

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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19 November 1987

Dr. M.G. Buthelezi

President of Inkatha

P.O. Box 1

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Dear Dr. Buthelezi,

Thank you for your letter dated 18 August 1987. Given the nature of its contents and the importance of some of the aspects raised in your letter, I referred it to my Executive and all townshipebased affiliates of the United Denbcratic Front for comment. This process has been partly completed and this letter attempts to synthesise some of the essential elements raised in these discussions.

The UDF affiliates were particularly insistent that while the UDF is in grinciple in favour of discussions and negotiations about ways to resolve the violence presently being directed against our people, any such discussions must occur within a properly structured democratic framework. In this regard, the UDF prides itself on the fact that before decisions are taken by the leadership, very wide consultation is undertaken with affiliates at all levels. Such consultation is at present very difficult given the fact that the South African Government, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha have in various ways restricted the opportunities available to our membership to meet, discuss and deliberate on various issues.

We in the United Democratic Front certainly agree with you that the three central questions faced by antieapartheid organizations at present revolve around unity, strategy and democracy and that any attempts to advance these must be wholeheartedly supported. As will become clear in my letter, .however, we believe your understanding of, and methods of achieving, particularly unity and democracy apears to be limited, and limiting. In brief, one might contrast your calls for 'Black unity' with the UDF'S calls for nonracial national unity. Instead of your 'multi-strategy' approach to removing apartheid, the UDF has consistently called for 'unity in action' in removing apartheid. And while we certainly agree that democracy is a Gpd-given right, democratic practices require that there be freedom of expression, freedom after expression, freedom of association, freedom of organization, and freedom of movement. We believe that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have done very little to cherish and preserve the limited freedoms we have struggled for.

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I would like to reflect on some of the points raised in your letter, and through this indicate to you the feelings of the affiliates of the UDF. The UDF is the proud heir to the long and rich tradition of sparing no effort in mobilizing and uniting all sections of our people for a determined struggle against apartheid and the establishment of a united non-racial democratic South Africa. The birth of the UDF was an expression, in yet another form, of the centuries old desire of our oppressed people for freedom, justice and dignity. Our people have learnt through bitter experience that freedom and democracy do not simply descend from the sky -- they have to be struggled for and won. We have overcome the jails, guns and death squads of the apartheid regime. We have overcome every effort on the part of our detractors both in our country and the capitals of the West to disorganise and disrupt us. The quintessence of the UDF has been unity in action in our long march to a democratic South Africa. Our message of unity and action against every form of apartheid spread across the length and breadth of our beloved land with incredible speed. Our people were hungry for freedom. They were eager to unite. If need be they are willing to die to rid themselves of the scourges of the apartheid monster. The UDF does not belong to any one person or to any individual or to any leader. It is the people's organization. Since its inception the UDF has been embraced and nurtured by all sections of the people in every part of South Africa. It has become a vehicle for our people's historical quest for higher levels of unity among the oppressed and their increasing number of allies in the white community. essential pillar in the building of non-racial unity has been our consistent efforts to engender co-operation and united action among all organizations committed to a democratic South Africa. In the first year alone, the UDF grew phenomenally. Since late 1985, our struggling masses have laid the basis for a formidable working alliance among major national organizations: COSATU, SACC, NECC, SACBC. We have never turned away the hand of friendship and co-operation from any organization with a genuine and proven record of mobilisation and action against apartheid.

As a keen student of history you are aware that the democratic movement has never had any difficulty in working with people operating within the Eglitical structures set up by the apartheid regime. Our watchword has always been to build unity in and through action. We remain convinced that our victory demands the unity in action of all the oppressed people and the patriotic and democratic forces of our country whatever their organized strength and regardless of secondary differences they might have among themselves on questions of policy, strategy and tactics. We shall therefore continue to work for this unity as a fundamental prerequisite of our victory.

We are, however, equally convinced that all these forces must direct their attention and attacks on our common enemy, the apartheid regime, and its imperialist allies, and at all costs avoid the fratricidal strife which the enemy seeks to provoke and abet. The case of Sabata Dalindyabo in the Transkei is now a matter of history. To all the struggling masses of our people Sabata died a hero. In the mid-1970's

it too there was no problem in Supporting the struggle of the Labour Party to destroy the CRC from within. Nor has there been any contradiction in the UDF sharing a platform with Enos Mabuza of Kangwane.

The decisive question therefore is not necessarily that of working within or outside the state structures. What is decisive is the pursuit of the aims of the national democratic struggle to create a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa. Specifically, this includes, inter alia

- the isolation of the apartheid regime on every front
- non-collaboration with and isolation of all sections of the repressive security forces
- the development of people's organizations
- fighting against all forms of racism and tribalism. Ours is a struggle to end the forcible denationalization of the African majority.
- ending the bantustan system which is the cornerstone of the apartheid system. This involves the rejection of all federal, confederal and other regionalized solutions designed to perpetuate minority rule.

