

## East Rand violence halts IFP funeral

STRIFE in East Rand townships yesterday led to the IFP postponing a funeral for 14 of its members.

The organisation has not yet decided when the victims, killed in a taxi attack on September 21, will be buried.

At least 30 people have died and 13 others injured in Katlehong and Thokoza since Monday, according to Wits-Vaal peace monitor Bongi Dlamini.

On Friday fighting claimed four more lives in clashes in Thokoza. There were two attacks there yesterday — one at Buyafuti hostel and another in the Phenduka section.

Police later said four people died in a clash, but did not elaborate.

In the first assault, police said they dispersed the attackers. Nobody was injured. In the second, IFP spokesman Ed Tillet accused the SADF of leading a 1 000-strong ANC party on a rampage.

SADF spokesman Major Neels Visser denied the claims. Police confirmed that five houses were burned down in an attack in Thokoza.



### IFP polls move

INKATHA yesterday resolved to prepare for the election next year "in the expectation that these elections will be for a new democratic government and not for a transitional body".

The resolution was adopted after a day-long meeting of the organisation's central committee, which assessed progress made in bilateral discussions with government this week.

The meeting is also believed to have discussed a government document outlining ways of accommodating Inkatha's insistence on a finalised constitution before the election.



## De Klerk must force Gqozo to stand down

**V**ERY interesting days down south, where a civil servant is charging his employer with the cold-blooded murder of an opponent, and the employer is professing enthusiasm about the chance to prove his innocence, once and for all.

The flaw with what I have just said, of course, is that Ciskei's military dictator, Oupa Gqozo, is not the employer of the bantustan's attorney-general, Willem Jurgen, in the strict sense of the term; Jurgen, a public servant, is an employee of the people of Ciskei.

The commendable thing is that the messy business regarding the death of Charles Sebe - himself not an angel, it must be said, especially with those who dared to stand in his way - may finally be laid to rest.

Even though Sebe himself had absolutely no respect for the rights of others, and had been a law unto himself - he was an escaped convict at the time he was killed - he still deserved all the rights he had denied others, and which Gqozo denied him in the final 24 hours of his life. The recognition of those rights is the basis of justice, and one of the fundamental tenets of civilisation.

The murder charge now hanging over Gqozo's head raises two important issues: accountability and justice, though not necessarily in that order.

If the Ciskei bantustan was a truly democratic society, Gqozo, by virtue of the seriousness of the charge against him, would have been honour-bound to step down as "head of state", at least until justice had run its course.

He would be accorded all the rights due to anyone - a fair trial in open court, legal representation and a presumption of innocence until the court reached its verdict.

But Ciskei is not a democracy, not by a stretch - and it is so because of Gqozo's actions. When he staged the coup which ousted former "president for life", dictator Lennox Sebe, Gqozo said he wanted to end corruption and bring back accountability.

It is now history that, with the full backing of Military Intelligence in Pretoria and certain highly tainted policemen from South Africa - men heavily linked to the formation and activities of the police murder squads at the Vlakplaas base - Gqozo set about defining and refining ruthlessness and savagery into an art which he then perfected.

The callous killing of 29 marchers in September last year, gunned down in one continuous spurt of gunfire, perhaps better illustrates the character of the man with whom we are dealing here.

His pronouncements after the butchery which shocked the world left little doubt that Gqozo continues to be a danger to all the cherished values of democracy and civilisation.

Jurgen, a lawyer in the fine and proud tradition of the profession, is not the first justice official in the bantustan to seek to probe the Sebe murder in full. Others before him were fired, and it now remains a matter of speculation how much longer Jurgen will keep his job - and pursue his intention to see justice done.

What about Gqozo's financial backers, the South African Government?

Surely it is now imperative that President de Klerk himself steps in and tells Gqozo to step down?

The South African Government cannot continue pretending that Ciskei - for that matter, all other bantustans - are separate "countries", for they are not.

Gqozo's wings must be clipped, and he must learn to be accountable and take the consequences of his actions.

If Pretoria does not step in now, as it did when it restored one of its favourite boys, Lucas Mangope, to power after his opponents toppled him in a coup, it will lend credence to strong suspicions that the South African Government will not act against bantustan leaders sticking to its policies, but will victimise those who do not.

Oupa Gqozo was never a leader, and will never be one; he simply does not have the qualities. His only qualification is that he is a tinpot despot.

But even tinpot despots must bite the dust some time, and Gqozo's time has come.

■ *Jon Qwelane is Editor of Tribute magazine.*



The Mother of the Nation acquires  
a public relations adviser and a  
gentler image for the new South Africa



From revolutionary  
firebrand ...



... to comforter of  
the poor.



# 'Stop ANC winning two-thirds majority'

■ **Curb them:** Zach de Beer says the ANC must not be allowed to win too big a majority.

By DAVID BREWER

THE task of democrats is to prevent the ANC winning a two-thirds majority in next year's elections, says the Democratic Party's Zach de Beer.

Speaking at the DP national congress in Cape Town yesterday, he said that any party winning a two-thirds majority on April 27 would be able to write its own constitution in the constitution-making body.

"It's not that we hate the ANC. It's just that the final constitution should

be the product of negotiation.

"The main purpose of a constitution is to limit the power of an elected government - to protect citizens against the infringement of their rights and freedoms by those in power.

