

## Power

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

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

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

These purposes were self-enrichment and eternal power.

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

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

come. Is it likely that Africa will extricate itself from its present impasse? African peasants, given a chance, have proved them-

\_selves able to take advan-

tage of economic oppor-  
tunity; but the odds are  
stacked against a swift  
amelioration, with or  
without assistance from  
the the International Mon-  
etary Fund. -

Persuaded

Recolonisation has been  
suggested as a solution, but

would only leave the conti-  
nent in the eame political

plight as the last attempt.

It is, moreover, impor- \*

tant to remember that pov-  
erty is not necessarily mis-  
ery and that wealth is not  
necessarily happiness. In  
this sense, if African gov-

ernments can be per-.

suaded or coerced into sen-  
sible economic policies  
which require free prices,  
open markets and the en-  
couragement of foreign in-

vestment, the lot of mil-.

lions of Africans need not  
be unenviable. â\200\224 Â© The

Telegraph, London. . .  
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The Zulu ki

IF the Inkatha Freedom Part

central committee is unhapp

about some opportunist white ad  
visers who seem to hold tremen-  
dous influence over their leader,  
we as the subjects of our king are  
even maore so. .

We are dismayed that new  
comers like Jurie Mentz should  
have the acrogance and temerity  
to underestimate the intelligence

- and political maturity of both our  
king and us Zulus and declare that

our king would instruct us to vote

far the IFP.

must show his strength

It is known that the chiefs in  
KwaZulu are the agents of the [FP.  
They have, through coercion of dif-  
ferent types, created a de facto sit-  
uation where every person living  
in KwaZulu has to pay IFP mem-  
bership fees without exception - or  
else.

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

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

king possesses the wisdom and  
courage possessed by his fore-  
bears, Kings Shaka, Cetshwayo and  
Dinizulu.

Our king and all our chiefs can  
regain the undivided loyalty and  
respect of the whole Zulu nation if  
they can change the image of being  
â\200\234their master's voicesâ\200\235, and extend  
the freedom to engage in political  
activity to all their subjects.

VOX POPULI  
Ducban



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Graham Spence

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

" This emerged during the \*â\200\230makietleâ\200\235 yesterday as Afrikaner stal-

â\200\230 x for supeat h Zulu;BÃ©r ;

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

STORY ON PAGE 7

- gosuthy Buthelezi.

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R 4

jolâ\200\231  
To celebrate his â\200\234lepp of faith" he held an open party in his Vryheid constituency yesterday open to all â\200\224 and some 5|0C0 people came to the jol in which eight oxen were served up for \$upper. Kay speaker was IFP leader Dr Man-

Picture: Richard Shorey.

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\* QUNDAY  
, TRIBUNE

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& )VÃ@â\200\231v;e fought a  
>\do not want a new regl  
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John MacLennan  
Political Correspondent

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

This has spurred speculation that i  
could even be the forerunner to 3 new,  
centrist political arty.

. The groundwork was done al 2 five- -

day conference organised by the Insli-  
tute for Democratic Allernatives for  
South Africa {ldasa) at Sintra in Portu-  
gal ibis week and a follow up confer-  
ence is to be held in this country short-

ly. 4  
Among those who attended the meel-

]dasaâ\200\231s Dr Alex Boraing; DP members  
Messrs Colin Eglin, Ken Andrew and  
Peter Gastrow; Mr Rudolf Gouws, top  
economist of Rand Merchant Bank;  
community leader Mr Nthato Motlana;  
Dr Franklin Sonn; The Rev Stantey Mo-  
goba, head of the Methodisl church; Mr  
Neil McGurk, representing the SA Cath-  
olic Bishops Conference; Mr Khehla  
Shubane of Centre for Policy Studies at  
Witwatersrand Universily; Mr Andre  
Spier, a development sludies experl;  
and Professor John Dugard of Wits.

The meeling was funded by the Frie-  
drich Naumann Foundation of Ger-  
many.

A source said The intention was lo de-

uthoritarian Afrikaner nationalism and we  
me which is even less democraticâ\200\231

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

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

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

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

Dr Oscar Dhlome's Institute for Multiparty Democracy will organise the follow up conference.

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

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

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

ing were Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert; defend democratic principles during the



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J; (Ã©U"a'ndâ\200\231 Afrikaner m

SUNDAY STAR, 28 FEBRUARY 1993

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CTION MAN . . Jo  
bmber: Schalk du

ter .1004'} â\200\231

TR

ed festive  
ly at a rally in the northern Natal  
town of Vryheid yesterday to wel-  
come three MPs. who recently

rmer National Party MP

Rk

natiÃ©ns which fought vicious battles

.. against each other a century ago.â\200\231

â\200\234â\200\234But today many businessmen and

farmersâ\200\231 in â\200\230the area speak Zulu

crossed the floor to join the Inkatha ~fluently and this played a big rolÃ© in  
Freedom Party.

