

16/1/14

Supporters won't accept my being kicked out — Gumede

Vasantha Angamuthu

MAVERICK African National Congress member Archie Gumede, who sparked internal dissent with his public pronouncements repudiating ANC tactics, says his supporters in Natal will not accept his being dropped from the executive.

Mr Gumede was responding to rumours this week that he is to be sidelined by the organisation and stripped of his executive status following his controversial press statements slamming as unnecessary last week's stayaway.

He was ~~gagged~~ by ANC

internal leader Walter Sisulu last week after his opposition to the national stayaway.

Mr Sisulu said he was disappointed by Mr Gumede's disclosure to the press of his disagreement with the ANC stance on Monday's stayaway, and until he had discussed the matter with him, Mr Gumede would have to refrain from discussing the issue in the press.

An unrepentant Mr Gumede refused to retract his statements. He is reported to have dismissed all strikes as unnecessary. He said strikes would not end the violence in Natal.

He has also been re-



Archie Gumede

ported as saying this week that the ANC/Cosatu Peace Conference, to be held in August, should be called by another

name because it cannot be a conference about peace if the "enemy" Inkatha is excluded.

He said he may have been gagged by the ANC internal leadership but was "not under a state of emergency" and was unaware of any moves to have him dropped from the ANC national executive.

Mr Gumede said he would continue as a member of the organisation even if he was dropped as a national executive committee member.

ANC Southern Natal convener Terror Lekota has dismissed as "pure speculation" rumours that the veteran political

activist would be stripped of his national executive committee status.

Mr Lekota said Mr Gumede's controversial statements were being discussed by the NEC.

The question of Mr Gumede's high profile position has been raised just as the United Democratic Front is restructuring.

A new UDF executive is expected to be voted in soon and there are indications that Mr Gumede — now UDF co-president — will not be included.

Mr Gumede confirmed elections were due soon but said he would accept "a democratic election" of a new executive in which he was excluded.

Few words make many enemies

POPPERFOTO

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is relaunching Inkatha. He spoke to Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

"YOU ARE from England, you do not understand these things. This is the talk of my enemies."

I had been asking the Zulu Chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, about the policies of his Inkatha movement, which is being relaunched this weekend as a multi-racial political party.

"Enemies" is a word of which Chief Buthelezi is fond, perhaps because he has so many. "Propagandists" is another. It is a category open to anyone who scrutinises, let alone criticises, the sensitive black leader who has won the hearts of the white regime, British Government and international business with his talk of a "modern, Western-type industrial democracy" even while bludgeoning his opponents into submission.

Dr Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the patchwork of second-rate soil that is the nominally self-governing "homeland" of KwaZulu, claims 1.7 million members for Inkatha. For 15 years it has primarily been thought of as a Zulu organisation. Now, as its leader seeks to ensure a place for himself in shaping the new South Africa, his party's role and history are being recast.

"We are not a Zulu organisation, we have many other members," he told a press conference last week. When one reporter



Buthelezi: 'The leadership does not reflect the membership.' Meanwhile, the membership (below) arrives uninvited in Mpophomeni

asked how many of the 10 Inkatha leaders sitting at the conference table were non-Zulu, he frowned. "The leadership does not reflect the membership," he said. The only non-Zulu at the table was a white farmer who explained that Inkatha was the best option "if I want to perpetuate my lifestyle".

The Chief hopes that his talk of democracy and the free market, and attacks on the ANC as Stalinist, will win him as much favour at home as abroad. This is improbable. Inkatha cannot easily shake off responsibility for violence in Natal that has claimed 3,500 lives, particularly now that a former KwaZulu minister is facing murder charges.

Chief Buthelezi's warm relations with the white government and his attempts to claim credit for Nelson Mandela's release have not won him friends in the ANC. Whereas Mr Mandela pulled in a crowd of more than 100,000 at a rally in Natal, in Soweto Chief Buthelezi barely managed 3,000. The Inkatha leader does not care to discuss such details. Indeed there is much

he does not care to discuss. He may be demanding a multi-party democracy elsewhere in South Africa, but his organisation is vulnerable over its role in the Natal violence and his own authoritarian rule in KwaZulu. So when I asked him about the future of the KwaZulu police, often described as Chief Buthelezi's private army, he refused to answer. "It is a KwaZulu issue," he said.

