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â\200\230farcicalâ\200\231
election

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front has
voiced strong opposition to the
May 6 general election, dubbing it
a farce, but it has stopped short of
calling on whites not to vote.

Acknowledging that the electorate
would vote in time-honoured ways, the
UDF said no white voter should be
allowed to go to the polls claiming ig-
norance or lack of understanding of the
position of blacks.

The UDF stated its position on the
election and current political issues in
an 11-page document released yester-
day. :

It said: â\200\234There are more pressing
and serious issues facing white South
Africans than whether or not they vote.
The UDF will not be pushed into the
single issue of whether or not whites
should vote to the exclusion of the real
concerns. We hope and intend that this
election period will be a time when all
South Africans consider their options.â\200\235

It called on all South Africans,
â\200\234workers, parents, students and white
democratsâ\200\235 to protest on May 1 against
apartheid and the electionsâ\200\235.

(Paragraph deleted.) g

The UDF was committed to the dis-

| mantling of all bodies of minority rule,

| and the creation of a non-racial, demo-
cratic South Africa.

â\200\234In every sense, the forthcoming
election is a farce ... because the mi-
nority of South Africans will elect a
Parliament that will attempt to deter-
mine the future of the majority of
South Africans.â\200\235

The UDF said the elections were
taking place against the backdrop of
the State of Emergency: â\200\234This election
will avoid or suppress the main issues
of our future. It will not address or pro-
vide solutions to the political and eco-
nomic crisis, the growing civil war be-

tween South Africans, widespread unemployment and inflation, or any of the major issues of the day.â\200\235 Referring to plans for a new reform alliance, made up of the PFP, NRP, business groups, â\200\234New Nats and so-called black moderatesâ\200\235, it said this

was dangerous and a retrogressive step.:

The UDF said the independent candidates and the â\200\234new Natsâ\200\235, were channelling their dissatisfaction in the â\200\230wrong direction and were â\200\234playing on the edges of NP politicsâ\200\235.

The statement referred to several

major election issues, including:
@ The African National Congress had become an important issue. â\200\234The fundamental instability of the National Party is clearly demonstrated by their fear of the ANC.â\200\235

The UDF predicted that May 1, celebrated by millions of workers every year, would be â\200\234a focal point of NP disinformation and manipulationâ\200\235.

@Â® The National Party would concentrate on group security.

â\200\234It is ironic that one of the NPâ\200\231s favourite themes is â\200\230group securityâ\200\231 for

â\200\230minorities. This platform in fact is

built on racism and fear. Far from the legitimate cultural aspirations of the Afrikaans people being safeguarded by apartheid, these aspirations are being threatened with total extinction.â\200\235

The UDF said real hope lay with the

Freedom Charter, which guaranteed

equal rights to all national groups.
@ The Government would claim the State of Emergency had ended unrest. â\200\234South Africans know instead that what we are seeing are intensifying cycles of violence, and a rapid degeneration into civil war.â\200\235 :
The UDF reiterated its demand for the unbanning of the ANC, the release of leader Nelson Mandela as well as

(remainder of sentence deleted.)

â\200\234South Africans have to come together to work out a just and democratic political system. This has to be

done in a political climate free from restrictions and with all parties in a position to negotiateâ\200\235.

It called on PFP supporters to turn away from racists, and to look toward the majority.

The UDF also expressed its opposition to the kwaZulu-Natal indaba, saying that it was flawed from the start and built on ethnic politics.

(Portions of this report have been deleted in terms of the emergency regulations.)

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

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S THE MUNNIK COMMISSION _____ oy

Funding the UDFâ\200\231s. â\200\230shortfallâ\200\231

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SHEENA DUNCAN of the Black Sash, giving evidence before the Munnik Commission, said she was not told who would fund the â\200\234Un-ban the ANCâ\200\235 advertisements when asked whether she would support them.

Neither was the Black Sash | asked to make any contribution towards the funding, Duncan â\200\224 director of the Sashâ\200\231s Transvaal advice office â\200\224 told the inquiry yesterday.

The commission is sitting in the Rand Supreme Court under the chairmanship of Cape Chief Jus-

tice Mr Justice Munnik. The depu-

ty Attorney-General of the Cape â\200\224 ancois van Zyl, S C â\200\224 is leading evidence for the commission.u

Duncan concurred with Mr Justice Munnik that there â\200\234was a clear understanding that you would not be expected to make any contribution towards the cost of the advertâ\200\235. by

She said she had been approached by a Derek Hanekom before last Christmas and asked whether the Black Sash would add its name to the list of supporters of the advertisements.

â\200\234And I said: â\200\230Yes, certainly, the Black Sash could su&plgrt it, because it contained nothing that we as an organisation have not said many times beforeâ\200\231.â\200\235 :

The commission later heard that five days before the advertisements appeared, United Democratic Front (UDF) national treasurer Azhar Cachalia had said

PATRICK BULGER

there was a â\200\234shortfallâ\200\235 in the UDFâ\200\231s funds and that he was i-mistic about raising the R100 000 for them at short notice. According to an affidavit submitted to the commission by attorney Krish Naidoo, who placed the advertisements for the UDF, Ca-

chalia had told him on January 2

that he would, however, try to obtain the funds.

â\200\234During the early part of the afternoon of January 6, I received a call from Cachalia, who said that he had a bank cheque for R100 000.â\200\235

Naidoo said he was first approached on December 21 last year by Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF.

Not illegal

â\200\234He advised me that the UDF had decided to have adverts inserted in a number of newspapers throughout the country which would call for the unbanning of the

He related how he had then visited the offices of The Star newspaper in Johannesburg and SA Associated Newspapers (Saan â\200\224 now Times Media Limited), whose lawyers decided the advertisements were not illegal. He also found out that the advertisements

[DUNCAN ... not told who would fund UDF advertisements

would cost a total of about R100 000.

On January 29 he again spoke to Morobe, who said he should contact Cachalia who would arrange the financing. :

After receiving the cheque, he made out four cheques: to The Star for R62 726), to the Weekly Mail

1680), to New Nation and to City Press (R5 670).

Naidoo later made out a cheque in favour of Saan for R32 054,

1.296)

learning that both Business Day and the Sunday Times had agreed to accept the advertisements.

The advertisements subsequently ap in 16 newspapers around the country.

â\200\234On January 9, I received a cheque for R5 000, being the contribution from the SA Council of Churches towards the adverts,â\200\235 Naidoo said.

