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# SOUTH AFRICA: MINORITY CONFLICT AND THE LEGACY OF MINORITY RULE

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## Introduction

South Africa is a country of minorities. Its people speak at least twenty languages,<sup>1</sup> none of which is the first language of a majority of the population. The implementation of apartheid from 1948 reinforced these divisions to an extreme degree, legally classifying South Africa's people into exclusive racial and ethnic groups and restricting contact between them whenever possible. Despite — or because of — apartheid's insistence on tribal identities, the anti-apartheid opposition adopted a determinedly nonracial ideology. In place of group identities, the African National Congress (ANC) and its international supporters demanded a unitary state in which race and ethnicity would become irrelevant as nondiscrimination and equal rights were enforced for all South Africans. The problem of governing a country of many minorities, to which the National Party claimed apartheid was a solution, was seen instead as the problem of liberating a uniformly oppressed black majority from white minority rule.

Yet, even as apartheid began to be dismantled in the mid-1980's, divisions within both the white minority and the black majority became ever more apparent. Reform initiatives split the National Party, for fifty years the united front of Afrikaner South Africans. New parties of the right wing demanded an "Afrikaner homeland," resorting to violence in opposition to black rule. At the same time, violence broke out between the ANC and the Zulu-dominated

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1. Eleven languages (Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu) were adopted in South Africa's new "interim constitution" as official languages at a national level. A new Pan South African Language Board was established to be responsible for promoting both the official languages and eight others (German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, and Urdu), "as well as Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes." Section 3, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1994 (hereafter cited as Constitution). The new constitution came into effect on 26 April 1994, the first day of the elections.

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Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Inkatha accused the ANC of wishing the destruction of the Zulu kingdom and demanded recognition for traditional forms of government. F. W. de Klerk's announcement in 1990 that the National Party government was prepared to transfer power to a democratically elected government ushered in, paradoxically, a period of conflict more brutal than anything previously seen: more than 14,000 people died in political violence in the four years from the beginning of negotiations until all-race elections were finally held in April 1994.

In mobilizing popular support, the right wing and Inkatha called on ethnic loyalties to great effect, using histories and symbols that resonated with popular interpretations of the past and confirmed long-standing prejudices about the Zulu and Afrikaner peoples. Yet ethnicity in itself did not explain the conflict: the origins of the violence were economic and political. Both the white right wing and, less obviously, Inkatha were defending privileges they had enjoyed under the apartheid regime. The "traditions" they invoked were largely modern constructs, created or reinforced by propaganda to fit the demands of contemporary politics.

The ANC ultimately made substantial concessions to the white and Zulu minorities — including significant devolution of power to a regional level and recognition of "a notion of the right to self-determination by any group sharing a common language and cultural heritage." Although some of the compromises made were regrettable, the concessions to minority rights may well prove to be crucial to the creation of a new democratic regime. In its historic distrust of ethnic identity and commitment to a centralized state, the ANC risked following the path of many post-colonial states in stifling regional desires for self-government and enforcing a heavy-handed central rule. Although the delinking of ethnicity from citizenship rights was the first precondition for the "normalization" of South African politics, recognition of diversity and devolution of power will be essential to the reconstruction of South Africa.

### **Competing Ideologies: Group Identities or Nonracialism**

#### *The apartheid system*

According to the system of racial classification formalized by apartheid, South Africa's population was divided into four major racial groups: "white" (almost all of Afrikaner or English origin, but including Germans, Portuguese and other minorities); "coloured" (people of mixed race); "Indian" (largely descended from indentured servants brought from the Indian subcontinent by the British to work in the sugar plantations of Natal); and "African" (of solely African ancestry). Every South African was compulsorily registered at birth as a member of one race, on which depended all future rights and entitlements. State spending on services was calibrated according to racial group, whites receiving the most, Africans the least. In addition, "non-whites" (Indians, coloureds and Africans) were forcibly moved out of areas designated for white occupation by the Group Areas Act. Moreover, although no formal distinction

was made between the two largest white communities which were held to comprise a single ethnic group, Africans were further classified into at least ten separate "tribes," according to which education and other services were provided.<sup>2</sup>

Central to the original plan of apartheid was the solution of the "race problem" by removing Africans from "white" South Africa. In a perverted and conscious reference to United Nations resolutions supporting self-determination for all "peoples," independent "homelands" or *bantustans* were created for each tribal group recognized by the South African government. While Indians and coloureds would be tolerated as citizens of South Africa, it was determined that all blacks would eventually lose their South African citizenship and be allocated to one or other of the tribal homelands. They would then be allowed into South Africa as migrant labor, on condition that they obtained travel passes and temporary residence permits to live in the townships serving white cities. Ten homelands were eventually created, although only four of them — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, collectively known as the "TBVC states" — ever became nominally independent, acquiring their own armies, passports, border posts, and embassies in Pretoria, through which business with the South African government was officially conducted. The other six<sup>3</sup> remained merely "self-governing territories" within South Africa, though in practice the difference in status meant little to their residents, since their tinpot governments retained substantial control over daily lives. None of the homelands had a viable economy, and each depended on direct economic and military support from Pretoria to remain in existence.

In practice, the homeland system was impossible to implement fully. The designation of ethnic groups and the areas for their occupation was often arbitrary and illogical; thousands were allocated to homelands with which they had no real connection. Although hundreds of thousands of black South Africans were forcibly uprooted from their homes and deported to the barren rural areas, millions remained legally or illegally resident in white South Africa, despite the constant threat of "deportation." After more than three million people had been internally displaced, the government conceded that black South Africans would remain a reality. Mass forced removals were ceased by the mid-1980s and the requirements for Africans to carry passes at all times were abolished. Nevertheless, the government maintained its support for the homeland system, threatening communities with redrawn boundaries rather than bulldozers. South Africans remained compulsorily categorized by race and tribe.

