

***Report to the COSATU Campaigns Conference on the
Natal Situation
25 - 27 March 1994***

- 1.1 See the attached violent incidents reported in Natal - 12 - 22 March 1994.

In addition

- 1.2 More than hundred people have been killed in Natal since the 18 March 1994. Hundreds of houses has been torched and thousands of our people have fled their homes and are now refugees.
- 1.3 Thousands of armed IFP bandits trained in camps like Umkhuze have been deployed throughout Natal with the focus in areas that are known as ANC strong holds
- 1.4 The strategy of the IFP is clear: frustrate any possible free and fair elections at least in Natal. Events of the past days indicate that there is a well planned, well orchestrated strategy to ensure that the calls made by the King and Buthelezi are observed.
- 1.5 Buthelezi has blatantly stated that there will be no elections in Natal or South Africa without the participation of the IFP. He further said that he can give no guarantee to the safety of IEC property in Natal as the "Zulus" are angry. Some IFP leaders are more frank and blunt in their statements about their resolve to disrupt elections, instil fear and physically attack the leadership of the MDM. Already there has been attempts on Importance Mkhize, Thami Mohlomi, John Steele, etc.
- 1.6 The focus of the unleashed carnage is on the areas where the ANC is expected to out rightly win the election. It is therefore not coincidental that areas like KwaMashu, Umlazi, Lamontville, Port Shepstone, etc. has been under severe attacks from armed bandits.
- 1.7 The focus of the attacks in KwaMashu has been on the areas like section B and K which are areas where the majority of the public service are having bond houses. The apparent reason for the focus on bond houses as seen on TV is due to actions started by public service in support of their demands for pensions pay outs and security of their jobs after elections.
- 1.8 Buthelezi has written a memorandum to all civil service stating that their pensions and jobs are guaranteed by the interim constitution.
- 1.9 There is a well orchestrated media campaign to discredit ANC leaders like Jeff Radebe and Sbu Ndebele as devils. They are projected as people who have no

respect for the King, as not real "Zulus", etc. The region believes that this campaign is orchestrated to prepare ground for a planned assassination of key ANC leaders in the region. The ANC regions believes that an assassination of Jeff Radebe and Sbu Ndebele is no longer a threat but a reality.

- 1.10 The other strategy is to project all actions by IFP members as an anger of the "Zulus". Senior IFP leaders refuse to intervene and stop the IFP members claiming that the gatherings are of Zulus not IFP. For example Shabalala refused to intervene in the KwaMashu occupation of the stadium and carnage that followed citing that this was a "Zulu" not IFP gathering. He did this after having earlier addressed and incited this gathering
- 1.11 See attached pamphlet which is massively circulated in the Northern Natal as an example of the propaganda onslaught.
- 1.12 There is a visible collusion of IFP and the white ultra right wing. Reports indicate that AWB and foreigners from countries like Britain are training IFP members in camps established by the KwaZulu government. The press recently published pictures of Pat Hlongwane in AWB uniform at a funeral of an AWB member killed in Bophuthatswana during the uprising there. At this funeral the AWB and IFP were reported to have undertaken to revenge the death of the four AWB members killed in Bophuthatswana by killing ANC leaders in Natal.
- 1.13 There is a visible collusion of IFP and SAP. In KwaMashu the SAP's interventions left little to be desired. Their intervention was calculated in such a way that victims of aggression are more exposed to further attacks by the IFP bandits
- 1.14 The advantage the IFP is having is that it is also a government in Natal. They are using government installations to fund violence. e.g. In Umlazi weapons were stalled in Prince Mshiyeni hospital and ambulances were used to transport arms to the areas where attacks on communities were taking place.
- 1.15 There are indications that senior KwaZulu government members, IFP and KwaZulu Police are not happy about the current state of affairs. They are however not prepared to oppose Buthelezi as consequences of that will be too risky. For the first time the KZP shot at IFP members when they attacked a Workers/Peoples forum in KwaMakhutha on the 21 March 1994.
- 1.16 Our people has a will to fight back, however the leadership has been restraining them from embarking in counter attacks. The people did not embark on counter attacks as they believed that the TEC has a capacity to deal with the situation.
- 1.17 The region is disturbed by the reports received to the fact that the NPKF will only be deployed in the PWV. They feel that it is more needed in Natal as the situation is already at crisis point.