Former National Party MPJurieâ\200\235

Mentz, Mr Mike Tarr who was with-

the Democratic Party, and Farouk .

Cassim, formerly with the Solidarity .-

Party, were officially welcomed by  
IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
at the first rally of its kind at Vry-  
heidâ\200\231s rugby stadium. |" ;  
Black and white toddlers played  
contentedly together . while burly  
Afrikaner townsfolk sold braaied  
meat to some of the estimated 5000

bringing them together, =

at the rally was 23-year-old Schalk  
du Plessis, referred to by some  
townsfolk as a â\200\234white Zuluâ\200\235. -  
Dressed in full. traditional Zulu  
skins and wielding a knobkierrie, Du

Plessis danced among the Zulu .

tribesman with whom he grew up  
and with whom he has strong ties.

., Several other whites at the rally  
sport IFP badges. Some said they  
.were only observers, while rally or-

Zulu men and women dressed in tra- .- ganiser, Marietjie van der Merwe

ditional regalia. =~ |  
It was a coming together of two

sdid there â\200\230were â\200\234many in this area  
like Schalkâ\200\235, " - TARE S

Among the estimated 300 whites

urie Mentz has a stick fight  
lessis at a rally in Vryheid in northern Natal.~crur

ears; friendship for former enemies

- Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz believes

: RICHARD STOREY

. Whites will follow |his move to the

' strong Christianâ\200\235,

IFP in droves.  
â\200\234Two thirds of the business

ple here support the IFP. People are  
starting to realise they must make a  
choice and the black leader accept-

osuthu Buthele-

the free market system.

. â\200\234People donâ\200\231t mind a black leader as long as he looks after their interests,â\200\235 said Mentz, a former NP stalwart.

Speaking to the crowd later, the

thunderous applause and appeared to enforce his claims of mutual respect. â\200\224 Sapa. 3

- MP's fluency in Xhosa earned him

it 4â\200\230\*3â\200\2312" 3 bt i B R ol

FIGHTING TALK: Two â\200\234white Zulusâ\204ç (above) do battle . . .  
Jurie Mentz parries a blow from champion stick fighter Schalk du  
Plessis. TOP LEFT: Jurie Mentz greets Zulu warriors at his  
inauguration into the Inkatha Freedom Party in Vryheid  
yesterday. LEFT: KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
welcomes Stanger MP Farouk Cassim to the IFP.

Pictures: Richard Shorey

;6"40'7{\â\200\230\0&17'\2.

PW Botha era when it was difficult to organise freelyâ\200\235.

â\200\234Apartheid has used traditional leaders to divide the African community â\200\224 to divide and rule. Yet the vast majority want to be thought of as South Africans, and so Contralesa is looking at an undivided or united South Africa â\200\224 which doesnâ\200\231t exclude the federal option,â\200\235 said Inkosi Holomisa,

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

Inkosi Gumede views Contralesa as a body where â\200\234many members

... are of necessity members of the -

ANCâ\200\235, and denies the FCTLSA is an Inkatha forum or that it will be exclusively for IFP members.

Significantly, the FCTLSA idea comes in the wake of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal â\200\224 announced by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in December â\200\224 which makes provision for the role of traditional leaders in a federal constitution.

Still, Inkosi Holomisa bewails the formation of the FCTLSA as another â\200\234divisiveâ\200\235 move.

â\200\234This is a tragedy because the traditional leader is a symbol of unity. It means the last hope of unity and stability in the country

(has gone) and that the country will forever be dividedâ\200\235

Inkosi Holomisa claims King Goodwill and Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi have ignored or given cold responses to his request for a meeting at which their 'â\200\230differencesâ\200\235 could be discussed.

The importance of traditional leaders in the national political

picture has become more evident  
amid reportedly growing consen-  
sus between the Government and  
the ANC of the necessity of includ-  
ing the Zulu King + and other tra-  
ditional leaders in the negotia-  
-- tion process.

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â\200\234NO KNOWN system of  
government works in

Africa,â\200\235 wrote a despairing

Nigerian journalist a~few :

. | years ago, and events seem Â¥â\200\231  
/ | to have proved him nght\â\200\234

The American interven--  
tion in Somalia, the immi--  
pent fall of President. Mos  
butu of Zaire â\200\224 which"  
promises nothing' but  
bloodshed on a vast scale  
â\200\224 the renewed war in An-  
gola: from Africa | always  
ls;{mething new and terri-

e. :

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

The list of African politi-  
cal disasters since jndenpen-  
dence is lamentably long  
and impressive. The first

residents of Guinea and  
uatorial Guinea, Sekou  
TourÃ© and Macias Nguema  
respectively, killed or  
drove into -exile a third of  
the populations of their  
countries; the Hutu of Bu-  
rundi have twice suffered  
massacres at the hands of  
the ruling Tutsi, and await  
the next massacre - un-  
less they can getim first  
with a massacre of their

own.

