."

"The fact that it is the KwaZulu police gives it an undeserved importance. If it were any other homeland, no one would consider the matter contentious at all."

But the matter is more complicated than that. There are major issues of political strategy at stake.

The ANC has skillfully manoeuvred the Government into a position where it has to respond to this demand. It has done so by:

- Making the call specific to the ZP; after all, they are not calling for the disbanding of the SAP.
- Linking the demand to the suspension of the armed struggle, thereby emphasising the importance they attach to the matter.
- Linking the demand to a week-long stayaway. Business interests in Natal cannot afford a stoppage of that magnitude and may well put pressure on the Government to respond timeously.

These pressures place the Government in a difficult and invidious position.

First, at a purely technical level, there is no way the Government can disband the ZP simply by fiat.

The ZP is constituted under the provisions of the Homelands Constitution Act (1971), and only by amending the Act can the Government accede to the ANC's demand.

Since the entire corpus of legislation relating to the homelands seems destined for the constitutional dustbin in the medium term, it is unlikely that the Government would go to the trouble of amending it.

Second, any action taken against the ZP could well be read as a signal that the Government was jettisoning Inkatha as a possible ally in the negotiation process.

Again, it is highly unlikely that the Government would be prepared to risk antagonising Chief Buthelezi in this way, as the consequences are unpredictable and potentially destabilising.

# Dhlomo quit Inkatha. 113

## Now he gives his views on the Natal violence 114

INFLUENTIAL kwaZulu politician and secretary general of Inkatha Oscar Dhlomo has stunned the public and his colleagues by announcing he will quit the party, his cabinet post and his seat in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly at the end of June.

Dhlomo, who has a reputation as a skilled negotiator, has given family reasons and the need for a rest as grounds for his decision, fuelling speculation as to what lay behind the move. This week he agreed to an interview on condition the reasons for his quitting were not probed.

**RICKARD: What problems do you think you are bequeathing to your successors in your portfolio as secretary general of Inkatha?**

I think he would face the problem of spreading the Inkatha image nationally especially in view of the fact that Inkatha wants to transform itself into a political party with a national appeal. Working at repulsing the attacks against Inkatha from a variety of sources, the most damaging attacks being that Inkatha is solely responsible for the violence, that it has warlords, and that it has hit squads. Spearheading Inkatha's input in the national negotiations and sharpening Inkatha's policy direction in issues such as economics while formulating Inkatha's position at the negotiating table. Finally, helping Inkatha to participate in alliance politics with other political groups of like ideology.

**What do you see is the future for the kwaZulu government and for kwaZulu as a political entity?**

In terms of the pronouncements of the government we are expecting that negotiations will produce a new socio-political order. I expect that order will not have ethnic entities as building blocks. I expect kwaZulu would be integrated into Natal and form a single multi-racial geographic entity. This process has in fact started. It is happening, with kwaZulu's promotion, through the Indaba, through the Joint Executive Authority.

**And as far as the future of Inkatha is concerned?**

I see Inkatha as playing a significant role in the future political devel-

Oscar Dhlomo's resignation from Inkatha and the kwaZulu government a week ago came as a surprise. He spoke to CARMEL RICKARD days after he stepped down

opments in this country. It will be as important as, for instance, the ANC and the National Party.

**On what basis do you say it's going to be as important? Do you mean that all the parties at the negotiating table will have equal weight? Or do you see it being numerically equal?**

No, I mean that its influence in constitutional debate will be as significantly felt as the NP and the ANC.

**How will it get to that position?**

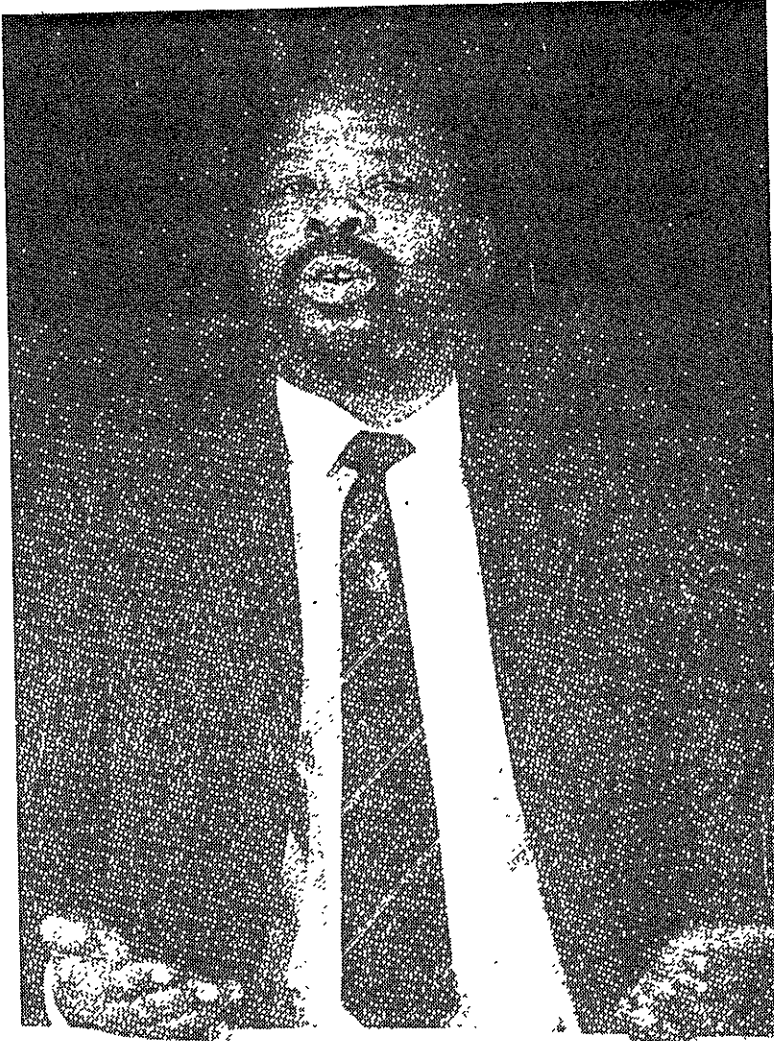
It is the largest black political organisation, numerically speaking.

**Do you think it has greater support than the ANC will have after it gets established?**

The strength of Inkatha is that it is talking about support it already has and not support it might have, as is the ANC. So until the ANC establishes itself, and sells its policies to the people and keeps membership records, it is not possible to accurately predict what support it has.

**As far as the question of Inkatha is concerned and the violence which might actually exist within the ranks of the organisation, you said many sources claimed it was the sole perpetrator of violence and had warlords and hit squads and so on. Do you feel that in fact some of the violence is from Inkatha, or do you feel that it is all from the other side?**

In any situation of conflict violence comes from both sides. We need to recognise that if we are going to be helpful in resolving the violence. The tendency of blaming one side only is counterproductive. Violence takes many forms: people engage in violence in self defence; others engage in violence in retaliation and so I think the crucial point is we must recognise as a first step that two sides are in conflict and both are equally to blame. The conflict will not end until both decide it is counter-productive and wasteful of human life.



Oscar Dhlomo ... tight-lipped on his real reasons for resigning

**Do you feel that neither side has come to that conclusion yet?**

If they had the violence would have stopped. The fact that the violence continues, the fact that it has not been possible for leaders to meet — this would tell me there isn't yet genuine commitment to stop the violence from both sides.

**It is almost exactly a year since five representatives from each side first met to work out how to bring peace to Natal. So for the last year you have been involved in intensive negotiations about how to end the conflict. How do you feel that you are leaving this position and it hasn't yet ended?**

I feel disappointed that we could not be helpful in ending the violence. This of course was not as a result of lack of commitment on both sides. I think we applied ourselves sincerely to the process and we produced a joint peace proposal which I still be-

lieve would have gone a long way towards ending the violence. Not only that, it would have helped the process of reconciliation as well.

It hasn't worked and we can only hope that in the not too distant future, common sense will prevail and the peace proposal, even in amended form, will be implemented.

**What will it need to bring the violence to an end and for the peace process to work?**

I think the peace proposal itself suggested that the prerequisite would be for leaders of the four parties meet, ratify the proposal and sanction its implementation.

Once that happened the proposal also provided for attention to be paid to socio-economic issues that affect the people in the areas where there's violence. Once that happened the element of law and order would need to be taken care of because there has

Violence takes many forms: people engage in violence in self-defence; others engage in violence in retaliation and so I think the crucial point is we must recognise as a first step that two sides are in conflict and both are equally to blame. The conflict will not end until both decide it is counter-productive and it is wasteful of human life.

been a criminal element that has bedevilled the situation.

**Do you still believe that an essential element for peace is that the leaders should meet?**

Besides the fact that it is good for leaders to be on speaking terms, their meeting would have a tremendous psychological effect on their followers. Especially if the leaders were seen publicly to be calling on their followers to stop the fighting. I do not see any credible solution that could side-step the meeting of leaders as a first step, and still succeed.

**As far as your own plans are concerned, you've spent this last year trying to facilitate negotiations over peace. Do you think you are going to do this more successfully at a national level? Is that something that you would like to do?**

If there were opportunities and if after my assessment of the situation I felt that this is what was needed I would consider it seriously.

**What are you drawn to?**

Helping facilitate reconciliation among black groups, among all South Africans. I also feel drawn to activities that would prepare our people for a new, hopefully democratic multi-party political system.

**When you say "our people" you mean?**

South Africans of course.

**And to play such a role would you first have had to cut all previous political connections?**

Obviously it would be easier if one wasn't tied to any party political point of view. Because that role would require a lot of inter-party consultations and the one who plays that role would need to be acceptable to all political parties, which is not always possible if you are a party activist.