- 1.18 In Northern Natal areas like Empangeni, Isithebe and Pongolo IFP members are causing havoc. They are demanding to know from ordinary people as to whether they will vote on the 27 April. Those who says they will vote are assaulted
- 1.19 IFP has been systematically and sometimes forcefully tearing ANC election posters in Natal including in the PWV. Senzo Mchunu, the ANC regional secretary for Northern Natal, was arrested on the 23 March 1994 after his body guards were involved in a scuffle with IFP members who were pulling down and tearing ANC posters in Empangeni.
- 1.20 Reports indicate that the IFP leadership is mobilising PWV IFP dominated hostel for an onslaught on residents. There is a high level of mobilisation in taking place in some areas of Eastern Transvaal. IFP once more using the "Zulu" amakhosi has called for a gathering of the "Zulus" in central Johannesburg on Monday 28 March 1994.
- 1.21 There are reports that the ultra right wing intends to forcefully take over certain towns and declare them as "Volkstaat". They are also intending to invade police stations within the "Volkstaat" towns and demand police loyalty. If they do not get the loyalty pledge they will take over these police stations and run them.
- 1.22 Natal alliance loosing control of the situation. The crisis has reached a point where if nothing dramatic is done in the next few days it will lead to a full blood bath.
- 1.23 Unless the TEC takes decisive action soon, it will no longer be possible to restrain our people. And if that happens there will be a full blown blood bath and no elections in Natal will take place in Natal. This is what the IFP wants.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS REPORTED IN NATAL

12-22 MARCH

The following reports are intended to provide an overall picture of the type of situation which currently exists in Natal. These are only some of the incidents which have taken place and in no way can be regarded as a comprehensive list.

Date/Time	Location	Killed/Injured	Who Responsible	Description of Incident
22 March	Sonkombo in Ndwedwe	15 killed during one week	IFP	Three killed near Sonkombo, 15 killed within the week. Also another 18 houses were torched bringing to between 108 and 200 dwellings destroyed since 19/3. Attacks allegedly by heavily armed IFP members. They were transported into the area by buses which had allegedly been led into the area by the police ISD. Refugees have also reported that the KZP participated in the attacks. The chief, who has been accused of being an ANC member, has fled the area.
22 March	Kwa Makhuta	unknown	IFP	COSATU Workers' Forum was attacked by alleged IFP supporters in the presence of Peace Monitors.
21 March (night)	Kwa Mashu	at least 3 killed	IFP/ISU	Numerous houses torched by well armed hostel dwellers. Three deaths reported. Attacks are taking place in the presence of the ISD whose major role has been to teargas and disarm people gathering to defend their homes. 3000 people fled Section B, and have taken refuge in Phoenix and other areas. SADF patrolled area and then subsequently left.

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21 March	Iscor Ngqayivele Hostel	None	IFP	Inside sources indicate that arms are being stock piled at Iscor Ngqayivele Hostel. The name of the witnesses are confidential as they fear for their lives. Workers in the same hostel say that a well known IFP leader alleged by Goldstone to be part of the Third Force was there over the weekend. He was briefing key IFP members. He instructed them to demand donations from all hostel dwellers in order to buy <i>intelezi</i> (traditional protection) and weapons. The LDRC has approached Advocate Malvern (the SAP representative of the peace structures) to give a go ahead to search the hostel. So far no go ahead has been given.
21-March 21h30	Kwa Mashu	None	IFP	Thami Mohlomi former Southern Natal Regional Secretary and ANC provincial candidate, was on his way to visit his parents after the earlier attack in Kwa Mashu. When he was close to Besters, people began to stone his car. As he passed gun shots were fired. He escaped. His car was badly damaged.
21-March 21h15	Kwa Mashu E Section	1 injured	IFP/KZP	Comrade Important Mkhize, Regional Secretary of SACCAWU, was attacked while driving home by alleged supporters of the IFP. One member of the KZP kept threatening to shoot him. Badly hurt he was saved by one person in the crowd who knew him from the labour movement and taken to the hospital. His car was found completely burnt out after the crowd found ANC pamphlets in it.

