

Letters to the editor

8-21 Nov. 93 M A
SUNDAY NATION

I will never sing Die Stem

I strongly object to the use of Die Stem as a national anthem, whether it's rendered vocally or instrumentally.

As an ex-detainee, to me this song symbolises those men who tortured me and other people around the country. It's a symbol of the killings of detainees due to torture by security police in detention.

To me it symbolises the disappearance and assassinations of activists by notorious hit squads such as Askaris and all other covert groupings sponsored by those who glorify Die Stem.

This is a symbol of those who killed Hector Petersen in 1976, it is a symbol of those who murdered comrades in Matola, Maseru and those who cold bloodedly murdered innocent children in Umtata recently.

This is a song for those people who murdered innocent civilians from neighbouring countries and for people who caused death, hunger and misery for the people of Angola and Mozambique. To me this is a song of murderers, corrupters and rapists, people who deserve to go to hell when they die.

I will never sing a song which represented my oppression, Neonazism and death of my fellow people. Those who are representing the ANC and the PAC at the multiparty talks must never compromise on our national (Black) ideals for their personal gains.

When it comes to the national anthem, they must remember all our heroes and heroines who fell in their quest for liberation and all the suffering we have gone through as a black nation in this country.

They must remember our song of Faith and Hope and that is "Nkosi Sikelela".

Churchill N Mbatha
HILLBROW



NEW SONG . . . A reader says Buthelezi is power hungry

Workers thrown into a bottomless pit

I am shocked by Cosatu's blunder of allowing its legal adviser Halton Cheadle to negotiate in the National Manpower Commission (NMC) without a mandate from the working class. What took place here was not a compromise from the workers side but an outright surrender. The issue of workers lockout was not opposed by Cheadle (COSATU), the ANC or the SACP. I don't see the essentials of the establishment of a Bill of Rights within the proposed constitutional draft because the implementation of a workers lockout clause would mean a serious encroachment on workers rights, particularly the right to engage in strike action.

Cosatu has failed to negotiate this matter constitutionally with its experienced shopstewards. Cosatu is to blame for its ignorance because the clause is going to be enacted. The SACP, through Joe Slovo, has sent its unacceptable apology to the workers at the World Trade Centre. The ANC

remains silent about this issue because it might lose the coming elections.

As for Halton Cheadle, a stone that was hiding a colony of ants has been overturned. The workers are vulnerable. You have thrown them into a bottomless pit.

Magodi M Phela
JANE FURSE

Buthelezi is no democrat

When Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi aspired for power at the national level, he rejected independence for his homeland and called for one person one vote in a unitary state.

When he found that he could only exercise power in Natal, he changed his tune to call for federalism. This later developed into confederalism which is one step away from secession.

Now that he has realised that even in an election under a federal constitution he has a good chance of losing, he is singing a new song. It goes like this: The king of kwaZulu has always been in existence long before the white man came here, so nobody will be allowed to interfere in this region.

So there you have it - even if he loses at the polls he'll still not give in. His claim to be a democrat goes right out the window.

He will retreat to his ethnic laager and God help anyone who dares to set foot there with any fancy notions of democracy and freedom.

The tragedy is that there are so many intelligent people (who should know better) who are allowing themselves to be used by the chief to give respectability to his personal quest for power.

Norman Anbrose
JOHANNESBURG

Send letters to: The Editor, PO Box 10674, Johannesburg 2000

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Sunday Nation 21 Nov 1993

DANCING THE ANTI-POLITICISED COP JIVE

These two women took part in a march by about 6 000 members of the Inkatha Freedom Party through the streets of Johannesburg yesterday to protest at the politicisation of the police force.

White cops had to police IFP's anti-Popcru march in Jo'burg

BERENG MTIMKULU and PHILIP MOROBI

two reporters (one at the front the other at the back of the marchers) and a photographer (in the middle) agree they saw no black police presence at the march.

A volatile situation which lasted for about 45 minutes ensued between the marchers and the security police at the corner of Troye and Commissioner streets after a man, apparently an IFP supporter, was arrested for possession of a firearm.

● Racism raised its head during the march when an Indian photographer was chased away by marchers shouting he was a "Joy Naidoo supporter - we don't want them" (a reference to the Cosatu general secretary).

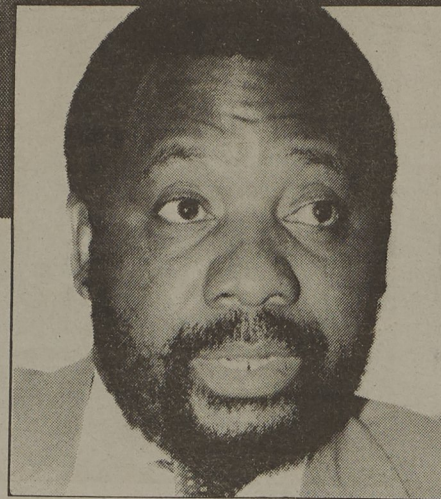
WAS it a coincidence that there were very few black policemen - if none at all - on duty at the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) protest march in Johannesburg to the John Vorster Square police station yesterday?

About 6 000 IFP supporters marched from Jeppe Station to the SAP headquarters to submit a memorandum demanding, among other things, an urgent meeting with law and order minister Hernus Kriel to "discuss the Popcru crisis, politicisation of the security forces and an unacceptable security situation in Transvaal".

Police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman maintained that there were black policemen on duty at the march.

However, a Sunday Nation team of

DE KLERK'S PLOY SHOT DOWN



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . our struggle is about much more than moral victory

A non-racial referendum, an option floated by National Party leader FW de Klerk over a week ago, has been shot down with a categorical "No" by the ANC National Working Committee (NWC).

"It is not an option. It is fraught with disadvantages," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told Sunday Nation this week.

The NWC's decision effectively puts paid to De Klerk's hopes of a referendum and once again sets the country on a course for next April's first non-racial general election.

It follows intense debate in the ANC following De Klerk's announcement that a referendum may be a way of breaking the negotiations logjam, which could be precipitated by rightwing disenchantment.

Ramaphosa said the dangers inherent in a referendum far outweighed any tactical advantage that such a poll might have.

"Rightwing parties have said they will not accept a referendum - so all you would have is a moral victory and our struggle is about much more than scoring a moral victory."

"It is about a victory over apartheid. And we cannot get into a situation where we do it (participate in a referendum) simply for a moral victory or to gain the moral highground - we already occupy the moral highground," Ramaphosa argues.

He explains that the ANC had earned itself the moral highground by ensuring that the negotiation process proceeded in line with its objectives. There was therefore no need to secure a moral advantage through a referendum victory over the rightwing.

"It (a referendum) would be done just for the symbolism," the ANC SG says.

One of the biggest dangers of a referendum is that it would dilute the importance of the first democratic and non-racial elections in the 341 year political history of our country, he adds.

"It will turn the struggle of our people into a sham - our people struggled all these years to go to the polls and hold democratic elections, not for the moral highground but for a democratic government and a democratic con-

stitutional assembly.

Ramaphosa agrees: "We still have an apartheid government in this country, despite what De Klerk says."

"The participation of the ANC and the NP on one side of the contest will serve to legitimise the NP among the majority and create a platform for it to penetrate black areas in preparation for future elections."

"Tactically it would be wrong for the ANC to be part of such a referendum," he says.

An added disadvantage is that ANC detractors could portray the liberation movement as an apartheid collaborator.

Yet another disadvantage of participation in a referendum relates to the potential it holds for massive demoralisation in the ranks of ANC organisers.

Its activists have, across the country, been working away feverishly in preparation for next April's elections. To switch their attention from the "real thing" to a referendum will in all probability dampen spirits.

Whether the organisation will be able to generate sufficient momentum and motivate organisers to mobilise its constituency for an April election after a referendum is also doubtful.

At the earliest, a referendum could only be held in January given the logistical problems involved in organising such a national poll.

This will effectively leave the ANC with less than four months within which to place itself back on an election footing.

Given its limited resources, this could prove a formidable challenge, one it may not be able to take on very easily.

In any case, the Freedom Alliance (FA) already appears to be making such ridiculous demands as counting the Afrikaner vote separately and in some cases the regional vote, to gauge support for the Afrikaner Volksfront and parties like Inkatha. This would give the referendum an ethnic and racial character. If the FA's demands are accepted, it would be tantamount to going back to the days of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Yet the NP seems to be saying that these demands are negotiable.

But even these points are now of academic importance with the ANC rejecting De Klerk's referendum ploy.

ZWELAKHE SISULU



SUNDAY NATION THE CUTTING EDGE 24-10-93

There is an electric expectancy in the air about the finalising of the ANC list for people who will serve in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on the one hand, and those who will be on the list of candidates for the April elections on the other.

These events are going to be a manifestation of progress that has been made in the advance to democracy. In some respects, ordinary people have found it difficult to assess progress made because of the inherently conceptual, rather than concrete character, that the process has assumed.

However as soon as the average citizens are able to see its own representatives taking the reins of government, this will project to people for the first time a concrete realisation that a new age has dawned.

But has it? The question that arises is: have all the years in struggle prepared the majority to govern?

There is an expression that is giving currency and aptly captures the mood about the position and the preparedness of those who will govern: "Ready to govern or not to govern?"

It is of course not in essence to the right of the people to govern themselves in a democratic state, but rather the question whether representatives have prepared themselves adequately to serve the people.

The issue is less rhetorical than initially seems, because it poses the question of whether interests are in assuming positions of individual power or positions that will empower the masses of the people.

Where are we currently

innumerable training courses that are being offered in different spheres of government and these, it is hoped, will help develop a leadership cadre that will play an important role in the new government.

Even in the corporate world, companies are repositioning themselves by making strategic appointments - almost as a means of buying insurance for the future.

While those who will be in government need to prepare themselves technically for the new challenges, for as long as they do not have an understanding that they are agents through which social transformation should take place, then such endeavours will remain dangerously superficial.

Dangerous because they will bestow on individuals a sense of preparedness that does not go beyond the technical definitions of the positions they will occupy.

The failure to link up technical preparedness with the commitment to establishing a reconstructed society could very easily result in an elite that has been trained to serve itself and its narrow interests.

In other words, preparedness to govern should not mean preparedness to occupy important positions, but preparedness, in addition, to serve one's country and one's people.

Preparedness must come at the level of ideas, of how the challenges that confront the country can best be served.

No oppressed people could ever be fully prepared and ready to govern at the point when power changes hands. This is true in the technical sense of having the expertise and the experience to do so.

Ready to govern - or anxious to govern?

That is the major pillar of oppression - to erode the confidence of the oppressed and deny them the opportunity to exercise such experience.

The anxiety to govern could be powered by genuine commitment to change or, as often happens, by a desire to replace a set of elites for another. A changing of the guard, as it were.

