

Mail and Guardian 31.1. - 6.2.03

Inkatha helps DA break out of the doldrums

Donwald Pressly

Six recent by-election results reconfirm the African National Congress's dominant position in South African politics — but also show its percentage of the vote is falling as opposition parties are gaining support.

A Democratic Alliance by-election victory in the eastern suburbs of Tshwane (Pretoria) may mark a turnaround in the party's nosediving fortunes over the past year.

The DA may have the Inkatha Freedom Party partly to thank for its comfortable victory, which it triumphantly pointed out was in the

area where Ernie Jacobson, the New National Party leader on the Tshwane council, lives.

The result comes on the back of the appointment of two DA members to the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet by IFP Premier Lionel Mtshali.

Another recent IFP boost for the DA was their joint move to dissolve the KwaZulu-Natal legislature, forcing the ANC to drop a controversial clause from a national law allowing floor-crossing in the provinces.

Last year, when the DA lost a by-election in Bethal to the tiny Freedom Front, it conspicuously did not hold a press conference — despite

holding more media events than all other political parties combined.

The party lost about 300 councillors during the floor-crossing period when about half the NNP councillors elected under a DA ticket in 2000 returned to their previous home. It was also muddied by the Jurgen Harksen party funding imbroglio.

The DA pushed its share of the Tshwane vote from 56,65% in 2000 to 69,47% (3 237 votes).

The election attracted significantly fewer voters — 28,24% of the electorate compared with 54,61% — but had the highest poll of the six recent

by-elections. The ANC retained a seat in ward 60 of Johannesburg on a 2,2% poll.

The DA victory was mirrored by the performance of the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal. It held a ward in Umlalazi (Eshowe) where it pushed its percentage of the vote from 85,5% in 2000 to 91,95% (955 votes). The ANC received 8,05% of the vote (84 votes) compared with 12% last time.

In addition to its poorer showing in Eshowe, the ANC won 71,3% (786 votes) in Rustenburg, down from 79,1% in 2000. Standing for the first time, the DA achieved 25,6%.

In Nketoana (Reitz) ward eight, the

ANC received 75,8% (401 votes) compared with 77,3% in 2000. The Pan Africanist Congress's share climbed from 17,1% to 24,2% (128 votes).

In Maluti a Phofung (Qwa Qwa) the ANC received 82,4% (748 votes), compared with 85,5% three years ago. The IFP's share grew from 6,99% to 17,5%. The DA which, in 2000, garnered 6,68%, stood back for the IFP on this occasion.

Other opposition parties which stood — including a variety of Christian parties and the United Democratic Movement — fared poorly. The UDM polled just six votes in the Johannesburg ward.

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Attempts to deport Mafia boss in jeopardy

Reports from Italy and the government department to deport the alleged Mafia boss, Pizzino, above, from South Africa are in danger of being thrown away, according to reports from the Mail and Guardian. The paper reported on Sunday this week that the authorities have been misled about the firm Pizzino is accused of running. In May 1994, citizenship applications were made for Pizzino and his family, but the applications were rejected on the grounds of immigration fraud. It is alleged that the firm has since been brought back to the attention of the review based on the same claim was in, under way. But the Pizzinos were prevented from doing so.

An article in the Sunday Mail and Guardian originally said that the whole case was abandoned to March 1994, but the Mail and Guardian has since found out that the case was not abandoned.

The article said that the case was brought by the Department of Home Affairs under the then director-general, Maseko, in March 2000 and by Bill Jan Nkomo, national prosecutor, in the same year.

In 1994, the Mail and Guardian reported that Pizzino applied for South African citizenship in May 1994. He

also applied for a passport and a visa to enter Italy. He was refused both. He then applied for a visa to enter the United States of America and the United States of America and the United States of America.

It is alleged that when Pizzino applied for citizenship in 1994, he was told that he had to wait for a year before he could apply. He was told that he had to wait for a year before he could apply.

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Comment & Analysis

Mail & Guardian

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Time for Buthelezi to own his deeds

Throughout the apartheid era Mangosuthu Buthelezi proclaimed his opposition to the racist ideology even when it was patently clear to even the dimmest cretin that he was in bed with the National Party.

Ever the pious self-promoter, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader proclaimed himself a peace-loving civil rights and democracy campaigner. He even elevated himself to the status of Martin Luther King Jr and Mahatma Gandhi and laid claim to being the custodian of the philosophies of Chief Albert Luthuli.

How Buthelezi managed to sustain this myth successfully in many quarters is not difficult to fathom. He had the full backing of the apartheid propaganda machine, the very machine that convinced white South Africans that they were living in a typical Western-style democracy. He also had the support of the international conservative lobby, some of whom took to him because his party represented the Tarzan image of Africa that fascinates rightwingers. And Buthelezi, being the cunning political operator that he is, cynically exploited the base nationalist instincts of some within the Zulu peasantry to shore up his political support.

