

Power

Unfortunately, the new philosopher-kings were mostly incompetent in all but political manipulation. They talked of democracy and rode in Mercedes-Benzes, but favoured their tribe and consulted witch-doctors.

Moreover, the last phase of colonialism was profoundly *dirigiste*, with governments establishing marketing boards and setting prices for the colonies' most important products, thus effectively taxing peasant producers.

Never a good policy, this *dirigisme* exactly suited the purposes of the post-independence urban elite, composed almost entirely of government employees or clients of the government.

These purposes were self-enrichment and eternal power.

Aid policies have powerfully reinforced the pathology of post-colonial Africa. Fashions in development aid may have changed, but such aid has failed to extract even a single country from its poverty.

The reason is obvious: the channelling of large sums of money through governments, all of which are concerned with self-perpetuation and little else, increased immensely their powers of patronage, which are largely the cause of the problem rather than a means by which it might be over-

come. Is it likely that Africa will extricate itself from its present impasse? African peasants, given a chance, have proved themselves able to take advantage of economic opportunity; but the odds are stacked against a swift amelioration, with or without assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

Persuaded

Recolonisation has been suggested as a solution, but would only leave the continent in the same political plight as the last attempt.

It is, moreover, important to remember that poverty is not necessarily misery and that wealth is not necessarily happiness. In this sense, if African governments can be persuaded or coerced into sensible economic policies which require free prices, open markets and the encouragement of foreign investment, the lot of millions of Africans need not be unenviable. — *The Telegraph, London.*

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Sun. Tribune

28/2/93

The Zulu king must show his strength

IF the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee is unhappy about some opportunist white advisers who seem to hold tremendous influence over their leader, we as the subjects of our king are even more so.

We are dismayed that newcomers like Jurie Mentz should have the arrogance and temerity to underestimate the intelligence and political maturity of both our king and us Zulus and declare that our king would instruct us to vote for the IFP.

It is known that the chiefs in KwaZulu are the agents of the IFP. They have, through coercion of different types, created a de facto situation where every person living in KwaZulu has to pay IFP membership fees without exception - or else.

We refuse to believe that the Zulu nation has stooped so low that it has to sacrifice the dignity of its king at the altar of tribalistic politics.

The salvation of the Zulu nation will now depend on whether our

king possesses the wisdom and courage possessed by his forebears, Kings Shaka, Cetshwayo and Dinizulu.

Our king and all our chiefs can regain the undivided loyalty and respect of the whole Zulu nation if they can change the image of being "their master's voices", and extend the freedom to engage in political activity to all their subjects.

VOX POPULI
Durban

HE'S KING OF THE STICKS



Oxen for supper at the Zulu-Boer 'jol'.

Graham Spence

THE champion stick fighter in far northern Zululand is a white Afrikaner, and his name is Schalk du Plessis.

This emerged during the "makietle" yesterday as Afrikaner stal-

wart Jurie Mentz, formerly a fiery Nat frontbencher, severed his ties with predominantly white politics to join the Inkatha Freedom Party. Also with him were former DP member Mike Tarr and Stanger MP Farouk Cassim.

STORY ON PAGE 7

To celebrate his "leap of faith" he held an open party in his Vryheid constituency yesterday open to all — and some 5000 people came to the jol in which eight oxen were served up for supper. Key speaker was IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Picture: Richard Shorey.

Seeds sown for centrist political front

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SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

'We've fought authoritarian Afrikaner nationalism and we do not want a new regime which is even less democratic'

John MacLennan
Political Correspondent

THE foundations have been laid for a high-powered democratic front.

This has spurred speculation that it could even be the forerunner to a new, centrist political party.

The groundwork was done at a five-day conference organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) at Sintra in Portugal this week and a follow up conference is to be held in this country shortly.

Among those who attended the meeting were Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert;

Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine; DP members Messrs Colin Eglin, Ken Andrew and Peter Gastrow; Mr Rudolf Gouws, top economist of Rand Merchant Bank; community leader Mr Nthato Mollana; Dr Franklin Sonn; The Rev Stanley Mogoba, head of the Methodist church; Mr Neil McGurk, representing the SA Catholic Bishops Conference; Mr Khehla Shubane of Centre for Policy Studies at Witwatersrand University; Mr Andre Spier, a development studies expert; and Professor John Dugard of Wits.

The meeting was funded by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation of Germany.

A source said the intention was to defend democratic principles during the

transition and organisers hoped to attract like-minded democrats from all political parties and elsewhere.

The source added: "We have fought authoritarian Afrikaner nationalism for many years and we do not want a new regime which is even less democratic."

"If there is an elite pact between the ANC and the NP there will be no guarantee that they will not clamp down on civil liberties in the interests of stability. This is a concern that is shared over a wide spectrum."