In this instance genuine democrats are easily bought over by the temptation to self aggrandisement and self-projection. It gives way to greed and corruption. Such corruption does not wait for individuals to get into power, but anticipates their coming to power and therefore captures them at a vulnerable moment.

By the time they get into power, under a people's banner, they are already held captive by interest groups whose aims are at odds with

that of the majority.

These may even be the same interest groups that powered the repressive regime.

Obviously the men and women who will represent the people will no doubt be the most tested from within the ranks of the democratic movement, and their integrity is beyond question.

But these questions need to be raised to awaken vigilance to the new challenges and the attendant dangers.

In our case the ANC is pre-eminently poised to be the next government after the April elections, and be a major partner during the TEC.

The need for the ANC to be transparent is going to be critical for the future.

This is particularly true if one considers the fact that the ANC has become the repository of all the unifying values in our society.

It is now fashionable to be "non-racial and democratic", but when forty years ago the ANC enunciated these principles, they were like swear words to some. Now, even De Klerk wears them proudly like a badge of courage.

To the extent that the ANC is open to corruption and decay, to that extent our society will be open to the same ills.

The integrity of the ANC is therefore critical not only to its supporters but to the country generally.

It is also for this reason that the onus will fall on the ANC to recognise its commitment as being to the entire country rather than to its constituency alone.

The ANC is going to need a stronger, not lesser organisational base when it is in government, and will need to lead by example - at all levels.

Ex-ANC man in top post

A FORMER office-bearer of the ANC and the defunct United Democratic Front has been elected to the national leadership of the Democratic Party Youth.

Mr Sipho Ngcobo (24), a former branch chairman of the ANC in Maritzburg, was elected as vice chairman of the DP's Youth at its national congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend. Patricia Zwane (23) of Daveyton, Benoni, was elected second vice chairman and Mr Colin Douglas (23), a law student at the University of Cape Town, chairman.

Buthelezi in talks with AV

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived, said an assistant to Buthelezi. Former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation.

Comment Ordinary folk struggled to deliver justice

Detention without trial laws were finally expunged from South African legislation at the World Trade Centre this week - and this represents a watershed mark in the struggle for a more open society.

Detention without trial, often a euphemism for the legalised torture and killing of detainees, apartheid's killing machine.

That people could be taken from their homes and in the dead of night and never to return, or to return as physical vegetables, is an indictment that will forever stand against racial oppression and apartheid.

Those who were lucky survived detention with minor psychological scars. Some of those were at the World Trade Centre this week as the notorious laws were scrapped from the statute books.

They did not display any bitterness, but were simply intent on ensuring that what happened to them never happens to the coming generations of South Africans.

It is indeed a measure of the process we are going through, and ultimately our democracy, that was built on a solid foundation of man and women who went into the dark pits of apartheid repression, yet came back to help found a new order that will banish all the kinds of crimes that were law under the National Party.

These same men and women sat across from the representatives of the NP and held nothing against them.

Yet there are those who never returned from detention in that long roll call of the victims of apartheid. Many of them were the finest from the ranks of the oppressed.

The names of Steve Biko, Ahmed Timol, Neil Aggett and Mzi Dube will long be remembered in this regard.

There are those, too, who never returned, alive or dead, and whose fate we still do not know, but could probably surmise - such as Stanza Bopape.

Let it also be remembered that all these crimes against the people took place in a country that prided, and continues to pride itself in its courts, and the courts who were supposed to be the custodians of the so-called "rule of law". The very rule of law that claimed the lives of our people while the courts were content, interpreted the law in the narrow and convenient confines of the laws of the land.

Even when these laws were, in international and moral convention, inherently wrong and unjust. Through struggle, the ordinary people of our country have finally delivered justice to the majority, and have succeeded where the custodians of the courts, lacking in moral courage, closeted themselves in their chambers - and failed to stand up for justice.

Letters to the editor

SUNDAY NATION

24-10-93

De Klerk must apologise for apartheid policies

THE awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to ANC president Nelson Mandela is something he deserves. I join millions of South Africans who are celebrating this prestigious prize awarded to Madiba.

He made the ultimate sacrifice in vigorously opposing the racist apartheid system.

Mandela displays no bitterness towards his persecutors who incarcerated him for 27 years. In fact, he initiated the current negotiations process while in prison.

Thus the Nobel Committee could not find a more worthy candidate than Mandela.

The same, however, cannot be said of De Klerk. In fact he represents the very antithesis of what Mandela stands for.

Prior to receiving the award in Oslo, it would be proper for De Klerk to publicly apologise to:

- families of those murdered in the brutal raid in Umtata;
- South Africans for personally authorising the illegal and ill-conceived raid;
- families of victims and the people of Angola and Mozambique, for the suffering and loss of lives as a result of his government's part in destabilising their countries;
- South Africans who suffered under the apartheid policies of NP governments, of which De Klerk was a part.

Logan Naidu
DURBAN

I am just another yuppie

Your article 'Welcome to Yuppies' by Bereng Mtshuku in your October 10 issue calls for attention. In the article I am described as the 'Administrator of Fourways Gardens Estate'. This is incorrect. I actually hold no administrative position



CHALLENGED... A reader urges FW de Klerk to apologise

and my company is not connected to Fourways Gardens Estate. I am just another Yuppie and not a particularly wealthy one.

Your reporter spent most of the day with Kevin du Plooy who is the Estate Manager of Fourways Gardens and

more accurately fits the description.

Du Plooy introduced me to Bereng to give some background to the aims and objectives of Planned Communities, of which Fourways Gardens is one example.

We share Bereng's concern over the heavy emphasis placed on the security aspect of Planned Communities. Crime statistics in suburbs close to us suggest that without it we too would suffer some 300 incidents of crime per year. Many of these crimes would be of a violent nature.

Dave Wellard
FOURWAYS

In support of referendum

FW de Klerk has threatened to call a referendum to determine the views of South Africans regarding the new constitution. If the question was "Should a federal constitution be considered for South Africa?", there would be no threat of a boycott by other parties.

The reason the IFP walked out of negotiations was precisely because the ANC/SACP alliance has refused to consider

this option

Comrade Mac Maharaj unilaterally decided there was sufficient consensus and as usual, the Nats buckled under. Why not allow South Africans themselves to decide the type of constitution they want rather than leaving the matter in the hands of a handful of politicians?

Isn't that what democracy is all about? Are the comrades so afraid of a federal system that they would be prepared to risk civil war?

Dr E Benard
PINEGOWRIE

Apla's stance worrying

The utterances by Apla regarding their proposed stance re the National Peacekeeping Force boggles the mind. The NPKF is supposedly the greatest moment in the struggle for liberation. The formation of an independent force from existing security structures, with a sub-council on defence, is the main aim of any revolutionary.

Apla seems to have realised that slogans and rhetoric have lost all impact and therefore has to generate new ideas to maintain support.

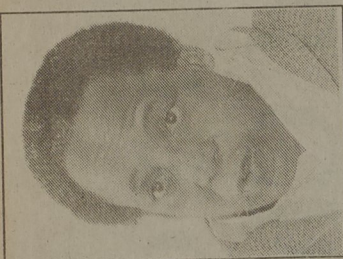
One would think the death and injury to 15 000 people would engender a fervent attempt to obtain peace at all costs. Apla seems to interpret this "peace keeping force" as another tool for intimidation.

South Africans are tired of continual accusations against those who are trying to protect them.

Johan Erasmus
MONUMENT PARK

Send letters to: The Editor, PO Box 10674, Johannesburg 2000

RIGHT WING'S PLANS FOR TERRORISM



CHRIS HANI ... first victim of the terror plot

By ENOCH SITHOLE

A Sunday Nation investigation has uncovered a widespread rightwing network aimed at destabilising the country in the run up to the April 27 elections.

The first deadly thrust worked - the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani - before the election date was even announced.

Encouraged by this, the plotters took the next step: a strategy to assassinate key political leaders shortly after president FW de Klerk's announcement that a non-racial election

launched in 10 days.

- Sixty youngsters were sent by Inkatha for military training on a farm between Pieterburg and Potgietersrus in the northern Transvaal. They were trained by a Pretoria firm owned by a well-known rightwinger attached to the AVF.

kwaZulu

- The kwaZulu government reports that Zulus are responding positively to Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's calls for Zulus to pay R5 towards the establishment of the establishment.

- Coded newspaper adverts are also used.
- Mokaba cheated death this week in Durban, where a shootout was narrowly averted between his bodyguards



ZWELAKHE



SISULU

Sunday Nation

THE CUTTING EDGE

28-11-83

Negotiations are not only the art of the possible, but it would now seem within the South African context, also the art of the inevitable.

Having witnessed the historic agreement at the World Trade Centre last week, there is a new-found optimism that recognises the moment as one of irreversibility.

It is precisely this inevitability of the elections and the irreversibility of the process which has resulted in panic taking hold in certain political formations.

The Freedom Alliance – which has so far stood against all those things that represent freedom – is meeting this weekend to evaluate its position and to decide whether to participate in the April 27 elections.

Similarly the Inkatha central committee is meeting today to chart its own programme of the way forward.

Whatever they decide to do severally or collectively, they will be judged harshly by history, and possibly by the more alert elements in their constituencies for failing to grasp the actual significance of the talks and their outcome.

But whichever way one looks at it, the settlement was politically a coup de grace against the right.

Those who regarded the negotiations with contemptuous disdain, such as Inkatha and its allies in the Freedom Alliance, have suddenly woken up to the fact that the process and time frames set at the negotiations are now a reality.

Indeed the FA, and all its constituent members, were the biggest losers at Kempton Park.

They attempted to play the game of brinkmanship, but instead fell off the precipice.

Having overestimated their own strength at the negotiations, the rightwing committed a fatal strategic error in believing that it had the combined ability of stalling the talks.

Its perceived strength lay in the simple fact that unlike other parties, its constituency was not tested, or at least not as visibly as that of other parties.

There was an uneasy assumption that its support could either be the silent majority, or even more frightening, the dangerous minority.

The latter was the only reason why the major parties wanted to keep them in the negotiations.

Strategic

The major parties were however quite strategic in that if they overestimated the capacity of the right, they did not at least underestimate their own strength. And it was on the basis of appreciating their combined strength that ultimately delivered the settlement at Kempton Park.

Both Inkatha and the FA are now desperate to find a re-entry point into the process, and they will now be governed by the very rules that they refused to be a party to by walking out of the negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is now confronted by the biggest crisis in his political life. That the settlement was made without his input has transformed him from what could have been a significant

Stop your petulance and come on board, Chief

player into a marginal actor, who can only make a determined comeback by abandoning the petulance that kept him out of the talks.