â\200\234On -February 4, I received a cheque from Saan for R25 704, being in respect of the advert which had not been published in the Sunday Times.

Rgfused overdraft

â\200\234On February 16, I received a cheque from Argus for R13 608 in respect of the adverts not published in The Star, the Sunday Tribune and the Natal Mercury.â\200\235

At the start of yesterdayâ\200\231s proceedings, Johannes Greyvenstein â\200\224 manager of the Sauer Street branch of Volkskas Bank, where â\200\234Mr Zâ\200\235 (Yusuf Surtee) kept an account â\200\224 said that he had refused Surtee overdraft facilities without security.

Greyvenstein said Surtee had never given any indication that he was in a position to bring accounts to the bank. :

The hearing continues today, when Cachalia is due to give evidence. T

Chief raps UDF

as ANC will

African Affairs

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Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the United Democratic Front operates as the internal wing of the banned African National Congress and its aim is to make the country ungovernable by fomenting violence.

In a strong attack on both the UDF and the ANC in the Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that he had applauded the emergence of the UDF three years ago.

' However, at the movement's first Press conference, a spokesman had said the UDF would welcome affiliation by anybody ex-

cept Inkatha.

They went out of their way to declare us the ultimate leper, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

Members of the UDF had travelled to Swaziland and to Lesotho for crash courses in

the use of arms of Soviet origin, he said.

He had always warned that it was a natural thing that people would retaliate when attacked.

Chief Buthelezi said he had encouraged Inkatha members to defend themselves against UDF attacks and had emphasised that

it was the inalienable right of every person to defend himself, :

I also- warned that, in the circumstances, Inkatha members should operate on the basis of 'an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the current violence and counter-violence in the country suited the UDF down to the ground because the organisation was committed to making South Africa ungovernable. i

Our Political Reporter reports that UDF

spokesman, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, said he suspected Chief Buthelezi's ranting and raving was intended to persuade people to accept the banning of the UDF.

There seems to be desperation in Ulundi and Pretoria to create a climate in which we will be finally closed down as an effective opposition to the National Party. b

This sort of thing is intended to divert the attention of South Africans from the failure of the NP and its supporters to resolve the crisis - fox_which they are responsible, Mr Tsenoli said. :

@ See also P.age 6

P.W. Botha i

fast losing
27 R) iy NS

control of

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white election

HIS all-white
election is
running out of
control for
PW Botha. A simple
question: if he had
known all the things
that have happened
since he called it,
would he have called
| it in the first place? I ey
donâ\200\231t think so. {
Things are getting EBT
just a bit too messy for Ã©uid
is party organisers. -
hlsIrlli)s st);le i\201as always been to make quite sure a
man is down before you kick him. Now a whole
lot of folk are standing up independently and he
has to kick them on the trot, and with his left foot
ot. ;
5 ti\201o:. that all the things that have happened â\200\224
(Wynand and Denis resigning; the flight of the
intellectuals, Esther Lategan challenging Stellen-
â\200\230bosch and Lang David resigning from Die
Burgerâ\200\231s Board to assist her and so on) â\200\224 threa-

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ten his power base in any significant sense. But,
certainly mess up PW Bothaâ\200\231s plans.

theVC}l,hat are st plansf'). Let us pretend we know,
because he certainly has told us. He called the
election for three reasons: to pull the right wingâ\200\231s
teeth; get some internal National Party mandate
to "do a deal with the blacks and to clear the
way for his successor. All three are closely relat-
ed to internal National Party tensions and PW
was going to resolve them all with one master-
stroke by calling an election. This is how it would
k: - s
woll;lssofar as there is a right wing threat, it will
manifest itself in the Transvaal. PW does not fa-
vour FW de Klerk as his successor, so he calls
an election which will weaken FWâ\200\231s power base
in the Transvaal. There is no right-wing threat in
the Cape and therefore Chris Heunis would

emerge as a powerful Cape Provincial leader with a strong consolidated party machine behind him.

PW favours Heunis

PW favours Chris for his own job. Also, Chris is

the blacks and as changing South Africaâ\200\231s consti-

cies, he can wander off into retirement assured that it is in safe hands. Thus the election solves the problem of succession; the right wing and a deal with the blacks, all in one go.

But now the NP ox-wagon has hit the corrugations and springs are snapping and bolts are flying in all directions. First it is now quite clear that the right wing cannot get its act together. (If ever a demonstration is needed that Afrikaners can also be complete political idiots, it is this curious vendetta between Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht. Good heavens - every political nerve screams for a pact of convenience whilst these two are locked into a dance of treading on each otherâ\200\231s corns.)

F.W. de Klerk is going to come out of this election stronger in the leadership stakes, not weaker. And poor ol Chris of the Helderberg â\200\224 any victory of less than 2 000 votes is a defeat. .

Mortally wounded

Denis cannot really lose â\200\224 because whether he intended to or not, he has mortally wounded Chris Heunisâ\200\231 chances for the presidency. (Hell hath no fury like an ambitious man returning from political Siberia!) What is more, Denis challenges P.W. Bothaâ\200\231s constitutional mechanic on the basis that he has no vision for the future as far as blacks are concerned. Twenty eight prominent Stellenbosch academics resign from the National Party and bring out a manifesto which in effect says: â\200\234Ons stem staam!â\200\235 and Lang David resigns from the board of the Nationalist Party.

As I said, this is far too messy a situation for P.W. Bothaâ\200\231s liking. A few tricks will have to be performed before May 6 to whip the faithful into line: What could they be? Cross border raids; May Day revelations and clampdowns; exposing a Volkskas executive for paying for National Party adverts?

An election for whites, as far as the Government is concerned, is a time for political spring cleaning for the dominant party. :

It is a happy occasion full of colourful tents, koeksusters and mampoer. ?

It is simply intolerable that this tradition is being subverted by irresponsible types asking for a vision for the future.

PWâ\200\231s constitutional mechanic to do a deal with

tution is one of PW Bothaâ\200\231s main political lega- |

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S MmMe 30

LUSAKA â\200\224 Government
hospitals in three main
Zambian towns were al-
most at a standstill yes-
terday as hundreds of
nurses went on strike de-
manding higher wages
{ and danger money for

looking after AIDS vie-
tims, health officials said.

Critically ill patients in
hospitals in the Copper-
towns of Kitwe,

belt

Luanshya and Ndola
were moved to private
hospitals and clinics by
relatives, and outpatient
clinics were closed, the
officials said. ;

Roman Catholic mis-
sionary nuns and student
nurses helped with emer-
gency cases.