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2. Although state spending did not vary between the different African groups, housing and primary education were segregated, even in large, multiethnic townships such as Soweto. The coloured community of the western Cape was also classified according to a complicated set of labels reflecting the Cape's position as a staging post on the way to Southeast Asia, but these labels had no significance in controlling residence or determining public spending.

3. KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, Gazankulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

*The domestic and international opposition to apartheid*

Despite the efforts of the South African government to channel black political ambitions away from national politics by dividing the non-white population along ethnic lines, opposition to apartheid developed along non-racial and non-tribal grounds. For four decades, the foundation document of the anti-apartheid movement was the "Freedom Charter," adopted in 1955 by a coalition of extraparliamentary opposition organizations led by the ANC.<sup>4</sup> It declared "for all our country and all the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." Based in many respects on the liberal tradition, guaranteeing equal political rights for all citizens, the Charter also incorporated elements of a socialist program and a commitment to redistribution of wealth.<sup>5</sup>

The Charter made a concession to group rights in its second clause, guaranteeing "equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races," but the ANC, influenced by the Marxist interpretation that the racial and tribal classifications of apartheid were purely the instrument of class oppression and would fall away once liberation had been achieved, adopted a firmly nonracialist philosophy.<sup>6</sup> The ANC was committed to a "unitary state," envisaging one strong national government elected on the basis of a simple majority vote. Though committed to equal rights, it was suspicious of proposals for the implementation of a bill of rights in South Africa, and especially of protections for minorities or devolution of power from the center, regarding such legal protections merely as a means of preserving white economic and political power.<sup>7</sup>

The ANC's nonracialism was challenged within South Africa by the African nationalist Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and by the black consciousness movement led by Steve Biko. Both groups argued that blacks had ceded leadership of their own liberation to whites and Indians, as a result of the ANC's nonracial stance,<sup>8</sup> and focused on the racial rather than class element of oppres-

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4. Founded in 1912 as the South African Natives National Congress, the ANC had originally proclaimed "loyalty to all lawfully constituted authorities," seeking sympathetic white support to redress African grievances. The initial limited agenda gradually became more radical, as moderate initiatives failed to halt worsening conditions for blacks. In 1960, after the killing of sixty-seven demonstrators by South African security forces in the township of Sharpeville, the ANC abandoned its strategy of non-violent resistance and took up an "armed struggle" against apartheid. Banned by the South African government, it became an organization in exile.

5. Founded in 1921, the South African Communist Party was the first South African political party to admit members of all racial groups to membership. By 1939, the SACP was an important influence on the ANC.

6. For example, while drawing a clear distinction between the views of the ANC and the SACP on national or class liberation, Nelson Mandela stated at his treason trial that "Political division based on colour is entirely artificial and when it disappears so will the domination of one colour group by another." Quoted in Julie Frederikse, *The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

7. Albie Sachs, "Towards a Bill of Rights in South Africa," *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 6, Pt.1 (1990).

8. The PAC was founded in 1959 by a breakaway group from the ANC led by Robert Sobukwe,

sion. Nonetheless, neither the black consciousness movement nor the PAC challenged the ANC's treatment of the black population as a homogeneous group, focusing instead on the inevitable conflict between minority rule by white South Africans and the interests of the black majority.<sup>9</sup>

The internal opposition to apartheid was reflected in an international support network which echoed the rhetoric of the liberation movements. Anti-apartheid movements sprang up in many Western European countries and in North America, in solidarity with the struggle of the ANC and PAC for liberation. These organizations offered support to the exiled cadres of the liberation movements and pressured their own governments to take action against the South African regime. As the newly independent states of Africa and Asia joined the United Nations, resolutions condemning the South African regime became an annual feature of General Assembly meetings. An extensive anti-apartheid machinery was built up, including a Special Committee and a Centre on Apartheid. In 1973, the General Assembly of the United Nations recognized the ANC and the PAC as the legitimate representatives of the South African people; in the same year an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was adopted.<sup>10</sup> Other resolutions imposed both voluntary and compulsory sanctions on South Africa, and in 1989 the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences for Southern Africa.<sup>11</sup> Despite the problems of the new states of the rest of Africa, where the difficulties of governing ethnically diverse populations within colonial boundaries rapidly became apparent, these resolutions continued to treat the South African situation as a simple opposition between black and white.

### *The U.N. human rights regime*

Insofar as South Africa was considered within the general U.N. human rights regime, the problem of white minority rule was considered as a special case under the rubric of self-determination for colonized peoples rather than as a case for the elaboration of minority rights. Both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the foundations of the U.N. human rights regime, placed self-determination as their first clause.<sup>12</sup> Adopted by the General

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who believed that the ANC was becoming dominated by members of the white, Indian, and coloured elites, to the detriment of its concern for South Africa's "true" people. The black consciousness movement led by Steve Biko was based on similar belief that black South Africans must control their own affairs without white leadership. After the death of Biko in detention and the banning of the organization he led, the South African Students' Organization (SASO), the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) was founded in 1979. It remains the principal, though marginalized, representative of black consciousness thought in South Africa.

9. For the development of the ANC-PAC split and the philosophies of both organizations, see the survey by Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983).

10. General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973; entry into force 18 July 1976.

11. Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences for Southern Africa, General Assembly resolution S-16/1 of 14 December 1989. For details of the major U.N. resolutions, see Newell M. Stultz, "The Evolution of the U.N. Anti-Apartheid Regime," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 13 (Fall 1991).

12. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted and opened for signature,

Assembly in 1966, the covenants reflected the primary concern of newly independent countries with decolonization by the European powers. "People" was a territorial, not an ethnic, concept, and territorial self-determination was the aim. The "peoples" for whom self-determination was demanded were the black and brown majorities oppressed by white minorities: the content of self-determination was majority rule within colonial boundaries. Despite the formal independence of the white government from metropolitan control following the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, South Africa was the defining case of self-determination within this analysis.<sup>13</sup>

The U.N.'s minority rights regime, by contrast, was not applied to South Africa by the General Assembly or the international anti-apartheid movement. On the one hand, despite attempts to define "minority" as a political relationship of subordination to a dominant group, not necessarily related to numerical inferiority,<sup>14</sup> support for minority rights seemed inappropriate when South Africa's most obvious minority was the oppressor, not the oppressed. On the other, the minority rights set out in the international human rights treaties<sup>15</sup> were still considered in terms of the origins of minority protection in the interwar period, when a system of bilateral agreements had provided minority groups in Eastern Europe with certain protections from state interference and certain

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ratification, and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966; entry into force on 23 March 1976); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966; entry into force on 3 January 1976). Common Article 1 of the ICCPR and ICESCR states: "All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." The U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960) made explicit the connection between self-determination and decolonization.

13. A distinction it shared in the U.N. regime with the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip: in both cases, the concentration on one issue allowed other more contentious problems to be passed over. For a discussion of self-determination in the South African context, see Robert McCorquodale, "South Africa and the Right of Self-Determination," *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 10, Pt.1 (1994).
14. The definition of minority adopted by the London-based Minority Rights Group, for example, does not require a "minority" to be a numerically inferior group within a larger population — allowing consideration of women, for example, as a minority.
15. Article 27 of the ICCPR states: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of the group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." The term "minority" has not been defined in the U.N. regime, although the generally used version is that suggested by Francesco Capotorti, Special Rapporteur for the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in 1977: "a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members — being nationals of the state — possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religions or language." A Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities was adopted by the General Assembly in 1992 (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992). The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has developed, under the rubric of its "human dimension," a more extensive system of protection for minority rights.

claims upon the state for the preservation of their cultures. Originally formulated in the aftermath of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and German empires in the World War I, these treaties had envisaged one or two minority groups within an ethnically defined nation-state, such as those of Europe, rather than the Babel of language, religion, and culture making up the conglomerate states left behind by the European empires in Africa and Asia. The less formal provisions of the postwar instruments, though theoretically as applicable to the countries of Africa as Europe, were, similarly, largely confined in ideological practice to the geographical area in which minority rights had first been conceived.<sup>16</sup>

Self-determination for ethnic minorities had been the ideological justification for the creation of the nation-states of Eastern Europe, and for the minority rights regime set up at the same time. However, self-determination and minority rights soon became separated in international human rights discourse. The "peoples" entitled to self-determination and the "peoples" entitled to minority rights, though logically connected as concepts (each concerned with defining group identities), were kept analytically separate in practice. The growing anti-colonial majority of states at the United Nations ensured that support for self-determination did not compromise the principle of territorial unity (within, ironically, colonial boundaries).<sup>17</sup> In the South African case, as in many others, the international rhetoric focused on liberation from "colonial" rule by whites (despite the formal independence of the South African government from any metropolitan control) rather than the problems of a state made up of many different ethnic groups. The all too obvious injustices of white minority rule over blacks obscured the possible relevance of the concept of minority rights to groups within the black population.

Despite this interpretation, the powerful rhetoric of the U.N.-endorsed right to self-determination has been used in many countries to legitimate separatist demands. "Minority" ethnic groups have challenged the territorial definition of "people," asserting instead that cultural and linguistic factors justify a right to self-government. South Africa has been no exception to the growing strength of such separatist demands. As a new constitutional order has been negotiated, two minorities in particular have demanded recognition of their separate iden-

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16. The U.N. treaty system shifted emphasis from the protection of minorities to the more general concept of non-discrimination, in which the achievement of genuine equality might require special assistance for disadvantaged groups: there was, for example, no mention of minority rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Warwick McKean, *Equality and Discrimination under International Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

17. The Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations Among States (General Assembly resolution 2525 (XXV), 24 October 1970) in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, for example, endorsed the principle of self-determination. The Declaration was qualified, however, by the statement that "nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples — and thus possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour."

tity. Right-wing Afrikaners, descended from South Africa's first white settlers and possessed of a long history of exclusivist self-definition, demanded the right to establish their own state. Traditionalist Zulus, represented by the Inkatha Freedom Party, resisted the ANC's commitment to a unitary state, calling instead for South Africa to become a loose federation of ethnically delineated regions in which special recognition would be given to a virtually independent Zulu kingdom.

### **The End of Apartheid: Afrikaner and Zulu Resistance to Majority Rule**

In the early 1980s, in response to the increasing costs of maintaining the apartheid system and to strengthening international criticism, Botha's government marginally widened access to political power in South Africa. In 1983, a new constitution allowed Indians and coloureds to vote in national elections, but on separate voting lists for separate chambers of parliament clearly subordinate to the all-white House of Assembly. At the same time, the government eased some of the restrictions on African life. In a series of reforms, pass laws restricting freedom of movement were abolished; the prohibition on "interracial" marriages was lifted; and the restrictions of "petty apartheid" (segregated park benches, swimming pools, buses, and the like) were gradually removed. However, the core legislation of the apartheid system — the Group Areas Act, zoning areas for occupation by each "race"; the racial classification of all South Africans; the homeland system — remained in force.