Surely, if Inkatha wants to reach out across the country, it is going to have to satisfy its critics on these matters? Chief Buthelezi's voice rose. "What does that have to do with anyone? We are Zulu. We decide for ourselves. We do not need others deciding

for us. KwaZulu is not like other homelands," he protested.

He said I did not understand. "What is it I don't understand?" I asked. He turned and stared at the wall.

Neither did he have an opinion on the state of emergency in Natal (it remains in force here despite having been lifted elsewhere in South Africa). Inkatha's opponents say the Chief privately favours the emergency powers because they enable the white South African police to collude in attacks on the ANC's supporters.



Although he is keen on a multi-party system, Chief Buthelezi bridled when I asked whether KwaZulu police would protect ANC offices if they were opened in the homeland. The question was hypothetical, he said.

It is not hypothetical at all, for the ANC has written to him on exactly that point. Chief

Buthelezi has asked Mr Mandela to negotiate and (interestingly, given his recent observations about talking to the IRA) Mr Mandela has so far rejected the invitation. Harry Gwala, the ANC boss in the Natal Midlands, says discussions are impossible because Inkatha only wants to talk about being given a free hand in

the region. But some ANC officials say negotiations are inevitable before long. In the meantime, Chief Buthelezi said, he speaks for all Zulus.

I had already experienced at first hand just what this meant when I joined the Zulu people of the township of Mpophomeni as they awaited a visit by an uninvit-

ed guest — Steven Sithebe, the KwaZulu Interior Minister who is one of Chief Buthelezi's close associates. During the night before the minister's arrival, the township popped with the testing of makeshift rifles. With the dawn, Mpophomeni's leaders rose to warn people not to venture far beyond their homes, and to keep the young men, the self-styled "comrades", from provoking trouble.

The minister descended on Mpophomeni three hours late. "I am here at the invitation of the people here," he declared, scanning the township from the steps of its empty conference hall.

"More than 200 wrote to me who want to talk about services in the town. But it looks to me as if people who invited me have been intimidated into not coming," Mr Sithebe said.

Mpophomeni, flush with refugees who had fled Inkatha attacks, stared back. There had been no invitation, the people said. He was an enemy who had called for the "elimination" of opponents, among them anyone who favoured the ANC. The township has repelled half-a-dozen attacks this year and it was braced for another.

For half an hour the minister stood with his gun-toting bodyguards and a contingent of South African police. Then, in the distance, a thin line snaked around the edge of the hill. Several thousand eyes turned towards it. It was what Mpophomeni feared most — dancing, chanting Inkatha supporters, waving spears.

Chris Khoza, the Mpophomeni Residents' Association secretary, begged the police to disarm the approaching crowd. Lieutenant Van Den Heever's response was a threat to arrest him for obstruction.

As the warriors wriggled their way through Mpophomeni, young women lifted their skirts and bared their backsides. A drunken

Inkatha supporter was briefly kicked and beaten after he fell behind. Mr Sithebe made a speech.

"Mpophomeni is KwaZulu territory and those who are not loyal to KwaZulu, who are not loyal to Inkatha, can leave," he said. "This is seizing my power. I do not have on my agenda the elimination of people. I'm here because there has been a breach between my government and the people here for more than five years. I must look for other means to make people toe the line."

Tempers flared, stones, and punches were thrown. For one brief moment it appeared that Mpophomeni would become Natal's latest bloody battleground. But the minister had made his point, and with a nod to the police, he quickly led his warriors from town.

Chief Buthelezi declines to discuss this sort of behaviour. "It would be very wrong for me to comment. You are wrong to tax me on this. I do not know if you are telling the truth," he said.

15 July 1990

15 July 1990

Mandela: Accord Crucial

NAIROBI, Kenya — Nelson Mandela said Saturday that he and South African President F.W. de Klerk agree a settlement is urgently needed to end white-minority rule in their nation.