In Kitwe, Zambiaâ\200\231s sec-
ond biggest town, psychi-
atric patients roamed the
state hospital and
grounds, Zambian jour-

| nalists said.

The nurses and assistants struck in demand for higher wages at a time when the former British colony is gripped by unprecedented inflation.

The nurses joined most of the country's 35 000 government teachers who went on strike three weeks ago for higher pay:

Most state schools in Zambia have been closed since the teachers walked out. The government has promised to meet demands for higher pay and allowances.

Nurses at some hospitals told reporters they

wanted more money not only to meet higher living costs but also to compen-

sate for risks they said were involved in caring for victims of the killer disease AIDS.

There was no official reaction from the government to the strikes. Nor was any information available on how the hospitals would tend to the dying, the critically ill or casualty patients.

In Lusaka, banks and other financial institutions expressed fears that low-paid workers were planning similar demands for higher wages.

The strikes represent the worst urban unrest since December when tens of thousands of mainly-jobless men, women and children rioted in protest against a doubling of the price of corn meal.

At least 15 civilians were killed in clashes with troops and police, forcing President Kenneth Kaunda to cancel the price increases. ,

The increases were
proposed by the Interna-
tional Monetary Fund as
a condition for short-
term credits to ease
Zambia's economic woes,
Sapa-AP.

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Township services heading for collapse

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astic actio

By Abel Mabelane

The chairman of the constitutional committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, Mr John Griffiths, yesterday warned drastic action would be taken against rent defaulters who together owe township councils R160 million. :

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collapse of services in
towns because of al
lack of funds.

At January 31 the ar-

rears of black local authorities in the Transvaal amounted to about R160 million. Town councils are faced with a serious financial problem and a way will have to be found to provide them with a sound economic

- Residents will have to pay for services. We cannot escape this and some- ministrator, Mr Loyig must be done soon Botha, indicated he wanted to take part in the ! MrGriffiths said. - hearing_. He warned councillors The cases. arise from that bridging finance the refusal of Soweto and d. be used to support Vaal residents to pay

Their counsel Mr Justice Interhalter SC, argued against Mr Justice Goldblatt that under section 65 of the Housing Act, the Johannesburg City Council built the houses and the Soweto Council had no right to evict people,

The hearing continues,

A similar case brought this week by the Vaal Civic Association was postponed indefinitely

plement short . and rent and service charges. that loans would have to be repaid. - See Page 3.

In the Rand Supreme Court yesterday the right of the Soweto City Council to evict residents

from houses built by the
Johannesburg City Coun-
cil was challenged.

~ Action was brought by
Mr Isaac Radebe and
| Mrs Beauty Mpinga, both
of Jabulani.

Crocker's misgivings only now being appreciated

US analysts begin

See 3(8) .

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to query sanctions

SOUTH Africa is like a zebra, a southern African politician once told the Reagan Administration's top policymaker for the continent, Dr Chester Crocker. If you hit the white part the black parts suffer too. That stark and typical African simile impressed Dr Crocker, - and explains one of his reasons for opposing economic sanctions against South Africa and for trying to stop US companies heading for the exit. Two points about that statement are striking: The first that a distinguished leader in the

region would express such a

thought, probably contradicting the stances of black Southern African leaders against Pretoria, the second, the Reagan Administration's open misgivings about sanctions and disinvestment.

Dr Crocker and his staff believe sanctions Congress im-

posed on October 2 were not the thing to do and have said so at every turn. Analysts are starting to agree with them publicly and Dr Crocker's must have to restrain himself from harping on it told you so.

He stopped short recently in a radio interview at: We do not believe that comprehensive, punitive and indiscriminate sanctions that hurt everybody are

going to advance the goal of -

peace, of negotiation, of reconciliation or democracy in South

Alan Dunn

Africa.

â\200\234We have already seen some evidence of the negative consequences of some of these measures.â\200\235

Sanctions are in place, however, embedded in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. By imposing those measures, Congress effectively swiped US foreign policy on South Africa from the Reagan Administration.

Disliked as they are at the State Department, sanctions are the law. The Reagan Administration is bound to apply that Act and is doing so â\200\234rigorouslyâ\200\235, according to Dr Crocker.

Since the Senate crushed President Reaganâ\200\231s attempt at vetoing that law, State Department officials have been immersed in applying those restrictions. They also seem to have been trying to fathom what the law has left them to work with â\200\224 how much elbow room and say they have on future policy towards South Africa.

â\200\234The real question is what we are going to do for a policy,â\200\235 Dr Crocker told newsmen recently.

â\200\234Sanctions are not a policy...they are a gesture. In, our view, sanctions are a one-time event. Once you have imposed them, what do you do the next

morning? . . . that is the question we should be focusing our attention on.â\200\235

The South African problem had still to be solved. The best way to do so was by remaining engaged there, being in touch with everybody.

So far, however, no new policy emerged. The new Reagan ambassador to Pretoria, Mr Edward Perkins, has been cultivating black contacts, which his predecessor was accused of ne-

glecting.

Mr Perkins has been meeting figures across South Africaâ\200\231s vast political spectrum, labour leaders, church leaders, visiting townships and trying to win over estranged parties. At the same time as consulting the United Democratic Front and other groups like it, his is the high-wire task of seeking to

â\200\230maintain a rapport with the South African Government.

The State Departmentâ\200\231s watchword at this stage is negotiation. It is trying through Mr Perkins to make South Africans generate thoughts on solutions, realise the horrors that could lie ahead, and get them talking to each other at least.

Announcement of the May 6 elections and the emergence of the â\200\234New Natsâ\200\235 has stirred some excitement among US policymakers who seem to be marking time until they have a reading on the direction white South Africa chooses.

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fhe bÀr expeted
to be sentÀheed today

By Vanessa Tetlow .

Mr Vijaydave Patel (41), who faces four charges of contravening the Internal Security Act, was expected to be sentenced today. He allegedly joined the African National Congress in 1968 and at 5 & :

He had pleaded not guilty to the charges. However, in a statement on Wednesday he admitted the charges dealing with membership of the ANC and Possession of banned material,

He admitted joining the ANC in London in 1968. He had the pamphlet â\200\234No to Conscription in the SA Death Force! Yes to the Peopleâ\200\231s Army!â\200\235 in his possession but claimed he had not known it was illegal to possess it. :

Mr Patel claimed that since 1977 he had no contact with the ANC. He had returned to South Africa via Swaziland in the mid-70s, but denied infiltrating the The Rand Daily Mail on ANC instructions. :

MILITARY INSTRUCTOR

He later returned to England, but Mr Patel claimed he had

â\200\230not known his return ticket was paid for by the ANC. He accepted

the air tickets from his former school principal â\200\224 who turned out to be an ANC military instructor, he said.