"It is completely unhealthy that any single party should be in a position to write that constitution alone, high-handedly - least of all the ANC, which has already shown intolerance against other parties, has been guilty of gross intimidation and which still carries the communists."

De Beer said a year or two ago many believed the National Party could win at least a third of the votes and thus prevent a two-thirds ANC

majority. "But it has now become evident that the Nats are losing ground fast," he said.

De Beer called on voters who could not bring themselves to vote for the ANC or the Nats to vote DP.

"Vote Democratic - deny the ANC the ability to manipulate the constitution; stay away from the apartheid party and save South Africa.

"For us and very many South Africans, the Nats are an unacceptable alternative to the ANC. (They can vote for the Democrats. If we were not available, they would either abstain and give the ANC its two-thirds majority by default - or perhaps vote for the ANC.



## Zulu brigade a shrewd move to 'outflank' TEC

■ **R5 Brigade:** The new Zulu army may be a stunt to get Inkatha a slice of the action on the new joint peacekeeping force.

By DAVID BREIER  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

FOR R5 you can buy a bottle of cheap white wine, a pack of sausages or secure a place in the new Buthelezi Brigade.

But Government believes there is more to the new Community Protection Units (CPUs) which the KwaZulu Government intends to establish



**BEATING THE DRUM ...** Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants an army behind him.

in Natal and the Reef through a R5 tax for Zulus.

By establishing his own private army at this late stage, KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is making a shrewd move,

they believe. For it could qualify KwaZulu and the IFP for membership of the joint peacekeeping force to be set up shortly.

This force is due to include elements of Government security

forces — the SAP and SADF — as well as private armies.

But KwaZulu and the IFP so far fail to qualify for this exclusive club as they lack their own private army.

Negotiations suspected the IFP game plan to form its own private army is to qualify for participation in the joint force of about 10 000.

However the IFP vehemently denies this motive, saying the CPUs are aimed purely at protecting KwaZulu citizens from attack.

The IFP still officially rejects the Transitional Executive Council which will run the peacekeeping force. But it is understood the IFP is being offered a deal of taking part in the TEC in exchange for greater federal powers.



# Winnie the tigress sheaths her claws

■ **Spin doctor:** Behind many powerful public figures lurks a public relations guru. Winnie Mandela's unlikely choice has helped soften her image as well as baffle her many critics.

By TRISH BEAVER

PUT a creative fashion designer and beauty pageant organiser together with a revolutionary - who once brandished matches in the name of freedom - and you get a puzzle which doesn't fit.

We were expecting Winnie's PRO to be a military-type MK gent. We were wrong. Very, very wrong. Yusuf Asmal is anything but predictable. He's not even a member of the ANC.

What is going on with Winnie? Quite a few things about her don't add up these days: no more photographs scooped by press paparazzi of the woman with the defiant black power salute resplendent in her camouflage fatigues.

The press, who loved to criticise her every move, have been frustrated at her silence and virtual disappearance from the headlines.

Any attempts to contact the Mother of the Nation are politely fielded by Yusuf Asmal, her public relations officer who stoutly denies that his job is to protect Mama Mandela from her past. He says he has an insight into a proud and matronly lady he calls "Mummy".

Asmal oozes creative energy, he's warm, funny and very trendy. His

brown eyes look like a spaniel's - and his hands gesticulate wildly when defending the woman he serves and respects.

Asmal describes Winnie as a "wonderful woman, warm and very funny - she's changed. I think she has been cruelly treated in the past and she adapted.

"I am not here to change her image, she's done that herself. I am just here to help her with the flood of media requests and publicity.

"Winnie has never been a press personality, if anything, the press tried to break her. She's scored minus points on the popularity

scales. But she's tough and she certainly doesn't need any help from me to fight her hardest critics.

"We're friends and we've got a mutual respect. I guess you could say that we're chalk and cheese. I'm not a political animal at all.

But, he observed, "politics and fashion have one common trait, they change every season. Winnie, if you like, has changed her look for the New South Africa."

Asmal had his first experience of media frenzy during Zinzi Mandela's wedding where he was hired to help co-ordinate the celebrations.

That was perhaps the occasion

which marked his entry into the Mandela "inner circle".

Asmal said that his preconceived ideas of Winnie underwent a radical change during the preparations.

"She's a wonderful mother, her daughters dote on her, she's always got time for them and she's the epitome of a loving granny.

"Winnie is not a prima donna. She doesn't seek approval, she is self assured and she has a lot of admirers."

Asmal, who has taken to tramping political rallies in the shadow of his client, has found that Mama M has an enormous following.

"This lady won't be fading into oblivion. I won't let her. She's powerful, sincere and her work with the Anti Poverty Programme has gone a long way to show she's now fighting a different war. One against poverty."

Asmal believes that handling Winnie Mandela's publicity is a challenge. He said: "She gave me a huge file bulging with faxes and invitations and said: 'Take a look'. I was flabbergasted. Media from around the world wanted to speak to her. Their questions were often obscene, rude and ignorant.

"Then she simply said: 'Do you think you could handle it?' I wasn't sure I could, but things happened ...

"I've been criticised, even threatened and accused of being a social climber but I ignore it. I do my job and she does hers."

He ended with a plea from the heart: "People are entitled to a past. Even Winnie - she should not be punished for it. People should get to know the other Winnie."