So when apartheid began to unravel, he resisted change with great force. In the valleys and townships of KwaZulu Natal are the graves of thousands who were victims of violence initiated, instigated and perpetuated by Inkatha militias. Orphans, widows and widowers lost loved ones simply because they opposed the system that Buthelezi so loyally served. Roaming the length of that province (and indeed other parts of the country) are many men who killed in the name of the IFP.

Whether Buthelezi sanctioned the violence that was carried out in his name is something that could only ever be established in a court of law — an unlikely event. So, until a court of law finds otherwise, we will presume him innocent.

History, however, is not as kind as we are.

In the final report of the truth commission, the most comprehensive and authoritative record of South Africa under apartheid, history passes its judgement on the IFP leader. The report, which Buthelezi strenuously fought, spells out clearly that he not only knew of the killing machine operated by his underlings and their security force handlers, but that he himself was partly responsible for its design.

Today Buthelezi is a senior minister in the democratic post-apartheid government, sometimes even running the country when President Thabo Mbeki and his deputy Jacob Zuma are abroad. Today he is fêted at state banquets and has his views sought by powerful interest groups. He even has the word "dignitary" attached to his name on official programmes. Abroad he is regarded as an architect of our democratic order. And in South Africa's promiscuous political set-up other opposition leaders are busy flashing their worn thighs in his direction.

A dangerous tendency is creeping into South African life, that of wanting to wipe the slate of our past clean and move on, as if the evil we exorcised nine years ago never existed. While we do not believe there should be too much dwelling on the past, we also do not believe that we will build a decent society by white-washing historical crimes.

It is in this context that we applaud the truth commission's stern decision to stand by its final report and not, in effect, to lie to future generations. When Buthelezi supped with the likes of PW Botha and Magnus Malan, he was fully aware of what he was doing. He must start to take responsibility for his acts.

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IFP is failing the people

The recent public spat between Minister of Social Development Zola Skweyiya and his provincial counterpart, Prince Gideon Zulu (who also happens to be a senior Inkatha Freedom Party leader), over the distribution of food parcels shows how immature the latter is.

The distribution of food parcels is part of the government's initiative to alleviate poverty. The programme has been a success in other provinces and it is only in KwaZulu-Natal that it has encountered problems. Zulu proves how the IFP is failing the people of this province.

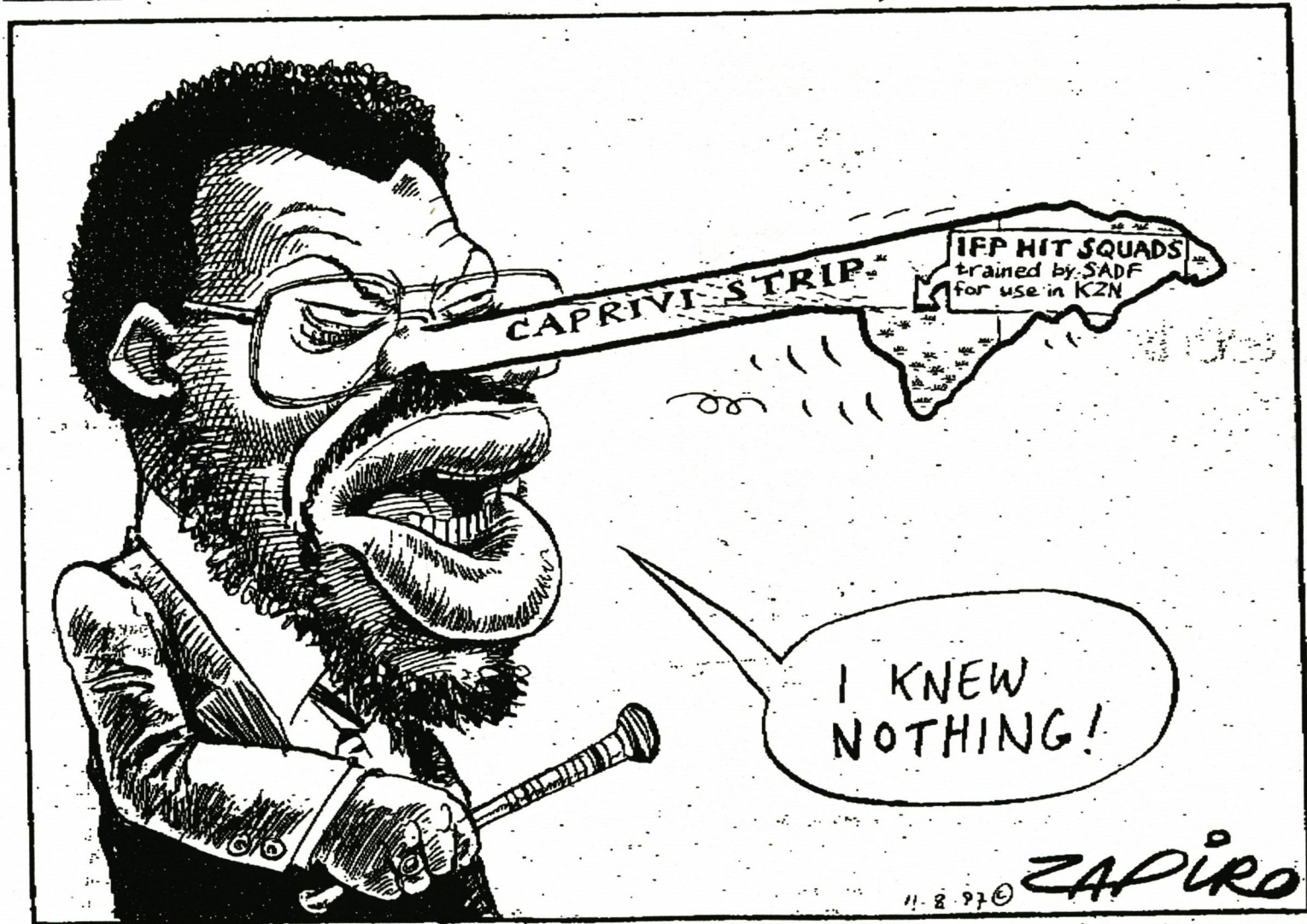
I appeal to Lionel Mtshali (who portrays himself as a no-nonsense premier) to fire Zulu for incompetence. The IFP has not condemned Zulu,