He worked in England for the Soviet Weekly as a driver, then emigrated to Australia. In Australia he suffered spinal injuries in a car accident and was given morphine for pain. He became dependent on drugs and a heroin addict as a result, :

Mr Patel said he returned to South Africa in February 1985 to undergo treatment for heroin addiction as he heard South Africa was the best place to recuperate,

This was the reason for his return and had nothing to do with his ANC membership, he claimed.

Mr Patel was acquitted on Wednesday of participating in terrorist activities by undergoing military training in East Germany and

_ Angolan camps between 1974 and 1977,

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- By TONY STIRLING

ADVICE received by

- Mr Kirish Naidoo, the

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- newspapers in Janu-

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~ have been a contravzn-

" tion of provisions of

the Internal Security

~ Act in respect of fur-

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fidavit by Mr Naidoo

~ record of the Munnik

Commission in the Rand

â\200\230L&tm Court yester-

- Mr Francoise van Zyl,

SC and Deputy Attorney-

. General of the Cape, who

- is leading the evidence to

the commission, using fig-

- ures supplied by Mr Nai-

doo in his affadavit, said a

total of R103 427 ,65Â¢ was

paid out to various news-

to the affi-

davit, Mr Naidoo receiv-

ed a R100 000 bank che-

que from Mr Azar Cacha-

lia, national treasurer of

the UDF, to pay for the

advertisements, plus a

- R5000 â\200\234contributionâ\200\235

~ from the South African

* Council of Churches.

20, 1987,

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cations for the UDF 'nal Security Act it could who said he

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fmtheoĩ\201cemzâ\200\231l.â\200\230 thered the aims of an un- vertisement.â\200\235

Sunday, December 21, j,ufyl organisation or e
last year, he had been 3p- ontravened the Internal -;"'" sty
proached at home in the ity Act in any other Morobe ik
evening by Mr Murphy ooy Â» said Mr Naidoo. o "My Morobe advised
Morobe, publicity <He stated that the o - i
secretary of the mational graft advertisement, in c,-d,,ĩ\201,w,ĩ\202-u - e
executive of the UDF. the form which it then - Sorihe

â\200\234He advised me that had, might conceivably be SHECK 'S0 INTERgS
the UDF had decided to construed to further the â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 e
have a number of ad- ghjects of an unlawful or- The next day BÂ¢ called
vertisements inserted in a ganisation,â\200\235 said Mr Nai- ad:dĩ\201:csnd Ismail
number of newspapers oo ; ' Ayob Mrmâ\200\230

the 'â\200\234Iaĩ\201edh'-imy(mâ\200\234umw
uibu_nmgofĩ\202leANC, ;_':â\200\230bâ\200\235mh January 2, this year.
y v tions. He also suggested He had gone to the of-
Mr Morobe Bad i that the newspapers' law- fices of Gty Press the
text available during that h oo day and the ad-
isit, but he had ex- yers be asked to approve same
e the draft.â\200\235 said Mr Nai- vertiscment had been ac-
plained what the content â\200\224 l subject to â\200\234final
: â\200\234Witllâ\200\231:ĩ\202mhckg!md He had then contacted Wdlbm.
Mr Paul Jen- paperâ\200\231s attomey.
I advised him that there an attorney,
would be no legal objec- kins, of Webber Wentzel :
tion to such an advertise- (The Starâ\200\231sattomeys)and _ On January 2, he called
ment,â\200\235 he said. at a meeting later had told and

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Durban
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L DURBAN townsh

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gsterday KwaZulu
Minister and Ine

katha president Mango
suthu Buthelari offerad lo
act as a medidter in the
bloody township viclence

UDF publlicity secretary
Lechesn Tsenoli said the
UDF could not comment
on this, &8 Butheleri had
not contacted them

The KwaMashu Youth
League, a UDF affiliate, 28
well as students' represens
tative councils, have so far
been the tergots of ths
heavily srmed vigilantes
from Lindelani - 22id to he
the headquarters of the

most fesred vigilantes in-
the region,

These men a;fe rently

attacked the youths indls-
criminently,

Clagses at higher prima-
ry. junior secondary and
high schools In Ntuzuma
and KwaMashu were dis-
rupted when students
fought pitched battles with
the raidees. Several stu.
dents were teported (o
have â\200\230been abducted and
forced into hijacked Linde-
tani taxis

The war broke out at ihe
weekend when KwaMaeh,
mourners burying two vig
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iante vicilms at Lindalan:
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by local people,

Scores of mourners. |

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Mourners said six youths, were abducted.

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An Inkatha Ycutâ\200\230g
Irish member who al-
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where he was
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But come

il of terror

The Bureau for Informes-

tion said it was not known
whether the seven youths
found dead were killed
elsewhere and dumped (o
the ditch,

â\200\234Security forces are on
standby, but so far no un-
rest incidents

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have 6

cured. Senior police officer: / 4
f |

cers in a police: helicopterâ\200\231
were watching the situa-
tion,â\200\235" the Bureau said

When City Press visited
the ditch where the seven
KYL members' bodies
were found between Line
dani and Ntuzuma, imps
brandishing guns openly
paraded in Lindani streets

Reporters saw men be

ing dragged from shacks
and forced to join the

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| Party. :

| There are several obstacles in the way of government approval of a self-governing kwaZulu-Natal. One is that the proposals do not come from the National Party. The second is that the very holding of the - Indaba is not only an implicit rejection of the tricameral constitution, but is also a repudiation of the policies of racial separation, which still prevail in the political world .

tion of the tricameral constitution, but is also a repudiation of the policies of racial separation, which still

prevail in the political world .