In light of these aims it is important to analyse the practices of officials of Inkatha in order to understand the basis upon which we might resolve our differences. It is the divisive and undemocratic practice and provocative rhetoric of Inkatha that is the greatest impediment to any meaningful unity between the Inkatha leadership and the democratic movement. In particular, Inkatha's practice of democracy and support for the apartheid system need to be addressed.

The Practice of democracy

The practice of democracy requires that at least four pre-conditions are met:

- Freedom of association,
- Freedom of expression and freedom after expression,
- Freedom of movement,
- . Freedom of organization.

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Unfortunately, in Natal-KwaZulu such pre-conditions do not exist for the UDF. Not only are the affiliates of the UDF restricted in the exercise of these fundamental freedoms by the South African Government, but elements of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government play an active role in ensuring that members of the UDF are not allowed to freely associate, speak, move, organise, and, indeed, live.

One could cite numerous instances in support of this statement, and many of these were noted by our affiliates in questioning the sincerity of your letter. We have enclosed some appendices wherein further claims are itemised, but to refresh your memory let me provide you with a few

ilfairly well-known instances in which Inkatha was directly involved in restricting people's Godvgiven democratic rights. Lest you claim that the UDF also actively inhibits these freedoms I would like to point out 'that no senior member of the UDF has been brought to trial for restricting these freedoms. Regrettably, this contrasts with the case of Inkatha where a number of senior officials have been convicted for such offences.

(a) Officials of Inkatha have often forced Eeople .22 join its

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organization and/or Bay dues

In many parts of KwaZulu-Natal there have been reports that members of Inkatha have forced people to join the organization. In addition, threats have been given by you to people in the employ of the KwaZulu Government. Only last December, for example, you made it clear that it is Inkatha "policy to expect our (KwaZulu) civil servants to identify with us", and that UDF members were "unwelcome in state employ". Forcing medical practitioners and students to sign pledges also constitutes in my mind an unreasonable infringement of fundamental people's rights. We believe that the enforcement of this loyalty pledge has caused clashes even in Ulundi where many Government employees have been unwilling to sign the pledge. The situation has reached a most unfortunate stage where allegations are made that your security officers are interviewing government employees to check on their 'trustworthiness' to Inkatha.

There are even instances where law-abiding (and sometimes apolitical) citizens have been victimised when refusing to succumb to the pressure from Inkatha officials. Take the case of two residents of Lindelani who refused to pay the following dues to an Inkatha Central' Committee member: "R5 for an Inkatha subscription fee, R1.50 for the Inkatha Women's Brigade, R3 for the United Workers Union of South Africa, R2 for the Inkatha Building Fund, and R3 for (Tshabalala's) bodyguard fund." Having successfully defended in court their right to not pay these monies, their house (including all their belongings) was burnt down by Inkatha vigilantes. As a result of this action, these law-abiding citizens, who belong to no political organization, feared for their lives and have not returned to Lindelani.

(b) Officials 9g Inkatha, Egg Barticularly you, are intolerant 9g_thg g9g_ang_other democratic organizations

You have often attacked our democratic organizations arguing that our style of politics would produce a one-party state. But the very practices and product of Inkatha appear to characterise what you interpret as the worst features of a one-party state. Included here would be Inkatha's control over the KwaZulu legislature, the prohibition of opposition parties in KwaZulu, the suppression of organizations (such as COSAS) long before the apartheid regime did so, the concentration of power in your hands, and the like, all of which do not really indicate Inkatha to be a democratic party in operation.

I believe it is not an understatement to say that you personally, and Inkatha generally, are more hypersensitive to criticism than the South African Government. Witness here, the fact that you take legal action

' against almost anyone criticising you or Inkatha. And your statement over the tragic Ngoye affair could also be regarded as overly sensitive: "continuing to label me as a sell-out is going to have ugly repercussions. We know just how powerful we are. We know we can walk onto the campus any day of the week and do whatever we want to". Inkatha's intolerance of democratic organizations is evidenced also by statements made by senior Inkatha officials. For example, Mr. Tshabalala argued that "he longed for the day that there will be open war between the UDF and Inkatha -- it will prove who is who in the political war". Tshabalala continued, saying his gun alone "would leave hundreds of UDF supporters dead on the battlefield". King Goodwill Zwelithini has made this intolerance clear when, in an attack on the ANC, he said any criticism of you was "an insult to himself and the entire Zulu nation".