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19-21-March	Madadeni	at least 8 killed 1 injured	KZP	Two youths shot dead and one injured by people driving a white kombi with no registration number. People in the kombi subsequently shot randomly at people nearby killing several people, primarily from Section B. Witnesses alleged that the person responsible was Pakama Ngcobo. ¹ An IFP leader alleged by Goldstone to be part of the Third Force had visited the area shortly before the shootings. IFP members, together with KZP members, were alleged by witnesses to have shot dead 8 people. Skhumbuzo Mabaso (IFP) and Pakama Ngcobo (KZP) were identified by witnesses.
19-20 March	Kwa Mashu	30 injured	IFP/ISD/KZP	2,500 IFP supporters, many heavily armed with weapons including AK47s, occupied the KwaMashu Prince Magogo Stadium the day before and ANC rally was to take place. Requests to the SAP to remove them were ignored. When ANC supporters who had gathered for the rally on Sunday dispersed from the stadium to hold the rally elsewhere the ISD and KZP opened fire on them injuring at least 30 ANC supporters. Indiscriminate teargassing of residents by KZP/ISD in nearby sections of Kwa Mashu was also reported.
20-March	Bhambayi	3 killed	IFP	Three ANC supporters were shot dead near the clinic by people in an ISD vehicle (registration BFK910B) at about 6.30 on Sunday. ANC supporters had gathered to ward off a threatened IFP attack when the ISD opened fire on them.
20-March	Madadeni	1 killed	IFP	One woman was dragged out of her home and shot dead near Sabela High School. Parents recognised Skhumbuzo Mabaso, a well known IFP member.

¹ He is a well known member of the KZP, previously based at Nquthu, and who was allegedly involved in the shooting at Chief Molife kraal. He was recently re-deployed in Newcastle, and based at Madadeni.

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Week of 21 March	Tongaat	None	IFP	Regular incidents of IFP tearing down ANC posters etc. This week two people were caught, arrested, and held in custody. They refuse to give their names and addresses. An unidentified woman tried to convince the police to allow her access to those held, posing as a representative of the IEC.
19-March	Osizweni	1 killed	IFP/KZP	IFP member, allegedly Mr. Zulu, shot dead Dennis Sibeko, Co-ordinator of the Elections Committee. The shooting occurred just after a meeting of the EPC. During the meeting a group of IFP members stood outside of the gate. Marshals were sent to ask them to leave. The IFP group dispersed for 30 minutes, and then came back. At 16h00 the meeting was closed. Four IFP members followed some of the comrades leaving the meeting. They began shooting. They killed Comrade Dennis Sibeko. Mr. Zulu was arrested by the KZP, and subsequently released on the following day.
18-March	Across Natal	deployment of armed hit squads	IFP	Monitors reported the deployment of armed Inkatha hit squads in at least thirty areas throughout the region: in Umlazi, Lindelani, Kwa Mashu, Molweni, Inanda, and other areas in Ndewedwe, Claremont, 18 areas along the South Coast, Shongweni, and Maphumulo. Most are allegedly graduates of various Kwa Zulu government training camps. They are armed with G3's and other firearms.
18 March	Ulundi Rally	King declares 'secession'		
March 16	Sonkombo	7 people killed	IFP	Five ANC supporters killed by IFP attack in broad day light. Two additional ANC supporters were killed that night. 64 homes of ANC supporters torched.
March 13	Umlazi	5 people killed	IFP	At least five killed in IFP attacks after IFP occupation of the stadium.

Date/Time	Location	Killed/Injured	Who Responsible	Description of Incident

March 12-13	Madadeni Section 6	Six people killed	IFP/KZP	IFP, supported by KZP killed six comrades. The parents of the people killed are members of COSATU. Incident taken to the Police Reporting Officer by Cde. Mandla Cele.
March 12 - 13	Madadeni Section 5	1 wounded	KZP	COSATU member attacked by more than 14 members of the Kwa Zulu Police. Teargas was used. Incident reported to the Legal Resources Centre who referred it to the Police Reporting Officer.