# Dhlomo a fine, trusted negotiator

By GRAHAM LINSCOTT

The sudden and unexplained resignation of Oscar Dhlomo from public office is one of those bombshells comparable with the resignation of Van Zyl Slabbert as Leader of the Opposition in Parliament. Both chose a legislature to announce their departure.

Just as many had pinned their faith on Supervan to see the country through, many saw Dr Dhlomo as a key negotiating figure in the national context, the closest thing to a political honest broker.

In spite of his Inkatha constituency — he was secretary-general — he had credibility with both the ANC and the Nats.

He got on well with Afrikaner politicians and had grown up in familiar contact with a spectrum of black political figures.

A skilled negotiator, Dr Dhlomo was unflappably cool and possessed razor-sharp powers of analysis. One of his attributes was an ability to put himself in the shoes of others. Few black political leaders had his appreciation of the legitimate anxieties and concerns of white South Africans. And on top of all this he had a keen sense of humour.

Suddenly it is all past tense. Whatever it was that caused Dr Dhlomo such disillusionment with active politics, there are likely to be attempts from many quarters



Oscar Dhlomo ... resigned suddenly.

— and they could range from the Nats to the Democrats to the ANC — to make him politically present tense once again.

Where did Dr Dhlomo win his reputation as a negotiator?

First he was instrumental in patching up a serious quarrel between the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu government. Then he and the late Frank Martin negotiated with Chris Heunis, then Minister of Constitutional Affairs, for the establishment of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority. At the

Vertical text on the right margin, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

Chris Heunis, then minister of Constitutional Affairs, for the establishment of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority. At the same time they convened the Indaba.

Dr Dhlomo was a key player in the Indaba, South Africa's first crucible of negotiation between different race and political groups. Once the Indaba had reached agreement, he negotiated with Chris Heunis and others to get the agreement on the agenda for consideration, while other members of the Cabinet were trying their best to shoot it out of the sky.

It is difficult to imagine a figure anywhere in South Africa who is better versed in the delicate art of negotiation and compromise.

### Meteor

As Dr Dhlomo resigned chairmanship of the Indaba, one of his several political positions the Indaba itself dissolved.

Was it just a meteor which illuminated the skies over the Indian Ocean for a time, or has the Indaba left behind something permanent? Surely the latter.

It leaves behind it the Joint Executive Authority which, among other things, is to administer services provided in the other provinces by regional services councils.

Add to the JEA an elected regional assembly and the Indaba recommendations would be substantially fulfilled.

It bequeaths to the future national negotiations a comprehensive and finely worked out document for government of the Natal/KwaZulu region as a unit in a future federation.

It is likely to be a reference point in the coming argument between the centralists (mainly the ANC) and the federalists (the Democrats, Inkatha and, very possibly, the recent Nat converts). The outcome will profoundly shape the future South Africa.

### History in The Star

#### 100, 50 and 25 Years Ago

1890. A faction fight took place near Howick between several hundred natives and any number of heads were cracked. A body, butchered in pieces, was found nearby.

1940. The United States has made 200 naval planes available to the Allies. The general reaction to this announcement is that America is step by step going into the war.

1965. President Nyerere greeted the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, when he arrived for a four-day visit to Tanzania, which has widened the split between East African states.

8/16/90  
Emergency in Natal is tragic, says Buthelezi (118)

ULUNDI — Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while welcoming the lifting of the emergency in other areas, said it was "lamentably tragic" it still remained in force in Natal and KwaZulu.

He welcomed the creation of additional posts in the SAP and the move to strengthen the SADF's military presence in the Natal region.

"The incidence of violence has been dropping and I believe that this in large measure is due to the army's involvement in the maintenance of law and order," he said.

However, Chief Buthelezi was critical of the ANC's role in the continuing violence in Natal and said he found it "politically altogether unacceptable" that he was "locked into an emergency-ridden region in which the violence which justifies it is actually produced primarily by the leaders that the State President mentions as having been signatories to the Groote Schuur Minute".

# New pastures

11B



FIM 5/6/90



Oscar Dhlomo, former secretary general of Inkatha and widely regarded as the real force in KwaZulu, surprised everyone with the announcement that he was to resign after 12 years in office. In

this interview, with the *FM's* Shaun Harris, he tells why he is going and hints at his options.

**FM:** Even Chief Buthelezi called your resignation a drastic move. Why now, when Inkatha and the KwaZulu government are closer than ever to taking part in a national negotiated settlement?

**Dhlomo:** Maybe that's exactly why now is a good time to bail out. I think I've helped to get negotiations to the point they are now at. When we started it was quite an uphill struggle to create a climate where there could be negotiations. The situation has now changed. It is now possible to negotiate the future rather than fight about it.

A lot of people would argue that, with your skills as a negotiator, now is the time you are needed most.

Those skills — rather, those perceived skills — will not be withheld. If I'm asked, I'll make them available to whoever might need them, but on a nonparty political basis. If there is a position for a mediator between different groups in negotiations I would seriously consider taking it.

Despite saying your decision to leave was not influenced by Nelson Mandela and that you do not intend to join the ANC, could you be a member in future?

At this stage, no; it is not likely. But you can't say what might happen.

Inkatha has been getting bad publicity lately in connection with the Natal violence and there are claims that it is losing support. Did these influence your decision to resign?

No influence at all. Despite the presence of a number of so-called surveys speculating about Inkatha's loss of support, our membership records don't reflect this. Without that

evidence it has always been difficult for me, as secretary general, to take these claims seriously.

As for the violence and claims that Inkatha is losing control over its members, I'm not sure this is the case. I think it is propaganda. In any conflict the warring sides will always trade accusation and counter-accusation. Often the side that wins is the one with the most powerful propaganda mechanisms. But to say these claims are factual is something else.

You have had offers from various quarters to play a role in politics. What are they?

Perhaps I should rather call them inquiries from interested people. But it's not the time to talk about them now. I will have time to consider them only after I have officially resigned on June 30. It would not be fair while I'm holding one job to discuss other offers.

You realise your resignation is going to be used as ammunition against Inkatha and Buthelezi. Is this why you are being reticent about your reasons for leaving?

First, let me say I regret that already parts of the news media, and some organisations, are using my resignation to get at Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. It's something I have no control over whatsoever. But I remain emphatic that, other than what was in my press statement, there are no other reasons for my choice to get out of KwaZulu and Inkatha. The rest is speculation.

I came into the KwaZulu government of my own accord and I'm moving out of my own accord. I never signed any pledge that I would die in the KwaZulu government. There comes a time to go and for me that time is now.

Are there personal reasons for your decision to leave? Your relationship with the Chief Minister or other members of Inkatha?

No. It has been said there was friction between you and Buthelezi last year when you headed Inkatha's team which met with the UDF and Cosatu to try to settle the violence. Apparently the Chief Minister was not happy with some of the compromises you made.

No, that's speculation again. It is true that Inkatha's central committee expressed some reservations on some aspects of the joint peace proposal we signed with the UDF and Cosatu, but of course that was the committee's democratic right. In a working situation there are differences of opinion now and again, but it's no big deal. It has nothing to do with my resignation.

There has been speculation that you have been offered a diplomatic post.

No, I don't think so. Who's going to offer me a diplomatic post? It's all just speculation — though I have a fax right in front of me from the BBC asking if I'm going to be the next ambassador to London.

Is it the sort of role you would like to play?

Not at this stage. I don't see myself as an ambassador of the present SA, though representing the new SA could be an option. I also feel more work needs to be done in SA at the moment, rather than externally.

Our overseas image does not need that much attention with the reforms of President De Klerk; the work now is all inside the country.

Is there a chance of you rejoining Inkatha or the KwaZulu government later?

No, I don't think there is any chance of that.

Even though you were tipped as the person most likely to succeed Buthelezi?

Many people aren't aware of this, but within the KwaZulu government I don't qualify constitutionally to be chief minister, because I'm not a chief. According to the constitution, chief ministers are elected from the ranks of chiefs.

In effect, then, you had reached the limit of your authority within the government?

Well, I wouldn't say so. I didn't have any ambitions to be a chief minister. I just did my work. Now I feel I must move on.

Do you think you might draw some supporters of Inkatha away with you?

No, I certainly hope not. If anybody followed me, I would chase them back to KwaZulu. Basically, I just have no political ambitions — I don't see myself leading any political party, it's just not my lot.



11B

9/6/90

**D**R Oscar Dhlomo has not necessarily opted out of the political process, only from party politics. He would be prepared to act as a facilitator to negotiations if requested to do so.

He has no intention of joining the African National Congress or the National Party, or any party in the immediate future. Nor does he intend accepting an overseas ambassadorship, as speculated.

Asked this week whether his deliberate distancing of himself from Inkatha (he was secretary-general) was designed to provide the credentials of neutrality which would be needed in the chairman of a constitutional conference, he repeated that he would be willing to serve in any role which served the cause of national reconciliation.

But, he emphasised, no such approach had been made to him, not by the government or anybody else.

Dr Dhlomo, who shook both black and white politics last week by resigning from Inkatha and from his post as Minister of Education in KwaZulu, has been involved in political negotiation for a decade.

**I**N 1980 he was a key participant in the multi-party Buthelezi Commission, which investigated joint administration of Natal and KwaZulu. Then he was deep into negotiations with the Natal provincial administration and central government for the establishment of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority.

He was a joint convener of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba and a key participant in the negotiations which followed. More recently he was KwaZulu's chief negotiator in a joint committee with central government, set up to investigate obstacles to national negotiations on a new constitution.

He served on an Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu joint committee set up in an attempt to end the violence in Natal, and is credited with an accept-

Dr Dhlomo, who shook both black and white politics last week by resigning from Inkatha and from his post as Minister of Education in KwaZulu, spoke to Special Correspondent GRAHAM LINSKOTT, about his future role in politics.

