

**Chief Mkolishi  
resigns from  
'rebel cabinet'**

KLA

# GATSHA

THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND MONDAY MAY 31, 1982

# 'INTIMIDATED' CHIEFS'

**Ka Ngwane  
pro unification  
Lukhele says**

**PRO-UNIFICATION** Ka-Ngwane politician, Mr. David Lukhele yesterday accused Kwa-Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of intimidating Swazi chiefs in the disputed Ngwavuma region.

Chief Buthelezi took his entire cabinet and legislative assembly and a contingent of South African journalists to a series of meetings in Ngwavuma on Thursday and Friday. In the meetings, the chiefs of the Matsenjwa, Mngomezulu Nyawo and Tembe are reported to have expressed their loyalty to the Kwa-Zulu "homeland" administration.

The chiefs, and crowds of what was described as banner carrying supporters are reported to have said they regarded themselves as Zulus and not Swazis. They are reported to have rejected plans to return the trans-Phongola territories to

**BY JAMES  
DLAMINI**

Swaziland.

There is a population of about 80,000 Swazis in this region.

"One wonders why he had to take his entire cabinet and legislative assembly, an army of more than 200 people and an army of journalists," Mr. Lukhele said. "The purpose was clearly to stage a big show-off in order to intimidate. This is part of a continuous and futile exercise to force the chiefs and their people in the area into docile submission to Buthelezi's grand designs for their future," Mr. Lukhele said.

"He is playing political games and I know that the chiefs said what they are said to have said under considerable pressure. The whole army of people coming with Gatsha must have made a big spectacle indeed," he added.

"Chiefs in these areas were not appointed without first informing the King of Swaziland. This was so until 1976 when the Ngwavuma area was unilaterally made part of Kwa-Zulu. It is a well known fact that the boundary dividing Swazis and Zulus is the Phongola River," Mr. Lukhele said in a telephone interview from his house in Pretoria.

"I don't see why Gatsha is making all this noise. In 1971, the Ngwavuma chiefs wrote to me asking that they be included in the Swazi territorial authority. I referred the matter to

Chief J.M. Dlamini, who was then chief executive councillor.

"He advised them to join voluntarily. Subsequent to this, a faction fight broke out in Ngwavuma, and, as you know, Chief Ntunja had to flee to Swaziland. Another man was imposed as the new chief," Mr. Lukhele said.

"We referred this matter to Mr. P. Torlage who was then Commissioner General. The Kwa-Zulu leadership then accused me of sowing seeds of misunderstanding. I told them that the chiefs had asked to join on their own. What they were after was unity of the Swazi people,"

he said.

"We are not after anybody's land. There should be no intimidation. There was no bloodshed when the land was taken and there should be no bloodshed when it is returned," he added.

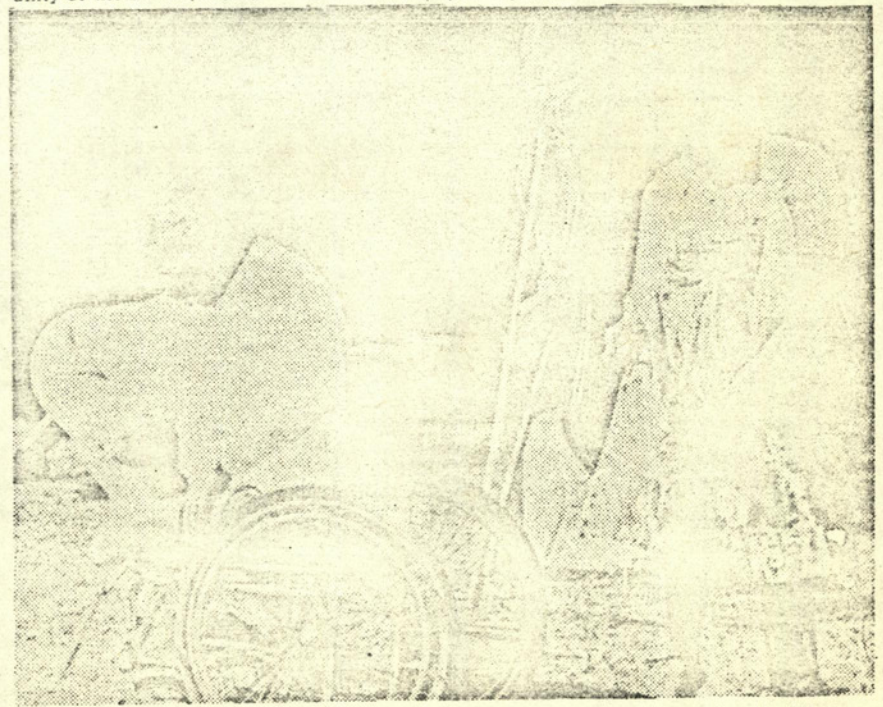
"Buthelezi wants Natal, but he does not want us to claim what belongs to the Swazis," Mr. Lukhele added. Two separate meetings were held last Thursday to Friday.