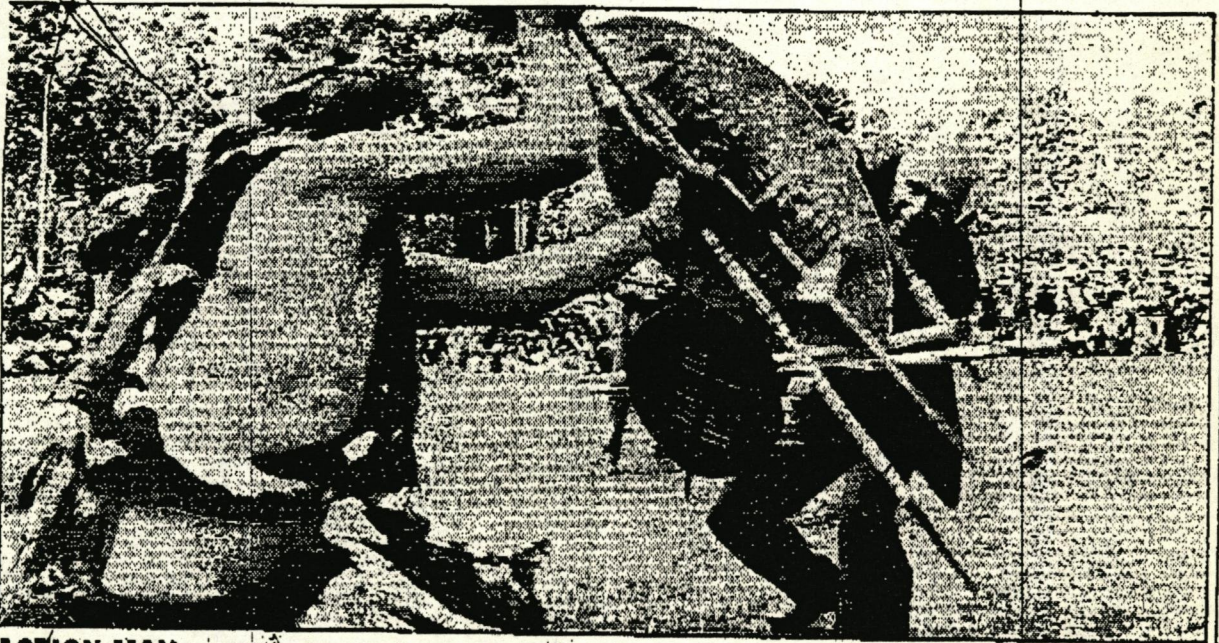
He added: "It is very early to start talking about a centrist party, but the seeds have now been sown and it could lead to that."

Idasa and Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multiparty Democracy will organise the follow up conference.

Dr Boraine said: "It will be easy for any new government to be seduced and corrupted by power. We need as many watchdogs as we can to ensure that does not happen."

"A lot of people are concerned that in the runup to the elections the focus is inevitably on power and interests and not so much on democracy."

The conference identified core democratic values such as limiting state power and ensuring government accountability to prevent corruption.



ACTION MAN . . . former National Party MP Jurie Mentz has a stick fight with Inkatha member Schalk du Plessis at a rally in Vryheid in northern Natal. PICTURE: RICHARD STOREY

After 100 years, friendship for former enemies

ZULU and Afrikaner mixed festively at a rally in the northern Natal town of Vryheid yesterday to welcome three MPs who recently crossed the floor to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Former National Party MP Jurie Mentz, Mr Mike Tarr who was with the Democratic Party, and Farouk Cassim, formerly with the Solidarity Party, were officially welcomed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the first rally of its kind at Vryheid's rugby stadium.

Black and white toddlers played contentedly together while burly Afrikaner townfolk sold braaied meat to some of the estimated 5 000 Zulu men and women dressed in traditional regalia.

It was a coming together of two

nations which fought vicious battles against each other a century ago.

But today many businessmen and farmers in the area speak Zulu fluently and this played a big role in bringing them together.

Among the estimated 300 whites at the rally was 23-year-old Schalk du Plessis, referred to by some townfolk as a "white Zulu".

Dressed in full traditional Zulu skins and wielding a knobkierrie, Du Plessis danced among the Zulu tribesman with whom he grew up and with whom he has strong ties.

Several other whites at the rally sported IFP badges. Some said they were only observers, while rally organiser Marietjie van der Merwe said there were "many in this area like Schalk".