Miiton Obote of Uganda  
was worse than Idi Amin

by a degree of magnitude,

Dark Co

ty,  
blems intractable  
the Afrl

war :  
? ANTHONY DANIELS  
can malaise and

continent becomes darker by the cor-  
as Africa slides mon-»'dmhno Sio  
' : Are the

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gnspondenu report from the frontline  
T e e s ]

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Liberty, democracy  
are empty words

the horrors of Somalia and  
Ethiopia need no introduc-  
tion, hundreds of thousands  
have died in civil wars in  
Angola and Mozambique,  
and the destruction of Li-  
beria has been well nigh  
â\200\230complete, with a quarter of  
its population exiled and a  
further quarter displaced.

Distorted

~ Africaâ\200\231s economic plight  
is likewise dire. One must  
not exaggerate, however,  
and one must bear in mind  
that the statistics are un-  
reliable and frequently  
meaningless.

Many have been the  
famine alerts over the



ears which did not turn

to famines; and travel-  
ling through the continent I  
have often been astonished  
that allegedly malnour-  
ished children grow so fre-

quently into strapping and  
abundantly healthy young  
adults. The capacity of or-  
dinary Africans to prosper  
in difficult conditions im-  
presses every foreign visl-  
tor. !

Nevertheless, the econ-  
omic and political failures  
of Africa â\200\230as a whole are  
patent and require ex-

-planation, The most fre-

quently advanced explana-  
tion is that European  
colonisation distorted  
Africa so badly that it has  
been unable to recover. Â°

There is some truth in  
this, but in â\200\230an opposite  
sense to that usually  
meant. The lines drawn on  
maps by the colonising  
powers to delimit their ter-  
ritories are often blamed  
for the difficulties that  
faced African countries  
after their independence,

for these countries do not

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pond â\200\230to anâ\200\230y Ã©tluxic .  
and therefore lack

â\200\230national integration.

is true but irrele-

n of Africa into sep-  
arate countries would have  
resulted in a similar prob-  
lem, so numerous are Afri-  
caâ\200\231s ethnic groups. The .  
alternative â\200\224 pan-African-  
ism 4 la Nkrumah â\200\224 is  
clearly not practical  
either what is impossible  
on a small scale is unlikely  
to be possible on a vastly  
greater scale.

The damage done by co-

Colonialism was of 2 different kind. [It provided a model of government in which the wise few ruled the foolish or incapable many. It was this "Bentality" which the

new rulers of Africa, for the most part petty functionaries frustrated and humiliated by their lack of advancement under colonialism, adopted as their own, regardless of the ideology they espoused.

DAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 1993

The myths of revolution  
on

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

Unhappily, it's not that easy. When Nelson Mandela tells his followers to - throw their weapons into the sea, nothing happens. 'Ungovernability' has become a way of life; the methods of violent revolution; of 'armed struggle', are embedded in our culture, and in the

hearts of people. The AK-47 and the

knife have become the everyday working tools of barbarians and street

B, .. '

It's not just a matter of calling off

the dogs-or going round the world with a begging bowl. R :

That the nation is depraved is no longer in question. We murder each other at 10 times the rate of the

violence-prone Americans whom so many of our people affect to despise; thugs command the streets at night, and triplings rape women old enough to be their grandmothers. Theatres are dying for want of customers, and the parks are dangerous wildernesses. -

At another level, corruption has seeped so deeply into the national soul that at Cabinet. Ministers see nothing much wrong with taking from the taxpayer exorbitant recompense for living

in their own houses, while millions of their people huddle in shacks and some live in holes in the ground.

All this was not only foreseeable; it was foreseen. Most early opponents of apartheid warned that a system based

on racial prejudice must end in moral

collapse. On that point there was wide  
agreement., y e  
Fewer, however, agreed on another.

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consume their children, that violent  
transitions breed more violence and  
that it is the work of generations to  
rebuild a shattered economy. When the  
armed struggle was launched on the  
pretext that no other route of  
resistance remained open, liberals

" armed struggle evoked total strategy,

tion.  
point, equally valid: that revolutions

still poison our minds

warned that revolutionary strategy  
would exact a terrible price.  
- And so it has turned out. : :  
Not that the armed struggle turned  
out to be much of a show: a few bombs,  
spells of terror mostly in the town-  
ships random necklacing, occasional  
assassinations. Umkhonto we Sizwe,

. whatever its merits-may have been,

was hardly Ho Chi Minh's army; it re-  
mained always a ragtag, undisciplined  
mob that swam among the people not  
as mere fish but as piranhas. Where  
Mao's revolutionaries observed elabo-  
rate respect for the people, MK's  
cadres preferred to force detergent

. down the throats of aged shoppers.