The attacks by Inkatha on highly respected individuals within communities is well documented. Take, for instance, the case of a Methodist minister in Kwa Mashu, who said in 1985 that: "I was made to walk down the road in broad daylight (by Inkatha vigilantes). Many of the men were armed. I was forced to wave my fist in the air, and chant, "The UDF is a dog". About a hundred yards from my home, I saw Mr. Tshabalala of the Lindelani area. He is a well known Inkatha figure. He was with a large crowd of men. Only when I agreed to come to the stadium on the following Sunday, did they agree to release me. I no longer live in KwaMashu as I fear for my life".

This intolerance of democratic organizations has often resulted in the violent breakup of UDF meetings by Inkatha. For example, you might remember the meeting at Hanmarsdale, organised to welcome back Robben Island prisoners, and which was broken up by Inkatha members who attacked UDF supporters and burned their cars. Apparently, your response was that when people see a rabid dog they kill it!

And the sad history of areas such as Hambanati and Mpumalanga where Inkatha violently drove out UDF activists provides further evidence of Inkatha's intolerance of democratic organizations. As a JORAC official pointed out a few years ago: "JORAC went to reason with Inkatha, stating that the war we were waging was not against fellow oppressed people, but against the Nationalist Government. Opposition to incorporation in KwaZulu was against the government's ideology aimed at making people lose their citizenship rights. But Inkatha refused to understand our point of view".

The NECC conference last year also indicated the lengths to which Inkatha must go to remove democratic organization. You claimed the violent events which "took place there were not orchestrated by Inkatha". Yet, buses transporting the vigilantes were booked by Inkatha, another vehicle was traced to the KwaZulu Department of Works and even the South African Police indicated the impi involved in the violence was "backed by Inkatha". You claimed "no (Inkatha) central committee member organised" the violence yet Mr. Tshabalala was directly linked to it.

Inkatha's leadership has consistently opposed the strategy and tactics

l of democratic organizations. The opposition of widely-supported stayaways in the Transvaal (1984), Eastern Cape and Natal (1985) were opposed by Inkatha on the basis that the UDF and ANC were hijacking the unions! In November 1984 you warned that you would "crush those trade union leaders who allowed themselves to be used as pawns to get at Inkatha and its leadership". In September 1985 Inkatha opposed the consumer boycott in support of dismissed BTR Sarmcol workers and in 1987 Inkatha bussed supporters to Ladysmith to break the consumer boycott of the OK Bazaars retail chain. The violence used by Inkatha leaders and members against UDF and COSATU activists in 'the tragic events of Pietermaritzburg also indicate the lengths to which Inkatha has gone in order to crush and remove all traces of democratic organizations.

(c) Inkatha's tribalism

Inkatha's intolerance of democratic organizations often becomes displayed as opposition to non-'Zulus'. While using the rhetoric of non-racialism you and Inkatha members have repeatedly used racial and ethnic terms to attack democratic organizations. Frequently, Inkatha members have claimed non-Zulu agitators are behind the strategy and tactics employed by democratic organizations. "Xhosa and Sotho lawyers" were accused of paying school-children in KwaMashu in 1980 to boycott. Similarly, you opposed the incorporation of Ingwavuma into Swaziland because "Zulus would never live under Swazis", when democratic organizations based their opposition not on tribal arguments but on the fragmentation and denationalization that would result from such incorporation.

In addition, you often couch political conflicts in ethnic terms. For example, you referred to the Anglican priest and UDF patron Mcebisi Xundu as a "Xhosa priest troublemaker" who was "abusing Zulu hospitality" by criticising you. Reverend Xundu was eventually forced to leave Natal because of threats by Inkatha to close down his Lamontville church.

King Zwelithini's inflammatory statements are further examples of this tribalism. He claimed in 1984, for example, that "those who want to drive the Zuluness out of the souls of the people of Durban will be eradicated one by one. We are the people of warrior blood, forged as a people in war and peace".

Your continuing attacks on 'Indian' leaders within the UDF and ANC in my view provide other instances of racism and tribalism.

2. Inkatha's sugggrt g95_thg aggrtheid system

Your and Inkatha's participation in the bantustan structures of the apartheid regime is no longer another manifestation of a multi-strategy approach necessitated by objective political conditions. On the contrary, participation in and control of the KwaZulu administration has been consciously developed as the foundation of, and has become fundamental to, your political designs and ambitions.

It is a matter of profound regret that an organization which showed such immense promise to mobilise our struggling people against the

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' Vorster/Botha regime was instead used to direct our people's energies towards

--aggrandisement of a failing strategy

--creating greater divisions within the ranks of the people

--attacking and eliminating democratic civic, youth, student and political organizations created by the very people who you say should be given a 'determining voice'.

There is no doubt that your refusal of independence for KwaZulu helped to avoid the farce and absurdity of the Ciskei, Transkei and other homeland governments. The edifice of apartheid, however, is not about to collapse because of this strategy.