## NEW MAN IN WINNIE'S LIFE

... Yusuf Asmal wants people to get to know the gentler side of the Mother of the Nation.

PICTURE:  
NATASHA PINCUS





## Alarm over possible nepotism in ANC

■ **Comrade capitalist:** Are well-connected veterans of the struggle poised to play the old Nat cash-for-pals game?

By DAVID BREIER

THE Nat Government perfected the system of lucrative favours for political pals. Now fears are growing that the ANC will follow in their footsteps after next year's elections.

The announcement about ANC-aligned Thebe Investment Corporation planning to muscle in on the profitable school textbook industry has set alarm bells ringing.

The textbook industry, with a turnover of up to R800 million yearly, was for decades a hotbed of Nat nepotism. It relies mainly on Government contracts and taxpayers' money.

Scams around the provision of educational material reached a climax with revelations by the Van den Heever Commission.



**WELL PLACED ...** Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile.

One notorious example was that of Thinus Strydom, son of former DET deputy director-general Jaap Strydom, who used his father's influential position to do business worth millions with the DET. Strydom junior was later convicted on bribery and corruption charges.

Government departments such as the now defunct Department of Co-operation and Development rigged tenders so that only one company — usually run by pals — could bid successfully.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew welcomed black companies providing new competition, but warned against a new government repeating Nat practices.

Thebe Investments, together with British publishing house MacMillan and Skotaville Publishers of Johannesburg, has launched a joint venture, Nolwazi Educational Publishers, aimed specifically at school textbooks.

Thebe was founded by a trust formed by ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. Its managing director is Vusi Khanyile, until recently head of the ANC's finance department.

Khanyile denied that his company had ANC links but confirmed that as a black-run company practising affirmative action, it was well-placed to tender for schoolbook needs.

Khanyile said suspicions about the new company were unfair. "What will determine if a country is free of corruption is the kind of built-in checks and balances that regulate government officials. There must be a strict tender system."



## Bop and Ciskei's 1,5-m citizens may not have right to vote

By DAVID BREIER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE impasse over Bophuthatswana and Ciskei independence threatens the voting rights of about 1,5 million residents of the two nominally independent homelands, officials warn.

This week a technical committee member reminded the negotiations that residents of the TBVC states could not vote in South African elec-

tions unless re-incorporated.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa estimates there are 1 042 000 voters in Bop and 417 000 in Ciskei — all black.

Judging by recent opinion polls the vast majority of these would vote for the ANC, making these homeland voters an important pool of ANC support — perhaps as many as 68 percent of them if the latest Markinor survey is applied.

Transkei, which has about 1,5 million potential voters, has reserved its position on re-incorporation before the elections, but accepts that all South Africans should vote. Venda, which has 253 000 voters, is also prepared to fall into line.

But the impasse over Bop and Ciskei residents threatens to become a major confrontation if the homeland governments place stumbling blocks in the way of participation in

the April 27 polls.

Such barriers could be overcome by Bop and Ciskei residents simply crossing the borders to vote in South Africa if they have acceptable identity.

But the logistical difficulty of 1,5 million people having to travel out of their areas on election day is enormous and the ANC is unlikely to tolerate such treatment of its supporters.



## AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE ANC cracked its whip and the house came to attention. This was the week that the organisation's chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa finally called the bluff of the TBVC states.

After months of deferring the issue of when and how they would rejoin South Africa, negotiators from Ciskei and Bophuthatswana walked into a carefully-laid trap.

Mr Ramaphosa was explicit: South Africa had the right to pass whatever legislation it pleased and there was no reason why the Electoral Act should not give the right to vote to citizens of the TBVC states, he said.

Ciskei's Mickey Webb was the first to respond. Of course South Africa could pass such a law, but, he asked, would it be enforceable in the independent and sovereign TBVC states?

Precisely, said Mr Ramaphosa, the extension of the vote was legal — all that remained was to sort out how this would be enforced.

Then he produced his trump card: TBVC negotiators should stand up now and say if they would prevent their citizens from participating in the election, he said.

It was a moment of truth that neither Bophuthatswana nor Ciskei were ready for.

Either they would have to commit themselves to participating in the election and turn negotiations on reincorporation into a sideshow, or they had to say no to the election and face the political consequences of this among homeland residents.

They wisely declined to respond to the ultimatum and further discussion on the matter was referred to a future meeting of the council.

The exchange between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Webb was a strong signal that the ANC is losing patience with the foot-dragging of the TBVC states over reincorporation.

With four pieces of transitional legislation under the belt and behind-the-scenes talks taking place on the mechanics of imple-

# TBVC states blunder into ANC's trap

menting the Transitional Executive Council, the ANC began to show its determination to cut to the chase and deliver a framework for all-inclusive elections.

A breakdown of the areas still needing finalisation in the new constitution was circulated on Wednesday.

Still up for discussion are the shape of the future executive, including the deputy presidency and the deadlock-breaking mechanism for the future constituent assembly.

Despite the ominous list of issues still outstanding, negotiators spent much of this week on peripheral matters. Talks were adjourned for two hours on Thursday while the plan-

ning committee discussed a suggestion by the ANC that cellular telephones be discussed in the council.

