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Minister in the person of Mr. Botha

THE NEW CABINET

The new Cabinet is, in order of precedence:

Mr PIK BOTHA — Minister of Foreign Affairs
 Dr GERRIT VILJOEN — Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and National Education
 Gen MAGNUS MALAN — Minister of Defence
 Dr DAWIE de VILLIERS — Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, and Public Enterprises
 Dr KOBIE COETSEE — Minister of Justice
 Mr BAREND du PLESSIS — Minister of Finance
 Mr ELI LOUW — Minister of Manpower
 Mr ADRIAAN VLOK — Minister of Law and Order
 Mr GERT KOTZE — Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs
 Dr STOFFEL van der MERWE — Minister of Education and of Development Aid
 Mr GENE LOUW — Minister of Home Affairs
 Mr KENT DURR — Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism
 Mr GEORGE BARTLETT — Minister of Transport and of Public Works and Land Affairs
 Mr HERNUS KRIEL — Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs
 Dr RINA VENTER — Minister of National Health and Population Development
 Mr JACOB de VILLIERS — Minister of Agriculture
 Dr WIM de VILLIERS — Minister for Administration and Privatisation

New Ministers' Council, House of Assembly, is:

Mr KOBIE COETSEE — Chairman
 Mr AMIE VENTER — Minister of the Budget and of Local Government
 Mr PIET CLASE — Minister of Education and Culture
 Mr SAM de BEER — Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing
 Dr KRAAI van NIEKERK — Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply

Deputy Ministers, in order of precedence:

Mr ROELF MEYER — Constitutional Development and National Education
 Dr ORG MARAIS — Finance
 Mr WYNAND BREYTENBACH — Defence
 Mr JAPIE van WYK — Water Affairs and Land Affairs
 Dr THEO ALANT — Trade and Industry
 Mr LEON WESSELS — Foreign Affairs
 Mr ANDRE FOURIE — Planning and Provincial Affairs
 Mr PIET WELGEMOED — Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises
 Mr DANIE SCHUTTE — Justice
 Mr PIET MARAIS — Education and Development Aid

Miss Jean de Wet
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For Chief Minister's information

Buthelezi attacks chief 'who speared the heart of Zulu unity'

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week accused the Congress of the Traditional Leaders of South Africa of attempting to thrust a "spear into the heart of Zulu unity".

Addressing a meeting of KwaZulu chiefs, who later resolved to isolate Contralesa president, Chief Mhlabunzi-ma Maphumulo, Dr Buthelezi said: "I am coming out with all my political guns firing because the time for pussy-footing around issues has passed.

"In coming here to discuss Contralesa in caucus, we have done that which needs to be done — thrust Contralesa to the mercy of the vagrant forces which only leave carrion in their wake. We have come to close ranks and to rejoice in our unity and to tell Inkosi Maphumulo to go to hell. We must do what needs to be done."

Dr Buthelezi told the gathering of chiefs that Contralesa was formed in 1987 as an "ANC spear against Kwa-

By Quraish Patel

Zulu's unity and against my leadership". He said there were those in the ANC leadership who wanted him (Dr Buthelezi) butchered, but could not succeed.

Earlier this year Chief Maphumulo sent a petition to former State President PW Botha asking for a judicial inquiry into the Natal violence and the role of the police in the conflict.

Dr Buthelezi said: "We have met today to end all hopes of so-called Contralesa's becoming anything of importance in our political life. We have not met today because there is an impending terrible threat, but we have a duty to flush out anything that in any way undermines the unity and solidarity of our people.

"Stand up, I say, as the Zulus who you are and tell Inkosi Maphumulo that he is making himself an outcast."

The chiefs did that. In one of three resolutions, they expressed their "sense of betrayal by Inkosi Maphumulo".

Accusing him of being insensitive to other chiefs, the resolution expressed "disgust" at Chief Maphumulo for having "spat" upon the dignity of King Zwelethini Goodwill.

Chief Maphumulo had apparently arranged a meeting with the king to inform him of Contralesa. The king accepted the invitation but was informed on the day of the meeting that Chief Maphumulo did not want to meet the king in Ulundi because that was not the "king's capital".

"We append to this charge the fact that Contralesa is an affiliate organisation to the UDF which is in turn part of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance sworn to political vengeance against the Chief Minister and therefore against His Majesty and the people of KwaZulu.

"And we append to the above charge our disgust that Inkosi Maphumulo parades as one of us but has not sought our wisdom, sought our backing and gained our blessing."

The chiefs resolved "to fold our arms and with the ancestors turn our back on Inkosi Maphumulo".

In another resolution the chiefs agreed "that any inkosi who in any way leads, speaks or acts to assist Inkosi Maphumulo and the despicable organisation Contralesa, endorses himself out of our communion and company.