which shows it supports his actions. Skweyiya is the national minister and does not need Zulu's approval to implement programmes in the province.

The Democratic Party is mum on the issue, which indicates that it supports Zulu's actions. The DP always accuses the African National Congress-led government of failing to deliver services to the people, but now it pretends as if nothing is happening. Is this because the IFP and the DP have a coalition agreement and the latter is scared of ruining their relationship?

I would be happy if NGOs and community-based organisations voice their opinions on this despicable act. The IFP is behaving as if it is inherently entitled to govern KwaZulu-Natal. — *Vukani Mbhele, Durban*

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Zapiro is on leave. This is a classic rerun taken from Zapiro: The Hole Truth

The nailing of Buthelezi

Inkatha leader's attempts to whitewash history thwarted, says truth commission

Jaspreet Kindra

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has failed in his attempts to "whitewash history and portray himself as a peace-loving anti-apartheid activist", say former Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) members and investigators.

Hailed as a vindication of Buthelezi's innocence of apartheid-era wrong doing by his party and legal team, the settlement was described by former TRC commissioner Yasmin Sooka as proof that Buthelezi collaborated with the "most senior echelons of the apartheid state's security organs".

The settlement, reached on the eve of what was expected to be a dramatic court battle this week, ended Buthelezi's long-running bid to have the TRC excise parts of the commission's final reports, which described him as a primary human rights violator. The IFP interdicted the commission from finalising its report in September last year, delaying the release of the document. It also delayed the drafting of the government's new amnesty policy and the compensation of apartheid victims by the state.

In terms of the settlement, the TRC's findings on Buthelezi will stand while the IFP leader will be allowed to publish an annexure spelling out his objections to the verdict.

Legal experts said this week that the settlement may clear the way for civil litigation against other IFP leaders.

IFP national chairperson Lionel Mtshali sought to present the deal as a vindication of "Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party" as the TRC had "finally conceded to change some its findings" in its 1998 report.

However, the TRC said the changes were minor and that none of its core findings have been excised or altered.

Political scientist and former truth commission investigator John Daniel, now a researcher for the Human Sciences Research Council, described the settlement as "a great victory for the TRC's version of the truth about Inkatha's gross human rights violations ... It tried to bully the TRC and failed," he said.



Old friends: Apartheid leader PW Botha and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi clasp hands in 1987

However, he added: "The IFP has shown yet again that it is not willing to open itself up for public scrutiny."

Sooka pointed out that Buthelezi's main demand had been for the removal of the TRC's most damning finding on the IFP — that it collaborated with the former South African Defence Force (SADF) in the training of IFP youth as hit squad members in the Caprivi Strip in 1986. The reference and the finding remain intact.

"While the minister will continue to claim the role of anti-apartheid campaigner and man of peace, history will treat him in the light of his actions as uncovered by the work of the TRC, other investigators and human rights lawyers," she said.

