

Zulu leader sets terms for backing reforms

Buthelezi moves towards Botha

30/6/86.
Guardian
front
page

From Patrick Laurence
in Soweto

The powerful Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stepped into the centre of the South African political arena yesterday when he told thousands of cheering supporters that President P. W. Botha's proposed National Council could mark the start "of the final victory for the black struggle for liberation."

Addressing 15,000 blacks at a rally in Soweto under the eyes of dozens of South African and Kwazulu police armed with pistols, rifles and shotguns, chief Buthelezi carefully



Chief Buthelezi . . . "start of final victory"

A LIST of 1,000 people arrested under the state of emergency in South Africa has been smuggled out and passed to the Guardian. Publication of the list in South Africa would be prohibited. Trade unionists, clergymen, journalists and anti-apartheid activists are among those named, and the list includes whites, Asians and one American. Report, back page: Ian Aitken, page 12.

but unmistakably raised the possibility of participating in the National Council, an option which he has not aired publicly until now.

The National Council has been mooted by President Botha as a means of offering blacks a role forming a new constitution under which South Africans of all races—including

the black majority—would have a share in central government. Without endorsement from Chief Buthelezi and his million-member Inkatha movement, the prospects of the National Council providing even a respite from the present crisis seem slight.

Chief Buthelezi, while canvassing the option of participating in the National Council, made it clear that a decision to join was contingent on a number of conditions.

One was that the imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, should be released and given the option of joining the council or spurning it.

Another was that he, Chief Buthelezi, should receive a "massive mandate" from blacks to do so.

A third condition was that the final plans for the National Council — due to be approved at a special congress of President Botha's ruling National Party in August — make it clear that it is a body imbued with real power and not "merely a talking shop."

Chief Buthelezi arrived by helicopter at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto amid exceptionally tight security. Kwazulu police with shotguns

kept an eye on the thousands of people who poured into the amphitheatre. Many of them were Zulu migrant workers from hostels in Soweto.

The migrant workers are staunch, even fanatical, supporters of Chief Buthelezi. They carried sticks, spears, pangas and battleaxes. They were not disarmed but were allowed to descend into the pit of the arena, where they formed a human barrier between Chief Buthelezi and the crowds on the seats above.

Inkatha flags were placed at intervals along the top of the crescent-shaped amphitheatre.

The granting of permission for Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha to hold the rally contrasted conspicuously with the restrictions imposed on Inkatha's rival black movements, notably the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation. In parts of South Africa it is an offence even to possess T-shirts with UDF or Azapo motifs, let alone propagate their cause.

The Inkatha rally was officially described as a "prayer meeting for black unity." But

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Indaba thoughts move south

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Could a Western Cape indaba be one of the next steps in the working out of a federal solution for South Africa?

The Labour Party's young constitutional thinker, MP Mr Desmond Lockey, recently returned from observing the Natal indaba "very impressed" by what he saw.

"If the indaba agrees to a single legislature, which I think it will, it could be the start of the first real non-racial federal structure in South Africa.

"And then we could start with a Western Cape indaba along the same lines."

This would be a departure from the constitution of the Labour Party, which stipulates a one-man, one-vote unitary system, and Mr Lockey emphasises he is speaking in his personal capacity.

But the party itself has, in any case, been toying with the idea of a non-racial geographic federation for some time now.

And in a pamphlet on constitutional options, it takes a new look at some ideas which have hitherto been taboo to it.

"It is a known fact that South Africa's heterogeneous and multicultural character will have to be taken into account in the formulation of an acceptable, democratic and workable constitution," the pamphlet says.

It rejects the group approach but is prepared to accept that seen from the historical perspective, the protection of minorities is a reasonable point.

Mr Lockey was one of the chief authors of the pamphlet and he does not rule out the idea of ethnic states in the hypothetical federation.

"The crucial point is that the states should get together themselves — as in Natal — and not have their boundaries and composition forced upon them by central Government."

Mr Lockey's own thinking is that there should be room in the federation for both unitary states



Mr Desmond Lockey: "We could start with a Western Cape indaba along the same lines."

on the one hand, and and ethnic/nationalist states on the other.

"We should get away from the existing polarity of liberal and nationalist approaches.

"The problem with the National Party is that it argued that all blacks can be classified ethnically.

"But 70 percent of urban blacks indicated in a recent survey that

they did not identify with any tribe.

"They saw themselves only as South Africans.

"Since it is also in the cities that one finds whites who are less inclined to be tribal, metropolitan states in the federation could be unitary," Mr Lockey says.

"In the rural areas, on the other hand, ethnic identity is much stronger among both blacks and whites, so there one would find ethnically-based states.

"Many of the black national state and self-governing structures are already in place, and could form the basis of future federal states."

But what of tribal whites? Will they have a white homeland or homelands — as suggested by some ultra-conservative groups?