Accept:

'would be a desperate hope

- The history of the relations between the colonists of Natal and the Zulu nation is nothing for a white Natalian to be proud of...Yet in 1986 they (whites and blacks) spent many days in Durban in the series of meetings known as the kwaZulu-

Treurnicht's 'd'ogsejx'vatlve

ance of Indaba's proposals

The high-level meetings between whites and blacks from Natal and kwaZulu constituted a miracle, says distinguished author Alan Paton. .. These are excerpts from an article he wrote for Optima magazine,

published by the Anglo American and De Beers groups of companies. T

Natal Indaba, discussing, sensibly

and reasonably, how a new legislative body could be established which would rule, as a part of the Republic of South Africa, a new province comprising the regions originally known as Natal and Zululand.

It is a miracle. How does such a miracle come to pass?

Do the Zulu people possess some

~special quality of personality and

character that makes them more friendly, more forgiving? Is it true that they accepted their defeat at Ulundi (in 1879) with a philosophical spirit and decided to make the best of a bad job?

Is it true, as many people think,

that the influence of Chief Mangos- |
power- |
ful and is in favour of moÃ@eration â\200\2303

uthu Buthelezi is extremely

and friendliness?

| â\200\230Political climate now
favours the growth of de-
~cency and good sense.â\200\231

It seems that these things are true, though one must in honesty re- *
.mark that qualities such as modera- |
have a |
| stronger appeal for the old than for .
| the young, and for the rural than for '

tion and friendliness

â\200\230 t the town dweller.

_ There is another reason for this |
apparent miracle. The white people
| of Natal, under the influence of fear
for the future and a desire to avoid
economic disaster, and also under
the growing influence of sheer

human decency, have come to real-
ise that if they cannot work closely
with the Zulu people, their doom is

â\200\230certain.
There is no doubt that the politi- -
â\200\230cal climate has become far more

favourable for the growth of decen-
cy and good sense.
The Indian population of Natal,
except for their radical left, would
welcome the creation of a

Natal/Zululand leglslatlve assem- |

bl

the white Natalians contempt
for their Indian fellow-citizens has
greatly abated in my lifetime.
There are several reasons for this.
One is the fact that the Natal In-
dians have become an English-
speaking people, another is the real-
isation that they are believers in de-
mocracy and moderation, and the
third is the growth of white toler-
ance.

It is also reassuring for Indian
people to sit down and talk with
their Zulu fellow-Natalians, and this
helps to abate their real racial fear
of the Zulu people, a fear which was
intensified during the Durban riots
of 1949.

The coloured people of Natal
form by far the smallest racial

i

group and they would have! little to
fear and much to gain from
taking: their part in a non-racial
legislative body. Â

So as. Âfar as one can see, the mira-
cle has in fact come to pass.

What and whom did the Indaba
represent? It represented the mod-
erate, peace-loving, conflict-hating,
middle-of-the-road people of kwa-
Zulu and Natal. These people are
often called the silent majority
and are often supposed to be starry-
eyed and useless. But for the eight
months of 1986 that the Indaba last-
ed, from April 3 to November 28,
they proved themselves to be nei-
ther silent nor useless.

The delegates from the Afrikaner
organisations, while they could not
be described as enthusiastic sup-
porters of the Indaba and while they
were to dissociate themselves from
some of its findings, nevertheless
acknowledged the urgent need in
South Africa for such discussions.

That is indeed what brought all
these prominent people together.
They realised that their country was

those of self-interest, a desire to

. save their skins, their possessions,
and their enterprises. They were
there to save capitalism and to re-

sist socialism.

The UDF regards both the Indian
and coloured representatives in the
tricameral parliament as stooges;

- from them would come no libera-
tion and no triumph of the labouring
masses.

But the UDF would have directed
their most severe criticism at Buth-
elezi. They call him a stooge and in
their view he has betrayed the
forces of liberation and has deserted

the black people in their hour of

A third obstacle is the Bill or

Rights (proposed by the Indaba).
How can a self-governing unit of the
Republic affirm civil rights which
are totally incompatible with laws
of the Republic? One could give
many examples of incompatibility
but I shall give only one. The Bill of
Rights declares that everyone has

the right to lawfully own land and
occupy property anywhere in the

province.

in a mess and, for a variety of |
reasons, they wanted to find some

. way out of the morass. g
4 The UDF would not have been

impressed by some of these reasons.
It would have seen the motives of
the white people present as purely |

Alan Paton . . . rejection would
be a calamity

need. They think also that he is a
hypocrite that he speaks honeyed
words in favour of freedom and de-
mocracy but his henchmen in In-
katha will use violence whenever

O

Buthelezi: pragmatist or idealist

Of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
joint originator of the Indaba, Mr
Paton observes: 'I wrote about
him 13 years '

ago: 'I should

say, leaving

personal rela-

tions out of ac-

count, that his

loyalties are to

Christ, human:

ity, South Afri-

.ca and the Zulu people, in that
order. This must not be thought
inconsistent with his statement
that his first duty is to the Zulu

people. That is his job. He is a
pragmatist as well as idealist.'

Like all generalised state-
ments, this one is not perfect, but
I still think it comes near the
truth. :

shall venture another gener-
alisation: the Indaba was a great
success largely because Buthele-
zi is the Chief Minister of the
KwaZulu Government and be-
cause the white people of Natal
are not afraid of him. He speaks
a language that they can under-
stand. It is this quality that his
enemies regard as hypocritical.

How can the province guarantee
such a right while the Group Areas

Act expressly denies it? Will the

central government legislate that
the act will not apply to the new
province?

The Government could become
very self-righteous about the pur-
chase by white buyers of tribal land.

An influx of white buyers into rural Zululand could make the Zulus more landless than ever. The white members of the Indaba were well aware of this difficulty but were assured by the Zulu delegates that the government of a new Natal prov-

ince would receive the best of Zulu advice!

In my view the greatest obstacle of all in the way of government acceptance is the fact that the Indaba proposals are in a large sense revolutionary and the National Party has in the seven or eight years of the 'Reform Era' shown no enthu-

siasm for revolutionary proposals, especially when they come from a non-party source. e

The way could be opened to the creation of a federal republic.

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The three Afrikaner delegations presented a minority report. In

spite of the way in which the pro-

posed new constitution protects minority rights, they find them unacceptable.

They suffer also from the Afrikaner Nationalist fear of a future in which the conquered people become the equal of their conquerors.

A total or near-total rejection of the Indaba proposals by the ruling party would be a calamity. The total or near-total acceptance would give hope to many who despair of the future.

If a new province of Natal should become an example of a successful non-racial government, it might inspire the people of other parts of South Africa to set up indabas of their own and so open the way to the creation of a federal Republic of South Africa, which many believe to be not only the sensible constitutional solution of our most complex problems, but an alternative to the unitary state that they so fear.

