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he Church and negotiations

In his second article this week, Oscar Dhlomo looks at the role that the Church could play in political negotiations. â\200\230

ALL literature pertaining to the art of mediation and negotiation emphasises the fact that the mediator or negotiator must be a person of integrity, who is acceptable to all sides. In a polarised situation like our own where political intolerance is almost a norm among some of our political leaders, it is difficult to find such a person outside of the Church.

Our church leaders minister to the spiritual needs of all congregants whether these congregants politically support Inkatha, ANC, PAC, NP, AZAPO or the DP. The national peace talks that are currently in progress are being facilitated by the Church and business. Even those parties that were initially uncomfortable with the Church as facilitator had to ultimately accept that there was nobody else outside the Church who could perform this function. -

I would therefore have no hesitation in suggesting that the Church should gear itself to play a more prominent role in negotiations. This will, of course, require expertise and familiarity with the principles of negotiation and

James Mkhabela I  
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standards in

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unethical conduct  
simply to remain  
in power or to  
cover their backs,  
as it were. If we  
expect ethical  
conduct in  
business and the  
professions we  
surely should also  
expect it in  
politics.â\200\235

mediation. It will also re-  
quire an understanding  
that political indepen-  
dence or non-alignment  
does not mean political  
neutrality or a conspiracy  
of silence if and when  
human rights are trampled  
underfoot or if democratic  
principles are being prosti-  
tuted. Neither does it mean  
the stifling of independent  
political comment on vital  
issues facing our country.

I foresee an important  
role for the Church in pro-  
moting what I would call  
ethical standards in poli-

tics. It is surprising how  
many political parties and  
leaders are prepared to en-  
gage in unethical conduct  
simply to remain in power  
or to cover their backs, as it  
were. If we expect ethical.

conduct in business and  
the professions, we surely  
should also expect it in  
politics. In politics, like in  
other spheres, conduct can  
be legal but not necessarily  
ethical and there is quite a  
difference between the  
two.

It would also be a good  
gesture if the Church, in  
consultation with all the  
major political players in  
the country, were to launch  
a project on national

reconciliation a few days or weeks before the start of formal, national negotiations. The exact format of such a project would be open to discussion between the Church and political players but would hopefully involve, inter alia, the ultimate coming together of significant political leaders to ask for God's guidance in the negotiation process and also to appeal to their constituencies to embrace the spirit of national reconciliation leading to a common nation-

hood in post-apartheid South Africa. Finally, about three

weeks ago, I wrote in this column about the danger that white right-wing vio-

" Institute for

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by Oscar Dhlomd

lence might escalate unless something is done to address it. I was prompted to write in this vein by events surrounding the bombing of the Hillview Primary School. .in. Pretoria. Last weekend, we had a grim spectacle in Ventersdorp where right-wing violence led to the death of three people and injury to many others when police clashed with rightwingers at a National Party meeting addressed by the State President.

There is no doubt that as

the process of political transition advances, uncertainty is growing to dangerous levels within the right wing. It is extremely regrettable that none of the right-wing parties are involved in current national peace talks involving the Government, Inkatha, PAC and the ANC, among others. One wonders if the Church and business should not launch a determined peace effort aimed specifically at the right-wing groups such as

the CP, HNP, AWB, Orde  
Boerevolk and others, and  
seek to involve them in the  
peace process. I think this  
is becoming more urgent if  
we are to have a peaceful  
and stable political tran-  
sition.

e Dr Oscar Dhlomo is the  
Executive Chairman of the  
Multi-Party  
Democracy.

THE Uniteq Demo-  
cratic Front  
mally dissojye  
Tuesday, the  
apartheidâ\200\231s  
â\202¬xecutive  
revealed,

It said in  
Johannesburg Yyesterday  
the dissolution followed 3  
resolution of the ex-  
| ecutive adopteq in May jn  
KwaNdebeJe.

â\202¬ executive ajso met

on WedneSday in Johan-  
nesburg to Teceive the fi.  
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up  
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â\200\234Although the UDF js  
dissolving, its values and  
ideals wil] Temain indel;-  
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Committee

People a pew  
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The UDF said it Jef  
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National Party, Namely  
the Tri-camera :  
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â\200\234The unbanning of the  
ANC, PAC and SACP js

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Friday 16 A

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The UDF called for the  
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been rich Wwith  
Vintrigue and drama.  
The white regime in  
South Africa has  
been rocked by reve-  
L ~ iations about its  
seoret funding of Inkatha, the  
g;)lltl.cal anud paso-military Argu-  
sation of the Zulus.