The *Mail & Guardian's* predecessor, *The Weekly Mail*, exposed the top-secret operation, code-named Operation Marion and involving SADF training of 208 IFP members, in the early 1990s. Buthelezi has always maintained the men were trained for defensive purposes.

The TRC found that one of the Caprivi hit squads was deployed in KwaZulu-Natal's KwaMakhutha township in 1987, where it killed 13 men,

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women and children at the home of a United Democratic Front (UDF) leader. The massacre was to become the subject of the conspiracy to murder trial of apartheid defence minister Magnus Malan and 19 others in 1996.

The trial, while accepting that Caprivi-trained hit men were responsible for the massacre, exonerated Malan, other senior defence officials and Buthelezi's secretary and now IFP secretary general, MZ Khumalo.

Sooka said that in its court application, the IFP had sought to rely on the Malan trial outcome. However, the commission was not bound to follow court findings "particularly those it regarded as unreliable. If it were, the TRC would have been bound by other discredited judicial findings such as those made by the Harms commission and the Steve Biko inquest."

"The TRC found that 'backing' was no mystery and was obviously supplied by the military and Inkatha. It could not agree with the court's findings that the word 'offensive' [training] in the military context did not necessarily mean 'attack', nor could it concur with the court's view that those behind the Caprivi project did not foresee that the trainees would carry out deadly attacks."

Sooka pointed out that one of the Caprivi trainers, Colonel Jan Nieuwoudt, had stated in his amnesty application that the purpose of the camp was "to identify and eliminate African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Pan Africanist Congress targets".

"The TRC findings indicated that Buthelezi was not an innocent and independent activist, he had requested help from the former apartheid regime and had got it," she added.

In his application against the TRC findings, Buthelezi claimed he and the IFP consistently adhered to lawful methods. He wanted specific references to himself, MZ Khumalo and the current KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Social Welfare, Gideon Zulu, removed from the TRC's final report. In all the party demanded that 37 paragraphs in the TRC report be set aside.

These included references to its role in the "Seven Day War" in 1990 around Pietermaritzburg, the "Toaster Gang" that killed Tembisa residents in the early 1990s, the Mlaba camp in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands set up for the military training of Inkatha "self-protection units" before the 1994 election, and jailed former police hit squad leader Eugene de Kock's delivery of six truckloads of weapons to the comman-

der of the Mlaba camp, Philip Powell. These stand in the report.

In his legal submissions on the Caprivi training, the IFP's attorney, Patrick Falconer, said: "We accept that unfortunately people from all sides of the political spectrum were killed due to illegal activity. We are, however, instructed that it was never part of Inkatha policy. We believe some of these activities emanated from individuals within Inkatha, who did so in the defiance of policy on the matter, as did, we believe, certain ANC members."

Sooka said that there was overwhelming evidence that Buthelezi worked closely with apartheid government to destabilise liberation movements.

She said the documents revealed that after the military decided to phase out support for offensive actions by the IFP because of security problems, "Buthelezi during 1989 expressed to senior military officers his desire for offensive actions to be carried out in 'cells', as he was losing the 'armed struggle'."

"Excerpts from top-secret apartheid era documents and interviews with senior security officials abundantly illustrate the sinister role played by

Inkatha and its leader.

"Buthelezi's desire for 'continued offensive steps', as in 'hit squads', is evident from his discussions on October 31 1989 with senior Directorate of Special Tasks officers. In the same document, MZ Khumalo referred to the IFP leader's wish for 'cells that could take out undesirable elements'."

Buthelezi's request was put to Malan, who advised in 1990 that at that stage the "violent option was a difficult matter".

The TRC's 1998 report found the IFP responsible for perpetrating about 9 000 gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal from 1990 to May 1994. This has now been changed to include the role of other organisations, such as the ANC, the UDF, the KwaZulu police and the SADF.

The TRC's final report is expected to be ready by the end of the year. Sooka said the settlement of the dispute with the IFP now enabled the TRC to address the urgent question of reparations for victims.

The findings of the report could also form the basis for victims to make civil claims against political organisations.

TRC blind, clueless — Ambrosini

When the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) released its report on the Caprivi project, it was a blow to the IFP. The report found that the IFP was involved in the project, which was aimed at training hit squads to attack the ANC, the UDF, the SADF and the KwaZulu police.

On 10 January, the IFP's attorney, Patrick Falconer, said the IFP was "deeply shocked" by the findings. He said the IFP was "not a hit squad" and that the IFP was "not a political organisation".

In a letter to the TRC, the IFP said it was "not a hit squad" and that the IFP was "not a political organisation". The IFP said it was "not a hit squad" and that the IFP was "not a political organisation".

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