The burden of responsibility that lies on the shoulders of the National Party is immense. It is the hope of many that the party would consider most earnestly its duty to those who

worked so hard and faithfully for
the Indaba, and for the country of
which Natal-kwaZulu is only a part.

QAla; Paton has said that this
is probably the last article of
this kind that I shall write.

The Government has apparently accepted that it will never win over the hard core of the ANC to its view of negotiations on the

The aim & to win hearts and minds

basis of an abandonment of

of violence. Therefore its official policy towards the organisation is: a Command and coerce. .

This has emerged from interviews with sources high in the country's security establishment.

According to these sources the ANC and particularly Mr Joe Slovo, commander of the military wing of the organisation, consider themselves to be world leaders in conducting revolutionary warfare against countries such as South Africa. =

But they are not the only ones who regard themselves as a special. According to a senior Government man, the SA security

forces regard themselves as the world leaders in combating the kind of revolutionary onslaught being pursued by the ANC.

The revolutionary strategy and tactics adopted by the ANC in this regard have been identified by the South African Government as massive and detailed.

COMMITTED

This, according to the perception of the South African security authorities, is what this strategy involves:

1. The Government's information is that the ANC has committed itself irrevocably to a people's revolution in South Africa that involves the armed seizure of power and the eventual

transition of the country
into a Marxist state.

2.It believes that the
ANC cannot afford to
allow itself to be legalised
under the present system
because that would be a
major blow to its credibili-
ty and set it back to the
relatively weaker position
politically that it was in
before Sharpeville.

3.The Government dis-
misses the notion that the
ANC comprises Marxist
and nationalist elements. A
study of the ANC litera-
ture, such as Sechaba, it
says, produces no evidence
of any alternative to the
SA Communist Party
being actively propagated.

According to Govern-
ment information, the
ANC has identified several

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areas for action: the mobi-
lisation of the masses, the
establishment of under-
ground structures to co-or-
dinate ' mobilisation and
sabotage, armed struggle,
escalation of internal prop-
aganda, and the revamp-
ing of its management or-
ganisation.

A senior Government
source believes that any
power wanting to take po-
litical control of South
Africa would have to have
a strong army. That is why
the ANC has identified the
SA Defence Force as its
main target.

According to Govern-
ment strategists, the ANC

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DENNIS GORDON

has no conventional force nor does it have any plans at this time to acquire one. The revolutionary people's army is to consist of revolutionary armed people (fighting at night, working as civilians by day), guerilla units in the countryside, elements of the enemy forces (black policemen and soldiers), people's self-defence militia, and combat units for terrorism and sabotage. The ANC's strategic objective, according to intelligence, is three-fold: destroy the State and the military power, conquer the country, destroy the will of the enemy. According to a security source the ANC plans the revolution in four phases,

but only the first two, or conquering phases, are publicised.

These are the democratic revolution phase and the socialist revolutionary phase (the destruction of the capitalist system).

The hidden phases, known as the consolidation phases are the political revolutionary phase (elimination of all opposition and the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship) and the ideological revolutionary phase (securing the Marxist state).

RURAL AREAS

The security forces have identified four escalating operational phases of the revolutionary onslaught: The creation of under-

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ground organisations to mobilise the masses, intimidation of the masses and urban terrorism against government organisations, guerilla war and full-scale mobile war between conventional forces of both sides.) According to security sources the ANC is preparing to launch the guerilla war phase in rural areas. At the moment, depending on the region, South Africa is in phases one and two of the revolution. The ANC apparently has not provided for phase four as it believes the Government * will - capitulate before then. The Governmentâ\200\231s counter-revolutionary Strategy involves â\200\234rolling

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backâ\200\235 the revolution to each preceding phase.

The security forces have advised the Government that even to negotiate with the revolutionary forces would be regarded as a sign of weakness and of panic.

Surrender or an accommodation with the revolutionary forces is therefore

ruled out.

Instead, the strategy must be to protect the Government and the masses, eliminate the grievances of the population which lend themselves to be exploited by the revolutionary forces, and create a vision for the politi-

cal future of all the people.

The aim is- to win over
the hearts and minds of
the bulk of the people to
the side of the authorities
by means of this strategy.

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| -gold's black mineworkers following the
FREEGOLD
| Spending to ear

| Wil The Complinienis |
DENNIS GORDON

erms of the required tributing

A year after its controversial formation, the operations of the world's largest gold mine, Free State Consolidated Gold Mines (Free-gold), are making their mark. The impact is not only in the financial and technical sphere of mining, but also on the surrounding OFS towns which it and the other gold producers in the area support. A visit to the mine revealed that: g
O Freegold is at present involved in capj expenditure (capex) programmes totalfing some R2,5 billion to open up new mining areas. There is plenty more to come, as\the mine needs to go ahead with another two shaft systems i â\202¬ to 10 years just to meffitgin-output; 2.

Some 15 000 of its 100 000 blackworkers could soon be housed with their families in the surrounding residential areas the mine aims to do away

Freegold was formed out of the contro- versial merger of Anglo American's Free State gold mines a year ago. But the benefits are now being felt.

ack mineworkers employed At Is estimated that about 15 000 will take up this opportunit- y. Working on an average figure of five

dependants per black employee that means an increase in the permanent population the Welkom-Odendaalsrus-Virginia

me 90 000.

Freegold report for the year to September 30 shows a 6% increase in tonnage milled to 21,75 Mt, up from the figure of 20,47 Mt for the previous financial year. MD Lionel Hewitt

as far as possible with the migrant labour system on its new shafts and so reduce the need for mine houses; and
O key guidelines for the future of the complex has been management's decision to put a ceiling on Freegold's production rate. The resulting long-life mining operation has a minimum lifespan of 30 years and could be extended well beyond that.

The immediate result is that Anglo American gold division executives who for years have been warning the citizens of Welkom that the gold mining industry cannot last forever have now altered their tune somewhat.