These changes were seen by most of the population as purely cosmetic, and provoked a reinvigorated opposition movement. In 1984, more than 500 anti-apartheid organizations, some of them closely linked to the banned ANC, others from church or liberal backgrounds, came together to form the United Democratic Front (UDF) to challenge continuing white rule. For the next three years, the members of the UDF were at the center of ever more militant resistance to minority government: coordinating rent strikes against local government authorities imposed on black communities without consent, calling transport, school or store boycotts, and organizing demonstrations in support of the demand for black participation in government. The avowed strategy was to make the townships ungovernable. In 1985, the government responded to the threat of revolution by declaring a state of emergency that lasted — with a brief interlude in 1986 — until 1990. Tens of thousands of South Africans were detained under the emergency laws, most of them during the peak years of repression from 1986 to 1988, including thousands of children and many of the leaders of the domestic resistance to apartheid.<sup>18</sup> Effective resistance had been crushed by 1989, and black residential areas returned to an uneasy calm.

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18. An estimated 41,700 were detained under the emergency legislation between July 1985 and June 1990, with an additional 12,700 detained under the Internal Security Act over the same period: Human Rights Commission (HRC), Human Rights Update, June 1990. The HRC is a Johannesburg-based non-governmental organization monitoring human rights and political violence. Following the April 1994 elections, it was renamed the Human Rights Committee of South Africa.



The emergency proved to be the last spasm of the apartheid regime. Even as the UDF revolt appeared to be suppressed, the National Party, bowing to the reality of internal resistance and international isolation, finally abandoned its utopian nightmare of separate development. In February 1990, President F. W. de Klerk, who had replaced Botha, dramatically announced the unbanning of the ANC and other extra-parliamentary opposition parties, the release of Nelson Mandela and other famous political prisoners from prison, and the willingness of the government to enter into negotiations for the transfer of power to a democratically elected government. In August 1990, the ANC suspended its armed struggle, after agreement was reached for the release of hundreds of other political prisoners. In 1991, as the negotiations proceeded on their tortuous way, the founding legislation of apartheid was repealed, including the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act (though not the acts establishing the homelands). The National Party abandoned its long commitment to group identities and opposition to the idea of equal rights for all South Africans, proposing its own bill of rights as the basis for a new regime in South Africa.<sup>19</sup> While insisting that the drafting of a constitution be left to the absolute discretion of a constitutional assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage, the ANC itself published "guidelines" for a new constitution and its own draft bill of rights.<sup>20</sup>

However, just as it seemed that the mass uprising of the 1980s had led to the

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19. In February 1993, the South African Government published a "Draft Charter of Fundamental Rights" which stated in Article 6, on "Equality Before the Law," that "All persons shall be equal before the law and entitled to equal protection by the law." However, subsection (3) stated that "A law shall be deemed not to be contrary to subsection (2) [on non-discrimination] if such law provides for special measures for the sole purpose of furthering the development and advancement of specific communities, groups and individuals to enable them to develop and realize their natural talents and potential to the full and to exercise and to enjoy their fundamental rights on a basis of equality with, and with due regard to the interests of, of other communities, groups and individuals." The accompanying notes on the article stated that this "provision has been formulated to ensure that it does not open the door for the introduction of Marxist trends of policies under the ideologically neutral and popular banner of 'affirmative action'." In addition, the National Party's constitutional proposals, dealing with the structure of government more generally, proposed a whole series of special measures designed to allow the blocking of a majority decision by a small minority of the South African population.

20. The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa, published from Zambia in 1988, proposed "one central legislature, executive and administration" elected on "a system of universal suffrage based on the principles of one person, one vote," with provision for delegation of administrative powers only. Although the voting system was not specified, in other documents the ANC stated that it favored simple majorities in single member constituencies (the system used in South Africa's existing elections and the one more favorable to the ANC), rather than a form of proportional representation (which would favor non-ANC minorities). Subsequently, the ANC published "A Bill of Rights for a Democratic South Africa — Working Draft for Consultation," which guaranteed freedom of association and language rights. Article 14 stated that "The state and all public and private bodies shall be under a duty to prevent any form of incitement to racial, religious or linguistic hostility and to dismantle all structures and do away with all practices that compulsorily divide the population on grounds of race, colour, language or creed." The Constitutional Guidelines and Draft Bill of Rights were published in the *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 5, Pt.2 (1989) and 7, Pt.1 (1991), respectively. See also Hugh Corder and Dennis Davis, "The Constitutional Guidelines of the African National Congress: A Preliminary Assessment," *South African Law Journal*, 6 (1989).

final convergence of South Africa's political players in an agreement that group identities must be subordinated to individual rights and equality before the law, demands for special protection for minority groups reemerged. Predictably, proposals to end the white monopoly on political power were resisted by conservative whites anxious to preserve their privileged position. The previously monolithic Afrikaner political community split between reformist and hardline factions: between those prepared to contemplate an integrated and non-discriminatory state, and those who proclaimed a commitment to an exclusive right of self-determination for the Afrikaner people.<sup>21</sup> More confusingly, political differences between the ANC and the conservative Zulu-dominated Inkatha led to an increasingly bitter conflict which split black communities in a virtual civil war, often along ethnic lines. Meanwhile, the governments of the "independent" homelands of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, in alliance with the IFP and the white right wing, resisted their reincorporation into South Africa and opposed the holding of elections on their soil.

*The white right wing: demands for self-determination*

As early as 1982, when the first proposals were made to grant some minimal political rights to Indians and coloureds, a group of ministers who opposed any suggestion of reform split from the National Party to form the Conservative Party (CP). In the 1989 general election, the CP overtook the liberal and largely anglophone Democratic Party and became the official parliamentary opposition. As the pace of change increased and full-scale negotiations began, right-wing resistance to government policy became ever more militant. When the end of apartheid came to seem inevitable, blanket opposition to reform was replaced by a new demand for an Afrikaner homeland. In an ironic echo of the imposed "self-determination" of the African bantustans, a succession of right-wing parties, which united in May 1993 to form the Afrikaner Volksfront coalition, drew consciously on the international rhetoric of human rights to demand self-determination for the Afrikaner people. Paramilitary groups such as the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, or AWB), vowed to pursue a race war to create a "volkstaat."<sup>22</sup>

Right-wing violence became a more serious threat as negotiations proceeded: on the date that elections were to be announced, approximately 3,000 members of the AWB stormed the building where talks were being held. A bombing campaign in the northern and northwestern Transvaal — one of the most conservative areas in the country — concentrated on government facilities.