The 71-year-old deputy president of the African National Congress made the comments at a news conference at the end of a three-day visit to Kenya.

Mandela, who arrived Wednesday accompanied by his wife, Winnie, spoke before leaving for Mozambique, the last stop on a six-week tour of Africa, Europe and North America.



World
Briefs

S. African Cease-Fire?



Mandela

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The African National Congress is expected today to announce a cease-fire with the white-minority government after the two sides meet for talks.

The Sunday Star said the ANC may even announce the end of its concept of armed struggle against the government if all its demands are realized at the talks in Pretoria. An agreement would clear the way for full constitutional talks, probably early next year.

President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela head the two five-member delegations for the one-day summit.

Boesak undecided on ANC

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday he had not yet decided about joining the African National Congress, but he ruled out any possibility of his starting his own political party.

In his first press conference since his resignation as moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk and from all positions within the church, he said the World Alliance of Reformed Churches had asked him to remain involved with it.

Dr Boesak said the World Alliance of Reformed Churches would be holding consultations in Berlin in November.

He resigned as president of the Alliance at the weekend.

Dr Boesak said he was scheduled to meet the Western Cape

region of the ANC sometime this week.

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He said he would continue to do in the political arena what he had been doing for the last number of years.

THE STAR
Asked about joining the ANC, he replied: "I suppose at some stage I might be approached and I'll have to make up my mind."

He said it must have been clear that as patron of the UDF he had been associated with the organisation and the ANC.

Asked if he would launch his own political party, he said that he had declared long ago that the time for ethnic politics in South Africa was a thing of the past.

Dr Boesak said he realised he would have to join a political party or organisation at some stage and when approached, he would make up his mind on this.

16/1/11

Caught between a rock and the hard place of apartheid

CANBERRA TIMES AUSTRALIA

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Philip Hobbs concludes his overview of the state of play in South Africa.

"IF THE inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands."

This quotation from Martin Luther King hangs beside his picture and that of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, president of the Inkatha movement and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, in the Cabinet room of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

It sets the scene for an interview with Chief Buthelezi who, according to Gavin Relly, the chairman of the monolithic Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, is between a rock and hard place.

Chief Buthelezi is the other South African fighter against apartheid. He favours a non-violent approach to its abandonment, a capitalist rather than a socialist South Africa, and he does not favour sanctions.

He's a strong critic of the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle to bring about majority rule and he is leader of a land that has close to seven million people who, in fighting each other, have killed more than 3500 since January 1987.

Chief Buthelezi blames the UDF and its ally, the ANC, for the violence, and the ANC the Inkatha movement, itself armed by KwaZulu police.

The fighting and the war of words detract from the central issue — that soon Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi must meet and discuss the dismantling of apartheid and the transition to democracy. It is also a reminder that Mr Mandela and the ANC are not the only players in the South African power game.

That Mr Mandela has been in the world limelight tends to detract from the reality that when he returns home on Wednesday the real work of talking about and of framing a constitution must begin. It is work that must also take into account the other seams of black expectation that also have credibility and which want a say in political outcomes.

For Chief Buthelezi there is too great an emphasis on what political organisation is doing what and what leader is saying and doing what.

"No one leader is going to be the master of South Africa's fate and no one leader is going to orchestrate the totality of events that are going to produce radical departures from the past," he said.

"No one political organisation is going to be so much the vanguard organisation that South Africa will march behind wherever it goes. All South Africa really is in a melting

pot in which political organisation finds itself being tumbled along by the movement of history.

"The change which is now becoming so dramatic is but an end rush of change which started to occur some time ago. While the ANC was saying apartheid cannot be reformed, black opposition to apartheid was making the assumption that reform could and would come through non-violent means, which started a process which is now beginning to culminate in dramatic events."

Chief Buthelezi says President F. W. de Klerk's February 2 statement showed a bold man doing a bold thing, the boldness being that he among the National Party leadership grasped that which history was thrusting at the party.

"His boldness came from moving in tune with history," he said. "It is not an originating boldness which started a new history." Thinking in the National Party was that it must seek the best advantage for white South Africa that could be expected in a situation in which there was total equality before the law and the Constitution for everybody.