Outward signs have included the sale of thousands of mine houses to mine employees on home-ownership schemes. Plans underway to extend these schemes to Fre

change in the legislation on lease and freehold in black townships. Of the 100 00

FREDDIES NO 1
SHAFT SYSTEM

NORTHGOLD
JOINT AREA

says the improvement is a direct result of the merger. He adds that Freegold's total milling rate could be pushed to 24 Mt without the need for new milling plant as mine and mill capacities throughout the complex are matched up. This could not be done with the separate mine lease areas be-

agreements were financially unattractive. Hewitt says all the new mining projects being carried out or under consideration by Freegold will provide only replacement tonnage for areas due to be mined out. The complex will not expand beyond the 24 Mt ceiling which will be reached with the new 90 000 t/month Brand gold plant working to capacity and the old Brand gold plant kept in operation at 150 000 t/month, which is 50% of its previous rated capacity. It is considered too expensive to keep the old Brand plant in full operation. The new plant could be expanded by another 130 000 t/month, but then older treatment plant would be shut down. Treatment costs at the new Brand plant are at least R1 a ton

cheaper than on the older plants.

Reasons for imposing the ceiling include the long lead times of 12 years required to get a new shaft system to full production; the enormous capex required to get enough new shaft systems going simultaneously to increase production; and the attractive financial benefits of keeping within Freegold's installed milling capacity.

There are also the problems of actually spending the money required for the expansion and finding the skilled staff to do it. Freegold's capex is currently running at R503m a year which Hewitt views as close to maximum from the practical viewpoint of effective administration.

Major projects underway at Freegold include: President Brand No 5 shaft, Erfdeel shaft, Duiker shaft, Welkom No 1B sub-vertical shaft, and Freddie's No 1 shaft. Still to come is a sub-shaft system at Brand No 5, while a project under consideration is the Brand No 6 shaft, which could be sunk south of

No 5 in the Du Preez Leger-Jonkersrust ground. A decision on this shaft is due by October.

Freegold currently has some 18 drill rigs in action evaluating # areas of ground north-east of the Freddie's mine (referred to as the Northgold region), north

. Freegold\200\231s major

President Brand No 4

shafts

" Profit contribution after allocation of overheads

Free State Sasiplaas No 3

6%

Free State Geduld No 4 S Å¥

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7,2% -

MD Hew

of Erfdeel, and south of the Sand River. Looking some five to 10 years ahead, a start must be made on another two shaft systems in these areas if the present production profile is to be maintained. One of these could be the Brand'No 6 and another the first shaft in the Northgold area. A further shaft may be sunk in the Northgold area if drilling shows the entire region can be mined.

Freegold is also looking at the possible reopening of the Jeanette gold mine on its northern boundary. This will require negotiations with government as Jeanette was specifically excluded from the merger agreement.

Government approval of the Freegold merger included a clause that future expansion would not take in additional ground of more than 15% of the current Freegold lease area, so Freegold will also have to renegotiate

Big capital outlay

~ Costs involved in new mining projects are vast. Freddie's No 1 shaft (FSG 10 shaft before the merger) has a base cost of R391m. Latest estimate on the final cost, after allow-

ing for the effects of inflation over the 12

years it will take to develop the shaft, is

772m. In total, Freegold has on its plate some R2,5 billion in capital projects and that is in addition to normal capex required to keep existing mining operations going. Those costs, coupled with the declining grade of the remaining ore reserves of the OFS mines, and the rising level of risk caused by such factors as industrial relations problems and uncertainty over the tax status of future new projects, lie at the heart of the justification for the Freegold merger.

The Welkom 1B sub-vertical shaft was on the drawing board for 15 years but it only became financially worth the risk with the Western Holdings merger, a forerunner to the Freegold merger, says regional GM (south) Jack Steyn. He points out that, under the Freegold tax shelter, Erfdeel division becomes a lot more attractive than the borderline project it was under the limited tax shield offered by Western Holdings. Sinking

ate with government on some of its expansions. <

Hewitt says Freegold's operations are moving into the boundary ore areas where the recovery grade averages between 4 g/t and 8 g/t, which was previously considered unpayable. The complex still has limited high-grade reserves in the present lease areas, contained mainly in pillars and faulted areas. These reserves provide a cushion against a gold price drop.

We have a limited period in which to get the shaft systems in place to continue Freegold's life as a huge, low-grade operation, he says.

Hewitt adds that Freegold's capex plans would only be affected if the gold price drops below R25000/kg, at which point quality-of-life projects such as housing would have to be trimmed. Hewitt says the gold price would have to drop a lot further before

Major capex programmes would be affected, but do not have a figure.

In recent months Freegold has suffered

from considerable labour unrest, which has hit production results for the first half of the

Hewitt says the complex will try to maintain its pre-1991 levels.

Chairman Peter Gush, in his annual review published in December, was looking for a slight increase in gold production from last year's 107,8 t. Hewitt points out that the effects of the labour problems that have occurred at two Freegold shafts are minimal - in comparison to the effect they would have had on a mine with only one or two shaft systems, instead of Freegold's total of 21 shafts.

Mechanisation of mining operations is being introduced widely at Anglo's Vaal Reefs

and Western Deep Levels mines, but the

introduction to Freegold's operations problematic. Just above the Basal reef the most important reef exploited by Freegold occurs the Khaki Shale band.

The shale band consists of unstable rock, and is separated from the Basal reef by a narrow beam of competent rock which supports the hanging wall (roof) of the mine workings. The width of that beam is critical to the support of the hanging wall. Trackless mining machines, such as load haul dumpers of Erfdeels Duiker shaft was suspended pre-

geology of the OFS gold field makes its |.

viously because of low gold prices. - .-

(LHD), are not viable in many areas because the wider tunnels needed would affect the supporting beam. The Transvaal gold mines do not have this problem to the same extent.

Freegold therefore will not have the degree of mechanisation seen on its Transvaal sister mines. Still, equipment such as continuous chain conveyors will be introduced to clean out a series of stopes, doing away with traditional scraper winches in some areas and allowing raise connections to be placed further apart than at present.

The President Brand No 5 sub-shaft system will be developed as a spiral ramp decline instead of a traditional sub-vertical shaft. Ramp declines are widely used in underground base metal mines, providing rubber-tyred vehicles with access to the mineworkings down the spiral roadway. It is a more flexible system than a sub-vertical shaft using cages.

Tax benefits

All of Freegold's current new projects are contiguous with the existing lease area. This is necessary in order to get the tax benefits of offsetting capex against current profits. However, Anglo American is drilling out a number of areas south of Freegold, which are not contiguous to the Freegold lease, and where JSE analysts reckon Anglo has two potential new gold mines. Findings of the Margo Commission on taxation could be crucial on the future development of these mines, which management would like to develop under the wing of existing mines so as to reduce their financial risk.