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21. In fact, political divisions within the Afrikaner community had always existed — for example, a similar split between the two world wars between those who favored integration with anglophone South Africans, and those who rejected such assimilationism; and a more drastic split during the Second World War between those who supported Britain and those who favored the Axis powers — but since the National Party victory of 1948 the Afrikaner political establishment had preserved a remarkably united front.

22. For example, one right-wing leader was quoted as saying "We will take the two Boer Republics [the Transvaal and the Orange Free State] and do ethnic cleansing." "A Tragedy in the Making," *Pretoria News*, 1 December 1993.

Attacks on individual blacks increased, especially in rural areas. In March 1994, members of the AWB "invaded" Bophuthatswana in supposed support of resistance to elections by the homeland government: three were killed (two of them summarily executed) in their failed attempt. Right-wingers openly took part in the paramilitary training of Inkatha "self-protection units" in rural Natal.<sup>23</sup> In the very last days before the election, bombs in and around Johannesburg killed at least twenty-one people.

In making their demands, the right-wing parties appealed to an Afrikaner history of resistance to British imperialism and triumph over the harsh South African landscape. National Party propaganda since 1948 had consistently promoted Afrikaner cultural unity: The Afrikaans language was made the language of government and compulsorily taught in schools,<sup>24</sup> and public holidays and ceremonies celebrated the landmarks of the Afrikaner tradition. History textbooks taught the Afrikaner version of South Africa's origins, employing a Biblical imagery of the chosen people to define the "white tribe" of South Africa. The "Great Trek" of 1835 to 1838 was enshrined as the birth of a self-consciously Afrikaner identity and spirit of independence, symbolized by the "laager," the circle of wagons drawn up for protection against a hostile world. The South African war of 1899 to 1902 — the Boer War to the British, the Second War of Freedom to the Afrikaners — in which the Afrikaner Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State were finally and conclusively brought into the British empire, was mobilized as a history of Afrikaner solidarity against British atrocities. As the National Party prepared to relinquish its hold on power, right-wing leaders opposing majority rule invoked the need for sacrifice in the face of the new threat to the "volk."<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, the economic and political — rather than cultural — origins of right-wing resistance to the negotiations process were clear. In some respects, the apartheid system devised by Hendrik Verwoerd and implemented after the National Party victory of 1948 had been an affirmative action program for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. Afrikaners in South Africa had historically been economically disadvantaged by comparison with their anglophone compatriots: largely farmers or semi-skilled workers, they had resented English domination of the managerial and professional classes. An Afrikaner govern-

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23. *Impunity for Human Rights Abuses in Two Homelands: Reports from KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana* (New York: Human Rights Watch/Africa, March 1994).

24. In 1910, the South Africa Act establishing the Union of South Africa made Dutch and English joint official languages, although Afrikaans had for some time been clearly separate from its Dutch origins. In 1925, Afrikaans replaced Dutch as an official language. In 1976, the effort to impose Afrikaans as the language of instruction in all secondary schools provoked the first truly mass uprising against the apartheid regime.

25. For discussions of the roots of Afrikaner identity, see Heribert Adam and Hermann Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1979); Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Isabel Hofmeyr, "Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity 1902-24," in Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987); for an interpretation stressing the importance of ethnicity alone in right-wing mobilization, see Johann van Rooyen *Hard Right: The New White Power in South Africa* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994).

ment set out to reverse the pattern. Nationalized industries and a mushrooming civil service provided jobs for Afrikaans speakers; legally required job reservations in private industry ensured that semi-skilled whites had protected employment at artificially inflated wages. Spending differentials between black and white pupils in schools ensured that there would be little competition to challenge these reservations. Repressive pass laws and labor legislation kept black farm and mineworkers' wages low and security of tenure minimal. Economic protectionism rather than promotion of Afrikaner culture was at the heart of the National Party agenda.

In part, the loosening of the apartheid system from the mid-1980s was due to the success of this program — and also to its costs. Forty years of systematic assistance to Afrikaners had ensured that they were now integrated into the economic elite. Afrikaans speakers had become lawyers, stockbrokers, university professors, and heads of mining houses. As a consequence, the economic inefficiencies of apartheid had become more apparent to the country's political leadership.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, a significant number of lower middle class Afrikaners (and some English speakers) still depended on job protection and the apartheid system for their economic security. The threat of reform directed by those who no longer had need of apartheid was sufficient to induce the desertion of poor whites from the National Party, their traditional representative.

Despite the claims of the extreme right wing to the contrary, it was clear that a united Afrikaner "people" for whom self-determination within a volkstaat might be viable was a thing of the past. The history drawn on by the right wing had been embroidered with hindsight and bore little resemblance to the more prosaic story of the disorganized and disunited mixture of whites of Dutch, French and German descent that had left Cape Province and eventually established the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State. The Afrikaners of the extreme right had more in common with the racists of the anglophone community than they did with the professional Afrikaner elite: in fact, English-speaking South Africans were uncontested members of the Conservative Party, and even of paramilitary organizations such as the AWB.<sup>27</sup> Economic realities had divided the volk, and those who had remained working class resorted to violence in a final attempt to defend their privileges as whites, rather than their ethnic identity as Afrikaners.<sup>28</sup>

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26. In addition to depressing wages, apartheid's job reservations and "bantu education" ensured that there was a skills shortage in mining and industry; international sanctions protesting apartheid added significant costs to the economy; while running fifteen departments for every government service ensured that South Africa's civil service absorbed disproportionate quantities of national income. Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983).