The council reconvened to discuss another thorny issue — whether or not prisoners should be afforded the right to vote.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo argued that the courts had already imposed punishment on criminals and prisoners should not be further punished by being excluded from the vote.

In the end only the government, the DP and the Afrikaner Volksunie remained opposed to the principle, but then they are the parties least likely to benefit from the 100 000 additional votes that will be unleashed by the move.

RAY HARTLEY



## De Beer to stay as head of DP

Sunday Times Reporter

ZACH DE BEER was unanimously re-elected national leader of the Democratic Party yesterday.

At its two-day national congress in Cape Town, the DP turned down a proposal that a post of deputy leader be created.

In an opening address he labelled "the most important speech I shall ever make", Dr de Beer mapped out a clearly defined path for the DP.

The party was determined that the ANC should not be given a blank cheque to write SA's new constitution. Voters should remember that the National Party's record was tainted with the trampling of human rights and racism.

"For us, and many South Africans, the Nats are an unacceptable alternative to the ANC."

"The soul" of the DP was human dignity, he said.

The battle against apartheid had been won, but the danger to human dignity was "still with us".

Dr de Beer said the DP had appointed international consultants to help it raise the funding necessary for the "mother of all elections" next year.

"On their advice, I have taken the leadership of the fund-raising campaign on my own shoulders. I am determined to do it well but, believe me, there will be tasks for every one of you," he said.

At the start of the proceedings, delegates and observers stood in a minute's silence for the victims of SA's violence and for peace.

Congress accepted a resolution, put forward by former SA Air Force chief Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, MP for Walmer, that a "Youth Service Corps" be set up to create jobs and raise the quality of life for all South Africans.

General Rogers said such a corps could help bring violence under control.



## Mandela's plea to Britain on talks

Own Correspondent  
London

ANC president Nelson Mandela has asked senior British government officials to put pressure on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the negotiating table.

The Times yesterday said Mr Mandela made the appeal at a Washington dinner last Thursday attended by Sir Robin Renwick, the British ambassador, and Baroness Lynda

Chalker, overseas development minister.

Sir Robin was Britain's ambassador to South Africa for four years until May 1991, and was regarded as former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's key policy player in the region.

He and Mrs Thatcher had a high regard for Mr Buthelezi and played a significant role in promoting his status internationally.



# ANC supporters mar US victory

By SIMON BARBER: Washington  
SOUTH AFRICA'S jubilant return to the international economy was marred this week as some of the ANC's veteran United States support groups clung to the policies of the past.

The foot-dragging came as several major international stock brokerages praised South Africa's potential to US pension fund managers and other institutional

investors at an investment forum.

The prospects for investors were nothing short of "intoxicating", said Kenneth Costa of London-based SG Warburg Securities.

"We underestimated the problem," admitted ANC economics adviser Neil Morrison as the Congressional Black Caucus dragged its feet over legislation to clear the federal statute books of the remaining economic sanctions.

There was further consternation after it was discovered that

Massachusetts governor William Weld had not totally repealed the state's investment boycott but had replaced it with a mandatory labour code to be monitored by state officials.

Business leaders warned that the precedent-setting move could prove a serious obstacle to reinvestment because companies would not return to South Africa if they knew they would continue to be hassled by local bureaucracies.

Cosatu general secretary Jay

Naidoo tried to get the point across at a Capitol Hill meeting on Thursday that the South African labour movement was now strong enough to look after itself.

The balance of political power in South Africa had already shifted decisively, he said.

Even so, from president Nelson Mandela down, ANC officials were loath to issue a direct desist order to its long-time allies.

In a videotape being distributed to encourage investment, Mr Mandela said the sanctioners would have the ANC's eternal gratitude.

But "we are getting new friends because we are able to stand on our feet and fight back".

In contrast to the Senate, which took just 15 minutes to pass a bill repealing remaining federal sanctions, the House of Representatives has dithered while the Black Caucus reaches consensus.

Part of the problem is the labour code contained in the still-operative section two of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which binds US companies in South Africa to the principles established by the Reverend Leon Sullivan.

The Senate bill cancels this section after elections, but some Caucus members insist it should remain until a new government has enacted its own labour and investment laws.



# Government plan ignores volkstaat

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

A GOVERNMENT submission to the Demarcation Commission yesterday shows no movement to accommodate an Afrikaner state, despite weeks of negotiations with the Afrikaner Volksfront.

In his submission yesterday, Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie presented the same

regional map that the government submitted to the commission in July.

The Volksfront also submitted the same star-shaped map it had previously made public.

Volksfront spokesman General Tienie Groenewald said the organisation had hoped to submit something different, based on negotiations with the government. However, after negotiations were

suspended, this had not been possible.

In his submission, Mr Fourie said the government favoured including Pretoria and parts of Bophuthatswana in the PWV area, with the exclusion of Sasolburg.

The Volksfront objects to Pretoria becoming part of the PWV and sees it as the capital of its volkstaat.

Mr Fourie said the PWV, as the

largest urbanised area in South Africa, had its own peculiar problems and it was important that the area be governed and administered by a single authority.

The government was also still insisting on dividing the Eastern Cape into an Eastern Cape and Kei region. However, Mr Fourie said the boundary between the two regions was negotiable.



# Prophecy fulfilled as tribe returns to its promised land...

**LIKE** the Israelites of biblical times, a tribe lost in the desert for the past 17 years is returning to their promised land, thus fulfilling the prophecy of two dead chiefs.