# Dhlomo prepared to act as 'facilitator'

ability to the ANC.

Speaking in his office in Ujundi, Dr Dhlomo said he departed from KwaZulu confident that national negotiations would be in place reasonably soon, probably early in 1991. He expected movement once the government and the ANC ended their "talks about talks" phase.

He believed the ANC were "ready in spirit" to negotiate, though perhaps not yet in detail because they were converting from a 30-year strategy of armed struggle.

He pointed out that Inkatha had gone through exactly the same talks about talks phase for nine months last year.

"In a sense Inkatha opened up this opportunity for talks with the ANC. Our objectives were virtually the same as theirs. In areas where we could not give guarantees on behalf of the ANC, the return of exiles and so forth, we said to the government: "Talk to the ANC yourselves."

"The government has done all that. And I am grateful that in its attempts to normalise the political climate, the government is not deviat-

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9/6/90



He said there was no reason why Inkatha should not co-operate with the ANC.

"I see a glorious opportunity for co-operation that is being allowed to slip through our fingers. Inkatha and the ANC are natural allies. They don't have any significant differences in principle."

He said the problems were at leadership level as well as at grassroots, but they could be overcome with sincere effort on both sides.

The ANC had to accept that Inkatha was a reality which could not be wished away. Equally, Inkatha had to accept the ANC as a reality which could not be wished away. They had to at least establish peaceful co-existence.

Dr Dhlomo said he was reasonably optimistic about achievement of a negotiated future. All the major parties wanted to negotiate, even the Conservative Party for some sort of Boersstaat partition and the Pan Africanist Congress for a constituent assembly.

**L**YING between these were the National Party, the Democrats, Inkatha and the ANC, all of them a lot closer in that they wanted

some form of power-sharing.

He said rightwing and leftwing extremism was a threat to negotiation but perhaps exaggerated. It was best answered by accelerating the process.

Dr Dhlomo said he did not expect national negotiations to be between the government on one side and the ANC on the other. They were more likely to be multiparty.

"My personal view is that with negotiation you want more rather than fewer participants. What you want at the end of the day is an agreement that has majority acceptance and legitimacy. That is more likely when your negotiations have been extraordinarily inclusive."

"At the negotiating table virtually anything is possible. To reconcile people's views you must allow them to have a shared vision of the future. They are then able to compromise in order to realise that vision. In the process divergent views are reconciled."

This, he said, had been his experience in the Indaba.



# 'Inkatha must seek allies'

By **THANDEKA GOUBULE**

FORMER Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday there was no ideological reason why the Zulu organisation could not enter into an alliance with the ANC.

Dr Dhlomo, who resigned from Inkatha last week to pursue a career outside politics, urged Inkatha to seek alliances with other political groups if it wanted to play a role in a new South Africa.

He said he saw himself as playing a mediatory role in South African politics.

"At this stage of our history we need to foster reconciliation between organisations and parties.

"I have given up my membership of Inkatha because I want to be free to make statements no matter whom they hurt."

## Objective (118)

In his dealings with the ANC leadership in an attempt to secure peace in Natal he found them to be "reasonable people you can work with".

"We had a single objective — the ending of the violence. It is just a pity we were not able to implement the proposals," he said.

On the future of the homeland system, Dr Dhlomo said he expected present political developments to produce a completely new social and political order.

● Dr Dhlomo last night accused a former colleague who has tried to name him in a divorce case of waging a personal vendetta, reports Ryan Cresswell.

Dr Dhlomo warned Wits University lecturer Dr Rush Thulani Mkize: "If he mentions my name in court, I will sue him — heavily."

According to press reports Dr Mkize has instructed lawyers to cite Dr Dhlomo as co-respondent in his divorce case in the Durban Supreme Court. *S/Times 10/6/90*

Dr Mkize — a lecturer in education at Wits — was once employed by the KwaZulu Department of Education under Dr Dhlomo.

"We were good friends. I got him and his wife jobs in America — but if he takes this any further, I will take the necessary action," Dr Dhlomo said.

# I won't join ANC - Dhlomo

## Tekere had mysterious white benefactor in South Africa

By ELIAS MALULIKE

MAVERICK Zimbabwe politician and leader of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) Edgar Tekere, was a guest of a mysterious white man during his stay in South Africa, City Press has established.

Tekere also booked in at the five-star Johannesburg Hotel under a false name. He allegedly said he did not want it known he was in the country.

According to City Press sources, the white man on Monday paid Tekere's hotel bills - which apparently ran into "several thousand rands" - with an American Express Card.

The sources said Tekere went on a whirlwind shopping spree in Johannesburg and spent a small fortune on clothes for himself and his wife and bought other goods not available in Zimbabwe.

Tekere, who is registered by the ruling Zanu-PF as a "naughty little boy" in Zimbabwe, sneaked into the country last Thursday and stayed for the days, flying it up before his hush-hush departure after creating a political storm.

He had hoped to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela but was snubbed when the ANC "became suspicious of his motives" after he declared he was their guest.

According to an ANC state-

ment, the liberation movement knew nothing of his visit until they read in the paper that he was in the country.

"He came to our office and started shaking hands with senior ANC members without making prior appointment," the ANC said.

Tekere had a brief meeting with Walter Sisulu before rushing off to meet Mangosuthu Buthe, the chief of Inkatha.

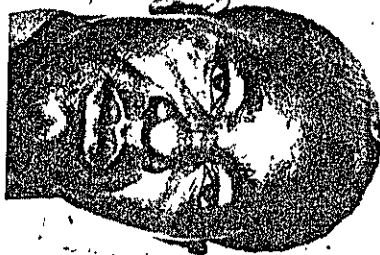
The PAC also disowned Tekere and would not give him a hearing.

A founder member of the ruling Zanu-PF and former aide of Mugabe, Tekere formed his own party last year after falling out of favour with Zanu-PF, which expelled him over his awkward management style.

He has always been accused of failing to follow protocol and as an outspoken politician, he often embarrassed the government. Mugabe kicked him out "because he could not be rehabilitated."

He was later recalled to fill the post of Minister of Manpower but continued to be a political maverick and embarrassed the government.

He was again booted out of the cabinet and started to be more outspoken.



Edgar Tekere... politician on a shopping spree.

Before being expelled last year, Tekere also had strong anti-South African feelings and advocated stronger sanctions against this country.

However, he impressed Western leaders when he started to speak out against corruption in his own country before his final dismissal from the ruling party. He then formed ZUM and received wide coverage in this country, but Mugabe accused him of receiving funds from South Africa.

Tekere has denied having any

links with South Africa.

TREVOR GRUNDY reports from Zimbabwe that Tekere returned to his small home in Mutare and told reporters he had gone south to "feel the pulse of change". But he didn't go into any details or, as expected, hold a news conference.

Tekere's wife, a policewoman, made Zimbabweans laugh when she said her husband had gone South to buy suits "because they're so much cheaper in South Africa".

In Mutare, the enigmatic Tekere said he might have gone shopping and confirmed he had not been invited officially by the ANC or the PAC.

Inevitably, speculation grows in Harare that Tekere is having dealings with South Africans ready to back him financially. There is official fear that Tekere could be used as a kind of "puppet" in Zimbabwe.

Politicians have hinted that ZUM might have had a hand in the strikes which party paraded the school system, although the numbers of teachers openly supporting Tekere seems to be small.

Soon after this year's general election, Tekere said Mugabe's government wouldn't last more than a year because people were disgruntled about the economy and the soaring cost of living.

## But no reason why Inkatha shouldn't strike up alliance with ANC, he says

By S'BU MNGADI

OUTGOING Inkatha general secretary and KwaZulu Education Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo believes Inkatha has no future as a political entity.

He told City Press in an interview the strength of Inkatha's continued existence, separate from the KwaZulu government, would depend on alliances with mainstream political parties or organisations.

He said he saw no reason why this alliance could not be struck with the ANC as there were no insurmountable ideological differences between the two organisations.

Dhlomo allegedly clashed with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe last week over a possible alliance between Inkatha and the Conservative Party against the ANC. Buthe had made a statement welcoming CP leader Andrew Treurnicht's overtures.

Dhlomo said that when he told a Press conference in Cape Town he expected the CP to be Inkatha's greatest opponents in negotiations "because their policies were directly opposed, he had not seen Buthe's statement.

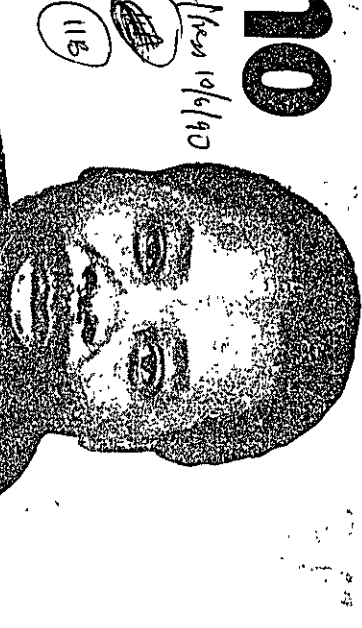
He said his resignation the day after his statement was purely coincidental.

He denied there had been a power struggle between himself and Buthe, but admitted that Buthe had done things

in his (Dhlomo's) department without his knowledge.

He confirmed that Buthe had recently acted as "acting Minister of Education and Culture" without his knowledge. It is widely believed that this became a major point of contention between the two men.

Dhlomo's resignation has been seen by observers as not only a blow to Inkatha and Buthe, but as symptomatic of Buthe's dwindling black intellectual support.



Oscar Dhlomo, who last week announced his resignation as general secretary of Inkatha and from the KwaZulu Cabinet and legislature.