Meanwhile, in Ka-Ngwane, Chief Mkolishi Dlamini of the Embhuleni Royal Kraal resigned from the executive council of Ka-Ngwane. The Ka-Ngwane Times newspaper reported

that he resigned amid "rumours of a Swaziland connection being at the root of the reasons for his resignation."

The paper quoted Ka-Ngwane political officials as saying "he could not have resigned at a more sensitive time." His official reasons were reported as poor health. Chief Mkolishi was executive councillor for the justice portfolio.

The South African Sunday Times quoted Chief Mkolishi as saying he could not serve in a government which is opposed to King Sobhuza II and saying he would throw his full weight to support the unification moves.



IT WAS a big day for the disabled yesterday at the Prince of Wales stadium in Mbabane where disabled people from as far as the Northern Transvaal competed in a series of games. In the picture, Chairman of the Swaziland team, German Motsa is seen in action in a game of shotput.



# 2 Birds Resist The Stone

By Lorna Hahn

WASHINGTON — Despite its policy of grooming its 10 black homelands for "independence," and its assurances that blacks have genuine self-determination in these areas, South Africa recently announced that it would cede to neighboring Swaziland the entire Kangwene (Swazi) homeland, plus the Ingwavuma district of KwaZulu. The decision, if carried out, would enable South Africa to rid itself juridically of 870,000 Swazis, half of whom live outside the homeland, and 80,000 Zulus. Meanwhile, it has not only caused a bitter confrontation with the country's leading black politician, Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, it has also united opposition South Africans of all races and political persuasions, as well as the people in the regions directly concerned, while generating unprecedented support for Chief Buthelezi throughout Africa.

As leader of the country's largest ethnic group, the six million Zulus, and of its largest liberation movement, Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi has represented perhaps the best hope for a peaceful solution of South Africa's problems. Believing that liberation is a slow process rather than a sudden event, Inkatha has eschewed violence in favor of strikes and boycotts. Rather than contending that South Africa should belong to blacks alone, it has proposed that all races design a new constitution based on majority rule that would be fair to all. Seeing similarities between black and Afrikaner nationalism, Inkatha has had cordial exchanges with prominent Afrikaners.

The conservative rulers, however, have long wanted to punish Chief Buthelezi for thwarting the grand design of separate development. He accepted the leadership of KwaZulu, then Zululand, in 1970 to prevent South Africa from installing a puppet who would accept "independence." After founding Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) in 1975, he defied the Government in 1977 by opening the movement to non-Zulus. The next year, with colored and Indian groups and Kangwene groups, he founded the South African Black Alliance to widen the organized opposition to separate development.

With roughly 350,000 dues-paying members, nearly 15 percent of whom are non-Zulu, Inkatha has become so strong that even military leaders have been flirting with the idea of trying to

strike a deal with Chief Buthelezi. But the Government chose instead to try to discredit him by killing two birds with one stone: unloading unwanted blacks on a foreign country and showing that Chief Buthelezi was powerless to stop it. The move, however, is backfiring.

In the Supreme Court, the KwaZulu government has appealed to stop the cession based on two points: first, that the Government has no right to deprive a million South Africans of their citizenship and force them to become citizens of another country and, second, that the Government acted illegally when it deprived KwaZulu of the right to administer Ingwavuma by proclamation because such an action can be done legally only by an act of Parliament. On Tuesday, the Supreme Court ordered the Government to return Ingwavuma to KwaZulu control until the appeals court in Bloemfontein hears the case.

In the streets, through petitions and demonstrations, South Africans of all colors and beliefs are declaring that they cannot accept the cession. Conservative Afrikaners are joining Zulus and Swazis in protesting the dissolution of the Kangwene Legislative Assembly and the Ingwavuma governing body, and the imposition of administrators from the Ministry of Cooperation and Development. Perhaps most

important in the long run, blacks who had criticized Chief Buthelezi for being too moderate, notably those in the externally based African National Congress and the internally based black consciousness groups, have rallied around him.

As the proposed cession also violates a sacred principle of the Organization of African Unity, namely that African colonial boundaries should be maintained, Africans are also rallying to the cause. Moves are afoot to have Chief Buthelezi present his case against South Africa to a meeting of O.A.U. heads of state, and Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha, is arriving in New York on Sunday to arrange a United Nations appearance. He also plans to visit Washington to enlist American support.

The United States should do whatever it can to end what is becoming an explosive situation in South Africa. Morality aside, the sheer illegality of South Africa's actions should be offensive to an Administration committed to law and order. And if, in stopping South Africa, it should make a better start in the rest of Africa, so much the better.