- Militarily, MK was a laugh. i  
What did bring down apartheid was,  
as liberals had always predicted, the  
demographic and economic forces  
which apartheid was intended to con-  
tain. The first great breakthrough, the  
emergence of an independent labour  
movement, was the consequence not of  
armed struggle and sanctions but sim-  
ply of economic growth and the trans-  
fer of industrial skills to black people,

LACK workers liberated them-  
selves simply by organising them-  
selves. Black migrants destroyed  
the pass laws by the simple act of  
coming to town. Job reservation

-collapsed because workers and em-  
ployers colluded to evade the law.

Black tenants destroyed the -Group  
Areas Act by renting homes.  
Throughout this process, the ANCHit  
and the National Party fed off each};  
other, always making matters worsej!  
than they needed to be: apartheid}  
evoked rebellion, rebellion evoked ban-| i  
ning, banning evoked armed struggle,

B

total strategy evoked sanctions, and Kâ\200\234  
sanctions evoked secrecy and corrup-

Alan Paton rejected sanctions on the  
! ground that he could not starve peas-  
i ants for the sake of liberation; Helen  
i Suzman rejected sanctions because she  
i was not prepared to lay the country to  
] waste â\200\230 in order to free it, as an Ameri-  
can officer once burnt down a Vietnam-  
' ese village in order to â\200\234 saveâ\200\235 it. Theâ\200\231

. ANC, however, had  
â\200\230 justified any means.

- away from that dr  
+ they both abandoned| militaristic strat-  
... egies for the old lib  
. negotiation and comp

-mythology of rede  
: whether it is called  
: or â\200\234 peopleâ\200\231 s revolutionidnâ\200\235, is the great lie  
i of our time.

|  
.to violence, and s3

' fies the means.

no doubt: the end

. We have been very lucky to escape  
the full consequences\$ of revolutionary  
strategy. We were rescued from the  
wasteland by the stroke of fortune that  
removed President Botha from office;

as Van Zyl Slabbert has remarked, that  
man would have gone to the bitter end  
with a smile on his lips. President de  
Klerk and Nelson Mandela turned us  
down when

the prescription of  
romise.

Now we must rebuild. It will not be  
easy, The minds of the young  
have been poisoned. On all sides,  
dissent is treated as treason, and  
it is no accident that Moses

; Mayekiso and his merry men are war-  
ning in blatantly racist terms - that  
they will not permit white political -

parties to campaign in the ungoverned  
townships.  
The task that awaits the first ANC

government is enormous, but the physical  
reconstruction will be the easiest part -  
of it. More difficult will be to purge the

minds of a generation of South Africans  
of their obsession with the mythology of  
violence, To do that the ANC leadership  
will have to confess that the whole struc-  
ture of violence,  
armed struggle

Of course the Nationalists should  
confess the wickedness of apartheid,

but it hardly matters if they do not

they are the detritus of our history. Our  
future depends, however, on the will-  
ingness of the ANC to make a similar  
confession of its own destructive strate-  
gies, of its own wickedness in resorting  
to actions, and, the  
that the end justi-

that most pitiful of  
it is not our fault;  
that, too, is a moral

immoral doctrine  
So far, all I hear is {

all self-justifications:  
they made us do it. Till

KEN OWEN

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SUNDAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 199-

' OPINION  
nother path

THE gathering in Sintra, in ready see the-professiopal )olit

Portugal, this week of cians paying more attestation

prominent South Africans, the party hierarchy than to the

black and white, who might ' constituents), andâ\200\231 it elimina  
be de cribed as broadly liberal, eccentrics, small minorities, a  
has brought together people who individual voices. Unless the D  
(if we fnay appropriate a famous can get at least three percent of  
phrasq from our political past) the national vote lt will disappea  
belong together. completely and, perhaps, perma-

~The |decision of Dr Frederik nently from our politics.

van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex That would leave us entirely in  
Boraine to foresake the Progres- the hands of the Nationalists and  
sive Federal Party in 1986 was a the ANC, with the Inkatha Fr?

Ho %

cruel blio'w from which the PFP, dom Party playing a spoiling rol  
despite its transmogrification on the side, and while events ma  
' into the Democratic Party, has havedriven all three of these par  
never recovered. But neither, for ties towards acceptance of  
that maltter, has the liberal cause oe pous liberal mechanisms, nong  
recovered from the decision of - of them is wedded to liberal val  
the Liberal Party to close in 1968. ues. Each is capable of gutting g



â\200\224 a -%ecision which, though liberal constitution If it gets their-  
forced . o  
black liberals adrift on a revolvy. ' To ensure the survival of  
.tionary tide, : .. .- lidental democracy, in short, re-  
This history is of little signifi- \* quires a broad liberal movement  
cance now, except as an explana- wh;ch will unite people who share  
tion, or a partial explanation, of a lxberal\_ vision -of the future. It  
the present weakness of the par- the meeting at Sintra has begun a  
ties that held aloft a set of ideals process of reconciliation, bea|  
around which, to a greater or Â° tween the DP and Idasa, between  
lesser degree, all the major par- = white liberals and the blacks who || Âfy  
ties have clustered: democracy, were left to their own devices in |  
liberty, equality, justice, and law. . 1968, between the hardline  
The irony is that, unless liberals liberals and those who trimmed  
get together very quickly, they their sails to the left-wing gales  
are likely to be eclipsed by the of the 80s, then the Democratic {-

Y @ restrictive law, left .chance.