The fact that his personal distaste for the various aspects of regionalism kept his party out of the talks has certainly vindicated the point of view that he is Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi could do well to take a leaf from the experience of Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, who rejected the outcome of last November's elections in Angola and went back to the bush.

He found, however, that the world is a changed place – international sponsors are no longer willing to pour resources into unwinnable and unnecessary wars.

One of the nagging questions is why the ANC and the government had not broken rank with the FA alliance sooner?

The answer to that, at least in part, is the fact that it was always difficult to correctly assess the strength of Inkatha

and the FA to seriously disrupt the process.

Further, having established the principle of consensus as one of the central characters of the negotiations, it was desirable to have as many significant political organisations as was possible.

The FA never was a threat to the process politically, but its significance lay in the fact that it had the capacity, through the use of violence, to hold the process to ransom.

The ominous danger of the right has not been averted, and this danger is likely to emerge more forcefully after the elections in April. It is for this reason that if it were possible, the right should be accommodated in a future dispensation – a position that has been energetically pursued by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Such an accommodation, if it is to be beneficial to the country, must have the effect of disarming and demobilising them, so that they become part of the process of building.

Yet the Kempton Park experience has shown that the major difficulty in dealing with the combined right is in determining exactly what their demands are.

The irony though is that where their demands are clear – as is the case with the Volksfront and its demand for a white homeland – they are unacceptable.

In the case of messrs Mangope, Buthelezi and Gqozo – there are no demands save for what seems to be a rather extravagant expectation on their part that they should somehow be guaranteed important positions in government.



Fears that Zulu kingdom could be split

KING'S KIDS AT ANC RALLY

Sunday Nation 31-10-93

By ENOCH MTHEMBU

SUNDAY NATION can today reveal that children of the Zulu Royal Family secretly attended last weekend's Sonke Festival organised by the ANC at the Kings Park Rugby Stadium in Durban.

According to Royal Family sources, King Goodwill Zwelithini had earlier warned his family that it would not be advisable to attend the event.

Repeated attempts by Sunday Nation to interview the king's family proved unsuccessful during the week.

However, sources close to the Royal Family, who asked to remain anonymous for fear of victimisation, explained that the children's presence at the festival was a symptom of growing tension and uneasiness between King Zwelithini, his children and kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"The children had indicated that they viewed the Sonke festival as an event to be enjoyed by all the Zulus - regardless of political affiliation," said the family sources.

They said the king's children were generally easy-going, humble and accepting of all people. "In their day-to-day lives they mix with all kinds of people with a down-to-earth respectfulness."

It is perhaps this easy-going attitude and open-mindedness that has led to the children's concern about the continued alienation of their father, King Zwelithini.

One source said that some of the family members have been disappointed by the king's failure to join hands with all political formations in the country and act as an undisputed King of the Zulu nation.

Fear

And for some family members, this disappointment has worsened into a fear that if the king fails to reconcile with the ANC, the dawn of the first democratically-elected government will spell the end of the Zulu kingdom.

Some family members fear that

the entire kingdom could lose its special place in the nation when South Africa is restructured after elections.

Proof that the growing fears and concerns are becoming difficult for the family members to contain, is that the king has called several family meetings this year to discuss these issues, sources said.

A deeply religious person, the king has attempted to assuage the family's concerns by pleading with them to be patient and not to take drastic action out of their frustration with the continuing divisions among the Zulu nation.

Sources also said that the king had ordered his children to stay out of politics and avoid discussing their ideas with the media or anyone outside the royal family.

He has also reportedly attempted to explain the political dynamics of his relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party in an attempt to make them understand why it appears that he is a pawn of Inkatha leader, Buthelezi.

Will Inkatha split?

A new pro-elections party could come into being

Sunday Nation 28-11-93

By ENOCH SITHOLE and LENA SLACHMULDER

When today's meeting of the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) Central Committee (CC) ends, South Africa might see the birth of a new political party.

This will be a pro-elections splinter group that will prefer to opt out of an anti-elections IFP led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

All will depend on what the final decision on the issue of elections will be, said sources within the CC. Should the anti-elections group gain the upper hand, the pro-elections group will have no choice but to finalise plans to split and form a new political party.

Career

Should the pro-elections group win the debate, Buthelezi's career as a politician will be over - as he has personally said on numerous occasions. This might also be the end of the road for his top adviser and confidant, Walter Felgate.

Most members of the pro-elections group are people who defected from the various political organisations to join the IFP over the past two years. These are people like former SA Communist

Party member Joe Matthews, former Democratic Party member of Parliament (MP) for Pietermaritzburg, Mike Tarr, former Solidarity Party MP for Stanger, Farouk Cassim, and former PAC member Ziba Jiyane, among others.

Jiyane said it was "not feasible" to form a new party. However, he admitted being among those leaders in the IFP who wanted the party to contest next year's elections. He said he would use his democratic right within the party to argue this position.

The plan to form the new party, according to insiders, enjoys the support of mineral and energy affairs minister George Bartlett, who is also the leader of the National Party (NP) in Natal.

Bartlett, it has been suggested, has for a long time wanted to quit the NP and take the Natal caucus with him to join the IFP, but has had problems with certain aspects of Inkatha. He is said to doubt Inkatha's strength on the ground.

It has also been suggested that personalities like the IFP's nation-

al chairperson and acting-general secretary, Dr Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, respectively, were increasingly interested in carrying on with their careers as professional politicians and saw the choice to stay out of the next year's elections as one that would deny them the opportunity to realise this dream.

However, they are not known to be part of the group that intends to form a new party.

Bosberaad

Members of the CC who spoke to Sunday Nation said the "atmosphere" at today's meeting would depend on the decisions of the Freedom Alliance's "bosberaad", which has been going on in Bophuthatswana since Thursday. This "bosberaad" is debating, among other matters, whether or not to contest next year's elections.

"Should the meeting of the Freedom Alliance decide that it should contest the elections (and the IFP abides by that decision) the meeting will run smoothly.

"But if the decision is no (to elections) what do you expect democrats to do if they don't have their way?" said one CC member.



Is he misusing his position? kwaZulu's King Zwelithini

Send letters to: The Editor, PO Box 10674, Johannesburg 2000

Inkatha is using the King

I DO not believe that fears expressed by King Zwelithini at a meeting in Durban recently were genuinely his because the position of the ANC on traditional leaders is well known. I will quote from the ANC's policy guidelines. "Traditional leaders should be allowed to use their power as long as they do not go against the constitution and laws made in parliament. They will, through their structure, advise parliament on certain matters."

There is therefore, a strong possibility that the politicians in Inkatha have decided to use the status of His Majesty to gain more support from people. We are not happy about Inkatha's alliance with rightwingers.

People do respect the Zulu kingdom but

Sport is fun at 'Sun City' prison

Sunday Nation 17-10-93

THE Department of Correctional Services believes a healthy body helps convicts adjust to the realities of a prison environment. The department's spokesperson Colonel Danie Immelman also says the department organises

prison recreational programmes not only to provide an outlet for releasing energies, but also to promote physical health.

Art, volleyball, boxing, chess and soccer are some of the sports that Sunday Nation wit-

nessed being played during a visit to Diepkloof Maximum Prison near Soweto, otherwise generally known as 'Sun City'.

The prisoners we spoke to expressed delight at what they termed a "change of heart" on the part of prison authorities. We were told that these programmes were organised jointly by prisoners and warders.

Convicted robber Themba Maphalala said he believed there were fellow inmates whose skill in various sports could be used effectively outside of prison walls.

Maphalala said there was no point in suppressing talents and wasting human resources by allowing prisoners with exceptional skills to remain in prison.

"If our people could be given the opportunity to show the outside world their talents, this could even change their attitude to crime.

"This in itself could be a deterrent to anti-social behaviour," he said.

What are you afraid of, Chief?

Sunday Nation 14-11-93

Returning from a trip abroad Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week rejected accusations that he was a spoiler at the talks and used his trips abroad as a stalling mechanism.

Other leaders, Chief Buthelezi said, often went on overseas visits and they did not have the same charges levelled against them.

He went on to say that any attempt to "foist" agreements reached at the negotiating council on him, his organisation and the Zulu people he represents would be resisted. He would not elaborate what form this resistance would take.

We are puzzled why Chief Buthelezi should fear that agreements would be foisted on him since the negotiations process has thus far been based on the twin principles of consensus and transparency. Even the biggest opponents of the talks will admit to this.

Inkatha has, after all, been free to come and leave the negotiations as it pleased.

There are few parallels that can stand up to the process that has unfolded at the World Trade Centre, and it is precisely for this reason that world leaders acknowledge its uniqueness.

And it is for this very reason that they are likely to restrict their support to those who are taking part in the talks.

Could it be that this is the actual pressure that Chief Buthelezi is being subjected to?

Comment

Put an end to De Klerk's games

Sunday Nation 24-10-93

It is with great relief that the ANC this week clarified its position regarding the referendum, because De Klerk's attempt at once more playing games with the negotiations process must be put to an end.

This week, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the ANC would not consider a referendum of the type suggested by De Klerk under any circumstances.

We believe this is the correct position and in fact reflects the position that the ANC had already taken on this matter.

As the election date looms closer De Klerk will use whatever ruse he can to postpone the outcome that he fears most and one which is inevitable – a decisive rejection at the polls.

He and his government, although knowing fully well that they can never capture the black vote, will continue to go into black areas. But this is more to attract disruptions, and therefore give his party prominence that it neither has nor deserves.

It is going to be important though that people do not fall into De Klerk's trap of using unacceptable means to disrupt the pathetic National Party drive to woo black voters.

Bereft of the mammoth propaganda machinery of the State and having been robbed by the negotiations process of their beloved "Swaart gevaar" tactics, the Nationalists stare a massive defeat in the face.

It is precisely for this reason that they have become so dangerous. Having had power for so long, they will resort to any means necessary to postpone their day of judgement.

We must express concern however, that many issues that are being discussed at the World Trade Centre and many decisions that flow from those discussions are not being sufficiently discussed and aired openly.

This is largely the fault of civil society organisations, in particular the civics and the churches.

While it is true that the ANC is at the head of the democratic alliance, that is no reason for other formations in the democratic movement to abandon their historic tasks.

There is a desperate need to revive the culture of discussion and an open exchange of views that is increasingly falling into disuse.

Important decisions are being taken on a weekly basis in the negotiations process and negotiators can only act to the extent that they are given a mandate by the people.

There is much talk about voter education, but unfortunately the focus of voter education seems to put much emphasis on the practical side of things and tends to neglect the even more important issue of people understanding what they are voting for, and why.

The content of the elections – the different policies of various organisations – are an inseparable part of voter education.

NP must disclose SA's financial state

There have been demands at the World Trade Centre for full disclosure to be made about the liabilities of TBVC states, and a rejection of any notion that a future government will be liable to settle their debts.