27. For example, Clive Derby-Lewis, an English-speaking South African later imprisoned for his part in organizing the assassination of Chris Hanu, leader of the SACP and regarded by some as the natural successor to Mandela, was a prominent Conservative Party MP representing Krugersdorp, an AWB stronghold.

28. Jonathan Hyslop, "Problems of Explanation in the Study of Afrikaner Nationalism: A Case Study of the West Rand," paper presented at the 20th Anniversary Conference of the *Journal of South African Studies*, York University, 9-11 September 1994.

*Political violence between the ANC and Inkatha*

The years of the emergency also brought intensified conflict to many black communities. Differences emerged over the strategies of resistance, and "mass action" was sometimes imposed on a less radical general population.<sup>29</sup> With the crackdown on the established leaders and organizations of black civil society, school or store boycotts were enforced by increasingly militant "comrades." Township councillors, black policemen, traditional leaders, and others who were accused of collaboration with the regime were attacked as sell-outs and subjected to summary justice. As the negotiations progressed and the date for the transfer of power approached, local conflicts often took on national political agendas, merging with a larger competition for black support among political parties, especially the ANC and Inkatha.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Chief Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi, uncle of the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelethini, articulated a conservative position of respect for authority in opposition to the radicalism of the UDF/ANC. Founded in 1975 as Inkatha ya KwaZulu, the revival of a 1920's Zulu nationalist organization, the organization transformed itself in 1990 into a full-fledged political party with a national agenda. Inkatha had initially enjoyed a relatively close relationship with the ANC, and had been regarded by many as the representative of the ANC within Natal Province, its base. Although it adopted the symbolism and some of the rhetoric of the liberation movements, stating its opposition to apartheid and rejecting independence for KwaZulu within the homeland system, Inkatha opposed the UDF's school boycotts and other civil disobedience strategies, as well as the ANC's commitment to socialism and the armed struggle. Chief Buthelezi promoted instead an ideology of free-market capitalism and opposition to sanctions, and claimed a commitment to non-violence on the basis of Christian principles. Inkatha was embraced by many whites, both inside and outside South Africa, who opposed legalized apartheid but were uncomfortable with the radical implications of support for the ANC.<sup>30</sup>

In 1985, violence broke out in the townships of Durban, capital of Natal Province, between UDF-supporting students attempting to enforce a school boycott and the KwaZulu police backed by groups of Inkatha-supporting Zulu *amabutho*, or warriors.<sup>31</sup> By early 1990, many areas of Natal had become gripped

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29. See, for example, John Kane-Berman, *Political Violence in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1993). Kane-Berman is the principal exponent of the idea that the "ungovernability" strategies of the liberation movement were the cause of much of the violence in South Africa.

30. For the history of Buthelezi and Inkatha, see Gerhard Maré and Georgina Hamilton, *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of 'Loyal Resistance'* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987); Mzala, *Gatscha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda* (London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1988).

31. As in other homelands, the planned redrawing of homeland boundaries to incorporate new communities was particularly contentious. Conflict first developed between Inkatha and representatives of several Durban townships attempting to organize resistance to rent and fare increases, when their Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) also coordinated resistance to moves to incorporate the same communities into KwaZulu. Attempts to incorporate the communities of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana, Nkqonkqweni into Ciskei and Moutse into KwaNdebele also led to significant violence at around the same time. For analyses of the

by what was in effect a low-level and unrecognized civil war between the radical township "comrades" of the UDF/ANC and the "traditional" government structures of the KwaZulu homeland.<sup>32</sup> In August 1990, shortly after the ANC suspended its armed struggle and the negotiations process had formally opened, violence spread dramatically from Natal to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area, South Africa's industrial heartland surrounding Johannesburg.<sup>33</sup> In place of the familiar confrontations between stone-throwing youths and the apartheid state, internecine battles shattered the image of black unity and threatened to destroy the hope of black rule.

The intensifying violence appeared to become a conflict of cultures, not of political agendas. In Natal, where the worst violence took place, the conflict was between members of the same ethnic group, yet it seemed to be based on a division between rural, often older, Zulus committed to their tribal identity and traditional systems of government, and those younger, township-based Zulus, less strongly tied to ethnic loyalties, who supported the ANC's demands for modernization and homogenization of the South African people. In the PWV region, conflict developed between Inkatha-supporting Zulu migrant workers and the UDF/ANC comrades who had led the township resistance to the emergency. As the violence progressed, it took on ethnic overtones: previously mixed communities split along ethnic lines, as Xhosas (from whom many of the leaders of the ANC were drawn) were driven from the hostels, and Zulus fled the townships to sanctuary in Inkatha-controlled hostels.<sup>34</sup>

This interpretation was heavily reinforced by Inkatha's own public statements. In his political speeches, Buthelezi drew extensively on the history of the

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war in Natal, see, generally, Anthony Minnaar (ed.), *Patterns of Violence: Case Studies of Conflict in Natal* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1992); Matthew Krentridge, *An Unofficial War: Inside the Conflict in Pietermaritzburg* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990).

32. Despite the destructive conflict in Natal, other parts of South Africa remained largely unaffected by violence of this type, although there were significant exceptions to this rule, such as the conflicts that broke out between leaders of different residents' associations in the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town in 1984, 1986 and 1988, in which tens of people were killed and thousands were driven from their homes.