Even if this did eventually happen, he would not be available, as he sincerely believed "the unfolding political scenario needs the fostering of political reconciliation." He wanted to play a non-partisan role in any political institution he might join or establish, he said.

"I need to make statements, no matter who they hurt... to be free of categorisation," he said.

Concerning his future after June 30 - when he will leave office - Dhlomo feels he will be more at home with an "Ideas-

type" organisation.

However, he thought Ideas had moved too close to the ANC.

Dhlomo, whose fields of speciality are didactics and comparative education, said he detested the constraints of an academic institution. He added that he had received various overtures from the academic world.

Offers to Dhlomo include some from the private sector. He said he would assess all offers according to their merits and no meaningful education had taken place in almost half-way through the school year when he said the school year was almost half-way through.

Dhlomo will leave office with his Department of Education and Culture in a state of crisis. In his 1990 policy speech he said the school year was almost half-way through.

Dhlomo's parting advice to the person who will step into his shoes in Inkatha is, "If you must continue the efforts to end the violence in Natal. He should foster the spirit of political co-existence. The violence is not in the interest of any organisation."

The Year 1990 will go down as the most tragic in the history of educational development in KwaZulu and Natal.

## Anonymous death threat for Azapo man

By SANDILE MEMELA

AN EXECUTIVE member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Gomolemo Mokohe, is living in fear of his life after a mysterious death threat this week.

Mokohe told City Press an unidentified man phoned his Mabopane home at 8.30pm on Thursday. The mystery caller wanted



Gomolemo Mokohe, "eliminator" target

Mokohe that he would be eliminated by today.

Mokohe said this was not the first time he had received death threats, but he could not dismiss them as the work of a crank.

"Without doubt there is a conspiring group that is out to get rid of elements of the Black Consciousness Movement. We find

ourselves wedged between an assault by both the white regime and some elements of the liberation movement," said Mokohe.

He said it would be difficult to pinpoint people responsible for this intimidation campaign.

"I am now living in fear of my life because the political situation in the country does not accommodate dissenting voices."

to the violence in Natal.

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Dhlomo's parting advice to the person who will step into his shoes in Inkatha is, "If you must continue the efforts to end the violence in Natal. He should foster the spirit of political co-existence. The violence is not in the interest of any organisation."

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# Cop in hiding after hit squad threat

By S'BU MNGADI

DURBAN police were informed on May 18 that a highly trained hit squad had been sent from Ulundi to "eliminate" a policeman heading an investigation against a KwaZulu deputy minister and three others.

This was reliably learnt this week. The policeman supposed to have been killed is W/O Lwandle Wilson Magadhla, who is attached to the SA Police unrest investigation unit in Durban.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister for the Interior Bhekizwe Jamile and Msizi Hlophe are now facing five counts of murder, five of attempted murder and three of incitement to murder in the Mar-

itzburg Supreme Court.

The charges arose from attacks between 1985 and 1989 on prominent Clermont, Durban, community leaders opposed to the incorporation of the suburb into KwaZulu.

Magadhla has been living in hiding since May 16 this year following an "unfriendly" visit to his house by armed men. The men allegedly drove a red Japanese car with registration NC 2610. Magadhla was not home at the time.

The car's registration number proved to be false.

Information in the possession of police was that men fitting the occupants' description change vehicles frequently.

The hit squad had allegedly been sent by an Ulundi-based captain whose instructions were that Magadhla should be eliminated by May 30 this year, four days before Jamile's case was due to resume.

Natal attorney-general Michael Imber has also been informed of the threats on Magadhla's life.

A police spokesman in Durban told *City Press* they viewed the hit squad claims in a serious light. The SAP would do anything in its power to protect its members.

Among people who Magadhla's team had been searching for since February this year were

two KwaZulu policemen identified only as Vela and Vusi, who are implicated in three of the five murders.

The court heard this week a telephone call made by Jamile to a senior member of the SA Police's security branch saw his immediate release from detention following a gruesome attack on a couple, one of whom died.

When Jamile was subsequently charged, the case was withdrawn on instructions of the State, Detective Sgt E Wagner testified.

Joseph Khumalo died in Riverside from three bullet wounds. The throat of his girlfriend, Thoko Shabalala, was slit but she survived.

# I won't join ANC

## Dhlomo

But no reason why Inkatha shouldn't strike up alliance with ANC, he says

By S'BU MNGADI

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in his (Dhlomo's) department without his knowledge.

He confirmed that Buthelezi had recently acted as "acting Minister of Education and Culture" without his knowledge. It is widely believed that this became a major bone of contention between the two men.

Dhlomo's resignation has been seen by observers as not only a blow to Inkatha and Buthelezi, but as symptomatic of Buthelezi's dwindling black intellectual support.

He said that while his decision to resign might appear sudden, he had spent the better part of the past two years agonising over it.

Now Dhlomo is up for grabs - but "not party-political grabs".

He said that, contrary to popular expectations, the ANC had to date made no overtures to woo him to their side.

Even if this did eventually happen, he would not be available, as he sincerely believed "the unfolding political scenario needs the fostering of political reconciliation". He wanted to play a non-partisan role in any political institution he might join or establish, he said.

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Offers to Dhlomo include some from the pri-

ivate sector. He said he would assess all offers according to their merits.

Dhlomo will leave office with his Department of Education and Culture in a state of crisis. In his 1990 policy speech he said the school year was almost half-way through and no meaningful education had taken place in almost half the schools in KwaZulu/Natal.

He attributed the crisis

to the violence in Natal.

"The year 1990 will go down as the most tragic in the history of educational development in Kwazulu and Natal."

Dhlomo's parting advice to the person who will step into his shoes in Inkatha is: "He must continue the efforts to end the violence in Natal. He should foster the spirit of political co-existence. The violence is not in the interest of any organisation."

City Press 10/6/90

(11B)

(11B)

## Dhlomo speaks out on 'affair' rumours

CAPT Tink 12/16/90

Own Correspondent 118

**DURBAN.** — Former Inkatha official Dr Oscar Dhlomo has denied reports that he was involved in an affair with an academic's wife and says further legal action is in the hands of his lawyers.

Dr Dhlomo was replying to a question during a press conference here on the future of the Kwa-Zulu Natal Indaba.

He was asked to comment on reports that he will be cited as the co-respondent in a divorce action between Dr Rush Thulani Mkhize and Mrs Thembeke Mkhize.

Cape Times  
15/6/90

11B  
[Handwritten initials]

# 'Ballot will be Inkatha's critical test'

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha had entered a "critical period" in its history and its strength would ultimately have to be tested at the ballot box, Professor Douglas Irvine, head of political studies at the University of Natal, Maritzburg, told a symposium here.

Prof Irvine said the party had been free to build up an organisational structure based on the local authorities in rural and urban areas and by its representation in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

"The organisation is reinforced by a system of patronage and reward in which jobs, business licences, land tenure and so forth are largely dependent on membership of Inkatha."

The outsider's impression of the party was of an organisation with a considerable degree of control over its members — an impression Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been at pains to reinforce with threats of what would happen were he to let slip "the dogs of war".

It might also appear to an outsider that any attacks launched by Inkatha were engineered by a relatively small number of "warlords".

It was hardly in dispute that Inkatha had had considerable support from the state in one way or another.

"To some extent this may have a structural explanation, in the relationship between a homeland government and the central state, but it also appears to have been a matter of deliberate policy. (Minister of Law and Order) Mr Adriaan Vlok's role has been critical. Inkatha was perceived as an ally and instrumental in combating radical groupings."

Very recently, however, there had been indications of what might prove to be a remarkable shift in government policy. Mr Vlok, appearing on television in a programme on the Natal violence, had said that, while the SAP as an arm of the state had been associated with apartheid, a "re-education" of the police was now taking place.

"This must be seen as portentous for Inkatha's position."

"There is much to suggest that Inkatha is entering a critical period. Whatever the reasons for the sudden resignation of Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, it is clearly a damaging blow to the organisation at a time when the leadership's conception of its future role seems unclear."

Prof Irvine said there were no simple solutions to the Natal unrest — but the single most important structural cause of the violence would be removed when organisations were able to solve their differences by the ballot rather than the bullet.

# Fears in Natal of June 16 attack

Ste 15/6/90

118

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Fearing a Soweto Day "killing spree" tomorrow Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today made an urgent plea to stop the "hideous violence" in KwaZulu/Natal.

In a statement the KwaZulu leader claimed the ANC had massed 100 youths and adult men who had camped around two homesteads in Turton, south of Mtwalume to go on a "killing spree" in two South Coast districts tomorrow and that there were a further 100 youths and men from Clermont and KwaMashu massed for attack.

Violence would escalate at St Faith's in the area of Inkosi Fano Cele where it had already claimed the lives of 10 people since Wednesday last week, he said.

Violence was upsetting the political process, Chief Buthelezi said. He appealed to the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela and internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu to instruct their leaders to go to these areas to ensure no ANC attack took place.

Dr Buthelezi also appealed to the South African Army and the South African Police to patrol these two areas this weekend.



# Join us or die, reside

## Inkatha man alleges killing, burning by ANC cadres

BOB FREAN

Star 16/1/90

DURBAN — An Inkatha Youth organiser from Ulundi alleges that African National Congress members in Nhlahlakahle township near Greytown have run a recruitment campaign and have killed, burnt and maimed people and burnt the houses and threatened people who refused to join.

The man, Toti Zulu, who has gone to Greytown to study the violence, says that ANC men with AK-47 rifles have blocked off the part of the township so that Inkatha and non-aligned people cannot get to Greytown.

This left Inkatha supporters and non-aligned people with no alternative but to take steps to free their passage. "We Inkatha people are sounding this warning because we respect the law."

