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March to demand pensions

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ULUNDI—About 5 000 public servants will descend on Ulundi today to show solidarity with the KwaZulu government and to demand their pensions before the April elections.

Chairman of the interim organisation, Concerned Civil Servants, Mr Elwin Nkwanyana, said yesterday employees from Eshowe, Empangeni and Ulundi would mass outside the KwaZulu legislative buildings at 12.30pm and march to the local police station.

Their memorandum would call for payouts of their pensions as well as show support for the beleaguered KwaZulu administration.

"We don't trust the next interim government, and the safety of our pensions cannot be guaranteed," said Mr Nkwanyana.

Public servants' benefits should be secured by the present KwaZulu administration, he said.

KwaZulu government spokesman Prim Nxumalo said permission had not yet been granted for the march and could not be guaranteed because the march would use "official time".

Mr Nkwanyana responded by saying, "We as workers are concerned about our future — we are not concerned about the authorities." — (Sapa)

(Report by C Doonan, 330 West Street, Durban)

Buthelezi in danger as homelands dissolve

By ROSS DUNN,
Pietermaritzburg, Wednesday

Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the arch rival of Mr Nelson Mandela, was today preparing to fight for his political life as South Africa's black homeland governments came one step closer to extinction.

South Africa's Transitional Executive Council yesterday moved in to take control of the Ciskei black homeland in the Eastern Cape, after a mutiny by homeland police forced the resignation of the military dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Brigadier Gqozo has been an ally of Chief Buthelezi against Mr Mandela's African National Congress.

This followed the overthrow two weeks ago of the president of the Bophuthatswana black homeland, Mr Lucas Mangope, also an ally of Chief Buthelezi, and the reincorporation of that area into South Africa. Both homelands had been notorious for their repression of the ANC, and the transitional council said that further repression would not be tolerated in the lead-up to the 26-28 April multi-racial elections.

Lebowa, one of the eight remaining homelands, has called on the transitional council to take control of the area. The homelands were set up under the now abandoned system of grand apartheid, which aimed to separate all blacks into these areas, leaving the rest of South Africa for whites. They were generally regarded as corrupt puppet states of Pretoria without any real support from the local population.

The exception has been Chief Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of the black homeland of KwaZulu, and the president of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

But he is now under fire after his supporters declared they would not allow the ANC free political activity in his homeland

before the elections.

Since the weekend more than 70 people have died in political fighting in KwaZulu and the neighboring Indian Ocean province of Natal when Inkatha supporters for the second time prevented the ANC from holding rallies.

A delegation from South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission was today in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, for a crisis meeting with Chief Buthelezi, who is boycotting the elections over his demands for an independent state for his followers.

The success or failure of this mission could determine whether the executive council, which has black and white leaders charged with preparing the way for peaceful elections, implements an emergency plan for KwaZulu.

If Chief Buthelezi refuses to cooperate in ensuring free and fair elections in KwaZulu, the executive council could place the KwaZulu police force under the control of the South African police and install South African Defence Force troops to keep peace in the territory.

The ultimate sanction of dissolving the homeland altogether, as the council did with Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, has not yet been mentioned as an option.

One hope of preventing a major conflict is an ANC-Inkatha plan for international mediation, which is favored by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, who has said he will abide by the decisions of such a process even if they are against him. But the President, Mr F. W. de Klerk, is against the idea.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi last night produced a document that he claimed outlined a plot by the ANC and the South African Communist Party to bring down the Government. The ANC denied being a party to the document.

South Africa's final hurdle

The Australian
24/3/74

A showdown between Zulus and the ANC is looming, says ALLISTER SPARKS, but it may herald a new society

THE rapid approach of South Africa's first one-person, one-vote election, now only a month away, is forcing a series of confrontations with groups which for widely differing reasons are resisting the transformation of the apartheid State.

Each of these confrontations is a crisis in itself, which causes the country to hold its breath in what is becoming an emotionally draining drama. So far each crisis has resolved itself in a way that has strengthened the hand of the majority pro-election forces. But the most stringent test is still to come.

Two weeks ago the recalcitrants were organised into a coalition called the Freedom Alliance. It was a marriage of convenience between the far-rightist Afrikaner Volksfront — itself a coalition of more than a dozen white extremist movements demanding a separatist Afrikaner volkstaat, or homeland — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party seeking some degree of autonomy for the Zulu people, and chief Lucas Mangope's nominally independent Bophuthatswana "homeland" established under the apartheid system.

Opinion polls indicated the combined support for all the Freedom Alliance parties was probably below 10 per cent of South Africa's 41 million people, of whom 5 million are white. But the alliance's threat lay in its disruptive capability.