We believe that Inkatha's weak democratic and anti-apartheid credentials arise out of the Inkatha's participation in, and active development of structures within, the apartheid system. Inkatha has actively accommodated itself to participating in the apartheid system. Inkatha's participation in the Community Councils, bantustan administration, the promotion of ethnicity, the opposition to democratic organizations such as- the UDF, and the like has not served to undermine these structures, but in fact has given them credibility among supporters of the South African Government.

Overall, I would submit to you that Inkatha's role in the liberation of our beloved country needs to be addressed. If, indeed, the people are the deciding factor and their will the cornerstone of democracy, then we must submit that any liberation strategy must be based on the role of the people, that is, united mass action. .

There can be no freedom without struggle; no struggle without sacrifice.

No strategy which avoids appropriate contest with the enemy regime can have any hope of success both in the short and long terms. This is not a mere strategy devised by a leader or an elite in an organization.

This is the course charted by the day-to-day struggles, victories and defeats of our people.

The violent confrontation between sections of our people is not due to the "intensity of political moments" but is a direct result of your political strategy. Violence against our people by Inkatha, vigilantes, and the security forces separately or together was inevitable. The attached Appendix 2 provides a few examples of this violence directed by Inkatha towards our organizations.

However eager we are for unity among all anti-apartheid peoples, and however generous we may be in interpreting the violence directed towards the UDF, can we meaningfully engage in any discussion on joint commitment to unity while daily our workers, youth, and families of activists and people generally are being terrorised by Inkatha and the security forces.

Do we not need instead a different type of commitment -- a commitment to create the conditions for the moulding of maximum unity among all forces against apartheid and all sections of our people?

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i If there is a genuine desire on your part for unity in our quest to dismantle apartheid, there must certainly also be the willingness to address and act on the following urgently to create a climate for peaceful co-existence.

1. At the very least you need to take steps to stop the violence and aggression unleashed by Inkatha against members of our affiliates both in and out of the townships. Here, the interference with and harassment of democratic civic, youth, women's, trade union and other community-based organizations must be publicly condemned by you, and disciplinary measures taken against any Inkatha members, especially Inkatha Central Committee and KLA members who violate these basic freedoms necessary for the practice of democracy.

2. In the interests of unity you should publicly distance yourself from the intimidatory actions of the KwaZulu police force, and should resolve to never collaborate with the SADF and SAP. At the same time, the Inkatha leadership should act decisively to condemn any encouragement, collusion with and incitement of vigilante and death squad actions against our activists and local leadership. Moreover, many affiliates feel your portfolio as Minister of Police in KwaZulu is contradictory with your alleged commitment to democratic practices and overthrowing apartheid.

3. You and Inkatha spokespersons should desist from all forms of public attacks on the UDF, COSATU, their affiliates and other democratic organizations. We would be happy to create appropriate channels for communicating any criticism, suggestions or apprehensions about the actions of our affiliates. At the same time, you should allow democratic practices to operate freely without fear of recriminations whenever criticisms are made of Inkatha. Your obsession with seeking legal redress whenever public criticism is made of you should stop in the 'interests of public debate.

4. You should actively commit yourself to the development of genuinely representative and democratic community and political organizations among our people. This would include allowing all democratic organizations the use of facilities under the control of the KwaZulu government (halls, meeting places, etc.) for the purpose of strengthening their organizations and the democratic process.

The development of mutual commitment to the building of unity in our struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa is going to be a long and strenuous process as you have observed. Those of us that have the vision, tolerance and humanity steadfastly to pursue this process must do everything necessary to clear all impediments on what comrade Mandela aptly called, this "no easy walk to freedom".

..The UDF, its numerous affiliates and allies and the overwhelming majority of our people have clearly demonstrated this commitment in action, not only in words. Many generations of gallant patriots have paid a heavy price, even with their lives, in our struggle for freedom. A decisive hour is at hand. I ask that we set aside our personal desires and ambitions to put the interests of our people first. The art of true leadership is to make every endeavour to acknowledge the errors of the past, recognise the need to remove those impediments within one's control and contribute everything possible for the advancement of our suffering masses.

We will be eager to pursue the quest for unity once your commitment to the above can be seen by all who live in and observe our struggle.

Sincerely,

Mr. . Gumede

President

United Democratic Front

APPENDIX i

INFLAWA'IURY STATEMENTS g BUTHELEZI

This following sample of statements made by Dr. Buthelezi indicate the sort of language he uses to incite people to oppose our organizations, comrades and the like. All statements have been taken from official SOUI'CES .

"We do not have to be told where the nests of these hornets are. We know the houses from which they operate. We know the places where they congregate. We know the pseudo leaders around whom they rally to do their dirty work. My sisters, Inkatha must now talk to these people who host these messengers of death and destruction. We must talk to them perhaps sternly, and then when they still don't listen, let the consequences be on their heads" (19 October 1985).