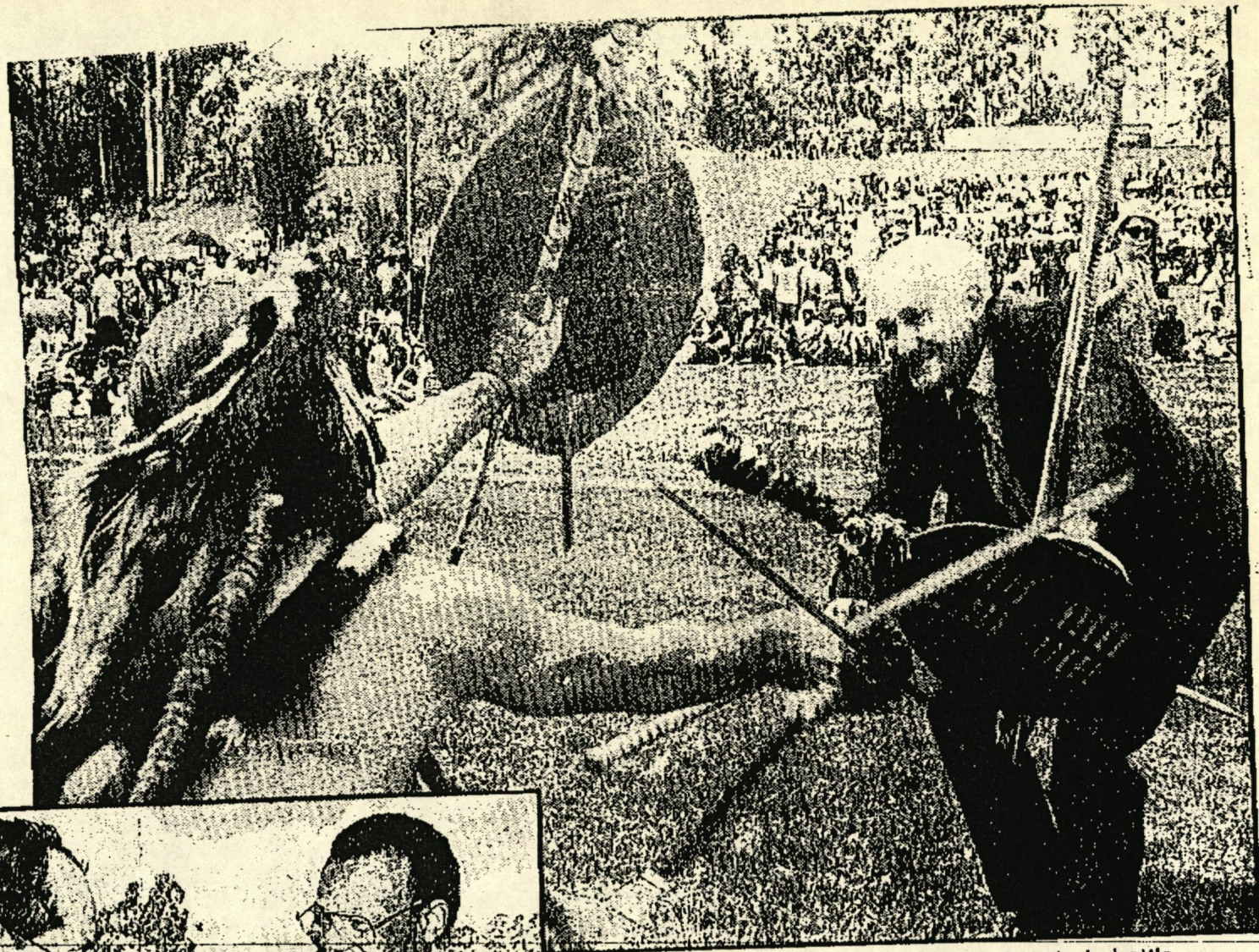
Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz believes whites will follow his move to the IFP in droves.

"Two thirds of the business people here support the IFP. People are starting to realise they must make a choice and the black leader acceptable to them is Mangosuthu Buthelezi," he said.

The reasons: Buthelezi is a "strong Christian", and a supporter of the free market system.

"People don't mind a black leader as long as he looks after their interests," said Mentz, a former NP stalwart.

Speaking to the crowd later, the MP's fluency in Zulu earned him thunderous applause and appeared to enforce his claims of mutual respect. — Sapa.



FIGHTING TALK: Two "white Zulus" (above) do battle . . . Jurie Mentz parries a blow from champion stick fighter Schalk du Plessis. **TOP LEFT:** Jurie Mentz greets Zulu warriors at his inauguration into the Inkatha Freedom Party in Vryheid yesterday. **LEFT:** KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi welcomes Stanger MP Farouk Cassim to the IFP.

Pictures: Richard Shorey



PW Botha era when it was difficult to organise freely".

"Apartheid has used traditional leaders to divide the African community — to divide and rule. Yet the vast majority want to be thought of as South Africans, and so Contralesa is looking at an undivided or united South Africa — which doesn't exclude the federal option," said Inkosi Holomisa.

He adds it is impossible for traditional leaders to be apolitical, but they can place themselves above party politics.

Inkosi Gumede views Contralesa as a body where "many members ... are of necessity members of the

ANC", and denies the FCTLSA is an Inkatha forum or that it will be exclusively for IFP members.

Significantly, the FCTLSA idea comes in the wake of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal — announced by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in December — which makes provision for the role of traditional leaders in a federal constitution.

Still, Inkosi Holomisa bewails the formation of the FCTLSA as another "divisive" move.