There had been cumulative pressures on apartheid which were perhaps very much more powerful outside the party-political field than they were inside it. There had been a long-developing South African institutional adjustment in ensuring that the republic survived a post-apartheid era.

No one leader is going to be the master of S. Africa's fate

"This might sound strange," Chief Buthelezi said. "But big business saw the writing on the wall and realised that unless it started behaving now as though it were already in the new South Africa it would go into that South Africa ill-prepared and be crushed by forces antagonistic to the free-enterprise system." Religious and educational institutions had also been preparing for a new era.

The process of gathering those who would be the political determinants would isolate the extreme Left and extreme Right and make them more virulent and determined to destroy the process of change while "it is still as vulnerable as it now is. Time is of the essence. If there is delay it will favour the extreme Right and Left whose agenda is for the negotiations to fall apart.

"If you took the National Party's main objectives and ranked them next to Inkatha's main objectives and the stated main objectives of the ANC, the UDF and COSATU, you would find that we are just defining the same thing in different ways.

"We all want a multiparty democracy, equality before the law, freedom of the Press,

an independent judiciary, equality of opportunity and the maximum possible redistribution of wealth in South Africa. There is unfortunately still the stubborn continuation of a thorough process in the ANC which always has and still does conceive of the ANC having already assumed the status of a government in exile and anticipates only that it will return as a government come home to head a one-party state.

"It is still looking at itself as the only legitimate spokesman of Black South Africa — and indeed of all the oppressed. It is still acting out politics on the ground giving effect to the assumption that all who are against it are against what is good for South Africa.

"Inkatha says 'no'. If there is no choice there is no democracy. Inkatha will be there to provide a choice that will guarantee a democracy ... there will not be a one-party state because that is the surest prescription imaginable for a race conflict in which the white backlash will be awesomely greater than the UNITA and Renamo backlashes in Angola and Mozambique.

"We must recognise, that in part, revolutionaries in South Africa are usurping the sovereignty of the people by claiming to be all-wise and all-powerful and seeking to establish their sole right to form a government."

The key to ensuring there will be a multiparty representation is for Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela to meet. Chief Buthelezi wonders why it has not happened yet.

He says that he and Nelson Mandela have long been friends. "I was in the ANC with him," Chief Buthelezi said. "We're also family friends and that's why he continually wrote to me while he was in jail.

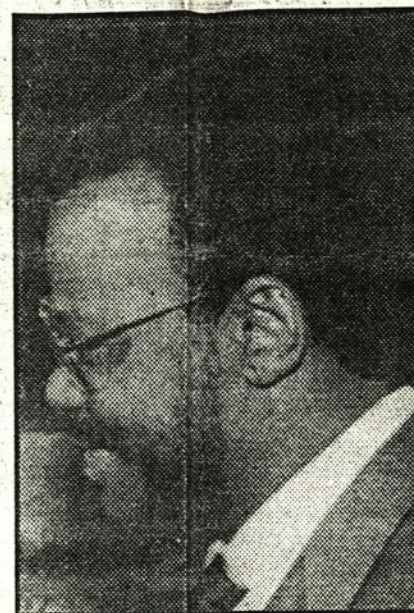
"And that's why, just before he was released, he wrote a long letter to me agonising over this very violence we've been talking about. When he came out of jail on February 17 he telephoned me and said he wanted a date from me to come down and talk with me and the King of the Zulus."

But a few days before both were to attend a rally at Pietermaritzburg on April 2 the arrangement was cancelled. "When I phoned Mr Mandela [to ask why] he said he had been pressured by some of the leaders of the ANC and the president of the UDF, who said if he went there with me there was such tension there would be a bloodbath, to use his words," Chief Buthelezi said. "I disagreed with his assessment."

OTHER attempts to arrange meetings have fallen through, Chief Buthelezi says he's not bitter. "I'm sad, I'm distressed. What does it mean really? All it means is that more people are going to die, more people are going to be attacked.