It is the height of cynicism that while some delegations sit at the talks and ostensibly plan the establishment of a new democracy, they continue to plunder the nation's resources.

Such abuse is not new to the homelands and was in fact encouraged by Pretoria as a prize for homeland leaders having accepted separate development.

That the government is now acting as if the abuse is something new, is mere pretence.

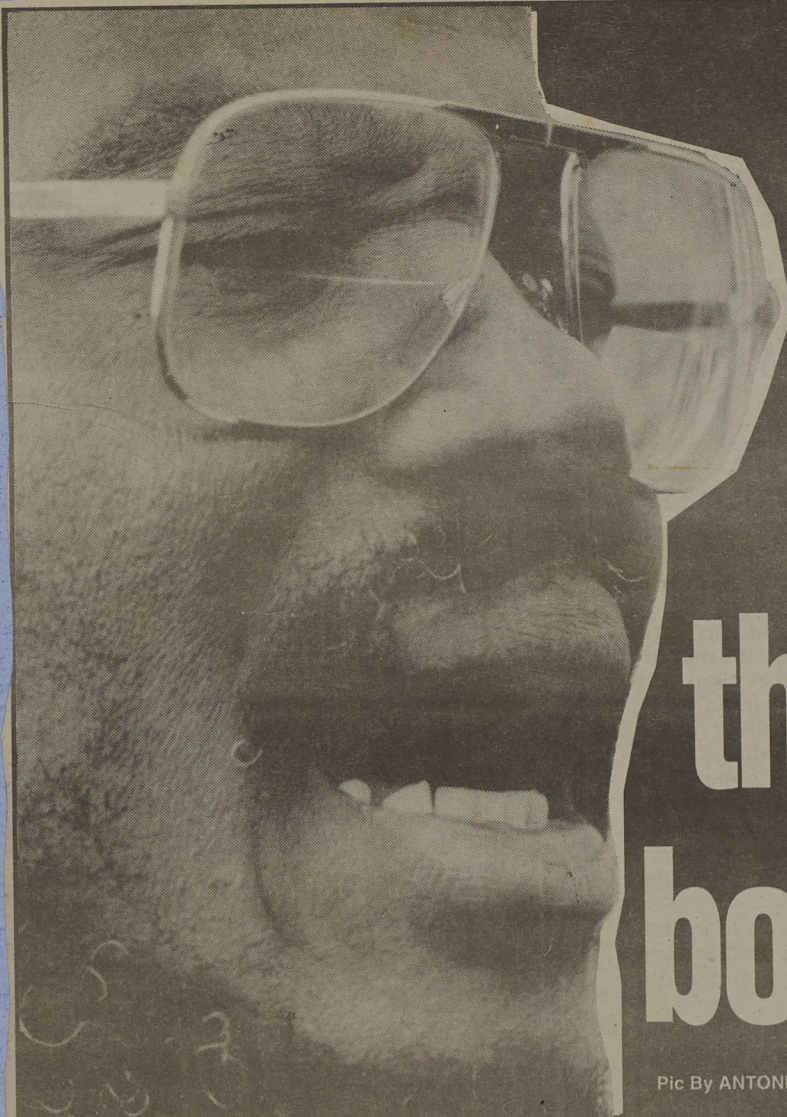
The financial abuse we have witnessed in the homelands has been anything but startling.

In spite of that, we believe such abuse is nowhere near that of the central government.

There is an urgent need for the government to declare the actual state of the country's finances, because we fear that many NP members who have been resigning, retiring or changing parties may be doing so in preparation to tread the chicken run – to some comfortable farm in South America.

Inkatha:

Who will step into the Chief's boots . . . ?



Pic By ANTONIO MUCHAVE

SHOULD Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, steps down – as has been widely speculated – who is his likely successor?

It now appears that the question of Buthelezi's future is no longer whether he will give up the leadership of Inkatha and retire from public life – but when and how.

This week, one of the people thought to know the Inkatha leader better than anyone, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said he expected Buthelezi to quit public life soon.

Dhlomo, now executive director of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, is Inkatha's former general secretary and former kwaZulu minister of education and culture. He resigned from both positions in 1990.

Other observers see two reasons that will force Buthelezi to stand down.

■ The first is the growing split within his party – between people who want to take part in next year's elections and those, like him, who want the party to stay out.

■ Another reason is that he fears being dismally defeated in next year's election – should Inkatha decide to participate – and thus be embarrassed as he has sought to equate himself with leaders such as the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the National Party's (NP) FW de Klerk.

Since forming Inkatha, Buthelezi has had to contend with desertions of key people who would have been valuable assets to him and the party and be more suitable to replace him should he call it a day.

By ENOCH SITHOLE

His first loss was the resignation of Dhlomo's predecessor, Professor Sibusiso Bhengu, now rector of Fort Hare University. He left the party in the 1970s after major disagreements with Buthelezi.

Another loss to Buthelezi was the desertion of John Mavuso, currently a member of the NP. Mavuso claims to be the representative of King Goodwill Zwelithini in the Transvaal and that he receives a better hearing from the King than Buthelezi.

Replacement

If Dhlomo had not left Inkatha, he would be Buthelezi's obvious successor. His resignation opened a huge gap in the party, to the extent that he has not yet been replaced as general secretary.

Most of his tasks have since been performed by Dr Frank Mdlalose who was appointed to a newly created position of national chairperson of the organisation soon after Dhlomo's resignation.

Mdlalose gave up his position as minister of health as he concentrated on Inkatha work, becoming the party's



Dr Frank Mdlalose

chief negotiator.

Second in line is Dr Ben Ngubane who took over Mdlalose's position as minister of health. After Dhlomo's resignation, Ngubane was appointed acting general secretary. It is not clear why has he not been confirmed in the post.

The other promising leader who could take up the position of president is Joe Matthews who joined Inkatha earlier this year after defecting from the SA Communist Party (SACP) while in exile where he was a central committee member.

He has alternated with Mdlalose as the leader of the party's delegation to the Kempton Park multiparty talks, before Inkatha's walkout.

However, Matthews is not one of Buthelezi's confidants, regardless of the fact that he is a renowned and intelligent politician respected by opposition leaders and by the business community.

He might presently be on Buthelezi's black list following his public pronouncements that Inkatha should participate in the April 27 elections.

A Tswana, Matthews lacks a constituency in Inkatha's strong Zulu base, although he seems to enjoy the support of a relative minority within Inkatha's intellectual circles.

But in an organisation like Inkatha where Buthelezi's successor will be elected by the central committee and the membership would simply rubber-stamp this decision, Matthews stands the chance of stepping into Buthelezi's shoes.

Another factor that might see Matthews come out on top is the fact that no other leader within the organisa-

tion would be able to rescue Inkatha from the image crisis in which it finds itself, both nationally and internationally.

Apart from Buthelezi, he might be the only Inkatha leader with contacts outside the borders of South Africa.

He lived in exile for a number of years as a member of the SACP and is known to have friends in the governments of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Angola, among others.

It has been suggested that Buthelezi's recent visits to Zimbabwe and Namibia – where he

was received by presidents Robert Mugabe and Sam Nujoma, respectively – were facilitated by Matthews.

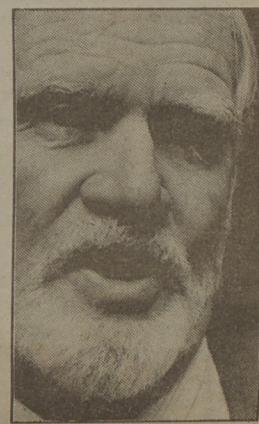
Whoever replaces Buthelezi would have to be able to change the IFP's course entirely as a means of keeping it together, attracting new members and allow it to forge alliances with parties like the Democratic Party (DP), the NP and the Natal-based Indian parties.

Such a leader would have to be able to restore the tattered relationship between Inkatha and the business community. Matthews is so far the only one with those qualities and abilities.

Moderate

Should Matthews fail, Mdlalose will most probably be "the man" to wear Buthelezi's shoes. But he is seen as a relatively soft person to lead Inkatha either way – keep it as it is or make it more moderate.

Should he be elected, however, he might make the same mistake as Buthelezi and try to keep Inkatha as a Zulu-based party. This will allow hardliners such as Walter Felgate to continue exploiting its



Walter Felgate

ethnic identity in policy formulation.

enjoy the advantage of Matthews in being a political theoretician and if he took over he would rely entirely on advice – something that might see him fail to lead the party to success.

Ngubane might be another probability. He is not known to be a political thinker, although he has been in political circles since his days as a student at the University of Natal with colleagues such as Steve Biko and Saths Cooper, who later made their marks as Black Consciousness leaders.

He is known to be swimming between Buthelezi's diehard approach and Matthews' more moderate one. He is an honest believer in federalism and hates Buthelezi's hidden agendas of secession.

In an interview at the World Trade Centre he once told *Sunday Nation*: "We don't want a confederation . . . that's out of question. We want federalism so that we can bring government closer to the people and allow those who have been denied opportunities to work in government, for example, to be able to do so at the regional level."

Comment We need creative policing

President FW de Klerk this week signed the Transitional Executive Council Act which paves the way for the sitting of the first TEC meeting on December 8.

We have in the past weeks made the point that the TEC will in many respects be the acid test for the elections on April 27 and for the government of national unity.

This is because the transitional authority will be tested to the limit, and if it fails to deliver, then the whole process would be deemed to have failed.

Great importance has been placed on the TEC because it will be the test that will determine whether there is adequate goodwill in the government and its ancillary structures to go ahead with the transition.

It is our experience that signing a piece of paper purporting to advance this or that democratic right is one thing, and it is quite another to implement that commitment so that it assumes its own character, independent of those who brought it into life.

In essence the phase of the TEC is really the test period of whether the progress we say has been made at Kempton Park does represent real progress or whether it is simply a mirage.

By far the biggest test is going to be how the TEC approaches the question of violence. Compared to this issue, all others pale into relative insignificance.

Repeatedly the point has been made of the need for the security forces to change their culture. They cannot change their history, that is beyond them, but they have to change their culture. We have not, however, spelt out in detail what we mean when we say they have to work with the people.

The over-regulated society that was apartheid meant that police efficiency was assessed only at the technical level, on how rapidly they apprehended criminals, and on whether they were able to keep the incidence of crime and violence at a minimum.

There must now be a new meaning to policing, and that must be the ability to communicate with ordinary people in their communities, and being able to interact with community structures.

Under the present conditions, police will not be able to work effectively with the assistance of the communities they are working in.

There is an urgent need for a partnership to emerge between the security forces and the community, and that partnership cannot be foisted on anybody, but can only come about if there is equal commitment.

By their very nature communities will want to assist the security forces because it is always in the interest of the communities that there is peace and stability.

What has been lacking in the past has been a genuine commitment from the SAP and the SADF to rid our country of violence.