"This is a tragedy because the traditional leader is a symbol of unity. It means the last hope of unity and stability in the country

(has gone) and that the country will forever be divided," he says.

Inkosi Holomisa claims King Goodwill and Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi have ignored or given cold responses to his request for a meeting at which their "differences" could be discussed.

The importance of traditional leaders in the national political picture has become more evident amid reportedly growing consensus between the Government and the ANC of the necessity of including the Zulu king — and other traditional leaders — in the negotiation process.

DATELINE: AFRICA

Continent in crisis

"NO KNOWN system of government works in Africa," wrote a despairing Nigerian journalist a few years ago, and events seem to have proved him right.

The American intervention in Somalia, the imminent fall of President Mobutu of Zaire — which promises nothing but bloodshed on a vast scale — the renewed war in Angola: from Africa always something new and terrible.

Freedom and democracy are but words there; and, as for dictators, the best that can be hoped of them is that they are not bizarrely cannibalistic.

The list of African political disasters since independence is lamentably long and impressive. The first presidents of Guinea and Equatorial Guinea, Sekou Touré and Macias Nguema respectively, killed or drove into exile a third of the populations of their countries; the Hutu of Burundi have twice suffered massacres at the hands of the ruling Tutsi, and await the next massacre — unless they can get in first with a massacre of their own.

Milton Obote of Uganda was worse than Idi Amin by a degree of magnitude,

The Dark Continent becomes darker by the day as Africa slides more deeply into instability, famine, war and AIDS. Are the problems intractable? ANTHONY DANIELS analyses the African malaise and correspondents report from the frontline

Liberty, democracy are empty words

the horrors of Somalia and Ethiopia need no introduction, hundreds of thousands have died in civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, and the destruction of Liberia has been well nigh complete, with a quarter of its population exiled and a further quarter displaced.

Distorted

Africa's economic plight is likewise dire. One must not exaggerate, however, and one must bear in mind that the statistics are unreliable and frequently meaningless.

Many have been the famine alerts over the years which did not turn into famines; and travelling through the continent I have often been astonished that allegedly malnourished children grow so fre-

quently into strapping and abundantly healthy young adults. The capacity of ordinary Africans to prosper in difficult conditions impresses every foreign visitor.

Nevertheless, the economic and political failures of Africa as a whole are patent and require explanation. The most frequently advanced explanation is that European colonisation distorted Africa so badly that it has been unable to recover.

There is some truth in this, but in an opposite sense to that usually meant. The lines drawn on maps by the colonising powers to delimit their territories are often blamed for the difficulties that faced African countries after their independence, for these countries do not

correspond to any ethnic reality and therefore lack national integration.

This is true but irrelevant, for any conceivable division of Africa into separate countries would have resulted in a similar problem, so numerous are Africa's ethnic groups. The alternative — pan-Africanism à la Nkrumah — is clearly not practical either. What is impossible on a small scale is unlikely to be possible on a vastly greater scale.

The damage done by colonialism was of a different kind. It provided a model of government in which the wise few ruled the foolish or incapable many. It was this mentality which the new rulers of Africa, for the most part petty functionaries frustrated and humiliated by their lack of advancement under colonialism, adopted as their own, regardless of the ideology they espoused.



The myths of revolution still poison our minds

THE ANC, surveying a shattered country, is trying to unhook itself from the albatross of sanctions, and is pleading with its destructive overseas allies to turn their attention to the needs of reconstruction. From the higher echelons of the trade-union movement, too, comes the message: it's time to rebuild.

Unhappily, it's not that easy. When Nelson Mandela tells his followers to throw their weapons into the sea, nothing happens. "Ungovernability" has become a way of life; the methods of violent revolution, of "armed struggle", are embedded in our culture, and in the hearts of people. The AK-47 and the necklace have become the everyday working tools of barbarians and street thugs.

It's not just a matter of calling off sanctions or going round the world with a begging bowl.

That the nation is depraved is no longer in question. We murder each other at 10 times the rate of the violence-prone Americans whom so many of our people affect to despise; louts command the streets at night, and striplings rape women old enough to be their grandmothers. Theatres are dying for want of customers, and the parks are dangerous wildernesses.

At another level, corruption has seeped so deeply into the national soul that Cabinet Ministers see nothing much wrong with taking from the taxpayer exorbitant recompense for living in their own houses, while millions of their people huddle in shacks and some live in holes in the ground.

All this was not only foreseeable; it was foreseen. Most early opponents of apartheid warned that a system based on race prejudice must end in moral collapse. On that point there was wide agreement.

Fewer, however, agreed on another point, equally valid: that revolutions consume their children, that violent transitions breed more violence and that it is the work of generations to rebuild a shattered economy. When the "armed struggle" was launched on the specious pretext that no other route of resistance remained open, liberals

warned that revolutionary strategy would exact a terrible price.

And so it has turned out.