"The efforts of some organizations and the efforts of many elements of the United Democratic Front working in tandem with those who are committed to violence have their efforts diluted with the blood of the people on the pavements of our streets. That is where their efforts end. Beyond killing they have got no real role. We cannot tolerate them. We must not abide them, and we must eradicate them only to carry on with our job which is the real job. This is the charge I leave you with, my sisters." (19 October, 1985)

"There must be more tangible disadvantages in not belonging to Inkatha than there has been" (20 June 1980).

"Non-violence also does not mean that we should not be aggressive in style in propagating our philosophy" (2 October 1980).

"We have gathered this year in Amatigulu in the deep knowledge of the threat which now exists in the struggle for liberation. We know this threat does not come from apartheid; it does not come from the South African Government. The threats we know there are in the struggle for liberation come from Black South Africa itself. ... (The very strength of Inkatha youth) demands that you do not squander your anger in useless exercises. Your strength demands that you employ your anger for the sake of the people. We have gathered here to prepare to do just this... We will not be intimidated and ours now is the motto: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." (9 December 1985).

"COSATU does not represent ordinary Black worker opinion. Had the media not transformed the UDF into what it is; had the media not created celebrity leaders who prance and posture as real leaders, COSATU would never have emerged, or if it did emerge, it would have emerged as 3 nothing. ... It is South Africa's Black workers who demand that Inkatha now do something about this travesty of trade unionism which COSATU represents." (18 September 1986)

"We know who founded COSAS and who manipulated them. They now hide behind children, to provide themselves with another front in the schools." (1 May 1986)

"I serve a warning on everybody who thinks that we are an easy prey for

strength under the command of Inkatha." (18 May 1980)

Speaking about the University of Zululand: "Recently this year there has been such chaos created by UDF elements that the University had to be closed thrice within a couple of months." (20 October 1984)

"Now again, rabid political curs are using my pet name 'Gatsha' in poison pamphlets to belittle and insult me and the Zulu nation. If you come across anyone amongst you who refers to me like that, know at once that he or she is an enemy and react by treating him or her as such."

(31 August 1984)

"This song of unison being sung against me and INKATHA is most interesting. ... These are people who have a history of murdering other Black South Africans with intent to do so in their camps in Angola and in Lusaka, where victims are buried in shallow graves." (4 December 1983).

"We are serious in our political commitment and we will not tolerate those who make a mockery of the mass response to the South African situation which is found in Inkatha. These are fighting words and I seek a mandate from this conference to back these words up with action if necessary." (20 June 1980).

"I know, however, that the people do not seek to march behind a string of scrawny, scraggly, tattered cockerels dancing to the tune of pied pipers from an intellectual band orchestrated by no-good clerics and long-haired intellectuals. ... On behalf of the people I have come here to eradicate this nonsense which has emerged in our midst and I will eradicate it with every means at my disposal with no quarters given." (18 May 1980).

"There has been a sustained attack against me and Inkatha by the academics of South Africa. Little intellectual nobodies have no role to play being too clever by half in the safety of their studies, surrounded by books which are written by political failures such as themselves. But nonetheless there has been a sustained attack by these people, most of whom have never had the guts to come and face me in person, and most of whom would be torn to shreds if they were to come here today to talk their nonsense in your very midst. ... I will wade into your midst and I will grab those who cause dissent. I will knock their heads together and throw them out. We in this part of the country know in the very depth of our being how important it is to organise ourselves to act in the discipline of the political impis we form. We in this part of the country have precision and discipline in the very marrow of our bones. That is why we have been invincible, that is why we have not been clay in the hands of the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces. That is why we are bringing the whole apartheid edifice down around the ears of those who erected it." (18 May 1980).

"The abuse of me must now cease. Continuing to label me as a sell-out is going to have ugly repercussions. ... We know just how powerful we are; we know that we can walk into the campus at the University of Zululand any day of the week there to do whatever we wanted to do." (31 October 1983).

"The role of white organizations such as NUSAS, the University of Natal Staff Association, church organizations such as Diakonia in Durban, and others compel us to be vigilant." (18 August 1984).

"I am talking here about the need that there is for the KwaZulu Government and the KwaZulu police to be put in a position to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidatory politics and particularly for the black community to be in a position to protect themselves from such brutality within the law." (March 1987).

"There is a brand of Indian who is poison to the black struggle for liberation. ... People like Mr. Archie Gumede, whose organization, the UDF, is so deeply involved in black-on-black confrontations, accuse me of racism when I tell the world bluntly that the Natal Indian Congress is deliberately fermenting black-on-black confrontation. Must I keep quiet about this because Mr Gumede is an expert at distorting what I say, as he toadies to these divisive elements. ... Why does (Mr Gumede) become so hypersensitive when I tell the world the truth about the NIC? Has he become too dependent on the NICs, the Diakonias, the SACCs of the world and all the white, Indian, black and coloured liberals?" (10 October 1987).