The TEC Act does not go far enough in giving the control of these forces to an impartial authority. The only thing the Act does is to give extended monitoring authority to the new structure - something that failed dismally under the Peace Accord.

We believe that as the first act of commitment under the TEC Act, the police must convene a meeting between senior police officers and representatives of communities in areas that have been wracked by violence. These meetings should bring together the South African National Civics Organisation, Popcru and the police.

From such a meeting should emerge a document or a programme that will establish a code of conduct for the police, but also for the communities.

There may indeed be a need for the revival by the Civics, of street and block committees as a way of creating no-go areas for the perpetrators of violence.

Such structures, working with a credible police leadership, would go a long way towards reassuring communities that policing will now be to the benefit of communities rather than against them.

In Popcru our people have an organisation whose potential has not been fully appreciated.

With these possibilities of co-operation, the police will begin to understand that effective policing is not how many times one used one's firearm but, rather, how many times one did not have to resort to firing.

MEET

Sunday Nation 28-11-93

MAVUSO

Transvaal MEC John Mavuso isn't scared to swap sides.

He was once an ANC leader. Then he joined Inkatha. And now he's a

National Party member. SUNDAY NATION tried to find out more about

this controversial but colourful political figure

By JIMMY SEEPE and MANELISI DUBASE

condition of confidentiality, says the former ANC leader is confronted with a dilemma now that relations between Buthelezi and Zwelithini have been patched up.

Mavuso, however, still claims a special relationship with Zwelithini and describes himself as a "special envoy of the Zulu King in the Transvaal".

"Whether Buthelezi is prepared to accept that is another matter, but he clearly knows that I'm part of the Zulu royal family. There are even things that the King would tell me that he would not tell Buthelezi," he said, adding that he regularly visits the King in Natal.

When asked why the King has closely associated himself with Inkatha, Mavuso responded in an angry and emotional tone: "That is nonsense. It is wrong to associate the King with Inkatha. He has not attended Inkatha rallies but has participated in the Imbizos."

Mavuso says Buthelezi often exploits these cultural gatherings to make political statements, giving the impression that the King endorses Inkatha's political positions.

"Those Zulu's who are accusing the King of been pro-Inkatha have lost their true Zuluness," Mavuso adds.

Asked why the King, who he regards as politically non-aligned, has failed to respond to ANC requests to attend its rallies, Mavuso said the ANC did not follow the proper procedures in inviting the King. "The King is not a boy who gets invited through the media. They have to send a special envoy if they want to invite the King."

Mavuso also believes that Inkatha has committed a major blunder by shedding its cultural image and opting to take on a political profile. Since making the transition, Inkatha membership had declined sharply, he said.

"Most people looked to it as a cultural organisation instead of political party. The party now commands a small fraction of support in the country even among Zulus."

Mavuso added that he knew people in Natal who held Inkatha membership cards but had privately told him that they would not vote for



IN THE BEGINNING: John Mavuso interpreting for ANC and SACP leader Ruth First at a rally during the fifties



MIXED SIGNALS: Mavuso left the ANC after it was banned and later went on to help form Inkatha

Inkatha.

He also says he will not hesitate to mobilise Zulu support for the NP in the build-up to next year's elections. Such a move will, without doubt, rekindle old tensions between Buthelezi and Mavuso.

Why had he left the ANC to join Inkatha? Mavuso said this was because the organisation dumped him after its banning.

Despite his bitterness, Mavuso spoke extensively about the ANC.

He expressed disappointment at the inclusion of whites in the ANC, saying this had diluted black unity. "What you people miss today in black politics is the true philosophical inspiration of African nationalism. Today the struggle has lost its African content. We have spokespersons other than ourselves to interpret our inner aspirations."

But Mavuso's statements stood in stark contrast to the huge portraits of FW de Klerk and other NP leaders looking down on him from all parts of his office at the TPA building in Pretoria.

"When the PAC broke from us in 1959, it was due to this dilution. We were having too many consultative conferences and joint decision making with other people. The PAC decision was understandable.

"I still feel that our future had to be determined by ourselves. The other people had to assist us and not to direct us," he said. "We are the people who have lost our right to the land and have to determine our own future."

But it was not the opening up of ANC membership to all races that precipitated Mavuso's break with the ANC.

When asked why he had left the movement he said: "I did not decide to leave the ANC. The ANC decided to leave me."

"When I was released after five months from the Central Prison in Pretoria for ANC activities, I was left with no organisation."

"During that period the South African Communist Party (SACP) decided to pick and choose from the African leadership, those leaders who went to bed with them underground," said Mavuso. "This is how Rivonia came about and it was illegal for anybody to be part of any organisation. The structures that were developed were put in place without the participation of some of us."

Mavuso had no contact with the ANC leadership in Lusaka until April

1979, when he was informed that his brother, Mike, an Umkhonto we Sizwe member, had died in Angola.

"I spoke for the first time in almost 20 years with the then ANC president, Oliver Tambo, when he phoned to tell me about my brother. I later met people like Alfred Nzo, who was a regional secretary in Alexandra, in Lusaka."

By the time Mavuso met ANC leaders in 1979, he was already deeply involved in Inkatha.

When asked what attracted him to Inkatha, he said: "I did not join Inkatha. It was created in 1972 by some of us to fill the vacuum that was created by the banning of political organisations. We did not have any political home."

Mavuso said he, together with former ANC and PAC members decided to form a cultural organisation which could keep them politically involved.

"We met in Pretoria and invited Chief Buthelezi and told him about our plans."

"This is how the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement came about. It never came about as an opposition to the ANC."

Mavuso said most original Inkatha members regarded the ANC's armed struggle as supplementary to the

Racism alleged in kwaZulu prisons

By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER

"IT'S better in South African prisons - there's less racism there."

This was the comment of one of more than 80 prison warders from the Kandasput Prison in northern Natal, who this week pleaded for administration of the prison to be transferred from the kwaZulu government to South Africa.

The warders from Kandasput - kwaZulu's largest prison - said they hoped transferring control of the prison to South Africa would put an end to racism and nepotism by the senior prison officers at Kandasput.

In a three-page petition handed to the kwaZulu Department of Correctional Services this week, the warders listed examples of racism against blacks, nepotism in hiring new employees and intimidation of workers trying to raise complaints.

They also criticised an order allegedly by the Commissioner of Correctional Services that all

prison employees would be required to pay the R5 tax announced by chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The petition alleges that:

- White officers are given use of a kwaZulu government vehicle to travel to and from work, while black officers of a similar rank are denied use of these vehicles;

- White employees have access to a special bar that is closed to blacks;

- White officers take prison labour to their homes on the weekends to do car maintenance and home improvements. On these occasions, they take black prison warders along to guard the prisoners, at state expense.

- Whites are treated more leniently in disciplinary procedures and are promoted over equally, or better, qualified black staff.

Black warders have also alleged that employment is often given to relatives of senior officers - both white and black. Nepotism is also rife in ensuring that relatives of senior officers do not face disciplinary action, said the petition.

"We have presented this petition after three years of trying to raise these complaints within the prison, with no luck," one warder, who is afraid to be named, told *Sunday Nation* this week.

"And because we are not allowed to apply for transfer to South African prisons we have no option but to lay out our complaints in this petition," he said.

The petition read that when meetings have been held to discuss the warders' complaints, senior officers have taken the names of those attending and threatened to transfer them to other prisons.

The warder also said that his colleagues had rejected a circular issued by the Commissioner of Correctional Services last month that all prison staff must pay the R5 special tax called for by Chief Buthelezi in September. "We reject this tax and do not intend to pay it," said the petition.

Responding to *Sunday Nation* inquires, the kwaZulu Department of Correctional Services said that it had not yet received the petition. However, Legal Resources Centre director Richard Lyster said the petition had been sent to them on Wednesday morning.

But a department spokesperson refuted the allegations of racism in the service.

KwaZulu PRO Christa Classen said only black warders were employed by the kwaZulu government and that any white warders are seconded from South Africa and are employed under privilege packages from South Africa.

Promotions for the white officers are also done through the South African prisons service, and thus there is no competition for positions with black warders, said Classen.

Who will the king choose?
his children . . .
or his chief minister?

Defiant Zwelithini kids at ANC rally

■ FOUR of King Goodwill Zwelithini's children secretly attended last weekend's massive ANC rally in Durban, dramatically rejecting their father's increasingly close links with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

■ Their defiance adds a new dimension to the complex relationship between the king and Buthelezi - who is both his uncle and, as chief minister of kwaZulu, his paymaster.



■ King Goodwill Zwelithini and (below) the rally that caused all the trouble: ANC president Nelson Mandela at the 80 000-strong ANC rally, with deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma and Southern Natal leader Jeff Radebe, both in traditional dress



One of the strongest clans in Natal has been riven by divided ANC-Inkatha loyalties, resulting in a FAMILY DEATH FEUD

WHEN Lindelihle Mzimela was still chief, he and his 27 wives and 54 children were known as one of the strongest and most united clans in northern Natal.

Within two-and-a-half years, the family's unity has been shattered, 13 family members have been brutally murdered, and strife between supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) now plagues the vast area under the Mzimela chieftainship.

The conflict in the Mashananandana area of Mthunzini is one of the few areas in Natal where the true source of the ANC-IFP clashes - that have left nearly 40 people dead - is easy to pinpoint.

When Lindelihle fell ill in late 1990, he diverted from the traditional hereditary order and chose as his successor Boy, the son of his ninth wife, instead of Bonginkosi,

the eldest son of his first wife and apparent heir to the chieftainship.

Lindelihle's decision was clouded with secrecy and controversy, and created a sharp rift between those who supported Boy's appointment and those who opposed him.

At a family meeting in September 1990 at which Boy's appointment was announced, kwaZulu MP Cyprian Buthelezi reportedly told the family members that they had no right to object to the appointment. This caused many of them to storm out of the meeting.

Buthelezi

Feeling their father had been pressured to divert from the hereditary lineage by Buthelezi and others from Ulundi, who wanted Boy as chief because he was a strong Inkatha supporter, several brothers tried to obtain a court interdict to stop Boy from being installed as chief.

Within weeks of launching the court action, Bonginkosi and his wife and two-month-old child were attacked at their home on the night of December 13, 1990. As they fled the flames, all three were gunned down. In March 1991, the Durban Supreme Court turned down the interdict application. But, another brother, Ewert, lodged an appeal.

From that moment, the family and the entire Mashananandana community has never known peace. Because brothers opposing Boy's

By Lena Slachmuis

appointment believed he was chosen because of his Inkatha stance, the rift quickly translated into an ANC-IFP clash.

Despite years of peaceful co-existence between ANC and IFP supporters in the Mzimela area, tolerance ended and all-out war broke out.