Not that the "armed struggle" turned out to be much of a show: a few bombs, spells of terror — mostly in the townships — random necklacing, occasional assassinations. Umkhonto we Sizwe, whatever its merits may have been, was hardly Ho Chi Minh's army; it remained always a ragtag, undisciplined mob that swam among the people not as mere fish but as piranhas. Where Mao's revolutionaries observed elaborate respect for the people, MK's cadres preferred to force detergent down the throats of aged shoppers.

Militarily, MK was a laugh.

What did bring down apartheid was, as liberals had always predicted, the demographic and economic forces which apartheid was intended to contain. The first great breakthrough, the emergence of an independent labour movement, was the consequence not of armed struggle and sanctions but simply of economic growth and the transfer of industrial skills to black people.

BLACK workers liberated themselves simply by organising themselves. Black migrants destroyed the pass laws by the simple act of coming to town. Job reservation collapsed because workers and employers colluded to evade the law. Black tenants destroyed the Group Areas Act by renting homes.

Throughout this process, the ANC and the National Party fed off each other, always making matters worse than they needed to be: apartheid evoked rebellion, rebellion evoked banning, banning evoked armed struggle, armed struggle evoked total strategy, total strategy evoked sanctions, and sanctions evoked secrecy and corruption.

Alan Paton rejected sanctions on the ground that he could not starve peasants for the sake of liberation; Helen Suzman rejected sanctions because she was not prepared to lay the country to waste in order to free it, as an American officer once burnt down a Vietnamese village in order to "save" it. The

ANC, however, had no doubt: the end justified any means.

We have been very lucky to escape the full consequences of revolutionary strategy. We were rescued from the wasteland by the stroke of fortune that removed President Botha from office; as Van Zyl Slabbert has remarked, that man would have gone to the bitter end with a smile on his lips. President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela turned us away from that dreadful fate when they both abandoned militaristic strategies for the old liberal prescription of negotiation and compromise.

NOW we must rebuild. It will not be easy. The minds of the young have been poisoned. On all sides, dissent is treated as treason, and it is no accident that Moses Mayekiso and his merry men are warning — in blatantly racist terms — that they will not permit "white" political parties to campaign in the ungoverned townships.

The task that awaits the first ANC government is enormous, but physical reconstruction will be the easiest part of it. More difficult will be to purge the minds of a generation of South Africans of their obsession with the mythology of violence. To do that the ANC leadership will have to confess that the whole sick mythology of redemptive violence, whether it is called "armed struggle" or "people's revolution", is the great lie of our time.

Of course the Nationalists should confess the wickedness of apartheid, but it hardly matters if they don't — they are the detritus of our history. Our future depends, however, on the willingness of the ANC to make a similar confession of its own destructive strategies, of its own wickedness in resorting to violence, and sanctions, and the immoral doctrine that the end justifies the means.

So far, all I hear is that most pitiful of all self-justifications: it's not our fault; they made us do it. That, too, is a moral lacuna.

KEN OWEN

OPINION

Another path

THE gathering in Sintra, in Portugal, this week of prominent South Africans, black and white, who might be described as broadly liberal, has brought together people who (if we may appropriate a famous phrase from our political past) belong together.

The decision of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine to foresake the Progressive Federal Party in 1986 was a cruel blow from which the PFP, despite its transmogrification into the Democratic Party, has never recovered. But neither, for that matter, has the liberal cause recovered from the decision of the Liberal Party to close in 1968 — a decision which, though forced by a restrictive law, left black liberals adrift on a revolutionary tide.

This history is of little significance now, except as an explanation, or a partial explanation, of the present weakness of the parties that held aloft a set of ideals around which, to a greater or lesser degree, all the major parties have clustered: democracy, liberty, equality, justice, and law. The irony is that, unless liberals get together very quickly, they are likely to be eclipsed by the coming elections, and eclipsed more completely than they ever were by oppression.

Proportional representation is probably the best way for South Africa to go at this stage of its history, but proportional representation is far from being a perfect system. It gives inordinate power to party bosses (we al-

ready see the professional politicians paying more attention to the party hierarchy than to their constituents), and it eliminates eccentrics, small minorities, and individual voices. Unless the DP can get at least three percent of the national vote it will disappear completely and, perhaps, permanently from our politics.

That would leave us entirely in the hands of the Nationalists and the ANC, with the Inkatha Freedom Party playing a spoiling role on the side, and while events may have driven all three of these parties towards acceptance of various liberal mechanisms, none of them is wedded to liberal values. Each is capable of gutting a liberal constitution if it gets the chance.

To ensure the survival of liberal democracy, in short, requires a broad liberal movement which will unite people who share a liberal vision of the future. If the meeting at Sintra has begun a process of reconciliation, between the DP and Idasa, between white liberals and the blacks who were left to their own devices in 1968, between the hardline liberals and those who trimmed their sails to the left-wing gales of the 80s, then the Democratic Party (in whatever form) may be much less of a lost cause than it now seems to be.

