

THE CITIZEN

PPIAT) 2

Wednesday 26 February 1992

Zulu impi do

2 P Yo WS

battle

in a place of the Gunâ\200\231~

Mhlupheki Shange
died because he was a
good man in a bad
place in a violent coun-

try lived in dis-
trict, in the rural heart of
Natal, where Zulu war-
riors have been killing
each other in tribal wars
for more than a century.

One night last month a
band of armed men sur-
rounded Shange's hut and
demanded that he join
them in a war party.

He refused to go, his
mother told police. So
they killed him.

Chased impi

Police chased the impi
across a boulder-strewn
hillside and arrested 21
people. They seized six
AK-47 assault rifles, ten
.303 carbines and a shot-
gun.

The impi was about to
do battle in the latest
round of the faction fight-
ing which rages almost
continuously in Msinga.

Msinga is known as
The Place of the Gunâ\200\231,â\200\235
said Creina Alcock, a de-

velopment worker who
has lived in the area for 17
years. -

It is like coming across
a dinosaur no Whites
or missionaries came here
in the old days, so tribal
traditions and structures
remain strong.

~ Mrs Alcock, whose husband Neil was killed in an ambush in 1983 while mediating between rival Msinga factions, said one reason for the violence was a tradition of trial by combat.

â\200\234You get young men growing up dying for a fight, so they deliberately provoke wars.â\200\235

Much of the fighting is between members of the same clan, although one clan will sometimes take on another in a feud dating back to ancient history.

AK-47 favoured

â\200\234In almost every instance, the original root cause of the ill-feeling is unknown to all concerned,â\200\235 said KwaZulu police officer Brigadier Sipho Mathe.

In the old days wars were fought with sticks and spears, and casualties were relatively low. Now the weapon of choice is the AK-47, and scores of

inga people die every year.

Last month at least 14 people were killed and 15 injured in a bloody battle when two impis of 300 men each clashed over the murder of a tribal leader in nearby Lady-smith.

Sergeant Eddie Aucamp, special police unit based in Msingaâ\200\231s main town of Tugela Ferry, said the pastoral beauty of the district belied its dangers.

â\200\234We have orders not to driveâ\200\231 around at night. Even in broad daylight, on the main road, weâ\200\231ve been shot at,â\200\235 Sgt Aucamp said, pointing out a bullet hole in his vehicle.

His unit, charged with confiscating illegal fire-

arms, has seized an average of 650 a year over the last three years.

Weapons range from

a member of a.

home-made guns crafted from plumber's supplies to vintage muzzle-loaders and modern automatic rifles.

Most of the Soviet-designed AK-47s and some of the fights are imported from Johannesburg, where hundreds of Msinga men work in industry and the gold mines -

If two men brawl in Soweto, away, there'll be a faction fight here," said Lieut Tommy Pakkari, who led the police squad that rounded up several killers. .

Police efforts to negotiate peaceful settlements seldom succeeded. These people believe

- fighting is the only way to settle an argument.

More warlike

Faction fighting occurs throughout Natal, but is particularly bad in Msinga, a district of about 200 000 people. Some researchers believe the reason is fierce competition for resources in a mountainous area where only 10 percent of the land is arable. -

Anthropologist John Argyle said that while environmental factors might play a part, Msinga people seemed to be more warlike than Zulus elsewhere.

It's hard to pin down, but for example, when a group of Msinga residents were moved to another area, fighting erupted

there,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a cycle which is difficult to escape â\200\224 a pattern of revenge that has no beginning and no end.â\200\235

There were similarities with fighting in other parts of Natal province between Zulus i rival political groups â\200\224 the Inkatha Freedom Par-

which they want exclusive - control. The national

leadership can appeal for

peace, but what counts is

the local competition.â\200\235 â\200\224

Sapa-Reuter

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Local Government

ELECTIONS

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ANCâ\200\231s Â¢

The latest ANC. blueprint
for the transition period
and beyond is both a
concession and a chal-
lenge to the Government,
writes Political Editor
- SHAUN JOHNSON.

HE MAJOR parties to
negotiations are nearing
an advanced stage in de-
signing a mutually
acceptable â\200\234packageâ\200\235 for how
South Africa should be ruled
during transition and how a
final nstitution should be
drawn up.