He alleges that ANC people have forced residents to pay from R100 to R300, and told the residents that the money would be used to buy firearms to "eliminate" Inkatha supporters or township councillors.

Mr Zulu said that the following Inkatha members or non-aligned people have been killed for refusing to join the ANC:

● James Chemane, whose family has left out of fear; S Xaba, an Inkatha member and township councillor; a Mr Zuma, a non-aligned member; and a Mr Ngunzane, an Inkatha member.

### Refused to pay

● A pupil, Wilcliff Dlamini, and Dumisane Dladla were wounded. The shop and two vehicles belonging to the mayor, Joachim Ndlovu, were burnt down because he refused to pay the money, Mr Zulu said, adding that AK-47 rifles have been used several times in attempts to eliminate the Inkatha chairman T Zondi, and committee members D Dladla and M Zakhwe.

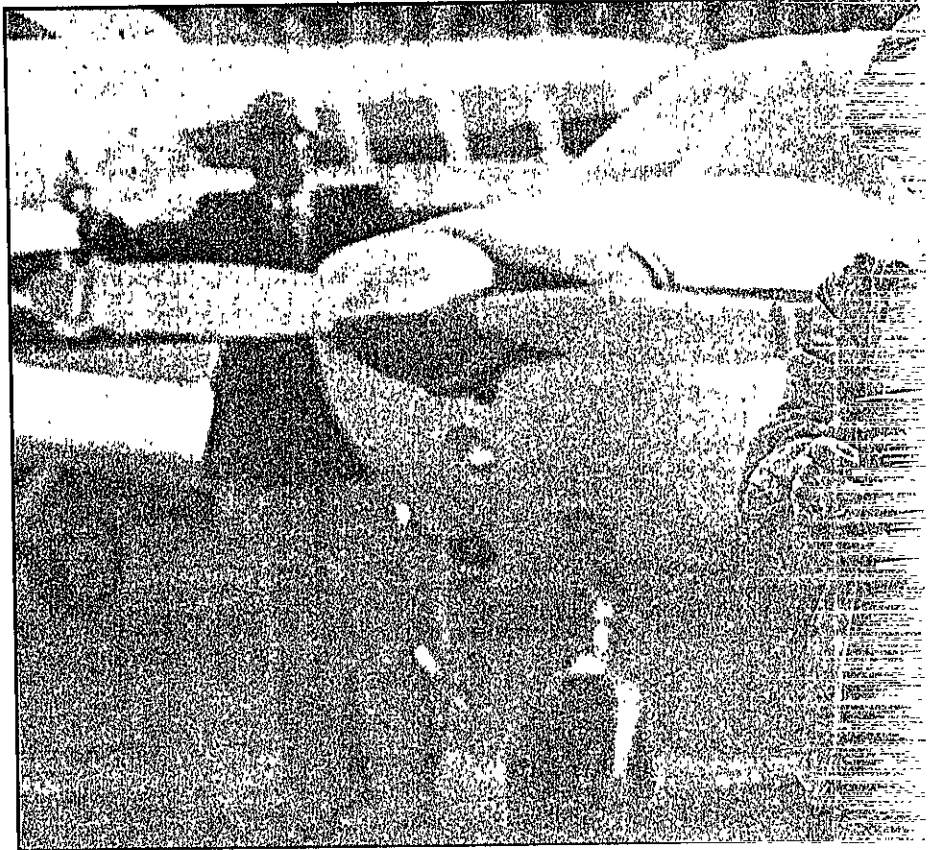
Major Pieter Kitching, police liaison officer in Maritzburg, has confirmed some of the deaths and shootings but said that there was no record of Wilcliff Dlamini being wounded.

He could not say whether any hit squads were responsible.

Meanwhile Solomon Mzolo, of Maphanga Road, Nhlahlakahle, appeared in the Greytown Magistrate's Court on Tuesday charged with two counts of illegal possession of weapons and two of possession of ammunition. His arrest followed a routine police search of the township.

He was charged with the possession of a 6,35 mm pistol and a home-made firearm which takes 9 mm cartridges. It was loaded.

Ammunition for both these weapons and an AK-47 rifle cartridge were allegedly found



SEE, I DID IT! Myriam Meier proudly shows off her new flying licence. And proud

## Gang beat innocent man

LONDON — A gang of youths took their own revenge when a girl claimed that she had been raped: they stripped naked a 19-year-old student then tortured him while the "victim" watched, a court heard last week.

But they had picked on an innocent man. The girl had lied.

Victoria Greenslade (18) had willingly consented to sex with fellow college student Brian Tozer but told her boyfriend she had been raped for fear he would find out about it, Winchester Crown Court was told.

She told the four-strong revenge squad formed by John Gilfedder where they could find Mr Tozer — sitting alone by his grandmother's grave — and went with them to watch the 10-minute attack.

Mr Anthony Davies, prosecuting, said that Mr Tozer, of Roman Road, Andover, blacked out three times after

he was stripped naked, then given karate chops, punched and kicked

Gilfedder (20), and three teenagers pleaded guilty and were sent to a young offenders' institute for 12 months.

Judge Alexander Lauriston QC said the decision not to prosecute Miss Greenslade "seems very strange indeed. I hope that Victoria Greenslade now realises the evil and wickedness of the lies she told".

Miss Greenslade, now four months pregnant by her new boyfriend, said: "I was worried what John would do if he found out I had been with another man.

Mr Tozer, a builder, said: "She came round two days after I was beaten up to say sorry. But I was too angry to forgive her. I asked her why they did it and she said it was a joke. Some joke. I am still having medical treatment."

— Daily Mail, London.

## At age has her

FOR 53-year-old Mrs Meier her pilot's licence this week was a dream come true.

Mrs Meier, wife of the general manager of Swiss Air Johannesburg, said at the age of 15 she yearning to be in the

"At 15 I would like to become an air hostess, but unfortunately when I left school I did a secretarial course.

She said when she her husband arrived South Africa last year said to her: "This where you can make

MANAGEMENT CO



# Dhlomo absent at De Klerk meeting

Political Staff

18/6/90  
KWAZULU'S Dr Oscar Dhlomo was a notable absentee when about 40 of the country's political leaders gathered at Tuynhuys this morning for talks with President De Klerk.

The president had invited to the talks the chief ministers of the six national states, the administrators of the four provinces and leaders of the three houses of Parliament.

The Kwazulu delegation consisted of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Dennis Madide and Dr Frank Mdlalose, but not Dr Dhlomo.

This probably reflected his announced intention to quit Kwazulu government service and Inkatha at the end of June.

The QwaQwa delegation included their recently appointed Commissioner-General, Dr W A Odendaal, as elections were taking place in the homeland today. President De Klerk said in a statement yesterday that the meeting was a continuation of regular meetings he had

held with South African leaders.

The meeting follows one on April 5 when four of the six homeland leaders, those of Kangwane, Gazankulu, Kwan-debele and Lebowa, did not turn up after pressure from the ANC.

Only the Kwazulu chief minister, Dr Buthelezi and the Qwa-Qwa leader, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, attended the first meeting.

Today's meeting will be partly to explore the possibilities for negotiations on constitutional changes to provide for black political rights.

President De Klerk is due to meet ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela again soon.

● The African National Congress would closely monitor the outcome of today's meeting, said ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The ANC had been briefed by the homeland leaders about the talks, Mr Kathrada said.



**HOMELAND LEADERS:** President De Klerk with Mr M N Ramodika; Chief Minister of Lebowa, left, and Professor H W E Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, before the start of talks with self-governing homeland leaders at Tuynhuys. Far left is Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

Arise! 116



# De Klerk's homeland talks 'positive'

## TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk and leaders of the self-governing homelands are to continue efforts to remove stumbling blocks to negotiations following a meeting at Tuynhuys.

According to a statement from the president's office they agreed that real negotiations for a new constitution should be the highest priority and should start as soon as possible.

Some of the chief ministers said however that they were not prepared to go into talks right away.

### STUMBLING BLOCKS

Mr M N Ramodika of Lebowa said the Group Areas Act and the continued state of emergency in Natal were some of the stumbling blocks.

Homeland leaders agreed that all the obstacles could not be removed at once and that there was the need to have further talks, Mr Ramodika said.

Mr De Klerk's statement confirmed that there would be another meeting soon.

Mr Ramodika said the government and the African National Congress were co-partners in the effort to solve problems amicably. He was therefore prepared to speak to the ANC as well as to the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had been positive.

Violence and how to bring stability to the country had been considered.

Mr De Klerk said while different viewpoints had

been discussed those present had agreed that the common interests, aspirations and needs of all South Africans required that:

- There should be efficient government and administration at national, regional and local levels before and during the process of negotiating a new constitutional dispensation;

- Economic growth and development were needed to create jobs, to fight poverty and to ensure business and investment confidence in the country and the Southern African region;

- Intimidation and political and other violence should cease, not only for the sake of reconciliation but also because a new, peaceful, just and prosperous South Africa could not be attained through violence and destructive and unjust methods;

- Peaceful protest as a political method should be used sparingly and responsibly because of its disruptive and emotive effects;

- For a new constitutional dispensation to be eventually approved and supported by the majority of South Africans all political entities and interests committed to peaceful solutions and having a proven base of support should be involved in negotiating a new constitution.

Apart from the chief ministers and representatives of Lebowa, Kwandebele, Kangwane, Gazankulu, Kwazulu and Qwa Qwa the meeting was attended by the four provincial administrators, a number of cabinet ministers and the chairmen of the three ministers' councils in Parliament.



Mr De Klerk



Chief Buthelezi

Ste 20/6/90

## ANC 'ignored' Buthelezi pleas

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC leadership for not heeding his call to stop the killings in the Umzumbe area in Natal.