Gerald Mzimela was ambushed in his car and killed in February 1992. In the same month, Philemon Mzimela's home and tuck shop were attacked and three members of his family killed. In April, the attackers returned and burnt his home down in front of him.

Ewert was abducted on June 7; his mutilated body was found outside Esikhawini a few days later. All three brothers



had backed the court application to stop Boy from becoming chief. In August, the son of Obed - who supports Boy - was stabbed to death at his secondary school.

The most recent family killings took place on August 13, when a gunned down in broad daylight in Esikhawini. The ANC-aligned brothers had been negotiating with the Mthunzini SAP to hold a family meeting at a neutral venue, and were in the forefront of moves towards peace.

At present, the kwaManzamyama area, under Chief Boy Mzimela, is one of the worst affected areas. Following the killing of the most prominent ANC leader in the area, Zibuse Nkwanyana, three weeks ago, hundreds of ANC supporters have fled the area and have yet to return.

Although Chief Mzimela said he had been on good terms with Nkwanyana, sources claimed his killing was linked to Nkwanyana's opposition to the collection of school fees by the chief.

But Chief Mzimela said the school fees went into a building fund for new classrooms and that all parents in the area had agreed to the scheme.

After spending the last two-and-

a-half years of his life watching his family split into violent factions, Lindelihle was buried in June this year. His appointment of Boy as chief cannot be reversed and only a concerted effort by all family members to work towards peace will give hope of an end to fear and intimidation.

"I don't have anything against Boy because he is IFP. It's just that he is not legitimate," says Philemon (34), the eldest of the Mzimela brothers opposing Boy as chief of the clan.

Boy, on the other hand, says his father chose him because he wanted someone who was educated. The 41-year-old chief is a high school principal and holds a teacher's diploma, a BA in education and teaching and an honours degree from the university of Zululand.

He says he does not hate either the ANC or his brothers. "If I did so why would I support their mothers and children who still stay in our home?" he says.

Since the death of Mandla and Vimba in Esikhawini in August, and the attempted attack on another younger brother on the same day, Philemon told Sunday Nation he feels he is next on the hit list.

Although other brothers had in the past taken the lead in court actions or peace talks, Philemon realises that he is the only one left who is "prepared to pick up the spear" and continue the fight against Boy's rule.

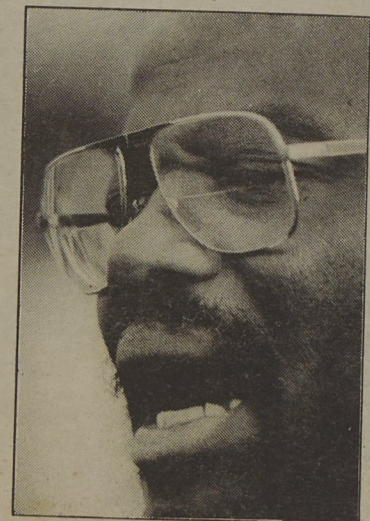
Bitterness

Now living in Esikhawini after being burnt down in Mashananandana, Philemon's bitterness is not visible. He shows the most frustration when he criticises the police failure to make any arrests in connection with the murder of his brothers, or the attacks on himself, his family and his home.

Living as a target has made regular employment difficult for Philemon. He says he survives with his two wives and six children off the charity of others. More than 50 Mzimela family members, who have fled their homes and now seek refuge in Esikhawini, share his plight.

"Boy is the only problem in the area, otherwise there would be peace," Philemon claims. "He (Boy) surrounds himself with ignorant people who won't challenge him and is against anyone who supports the ANC. He has even issued threats against anyone seen speaking with any people on my side of the family."

But with the failure of the court action and the death of his father in June this year, Philemon's prospects of opposing Boy look



BUTHELEZI . . . did he put pressure on Chief Lindelihle Mzimela to name his Inkatha-supporting son, Boy, as his successor?

bleak. Chief Boy Mzimela sees himself simply as an unlucky victim of forces beyond his control.

Readily admitting that the ANC-IFP war in his area has its origins in the family feud, Boy says that his brothers joined the ANC only as a means of opposing him once they lost their court application.

He doesn't deny being an Inkatha member, as he looks around at the six portraits of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini in the office of his tribal court, but says that he works with an organising and recruiting for the IFP.

Instead, Boy describes himself as a true educationist, who has built 19 classrooms and seven staff and principal's offices in his area since becoming chief in 1991.

Paging through an exercise book that tells the sad chronology of killings and attacks in his area since he became chief, Boy expresses his concern and confusion about his war-torn family.

"I know that I am alleged to be implicated in these killings," he says, "but I just can't explain them. I hope the right people will be arrested so that I can clear my name."

He repeats several times: "The ANC doesn't know me. Just because I'm not on good terms with my brothers doesn't mean I hate the ANC."

He says that he has no hatred for his brothers and wonders why they have not come to him and discussed their problems with him.

"At least Ewert took the right path - through the courts - to oppose me. So there was no reason for him to be killed."

PICKING UP THE SPEAR . . . Philemon Mzimela, the eldest of the Mzimela brothers: "I don't have anything against Boy because he is IFP. It's just that he is not legitimate."

ONE KING MANY SONGS

Zulu speaking people from in and around Natal celebrated King Shaka's Day last week. The celebrations were, however, fragmented. ANC supporters held theirs at kwaXimba, while IFP supporters celebrated at eMthunzini. High profile members of both organisations were there to celebrate with the faithfuls.



KING AND CHIEF ...
Goodwill Zwelithini confers with Buthelezi



KISS KING SHAKA ... Peter Mokaba (right) leads the crowd in his famous chant, while Harry Gwala (centre) and Tony Yengeni (left) look on admiringly



AMABUTHO ...
Some of the people who attended the celebrations at eMthunzini



THIS ONE'S FOR SHAKA ... A Mashande dancer belting out praises to the legendary King Shaka at the ANC celebration in kwaXimba



OLD HATS ...
Even the frail and old turned up to listen to Buthelezi at eMthunzini



CULTURED ... This cultural group from Swayimane looks raring to go

Rank and file members become frustrated and shift battlefields as . . .

NP'S STRATEGY TO WEAKEN ANC FAILS

Sunday Nation 3-10-93

The National Party government has replaced its "Total Strategy" approach of the 1980s with a destabilisation agenda aimed at weakening the liberation movement on the ground and at the negotiating table.

This is the conclusion arrived at by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) director, Dr Max Coleman.

This destabilisation agenda characterised itself by an increase in violence shortly after the signing of the Pretoria Minute by the ANC and the government in August 1990.

Destabilisation

Coleman said however, that because of the fact that the destabilisation agenda proved to be a failure, the NP's rank-and-file became frustrated and shifted the battlefield from the streets to the negotiating table.

Unfortunately, he said, the running of the destabilisation programme had been entrusted to members of the security forces, most of whom were in principle against the whole reform process.

This led to a situation where the NP leadership lost control over the programme and it was unable to reverse it at the time when it was

no longer desirable.

Exploring the reason why the NP would have abandoned the destabilisation strategy Coleman says it became counter-productive and kept foreign investors away,

By Enoch Sithole

yet the whole reform process was designed to woo them back into the country.

Looking at the three years in which he says the strategy was pursued, Coleman describes the first year, June 1990/June 1991 as being the one in which the programme was launched; June 1991/June 1992 the year of the failure of the programme; June 1992/June 1993, the year of loss of control by the NP hierarchy and the consequent taking over of control by elements within the security establishment and the right-wing.

On suggestions that bodies like the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) might be tightening their political positions to boost the NP at the negotiating table, Coleman says this is a lesser probability and his assessment is that the behaviour of the two groupings has instead embarrassed the NP government.

The events of recent weeks where sanctions were lifted and South Africa is getting ready to take its seat in international bodies, the NP government will have

to come much cleaner and distance itself by word and deed from destabilisation.

A report released this week by the HRC, titled "Three Years of Destabilisation", illustrates how the tempo of violence varies with major political events. This escalation is often registered in the PWV area, while incidents of violence

and loss of life in Natal remain reasonably steady regardless of political developments.

Identified

The HRC document identified the tricameral parliament, the homelands and the black local authorities as the perpetrators of violence, arguing that they were stakeholders who clung to power, had no intention of relinquishing it and actively opposed the arrival of non-racial democracy in the country.

To justify this charge the HRC poses the question: "Who else could possibly benefit from the apparently mindless and indiscriminate destabilisation of whole communities through such untar-geted violence as the random slaughter of train commuters, and funeral mourners?"

Also blamed for the violence are criminal elements who, according to the report, took advantage of the situation and promoted the carnage.

Looking ahead and tying the next political calendar to the elections campaign, the HRC documents predicts that 2 600 lives will be lost in incidents of political violence between now and April 27. This prediction is based on past trends and expectations that violence from criminal elements, right-wingers and overall political intolerance among supporters of various organisations might increase in the run-up to elections.

Coleman sees the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKE) as well as other peace promoting initiatives as being the only saviours during the electioneering era.

He argues that at the level of the TEC it will be important to reduce levels of violence by, for example, withdrawing the Internal Stability Unit from the townships and replacing it with policemen drawn from the communities where they are deployed.

Another measure should include implementing provisions contained in the Record of Understanding - signed by the ANC and the government - and the various recommendations made by the Goldstone Commission.

However, Coleman believes that recommendations such as fencing off of hostels are very sensitive and that they should rather be replaced by dialogue between hostel dwellers and township resi-

dents as has happened in Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg.

The HRC does not predict any violence on election day. However, the risk of election results being rejected by some players, as with Savimbi in Angola, is taken into account. The report identifies three elements whom it describes as "possible spoilers" of the election results.

These are the white right wing, which includes the Conservative Party (CP), dissatisfied members of the NP, and others.

A total of five percent of the total population is expected to reject the election result, but only one percent could take up arms, the report predicts.

Members of the security establishment are also identified as being among those who might rebel against the election result and cause violence.

The third "possible spoilers" are what is described as the black rightwing, which constitutes those governments and administrations of homelands that struggle bitterly to cling to their inherited power.