As a result, President F W de Klerk  
has demoted two of his most power-  
ful minlsters, Defence Minister Gene  
eral Magous Malan and Law an  
Order Minister Adriaan Viok.

And last weekend it was revealed  
that Kerry Packer, Australiaâ\200\231s richest

wan, and his friend, former London  
cagino operator Jjohn Asplnaell, had

rovided money for the administras

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â\200\230tive expenses 0 Inkatha leader, Chiel  
Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Now read on ...

As s young student in the late  
19408 at Sout â\200\230Africaâ\200\231s first black  
college, Fort Hare University, Gatsha  
Buthelezi was & radical,

One of his clasamates was the  
le;endng' pationalist leader, the late  
Robert Sobukwe, fi aunder of the Pan  
Africanist Congress (PAC), and for  
two â\200\230urs he was & member of the

Youth League of Nelson Mandela's  
African National Congress (ANC).

â\200\234The Zulu royal prince was expello&  
from .the university in 1950 for

jeading 8 student boycott abt,lnit S

visit by the white Qovernor- eneral,  
. -Sinca those heady days, Butheleziâ\200\231s  
career has been a â\200\230steady absorption  
irito the folds of consefvative politics

until he now occupies the, most

dangerous situation in pre-1994 South Africa

titics ~ he heads the right wing of  
South Africa's volatile black nation:  
alist movement. . - /L Rt i

During the long years when the  
ANC, PAC and other nationalist  
organisations were banned, the well-  
educated, eloquent and charismatic  
Buthelezi articulated policies which  
greatly impressed the whites..

@ He gave a fervent commitment  
to free market capitalism when the  
Stalinist-dominated ANC was rejecting  
its adherence to a Soviet-type  
economy. i o

@ He argued for the ending of  
apartheid through non-violent  
means when the ANC was commit-

ted to armed struggle

Ligtruggle

@ He showed readiness to accept  
the 2 constitutional solution which  
fell well short of the ANC's aim of  
a one-man, one-vote demand.

He was a regular patron of  
Pretoria's well-funded lobbying  
body, the South African Foundation,  
which was a guest at the 70th birthday  
party of Anglo-American chief Hare  
Penheimer, the head of  
South Africa's vast mining industry,  
-and he was warmly received into the  
boardrooms of big British and US  
corporations such as Barclays Bank  
and Mobil. -

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\_ {nkaths (and therefore Buthelezi? as

of the militant black

{nkaths Bup

In a 1987 police academy speech,  
Buthelezi had this to say about  
Pretoria's infamous 8p master and  
Police Chief, General Johann Cost-  
zee: I have never hidden the fact

that I have a high regard for General  
.L?Pl:tâ\200\230}n I(:â\200\230oeh.t.ze%, bo:h :? the h;gl'{est

ol A the Sout I olic  
Force and as a fellow South / rricam.

It's no wonder the Boers have  
come to regard him as a white kind of  
kaffirâ\204ç,

â\200\234His political support is derived  
from the controversial Inkatha move-  
ment which was founded in 192&)\{ :

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his uncle, King Solomon ka-  
zulu, to preserve the culture of the  
Zulus from the ravages of white  
settlers ... and to tip over the  
royal family. :

Buthelesi revived the almost  
defunct organisation in 1975 shortly  
after being installed by the Vorster  
Government as Chief Minister of the  
tribal homeland of KwaZulu,

Ironically, Buthelesi resurrected  
Inkatha at the prompting of the  
then-banned ANC whose leader,  
â\200\230Nelson Mandela, was serving a life  
sentence on Robben Island,

The ANC believed that it could use

an umbrella for â\200\234legal opportu-  
ties to participate in the mass mobilisa-  
tion of our peopleâ\200\235. -

" Inkatha even adopted the colours  
and symbols of the NC to promote  
its mass appeal and quickly raised an  
enormous following of more than 6  
million, mainly in

But by 1985 the ANC was forced to

admit it had made a howling tactical

The devious Buthelesi had

arcor.  
- constricted Inkatha â\200\234'ss. is sonal

rw.â\200\231 baseâ\200\235 which, the ANC said  
originally was â\200\234fag removed from the  
kind of organisation which had visual-  
isedâ\200\235. . LR

" Indeed, Inkatha had evolved into a  
fearsome, tribalistic street force of  
~impls~, dancing, chanting tribesmen  
armed with spears, . bangs  
gumdhml). knobkerries (clubs) and  
attle axes. . >

These Zulu shock troops soon  
earned a terrifying reputation for  
killing, maiming - L. 3 -

and Antimidating -  
members of the:  
ANC and followers

consciousness P&  
groups spawned by - Wi  
the late Steve Biko.

