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Donwald PreÃsly

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 turn-

around 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

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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 Lianel 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 foot-crossing in the provinces.

Last year, when the DA lost a by-

election in Betbal to the tiny Free-
dom Front, it wnspaceuusly did not

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holding more media events than :]]

other political parties combined.
The party lost about 300 council-

lors during the floor-crossing period

when about half the NNP council-

lors elected under a DA ticket in
2000 returned to their previous
home. It was also muddled by
the Jurgen Hacken party funding
imbroglio.

The DA pushed its share of the
Tshwane vote from 56,65% in 2000 to

69,47% (3237 votes). The
election attracted significantly

fewer voters than 28,249 of the elec-

- tion compared with 54,61% but
had the highest poll of the six recent

Cal A R e X X I N RARE A A R A A K R R S A " 200\231A 200\231Q 200\231L AROICSIPRYI e Ly

200\230by-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 per-
centage 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 1% 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

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Inkatha helps DA break out of the doldrums

"ANC received 75,8% (401 votes) com-

pared with 77,3% in 2000. The Pan
Africanist Congress's share climbed
from 17,1% to 24,2% (128 votes).

In Maseru 2 Phofung (Qwa Qwa) the
ANC received 82,4% (748 votes), com-
pared with 85,5% three years ago.
The IFP's share grew from 6,99%
to 17,5%. The DA's share gar-
nered 6,68%, stood back for the IFP -

an this occasion. .

Other opposmcn parties which
stood â\200\224 including 2 variety of Christ-
ian parties and the United Demo-
cratic Movesuent â\200\224 fared poorly. The
UDM polled just six votes in the
Johannesburg ward.

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P . 26 Mail&Guardian January 31 to February 6 2003 â\200\231 .NO. 723 P.6

Comment&Analysis . -

MailfGuardian

Mail; Letters, PO Box 91667, Auckland Park, 2006.

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Time for Buthelezi

â\200\234toownhisdeeds .

hroughout the apartheid era Mangosuthu Buthelez
proclaimed his opposition to the racist ideology even when it.
" was patently clear to even the dimmest cretin thathewasin- -
bed with the National Party, - ' .

Ever the pious self-promoter, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader
proclaimed himself a peace-loving civil rights and democracy cam-
paigner. He even elevated himself to the status of Martin Luther King
Jnr 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 4 typical â\200\230Western-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. - N e o

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 per-
petuated by Inkatha militias. Orphans, widows and widowerslost .
loved ones simply becahse they opposed the system that Buthelezigo
loyally served. Roaming the length of that province (and indeed other
parts of the country) arÃ© 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 â\200\224 an unlikely event. So, until a court oflaw finds otherwise, we -
will presutne him innocent. R ot .

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

In the final report of the truth commission, the most comprehengive -

* 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 deptity Jacob Zuma are abroad. Today he is fÃ©ted
at state banquets and has his views sought by powerful interest groups.
He even has the word â\200\234dignitaryâ\200\235 attached to his name on official
programmes, Abroad he is regarded as an architect of our democratic
order. And in South Africaâ\200\231s promiscuous political set-up other opposi-
tion 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, 85 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 2 decent society by white-washing historical crimes.

Tt is in this contÃ©xt that we applaud the truth coxamissionâ\200\231s stern decision to stand by its final report and not, in effect, to lie to future : generations. When Buthelezi supped with the Jikes of PW Botha and

*Magnus Malan, he was fully aware of what he was doing. HÃ© must start to take responsibility for his acts. '

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he recent public spat between,
Minister of Socigl Develop- .
ment Zola Skweyiya and bis

â\200\230| provincial counterpart, Prince Gideon
7Zulu (who also happens to be asenior
Inkatha Freedom Party leader), over

â\200\230how 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 Mishali (who por-
trays himself as a 10-NONSENSE pre-
mier) to fire Zulu for incompetence.

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IFP .isâ\200\230fail;m'g the people

ion of food parcels shows

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which shows it supports his actions,
{5 the national minister and

does not need Zulu's approval to im-
plement 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 pre-
tends as if nothing is happening. I
think because the [FP and the DP have 2
coalition agreement and the latter is

scared of ruining theix relationship?