33. In the PWV region, 8,312 people were recorded killed in political violence from July 1990 to February 1994, an average of six a day, according to statistics compiled by the Johannesburg-based Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) from reports in the media, by independent monitoring agencies and the police. After mid-1992, the vast majority of those killed were in the East Rand townships of Katlehong and Thokoza. David Everatt, Ross Jennings & Mark Orkin, *The Reef Violence: The Election Endgame* (Johannesburg: CASE, April 1994).

34. Much media commentary on this violence referred to "traditional" hostility between the Zulu and Xhosa peoples. In fact, no direct wars had been fought between the Zulu and Xhosa kingdoms in the pre-colonial period, although many of those driven out of what would later be the Natal area by the *Mfecane* (see following footnote) did spill over into the Xhosa eastern Cape region. Moreover, the "natural" ethnic division of South Africa's indigenous peoples speaking languages within the large Bantu language group (that is, barring the Khoisan, or 'Bushmen') would be between the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana subgroups. Xhosa and Zulu are closely related within the Nguni language group (distinguished from the other Bantu languages, spoken largely in the north and east of the country, by common click sounds thought to be borrowed from the Khoisan). However, it is true that many of the most prominent leaders of the ANC, including Mandela himself, are Xhosas, drawn from the eastern Cape region, where industrial organization and mission education had combined to produce a militant tradition.

Zulu kingdom that had controlled the hinterland of South Africa's Indian Ocean coast before colonization,<sup>35</sup> claiming with increasing stridency that the special history and culture of the Zulu people was at risk of obliteration by an ANC government. In speeches in which he sought support from the Afrikaner community, Buthelezi drew parallels between Zulu and Afrikaner history and the response of each "nation" to oppression.<sup>36</sup> Stating that his family had traditionally held the position of Prime Minister within the Zulu state and claiming that the KwaZulu homeland was the legitimate successor to the Zulu kingdom, Buthelezi repeatedly portrayed the call of the ANC for the abolition of the homeland system as an attack on Zulu political and cultural survival equivalent to the nineteenth century defeat of the Zulu kingdom.<sup>37</sup> "Traditional weapons" — such as assegais (spears) or knobkerries (club-ended sticks) — were suddenly elevated to iconic status, their public display legalized after a century-long ban, and attempts to re-ban them on public order grounds likened to "cultural castration."<sup>38</sup> "Traditional" forms of government, the system of chiefs and headmen in operation within KwaZulu and other homelands, were said to be

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35. During the nineteenth century, preceding the final expansion of British control from the Cape, Zulu king Shaka had developed a formidable army which, driving away smaller political communities, had enabled the establishment of a powerful state. (The extent of these conflicts, known as the *Mfecane*, has been hotly contested by historians in recent years.) In 1879, the Zulu army inflicted on the British the only defeat suffered in the course of the colonization of Africa. Although the Zulu kingdom fell before the end of the year, the battle of Isandhlwana and the military skill that had enabled the defeat of a force armed with rifles by warriors carrying only spears led the Zulus to become enshrined in English colonial history: an extensive literature paid tribute to a caricature of a proud and warlike Zulu nation, naturally dominant over South Africa's other, less martial, tribes. Echoes of this literature were constantly heard in media coverage of violence in South Africa during the negotiations period: see, for example, R.W. Johnson, "Spears of the Nation," *The Independent on Sunday* (London), 14 October 1990; Patti Waldmeir "The History of Bloodlust that Stains the Conference Table," *Financial Times* (London), 9-10 January 1993; Edward Pearce "Commentary," *The Guardian* (London), 7 August 1993; David Brooks, "The Zulus: Victorian Warriors in the Modern Age," *Wall Street Journal* (New York), 12 April 1994.

36. Paul Forsyth, "Manipulating the Past: The Political Use of History by Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi," in *The Debate on Zulu Origins: A Selection of Papers on the Zulu Kingdom and Early Colonial Natal* (Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, 1992).

37. For example, following the "Bisho massacre" of September 1992, in which twenty-eight ANC demonstrators were killed by the security forces of Ciskei, the ANC proposed (but never in fact organized) a similar march protesting the continued existence of KwaZulu. Buthelezi responded by stating that "At no time since the conquest of KwaZulu . . . has there been a greater threat against us as Zulus." Patrick Laurence, "Buthelezi Rallies Troops for War," *The Guardian*, 25 September 1992.

38. The carrying of "cultural weapons" had been banned by the British during colonial times, and remained banned until 1990, when the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly repealed three sections of the Natal Code of Zulu Law, originally drawn up by the British in 1891. The South African government repealed similar laws in effect outside the homeland. Following the signing of a Record of Understanding between the South African government and the ANC in September 1992, the government agreed to prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons and to provide a mechanism for parties to apply to court for licenses to hold genuine cultural meetings. This agreement, described by Buthelezi as a "cultural castration" designed to "destroy the Zulu ethnic identity and awareness," was never honored by the South African government. Africa Watch, "Traditional" Dictatorship: One Party State in KwaZulu Homeland Threatens Transition to Democracy (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993), 39-40.

under threat from the "lost generation" of township youth, taught by the ANC to demand "liberation before education" and to believe that the past should be thrown away.