Mr Lockey, rather surprisingly, says Yes. "I think we should look into the possibility of a white homeland where those whites who are not happy living with others, can go.

"The difference is that since

those white conservatives only represent about three percent of the population, they will only get about three percent of the land."

On the other hand, Johannesburg and Soweto could together form a unitary state, he says.

And so could the Western Cape, where whites are generally fairly liberal and where there is the greatest concentration of coloureds who do not fit into any Nationalist ethnic mould.

The proposed third-tier regional service council for the Western Cape could develop into the second-tier state for this region.

"The Labour Party forced 70 amendments to the Bill, most of them aimed at strengthening the position of coloureds who will now enjoy equal power with whites."

He emphasises he is not talking about a coloured homeland.

"The majority of so-called coloureds will only be satisfied with a true democracy, even if this means counting themselves out as a major force in a new constitution for South Africa."

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Threatened Uwusa men win order

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

TWO members of the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa have been granted a restraining order by the Durban Supreme Court against four co-workers, including a shop steward of the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union, who allegedly threatened them with death.

Security officer Ernest Ngema, who works at Clover Dairies, Congella, said he was a "canvasser" for the new union. On May 20 he started canvassing for Uwusa and persuaded six co-workers to join.

The next day a number of Clover workers called to see him at his room but he was not in. He was told they were angry and wanted to demand his Uwusa enrolment forms so they could see "who the sellouts were who have betrayed their union (SFAWU)".

Ngema subsequently visited the offices of SFAWU, an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions which has a majority at Clover, and a SFAWU organiser made an appointment for him to see the union's chief shop steward at Clover to discuss the matter. Later that day a group of workers again came to his room and threatened him "saying they were sorry for (his) children and that (he) would not return from the Congella factory alive if (he) went there again".

After Ngema arrived at the factory the next day, the workers downed tools. He and two other Uwusa members were escorted to the gate and "evicted" by the crowd.

The second applicant, Uwusa member Marungwana Mhlongo, who is also a worker at Clover, said he was approached by SFAWU shop steward Zuma, who allegedly said the workers at the factory did not want any Uwusa people on the Clover shop floor and that "they would necklace any Uwusa member".

If not contested, the interim interdict will be made final on June 26.

Countdown once more to the big mine wage talks

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Chamber of Mines reached agreement this week with the white Council of Mining Unions, clearing the way for the annual battle with the black National Union of Mineworkers (Num) — possibly the most significant event on the labour calendar.

In the past two years wage talks between the Chamber and Num have reached deadlock and limited strike action, though an all-out confrontation — a black miners' 1922 — has been avoided.

So the question is being asked yet again whether this will be the year of the big bang, when black miners will close the country's gold and coal mines.

The Chamber's industrial relations advisor, Johan Liebenberg, told Weekly Mail this week: "I think we are in for a tough series of meetings, but I am hopeful that by discussion we will be able to reach settlement."

Clearly, Num — which claims to have signed up 300 000 miners — is stronger than in either of the two previous years, but analysing the prospects of strike action depends on the mood on the ground and how the negotiations proceed.

There has been an extraordinary wave of industrial action on the mines since the beginning of the year (though it has slowed in recent weeks) and the political situation is acting as a further spur to worker militancy.

Num's press officer, Marcel Golding, said workers were in an extremely militant mood and were demanding wage increases which would ensure that mine workers would be among the best paid workers as a result of the hazardous conditions in which they have to work.

Num is demanding a 45 percent across-the-board increase as well as job security, a shorter working fortnight, a paid holiday on May 1 and improvements to fringe benefits such as leave, vacation pay, death benefits and maternity leave.

"The mines made record profits last year and they are easily in a position to meet our demands," said Golding. "High inflation has eroded workers' wages and we're not only trying to compensate for this, we're trying to improve the standard of living of workers."

"This will pave the way for the struggle for a living wage among black miners."

This year the talks have hit a snag before they have even begun. When they met with Num last week Friday, the Chamber set a number of preconditions to the talks, most of which have been rejected by Num.

Brokers shy away from gold

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER
FOREIGN stockbrokers are advising clients to avoid South African gold shares for fear of major disruptions on the mines, says a share analyst who has asked not to be named.

With wage talks underway between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines, and June 16 just over a fortnight away, local investors are also holding back.

Lower prices and volumes on

the Johannesburg Stock Exchange indicate the extent of the damage. At the close of trading on Wednesday, the JSE all-gold index fell to 1 145,6 from a close the day before of 1 166,1, while the overall index slipped to 1 425,6 from 1 439,3.

If prices fall further, local institutions could change their minds. But overseas investors are expected to hold on to their money until July.