*Lorna Hahn, executive director of the Association on Third World Affairs, is information representative of Inkatha in the United States.*



Frances Jetter



Loma Flaco



# Buthelezi commission will pioneer constitutional reform

By HELEN ZILLE, Cape Times Political Staff

THE GREEN, hot, humid province of Natal has never really been taken seriously in the country's political scheme of things.

Politically, it has always been regarded as something of an odd-ball step-child, out of touch with the direction of the rest of the country. It is the only province where the majority of white voters are conservative English-speakers who have refused to fall in behind the National Party.

The government adopted an attitude of tolerance to this "last bastion of British colonialism" as it tried in vain at each successive election to bring the majority of Natal's voters into the fold.

But quietly, over the years, the attitude towards Natal has been changing. Only the out-of-touch still pooh-pooh Natal's position in the political spectrum.

## The focus

During the past three years it has become the focus of the political debate, and to the government's dismay it will not be possible to ignore developments in and around the province much longer.

All influential people working behind the scenes for evolutionary constitutional reform — from the government's own advisers to academics and business leaders — consider Natal the only region in the country where there is any chance of beginning the process of reform away from apartheid with the support of the majority of people in the area.

Some members of the National Party will privately agree with this approach. But very privately. The majority view the goings-on around Natal with deep suspicion and are pushing the government to take a hard line against any departure from apartheid in the province.

On the other hand, reformists are pushing from the other side to have far-reaching changes implemented.

And in the not-too-distant future, Mr P W Botha will have to take a stand.

## Why?

Why has Natal suddenly become the focal point of political debate?

Ironically, the "stubborn" white voters of the area have something to do with this: Their continued opposition to the National Party makes it at least feasible that they could support a political policy for the area that differs from the NP's policy of partition and "independence" for KwaZulu.



Map: Institute of Race Relations

But by far the most important reason is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha movement — the black leader the government cannot afford to ignore.

He stands on a government-created platform, but refuses to do the political deed for which that platform was created: accept independence for his homeland. And he has a strong measure of legitimacy among the Zulu people, the near homogeneous black group in the area.

Leading government advisers are well aware that if Chief Buthelezi is alienated, there is no chance at all of reaching an accommodation for a political future with so-called "moderate" black leaders.

Not that the majority of National Party members realize this; most of them, completely out of touch with the mood and thinking in black political circles, view Chief Buthelezi as a dangerous "radical" who should be forced to take independence.

But leading government advisers, academics and businessmen see things differently. They believe that the co-operation of Chief Buthelezi is crucial, the minimum requirement for a joint future political strategy that has any chance of lasting.

They know that Chief Buthelezi has categorically rejected independence. And he appointed a high-powered commission of inquiry — including more than 30 of South Africa's leading political, economic and legal brains — to look at alternative systems of government for the area.

They include Professor D Schreiner, deputy principal of Natal University, as chairman; Mr Chris Saunders, chairman of the Tongaat group of companies, Professor Marinus Wiechers of Unisa, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, and Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University, acting as secretary of the commission.

The National Party officially rejected the commission. This commission of inquiry is expected to finalize its work this weekend and release its comprehensive report soon. It is one of crucial significance for the country because it is designed not only to recommend a solution for Natal and KwaZulu. It is expected to suggest that the proposals could be the starting point for similar constitutional change throughout the country.

According to well-informed sources, the commission's report is expected to state flatly that consolidation of

KwaZulu is impossible. It is expected to reject every aspect of the apartheid blueprint: homeland independence, loss of citizenship, the Group Areas Act, influx control, the Population Registration Act, enforced group identification, separate education systems and segregated facilities. Although certain amendments may still be made, the report is expected to view these aspects of apartheid as a recipe for inevitable conflict and violence and is likely to call for the dismantling of this system as an immediate and urgent priority.

At the other end of the spectrum, it will apparently rule out a unitary winner-take-all system of government. This, the report is likely to argue, will lead to confrontation because it does not protect minority groups.

As a compromise solution, the commission is expected to opt for a plan for a regional federation, which will allow Natal and KwaZulu to merge into one regional unit on the basis of common economic, social and political interests with a shared form of regional government.

## 'Guinea-pig'

Using Natal as a "guinea-pig" for the other regions throughout the country, the commission is expected to call for a multiracial system of power sharing, based on one-man-one-vote, with proportional representation, guaranteed representation for all groups in all branches of government, a bill of individual and group rights, a minority veto, and an independent judiciary to test all legislation against the bill of rights.

The commission is expected to suggest a "short-term transition plan" in order to reach this goal. This could involve merging the executive of the Natal Provincial Administration with the KwaZulu cabinet under the joint chairmanship of the Administrator and the KwaZulu Chief Minister.