APPENDIX 2

CHURCHES, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND WORKERS

This contains about 100 instances (taken from newspapers, etc.) where direct links are made to Inkatha's violence.

1. STUDENTS

Inkatha vigilantes clash with students boycotting classes in KwaMashu during the 1980 school boycotts. Several students were abducted from their homes and taken before the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for their alleged role in organising the boycott.

Inkatha supporters clash with students at the University of Zululand resulting in the death of five students and scores of others being injured. (30 October 1983).

In March 1986 delegates at the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) rally in Durban were attacked by a large group of people who arrived in Putco buses some wearing Inkatha uniforms. Putco admitted that Putco buses had been hired by an Inkatha official.

Student leader abducted and killed by Vigilantes in KwaMashu. (26 April 1987).

30 KwaMashu students abducted and taken to Councillor Mhlongo's house. (April 1986).

Six members of Mandla Shabalala's army in a clash with students at John Dube High School sports field. (20 May 1986).

Three students killed by Amabutho in KwaMashu. (21 May 1987).

Student Thembi Chonco abducted and taken to the home of Chief Mngadi where he was beaten-up by Inkatha supporters. (10 December 1986).

Students attacked by Inkatha supporters at a meeting. Inkatha supporters were directed by winnington Sabelo of Umlazi. (17 April 1986).

Student S'busiso Gazu severely assaulted by mob wearing Uwusa t-shirts at hakholwa High School in Edendale. (5 March 1986).

2. COMMUNITY

Three KwaMashu residents bring an urgent application against Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and 3 other leading Inkatha members asking for an order restraining them from assaulting, threatening or organising others to assault them (June 2-4 1980).

Inkatha supporters organise themselves into vigilante groups who assault and rob people of their money at eZimbokodweni shack settlement. People are handcuffed and taken to the group's leaders where they are forced to pay anything from R2 upwards (February 11-13 1982).

Two bus loads of Inkatha supporters invade Hambanathi and set alight ' three houses including that of a Jorac member and school teacher Alfred Sithole who was also killed in the ensuing clashes. Two other people died. (August 1985).

Hambanathi residents claim that a 100-strong Inkatha impi armed with pangas had marched through the township threatening residents and supporters of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC). Many people fled the township in fear of their lives. (November 1984).

Inkatha members including a leading Inkatha Women's Brigade member, Mrs Norah Dlamini- are charged with violence against Jorac members.

One thousand spear-wielding Inkatha supporters parade through the streets of KwaMashu. Later Toto Dweba, a UDF supporter is found dead with his arms and legs hacked off. He was found in a sugarcane field near Eshowe. Other KwaMashu Youth League members were killed or had their homes burnt.

During a Shaka Day rally Inkatha supporters led by Gideon Sibiyi, a community councillor at SJ Smith Hostel invade Lamontville attacking residents without provocation. People were killed including Inkatha supporters. Later that afternoon of 28 September a group of Inkatha supporters led by Prince Gideon Zulu arrived in buses at Lamontville and two more people were killed.

In January 1986 a member of the KwaNdengezi People's Organisation (KWAPO) Tobias "TOM TOM" Mgobhozi was killed following an Inkatha meeting where the UDF was attacked and one Inkatha speaker said : "If a person doesn't understand the language of Inkatha, then the only language they understand is blood".

A home of UDF member is attacked by Inkatha Youth Brigade Members. (20 April 1986).

KwaMashu UDF member Mandlenkosi Nala threatened and killed by Amabutho led by Councillor Napoleon Mhlongo. (28 April 1986).

KwaMashu resident Anthony Dlamini is killed by members of Amabutho led by Councillor Jwara. His house is also burned. Nobuhle Dlamini granted an interdict restraining Councillor Jwara from assaulting her following the death of her husband (Anthony). (June 2 1986).

six members of Amabutho killed during a raid in Lamontville. (8 September 1986).

More than 100 Inkatha supporters destroy the home of Mr and Mrs Mfeka of Lindelani. (1 June 1986). Thomas Mandla Shabalala, a central committee member of Inkatha, is restrained in the Durban Supreme Court from assaulting Mr and Mrs Mfeka. (26 May 1987).

Mandla Shabalala accused by Mr and Mrs Mfeka of taking people captive in his garden. (26 May 1986).

Three people shot and killed by members of the KwaZulu Police in Madadeni. (30 September 1986).

A member of the Newcastle Youth Organisation attacked and threatened by Councillor Nkabinde and 5 others. (5 April 1986).