It is a process not unlike that
of building model aeroplanes.
Each has been busily cutting
and gluing pieces together, and
| showing the product of their la-
~ bours to the others. Each has
then gone back and altered its

model in the light of what it has
seen, trying to make it look a
little more like the others. The
ultimate object of the exercise -
is to settle on a single structure
which includes parts taken from
each â\200\224 and can still fly.

This is the context in which
the ANCâ\200\231s newest model for in-
terim government and constitu-
tion-making, presented at Code-

sa this week, should be seen. It is an adaptation of earlier positions, and includes clear attempts to address the Government's concerns; but without discarding the principles of the original design. It will, no doubt, prompt an updated model from the Government.

In two areas, in particular, the latest ANC scenario seeks to satisfy the ANC or at least take the sting out of the Government objections. R

Firstly, the Government has insisted from the outset of the

negotiations process that it

would not accept a transitional arrangement which involves leaping into a constitutional vacuum, or ceding power to an unelected body which would rule by decree. The ANC previously demanded that the present Parliament be dissolved or suspended, and power transferred in toto to a representative, but unelected, body.

Now the ANC is proposing that the tricameral Parliament be maintained possibly in a rationalised form in order to give legislative effect to decisions taken by an interim government council appointed from the ranks of Codesa. This offers the Government a compromise: Parliament survives,

but loses its ultimate authority.

Secondly, the Government has been set against the idea of

a constituent assembly (CA) drawing up a new constitution ever since the ANC first proposed the body. Now, however, the ANC proposals offer the possibility that a CA could operate as a legislature subject to checks and balances at the same time as it performed its constitution-drafting function. This would allow for an interim Cabinet operating under suf-

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SBRuaRy 1997

ficient or even full consensus, and interim measures such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority for legislation to be passed. There would also be an agreement that all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the vote under proportional representation, would be represented in the CA.

" In these and other areas, the ANC and Government positions

are converging markedly and not to the extent that full agreement is imminent, but rather in the sense that details of similar concepts are being debated.

The ANC's detailed step-by-step plan for a two-step path towards a final negotiated solution is set out, in its distinct phases, in the accompanying

diagram. In summarised form, |

it would operate as follows:

Phase one, which can only come into being once agreement has been achieved on the matter at Codesa, would seek to level the political playing field. Interim structures would be charged with ensuring equal treatment for all political competitors, particularly regarding elections.

Codesa would appoint from its ranks an interim government council (IGC), in effect a supreme transitional Cabinet with final powers over Parliament and homeland structures.

Beneath the IGC would operate independent commissions charged with overseeing elections and ensuring equal access to the public media. There would also be four multiparty committees, enjoying final control in the key areas of security, the Budget, foreign relations

and local government.

The international community would be invited to become involved, at least at the level of

the electoral commission.

Phase one would lead to elec-

tions for a CA. The first phase should not last for more than six months beyond the date of its inception. A

Phase two begins once the CA has been elected. All South Africans over 18 would vote on the basis of proportional representation.

The main task of the CA would be the drafting of a final constitution, but it would appoint an interim Cabinet and perform transitional legislative functions. The process of constitution-making should not exceed nine months, and incentives and penalties would be devised to ensure the timetable was adhered to. The constitution could include â\200\234sunsetâ\200\235 clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

The new ANC â\200\234transitional packageâ\200\235 takes the tactical fight to the Government: it cannot but demand a serious and considered response from Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his strategists. There are certainly still points of difference â\200\224 the Government will argue that the IGC is still a form of â\200\234rule by decreeâ\200\235, for example â\200\224 but, many of its elements will not be easily dismissed.

â\200\230 to agree

edged plan,

The likely next step is :wl::vised Government | 'can swak {gv;â\200\231m&;vï¬\202k:attï¬\201e ANC bluep::;lt, and finessing those g{::;â\200\230ss i which it St 8 B ilding route model aeromais 3 lo:Lg toql:, l::s iri atience â\200\224 but 1 gâ\200\230câ\200\230gil:vgeg) an extyaordlraaig amount thus far and is speed up all the time. o

Aat city hotel -

' By Philip Zoio

ANC member Jeremy
Seeber, yesterday convicted
ges of attempted

and unlawfully

causing ap explosion, told

the Johannesburg Magis-

trateâ\200\231s Court that he was

| acting on instructions of an
| ANC military commander

when he planted ap explo-
sive device in a Johannes-
burg hotel in 1986.