These include: that Num accept a schedule indicating the mines it represents, that talks for gold and coal mines be separated if necessary, that outstanding matters of the 1985 wage negotiations not be allowed to affect this year's talks, that any settlement reached be regarded as full and final, that no cost-related changes in conditions of employment be implemented before July 1, and that Num accept the various exemptions from the Basic Conditions of Employment Act sought by the Chamber.

Liebenberg said the Chamber was merely seeking an "affirmation of bargaining conventions" and did not see them as insuperable preconditions.

Golding said Num could not agree to waive the outstanding matters from the 1985 negotiations as they had the right to a legal strike in terms of last year's dispute. To forego this would be to undermine their bargaining power.

He said they could not accept the schedule because certain mines and categories on mines which Num claimed representativity were excluded.

These included two gold mines — Gold Fields' Venterspost and Rand Mines' Durban Roodepoort Deep — and a coal mine — Greenside colliery — where Num has recently applied for recognition.

An attempt to resolve these matters and get the negotiations going will be made today when the Chamber is expected to unveil its offer.

There is, however, agreement that Num will represent workers in various categories at a large number of gold mines. This year the union is well-represented in every major gold mining area — the Free State, the Western Transvaal, the West Rand and the Eastern Transvaal — though its representation at one mining house, Gold Fields, is still limited and representativity on Anglo Vaal

appears to have fallen away.

Liebenberg said that at last count Num had 135 000 paid-up members on Chamber gold and coal mines. The discrepancy between this figure and Num's figure of 300 000 is explained by the number of Num members on platinum and diamond mines, on non-Chamber mines and the miners who are not paid-up yet.

Mines represented include: Anglo American's Elandsrand, President Brand, the three divisions of Western Holdings, the three divisions of Vaal Reefs, two divisions of Western Deep Levels, President Steyn and Free State Geduld.

The Gencor mines represented this year include Marievale, Stilfontein, Bracken, St Helena, Buffelsfontein, Beatrix, Grootvlei, Kinross and Leslie. Gold Fields' gold mines represented include Deelkraal, Libanon and West Driefontein while Rand Mines has Blyvooruitzicht, and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) — represented for the first time — has Randfontein Estates and Western Areas in this year's talks.

One of the key questions around this year's talks is whether the mining houses, which represent vastly differing philosophies, will stand together or split as they did during the disputes of the past two years.

The Num has warned they will not tolerate a split and are negotiating one deal for all their members. Liebenberg said the six major mining houses had managed to put together a unified offer to make to Num.

But, in the strain of negotiations further down the line, it is difficult to see Anglo American and Gold Fields putting up a common front. This is so not only because of the differing labour relations and wage philosophies but because Anglo — where Num is much better represented — stands to lose more in the event of a strike.

AMABUTHO leader Thomas Mandla Shabalala rubbed his pistol affectionately and declared: "With this, I will leave hundreds of UDF supporters dead on the battlefield."

Then, the man who admits to being behind a dreaded Durban impi continued: "I long for the day when there will be open war between the UDF and Inkatha - it will prove who is who in the political battle."

Some would say there's open war already - at least between the impis and UDF supporters. Battles in the Durban area have left dozens dead in recent weeks, and many activists have gone into hiding to escape the Amabutho - or Otheleweni, as they're also called, after their wary.

In a bid to find out what the Amabutho's motives are, *City Press* this week visited Lindelani shack settlement - alleged headquarters of the most notorious impi combatants.

It was there that we heard of "The 26", said to be the force behind the notorious raiders. It was also there that we found Inkatha Central Committee member Shabalala, 42 - a KwaZulu MP - who admits to having an army of 208 "cops" under his control, each paid R130 a month. This "salary" is raised from R3 monthly contributions from each household in the 9 000-shack community.

While obviously proud of his achievements, Shabalala was quick to point out that not all attacks by impis - he prefers to call them "abavileki" (protectors) - were carried out by his men.

He said, however, that it had been "decided" that all councillors and Inkatha branches should set up groups to "stamp out UDF-created unrest".

"Abavileki is the brainchild of Inkatha," he declared. "Just as the famous necklace killings are the brainchild of the UDF."

Shabalala says his squat-camp is "Inkatha territory", and people staying there had to join Inkatha.

"There is no home for UDF or ANC here."

There's also little room for student activists, according to Shabalala.

"We have nothing against student council as long as they work within the ambit of our KwaZulu education department. We are not at war with them - only fighting violent elements within the SRCs who want to force their political be-



KwaZulu MP Thomas Shabalala: Longs for a REAL battle.

War cries of an angry Amabutho

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

lies down the throats of our children, and resort to violent tactics."

● *City Press* also spoke to chief Lieutenant Emmanuel "Pondolwendlovu" Khanyile, a Lindelani impi induna, who said he "only

saw war between UDF and Inkatha - not SRCs".

He insists the impis are "winning", but acknowledges that "the UDF and Cosatu are everywhere - even at Lindelani".