Mr John Macdonald, 8 leading  
London QC who has a high  
respected position with the Interna:  
tional Commission of Jurists, has  
made a study of Inkatha's terror  
methods. See :

In May this year he wrote in the  
London Independent to protest  
about the 1,000-strong band of

'penguin'-armed with

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spears, automatic rifles and machetes: has ever been produced to meetâ\200\230 {fg}:"&â\200\231 t:h':\_"â\200\230; â\200\234; ',â\200\230;:oâ\200\230:f,";â\200\231fâ\200\230â\200\234s iâ\200\230.ï-\201fh

who hacked their way â\200\230through a him personally. . efrica. It is In the process of fo it

defenceless squatter communityâ\204ç, ' Â© But two months ago s igh-ranking Patriotic Front t with the PAC o.ns

Charging official police connly- member of Inkath: â\200\234Samuel Jamile, A7ApQ (the â\200\230

ance, Mr Macdonald wrote: wA was convicted on charges of murder

thousand people de woad m skl 4 ol : A 1  
move on 8 squatter cimp unseen. 0, Adtemph n,%'&nï-\201-.'fow

" wThe South African police have & Jamile is & member of Buthelezi's Tikmibia, or e ather R O

superb intelligence nemâ\200\230râ\200\231:rk and they KwaZulu cabinet, 3 member-of the ;;  
mg";g' ,â\200\230,,,-m-,nâ\200\230:,oâ\200\234?i:ï-\201" -:â\200\2343

must have known what was going on. Inkatha's Central Committee and para.military wariare against the

Why did they allow the massacre to. KwaZulis deputy minister of the ANC and other black freedom

take place?â\200\235 TEEET ST interior since I arch: 1989, " organisations, not the ruling white  
It â\200\230was the first time 3 senior regime, )

3THE eminent QC vald ho found Inkath's identity had been convicted Last week's revelations prove that

Azanian People's Organisation) to pursue that democratic

the May massacre â\200\234sicken- of murder despite years of allegations i ugly wplack-on-h lack" violence

ingly similarâ\200\235 to the one he 4 Â°'Â\$:!" : et mâ\200\230(":â\200\234â\200\234 again st - which has cost more than 5,000 lives

A had investigated on behalf of 'x: predominantly \sUpPorting guring the past few years was 0o

the International Commission of ~ 0883 4 b more than 8 covert policy of the Jurlots @ your esstler in the lower Another Inkatha waflordâ\200\235 and pretoria Government to divide-and

-Vulindlele Valley. ME, â\200\234Feycholegyaâ\200\235 NAlawn. haa slsg weaken the black community in

. been charged with murder and to maintain its OWR'  
â\200\234] asked Major General JVan evidence is being gathered to sub- order to maintain its y OWR EOp. Ut

wer, C  
 Neikirk, the regional commissioner stantiate further allegations,. . - pow;;h blacks sappar  
 ent! ' warrin]  
 for police in Natal, why his men did . â\200\230The revelation that the de Klerk amon; thÃ©  
 mgolve:.pthe ,Bga'n co'ulg  
 nothing, He had no answer,â\200\235 he Government has been paying secret tum unctivusly to  
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 reported. - 0 - subsidies to Inka- rom communlity and say: â\200\234How cin we  
 \_ What were Mr Macdonald's cone tha has produced a Ive freedorn to these people? They'l  
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 time. to those who take the troubleto Y% from apartheid's " The \*Inkathagateâ\200\235 acand  
 al has left  
 check the facts and talk to people of execrable apologlsts Buthelezi's credibility in tatte  
 ts  
 independent mind, that some ele- around. the world, among most black South Africans  
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 been using viglence to bolster its and the World KLERK forced to seck @ cloger allllance wi  
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 the police have tummed a blind eye to - money to the ANC," they say, â\200\230â\200\230why  
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\What has been going on." " motthe South Arr\_iqarâ\200\231\â\200\230oo\_verpmÃ©:ht"to \_ngxiq  
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"â\200\234Ihe 62-year-old Buthelezl has Inkatha?Ã© S ke knows eAough a oyt regional  
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 been involved in fratricidal killings The ANC has becn given funde \_â\200\230place "I the "  
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and certainly no- shred of evidence quite openly to conduct aUi-â\202;bagqu\_'; pc\_i\_wcr game  
 for a '-â\200\230.Â° Â¢ Tom"