MAJOR INCIDENTS Violence - 9878

Deaths - 9325

Injuries - 16 973

Massacres - 61

SOURCES OF VIOLENCE

General - 8580

Security Forces - 518

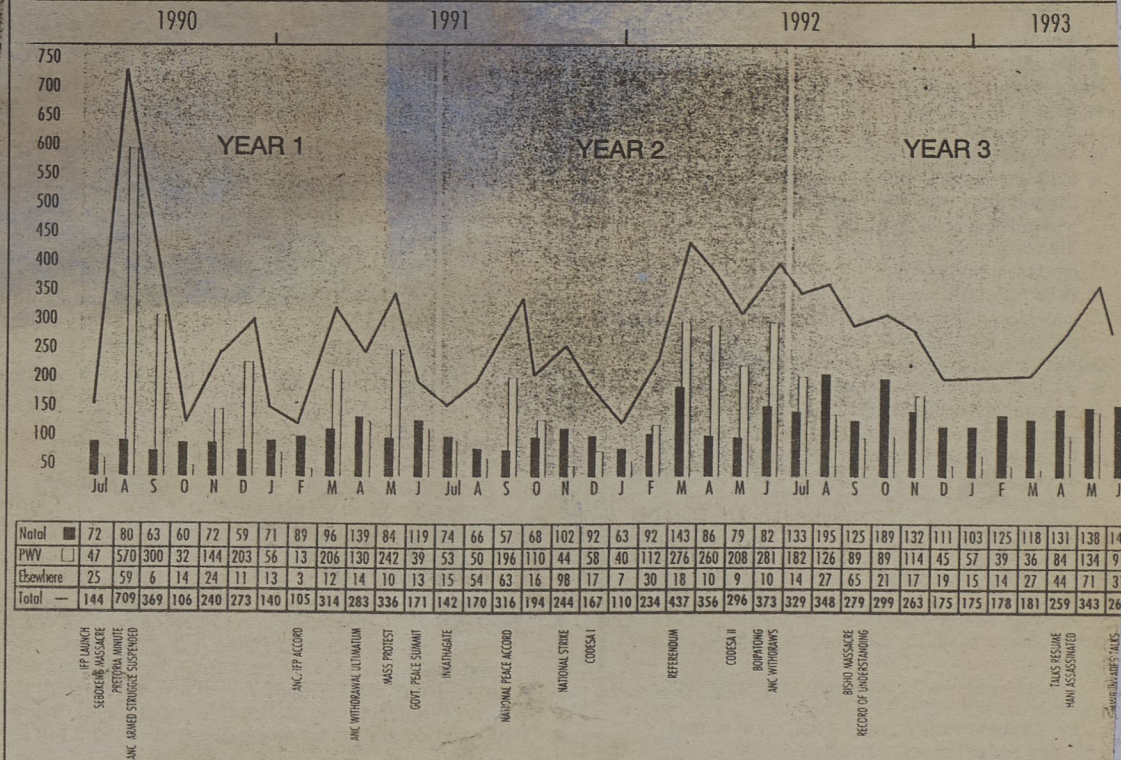
Hit Squads - 173

Rightwing - 54



VIOLENT FACES . . . IFP members marching through Johannesburg brandishing weapons of death

Total Deaths



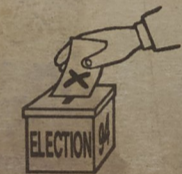
GRAPH OF DEATH . . . The Human Rights Commission figures indicating the pattern of politically-motivated murders

Free election hinges on TEC's effectiveness

Election update

Whether South Africa has a free and fair general election on April 27 hinges almost exclusively on how effectively the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which began its work in earnest on December 7, will perform its functions.

Its effectiveness will determine the extent to which political parties will be able to penetrate their own as well as other constituencies with their respective election manifestos.



This will determine the depth of electoral consciousness that parties develop during the election campaigns.

And in the end, the extent to which the TEC succeeds in levelling the political playing field will determine the number of voters parties will be able to deliver to polls.

In short, the TEC will play a pivotal role in determining how deep the culture of democracy would have taken root in a society that had grown accustomed to living without any meaningful say in governance.

The TEC clearly did not have to wait very long to be put to the test.

It was encouraging that two weeks into its existence, the transitional authority has ventured into areas of governance that no apartheid government had the stomach, or the will, to challenge.

In executing its responsibility relating to conduct of security forces, the TEC made an intervention that is completely out of character with past governing authorities in South Africa.

Following a Goldstone Commission report suggesting the existence of police hit squads linked to the kwaZulu government, the TEC rightly exercised its authority and demanded from the homeland a full report.

Another crucial area in

which it intervened was in finances. In this instance it dealt with a loan extended by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) to the Bophuthatswana government.

Given that the loan had been agreed upon between the Bophuthatswana government and the DBSA after the first formal sitting of the TEC, the transitional authority promptly froze the loan worth about R216-million.

But there was a third and equally important intervention that the TEC made when it called for the withdrawal of the Internal Stability Unit from East Rand townships.

This was a call that had been made repeatedly in the past few months by residents in those townships as well as by the ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region.

Responses in the case of the first two interventions have, as anticipated, been positive.

And this can be understood.

Both interventions made by the TEC touched a raw nerve because it challenged the authority of two homelands which had rejected the transitional arrangements and therefore the council's authority in preparing for an election.

KwaZulu was forthright in its rejection of the demand by the TEC that it provide details of police hit squads.

In essence, what the TEC was demanding was from the kwaZulu police



WILL HE SUCCEED... Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi



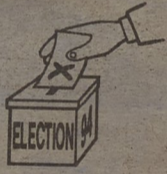
South African government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer (right) welcomes SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo at the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council on December 7. SA will take a giant step towards non-racial democracy when it holds its first non-racial elections in April next year

Pic By PATRICK DE NOIRMONT

commissioner report directly to the transitional authority. The net effect of the instruction was to circumvent Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's authority as ministerial head of police and chief of the homeland government.

This has precipitated a serious crisis of legitimacy for Buthelezi and his government, prompting a strong rejection of the TEC's demands.

While it presents Buthelezi with a crisis of legitimacy, the instruction



tant to the elections.

SACP national chairperson Joe Slovo summed up the implications succinctly when introducing the resolution on kwaZulu when he said that there was nothing more relevant to a free and fair election than the possibility that people might have been murdered and that there might be other hit squads operating in the region.

Bophuthatswana has responded similarly to the TEC's ban on the DBSA loan, but it finds itself in a somewhat different situation.

There is very little beyond protest, that the Bophuthatswana government can do to reverse the ban, even though, as constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers points out, the independent homelands, which were not party to the TEC agreement, are not bound by the TEC Act.

However, in terms of the TEC Act, the transitional authority is well within its legal right to question the loan, and

recommend that it be frozen until there is satisfaction all round that the loan does not work against the interests of a free and fair election.

So far, there has been no clear response from law and order minister Hernus Kriel to the TEC's call for the withdrawal of the ISU from the East Rand and parts of Natal.

But Kriel has in the past shoved aside calls for the removal of the ISU from the townships and police force will remain under the control of the government and not the TEC.

While Kriel can be called upon by the TEC to explain and justify the deployment of police in certain areas, the ultimate decision on whether to comply with the TEC's requests rests with the government.

Whether the ISU is removed from the East Rand and parts of Natal or not therefore hinges on goodwill and little else.

But the government's representative on the TEC, Roelf Meyer has supported the resolution calling for the TEC's role in the townships to be reviewed.

And the government may find it difficult not to comply.

What is significant is these issues collectively test the TEC in three of its most important areas of operation.

These include security, finance and intervening in areas where administrations have rejected the transitional authority.

Its collective performance in all of these areas have a bearing on how level the political playing field will be by April 27, 1994.

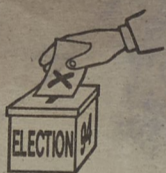
If it fails to ensure that kwaZulu complies with its requests, it could have dire implications for the

ANC's ability to reach voters in areas under the control of Buthelezi's police.

Although the TEC has indicated that it might explore the possibility of legal action against kwaZulu to ensure that it complies with the request relating to death squads, this could set a bad precedent with the transitional structure having to repeatedly resort to the cumbersome judicial processes to impose its will.

While this might work in the case of the death squad issue, it could prove unwieldy and impractical in instances where more urgent action is needed.

In any event, seeking the help of the courts is only one part of the problem. Implementing the courts decision is quite another. If there is resistance to a court decision, the TEC effectively ends



up at square one.

Ultimately, it will have to implore to state to act in a way that enforces the TEC's authority. For diplomatic and other reasons, party representatives on the TEC have avoided suggesting the possibility that the security forces may have to be used to ensure compliance.

But this may be the difficult reality that the TEC will have to live with if it is to execute its task effectively and make an election possible.

One way or another, strong signals must be sent to those contemplating defiance. The country cannot wait beyond April 27 for a general election.

whites.

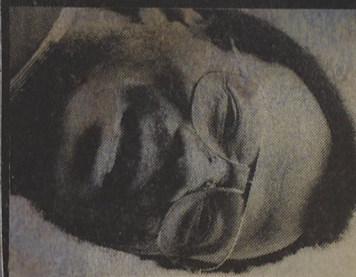
The king was equally adamant. "I will die rather than insult the memory of my great ancestral kings by handing over the land of their people to our political enemies," he said.

About 50km away at Blood River, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen urged about 1 000 supporters to keep their faith in God.

Speaking at the site where Afrikaners defeated the Zulu army in 1838 with the help of a traitorous chief and his regiment, Viljoen said the struggle was for the triumph of Christianity.

But in the crowd, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member Johan Lexo said: "What we ask for is a boerestaat, that's all."

His friend, Coen Lubuschagne, said: "I am not equal to kaffirs."



Black and white racists trumpet same tune

While there were tentative indications this week by Inkatha MP Jure Mentz and others of progress towards a political settlement, the optimism was marred by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini calling on his subjects to defend kwaZulu with their lives.

At an Isandlwana day of prayer, the king and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi both demanded self-determination for the Zulu nation.

This prompted National Party spokesman Martinus van Schalkwyk to comment that it appeared as though the IFP's call for self-determination was in contrast to its previous demand for a balanced federal system.

Mentz said the IFP was continuing discussions with its partners in the Freedom Alliance, and he was optimistic about the outcome.

But Inkatha MPs are usually more flexible than the top leadership, and their positions have previously been negated by hardliners higher up in the ranks.

The ANC also attacked the speeches at Isandlwana, where the Zulu army defeated the British in 1879.

Dumisani Makhaye, media officer for the ANC southern Natal region, said: "The speeches by Buthelezi and King Zwelithini were a desecration of the memory of our great forefathers. We demand that the IFP stop using the king as its chief organiser. We are puzzled that their speeches were

an almost exact carbon copy of the white extreme right's speeches such as those of the AVF, the Conservative Party and the AWB.

"We are convinced there was an exchange of speaker's notes between Buthelezi and the white extreme right organisations. May we know what is common between them?"

"The great commanders of King Cetshwayo such as Mavumengwana, Ishingwayo and Dabulamazi must be turning in their graves."

"The great regiments of King Cetshwayo such as uMhlabu, Isangqu and iNgobela-Zulu?"

"If there is any invasion against the kwaZulu bantustan, it is an invasion of democracy against the creation of apartheid."

Buthelezi said at Isandlwana: "We demand Zulu self-determination. There is no other way forward for democracy either for us or anybody else in the country," adding that self-determination would include all supporters of Zulus, including

Who's the boss?