In a move believed to be the first of its kind in South Africa, the Richards Bay borough and the Mthiyane faction of the Mandlazi tribe have negotiated a settlement which will allow the deeply religious Shembe sect to resettle on the ancestral lands from which they were removed in 1976.

Now owned by the Richards Bay council, the 500ha of land will be turned into modern agri-villages, and the council has also agreed to allow the community to return to nearby Impuza Hill, the holy site once used for worship by thousands of followers of the late Isaiah Shembe.

In the long term, the community will probably own the land — bordered by Richards Bay airport, the environmentally sensitive Lake Mzingazi and a new suburb called Birdwood — either as individuals or communally.

When they were bulldozed off the land without compensation the community lost everything. They left their possessions in their homes as a form of protest and even their chickens, cats and dogs ran into the forest.

The 700 families were moved to Ntambanana near Empangeni, where lack of amenities, poor soil, drought and snakes forced them to live in appalling conditions for years. Only five percent of the 3 000-strong community are presently employed.

But the forced eviction came as no surprise to the Mthiyane clan.

They claim that in 1932 Isaiah Shembe prophesied that whites would force them off their land and they would be moved to a desert. He also predicted that one day they would return.

In February last year Mr Andreas Mthiyane, 44, was asleep in his small

home at Ntambanana when Isaiah Shembe came to him in a dream and told him to go to Impuza Hill. He immediately drove there in a semi-trance.

Mr Mthiyane, who left his family and now lives on the holy hill near a makeshift temple, claims the voice of Shembe guided him past a dangerous hippo and then told him to look for a large black mamba. When he saw the snake he followed it until Shembe told him this was the site on which the new Shembe temple should be built.

"Then two of the old Amakosi who are buried on the hill appeared and told me to go to Inkosi Mubangwa Mthiyane and tell him it was time the tribe moved back to the land."

"We formed the Mandla-

zini interim committee and this thing started," said Mr Mthiyane this week.

Initially, the Richards Bay council would not hear of parting with the land, which had been bought from the state. But the council relented when some members of the tribe began to talk about resorting to violence and pressure was exerted by Professor Louis de Clercq of Zululand University, acting as a go-between, and Richards Bay officials Marcus Nel and Johan Rossouw.

Said Mr Nel this week: "As far as we know this is the first land deal of its kind in the country. Teams will now submit ideas to the council about how the agri-villages will be built and run."

**By RYAN CRESSWELL**



# Call for freedom of arts

**MIKE VAN GRAAN** says some of his best friends are politicians but he wouldn't trust them to give the go-ahead for democracy

**PRECISELY** because the arts may serve or counter the moral, ideological and intellectual hegemony of various social and political forces, they are themselves the subject and arena of political and ideological debate.

Across the spectrum, the arts were used or controlled by political forces in South Africa to serve their ends.

Artists were polarised, emasculated and disempowered politically, psychologically and economically through the politicisation of the allocation of resources, the criminalisation or marginalisation of dissent and the submission of their interests to the politician-defined "greater political good".

It is little wonder, then, that artists have become alienated from processes of social change, and that they are reluctant to antagonise the emerging powers whom they believe will bestow resources, prestige and recognition on those who conform to, rather than challenge, the new status quo.

To empower artists, a future democratic dispensation must ensure:

- the depoliticisation of the allocation of resources for the arts;

- the guarantee of freedom of expression;

- and, respect for, and constructive engagement with, the independent organisations of the arts community.

Arts bodies which distribute funds should no longer be controlled, or be seen to be controlled, by the state or party political agendas.

Many people do not seem to be able to get their heads around this principle. They say that since the government is giving the money, it surely has the right to determine how it is spent.

But if the government gives money to the National Soccer League as it has done recently, does that give it the right to appoint the coach, to say which team should buy which players, to determine the game plan?

Being financially accountable for how the money is spent is necessary and proper, but that is different from having to serve the political interests of the donor.

And if we manage to win the battle for arm's length state funding of the arts, we still face another battle against the politicisation of resources through party political projects.

The ANC's recent estab-

lishment of an Arts and Culture Trust with a board which it appointed perpetuates, in my view, the disempowerment of artists and the emasculation of freedom of expression.

It might argue that the trust is independent and non-sectarian, but if the IFP and PAC had done the same thing, would the ANC or anyone else believe that such a body was politically independent?

This creates a dangerous precedent as artists who do not agree with the ANC will be reluctant to apply to the trust and so other parties may be pressurised to set up their own "independent, non-sectarian" trusts, again bedevilling the arts arena with party politics.

In the same way as there is an independent board selected through a publicly transparent process for the SABC, I would hope for the creation of an independent arts body to distribute public resources, except that instead of the government or one political player being able to decide on the final list, there would be a multi-party committee representing all the major players.

Freedom of expression, non-partisan allocation of

resources, the eradication of political and economic censorship, freedom of association are not rights that will simply be given, despite the rhetoric of politicians. They have to be fought for constantly, won and monitored.

If we are serious about democracy, we should not wait for it to arrive on April 27 because, like Godot, it might not come. We should not simply seek to negotiate for it behind closed doors and in good faith.

Neither should we wait for politicians to sanction the practice of it. Some of my best friends are politicians, but I wouldn't trust them to give the go-ahead for democracy.