He said in a statement in the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi that his people knew the attacks were coming and he had urged the ANC not to go on any more "killing sprees" on the South Coast.

"On June 14 . . . I made an urgent and heartfelt plea to Dr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr 'Terror' Lekota to intervene and ensure that the planned attacks . . . did not take place.

"Tragically, my appeals fell on deaf ears. Dr Mandela maintained an aloof, far-away silence."

# Inkatha may take up the challenge by Kagiso Trust

115 TIM COHEN

INKATHA will consider taking up a challenge issued by Kagiso Trust director Achmat Dangor suggesting the joint publication of the organisations' audited reports, an Inkatha spokesman said yesterday.

Dangor issued the challenge to Inkatha on Tuesday in response to suggestions that there was political favouritism in the allocation of the trust's funds.

Dangor rejected suggestions made in a report compiled by the nine locally based EC member states and submitted by ambassadors to the EC in April. He said the vast majority of projects funded by the trust were politically neutral.

The Inkatha spokesman said that by issuing the challenge, Dangor was "trying to squirm out of a tight corner" and charged him with "obfuscation".

The spokesman said Inkatha was a movement, as opposed to the Kagiso Trust which has a specific mandate to "assist the victims of apartheid".

Meanwhile, poet Sipho Sepamla said he was reserving judgment on allegations that the trust was politically biased, despite the fact that his cultural project, the Fuba center, received about R100,000 from the trust last year.

He said when he first applied for funds he was told the centre did not qualify. But he was later told by an EC member that it did.

On applying for the third time, funds were allocated, but he believed this might have been as a result of the inquiries he made directly to the EC.

He said four of the fund's directors had written to ask him to stop making allegations that the fund supported only Charterist organisations.

# Buthelezi's TV appeal rejected

118

ST 22/6/90

NEW YORK — An emotional New York television appeal from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi to "pick up the phone and call me" was rejected by African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela last night.

He was speaking on the mass-audience Ted Koppel show on the second day of his visit to New York.

## Film clip

During the show, he was asked to respond on the issue of poor relations between the ANC and Inkatha, and a videotaped clip of the Zulu organisation's Chief Buthelezi was shown.

In the film clip, the homeland leader — looking directly at the camera — explained how he had

consistently refused to negotiate with the "racist" white leaders of South Africa until Mr Mandela was released.

Respectfully referring to Mr Mandela as "Madiba", Chief Buthelezi noted there had been behind-the-scenes contact between them, via third parties, and called on the ANC leader to "even though you are far away in New York, pick up the phone and call me ..."

The two men have not yet met. A scheduled public meeting in Natal earlier this year was called off by the ANC.

In Rome last week Mr Mandela dismissed Chief Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope as the only two remaining homeland stooges of the Government.

He replied: "I do not think it correct of me to wash our dirty linen in a foreign country."

"There are no differences between me and the ANC as regards Inkatha ..."

## Resolve

Mr Mandela said he would like the ANC to sit down with Inkatha to resolve their problems and end the Natal violence.

However, the issue was no longer a simple dispute between the ANC and Inkatha, because the Government had taken advantage of the situation and sided with Inkatha to such an extent that "now our problem is no longer just a question of me meeting you," he said. — Sapa.

Step 23/6/90

## Inkatha home gutted

THE house of an Inkatha official and Diepmeadow councillor was gutted by fire this week after being petrol-bombed for the third time in two weeks. The Diepkloof house belonged to Angelina Dlomo, a businesswoman and secretary of Inkatha Women's Brigade in the West Rand. She is councillor for Diepmeadow Ward 2. Damage was estimated at R50 000. — Staff Reporter.

served in Angola.  
His father, Louis Bre-

agreement with the  
SADF.

Mildred Bredekamp.

Military Police and could  
not comment.

country," said Bredekamp.

# MP to evict 150 from his land

By S'BU MNGADI

THE KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Winington Sabelo, is poised to evict about 150 local residents from a piece of land allocated to him in 1986 by Umlazi Town Council.

Sabelo, accompanied by members of the KwaZulu police, last Friday served eviction notices in which he gave residents seven days in which to vacate the 1164 square metres of land.

The notices headed "KwaZulu government" and signed by Sabelo, warn: "If you fail to move, I will have no other alternative but to get a bulldozer and have you moved forcibly."

Black Sash Urbanisation researcher Ansuya Chetty said the residents reported that on March 7 people were called together and told they should move by "next week".

Residents had already seen bulldozers at work, levelling the ground near their shacks, Chetty told *City Press*.

She said they spoke to AN Wilson of the property developers, who told Black Sash that six sites were being developed on the land and that R11 000 had already been spent on each site.

According to Wilson, Chetty said, his company was simply managing the project, which was funded by the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation.

"With regard to the ownership of the land, Wilson said the leasehold certificate was originally in the name of Winington Sabelo. The property was subsequently transferred to Arthur Nxumalo, a property developer. The site is at present registered in his name."

Sabelo, fellow KwaZulu MPs, Umlazi town councillors and

property developers were reported in *City Press* in 1987 as having allocated almost every piece of land in the township among themselves.

Then, there were about 5 000 people on the town council's waiting list for sites. Black Sash says by November last year the number had increased to 6 554.

The Kwazulu's Department of the Interior subsequently appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate corruption in the council, but the commission's findings have so far not been made public.

When residents first asked Black Sash for help in March, 11 families were affected. Now there are 31 families - more than 150 people.

Umlazi, established in 1962, has in the past four years seen a gradual emergence of Imijondolo (shacks).

Black Sash estimated there were 6 700 shacks distributed in nine sections of the township.

The most serious problem facing shackdwellers is lack of security of tenure.

Black Sash said that between January and September 1989 there were more than 200 arrests under the Trespass Act (6) of 1959. In the same period, shackdwellers in the adjoining section D, belonging to the University of Zululand's extra-mural division, received several eviction notices from the University.

Peter Rutsch of Durban's Legal Resources Centre and two members of Lawyers for Human Rights defended 30 cases of trespassing between May and December 1989 in which all but three defendants were acquitted.

Lack of water is the second major problem facing shackdwellers.

1165  
C/P/Res 24/6/90

# Security men will testify at Minister's murder trial

By S'BU MNGADI

*c/pers 24/6/90 118*

TWO white security policemen who allegedly gave KwaZulu's Deputy Minister Bhekizizwe Jamile a photograph of an activist suspected of throwing a hand grenade into his car, have been subpoenaed to testify at the Minister's mass murder trial.

Jamile, 60, a senior member of Inkatha Central Committee, and Msizi Hlophe, 19, have pleaded not guilty to five charges of murder, seven of attempted and three of incitement to murder. They are appearing before Justice Mitchell and two assessors in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

The Pinetown-based members of the security branch, a warrant officer and a sergeant, are alleged to have been close to Jamile until he was arrested at his Ulundi home on February 19 this year.

The State alleges that Jamile was given a photograph of a young detainee whom security police suspected of having thrown a hand grenade into a car in which Jamile and two others were travelling in 1987.

Two activists from Clermont, Durban, were acquitted of charges of attempted murder in connection with the hand grenade attack in 1989.

The Supreme Court is expected to establish the policemen's intention in giving Jamile the photograph.

The Jamile murder trial took a dramatic turn this week when the Inkatha leader's co-accused, Hlophe, was alleged to have told a group of people that Jamile had instructed members of the KwaZulu police to shoot Clermont businessman Zazi Khuzwayo.

A shocked courtroom was told by deputy president of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce Obed Mthembu that he was present on June 8 when Hlophe told people behind the Supreme Court that "they" had instructed "The ZP's" to shoot Khuzwayo.

Khuzwayo was shot dead in his Clermont shopping complex office in May 1987. The State alleges Khuzwayo's death and those of other local community leaders were ordered by Jamile.

The State cites disagreement over the proposed incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu between 1982 and 1985 as having led to the killings and attempts to kill other people - including UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

The accused told the group the only person he had personally shot was Nicholas Mkhize, a Clermont taxi operator who was killed on July 5, 1988.

Mthembu told the court Hlophe pleaded with the group to call his brother to testify in his favour, as he was aware of the circumstances in which the events happened and he had been instructed by Jamile.

Mthembu said at the time he questioned Hlophe about a gun attack on his home on February 21, 1988, but the accused denied knowledge of the incident.

Describing the incident, Mthembu said he was fired at a number of times by a person dressed in clothes similar to those of the riot police.

He told the court he was shot four times and his house set alight, causing R120 000 damage. He spent two months in hospital as a result of the attack - which took place four days after the funeral of Inyanda member Lindiwe Pearl Tshabalala, wife of advocate Vuka Tshabalala.

Mthembu said he spoke at Tshabalala's funeral, warning that her killers would be apprehended.

Tshabalala was fatally shot on February 10, 1988, as she was leaving her bottle store. The State alleges that Jamile instructed a number of men, including Hlophe, to kill her.

The hearing continues tomorrow.

Three members of the KwaZulu police, two known only as Vela and Vusi, and Zwelibanzi G Dhlamini, are being sought by the Pinetown police in connection with the Jamile trial.



## Slam attacks - Inkatha

INKATHA'S central committee yesterday called on the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to publicly condemn recent attacks which razed the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban. (116)

The organisations, and specifically ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela, were also asked to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation which are calculated to produce violence in black politics". Soweto 25/6/90 (110)

Resolutions to this effect were taken at a central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, Inkatha's Press statement yesterday said.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu were asked to "shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible" for last week's attacks on the West Rand home of Mrs Angelina Dhlomo, and the Durban home of Mrs D D Ngcobo. - Sapa.