Seeber (25) told the court how
S desire for democracy in
South Africaâ\200\231 drew him into ac-
tive involvement jn the ANCâ\200\231s
- armed struggle, :

In a written explanation of
his plea of

Braamfont,

tember 26 1986,

The device exploded, causing
' slight injuries to Michael Pay]-
_son, Richard Zuma and Henning
Snyman and Rgg 000 damage,

In his plea explanation
-Seeber said he Was following
" ANC military Strategies at
time when the ANC and jts
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* Sizwe, were 5 '

Questioned by prosecutor J
" van der Bijl, Seeber said the
Â« vietims were unfortunate ca-
. Sualties of a war situation,
I regret that I had to go to
such an extent to demonstrate
my opposition for the Govern-
ment as it was then,â\200\235 he saiq.

Seeber testified that his par-
-ents had brought him up on

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Principles of democracy and ra-
cial equality,

In 1986 he was introduced to

members in Swaziland

In September he was given
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Whom he knew only by his code.

. Peration was later de-
Scribed by MK commanders ag
Successful, Seeber sajq.

Mr van der Bijl said the act

had been unnecessary -and
Caused only fear and destruc-
tion,

Seeber wa
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sabotage of a

United Nationg base in 1989,

Seeberâ\200\231s lawyer Gilbert

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sentence continue,

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ELSEWHERE IN TH.WORLD

Mandela vows struggle
|f supremacists take power

" African National Congres
er Nelson Mandela

guage Beeld newspaper, widely

read among South Africaâ\200\231s 5 mil-

lion white minority. His organiza- -

tion, South Africaâ\200\231s largest black * MANDELA Attacks
- group, has attacked a March 17 = : hltes-only vote
-whites-only referendum on politi- - :

â\200\234cal reform as racist, preferring to quicken the pace of de-
mocracy talks. President F.W. de Klerk, stunned by right-
wmg vnctones in recent parlamenta elections

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SCUTH AFRICA'S pro-apart
heid Conservative Party (CP)
backed away from a boveott of
nexi month's whites-oniv referen-
dum on oonstitutional reform yes-
terday, but then came close lo
surrendeniog on the spot lo Presi-
dent F W de Klerk.

The leader of the CP, Andries
Treurnicht, was overnded in a
deeply divisive caucus of party
MPs and officials, and emerged
talking not of wictory but of carry
mg on the battle bevond the
plebiscite

The CP eventually advised its
SUppoTiers lo reject Mr de Klerk's
plea for endorsement of negotia
tons with the black majority afte:
Mr Treurnicht had recommended
a boyrott of the poll A dejected
party leader said the referendum
would not be the last word, and
the CP would continve to demand
a general election

â\200\234We advise our people lo vote
0o n ths referendum. but we say
should we lose this i not the end

ol

of referendum

s, . From Chris McGreal in Cape Town

of the political war in South Africa. There is still a white nation. it cannot - be washed away, That white nation will continue to demand freedom,â\200\235 he said

Mr Treurnicht said the P would recognise the referendum result â\200\234as the actual situation, but not for all eternityâ\200\235. He would seek a common strategy with the paramilitary Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWR), which at first had said that it would do its best to disrupt the poll, but reconsidered after the CP decision.

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and the Anglo-American mining house both tallied on whites to support Mr de Klerk, saying a

noâ\200\231 vote would be disastrous. he ANC is expected to follow suit today. <

A meeting of the partial CP us after Mr de Klerk announced the referendum question on Monday had initially decided to carry through Mr Treurnichtâ\200\231s bovepit threat,

But when regional CP representatives arrived yesterday they overturned the decision, in the face of furious objections from those in the caucus who resented the speed with which the vote is to be held, and rejected Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s assertion that the referendum fulfilled his election pledge to seek white votersâ\200\231 approval for constitutional changes. The poll

- SAâ\200\231s right abandons boycott

clearly does not meet that promise because South Africans still only have a very broad picture of the new system. But the right knew it had been out-manoeuvred. It has, after all, constantly called on Mr de Klerk to go back to the white electorate for a mandate.