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ot

- coming elections, and eclipsed Party (in whatever form) may be  
more cornpletely than they ever much less of a lost cause than it  
were by oppression, : Dow seems to be. :

Proportional representation is At the very least, it may pre-  
probably the best way for South serve a decent alternative for the  
Africa to|go at this stage of its many South Africans who cannot  
history, but proportional repre- - associate themselves with the  
sentation is far from being a per- two totalitarian traditions, left  
fect system. It â\200\230gives inordinate and right, which have come to  
power to: party bosses (we al. dominate our politics.

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SUNDAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 1993

Codesa

Â«Judgea

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iven the pust

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

This weekâ\200\231s conferepce 10 plag the re-sywptics of Codesa-style talks will be chaired by a rotating panel of seven political representaiives,

NeÂ¢gotiators said the governmeni was

concerned about Mr Justice fsmail Mo- f.

hamed's â\200\234left leamingsâ\200\235 and Mr Justice |  
Petrus Schaboriâ\200\231s inability to sufficiently  
balagce this influence.

The compromise reached after this ob- |  
jection was that the meeting should be  
chaired by a seven-person pamel.

There is widespread acceptance among  
namas that the two judges will also not be

he chair when full.scale Codesa talks  
rfsume

Peity baggling of this nature dominated  
the run-up 6 the two-day meeting, wmch  
starts next Friday

Questioas about who should invite the  
parties, who sbowld come, who should be in

the chair, who should speak first, where Â\$

they should sit and what should be dis-

cussed have been thrashed out !n excruch

atiog detail.

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

! By EDYTH BULBRING

Iokatha ceotral committee wmeeti  
Government negotiators Roelf Meyer

and Tertius Delport will present

posals to Inkatba leader Maxn

. Buthelezi in the hope of getting his

for the power-sharing plan,

| The two ministers want to outilhe the

! | proposals directly to Chief Butheldzi be-

ause the governmeni is concernefl that  
!nka:ha pegotiator Walter Felgat  
bas been accused of misiesding the

! teader, will distort its position.

To prevent this from happening, the gov-  
ernment managed lo sedlive an wvitation  
to the central committed meeting.

But there are indications that Â¢  
forts will be io vaio as sthe Inkatha Â¢

! Â¢omraittee already appears to have

i ed to reject the Kpowemhaxâ\200\230!ng de,

Meanwhiie, 2 Rwazulu governimesg dele-

! gation, representing King Goodwill] Zwe-

fithin!, will attend the planning confÃ@rence  
â\200\224 whether they are fovited or not.

kaner Volksunie are also expect  
attend.

The parties will discuss past  
reached at Codesa and ow they see future  
segotiations,

Â£6. 19

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SUNDAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 1993'

backs  
new |  
liberal |

By NORMAN WEST  
Politics! Reporter  
FORMER Frogressive  
Federal Party leader Dr  
Frederik van Zyl Slabbert  
this week helped lay the

Aims

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

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

He said a number of poli-  
ticians held similar core  
values, but, for various rea-

sons largely historical.

-~ they found themselves

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Watchdog

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

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

But I want to stress  
there is no room for a new  
political party at this

ended

\_, s'tage," he F

' CARMEL RICKARD re-  
ports that Dr Dhlomo, who |  
"was unable to attend the |

foundations for a powerful in different parties. .

new democracy watchdog : AN Dr Boraine and Dr Oscar meeting in Portugal, said

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he had n et been in-  
formed of }uz nominau?n

group supported by many {| Dhlome, head of the Insti-  
; te co-head (the new move-

.â\200\230 | |  
C bberal demo- |, | |{ }tute for Muitiparty Democ-

; | racy, will head the ew fo-

crats

After two days of discus-  
sions in Sintra, Portugal,  
delegates from a range of  
organisaticns stopped  
short of starting a new  
political party for liberals,  
but they did agree W  
jaunch a â\200\230â\200\230democracy  
forumâ\200\235 within a month.

Dr Alex Boraine, eXecu  
tive director of the Insti-  
tute for a Democratic Al-  
terpative for South Africa,  
said the initiative followed  
numerous approaches to  
Dr van Zyl Slabbert and  
wimself to launch a new  
party.