"I think the ANC sees me as an obstacle to the armed struggle ... when I think broadly about the post-apartheid era, I cannot responsibly advocate what Mandela is going about saying all over the world. He is a man who has suffered too ... he's a martyr ... he's suffered for 27 years.

"But worse, Australia would want to re-



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi: He favours a non-violent approach.

ward him, even if they think his rationale isn't right, by doing what he says. I think Mandela's quite wrong in calling for the continuation of sanctions. Sanctions have never really been accepted by the majority of the people in South Africa, even long before Mandela's release.

"People want foreign capital in this country because if you go to any factory gate of any of the multinational companies every day you'll find droves of black people queuing up for jobs. By doing so they are voting with their feet for foreign capital ...

"The ANC is not ready for negotiations and that's why they're huffing and puffing and threatening to stop negotiations. They're not ready for negotiations. That's the truth. They've been unable to get their act together.

"Mr de Klerk has pulled the rug from under their feet. Many people, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, will say sanctions are a non-violent way of bringing about change in this country. But in fact they're the last step towards violence. In fact sanctions are the counter side of violence.

"When people haven't got jobs, when they haven't got bread to eat they react. So it's just not true to say that sanctions are a non-violent way of bringing about change. Though I wouldn't say that the threat of sanctions didn't have a role."

Asked if the changes would have started without sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said, "For sure. Western people need a bit of modesty, because while they've contributed by being opposed to apartheid, and we appreciate that, I want to put it on the record that we appreciate the repugnance that people in the West feel about apartheid which is a scourge on the face of the earth."

"But at the same time to assume that the changes have taken place just because of them, and that we in this country on the front line have not contributed anything towards it on our own, is being immodest."

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leon Wessels, agrees that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela would have to meet in order to solve the problem of the violence in Natal and he acknowledges that Chief Buthelezi has always agreed to meet Mr Mandela at any place arranged but that Mr Mandela has failed to take up the offer.

The Deputy Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs in the House of Representatives (the Coloureds' House), Abe Williams, says nations imposing sanctions are doing so on the backs of blacks by denying them jobs.

"If Australia is really concerned about black welfare let it take two million blacks and rehabilitate them," he said.

Rhetoric is flowing now that change has started, but Mr Williams has a point. Apart from the separate development that apartheid has imposed on South African it has imposed a separate legacy on non-white South Africans.

This has been a legacy of neglect. Blacks have been denied equality in education. This odd insurance policy in youth is being redeemed in the form of a whole generation of angry young blacks, few of whom have either a job or an education.

They now argue for liberation and then education when conventional wisdom says education first then liberation.

Among blacks there's an adult illiteracy rate of 50 per cent. At one stage the ratio of education for a white child compared with a black child was 15:1. It is being whittled back and is now 8:1.

Black community leaders say there is a schools building program backlog for blacks of 300 new schools a year. They estimate that 8000 teachers are needed. They say many teachers in the townships have not attained matriculation standard themselves.

THE PROBLEM for the South African Government is that despite the republic's huge population — about 30 million — its tax base to fund reform is small because of massive black unemployment, running at up to 40 percent in some cities. This has produced a legacy of massive social problems that defy quick solution. Against this background the black population is growing at uneconomically sustainable rates — about 3.5 per cent a year. In KwaZulu, 60 per cent of the population is under 20.

With these sorts of time bombs ticking away the sanctions issue, though important, takes something of a back seat.

There is an expectation among blacks that nations such as Australia that have taken such a high profile on the sanctions issue are standing by to pay more than lip service when real help is needed. They realise that sanctions cost governments nothing. The real thing does.

Above all, time is running for South Africa and South Africans. Apart from his age Mr Mandela's health shows no sign of improving. His moderate stance is needed to quell the fires in the angry bellies of the younger members of the ANC who still lust for the armed struggle.

And on all sides there is need to inform, to tell people how to cope with the politics of expectation — the real and the surreal.

Philip Hobbs visited South Africa as a guest of the SA Forum, a non-profit and politically non-aligned organisation in South Africa funded by contributions from companies and individuals. Its objectives are to increase understanding and awareness of Southern Africa's circumstances, problems, developments and potential.

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