The best way to secure democracy is simply to get out there and practise it in the most unbridled, unrestricted, creative forms possible, with loud, sometimes angry, sometimes critical, sometimes celebratory voices, in the service of no master, in the service only of truth, integrity and humanity.

□ Mike van Graan is the general secretary of the National Arts Initiative. This is an extract from a speech he delivered at a conference hosted by the Institute of Race Relations this week.





## A vision from afar: the new SA is already here

**F**ROM a distant hilltop in Italy, cut off from television and denied access to newspapers, I caught a glimpse, I thought, of the real South Africa: a paradise for fixers, for deal-makers. For men of affairs, men of a certain subtlety.

Finance Minister Derek Keys's triumphal return to the world of free international trade and financial respectability last week was no accident. He began his term in office, it will be recalled, by announcing that he was open to deals; and it was his deal-making, with the ANC and with others, that created the extraordinary spectacle of South Africans all pulling together in Washington in an effort to lay their hands on other people's money.

Foreigners, I realised atop my faraway Italian hill, are insulated from the violence, especially the criminal violence, that clouds our vision at home, and fills us with such fear for the future. From a distance, the distinguishing feature of South Africa is not violence, but the mental toughness that has kept the process of negotiation alive through three years of thick and thin.

In a plural society, it has often been noted, nationalist passion is utterly divisive; Yugoslavia is the most recent example. The same is true of religious passion, or hot-eyed political doctrines, or indeed any kind of utopian faith: they are all divisive.

The people who have done the greatest damage to our country have been the believers: Verwoerd not only plunged us into decades of misery, but he robbed Afrikaans of its once-powerful claim to become, with its Cape and flytaal dialects, the lingua franca. Joe Slovo, in his Stalinist phase, helped create the culture of violence with which he will wrestle to the end of his days. President PW Botha ruined our once-proud army.

They all thought they knew the answers. Such people, hot and righteous, arise continually in turbulent societies, but they are not representative of most South Africans. I have long believed that the Anglo-Saxon view of Afrikaners as rigid and regimented was a myth derived from the British wartime caricatures of the Germans. It is

not true.

In fact, Afrikaners are the children of an uncertain frontier, born into enduring insecurity on the open veld. They switch direction with the ease of nomads. Their key institutions, the commando and the laager, are infinitely fluid. It was, after all, Lord Cradock, the fool, who sent General Graham to draw a rigid frontier between Boers and Xhosas, so laying the conceptual basis for Verwoerdian separatism.

The archetypal Afrikaner, to my mind, is Pik Botha who, bristling like a porcupine, draws a fierce line in the sand and dares the world to cross it, meanwhile retreating ferociously to the next line in the sand. He never loses sight of his long-term goal, but not for him the suicidal British square and fight to the death. With such a man, one can deal.

**N**OT that flexibility is the preserve of Afrikaners. Joe Slovo (who, like Pik Botha, believes whatever he believes at the time with a passion) turned the key that unlocked negotiations when he offered President de Klerk a deal: five years of joint national government, and then we'll see. Other subtle men have joined Derek Keys in shaping the future: Harry Schwarz, Cyril Ramaphosa, Louis Shill, a host of others.

President De Klerk himself, of course, came to the presidency as an apartheid hardliner and a party man, only to turn presidency, party and country on their heads. He is, perhaps, the greatest deal-maker of all, presiding over deal-making that flows endlessly like water over stone.

The result is that every second South African is busy making deals, many of them, it must be said, lousy deals. The constitution emerging from the World Trade Centre is a ramshackle thing, created by a process of pulling and shoving between people whose grasp of democratic principle is (perhaps fortunately) sketchy. They seem to get things half-right.

For example, the emergent federalism promises a system in which the central government and the regional governments will be forced to make

deals, and so check each other, but now the system, lacking a strong tier of local government, risks putting too much power in the hands of regional potentates.

Anyway, the constitution is polluted by the noble notions of social engineers who think the beauty in their hearts can be foisted on venal mankind, if only they have access to the fiscus, control of the security forces, and perhaps a couple of competent torturers in the cells. The hunger for power — power to do good, you understand? — has seeped into the fabric of the document.

**N**EVERTHELESS, the new South Africa will clearly have space for deal-makers, and we may be able to deal our way to democracy and peace. We have developed interesting, uniquely South African deal-making techniques, like the trust fund which puts cash into the hands of people of noble motive who might otherwise be awkward. Few people feel the need to make war while they're spreading the gravy.

Derek Keys deals with Trevor Manuel, President de Klerk with Nelson Mandela, Roelf Meyer with Cyril Ramaphosa, General Viljoen with both Mr Mandela and Ferdi Hartzenberg: students deal with professors, often wildly, and pupils with teachers, doctors with patients. Greedy people deal with visiting Nigerians, and bankers deal with rent boycotters. Everybody does it.

This, then, is the vision that came to me as I surveyed the quiltwork Italian countryside: the new South Africa is not to come, it is already here. This is how we shall live for the next decade, and perhaps for longer: without permanent solutions, but making a plan. Our problems, in the large sense, are insoluble, but for day-to-day problems one can usually make a deal, or set up a trust fund, or take in a partner, or share power, or buy peace.