The appeals had come

\ Âçrom members of the pub-  
I\ e disilllusigned by corrup-  
I| ti0n in the government and  
'\ pv what seemed to be a  
{ } geramble for power by all  
v politicians, irrespective of

democratic values

rum. :  
The forum's aums will

be:

& To bring together key  
players who are disillu-  
sioned with the current

political climate;

Â® To seek consensus on an understanding of what democracy means;

@ To establish a broad alliance between participants so that regular contact can be maintained;

Â® To identify individuals and constituencies who should be included in the debate on democratic strategy, thereby ensuring that the democratic centre holds through the transition period.

ment.

â\200\234The idea of a new national non-party political forum promoting democratic values is exciting.

ing and constructive,â\200\235 he adds (icd

~ â\200\234But I would need to be fully briefed about the Situation before commenting on her.â\200\235

â\200\224

Li

the voices of South Africa's  
traditional leaders are going  
to be increasingly heard as  
the country moves towards  
its first non-racial general  
election. The ANC has  
agreed after consulting with  
11 Traditional leaders last  
weekend to involve  
traditional leaders in the  
negotiations at national  
level, and IFP deputy  
secretary Inkosi Simon  
Gumede is set to launch a

Forum. Tripartite

amakhosi

32 93

"in 201

constitutional talks. Long

/! new forum of chiefs intent  
'f} on ropnunu in 2010 on a 200/2301:t

be heard

200/230 the battle is on for the hearts .  
! and minds of South Africa 200/231s

kings, princes and chiefs

whose influence is likely to

swing millions of votes in the rural  
areas.

3; (200/230 (2012 Minister of Works and  
IFP deputy secretary Inkosi Simon  
Gumede says 200/234 an alternative  
forum for traditional leaders in  
Gauteng Africa 200/231 200/231 will soon be  
launched to give traditional rulers  
south of the Limpopo a home 200/235.

And Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini,  
"of necessity 200/235, would have an  
open door to this federal body, Inkosi  
Gumede says

But the Congress of Traditional  
Leaders of South Africa (Congress),  
which has been intensifying its  
efforts to woo traditional leaders  
in KwaZulu into its camp, has  
slammed the new forum as 200/234 an Inkatha  
front 200/235.

â\200\234This is a counter to Contraless and obviously an election ploy to boost Inkatha's presence at the negotiation table,â\200\235 says Contralesa president Inkosi Sango Patekile Holomisa.

However, the Contralesa leader does concede that influential chiefs are asking the question: â\200\234Where do I fit into the new South Africa?â\200\235

Inkost Gumedede told the Sunday Tribune that the nascent Federal

Council of Traditional Leaders in .

southern Africa (FCTLSA) would strive to â\200\234represent the true feelings and aspirations of true traditional leaders and not impostersâ\200\235, | The decision to establish the FCTLSA, Inkosi Gumedede said, represented â\200\234an attempt to reassert the importance of traditional leaders in every sphere of life in South Â\$

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the subject of controversy, these influential rulers now finding themselves amidst hearts-and-battles they seek to define roles for themselves, BRIAN |

are  
ives

KING ropomâ\200\230

Africaâ\200\235.

â\200\234Wa (the amakhosi) must take steps to ensure our proper place in constitutional and other negotiations that are going on in the country.â\200\235

The KwaZulu minister added that â\200\234the Codesa experienceâ\200\235 and the non-representation of traditional leaders at that congress had â\200\234taught us the necessity for such a forum which can represent real



traditional leadersâ\200\235.

"It would be strange for any Codess-type negotiating forum to succeed without the input of traditional leaders. There can be no peaceful settlement without their input.â\200\235

For Inkosi Gumede, Coutralesa is not the vehicle through which they want to speak. Contralesaâ\200\231s recent approaches to President De Klerk in which the repressive nature of KwaZulu, Ciskel and Bophutatswana was discussed and the dismantling of self-governing territories advocated, did not reflect the feelings of true traditional leaders.

â\200\234I'm in KwaZulu and I'm not aware of traditional leadersâ\200\231 feeling being suppressed here,â\200\235 he said. . L

Inkosi Gumede added that the FCTLSA was â\200\234not to counter Contralesa but to come up with the teeth, because if we remain mum so many things will be said in our name to which we donâ\200\231t & e

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

Amnakhosi ã@re being wooed with . \_gecounted tales of chiefs having

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been made to run around paked; of their areas having been infiltrated and grievances sti up; of having been dubbed sell-outs and their homes attacked: of â\200\234â\200\230peopleâ\200\231s courtsâ\200\235 being s&t to replace them; and that they've been targets of a propaganda campaign which has quietly ignored the fact that the vast bulk of disputes in South Africa are settled through tribal courts and that chieftainship structures have made a large contribution towards development in the rural areas. i

The amakhosi need their own voice, says Inkosi Gumede. â\200\234We want iron-clad guarantees that can only be negotiated with and by ourselves,â\200\235 he says.