The Volkfront, led by a former Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, claimed to be able to mobilise an army of more than 5000 trained reservists willing to fight for its cause. Their dream was to form a Boer-Zulu alliance, linking up with Buthelezi's Zulu *impis* in a symbolic coming together of historical enemies to fight for a common objective.

To supplement this already formidable combination was Mangope with an army and a police force professionally trained and equipped by the South African Defence Force and ready to supply the anti-election alliance with arms.

That was two weeks ago. Then the pressures of the approaching election began closing in. Civil servants in Bophuthatswana went on strike, demanding that they be paid out their pensions before the homeland was dissolved in the transition process.

Mangope refused, and as his administration tottered under the impact of the strike he called for help from his Volksfront allies.

A rag-tag army of white vigilantes drove in to the homeland to shore up their black ally. It was a disastrous expedition that began as a shooting spree for these racist Ramboes and ended with their total humiliation. Mangope's police and troops, infuriated at the wanton killing of unarmed black civilians, mutinied and turned on the Boer invaders they were supposed to help. As several of the white vigilantes died in the dust, the rest turned and fled.

The political fallout has been significant. Mangope has been deposed and his 2 million subjects will now be enthusiastic participants in the election. General Viljoen, disgusted at the behaviour of his rabble force, has formed a breakaway faction that will participate in the election and pursue their volkstaat goal constitutionally.

That has split the Afrikaner Volksfront and reduced the military threat it posed.

It has also isolated Buthelezi — and now the pressures of the approaching election are closing in on him also.

These were intensified last Friday when a commission of inquiry headed by a respected judge, Richard Goldstone, disclosed evidence of a massive "third force" operation involving a dozen senior police officers, including the deputy commissioner of police, that has collaborated with Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in sponsoring much of the political violence that has ravaged South Africa during the past four years and caused an estimated 13,500 deaths.

THE disclosure has embarrassed President F. W. De Klerk's Government, which has consistently denied repeated ANC allegations that there was such a third force operating in the security forces.

It has destabilised a police force of doubtful competence and loyalty at a time when the country itself is going through an unstable transition.

But above all it has been devastating to Buthelezi's already waning image.

Buthelezi is not only chief minister of his KwaZulu homeland but also its Minister of Police. He therefore has direct-line responsibility for the men Goldstone says have been receiving weapons and getting hit-squad training from the renegade officers in Pretoria.

Buthelezi denies he knew anything about these dirty tricks, or indeed that there is any truth in Goldstone's findings. He did the same three years ago when it

was revealed that the notorious South African Security Police had paid his Inkatha Freedom Party the equivalent of \$125,000 to fund anti-ANC activities.

The denials are hardly credible coming from a man who is the dominant figure in his party and who close associates say has a hand in even its smallest decisions.

The disclosures have outraged many Zulus and caused Buthelezi to suffer a further heavy loss of support among urban Africans. It is doubtful whether he now has more than 25 per cent of the 7 million Zulus behind him.

But he still has a solid base of support among tribal traditionalists, as well as the backing of the Zulu king, Zwelithini Goodwill. That makes him a much more formidable figure than the paperweight Mangope. Moreover, the disclosures seem to have added to what seems like a form of political paranoia, making Buthelezi more aggressively recalcitrant than ever.

A showdown seems inevitable — and this will be South Africa's most critical confrontation. It could mean a bloodbath, or it could lance the last boil.

Once again civil servants in the homeland are threatening to strike in demand of pension payouts, as they did in Bophuthatswana. ANC supporters, angry at being prevented from electioneering in Buthelezi's territory, are planning a mass demonstration to assert their right to do so. The police, meanwhile, are in a state of internal turmoil.

The last big bust is at hand. South Africa is holding its breath once again. If it survives this one, as I believe it will, then the rest of the journey to the new society should be relatively smooth. But nothing is certain.

Allister Sparks is a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail and author of *The Mind of South Africa*.



Civil war fears as homeland chief quits

By correspondents in Johannesburg and Kwamashu

BLOODSHED, chaos and allegations of hit-squads and plots sent temperatures soaring in South Africa yesterday in the run-up to the country's first multi-racial elections.

South African troops were sent to the border of the Ciskei homeland after its military strongman, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, resigned in the face of a police revolt and sought help from Pretoria.

In Natal province, thousands of blacks fled their homes as fighting spread between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

At least 71 people have been killed in five days of fighting in at least four townships and rural areas of the coastal province, according to peace monitors and the domestic news agency SAPA.

Monitors say violence has spiralled since Friday, when Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini endorsed a call by the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for a boycott of South Africa's first all-race election next month.

Chief Buthelezi also proclaimed the province's "sovereignty" and called on Zulus to defend their freedom "at all costs".

Pro-ANC Zulus committed to contesting the April 26-28 poll responded by saying they were ready to "go to war" to secure the right to campaign freely in KwaZulu and Natal.