A group of 40 people led by Constable Thusi of the KwaZulu Police attacked and abducted Newcastle Youth Organisation members. (24 January 1986).

Eleven people including Inkatha chairman and councillor at Magabheni township near -Umkomaas arrested for the murder of UDF activist and member of Magabheni Youth Organisation, Jomo Mkhize. (8 September 1986). A member of the Mpolweni Youth Organisation Ntando Hadebe is killed in a clash with Inkatha supporters recruited by Chief Mngadi. (27 November 1986).

Two Mpolweni Youth Organisation members injured by Inkatha supporters recruited by Chief Mngadi. (27 November 1986).

Mpolweni Youth Organisation leader Ntuthuko Mkhize's house attacked by Inkatha supporters. (10 December 1986).

A UDF supporter, Bheki Msomi abducted and beaten-up by Inkatha supporters led by Winnington Sabelo and Jerry Mdanda both leading Inkatha officials at Umlazi. (6 October 1986).

Umlazi Youth League organiser shot and killed by members of the KwaZulu police. (20 June 1986).

Newcastle Youth Organisation member's house attacked by Inkatha supporters who were identified as Melusi and Sipho Hadebe. (June 1985). Residents of Inanda harassed by Inkatha vigilantes demanding R5 per household for Chief Buthelezi's alleged visit to the area. The visit was first announced by Rodgers Ngcobo, the local Inkatha leader. (17 May 1987).

vigilante boss and Inkatha member tells of a plot to murder community activists including Archie Gumede in Clermont. The plot was hatched in Jamile's complex. (10 May 1987).

Inkatha official who had been injured in a hand grenade attack in Clermont facing charges of murder in Port Shepstone. (3 March 1987).

KwaMakhutha resident Simon Mzolo abducted from his home and stabbed with assegais by men he identified as Inkatha members. He was accused of assisting a member of the KwaMakhutha Youth League Dudu Mqadi by allowing her to use his telephone when her home was petrol-bombed. (23 January 1987).

Mrs Ntuli, whose family was brutally massacred by unknown gunmen frightened from her home by Inkatha supporters. (24 January 1986).

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Two KwaMakhutha Youth League activists stabbed and assaulted by members of Inkatha Youth Brigade. (18 March 1987).

Hammarisdale Youth Congress official S'thenbiso Mngadi is shot dead by Inkatha officials. (16 February 1987).

Inkatha members armed with guns threaten Hayco members. (19 February 1987).

Hammarisdale Youth Congress activists abducted from their homes and assaulted by KwaZulu police force members. (19 February 1987).

Four Hayco members killed by vigilantes and Inkatha chairman in Hammarisdale and member of the central committee of Inkatha, Zakhele Nkheli admits that Inkatha Youth Brigade members could be involved in the killings of Hayco members. (24 February 1987).

Magabheni Youth Organisation activist is hacked to death by Inkatha vigilantes. (1 March 1987).

House is burnt in Ashdown and clothing and furniture is destroyed. Son of the family refused to join Inkatha and Inkatha-backed vigilantes are suspected of being responsible for the burning. (22 July 1987).

Mrs Moloko of Ashdown is visited by two Inkatha women who said they had permission from the South African Police to shoot her son, S'gciko who is a member of the Ashdown Youth Organisation which is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front. (14 March 1987).

Members of the KwaZulu Police force are accused of assaulting at least 21 people on June 16 at Umlazi Police Station. 18 others report assault at KwaMashu Police station. Umlazi victims were sjambokked, kicked and detained for at least 24 hours at the police station until June 17. (21 June 1987).

United Democratic Front supporters flee Mpumalanga after being attacked by men believed to be Inkatha members. According to Captain HR Upton of the Pietermaritzburg CID a number of suspects are alleged Inkatha members. (27 August 1987).

Residents of S'nathing and Harewood in Maritzburg claim that they are being forced to join Inkatha by S'chizo Zuma. They are forced to pay R5 joining fee. (19 September 1987).

KwaMakhutha mayor Jerome Mshengu and eight Inkatha members- some holding senior positions- ordered to make an undertaking that they will stop illegally evicting 10 local families accused of being "UDF nests". The Inkatha members are Mshengu, Ernest Jili, Johannes Mazibuko, Paul Mazibuko, Express Mkhize, A Buthelezi, Mandla Ngema, Nhlanhla Mshengu and Thabani Magwaza. (28 June 1987).

3. CHURCHES

A conference of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christian Churches of South Africa was called off when Inkatha supporters arrived in two buses (March 1983).

A UDF rally held at Empangeni is disrupted by Inkatha supporters led by Gideon Zulu. Archie Gumede of the UDF and Mathew Oliphant of Mawu are assaulted by Inkatha supporters. (May/June 1984).