The CP faces a test of its national policies and strategy, unlike the Potchefstroom by-election, where a victory pushed Mr de

Klerk into calling the referendum
Faced with the prospect of a party
spht, the boycotters were pre-
vailed open to give way.

The party suife was sl
dogging Mr Treurnicht as he an-
nounced CP participation, and it
came across as defeatist. â\200\234Should
we ose in this referendum it is the
loss of one battle but itâ\200\231s not the
end of the war,â\200\235 be said

â\200\2341tâ\200\231s not the end of the struggle
for survival m freedom of a peo-
ple.â\200\235 Not omce did he sav he ex-
pected lo win.

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South Africa

A normality all Its own

Our special correspondent describes some of the confusion that besets a country
between apartheid and democracy

HOUGH the restaurant is (00 new to be
listed in the telephone book, lunchtime

secs it thronged. Most of its patrons are the
Striped :d set who busy themselves in
centra annesburgâ\200\231s tall office buildings,

urprised to sce the manager
scribing the plat d'jour 10 a

Âçmber of the African National

but no
i solicitous
prominen

Congress | ears and two weeks ago the
_ANCwas still banned, its members regarded
as dangerous revolutionaries. Now they e

. at La Bastille. No mob is storming the ;

l ons of the ancien rÃ@gipe; no wumbrils ar
tolling; no gullotines swishing. Afer d
cades of sbnormality, Seuth Aftica is no
mal at last. This is the most extraordinar
thing about it.

Normal countries, of course, have prol
lems, and il this respect South Africa is su
per-normal. Apartheid has left it divided

\ DOT just black against white, but black

â\200\234against black, Xhosa against Zulu, Coloured

Â« (mixed race) against Indian, and so on. To-

*day the old alliances and divisions are all

. changing. On the one hand some frightened whites, and not just Afrikaners, are taking

- up arms against the reforms being intro-

duced by President FW. de Klerkâ\200\231s National

rgovernment. On the osher inter-racial mar-

592,

nage 18 becoming almost 4 commonplace among young liberals, and the dinner parties of cabinet ministers may include black guests met for the first time six months ago n talks aimed at bringing peace to the townships

For many the change is confusing
~ology nearly 3m are thus classificdâ\200\224
y joining the National Party.
theid oltn treated them cru
Mo 1968 and dis-
neir homes {(most no-
1 Districe Six in Cape Town), and

gÂçh the ANC has made a bid for their support (recrutting Allan Boesak, a Col ourcd leader), they seem to fear the black masses more than their former white oppressors. Their representatives have been defecting to the Natonalists and, o judge by the paucity of Coloured marchers in recent ANC demonstrations, their votes will g0 the sanic way.

South Afnicaâ\200\231s Indians have long been mvmoved in politics {even hefore Mahatma Gandhi was forced off the pavement by 4 Pretonia policeman in 1893 and decided to Â» the white government). In this they have differed {rom the Indians of East and Central Africa, who have preferred to stick

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instead to' religion and to their own affairs

Indian_organisations {closely allied lo the

ANC) are represented at Codesa, the Con-

vention for a Democratic South Africa,
where 19 groups are trying to reach agree-
ment on the path to a new constitution, but_

they spegk for ever fewer people.

Coloureds and Indians know that the
main players on the South African stage arc
the 4.5m whites and the 2?m blacks. For
more than 40 years the National Party has
spoken for the whites, invariably defeating
the only opponents it allowed to challenge
it; and for even longerâ\200\224it has just turned
80â\200\224the ANC has spoken for the blacks, un-
tested in formal elections but probably with
majority suppon,

Since Mr de Klerk took aver the Nation-
alists ln 1989, these two ancient antagonists
have come not perhaps to love one another
but certainly to need each other. The Na-
tionalists can hardly revert to apartheid and
repression: to do so would send South Al
rica up.a bloody cul-de-sac. The ANC can
hardly return to the armed struggle: without
Soviet support it would be even less menac-
ing than in the past. In the organisatansâ\200\231
mutual need lies the cause for optimism.

The optimistic outlook foresees agreement at Codesa on a set of constitutional principles, which will, if the government gets its way, be endorsed by a referendum (maybe in September). The current Parliament, in which blacks are not represented, will then legislate itself out of existence . to

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