And yes, my child, this is an optimistic assessment of our future. You can always trust the cynics to behave predictably; just beware of idealists.

**KEN OWEN**



2

into exile, some of whom never even cared about the ANC or the revolution, today holding jobs in the organisation and driving smart cars. At the same time, those of us who have fought for liberation have to start from scratch," said an interviewee.

Another respondent strikes an ominous note, underlining the fears that trained soldiers dumped in an impoverished society could resort to crime: "Something must be done before we have to find our own way of surviving, which will be embarrassing to the ANC."

"Money is a big problem. I need money to be a responsible brother and uncle and father. People think that when you are from exile, you have lots of money."

The majority, 104, were single, but three-quarters had dependants and only 20 were staying in their own homes, and overcrowding generated family tensions.

One 26-year-old was staying with his mother and seven other people in a two-roomed house in Orlando East.

Another said: "My sister-in-law makes it clear that I am a burden on them."

More than 72 percent reported that they suffered from physical, emotional and social problems, including the debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder, which affects combatants from all sides. Only 20 respondents (11.1 percent) reported receiving any help.

"I am an emotional wreck. I have twice come close to committing suicide. I stopped because of my children, but I am useless to them — and myself," said a respondent.

**A** COMMON feeling among returnees is that the hardships in exile are neither understood nor appreciated, and many have found that their return was expected to bring an improvement in family fortunes.

The disillusionment that has fuelled reports of an imminent explosion among stressed and disgruntled MK members was expressed by one respondent, who said:

"There was a lot of romance in MK. MK people went out with dreams. They thought they would come back in camouflage uniforms, marching through the streets of Pretoria with their heads held high. But there was no romance in exile — just demoralisation. In MK, there is now a very dangerous mix of disillusion and demoralisation."

Another respondent said: "Stealing is my hobby. What can I do? At least it provides me with some money, though it is very dangerous and risky."

Another explained: "All my time is free. I think and think and think. I just feel like shooting everybody. I am not even allowed to do gardening at home. It could help with my frustration. That is why I drink too much. One day they will wake up and find me dead."

Those surveyed were unanimous that there should be provision by the government for soldiers at the end of a war, and many believe provision should be made for ex-SADF members as well.

"Yes, the SADF should be treated as human beings. And, anyway, if they had known the truth about the policy they fought so hard to defend, I do not believe they would have done it," said an MK member.

Another argued that "soldiers should be mobilised for the reconstruction of the country".

A third said: "They must be looked after. Remember,

these are people who have been trained to kill. If they get frustrated, they are going to take SA down with them."

Almost 73 percent, including three-quarters of the 14 women interviewed, wanted to be part of a new defence force. Their reasons range from powerful ideological commitment to defending the ideals their comrades had died for, to pride in the profession of soldiering, to pragmatic reasons based on job security.

Professor Cock says the MK respondents spoke with deep pride.

"The best and most committed and dedicated of our people went into MK. It takes a particular kind of consciousness to say 'I'm prepared to die,' was one response."

"Yes, I am a soldier. I want to be a professional soldier proudly defending my country. I have spent many lonely years moving from country to country, crossing rivers and eating anything from grass to snakes, trying to liberate South Africa. Nobody has sat down to listen to my pain and suffering in exile. I have done all this to liberate

my country. I am a soldier," said another.

Professor Cock argues that a demobilisation policy based on that of the SADF, with additional educational benefits and access to psychological counselling, should be extended to soldiers from all the military formations in South Africa.

"A demobilisation policy cannot compensate for the inequalities created by 300 years of apartheid," writes Professor Cock. "However, it is an important step in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction."

## QUOTE:

I am an emotional wreck. I have twice come close to committing suicide. I stopped because of my children, but I am useless to them — and myself.



With thousands of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers given until Wednesday to register their membership of the ANC's army, PETER De IONNO looks at research detailing how their fight for freedom has become a battle for personal survival.

# MK comes home to heartbreak

**A**FTER the war, the soldiers come home and find that the dreams and ideals they suffered for cannot be fulfilled. Instead of being given the peace to pick up the pieces of the lives they left behind, they are forced to go on fighting to survive. It happens every time.

It is happening now to the 5 000 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres who have returned to South Africa as "unarmed citizens" as part of the United Nations repatriation-of-exiles programme since the suspension of the armed struggle.

There are still a further 6 000 MK members undergoing military training outside South Africa, the bulk of them in Uganda, Tanzania and Angola. More than 120 are in officer-training colleges in India.

The circumstances and attitudes of returnees have been documented in a paper — "The social integration of demobilised soldiers in contemporary South Africa", by Jacklyn Cock, associate professor of sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand — published by the Institute for Defence Policy in the latest issue of the South African Defence Review.

In advocating a demobilisation package for MK, based on the generous SADF policy for its thousands of re-trenched members, Professor Cock has presented the most detailed picture of the lives of cadres, and their problems, to date.

It is a disturbing assessment that goes a long way to explaining why the ANC agreed last month to establish a R10-million fund to deal with welfare problems in MK and to restructure the leadership of its armed wing.

The paper is based on a needs survey of recently re-

turned MK soldiers and in-depth interviews with 40 "key informants".

"Many are grappling with disappointment and failed expectations," Professor Cock writes. "They expected to return to South Africa as heroes and found only poverty and loneliness."