In Kwamashu, near Durban, four people were killed yesterday as running battles took place between residents and occupants of a workers' hostel, a stronghold of Inkatha.

"Many people left. Women and children ran out of their homes screaming and shouting," Mr John Gumede said as he stood in the ashes of what had been his living room.

Mr Gumede said attackers from the hostel rampaged through houses near the workers' dormitory, shooting and setting fire to homes in

the township, which is 20km from Durban but officially part of the KwaZulu black homeland.

As homes smouldered in the townships, the ANC's Natal spokesman, Mr Blade Nzamande, said: "I think we are on the brink of a full-scale civil war."

A task group investigating hit squads in Natal, where sporadic fighting between pro-ANC and pro-Inkatha Zulus has claimed more than 10,000 lives in 10 years, said there appeared to be evidence linking killer groups to Chief Buthelezi's office.

Pressure on KwaZulu increased yesterday when about 1000 teachers employed by the homeland's education department marched through the Umlazi black township demanding the right to free political activity.

Meanwhile, about 30,000 striking civil servants brought chaos to government offices, schools and hospitals in the northern Transvaal homeland of Lebowa.

Striking homeland police gave an ultimatum to their Government that unless they get back-pay they will ensure no elections are held in the territory.

The fall of Brigadier Gqozo, 42, from his 8000sq km homeland was very sudden.

The South African Foreign Ministry announced: "Brigadier Gqozo telephoned to say the situation was out of control and there was danger of large-scale conflict and bloodshed."

"He indicated he had come to the conclusion he ought to relinquish power in an attempt to reduce the on-going tension."

A spokesman said troops had been ordered in — the second time in less than two weeks that regulars had been sent into an apartheid-created homeland to rescue it from chaos accompanying the toppling of its leader.

Reuters

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Massacre ensured Ciskei's notoriety



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in his Bisho home yesterday hours after stepping down as leader of the Ciskei black homeland — AFP picture

By BRENDAN BOYLE in Cape Town

CISKEI, the second apartheid homeland government to collapse this month, will probably be best remembered in history for last year's massacre of 28 African National Congress demonstrators.

Former leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's army fired into a crowd of ANC protesters on September 7 when they tried to march the 5km over a low hill to Ciskei's capital, Bisho. About 200 people were wounded and 29 killed, including one soldier.

Little else will bear remembrance in the 12 years that Ciskei existed as a nominally sovereign nation of 1 million people between the economically depressed Indian Ocean harbours of East London and Port Elizabeth.

Ciskei — a 7700sq km wedge of land without a port or major town — was the last of four self-governing black homelands to accept independence from South Africa between 1976 and 1981.

That independence, recognised only by Pretoria and the other apartheid homelands, ended yesterday when Brigadier Gqozo asked the South African defence force

to help him put down an apparent mutiny by his police and army.

The small territory depended on Pretoria for at least half its 2.1 billion rand (\$827.3 million) annual expenditure and on white visitors to its casinos for much of the rest.

Bophuthatswana, economically the most successful of the four independent homelands, collapsed 10 days ago after a week of bloody rioting and an abortive attempt by right-wing whites to prop up the president, Mr Lucas Mangope.

With Transkei and Venda committed to South Africa's first all-race elections on April 26-28, only conservative Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is left clinging to the remnants of power granted under apartheid.

Arrangements for the elections include the automatic dismantling of the four independent homelands and six others given varying degrees of autonomy under apartheid.

Chief Buthelezi has rejected the elections until he is guaranteed virtual autonomy for his tribal homeland. Ciskei, one of two home-

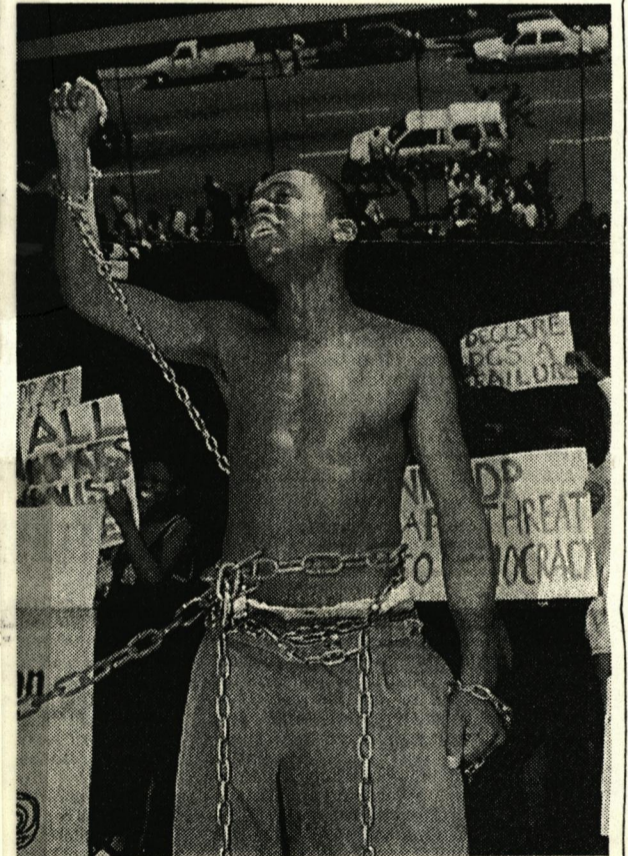
lands created for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's Xhosa tribe, had an inauspicious birth on December 4, 1981 when the flagpole fell over during a midnight independence ceremony.