"We particularly resolve to be vigilant and act with power against Contralesa because His Majesty the King and the Prince of KwaPhindangene, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, are inseparably linked in the historic working out of the destiny of the people of KwaZulu, and Contralesa has set itself the task of destroying both," the chiefs said.

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So who wants Natal peace?

Sunday Tribune
17/9/89

*For Chief
Minister's
information*

By Quraish Patel

PEACE initiatives aimed at ending the violence in Natal's townships seem to have had little impact, although Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions are still engaged in attempts to formulate peace proposals.

Analysing the conflict, researcher Dr John Aitchison of the Adult Education Centre, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, said: "It is difficult to see how more substantial progress could not have been made if a genuine desire for peace had been present."

One of the complicating factors was the business sector's tendency to favour Inkatha and particularly Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as the business sector's "cowardice" in refusing to confront the security establishment.

"Other problems relate to communicating with and disciplining UDF-supporting comrades when the Front is banned and structurally not organised.

"While it is probably true that many local UDF supporters at the end of 1987 had a flush of triumph at having beaten off and, what is more, apparently beaten Inkatha, the reality of 1988 and 1989 made it clear that peace was in their interest. They could not take on Inkatha and the state."

Cosatu had from the start a vested interest in peace.

"The main stumbling block appears to have been the state and to

some extent Inkatha."

But he said the continuation of the conflict was also not in the interest of Inkatha because "it makes its chances of governing Natal in some compromise settlement fraught with dangers.

"It is not in the interest of people Inkatha represents, particularly in rural areas, for whom violence is regressive and destructive."

By contrast, he said, the conflict could be seen to be in the short-term interest of the Government because:

☐ It is cheap. The state has not poured material resources into Natal to "mop up the oil spots" as elsewhere;

☐ It keeps Inkatha (and hence KwaZulu) occupied so that it does not have the time or energy to address the long-term cost-benefits of

its current relationship with the state;

☐ It keeps pressure off the state. It

was a great accomplishment that comrades in Natal saw Inkatha as "the enemy" rather than the apartheid Government.

"The Government has built up a fairly formidable body of expertise in setting up and co-opting traditional elements in collapsing tribal structures. It has had decades of experience with bantustan systems which has led to remarkable stability. It has growing experience with destabilisation, often of a violent kind.

"In these terms the Natal Midlands conflict could be seen as one of apartheid's greatest achievements."

ANC is under pressure

John MacLennan

THE ANC and its allies now face unprecedented strain as they try to cope with new challenges posed by swift and bewildering developments both here and abroad.

At the same time it is being forecast that the release of ANC figurehead Nelson Mandela could lead to a damaging leadership battle in the banned organisation, especially as it did not sanction his talks with President de Klerk.

The "new realism" now espoused by the Government is placing unexpected pressure on black political organisations, which are struggling to devise united and effective counter-strategies.

So far they are unable to agree on which way to turn and last Saturday's Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg provided evidence that many black leaders are still bogged down in old-style rhetoric based on old-style communism and aimed at old-style apartheid.

But the targets have moved and the collapse of communist regimes in eastern Europe has devalued and



FIGUREHEAD . . .
Nelson Mandela.

dated much of black political philosophy.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, said: "Many of those who participated in the conference did not take cognisance of the changes that have taken place . . . over the last month. The rhetoric was based on old viewpoints."

Now it is also being predicted that Mr Mandela's increasingly wildcard behaviour could lead to a crisis for the ANC.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, head of Stellenbosch University's Department of Africa Studies who also attended the recent talks with the ANC in Paris, said that a free and high-profile Mr Mandela would be

Mandela was once an ace — now he's a wildcard in the pack

sure to place stresses on the ANC leadership.

He noted that Mr Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk was not cleared in advance and came as an unpleasant surprise to the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu and the MDM.

"In the past it would have been inconceivable for him to have involved himself in a meeting of this high profile calibre or to have taken decisions which are very important without first consulting the ANC. Not even Walter Sisulu has met President de Klerk."

At last week's democracy conference it was noted, for instance, that Mr Sisulu made not a single reference to the man whose release would normally have been a rallying cry



SISULU . . . no mention
of Mandela.

for such a meeting.

The ANC and its allies might now be forced to change tactics, particularly also in view of Mr Mandela's warm relationship with Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Professor Breytenbach said: "One asset to them was an incarcerated Mandela. Now he is becoming an embarrassment to at least some members of the ANC/MDM alliance."

"The game that both sides are playing now is high risk. The man who has undoubtedly risked the most is President de Klerk and his initiatives are paying off handsomely."

"The more the Government allows mobilisation, including the release of political prisoners, the higher the Government's international credibili-

ty will grow and the more the ANC will be seen as an obstacle to the process of negotiation and transition."

Dr Ian Phillips, Natal University's ANC expert, said it was clear the Government would like to engineer a split between Mr Mandela and the external ANC leadership and had previously attempted to create divisions in the organisation.