All Hewitt will say on speculation over Freegold's role in this exploration work is that Freegold will participate to the extent it will be permitted by tax structures laid down

by government, the price of gold, and the in situ value of the reef presently being drilled.

Mining analysts view- Freegold as a solid, but unexciting investment because of the ceiling placed on its expansion. They point out, however, that with its low grade it is now highly geared to the gold price like the marginal mines it could really perform if the gold price took off. Brendan Ryan

FINANCIAL MAIL MARCH 20 1987

SUNDAY TRIBUNE. DECEMBER 20, 1987

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Tribune Recorder
FRONTLINE â\200\234aqqanne
Is 0 sex . leave 0 appeal
against his week's judg-
ment award:lg Chief
Minister Many. suthu Ju-
thelezs R120M damages
for defamauc

the award handed
down by Mr Justice Alan
Howard in the Supreme
Court is Durban on Fri-
day was a result of an ac-
tion for defamation
brought by Crutwell,
Chief Minister u {wa-
Zulu and resident of In-
katha. against Semis

Jefferies, the editor of
â\200\234ronciine, and â\200\234he pro-
netor, 3SAGA press.

Dr Butheien Jjected
to an article by British
journalist Stephen Rooin-
son, originally published
in The Spectator and
later used by Frontline
in November 1986. It con-
tained the following pas-
sage:

â\200\234The Zulu leader is not
everyone's cup of tea, he
is nauseatingly pompous
and self-improvement. His
claim to represent the
sole non-violent alterna-

tive to Marxist revolu-
tion is questionable â\200\234o
say the least, and his
well-drilled implacable re-
quirements are among the
most thuggish operators
in South Africa.â\200\235

The case was heard in
early November, when
Dr Butheien spent hours
giving evidence and
being cross-examined
about his attitude to-
wards violence, the or-
ganisation of Inkatha,
and his control over its
members and leaders.
Judgment was reserved â\200\234veq.

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Oa Friday in his judgment, Mr Justice Howard said Dr Suthers objected that the defendant being called a lawfully pompous and self-important but is counsel David Gordon has said this was not actionable and Justice dismissed it as being a

impediments = -e
\aracng the most thorough operators in South Africa. -7-
caâ\200\231, â\200\230vere true, Mr Justice Howard said.

He observed that Dr Suthers had said he espoused a policy of non-violent change at great personal cost and that

of it was under

sort of abuse
a public figure such as the plaintiff must be prepared to tolerate it.

The case turned on

sentence of death as a government stooge who

betrayed the armed

struggle being waged by

Sethers the defendant's statements, that Dr Suthers the defendant's well-drilled

organ is such as the African National Congress (ANC).

â\200\234'ile concedes that the ANC and we have the same objectives, that the only difference on the method of achieving it, and that his adoption of the non-violent option is, therefore, a strategy rather than an unintentional moral commitment.

â\200\234He says, too, that he has not ruled out the vio-

least option, and may one
day be forced to exercise
that option if his people
decide that there is no
other. but that this is

sheer speculation be-
cause the time to con-
sidering its exercise has
just arrived.

Mr Justice Howard
said Dr Buthelez: has
been cross-examined at

evidence that his philoso-
phy of an eye for an eye
and a tooth for 4 teeth
which he consistently ag-
gravated his supporters to
enable to bore a little re-

great length by Edwin
Cameron. For Frondine,
with a view to showing
that he repeatedly resorted,
in his speeches, to the
menace of violence to
warn his political oppo-
nents of doing what he
disapproves of.

The judge said it was
clear from Dr Buthelez's

in the inci-
dent of vengeance
enslaved in Exodus 11:
22-25 and the text (aifonss
of the Roman law.

He says that what Se

means by an eye for an
eye and a tooth for 2
teeth is that he has the right to de-
fend oneself by meeting
violence with commensu-
rate violence. He calls it

self-defence but the evi-
dence shows that what he
has in mind is propor-
tionate retaliatory vio-
lence rather than the use
of force within the
bounds of self-defence re-
cognised in criminal
law.*

Mr Justice Howard
said Dr Buthelez: was
not constrained to concede
his version of self-de-
fence is inconsistent with
the teachings of Jesus
Christ.

â\200\234He claims to be a
commuted Christian but,

Â£ 2neal against R1:M 00 Buthelezi judgment

n common with the vast
majoriity of dis feilow
Chrisuans. .f ot all of
them. Joes rot lind that
commitment .3comoati-
ble mith an laoility or
unwillingness :0 â\200\230turn the
ather cheek'.â\200\235

Sr susiice Howard
231d that the :ssue beiore
ihe court â\200\230sas ot Dr Bu-
taelezs s reputation as an
â\200\234unsuilied arcponent of
non-vioience ' ut wheth-
er nis protessed commut-
ment to non-violent re-
form of :he political
oraer was Â£enuine. He
saia he could find nothing

in Dr 3uthelezi's
speeches Jr 2vidence
which showed that it was

â\200\230Some allowance must
surely be mace. " Mr Jus-
tice Howara said, â\200\234for
the fact that raucn of his
rretoric is designed to
.. peai to the :zstincts of
tae warrior cation he
leads. the overnding ob-
ject being the politically
imporiant one ci preser-
ving his constituency.â\200\235

The judge ddisagreed
with Mr Cameronâ\200\231s con-
tention that tne defen-
dants need only prove
that peopie closely asso-
cialed with Dr Buthelen
or under his command or
within his spoere of au-
thonty bad been guilty of
thuggish behaviour. He
said it was Dr Suthlezi's
credibility that was
cailed into question by
the â\200\234stfendingâ\200\235 state-
ment ana that :t did so on
the ground that he was
responsible for â\200\230he thug-
2ish behaviour of his
trooos.

Mr Justice Howard
said that evidence given
by two witnesses for
Frontiine proved uncon-

nected acts of thuggery
by members or sup-
porters of Inkatha, some
closely involvea with Dr
Butheiezs. â\200\234But. ' be said,
â\200\234there is nothing to gain-
say or cast douot on the
plaintuffâ\200\231s 2avigence that
be was in no way respon-
sible for the ccaduct of
those who were lnvoived.

â\200\234There ;3 no evidence
to prove that the pudlica-
tion ci the Je:amatory
iz zatations has o fact
destzoyed the slawmtilfâ\200\231s
creutbtllity or duminished
his standing dere or
abrvad. hut we deiama-
tlon s serious devertthe-
less.â\200\235 Mr Jusuce Howard

jaaed o ey o)