# My services are still available to SA - Dhlomo

Staff Reporter (16)

**DURBAN** — Retiring Inkatha secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo has assured President F W de Klerk's Government that his skills as a negotiator will be available to South Africa and its people.

Speaking to Natal businessmen in Umhlanga on Friday night, Dr Dhlomo said "those perceived skills are still available to people in South Africa and I have assured everyone including the Government".

Anxious business people attached to the Umhlanga section of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce urged him to remain politically active as a negotiator.

They also expressed great

concern about the ongoing violence in Natal and wanted to know why African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela and the president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had not met to discuss the violence.

Dr Dhlomo said it seemed the ANC wanted to isolate Dr Buthelezi from Inkatha and deal with President de Klerk over the Natal violence.

"They are on very dangerous ground. It is tantamount to isolating the Pope from the Roman Catholic Church," he said.

In another development, Inkatha's central committee, has thanked Dr Dhlomo for the "dig- nity with which he rejected ru-

mours that he resigned because of disputes inside Inkatha or that he planned to join the ANC".

In a statement released yesterday Inkatha recorded its own "informed rejection of these rumours".

The committee also thanked Dr Dhlomo for the pioneering work he performed towards developing the negotiating power of Inkatha and for the leading role he played in representing Inkatha and Kwazulu in the Kwazulu Natal Indaba.

Inkatha's central committee yesterday also called on the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to publicly condemn recent attacks which razed the homes of In-

katha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban.

The organisations, and specifically ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, were also asked to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation which are calculated to produce violence in black politics".

Resolutions to this effect were taken at a central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu were asked to "shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible" for last week's attacks on the West Rand home of Angelina Dhlomo and the Durban home of D D Ngcobo. — Sapa.

# Inkatha marchers protest sanctions

ABOUT 1 000 Inkatha supporters marched through central Johannesburg on Saturday and presented a memorandum to representatives of the British and Italian embassies protesting sanctions on South Africa.

The Inkatha supporters were out in force, wielding knobkerries, assegais, spears and sticks in their self-styled march, dancing, whistling and toy-toying on an open lot opposite the Jeppe railway station.

Tension mounted when some alleged Inkatha supporters threatened to assault nearby onlookers. An Inkatha supporter also told *Sapa* they were on the lookout for reporters of Johannesburg newspapers (*City Press* and *Weekly Mail*).

He claimed the two newspapers hated Inkatha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We are prepared for them. You (reporters) all

South African 25/6/90  
favour ANC," he charged a *Sapa* reporter.

After receiving the memorandum from Inkatha Woman's Brigade chairperson, Ms I Ngwenya, Italian representative Mr Giuseppe Semenza said: "I will pass on the memorandum to my government so that their (Inkatha's) voice should be heard."

British vice-Consul Mr Clive Wright said: "My embassy will decide what to do with the memorandum."

The memorandum was handed over to the two representatives in front of the Johannesburg City Library in Market Street.

It read: "We equally applaud your appreciation of the fact that sanctions hurt blacks to an overwhelmingly greater extent than whites.

"We accordingly state our approval for the growing acceptance within South Africa of the urgent necessity of secur-

ing, through peaceful means, the formulation of a just, open multi-party democratic system."

Inkatha expressed its approval for the exploratory talks held recently between the ANC and the SA Government.



NELSON MANDELA

"We urge you to use your influence to ensure that future pre-negotiation talks and negotiations are open to include all representatives of all political organisations."

While the Inkatha supporters waved posters condemning ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, at the same time they urged the British and Italian embassies to encourage the ANC leader to honour an invitation for a meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"God giveth jobs: Mandela took away the jobs," said a poster. Another poster said: "Mandela belly full - we are hungry."

The demonstrators waving the black, green, gold, red and white Inkatha flags chanted *Shenge Shenge Shenge* as they marched down Commissioner Street from the railway station to the city centre.

Marchers, dressed in Buthelezi T-shirts, brought traffic to a standstill. -Sapa.

Care  
Tears  
26/6/90

(116)

## Inkatha says sorry to press

JOHANNESBURG.—Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Mr. Themba Khoza yesterday apologized for threats directed at two Johannesburg newspapers by alleged members during Inkatha's anti-sanctions march on Saturday.

Mr. Khoza said the response to Inkatha's recruitment drive in the PWV area had been "tremendous", with many new non-Zulu members.

He condemned Cosatu's call for a national stayaway on July 2 and said Inkatha members would ignore it. — Sapa

Spei. 26/6/90



# Inkatha, ANC 'should talk about violence'

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The violence in Natal will not be stopped without Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi being part of the solution, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told President Bush at the White House yesterday.

According to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, Mr Mandela told Mr Bush he believed two things about the violence in Natal:

● It was important for Inkatha and the ANC to discuss the issue around the table. He believed no solution was possible in Natal without Chief Buthelezi being part of the solution.

● The major responsibility for stopping the violence belonged to the Government and not the ANC.

At a press conference after meeting Mr Bush, Mr Mandela said he had briefed the president very fully on the issue of violence in Natal.

"The gravamen of my briefing with him was mainly that the Government is responsible for the violence.

"This violence has been going on for more than four years and close to 4 000 people have been killed.

"We place the responsibility for this on the Government because it has the capacity to suppress this violence in a matter of days. It has not interfered, except by way of using the police and the Defence Force to attack the ANC."

Soweto  
28/6/90  
**PAC is set to mediate in Natal**

THE Pan Africanist Congress has offered to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha over the Natal violence, saying the two were in the "same camp and not at all fundamentally opposed".

PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander said in Johannesburg his organisation could see no reason why the groups could not resolve their differences 'amicably through dialogue'.

113 **Blamed**

The fact that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had blamed the restraints placed on him by his fellow ANC members for not meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi made it difficult for the PAC to take sides.

The only meaningful and positive role the PAC could play in the fighting, which had claimed the lives of more than 3 000 people, "is to tender our services to the warring parties as mediators". - Sapa.

ANC: <sup>Temp</sup> 29/6/90

# Action lines drawn

JOHANNESBURG. — The battle lines were drawn yesterday in the African National Congress' mass stayaway offensive next week against Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC has warned the government that the process of negotiations could be derailed unless its demands to pull Inkatha's teeth are met.

The "week of national mass action", launched at a press conference yesterday by Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders, aims to:

- Isolate Chief Buthelezi politically.

- Force the government to disarm and disband the KwaZulu Police.

- Arrest the so-called Inkatha "warlords", whom they blame for the violence in Natal.

The Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Buthelezi have both slammed

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the ANC action, saying it will heighten conflict.

And while the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday welcomed a PAC offer to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha, the ANC rejected it.

Amid widespread fear that the ANC action could escalate the violence in Natal, in which 3 000 people have died so far, the South African Council of Churches yesterday outlined a code of conduct for all parties concerned.

It states that "everyone wants an end to the violence in Natal. Some people are planning actions such as a stayaway and marches to call for peace.

"All must be free to choose what they want to do for peace without fear of intimidation. All must respect the right of people to hold different views."

The code says that those who either want to work or stayaway during the week of protests should be allowed to do so without interference.

The code says people should not be forced to take part in marches or protests, and organisers and all organisations must condemn attacks on people's homes and families as criminal behaviour.

The security forces must also uphold the right of people to protest peacefully and must not interfere with meetings, marches, rallies and stayaways.

The code was drawn up after meetings this month between the SACC's general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, Chief Buthelezi, Dr Dlliza Mji of the UDF/Cosatu Joint Working Group in Natal, Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu and Mr Sisulu.

The PAC was also consulted, as was the government, with a letter being sent to President FW de Klerk setting out the process of negotiations.

In Cape Town the ANC week of public demonstrations starts on Sunday with a rally at Athlone that will be addressed by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani.

The Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) also condemned the stayaway yesterday.

It called on black students and youth "to be indifferent" to the ANC call because the black school calendar had already been severely disrupted this year.

At its press conference yesterday the ANC alliance said that in the light of the potentially explosive situation that could develop because of opposition to the offensive, it recognised and respected the right of anyone not to participate in the stayaway and the week of protest.

The purpose of the action was to force President De Klerk "to find the political will" to put an end to the Natal conflict, the ANC said.

Chief Buthelezi's response yesterday to the upcoming offensive was to condemn the planned stayaway but at the same time he appealed to Inkatha members to act responsibly. — Sapa

# Inkatha nod for 'peaceful' ANC

Star 29/6/90 (116) (100)

By Kaizer Nyatumba

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today the ANC and others had the right to operate freely in the Natal-KwaZulu region, but challenged them to conduct their activities peacefully.

Responding to ANC Southern Natal convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota's challenge that he state publicly whether the ANC had a right to organise freely in his stronghold, Chief Buthelezi said he and Inkatha believed that freedom of political choice and association was paramount.

## Intimidation

He pointed out Mr Lekota was already organising freely in the area, as were the PAC and Azapo.

Chief Buthelezi, who said he had received reports of intimidation against Inkatha supporters by people claiming to be ANC members, challenged Mr Lekota "to publicly state" whether he would personally ensure that intima-

tion experienced by Inkatha members would stop.

Inkatha, he said, did not condone "in any way whatsoever" behaviour which threatened property, lives or other organisations.

Chief Buthelezi further challenged Mr Lekota to publicly state:

- Whether he and the ANC leadership would ensure that the July 2 stayaway would be peaceful and not result in loss of life.

## Widows, orphans

- That they and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) would accept responsibility for any violence on the day and compensate "each and every victim".

- That they will care for the widows, orphans and others who might lose "loved ones and breadwinners" because of the stayaway.

- That people who wanted to go to work but were prevented from doing so would be compensated by the ANC and Cosatu.

Mr Lekota, who is in Natal, could not be reached for comment.