Mr Lennox Sebe, a former schoolteacher, packed the government with his brothers, cousins and sons and then began to fall out with them. He made his brother, Charles, head of Ciskei's notorious secret police but threw him into jail when he suspected a plot against the life presidency he assumed in August 1983.

Brigadier Gqozo's turn came in March 1990 when he trumped a coup attempt by Mr Sebe's son, Kwame, and declared himself military leader of the cattle lands where some of the first major clashes between South African blacks and whites occurred 200 years ago.

One of Brigadier Gqozo's allies in the coup was Colonel O.M. Guzana, who was jailed a month later for plotting a counter-coup. A year later he and Charles Sebe were killed in a border ambush.

Reuters



A Pretoria protester demands votes for inmates

Prisoners get the vote

JOHANNESBURG: South Africa's Transitional Executive Council decided yesterday that all prisoners would be allowed to vote in next month's multi-racial elections.

Prison authorities had called on the TEC, a multi-racial body overseeing the Government until the April 26-28 vote, to intervene to end a wave of rioting in the nation's jails that has left 23 inmates dead.

The decision reversed rules that allowed only prisoners awaiting trial or serving minor sentences to vote.

Since Saturday, inmates protesting about their loss of franchise have run amok in prisons across the country.

On Tuesday, 21 prisoners died in a fire at Queenstown prison, about 800km east of Johannesburg, after barricading themselves into their cells with iron beds and lighting fires.

Two inmates were killed at the weekend in a cell fire at Pollsmoor prison, near Cape Town and about 3000 prisoners were reported to be on a hunger strike.

AP

Inquiry links Buthelezi to death squads

By RICH MKHONDO in Pretoria

AN inquiry into deaths in the Natal region of South Africa said yesterday there appeared to be evidence linking death squads to the office of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Judge Richard Goldstone, appointed by the Government in 1991 to investigate the causes of violence in the country, unveiled the accusations at a news conference attended by the President, Mr De Klerk.

The investigating group, set up by the Transitional Executive Council overseeing the run-up to the country's first all-race elections next month, said it had uncovered evidence of hit squads operating in the KwaZulu black homeland and Natal.

"Hit squad activity in Natal and particularly in the area of jurisdiction of KwaZulu is rife," the report said.

"The number of deaths caused by these hit squads is unquantifiable, but would represent a significant

proportion of those who have died in political violence in Natal-KwaZulu."

It said some hit squads operated within the KwaZulu police, while there was disturbing information of a wider network comprising elements of the South African police and private security firms.

"The evidence and information in some cases suggests that resources or directives appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the Inkatha Freedom Party head office and at the Department of Chief Minister," it said.

Chief Buthelezi is chief minister of KwaZulu and heads the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is refusing to participate in the April 26-28 elections.

Inkatha and KwaZulu are not represented on the TEC, which is dominated by the Government and Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and its allies.

Inkatha spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos described the TEC report as "a despicable travesty of justice".

"We are not on the TEC ... it is dominated by the ANC and its communist allies. This is a deliberate propaganda attempt by the ANC," she said.

"I would take a bet that none of these allegations will stand up in a court of law. It is a deliberate attempt by the ANC to bad-mouth the IFP and to destabilise KwaZulu."

The report said assassination targets included ANC leaders and activists and KwaZulu policemen perceived to have been disloyal to Inkatha. It mentioned no names.

The report follows accusations last Friday of the involvement of South African police generals in gun-running and support for Inkatha.

More than 10,000 people have died in violence in KwaZulu-Natal in the past 10 years, most of them in turf

wars between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC.

TEC member and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said during a debate on the task group report that unless drastic measures were taken, fair elections would be impossible in the Natal region.

The TEC appointed the task group in December to follow up another Goldstone commission report that said it had found evidence of hit-squad operations in the Natal region.

Referring to the involvement of South African police and private security firms, the group's report said: "This network has engaged in large-scale training of individuals and the alleged deployment of them in hit squad activity, including the murder of many prominent activists in Natal. Apparently the network is preparing for further widespread destabilisation."

Reuters