Three hundred armed men, led by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member winnington Sabelo of Umlazi and leading Inkatha official Gideon Zulu attack mourners at the funeral of people killed in violence during the disturbances in Umlazi. (23 August 1985).

Inkatha Youth Brigade members disrupt a meeting of the Newcastle Youth Organisation at Madadeni. (14 July 1986).

Inkatha members disrupt funeral of UDF supporters and abducted several muorners to Shabalala's house in Lindelani where they were allegedly assaulted. (22 March 1987).

5. WORKERS, UNIONS

Two organisers of the National Federation of Workers (NFW) are killed by "amabutho" who were led by persons associated with Inkatha. (September 9 1985).

Home of Cosatu's regional secretary Thami Mohlomi petrol bombed and shots fired by Inkatha Youth Brigade Members including national organiser, Ntwe Mafole and publicity secretary Mathew Sibanda. Both were convicted and sentenced.

A Cosatu member, S Maphumulo, shot at from Shabalala's van and suffered 59 pellet wounds from shotgun. He didn't leave Cosatu to join the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

A home belonging to a member of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) Jeffrey Vilane and his car are burnt by supporters of Inkatha Youth Brigade. Vilane was injured. (23 April 1986).

Members of the National Union of Textile of Workers (NUTW) stopped by vigilantes. (11 December 1986).

Transport and General Workers Union member threatened by the KwaZulu Urban Representative in Pietermaritzburg. (4 April 1986). Another TGWU member is threatened by KwaZulu Urban Representative in Maritzburg. (21 March 1986).

Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union member Anton Hadebe is killed by a group led by a leader of Inkatha Youth Brigade at Imbali, Mabaso. (21 March 1986).

Metal and Allied Workers Union member's son abducted and attacked by Mabaso of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in Imbali. (30 March 1986).

Mawu member's wife, daughter and son stabbed by Inkatha supporters at KwaNdengezi. (2 February 1986).

Home of Mawu member petrol bombed by Inkatha supporters after UDF supporters had run through his yard when chased by Inkatha vigilantes the previous day. (4 February 1986).

sipho Dladla injured during an attack on the home of Cosatu trade unionist Mandla Cele. The house was attacked by Inkatha Youth Brigade supporters. (9 May 1986).

A member of Cusa is attacked at a Newcastle meeting of Cosatu/Cusa and recognised one of the attackers as Councillor Mdlalose. (27 April 1986).

Mandla Cele of the Municipal Workers Union is threatened by Inkatha supporters including members of the KwaZulu Police. (16 April 1986).

Mandla Cele abducted and threatened by Henry Ngema and Bheki Sithebe, both Inkatha supporters. He was locked up at Madadeni police station until April 16. (13 April 1986).

Three members of Cosatu-affiliated Mawu and one woman are attacked and abducted by Inkatha Youth Brigade members. One escaped and the rest were found dead in a burnt out car near Mooi River. Inkatha Youth Brigade Members invaded Mpophomeni resulting in 10 people being injured after lights in the township had been switched off. (6 December 1986).

Inkatha Women's Brigade leader in Ntuzuma, Mrs Shandu restrained from destroying the property of Kisa Dlamini, an official of the Health and Allied Workers Union. (25 May 1986).

Scores of Cosatu supporters attacked by vigilantes from Lindelani operating in Mandeni. (5 December 1986).

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA member abducted and threatened by Inkatha supporters. (19 July 1986).

House of Nismawu member in Madadeni attacked by Inkatha supporters. (19 July 1987).

Members of United Workers Union of South Africa attack and injured two members of the Transport and General Workers Union in Pietermaritzburg. (14 May 1987).

Inkatha leader in Clermont Mhlahlo Jamile to appear in court on charges of murder following the killing of National Union of Textile Workers trade unionist and assault on his girlfriend. They were both abducted from their flat in Jamile's complex and taken to a secluded bush where they were assaulted. She was left for dead and survived. (10 May 1987).

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National Union of Mineworkers Organiser is killed in his office by members of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). (7 May 1987).

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) granted an interdict against UWUSA restraining Uwusa from assaulting, threatening or intimidating lmx members and officials. (12 May 1987).

Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) organiser Christopher Jina and fellow trade unionist won an interdict stopping Patrick Mzobe of Inkatha camp from harassing or assaulting them or forcing them to leave the township. (17 May 1987).

Inkatha is sued for R412 450 for damages resulting from the death of several trade unionists late last year. The claim is being brought against Inkatha, the 'organisation's national youth organiser Joseph mabaso, KwaZulu Minister of Police and a man identified only as Thusi who was caretaker of the Mpophomeni community Hall. The largest part of the damages forms part of the claim made by relatives of Phinias Sibiya, Simon Ngubane and Flomena Mnikathi whose shot and charred bodies were found in a burnt-out car near Lion's River on December 6. (5 June 1987).