24/3/94

FR 22 '94 13:45 AFRICAN NAT. CONGRESS
FAX NO: 011 - 339 5080 PAGE: 1 OF 1
ATTENTION OF: VAVA
FROM: BHEKI NTULU DATE: 22-03-94
COMPANY: ANC (N/NTULU)
FAX NO: 0351- Post-It Notes from JM

!! IMIHLOLA !!

**UKHONGOLOSE NOBASI BAKHE
AMABHUNU BATHI ASIVOTE
SIKHIPHE INGONYAMA
ESIKHUNDLENI BESE
KUQHWAKELA UJACOB ZUMA
ESIKHUNDLENI SESILO.**

**LOKHU KUYOKWENZKA SIFILE.
AKUVOTI MUNTU LAPHA ENATAL
NAKWAZULU. SIFUNA IZWE
LETHU. SIMI EMVA
KWENGONYAMA YETHU
NONDUNANKULU WEZWE.**

! HLANGANA ZULU !

COSATU CAMPAIGNS CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ON NATAL SITUATION

27 March 1994

This Conference, noting that:



1. The Goldstone Commission has uncovered a conspiracy between SAP Generals and the IFP implicating them in setting up arms smuggling networks and hit squads responsible for the deaths of scores of people in communities, train, and hostel violence.
2. The IFP and Kwazulu regime have taken a decision to deploy all their resources to stop the April 27 election from taking place, and are preventing the creation of a climate of free political activity in Natal.
3. A co-ordinated systematic onslaught has been unleashed in the last week by the IFP in Natal against the people of that region, leaving over 100 dead. Hundreds have been maimed and injured, and thousands left homeless.
4. While low intensity war has been waged in Natal for many years, the declaration of "secession" on Friday 18th at the rally in Ulundi, has been used as a signal to wage an open offensive
5. IFP hit squads trained in different camps have been unleashed in over 30 areas in the region. Their violent offensive is being supported by the Kwa Zulu Police and Internal Stability Division.
6. In addition to the general offensive, hit squads are targetting ANC alliance leaders for assassination.
7. The TEC has resolved to take decisive action to bring the security situation in Natal under control. The government has claimed that it intends to protect peoples right to participate freely in the elections. Despite this no effective action has been taken until now to stop the violence.
8. The IEC's attempts to secure commitments from the Kwazulu assembly on free political activity were rebuffed with contempt.
9. The IFP has abused their position to draw King Zwelithini onto the political terrain, in an attempt to beef up its floundering political support.

Believing That

1. Ultimate responsibility for the Natal situation lies with FW De Klerk. His failure to take action shows his lack of concern for the loss of black life.
2. The TEC and the IEC need to immediately implement the programme of measures which the TEC has agreed upon. Delay of even a week will make it impossible for elections to take place in Natal, and will drown the province in blood.
3. The Natal crisis is a national crisis. The whole country has a responsibility to resolve the situation. Further, the international community needs to be involved.

3. Therefore this conference resolves

- 3.1 *To treat the Natal crisis as a national crisis that will affect the holding of free and fair elections. The government must accept:*
- * TEC control over the security forces*
 - * international supervision of the process*
 - * Dismissal of Hernus Kriel for responsibility for the hit squads.*

COSATU opposes any attempt to postpone the elections in Natal, as suggested in certain quarters. We also reject assurances given by G Buthelezi to FW De Klerk. These totally contradict the reality.

3.2 *COSATU calls on the Transitional Executive Council to take the following measures:*

3.2.1 *Immediately (in the next few days) deploy adequate numbers of SADF and NPKF troops in Natal to deal with violence and ensure that all parties are able to campaign freely.*

3.2.2 *The SADF and SAP must be under the supervision of the TEC*

3.2.3 *Such deployed troops should supersede both the SAP and the KwaZulu Police.*

3.2.4 *Ensure that measures taken don't interfere with holding of free and fair elections and in no way hamper free political activity*

3.2.5 *The KZP should be immediately integrated into, and brought under the command of, the SAP. The Internal Stability Division must be withdrawn and disbanded with immediate effect.*

3.2.6 *Stop AWB and other paramilitary formations from training and deploying vigilantes to attack people. Bring to book right wing forces involved in violence in Boph, Natal and other areas.*