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THE SUN-HERALD, August 4, 1991 27

he executive chairman of the Premier Group Limited, Peter Wrighton, has expressed outrage at the Inkatha Freedom Party funding scandal and has proposed that a thorough investigation be conducted into the â\200\234regrettableâ\200\235 affair.

FACE THE NATION spoke 10

Wrighton about the role of the private sector in investigating the governmentâ\200\231s covert funding of the IFP and other groups, and also about his views on sanctions and nationalisation.

NEW NATION: ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has challenged the private sector to state clearly where it stands on the funding scandal and on its participation in De Klerk's private sector investigative committee. What is your reaction?

PETER WRIGHTON: The secret funding of Inkatha by the police was regrettable. It is clearly unacceptable for the state to use taxpayersâ\200\231 money for the purposes of funding political parties. And I can understand the outrage of the people because I also felt outraged when I heard the news.

Perhaps the most serious consequence is that it might upset the trust that has been developed between the parties which is necessary for the process of negotiations to continue.

NEW NATION â\200\230August 16 ~ August 22 1991 page 10

Face the Nation

On the other hand â\200\224 if we look at the brighter side â\200\224 it might have been the trigger which will set off the negotiations. It could have the effect of making everybody concentrate on what has got to be done.

I think the matter should be investigated by a committee acceptable to all the relevant organisations with the purpose of laying to rest all damaging rumours and accusations surrounding the scandal.

NN: Can a private sector committee appointed by the government meet the demand of acceptability.

PW: The bona fides of this body must be above question. The body need not be appointed by the government. It must be a neutral body like the one that has facilitated the peace process â\200\224 a mixture of the church and business.

If I was asked to serve on this body and it was not acceptable to the â\200\230majority of organisations, I would not do so.

But it would be a pity if any organisations manipulated the recent events for party political gain. It is encouraging that the main protagonists have acted in a responsible manner and they are taking an attitude of â\200\230lets look aheadâ\200\231 instead of backwards.

NN: The government has explained the funding of Inkatha in a manner calculated to earn the sympathy of the anti-sanctions

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Peter Wrighton, executive chairman of the Premier Group Limited . . . â\200\234the time has come for us to start building our countryâ\200\235

lobby. Does this not make the private sector's involvement in any investigating committee suspect?

PW: I have been against sanctions because of what I saw them doing to our country. I understand, however, that it was a legitimate political tool. The problem that we face now is deciding when sanctions must come to an end. When does the ANC and other sanctions-supporting groups change from being liberation movements to becoming a governing body. That is the transitional difficulty that we face in South Africa.

e private sector

Sanctions are becoming increas-

- ingly irrelevant. I think the time has

come for us to start building our country so that our people can get jobs, so that they can get human dignity, so that they can buy a roof over their heads and send their children



to school without having to put out their hands.

NN: You say you are opposed to sanctions at this juncture, as are most business people. How then can we rely on that sector to investigate the use of government slush funds to bust sanctions?

PW: I think that business generally was involved in all sorts of sanctions-busting campaigns . . . it became a national past time.

This contributed to the crumbling of the moral fibre of the society of

our country. One thing leads to

another. If you do one thing to bust sanctions, why can't you do another. The moral fibre slowly deteriorates. Once we all decide that we are looking at uniting our country and we are looking at building symbols that we are all loyal too, we will all decry these sort of practices in future. It is part of nation building.

NN: Isn't De Klerk's appointment of a private sector committee to investigate secret funding an attempt at subjugating the destiny of the country to the very capitalist group

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that has benefitted from the domination of the majority.

PW: Perhaps De Klerk thinks that the private sector is neutral and can therefore be entrusted to the task. The private sector is made up of all sorts of organisations and people with different viewpoints.