â\200\234In our country some &arttu :  
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have strenuously op

tieipation of traditi leaders (at

Codesa) although lpaders of the |

same organisatiogs have been  
going around South Africa promis-  
ing chiefs that they will be looked  
after in a new South Africaâ\200\235  
Contralesaâ\200\231s InKosi Holomisa  
echoes the view that traditional  
\eaders are facing upcertainties. 1  
ment and the Government for fail-  
ing to define a proper role for tra-  
ditional leaders in Sputh Africa.â\200\235  
â\200\230Inkesi Holomisa \$ald Contralesa  
was not ANC-aligopd as such, al-  
though Contralesa did stand for the  
abolition of the hormelands system  
â\200\230because it had divided and "tar-

biame also the l%ration move-

pished the image of the traditional

jeadership systemâ\200\235.

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â\200\234Some of the tril;!itional leaders

in the forefront of {Contralesa)  
movement are individual members  
of the ANC:~ but this was in the

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SUNDAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 1983

IFP greet

its new M

| ZULU dancers and | IRSIREIR LTS feporter

| braais greet

i and white

| Freedom Party sup-{|

porters yesterday atl

| the first IFP rally to be  
| held at Vryheid's  
| rugby stadium.

The rally was a festive

| occasion, with eight stewed  
| oxen for more than 5000  
| supporters â\200\224 including 80  
| whites â\200\224 who came 10 hone  
| our [FP president Mango-  
| suthu Buthelezi and the  
| guest of honour Vryheid

. MP Jurie Mentz

{ The vetÃ©ran NP politt-

| cian crossed the floor last

ed black Â\$

inkatha { month to become the IFPâ\200\231s

first parliamentary voice.

He was followed soon  
after by Mr Mike Tart,  
who representad Maritz-  
burg Norta for the DP, and  
Mr Farouk Cassim of  
Stanger, north of Durban.

Dancers

The rally was the first

athering of Afrikaans and  
Zulu-speaking, party sup-  
porters in Vryheid, and the  
organisers spyred no effort  
to make it 3 success.

Young Zululdancers gy-

rated to the beat of cattie-  
skin drums, while lowns-  
folk sweafed over SmOKY  
fires a&s they prepared  
meat in the traditional  
Afrikaner way.

One of the more notice-  
able whites was a local  
resident, Schalk du Plessis,  
who is known as-the â\200\234white  
Zulyâ\200\235. He was dressed in  
traditional skins.

In his speech, Mr Buthe-

lezi reaffirmed his party's support for federalism, saying the IFP wanted a society which fostered har-

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

burg. ;

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

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

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

Praising Mr Mentz said the Inkatha leader had never experienced in its socialism

Reliable

His party/ was not in-

" yeived in intimidation and

would not expropriate the people's property; more, Zulus were brave, proud, resilient and peaceful people with strong leadership.

It was a coming together of two nations which fought vicious battles against each other a cen-

tury ago, byt now live in  
apparent harmony in the  
agricultural and mining  
disteict of Vryheid.

Te the applause of the  
winlating crowd, Mr Mentz  
and the â\200\234white Zuluâ\200\235 ep-  
gaged in a fraditional Zulu  
stick fight.

Speaking to the crowd  
later, the 's flyency in  
Zulu earned him a thunder-  
ous cheer.

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| 17 was billed as & Zuiu-Boer

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Graham Spence

PSSR

show, but this time there

| was talk of brotherhood rather than blood.

| right-wingers still

The setting was Vryheid, just 100km away from  
Blood River where Boer and Zulu clashed in an epic  
battle last century. The bitterness still exists in Day of  
the Covenant celebrations = O Dingaan's Day as  
call it 224 but yesterday, as former

| Afrikaner nationalist and National Party frontbencher

| Jurie Mentz joined the

Inkatha Freedom Party, both

| sides made rich use of symbolism.

Granted, there were only about 300 whites, most of

| whom were not IFP members although 811 admirers

{ of Mr Mentz.

of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And some may  
argue that the 500 blacks came along for a free  
meal: eight oxen slaughtered for the occasion courtesy  
But whatever, judging by enthusiastic

| crowd reaction for Mr Mentz, pop singer Johnny Clegg  
{ of Savuka is not the only white Zulu,

| came out firing with both

In his first speech as an IFP member, Mr Mentz  
barrels. The ANC were the

| enemy, and the reality was that to stop them grabbing

| power, one had to throw  
| visionary with integrity

in one's lot with an honest  
and gutsy 224 which he said was

230 Dr Buthelezi

| Mentz said e Â«nd his

Speaking in Zulu, and regularly applauded, Mr

wife were at a stage the Only

| whites farming in the area between Hiobane and Non-  
| goma, and he had grown to truly respect Zulu culture  
| of discipline and integrity

| well, have lived peacefully here

â\200\234wWe all love the mountains of Natal. We, white and  
for the past 100

| years, and I pray our children will also live in peace  
I here for the next 100 years. '