# Zulus will be attacked, says Inkatha

91177  
Daily Mail Reporter

113 10 23 1988

TENSIONS are rising over the decisions of the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Council of Trade Unions and Inkatha to defy a national stayaway planned for Monday.

Workers from Natal told *The Weekly Mail* that a kwaZulu official, addressing a meeting at Dube Hostel on June 17, said: "Cosatu and the ANC are planning to attack Zulus on July 2, and every Zulu must arm himself and be ready to fight back in defence."

The stayaway, called by the African National Congress, the South African Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, is aimed at pressurising the government to take action to end the Natal violence.

Last Saturday, after an Inkatha march through central Johannesburg, partici-

pants were told to meet at the Merafe Hostel in Soweto this Sunday to plan ways of opposing the stayaway.

According to the workers, it was suggested that some hostel dwellers patrol railway stations in Soweto to protect people going to work from intimidation.

They said: "There is concern among some hostel inmates that this is going to lead to confrontation and many of us are reluctant to do this. A lot of people are saying they do not want to die in Johannesburg, but it seems there are people who want to bring Pietermaritzburg to Johannesburg." w/mal 27/6/90

Inkatha organiser Themba Khoza denied the organisation was planning any confrontation. He said the Inkatha Youth Brigade would be holding a meeting at the Jabulani Hall on Sunday to discuss the stayaway.

Lekota and Mellett

# The fissures deepen

F/M 29/6/90  
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As Inkatha and the UDF — and more recently, the ANC — continue their violent power struggle, it may be trite to observe that there is little black unity in Natal.

But while Natal and KwaZulu burn, cracks are also starting to appear in the internal structures of the opposing organisations. Inkatha can no longer deny that it is losing support, both rural and urban; and rifts are starting to appear in the regional leadership of the ANC and between the ANC and UDF.

For Inkatha the implications are probably more serious, but internal friction within the ranks of the ANC and UDF has the potential to become a long-term problem.

This friction was noted in a paper by Douglas Irvine, Prof of Political Studies at Natal University. Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) conference, he said: "Clearly, there are tensions and disagreements on policy and strategy among ANC leaders in Natal... Nelson Mandela's declared readiness to meet Chief Buthelezi, for instance, is bitterly opposed by many ANC supporters in Natal.

"Within Natal itself, it is no secret that on a variety of matters Harry Gwala doesn't see eye to eye with Archie Gumede or Patrick Lekota," he says.

Gwala, released last year, is apparently the cause of most of the inconsistency. He regularly contradicts Mandela (who has called for peace in Natal) and ANC policy with statements at mass rallies urging supporters to "smash" Inkatha, speaking about the need for the "armed struggle" and most recently talking about the need to negotiate with an AK-47.

The ANC's Lekota denies there is any split in ranks in Natal, saying Gwala's statements should be taken in context. But Lekota does admit that "there may be some people who read more into Gwala's statements than what he wants to convey."

Gumede is more forthright, saying that while people who have spent a lot of time on Robben Island have a special status among followers. "Robben Island, in a way, is doing us a lot of harm."

It is also known, but seldom admitted, that there is friction between UDF leaders and the new ANC leaders. Though the UDF carried the ANC torch in Natal while the latter was banned, often having members



Buthelezi

detained, there seems to be some resentment now that "new people" are playing leading roles in the province.

There is probably also a more practical reason for the friction — a lot of UDF leaders, many who

also head the Natal Indian Congress, see their positions threatened by returning exiles and released political prisoners. These internal splits do not augur well for Natal. The power struggle between Inkatha and the UDF and ANC will be difficult enough to resolve without friction between members.

For Inkatha, the sudden resignation of secretary-general and senior minister Oscar Dhloomo earlier this month was a trouble sign for the organisation. Dhloomo denies his resignation had anything to do with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi or members of Inkatha. Yet his departure will hurt the organisation, not only by giving the impression that things are starting to fall apart, but also because without Dhloomo — and his diplomatic and negotiating skills — any serious "peace meeting" with the ANC and UDF seems further away than ever.

On paper, Inkatha is the biggest political grouping in the country, claiming 1,8m members. But the official figure — which Dhloomo says is increasing — does not represent actual support. For people living or working in KwaZulu, an Inkatha membership card is essential. Without it, access to jobs, health services, and in rural areas vital resources like water, are difficult.

Obviously this is not official policy, but it happens. Says Lekota: "To claim 1,8m supporters is rubbish. That's the number of membership receipts they count at Ulundi. People carry their cards for convenience, or because they have been coerced into joining," he claims.

While it is, therefore, difficult to gauge Inkatha's actual support, it does appear significant, and at this stage is probably bigger than support for the ANC. The difference is that Inkatha is now starting to lose support, while the ANC will probably continue to make up ground. Recently, reports have come from respectable sources which claim support for Inkatha is dwindling.

One is the Durban Functional Region (DFR) planning report, commissioned by the Tongaat-Hulett Group. It concludes that Inkatha draws much of its support from the region's more conservative people, who also tend to be older and mainly resident in rural or informal communities. The younger group, with more modern and urban values and who also tend to live in formal urban townships, generally tend to identify with what the



Lekota

report calls the Charterists (those who subscribe to the ANC's Freedom Charter).

"It would therefore seem, on the assumption that Inkatha will not modernise its style of politics, that political support among African DFR resi-

dents will increasingly tend towards the Charterists," the report says.

Considering that of the DFR's black population — estimated between 3,1m to 3,8m people — about 40% are under 14, it seems inevitable that more and more people will be broadly attracted to the policies of the ANC or more radical groups.

Coupled to this is the phenomenal urbanisation process taking place in Natal. As the drift towards the cities continues, people will increasingly identify with "Charterist" organisations, particularly for the benefits offered by trade unions affiliated to Cosatu. Inkatha's union, Uwusa, has not made much impact in industrial affairs and is not a serious rival to Cosatu.

More recently, Irvine, in the report mentioned above, said there were indications that Inkatha's support in urban areas had weakened significantly, and that the "battle, it seems, is moving to the rural areas."

Irvine says the unbanning of the ANC has put Inkatha on the retreat and, as President F W de Klerk increasingly recognises the importance of establishing a working relationship with the ANC, "Inkatha's position becomes more vulnerable." He concludes the immediate future of the organisation is "troubled and unclear."

In Inkatha's traditional power base in rural areas, the revival of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, a tribal chief-based movement, is also taking away its members.

In short, Inkatha has been overtaken by history and, as the rules in the political arena keep changing, it seems destined to be sidelined. Many observers believe that this, in part, explains the high level of violence in Natal.

Inkatha has responded with changes in policy, certain to be ratified at its annual conference on July 13. It plans to become a nationally based political party, open to all, aiming at a seat in future negotiations. Whether this will be enough to change the fortunes of Inkatha remains to be seen.

What is clear is that, as long as ANC leaders contradict each other, peace meetings will be that much more difficult to organise. And, in the short term at least, as long as Inkatha continues to lose support the level of violence is unlikely to abate.

Dhloomo, widely regarded as one of the more astute politicians in the region, would like to see reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC. He believes that unless the two organisations learn to work together, there will be no end to the conflict in Natal.



Gwala

# Buthelezi welcomes PAC offer to act in peace talks

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Sowetan 29/6/90

**INKATHA** President and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday welcomed the Pan Africanist Congress offer to mediate in talks between Inkatha and the African National Congress to end violence in Natal.

"Anybody who can positively contribute to ensuring peace and stability become a lasting

reality for all suffering people in Natal have a role to play."

He said in a statement that before any decisions could be made about potential mediators however, it was up to the ANC leadership to announce whether they were willing to talk peace in

the region.

"Inkatha is ready for such an eventuality.

"We really do anxiously await the commitment of the ANC to accept what Dr Nelson Mandela is said to have told US President George Bush - that both the ANC and Inkatha must sit

around the same table and discuss the violence in Natal."

PAC earlier offered to mediate in Inkatha-ANC talks and said it would not support the ANC campaign or call for a national stayaway in Natal.

The organisation said "we cannot lend our support to any campaign from any quarter should the outcome be division and further violent clashes". - Sapa



Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi

## Inkatha *Swifan 29/6/90* opens its doors 118

INKATHA will open its doors to South Africans of all races and become a political party when it holds its annual conference in Ulundi next month, according to KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The move is widely felt by political analysts to be an attempt by the organisation to secure a stable platform in future negotiation politics.

The annual conference where the historic decision will be made, will take place on July 13.

### **Change**

Inkatha's Central Committee made the recommendation during the last sitting of the KwaZulu Parliament.

Dr. Buthelezi said: "Inkatha is now changing from a liberation movement, to a powerful political party."

He has stated that elections are likely to follow negotiations between the Government and other political parties, and that Inkatha was determined to play a role in "centrist reconciliatory politics". - Sapa.

# Stayaway call raises fears of new violence

Str 30 16/90

115

**SUE OLSWANG**

AN INCREASINGLY bitter propaganda war between the African National Congress and rival groups has raised fears of renewed violence in South Africa's black townships.

Supporters of the ANC — which is jockeying with rivals for position ahead of political negotiations with the Government — have been involved in widespread armed clashes with supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in recent weeks.

The latest tension centres on the ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) call for nationwide protests against "black-on-black" violence in the ongoing battle with Inkatha supporters in Natal.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu this week said the ANC and its union and activist allies had organised marches, stayaways and rallies throughout next week to demand President de Klerk's intervention to stop the fighting, which has claimed thousands of lives.

The ANC and its allies have also jettisoned the disbanding of Kwazulu homeland and its police force, both headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Zulu Inkatha movement, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have condemned the protests, saying they will increase strife instead of helping to end it.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) has stated it will not support the campaign and many