SUNDAY NATION 22/8/93

Concerns that Inkatha is being fashioned into a tool to advance the course of rightwing whites are increasingly gaining ground.

Chief Gathsa Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) recent rejection of a draft federal constitution tabled for debate at multi-party talks suggests that it is not federalism that the party wants. Instead, its demands are more suited to a confederation, constitutional experts have said.

With the defection of rightwing National Party members to Inkatha, positions resembling confederalism, more than federalism, are likely to harden.

Hardline positions within the IFP in recent months also suggest the ascendancy of conservative elements in the party, among them Walter Felgate.

Jurie Mentz, former NP member, has already assumed a high profile position in the party. This week he accompanied Felgate to a bilateral meeting with government.

Leaders such as Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu, also appear to have been muscled out of the Transvaal hierarchy by former NP MP for Jeppe Hennie Bekker.

Inkatha insiders do not dispute the fact that these conservative MP's will continue to advance positions of the NP, which have been diluted by compromises that the government has been forced to make on issues such as the constituent assembly.

Original NP positions will therefore continue to dominate IFP policy for some time to come.

Said to be part of an inner-circle of hardliners in Inkatha, Felgate is considered the steering influence in the party.

This takes on sinister connotations in the context of accusations made in parliament that Felgate was an National Intelligence Service agent infiltrated into Inkatha a long time ago.

Earlier this year, sources in government were quoted as saying that former military intelligence chief, general Tienie Groenewald had been meeting with key leaders in Inkatha. It is not clear if Felgate was among them.

Groenewald has since emerged as second in command of the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront, which has among its members parties which are in alliance with the IFP in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

These include the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie, which have made no secret about their preference for a confederacy.

Groenewald is seen as the leading theoretician in the volksfront, having a much greater influence on policy than the organisation's lead-

er general Constand Voljoen.

Although Felgate dismisses suggestions that he remains by far the dominant influence in the party, it is his public statements more than any other that have largely set the tone of Buthelezi's position on negotiations.

Felgate clearly is also not at one with moderate leaders in the IFP. This was best illustrated in confusing statements issued by IFP officials on whether they would return to talks or not.

Senior negotiator Joe Matthews, for example, recently gave the impression that his party was about to return to talks when he spoke of "very successful meetings" they had been having with the ANC and government.

But Felgate poured cold water on hopes of a return to talks when he said there is "absolutely no chance" that they would be back at talks.

Buthelezi echoed this position soon after, although he had earlier indicated that he had not been kept informed about progress being made at talks between the IFP and the ANC.

This was despite a statement by Matthews that he had been in "constant discussions with Ulundi on the meetings" with the ANC and government.

Inkatha insiders also say that Felgate prefers that negotiators in the ANC and government deal directly with him rather than with moderates such as IFP chairperson Dr Frank Mdlalose and kwaZulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane.

Mdlalose and Ngubane are also believed to have expressed considerable unhappiness at having to deliver a hard-hitting IFP memorandum to government at a bilateral in January this year. The memorandum was said to have been drafted by Felgate. A similar memorandum, direct at the ANC, was withdrawn midway during a meeting with the organisation.

Felgate, however, dismisses suggestions that he remains at odds with his colleagues in the IFP. Citing recent central committee resolutions on the IFP's position on its return to talks, Felgate said it proved that his interpretation of party positions was correct.

However, he hastened to add that this did not suggest others had misinterpreted party positions - "they had simply been misread as misinterpreting party policy".

He went on to say that suggestions that he was a hardliner running the party "come from people who cannot believe that Buthelezi has any kind of constitutional mind and therefore has to be led by me. [Such people think] He's only a black kaffir who cannot think for himself."

"There is nothing to force the constituent assembly to look at regionalism - it therefore cannot be left to be resolved by the constituent assembly in the second phase. That is just not on," Felgate says.

He also disagrees that the range of exclusive powers for regions mentioned in the draft are greater than existing powers enjoyed by self-governing states.

"They are certainly less powers than any self-governing territory has.

These extremely limited exclusive powers can be easily overridden by any central governing body harbouring a desire for national conformity, Felgate cautions.

Felgate says it is for all these reasons that Inkatha wants the regional question resolved completely and definitively before elections are held. "We want a regional constitution written, finalised and ratified and elections held under such a constitution before a new central government comes into power," says Felgate.

But these convoluted technical constitutional debates cloud the real points of divergence and disagreement.

Inkatha's raw sentiment comes through clearly in statements the party's representatives make in their talks with other negotiators.

KwaZulu negotiators made it amply evident that their main concern was with the ANC's desire to dominate Inkatha in the constituent assembly.

They have argued that the ANC simply wants an elected constituent assembly to give itself the advantage it does not have in the negotiating council.

But these are hardly new concerns. They have been expressed in various forms right from the outset of multi-party talks.

Stripped of all technical details, the core of the problem is laid bare. It immediately becomes apparent that Inkatha remains married to a position that has not changed since its first foray into the negotiating arena.

This position is no different from the National Party's opening gambit at multi-party talks in May 1990.

Its opposition to a two-phased approach to transition and any proposal which even comes near suggesting that an election should be held before a constitution is finalised, is also undiluted.

KwaZulu chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said this week that any suggestion that a constituent assembly be charged with the constitution-making is unacceptable to his government.

And it appears unlikely that a compromise from Inkatha is on the cards.

Felgate told SUNDAY NATION this

week: "There are no compromises possible if we are given a two-phase process (to transition). It is not what will avoid violence. That is out! out! out!" he stressed.

As if to emphasise his point, Felgate said: "We are saying there are better ways of building democracy. If you are really interested in democracy, then you will reject the two phase process - it will not lead to democracy, it will only lead to civil war."

Felgate's reasons for his aversion to a two-stage process are not entirely convincing.

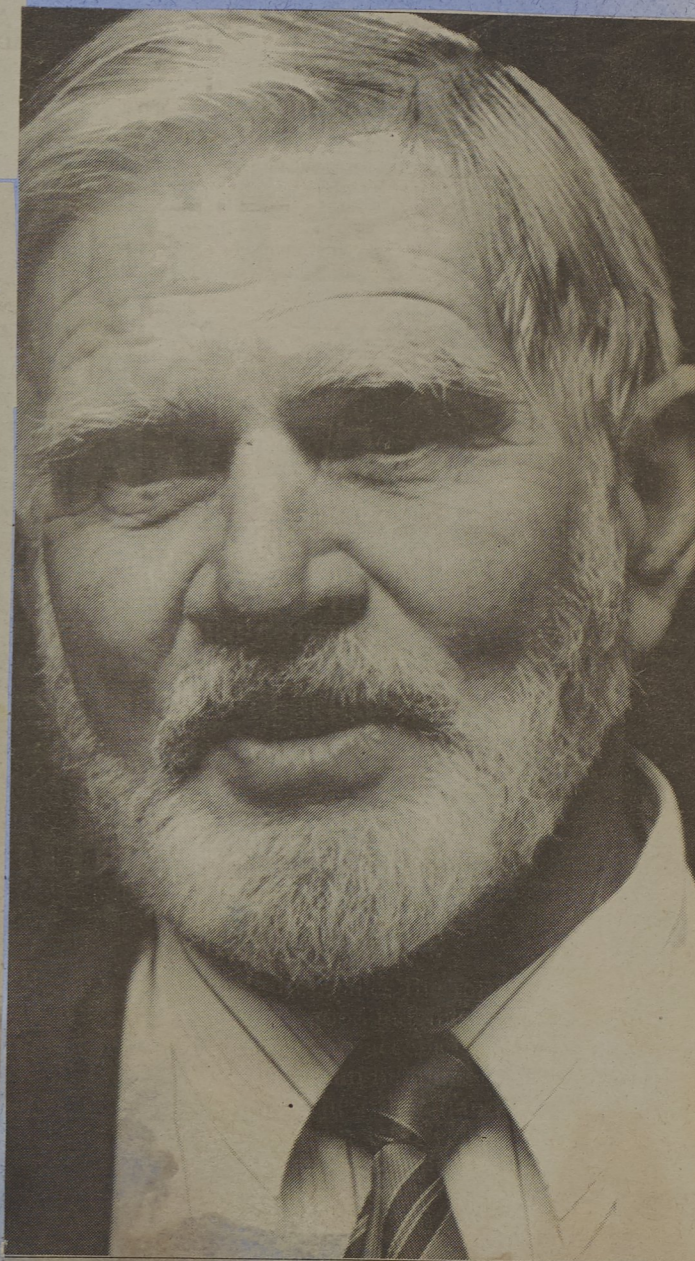
He argues that, given South Africa's social make up, it would be enormously difficult to muster the national will to make the first constitution after apartheid deliver democracy. The constitution itself cannot produce democracy, he argues.

"Democracy," he says instead, "can only be produced by the people who accept the constitution and are prepared to be governed under that constitution."

Felgate does not believe that a party which wins a majority in an election can produce a constitution that enjoys the support of a majority.

He, however, points out that his party had indicated a willingness to compromise on the question of a two-phased approach to transition.

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HARDLINER: Influential Inkatha leader Walter Felgate

But he added a rider, saying that this would only be possible if a constitution was finalised "before any interim mechanism or election date was set".

Asked what compromises his party had made in the three years of negotiations, Felgate prefaced his answer by saying that it was a dangerous answer to attempt because he would be misquoted and misunderstood.

He nevertheless pointed out that his party had in fact compromised on the two-phase approach to transition. "We moved away from our absolute NO on this question.

"But, in the end, we ended up with a complete constitution", which Felgate says made it impossible for his party to stick to its agreement to live with the two-phased process.

The compromise on the two-phase approach therefore no longer stands.

Pointing to another compromise, he says his party had dropped its condition that it would not negotiate for as long as the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, remained in existence.

By comparison, the ANC has traversed a great distance from demanding a unitary constitution to

accepting the existence of regions with their own respective constitutions. Some might say that the ANC has in fact agreed to federalism.

But it is hardly federalism that Inkatha wants. Gauging from its concerns, Inkatha wants the country divided into autonomous regional units, leaving a central government which has little more than symbolic powers.

Wiechers too believes that Inkatha's vision amounts to a crude form of confederalism. Even Inkatha's primary ally in the Concerned South Africans' Group (Cosag), the Conservative Party, believes that what Inkatha is wanting is a confederation.

This suggests that Inkatha is not necessarily being misunderstood, as Felgate believes.

The alternative scenario is that it is being used to stall the transitional process for as long as is necessary to deliver the compromises which will ensure a confederation and, by implication, a weak central government.

This is, after all, the rightwing agenda. Unlike Inkatha, though, the CP, and its allies in the Afrikaner Volksfront have made no secret about it.



SPREADING TERROR:
An Inkatha impi – a sight that fills township residents with dread