"The Government has tried in the past to emphasise what it sees as splits between older and younger generations in the ANC, between nationalists and communists, between the militarists and the more reasonable moderates. Whenever they have spoken to Mandela they have also called on the ANC to follow his lead."

The ANC, he said, also faced additional challenges through the likely collapse of traditional support from communist countries. "Nobody now has time for foreign policy initiatives in the socialist world."

He said Government opponents were also suffering in the face of a massive media blitz and propaganda from countries such as the United Kingdom and West Germany which have portrayed President de Klerk as a new and honest reformer who deserves a chance.

Leaders

deny

split in

MDM

Sefako Nyaka

THIS week's meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, did not in any way constitute negotiations with the Government, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) said yesterday.

Mr Mandela had made it clear that negotiations could only take place between the Government and the ANC, with its headquarters in Lusaka, the MDM said.

A joint statement by Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was prompted by "misleading and incorrect speculation" about a split in the MDM caused by Mr Mandela's meeting with government officials.

Since Mr Mandela's meeting with former President P W Botha, the MDM had been aware that a meeting with Mr de Klerk would take place, though the exact time was not known.

"Mr Mandela was only informed on Tuesday afternoon, December 12, that he would be seeing Mr de Klerk the next day. This was after he had seen Walter Sisulu on December 12."

Suggestions that Mr Mandela was acting on his own were untrue and mischievous because he was a loyal member of the ANC and answerable to it, the statement said.

"Mr Mandela sees his task as that of facilitator. In this regard he enjoys the full support of the ANC which he has kept fully informed," the statement said.

It added that a Congress of South African Trade Unions delegation would meet Mr Mandela on Tuesday.

Call for unity from chief Buthelezi

Sefako Nyaka

STAR - 17 DEC - 1989

WHITES in South Africa would go into the future with blacks whether they did so willingly, kicking and screaming in protest or battered by the consequences of a racist refusal to take the black hand of friendship, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a speech at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre, Dr Buthelezi told the crowd of 3 000 that white politics had nowhere else to go except into the future with blacks.

Appealing to every political grouping and trade-union movement to work for unity, Dr Buthelezi said the opportunities blacks now had should not be squandered by disunity.

He also appealed for the release of political prisoners, saying progress made so far indicated more than anything else the possibility that the politics of negotiation in South Africa could get under way.

Dr Buthelezi disclosed details of a document in which the Government spelt out its

own "Freedom Charter" for a free, democratic and non-racial future in South Africa.

The document, in the form of a letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha to UN chief Dr Perez de Cuellar, sets out the Government's formula for "A new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system"

He called on State President Mr F W de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.



DR BUTHELEZI . . .
'Work together.'

INKATHA LEADER PROPOSES UNITY MEETING WITH ANC TO END

NATAL VIOLENCE

Buthelezi calls for peace

Guraish Patel

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called the African National Congress (ANC) to a unity meeting as he condemned the "senseless, criminal violence" in Natal.

Asking the ANC to respond to dates he had suggested for a meeting aimed at ending regional violence, Dr Buthelezi said he was prepared to consider other dates for the meeting.

Dr Buthelezi was speaking at an Inkatha rally attended by about 2 500 supporters at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Plans for meetings involving Inkatha, the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the ANC were announced after the organisations worked out ways to bring peace to Natal.

"I am aware that Mr Oliver Tambo has been indisposed and I am not criticising him in what I am saying here today. I am simply saying there has been no response to a very open and straightforward peace overture from my side," Dr Buthelezi said.

"Just look at the senseless and hideous effect the lack of unity has on

black politics. What political organisation has gained anything by the killing that is going on in Natal? It is insane, it is criminal and it must stop.

"I am working for peace. I am working for black unity."

Released ANC leader Walter Sisulu called for peace in Natal when he addressed 80 000 supporters at Soccer City, near Johannesburg, in October.

However, in spite of calls by various organisations for peace, the carnage in Natal's townships has reached terrifying proportions in recent weeks. So far no organisation has specifically called on supporters to lay down their arms.

The initial success of the peace meetings between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu faltered after the organisations failed to set up joint structures to implement their peace plan.

Referring to a letter by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to the secretary-general of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Inkatha president said "these were the sort of words the Government in 1976 was calling treacherous, communist and criminal".

Mr Botha's letter said the Government was "irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Dr Buthelezi asked President FW de Klerk to invite him and other black leaders to discuss and amend this document which could form the basis of negotiations.

"Black and white leaders could sign it to create the momentum we need to put the politics of negotiation squarely on track."

Saying he would not spurn Mr Botha's letter, Dr Buthelezi said: "Not only does this letter underscore the need for black unity but it screams out that Dr Nelson Mandela must now be released. What use is such a letter unless Dr Mandela can also be free to comment on it."

He said the letter, spelling out the Government's commitment to human rights as listed by

Mr Botha, should bring together the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the UDF, Inkatha and the Government.

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