Such a joint executive committee would have to supervise the transition period. It would administer the merging of the public service, appoint a commission of experts to advise and arbitrate on issues of conflict, determine internal federal divisions by common consent and take all the necessary steps for the election of a legislative assembly for the region.

The commission could suggest that the legislative assembly should be elected by one-man-one-vote in each of the federal constituencies, and that a system of proportional representation should apply.

Acknowledging the fear of domination among minor-

ities, the commission will apparently suggest that consensus may be reached on a plan to divide the federal constituencies so that there will not necessarily be domination by one group in every voting area. The commission will apparently find a strong precedent for this in the present system, which accepts that there can be different numbers of voters in different constituencies.

A further measure to allay minority fears could be guarantees of minimum representation for each minority group in the legislative assembly. A bill of individual and group rights, and a right of veto for minorities, are almost certain to be built into the proposals.

Other recommendations likely to be contained in the report are:

All legislation will be subject to testing by an independent judiciary using the bill of rights as a yardstick.

The legislative assembly will elect a chief minister who will set up a "consociational" executive — guaranteeing representation for all groups represented in the legislative assembly.

The commission is also said to recommend the greatest possible degree of devolution from central to regional government structures, granting them a strong measure of autonomy.

What does all this mean? What chance does it have of being accepted by the majority of the people in the area, and equally importantly by the government, without whose agreement such a scheme could not be implemented?

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the commission is the lengths to which it has gone in undertaking public consultation, whether the compromise federal option would have a reasonable chance of acceptance in the province — and to some extent beyond it.

Sources close to the commission say the results show that:

A clear majority of all groups — particularly blacks — in the area reject independence for KwaZulu. On the other hand most members of minority groups rejected a winner-take-all one-man-one-vote system.

Apparently a slight majority of whites and a larger majority of coloured people and Indians accept the possibility of joint government between Natal and KwaZulu under the ultimate control of the central government.

Among blacks, political frustration, discontent and militancy are said to have increased markedly over the past years, with strong and growing support expressed for the banned African National Congress. The ANC's position is apparently especially strong in the Transvaal.

However, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha still have majority support in all regions of Natal and KwaZulu.

While there was a strong move to a confrontational and even violent approach among blacks, there was still acceptance that a co-operative solution could be found.

One-man-one-vote in a unitary system is said to have the support, as a first option, of a majority of blacks. However, a regional solution in KwaZulu and Natal, involving power-sharing and political co-operation, would also be acceptable to most.

## Extreme dangers

The committee apparently issues a strong warning that a regional solution in the area cannot be seen as a substitute for central government representation and warns the government of extreme dangers of delaying constitutional reform.



Chief Buthelezi... vital role as a moderate



Mr Chris Saunders... a prominent member of the commission

How seriously will the government take this warning? The Buthelezi commission: The majority of blacks in Natal may still be prepared to accept a federal "power-sharing" arrangement today, but that does not mean they will be prepared to do so tomorrow.

Sources inside and outside government are not optimistic. They say the government perceives a far more immediate threat in the growth of the right wing. And in terms of this perception it could do nothing that would undercut the basis of apartheid to the extent recommended by the Buthelezi commission.

During the early days of the Botha administration, there was strong hope among the advocates of regional devolution for Natal. Government ministers had themselves spoken out in favour of "decentralization" of government and a new regional approach. But there has been a lot of backpedalling since then.

## 'Separateness'

Now all the emphasis is on "separateness" once again, with ministers saying that homeland and ethnic autonomy will not be undermined in any future regional system.

This does not bode well for the Buthelezi commission, whose full report is said to be on the verge of release.

Everyone will be watching the response of two leaders: Chief Buthelezi himself and the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Botha's response to it will be vital because it will determine the future of his so-called "total strategy".

Without Chief Buthelezi, any hope of winning "moderate black allies" in a future political accommodation is doomed to failure.

Will Mr Botha destroy the verligte strategy for the future? He will have to if he wants to retain the unity of the National Party. And that at present seems to be his highest priority.

100 years ago

From the Cape Times, October 31, 1881:

THE ELECTRIC LIGHT. — It was feared last week that the density of the dust storms in Cape Town would affect the use of this light in this town, but this hitch has been overcome, and the railways terminus is brilliantly illuminated every night. The light is steady and grows in public estimation upon acquaintance.

Do you know?



THE percentage of the work force in paid employment in Transkei dropped from 56 percent in 1970 to 53 percent in 1979.

(Compiled by The Women's Movement for Peace, Claremont)

## From the Bible

"Those who are good travel a road that avoids evil; so watch where you are going — it may save your life."

(Proverbs 16:17)

Cape Times

Leading article

Sat 31st Oct 1982

1982