At the very least, it may preserve a decent alternative for the many South Africans who cannot associate themselves with the two totalitarian traditions, left and right, which have come to dominate our politics.

Codesa judges given the push

THE two judges who chaired Codesa meetings have been dumped after objections from the government.

This week's conference to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks will be chaired by a rotating panel of seven political representatives.

Negotiators said the government was concerned about Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed's "left leanings" and Mr Justice Petrus Schabert's inability to sufficiently balance this influence.

The compromise reached after this objection was that the meeting should be chaired by a seven-person panel.

There is widespread acceptance among parties that the two judges will also not be in the chair when full-scale Codesa talks resume.

Petty baggling of this nature dominated the run-up to the two-day meeting, which starts next Friday.

Questions about who should invite the parties, who should come, who should be in the chair, who should speak first, where they should sit and what should be discussed have been thrashed out in excruciating detail.

But an obstacle still to be overcome is Inkatha's negative view of the government's five-year power-sharing proposals. The issue will be discussed today at an

By EDYTH BULBRING

Inkatha central committee meeting.

Government negotiators Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpoit will present the proposals to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the hope of getting his backing for the power-sharing plan.

The two ministers want to outline the proposals directly to Chief Buthelezi because the government is concerned that Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate, who has been accused of misleading the Inkatha leader, will distort its position.

To prevent this from happening, the government managed to secure an invitation to the central committee meeting.

But there are indications that these efforts will be in vain as the Inkatha central committee already appears to have decided to reject the power-sharing deal.

Meanwhile, a Kwazulu government delegation, representing King Goodwill Zwelithini, will attend the planning conference — whether they are invited or not.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are also expected to attend.

The parties will discuss past agreements reached at Codesa and how they see future negotiations.

Van backs new liberal forum

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FORMER Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert this week helped lay the foundations for a powerful new democracy watchdog group supported by many prominent liberal democrats.

After two days of discussions in Sintra, Portugal, delegates from a range of organisations stopped short of starting a new political party for liberals, but they did agree to launch a "democracy forum" within a month.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the initiative followed numerous approaches to Dr van Zyl Slabbert and himself to launch a new party.

The appeals had come from members of the public disillusioned by corruption in the government and by what seemed to be a scramble for power by all politicians, irrespective of democratic values.

Aims

Some participants at the seminar in Portugal said they believed the forum could herald the formation — after the country's first non-racial elections — of a rejuvenated liberal or democratic party to oppose the National Party and the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert last night denied his participation implied an imminent return to party politics.

He said a number of politicians held similar core values, but, for various reasons — largely historical — they found themselves in different parties.

Dr Boraine and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, head of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, will head the new forum.

The forum's aims will be:

- To bring together key players who are disillusioned with the current political climate;
- To seek consensus on an understanding of what democracy means;
- To establish a broad alliance between participants so that regular contact can be maintained;
- To identify individuals and constituencies who should be included in the debate on democratic strategy, thereby ensuring that the democratic centre holds through the transition period.

Watchdog

On his return from Portugal, Dr Boraine said a change of government did not necessarily mean the principle of accountability would be respected.

There was a need for a watchdog body that would ensure the government did not abuse power.

"But I want to stress there is no room for a new political party at this stage," he added.

CARMEL RICKARD reports that Dr Dhlomo, who was unable to attend the meeting in Portugal, said he had not yet been informed of his nomination to co-head the new movement.

"The idea of a new national non-party political forum promoting democratic values is exciting and constructive," he added.

"But I would need to be fully briefed about the Sintra meeting before commenting further."

The 'real'

Sun. Tribune 28/2/93

amakhosi want to be heard

The voices of South Africa's traditional leaders are going to be increasingly heard as the country moves towards its first non-racial general election. The ANC has agreed after a meeting with 11 Contralesa chiefs last weekend to involve traditional leaders in the negotiations at national level, and IFP deputy secretary Inkosi Simon Gumede is set to launch a new forum of chiefs intent on representation at constitutional talks. Long the subject of controversy, these influential rulers are now finding themselves amid a hearts-and-minds battle as they seek to define a role for themselves. BRIAN KING reports.

The battle is on for the hearts and minds of South Africa's kings, princes and chiefs whose influence is likely to swing millions of votes in the rural areas.

KwaZulu Minister of Works and IFP deputy secretary Inkosi Simon Gumede says "an alternative forum for traditional leaders in southern Africa" will soon be launched to give traditional rulers south of the Limpopo "a home".

And Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, "of necessity", would have an open door to this federal body, Inkosi Gumede says.

But the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which has been intensifying its efforts to woo traditional leaders in KwaZulu into its camp, has slammed the new forum as "an Inkatha front".

"This is a counter to Contralesa and obviously an election ploy to boost Inkatha's presence at the negotiation table," says Contralesa president Inkosi Sango Patekile Holomisa.