● Nhlungwana impi induna Fanyana Ntombela is having trouble with his constituency.

While *City Press* was interviewing him, scores of men came in to complain that they had not been paid for taking part in a raid last week on a student meeting.

● Impi commander Joseph Shangase, 65 - KwaMashu hostel Inkatha branch chairman - outlined some of the problems his impis are having.

While *City Press* was interviewing Shangase, a councillor arrived to complain that his constituency was complaining about "making war with KwaMashu residents".

● This week, the Durban Supreme Court granted a temporary interdict restraining Shabalala from assaulting or threatening to assault Belinda Mfeka.

Mfeka said in an affidavit that she had seen people at Shabalala's home who appeared to be held in a barbed wire enclosure.

Uwusa subscription fees.

She was released and warned to return with her husband. When they returned, the three women swore at them.

Mfeka said she was shown a scared boy with bound hands. The woman with the Inkatha T-shirt said he was to be executed by the "Amabutho".

● Shabalala told *City Press* he is prepared to defend the action.

Commenting on the monies paid by Lindelani shack dwellers, he said Lindelani is "Inkatha territory and as such all people staying there are required to pay Inkatha subscriptions".

Inkatha man told not to assault couple

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

KWAZULU Chief Minister MG Buthelezi was named in the Durban Supreme Court this week when a temporary interdict was granted restraining Lindelani Inkatha boss Thomas Mandla Shabalala from assaulting a Lindelani couple.

Belinda Mfeka and Simon Mfeka claimed Shabalala - a KwaZulu MP - had threatened to have them killed by his warriors and their home burnt because they supported the United Democratic Front instead of Inkatha.

Mrs Mfeka alleged in an affidavit that at Shabalala's house, a woman in an Inkatha T-shirt told them Buthelezi had said Inkatha members should take revenge on UDF members - and burn them if they refused to support Inkatha.

Mfeka said she was taken to Shabalala's home by three women wearing United Workers' Union of SA and Inkatha T-shirts. They scolded her because she had failed to pay Inkatha and

□ In Natal: Township terror claim

Police probe into 'barbed wire captives'

By Linda Vergnani

POLICE are investigating allegations that people were held captive in a barbed wire enclosure at the home of a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Mandla Shabalala.

Among the allegations is that one of the prisoners was a teenager whose hands had been tied, and that it was intended that he should be killed.

The allegations were made in affidavits by a Lindelani couple, Belinda and Simon Mfeka, and put before the Supreme Court this week. The Mfekas were granted an interim interdict restraining Mr Shabalala from assaulting or threatening to assault them, and from damaging their home.

Within hours of the interim interdict being granted, a mob of more than 100 people demolished

the Mfekas brick home. The mob used pick-axes and other tools to destroy the three-roomed house. Only the foundations and one corner of the house remained. All the trees and vegetables in the garden were destroyed.

"My head is cracking," the terrified Mrs Mfeka said later.

"I don't know where to turn for help. My sister told me everything has been destroyed and I am too scared even to go back and see if there is anything I can salvage."

Captain Winston Heunis, police liaison officer for Port Natal, said copies of the affidavits had been handed to the police and the matter was being investigated.

In papers before the Supreme Court, Mrs Mfeka said she and her husband had been told to go to Mr Shabalala's house by three women who had shouted abuse at her, accused her of being a member of the United Democratic Front, and searched her house. She said they were dressed variously in Inkatha and United Workers' Union of South Africa T-shirts.

She and her husband decided they should comply because Mr Shabalala "has the reputation in Lindelani of being an extremely powerful and dangerous man whose orders are not to be lightly ignored".

On May 20, the Mfekas went to Mr Shabalala's house, where the three women abused and harangued the couple.

The woman in the Inkatha T-shirt said Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi "whom she referred to as Induna Nkulu, had said that Inkatha members should take revenge on members of the United Democratic Front and should burn them if they refuse to support Inkatha".

Sweating

Mrs Mfeka said she was "sweating profusely" and asked to be let outside.

A teenager, whose hands had been bound, crouched in the yard. The woman in the Inkatha T-shirt said he was "waiting for the amabutho" to take him away and kill him.

The youngster "looked extremely afraid and was shivering. There were a number of other people who appeared to be there against their wishes within a barbed wire enclosure".

Present in the yard were men armed with rifles, knobkerries and spears. Several times she heard orders being given that armed men should be taken to KwaMashu.

She saw two buses, two minibuses and a car packed with armed men leaving Mr Shabalala's house.

When Mr Shabalala appeared about 9 pm, he told them they should leave Lindelani immediately or "he would send his warriors to kill us and burn our houses down".

Mrs Mfeka said she reported the matter to the police at New Germany. She was afraid to report it to the KwaMashu police because, she said, she had heard they had close links with Mr Shabalala.

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