3.2.7 *Close down all paramilitary training camps in Natal and confiscate all weapons given to warlords. The 'Caprivi trainees' (and others who have received similar training) who are members of the KZP should be confined to barracks. The so-called 'KwaZulu protection units' (hit squads) must be closed down.*

3.2.8 *Take strong action against any leader making statements with the intention of derailing the elections process and calculated to incite violence.*

3.2.9 *IEC fines IFP for contravening the Electoral Act by attacking elections meetings, occupying stadiums booked by ANC*

in Umlazi and Kwamashu, and other acts designed to prevent free electioneering.

3.2.10 The TEC must take over the KwaZulu administration, or aspects of that administration including control of finances, as it is evident that IFP is using its governmental privileges to destabilise Natal and frustrate holding of free and fair elections

3.2.11 Public and community facilities such as stadia and halls in Kwazulu should be taken over and controlled with immediate effect by the Independent Electoral Commission/ TEC.

3.3. Immediately intensify our campaign for free political activity and embark on a campaign known as "Defend Peace and Democracy!"

3.4. Call on King Zwelithini, even at this late stage, to distance himself from taking party political positions, which pit his subjects one against the other, and undermine his authority. He should publically recognise the right of each and every one of his subjects to make a choice as dictated by their own conscience. He should further command those of his subjects who use violence to enforce their views on others, to refrain from doing so.

3.5. To convene an Alliance Summit as soon as possible to discuss the COSATU programme of action and COSATU demands to the TEC.

3.7. COSATU PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME OF ACTION:

- * To call on workers to organise lunch time general meetings in the coming week to discuss the Natal violence.*
- * To organise a pro-elections front of all parties supporting the democratisation process. In coming days meetings should be held with church, community, business and other organisations on a common programme to defend democracy.*
- * National marches to be organised in all major cities on the 11 April 1994. Workers will knock off at midday to join the marches.*
- * Recommend to COSATU Executive Committee to be held on the 08 April 1994 to discuss further national mass action, if the above demands have not been met.*
- * Organise the mother of all rallies at Kings Park stadium on the 24 April 1994.*

Composite Resolution on Education and Capacity Building

by: T&GWU; CWIU; NUM

1. Noting that:

- 1.1 The education of workers and officials is central to the long term survival of trade union movement in our country.
- 1.2 Education must be linked directly to a programme of developing consistent layers of leadership from local and company levels.
- 1.3 Millions of workers have been denied access to quality and equal education and training by the apartheid system.

2. Therefore Resolves that:

- 2.1 Cosatu prioritise and commit resources to develop the capacity of the federation and affiliates through the provision of a holistic professional trade union education, training and organisational development service.
- 2.2 A Trade Union Institution must be urgently established with Cosatu as the driving force, and the name of the institution should reflect its broad aims.
- 2.3 The institute should provide courses that ensure as far as possible that rank and file workers progress through the ranks of the federation; skilled union officials; leadership and workers are produced in order to provide a more professional and effective service to our membership
- 2.4 The institute should be established at national level with regional satellites.
- 2.5 The institute should be funded by a range of mechanisms - government, international and users.
- 2.6 Adult Basic Education should be integrated with Training and linked to national levels.
- 2.7 Participants in the courses should be able more easily to obtain credits towards national qualifications.
- 2.8 Paid time-off for education of workers, to be legislated. To this end we call on the government and organised business to adopt and ratify the ILO convention 140 on paid education and training leave.

7. Process

- 7.1 We approach international technical experts, like the ILO, etc, to do a feasibility study before the end of the year, 1994.
- 7.2 We train a core of comrades within COSATU who will facilitate the setting up of the institution.
- 7.3 We involve other education institutions such as worker colleges for the delivery of courses and networking.
- 7.4 We urgently set up a technical committee to work with the international experts on the feasibility study to:
 - Conceptualise the project in more detail
 - Develop an implementation plan with different phases
 - Draw a funding proposal with a view to securing funding for 1995:
 - Liase with existing worker colleges and other institutions
 - Drive the start-up process
- 7.5 The institute should be launched in 1995 as a pilot.