The needs questionnaire was put to 180 MK people, half of whom returned in 1990. Almost 75 percent (134) of those surveyed were aged 35 or under, and 125 had spent between six and 15 years out of South Africa.

All reported severe hardship in exile, imprisonment and military camps.

Laudably, in an attempt to avoid the tendency of research to reduce issues to "faceless statistics", Professor Cock illustrates her survey with the words of the cadres.

"I was often ill and homesick and the health facilities were very poor. I regretted leaving the country and worried a lot about dying in a strange country far from home," said one respondent.

All 180 had suffered disruption of their education, but the general level of education was "surprisingly high". More than half the sample had completed at least Std 9. Almost 65 percent wanted to continue formal education to

## QUOTE:

I just feel like shooting everybody. I am not even allowed to do gardening at home. It could help with my frustration. That is why I drink too much. One day they will wake up and find me dead.

"There were three distinct groups of young people who went for military training — the 1976 generation, the 1981/82 generation and the post-1984 category. The formal education of the first was much higher than those of subsequent groups. They are especially in need of access to education."

Said one of the last group interviewed: "I am not educated like other comrades. It is frustrating, especially for those of us who have been loyal members of MK. Others chose to go to school. We chose to fight. We suffered and are still suffering."

The vast majority of MK returnees are unemployed. Only 35 of the 180 are in full-time employment, mostly in MK, the ANC and the SACP. Only nine are employed in mainstream occupations, including an insurance salesman earning R450 a week and a security guard earning R900 a month.

"I have tried to find a job, but I have failed because I have low education, no skills and no experience of any job in civilian life," was one typical response.

With 18-million South Africans living below the poverty datum line, it is not surprising that many MK returnees are living in poverty. Money was a problem in the lives of 175 of those surveyed.

"I am very bitter ... what makes it worse is to see people who have never gone

## QUOTE:

There was a lot of romance in MK. MK people went out with dreams. They thought they would come back in camouflage uniforms, marching through the streets of Pretoria.



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

# FAMILY DEATH FEUD

**W**HEN 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 Mashanandana 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 against the decision.

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

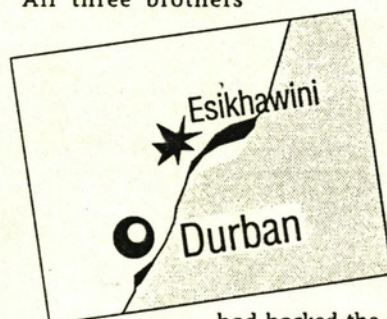
## By Lena Slachmuis

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 15 when Mandla (27) and Vimba (36) were 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 kwaManzanyama 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.

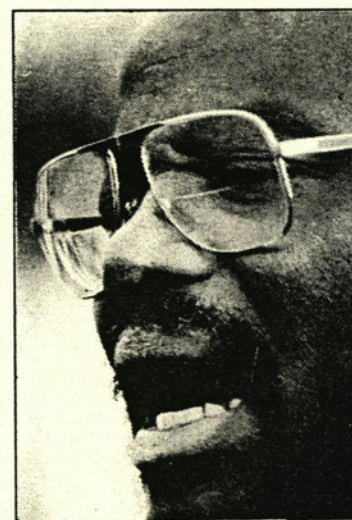
## Bitterness

Now living in Esikhawini after his home and tuck shop were burnt down in Mashanandana, 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 does not have enough time to work hard at 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."**



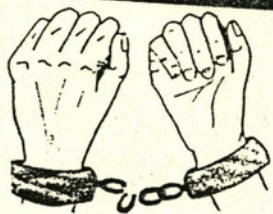
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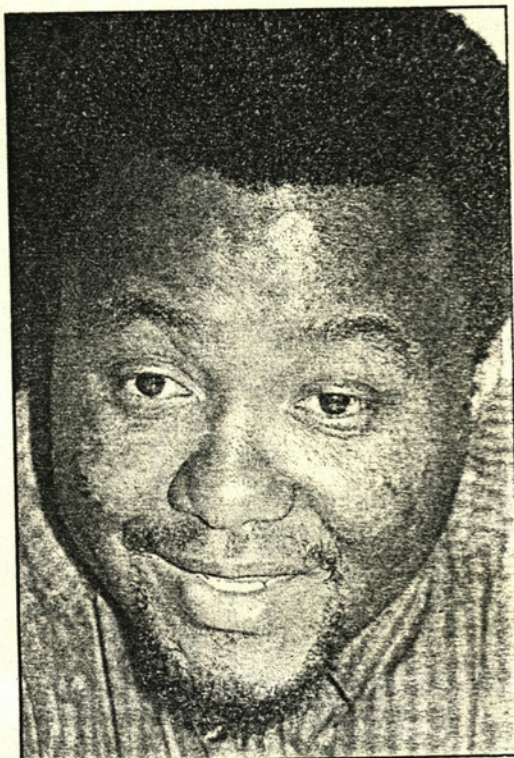
# MOKABA,

# THE



**DAY OF THE WOLF**

Full details of the mad plot to kill  
ANC Youth League leader - and of  
the strange ~ 'Zwelithini  
connection' - Pages 3 and 9



Peter Mokaba . . . target



Tienie Groenewald . . .  
going to Inkatha?

# GENERAL

# AND INKATHA



# 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



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



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



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



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



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