Harry Gwala (ANC Midlands leader)

to be ruled by

of Natal prefer not  
and Chris Hani

"The people

I (Communist party secretary-general), â\200\235 he said to vy

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lating applause.

the festivities beforehand were

Fighting talk or not,  
blazing northern

decidedly colourful Africa under a  
Natal sun. The Boers, some in suits, others  
shorts and slip-slops, mingled easily with Zulu digni-  
tories in the grandstand. Mr Mentz, a fluent Zulu lin-  
guist, was greeted warmly whenever he strolled  
around the Vryheid Rugby ground, often by men in  
congruously dressed in skins with leather shoes and

socks. At one stage he held a mock stick fight with another white Zulu, Schalk du Plessis, who also farms

in the Nongoma area and is the champion stick fighter in the district.

â\200\2341 was taught as a child by the herdboys and they

taught me wellâ\200\235 said Mr Du Plessis. Indeed, Scha 24, I regularly asked to dance and stick fight at Zulu weddings, and is perhaps the only white to ever master this arcane Zulu art. â\200\234The only problem is that one of his arms gets tired. He was shot there while serving

with the SADF in Angola,â\200\235 said Mr Mentz.

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PARTY TIME FOR THE IFPâ\200\231s ...

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We, white and black, have lived peacefully here for the past 100 â\200\231 years, and I pray our children will also live in peace here for the next 100 years. 3

As Zulu drummers beat a hypnotic rhythm, singing praise to â\200\234Shengeâ\200\235 (Dr Buthelezi's Sraise name) other IFP converts Mike Tarr (former DP MP for Pletermaritzburg North) and Farouk Cassim (MP Stanger) told why they too had crossed the great divide.

â\200\234In Natal, the political struggle is between the ANC and the IFP â\200\224 one has to make a choice,â\200\235 said Tare, â\200\234But the ANC has a far more sophisticated public relations machinery, and now we are going to fight fire with fire.â\200\235 i

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Âç We all love the mountains of Natal. |



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SUNDAY TIMES, 28 FEBRUARY 1993

New chancellor \_

FORMER Catholic Arche â\200\230  
bishop of Durban Denis| ;  
Hurley is to be instanedt/  
as Chancellor of e Uni. !  
Versity of Natal He wil; |  
take oyer from Mr Jus- !  
tice Ray Leon whe re-

[ tires next week.

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Alliance |  
denies plot  
to oust |  
Mandela

By Sunstan REPORTER

THE tripartite alliance â\200\224 the ANC,  
the SA Cammunisâ\200\231t Party. ang the ey i  
Congress of South African Trade ! t was not o  
:",â\200\231nigns = has dismissed last week- 1 made a.uegaiï¬\201oï¬\202;; fbugd:y Star whic  
h  
end's report in the Sunday Star | ple Mandela, 1 Wik h':. aliï¬\202pt to top-  
about an alleged piot to unseat Nel | Mandela, hersels 89 wife, Winnie  
son Mandela as ANC president. | Member of gng w; thr:n ftlgï¬\202uentiai  
Aljoint statement issued by ANC ,â\200\230 ;;"!Ui she resigned her thredi ANC  
chaifman Oliver Tambo, SACP Lops less than g year ago | â\202¬y po-  
chatrman Joe Slovo, and Cosatu's | 30 elected member of the'g% B !  
Chris Dlamini has accused thel j;us;- : Câ\200\231s na-  
day Star of â\200\234rehashing tired, old al- : welfare  
ie--gyat\*.cm about a secret â\200\230cabalâ\200\231 in | f};ï¬\202ed leader of .  
the leadership of the ANCâ\200\235 ag{i dis- { Shgem;t%â\200\230w region). .  
missed the report as â\200\234a feeble at- â\200\231 wields ; |  
tempt to breathe new life into a ru- | e sections of the a'ïï¬\201ï¬\201:â\200\230câ\200  
\230gâ\200\230 in some  
mour that has done the rounds for e Â¢ alliance seems lo disnllss ;  
over & decade !\_ Â£n;Â°e docurnens, wirittan, aÂ¢ dm:h  
The mischievous docurents that ! dccâ\200\230friï¬\201ï¬\201â\200\234 ; M Six!gli  
form the basis of the story have 5 nt repudiated by Mandbkla  
been dismissed as crude forgeries on 3  
maore than one occasion by the ANC,  
! We are surprised that the Sunday  
| Star appears keen to give them  
| credibibity  
â\200\230On the last occasion that the  
ANC was called upon to respond to  
this jssue Comrade Nelson Mandela  
spearheaded the argument that the  
document in question was a plant,  
emanating {rom sources hostile to  
the ANC. The ANC repeats its ear-  
lier categorical rejecion of these al  
legations. The authorship of the Sun-  
day Starâ\200\231s â\200\230exciusiveâ\200\231 does not in any  
way lend weight to the substance of  
the gharges

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