T would be happy if NGOs and h
community-based organisations voice
their opinions on this despicable act.
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ently entitled to govern KwaZulu-
Natal, â\200\224 Viogrii Mbhels, Dm;bgb;;w

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This is a classic rerun taken from Zapiro:

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The nallmg of Buthelezi

Inkatha leaderâ\200\231s
attempts to whitewash
history thwarted; says
truth commission

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Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mango-
guthu Buthelezi has failed in his
attempts to â\200\234whitewash history and Â°
portray himself as a peace-loving anti- .
apartheid activistâ\200\235, say former Truth
and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
members and investigators.

Hailed as a vindication of Buthelezi's .
innocence of apartheid-era wrong,

done by his party and legal team, the .

settlement was described by former
TRC commissioner Yasmin Sooka asâ\200\231
proof that Buthelezi collaborated with
the â\200\234most senior echelons of the
apartheid stateâ\200\231s security organsâ\200\235

The settlement, reached on the eve [Â\$

of what was expected to be a dra-
matic court battle this week, ended

Butheleziâ\200\231s long-running bid to have Old friends. Apartheid leader PW Botha and IFP p
resident Mangosmhu Buthelezi clasp hands in 1957

the TRC excise parts of the commis-

sionâ\200\231s final reports, which described
him as a primary human rights viola- 1
tor: The IFP interdicted the commis- |
sion from finalising its report.in Sep- |
_temberlast year, delaying the release

of the document, It also delayed the -
drafting of the government's new
amnesty policy and the compensa-
tion 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 pub-
lish an annexure spelling out his objee-
.tions 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 con- |
ceded to change some of 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 viola- '
tions ... It tried to bully the TRC and
failed, he said.

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 collabo-
rated 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 refer-
ence 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 Opera-
tion Mation and involving SADF train-

ing of 208 IFP members, in the early
1990s. Buthelezi has always main-
tained the menwemmedfordefen .
give purposes.
The TRC found that one of the

i| Caprivi hit squads was deployed in

KwaZulu-Natalâ\200\231s KwaMakhutha town-
ghip in 1987, where it killed 13'men,

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women and children at the homsofa -
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 respon-
sible 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 applica~

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

in his legal submissions on the
Caprivi training, the IFPs 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 individ-
uals within the Inkatha, who did go in the
defiance of policy on the matter, as did,

tion, the IFP had sought to rely on the; - we believe, certain ANC members." , ,

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 commis-
sion and the Steve Biko inquest. * : . "«
"The TRC found that "backing" was.
no mystery and was obviously sup-
plied by the military and Inkatha. It
could not agree with the court's find-
ings that the word "offensive" [train-
ing] 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" R
* Sooka pointed out that one of the
Caprivi trainers, Colonel Jan Nie-
woudt, had stated in his amnesty "1
"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" 5

independent activist, he had requested -
" help from the former apartheid regimeâ\200\231
. and had got itâ\200\235 she added. -
" In his application against the TRC

findings, Buthelezi claimed he and the -

IFP consistently adhered to lawful -

methods. He wanted specific refer-

ences to himself, MZ Khumalo and the

current . KwaZulu-Natal MEC for

Social Welfare, Gideon Zulu, removed
â\200\224 from the TRUS Gial report, In all the
party demanded that 37 paragraphs in
â\200\230 the TRC report be set aside.

These included references to its role
in the â\200\234 Seven Day Warâ\200\235 in 1990 a found
Pietermaritzburg, the â\200\234 Toaster Gangâ\200\235
that killed Tembisa residents in the
early 1990s, the Mlaba camp in the
Eswazulu-Natal Midlands set up for the
military training of Inkatha â\200\234 self-
protection unitsâ\200\235 before the 1994 elec-
tion, and jailed former police hit squad
leader Eugene de Kock's delivery of six
truckloads of weapons to the comman-

. Sook: said that: there was over;

whelming evidence that Buthelezi -

worked. â\200\230 closely with apartheid

. government to destabilise liberation

movements.' ' _

She said the documents revealed thatâ\200\231
after the military decided to phase out .
support for offensive actions by the IFP
because of security problems, â\200\234 Buthe-- â\200\231
lezi during 1989-expressed to senior

military officers his desire for offensive

-action of his to be carried out in â\200\230 cells) as he
- was losing the â\200\230 armed struggle!
â\200\234 excerpts from tap-secret apartheid -

era documents and featured interviews with,
senior security officials abundantly

illustrate the sinister role

) IRL

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 y

of 'reparation' for victims. The findings of the report could - also form the basis for victims to make civil claims against political organisations. ;'', W sy '