However, the Contralesa leader does concede that influential chiefs are asking the question: "Where do I fit into the new South Africa?"

Inkosi Gumede told the Sunday Tribune that the nascent Federal Council of Traditional Leaders in southern Africa (FCTLISA) would strive to "represent the true feelings and aspirations of true traditional leaders and not imposters".

The decision to establish the FCTLISA, Inkosi Gumede said, represented "an attempt to reassert the importance of traditional leaders in every sphere of life in South

Africa".

"We (the amakhosi) must take steps to ensure our proper place in constitutional and other negotiations that are going on in the country."

The KwaZulu minister added that "the Codesa experience" and the non-representation of traditional leaders at that congress had "taught us the necessity for such a forum which can represent real traditional leaders".

"It would be strange for any Codesa-type negotiating forum to succeed without the input of traditional leaders. There can be no peaceful settlement without their input."

For Inkosi Gumede, Contralesa is not the vehicle through which they want to speak. Contralesa's recent approaches to President De Klerk in which the repressive nature of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophutatswana was discussed and the dismantling of self-governing territories advocated, did not reflect the feelings of true traditional leaders.

"I'm in KwaZulu and I'm not aware of traditional leaders' feelings being suppressed here," he said.

Inkosi Gumede added that the FCTLISA was "not to counter Contralesa but to come up with the truth, because if we remain mum so many things will be said in our name to which we don't agree".

The rallying cry which the FCTLISA is using is that the centuries-old system of chieftainship is under attack.

Amakhosi are being wooed with recounted tales of chiefs having

been made to run around naked; of their areas having been infiltrated and grievances stirred up; of having been dubbed sell-outs and their homes attacked; of "people's courts" being set up to replace them; and that they've been targets of a propaganda campaign which has quietly ignored the fact that the vast bulk of disputes in South Africa are settled through tribal courts and that chieftainship structures have made a large contribution towards development in the rural areas.

The amakhosi need their own voice, says Inkosi Gumede. "We want iron-clad guarantees that can only be negotiated with and by ourselves," he says.

"In our country some parties have strenuously opposed the participation of traditional leaders (at Codesa) although leaders of the same organisations have been going around South Africa promising chiefs that they will be looked after in a new South Africa."

Contralesa's Inkosi Holomisa echoes the view that traditional leaders are facing uncertainties. "I blame also the liberation movement and the Government for failing to define a proper role for traditional leaders in South Africa."

Inkosi Holomisa said Contralesa was not ANC-aligned as such, although Contralesa did stand for the abolition of the homelands system because it had divided and "tarnished the image of the traditional leadership system".

"Some of the traditional leaders in the forefront of the (Contralesa) movement are individual members of the ANC... but this was in the

IFP greets its new MPs

ZULU dancers and braais greeted black and white Inkatha Freedom Party supporters yesterday at the first IFP rally to be held at Vryheid's rugby stadium.

The rally was a festive occasion, with eight stewed oxen for more than 5 000 supporters — including 800 whites — who came to honour IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the guest of honour, Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

The veteran NP politician crossed the floor last

Sunday Times Reporter

month to become the IFP's first parliamentary voice.

He was followed soon after by Mr Mike Tarr, who represented Maritzburg North for the DP, and Mr Farouk Cassim of Stanger, north of Durban.

Dancers

The rally was the first gathering of Afrikaans and Zulu-speaking party supporters in Vryheid, and the organisers spared no effort to make it a success.

Young Zulu dancers gy-

rated to the beat of cattle-skin drums, while townsfolk sweated over smoky fires as they prepared meat in the traditional Afrikaner way.

One of the more noticeable whites was a local resident, Schalk du Plessis, who is known as the "white Zulu". He was dressed in traditional skins.

In his speech, Mr Buthelezi reaffirmed his party's support for federalism, saying the IFP wanted a society which fostered har-

mony and co-existence.

"The main choice we will need to make in the next two weeks is for federalism," he said, referring to the coming week's multiparty planning conference outside Johannesburg.

The aim of the conference is to kick-start stalled multiparty negotiations.

"The type of compromises we are going to make in the coming negotiations are most likely going to determine how the final constitution for South Africa is going to be structured," Mr Buthelezi said.

Mr Mentz told the rally that the IFP offered a secure political home, free of nationalisation and intimidation, to people who were disillusioned with the NP.

Praising Mr Buthelezi, Mr Mentz said the Inkatha leader had never "experimented in communism or socialism".

Reliable

His party was not involved in intimidation and would not expropriate people's possessions. Furthermore, Zulus were brave, proud, reliable and peaceful people with strong leadership.

It was a coming together of two nations which fought vicious battles against each other a century ago, but now live in apparent harmony in the agricultural and mining district of Vryheid.

To the applause of the ululating crowd, Mr Mentz and the "white Zulu" engaged in a traditional Zulu stick fight.