I happen to believe that a market driven economy certainly tinged with social justice is the best way of distributing the wealth of this country to all the people and tackling the inequalities of the past.

NN: Multiple approaches to nationalisation have been proposed: part progressive, part selective. What is your position on the issue of nationalisation?

PW: There is a statistic that says

40% of the working population in South Africa are employed by the government and parastatals. We are already a reasonably nationalised society. I believe the government has got a role to play. It would be naive to think that without intervention from the government we can bring about a just and democratic society.

The question is how do you limit this intervention of government to ensure that you have international confidence in your country. Internationally, central control systems have been discredited over the last few years. I do, however, believe that government has a role to play.

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THE THREE parties at the heart of South Africaâ\200\231s bloodletting have reached a draft peace accord that includes codes of conduct for

political parties and the security forces, and an investigation into the causes of the violence.

The government, ANC and Inkatha -â\200\224 united under the church-brokered National Peace Initiative (NPI) â\200\224 finally hammered out the agreement under added pressure from the disclosures of covert state funding of anti-ANC political activity and the militaryâ\200\231s complicity in the killing. But while the accord eases the way to multi-party talks on a new non-racial constitution, it is unlikely to halt the violence,

The NPI will meet next month to work out remaining differences and ratify the agreement, which poses some way of meeting longstanding ANC demands for

curbs on political parties and the .

security forces. The draft accord bans political parties from using

language likely to incite violence -

or hatred, either spoken or published and â\200\234wilfully false allegationsâ\200\235. In a recognition of the stinging personal criticism by elements of the ANC of the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the peace committee appeals for an end to verbal attacks that might jeopardise the peace process which it describes as in a critical and delicate phase,

But the parties are not disclosing details of stricter controls of the police and military amid growing evidence of the increasing participation in the violence, which has claimed more than 10,000 lives in the Reef townships and Natal. However, the ANC said it did not include one proposal for joint monitoring of the security forces. It also provides for a multi-party peace sec-

retariat to work with a judicial  
commission to investigate respon-  
sibility for the killing.

The accord is the first step in a  
process begun in June and nurtured  
by church leader: such as  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu, If it  
is tracked it will culminate  
with a peace convention on 14  
September to solve remaining  
differences and jointly ratify the  
pact. An Inkatha central committee -  
committee member, Walter Mphahlele, said

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| Conduct code  
established  
for SA forces

From Chris McGreal  
in Johannesburg

the agreement was not an admis-  
sion by any party of responsibility  
for the violence, However, the re-  
cent revelations of covert govern-  
ment funding of Inkatha and its  
trade union affiliate undoubtedly  
put pressure on both those parties  
to move towards the draft accord,  
The government, the ANC and  
Inkatha met in a plush white  
Johannesburg suburb under the  
shadow of Alexandra township,  
where the latest bout of violence  
has claimed 24 lives. The peace  
accord would not have prevented the  
killings and no more than an agree-  
ment between Nelson Mandela  
and Chief Buthelezile in January  
has stemmed the violence.  
Alexandra once again boiled  
over when Inkatha supporters  
held what was billed as a "clean-up"  
operation to remove rubbish from

the township, Mest arrived armed

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with spears and clubs, terrifying  
residents and throwing Alexandra  
into chaos. As far as is known  
from the details released about  
the draft peace accord, it would  
not have prevented the ensuing  
clashes as the clean-up was not  
billed as a political event.

Not did it prevent the murder on  
Wednesday night of a chauffeur to  
a murdered pro-ANC tribal chief  
on the eve of a judicial inquiry into

| the chief's death, The hearing into

Chief Mhiabunazima Maphumu-

" Jo's death in February opened ycs-

terday amid accusations that he  
was killed because of his criticism  
of corruption in Chief Buthelezi's  
KwaZulu homeland, The court  
will be told he was the victim of a  
security force assassination plot  
with the connivance of Inkatha.  
The chief's chauffeur was to have  
given evidence.

At BLOEMHOF (Rustenburg) 224  
Forty black farm-workers, separated  
from white mourners by  
barbed wire, sang hymns and  
some cried with grief on Thursday  
at the funeral of a right-wing  
South African white knight in a  
clash with police at Verterdorp,  
The province was in shadow contrast to  
the white-supremacist 30in,  
at Wednesday's funeral the  
mining region near Johannesburg