Speaking to the crowd later, the MP's fluency in Zulu earned him a thunderous cheer.

IT'S PARTY TIME FOR THE IFP's ...

WHITE ZULU

Graham Spence

It was billed as a Zulu-Boer show, but this time there was talk of brotherhood rather than blood.

The setting was Vryheid, just 60km away from Blood River where Boer and Zulu clashed in an epic battle last century. The bitterness still exists in Day of the Covenant celebrations — or Dingaan's Day as right-wingers still call it — but yesterday, as former Afrikaner nationalist and National Party frontbencher Jurie Mentz joined the Inkatha Freedom Party, both sides made rich use of symbolism.

Granted, there were only about 300 whites, most of whom were not IFP members although all admirers of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And some may argue that the 5 000 blacks came along for a free meal; eight oxen slaughtered for the occasion courtesy of Mr Mentz. But whatever, judging by enthusiastic crowd reaction for Mr Mentz, pop singer Johnny Clegg of Savuka is not the only white Zulu.

In his first speech as an IFP member, Mr Mentz came out firing with both barrels. The ANC were the enemy, and the reality was that to stop them grabbing power, one had to throw in one's lot with an honest visionary with integrity and guts — which he said was Dr Buthelezi.

Speaking in Zulu, and regularly applauded, Mr Mentz said he and his wife were at one stage the only whites farming in the area between Hlobane and Nongoma, and he had grown to truly respect Zulu culture of discipline and integrity.

"We all love the mountains of Natal. We, white and black, have lived peacefully here for the past 100 years, and I pray our children will also live in peace here for the next 100 years.

"The people of Natal prefer not to be ruled by Harry Gwala (ANC Midlands leader) and Chris Hani (Communist party secretary-general)," he said to ululating applause.

Fighting talk or not, the festivities beforehand were decidedly colourful Africa under a blazing northern Natal sun. The Boers, some dressed in suits, others shorts and slip-slops, mingled easily with Zulu dignitaries in the grandstand. Mr Mentz, a fluent Zulu linguist, was greeted warmly whenever he strolled around the Vryheid Rugby ground, often by men incongruously dressed in skins with leather shoes and socks. At one stage he held a mock stick fight with another white Zulu, Schalk du Plessis, who also farms in the Nongoma area and is the champion stick fighter in the district.

"I was taught as a child by the herdboys and they taught me well," said Mr Du Plessis. Indeed, Schalk, 24, is regularly asked to dance and stick fight at Zulu weddings, and is perhaps the only white to ever master this arcane Zulu art. "The only problem is that one of his arms gets tired. He was shot there while serving with the SADF in Angola," said Mr Mentz.

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As Zulu drummers beat a hypnotic rhythm, singing praise to "Shenge" (Dr Buthelezi's praise name) other IFP converts Mike Tarr (former DP MP for Pietermaritzburg North) and Farouk Cassim (MP Stanger) told why they too had crossed the great divide.

"In Natal, the political struggle is between the ANC and the IFP — one has to make a choice," said Mr Tarr. "But the ANC has a far more sophisticated public relations machinery, and now we are going to fight fire with fire."

New chancellor

FORMER Catholic Archbishop of Durban Denis Hurley is to be installed as Chancellor of the University of Natal. He will take over from Mr Justice Ray Leon who retires next week.

Alliance denies plot to oust Mandela

BY SUNSTAR REPORTER

THE tripartite alliance — the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — has dismissed last week-end's report in the Sunday Star about an alleged plot to unseat Nelson Mandela as ANC president.

A joint statement issued by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, and Cosatu's Chris Dlamini has accused the Sunday Star of "rehashing tired, old allegations about a secret 'cabal' in the leadership of the ANC" and dismissed the report as "a feeble attempt to breathe new life into a rumour that has done the rounds for over a decade.

"The mischievous documents that form the basis of the story have been dismissed as crude forgeries on more than one occasion by the ANC. We are surprised that the Sunday Star appears keen to give them credibility.

"On the last occasion that the ANC was called upon to respond to this issue Comrade Nelson Mandela spearheaded the argument that the document in question was a plant, emanating from sources hostile to the ANC. The ANC repeats its earlier categorical rejection of these allegations. The authorship of the Sunday Star's 'exclusive' does not in any way lend weight to the substance of the charges.

"As we said on October 8 1992 the documents in question are divisive and were written with the clear intention of undermining the ANC and broad democratic movement.

"The ANC is still engaged in inquiries to establish the source of these documents. When our inquiries are completed we shall make the results public."

■ It was not the Sunday Star which made allegations about a plot to topple Mandela. It was his wife, Winnie Mandela, herself an influential member of and within the ANC. Until she resigned her three key positions less than a year ago, she was an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, head of the ANC welfare department, and elected leader of the ANC Women's League (PWV region).

She still wields influence in some key sections of the alliance.

The alliance seems to dismiss all three documents, written at different times, on the basis of a single document repudiated by Mandela.