In the various negotiating forums that were convened from 1990, Inkatha proposed, in response to the ANC's commitment to a unitary South Africa, an extreme form of federalism in which virtually all power would be devolved from the center to the provinces.<sup>39</sup> Although he had opposed nominal independence for KwaZulu within the homeland system and rejected the continuing existence of KwaZulu as a separate government structure within Natal, Chief Buthelezi maintained that the separate traditions of both KwaZulu and Natal (as the only English-majority white community of South Africa) demanded separate recognition in governing structures.<sup>40</sup> In December 1992, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly passed a resolution adopting a new constitution for KwaZulu-Natal. Of no legal effect because the constitutional position of KwaZulu, as a self-governing territory, was under the control of the South African parliament, the draft proposed that KwaZulu-Natal should be a member state of a Federal Republic of South Africa, in which no federal law would be able to override any state law and no federal taxes levied without the permission of the state.<sup>41</sup>

In August 1993, Inkatha withdrew from multiparty negotiations. Joining the parties of the white right wing and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, Buthelezi said that the ANC and National Party were "doing everything in their power to silence the voice of opposition of the Zulu people. . . . Federalism is the only form of government which will bring peace and harmony to South Africa."<sup>42</sup> "KwaZulu," therefore, "stands as a colossus in the path of those who want to force the unitary state formula on South Africa."<sup>43</sup> Inkatha maintained its boycott into 1994, and set up training camps where members of the right-wing paramilitary organizations trained young men in "self-defense." In the final weeks before the election, violence reached previously unrecorded intensity: during the last two weeks of March and first two weeks of April, 429

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39. Although all the homeland governments were represented at the multiparty negotiations, Inkatha was the only homeland-based political party permitted to take part. In addition, during the negotiations of 1992, Buthelezi claimed that the Zulu king, Zwelethini, should also be separately represented, in his capacity as a traditional monarch.

40. In 1986, attempts to claim a level of devolution of power were prefigured by a KwaZulu/Natal "indaba" between the homeland government, the government of Natal province and business representatives, which had resulted in recommendations for a federal and consociational system of government, based at least in part on the racial segregation of the electorate.

41. The constitution also stated that no federal troops would be allowed to be stationed in KwaZulu-Natal without the permission of the state, no federal conscription allowed, and proposed a state militia, for which conscription would be carried out at state level. See Stephen Ellman, "Federalism Awry: The Structure of Government in the KwaZulu/Natal Constitution," *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 9, Pt. 2 (1993).

42. *Press Statement: Vote of Thanks to His Majesty the King for Calling the Zulu People to the Two Imbizos on 11th July in Durban and on 25th July in Johannesburg by Mangosuthu Buthelezi KC, MLA, Chief Minister in KwaZulu*, as reported in SWB ME/1751 B/1, 27 July 1993.

43. Craig Doonan, "Buthelezi Reiterates No Accord on Government without IFP," *South African Press Association (SAPA)*, 11 July 1993, as reported in FBIS-AFR-93-131, 12 July 1993.



people were recorded killed in Natal/KwaZulu alone.<sup>44</sup> Buthelezi warned that any attempt to send South African troops or police to KwaZulu to restore order would be regarded as an "invasion," and would be resisted. King Zwelethini called on "all Zulus to fulfill their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone in southern Africa who will dare to challenge it."<sup>45</sup>

However, the analysis that the violence was based on simple rivalry between opposing world views, based on primordial ethnic or tribal identities, did not explain the intensity of the conflict. In the first place, the Zulu identity claimed by Chief Buthelezi was largely a modern construct based on an imaginative use of history. Many of the traditions claimed for the Zulu nation were simply invented.<sup>46</sup> The question of who was a Zulu was itself fraught with unexpected contradictions.<sup>47</sup> Many who called themselves Zulu claimed allegiance to a radically different view of Zulu culture. It was not apparent that all Zulus belonged within one political entity: they had not done so at any time in the past. The KwaZulu homeland, created and funded by the South African government and guaranteed by the South African security forces, was not in any meaningful sense the contemporary representative of the pre-conquest Zulu kingdom. Chief Buthelezi's own position as chief minister to Zwelethini's constitutional monarch, which he claimed was a traditional position given to his family, had no parallel in Zulu history.<sup>48</sup> The chieftainship system itself was based on the system of delegated authority designed for Natal by Theophilus Shepstone at the end of the nineteenth century rather than being the direct descendant of traditional Zulu methods of government.

Moreover, Inkatha was an organization as much devoted to the preservation of economic and political power as were the parties of the right wing. Inkatha's defense of KwaZulu as the modern representative of the Zulu kingdom was based not so much on traditional cultural loyalty as on contemporary political realities. Buthelezi's position in the KwaZulu homeland was central to the strength of Inkatha; from the time of its creation in 1975, Inkatha depended on the structures of the KwaZulu homeland to recruit its members. KwaZulu was a one-party state in which membership of or support for Inkatha could be a prerequisite for receiving a pension or placing a child in school. Organizations allied with the UDF or ANC were unable to obtain permission from the local

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44. HRC Monthly Report, April 1994 and "Natal's Total Onslaught," HRC briefing paper dated 9 June 1994.

45. Marius Bosch, "Zulu King Moves Closer to Sovereign Zulu State," Reuters Information Services Inc, 18 March 1994; see, generally, *Impunity for Human Rights Abuses in Two Homelands*.

46. For example, the celebrations surrounding "Shaka Day," September 23, introduced by Chief Buthelezi as Chief Minister of KwaZulu. This is not to say, of course, that actual Zulu history was irrelevant to the traditions claimed by Buthelezi: without the resistance of the pre-colonial Zulu kingdom to white expansion and the institutions that made that resistance possible, Buthelezi's embellishments would have had no resonance with ordinary Zulus. The "invention of tradition" does not take place on a blank slate.

47. See, for example, Gerhard Maré, *Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1993); or, for an individual study, David Webster "Ethnicity and Gender in a KwaZulu Border Community," in Andrew A. Spiegel and Patrick A. McAllister (eds.), *Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1991).

48. Mzala, op cit.

government to hold gatherings and recruit within the homeland. In the parts of KwaZulu policed by the homeland's own KwaZulu Police (KZP), support for Inkatha was virtually undisguised and the force came to be seen as the unofficial armed wing of the IFP.<sup>49</sup> Chiefs were appointed by the KwaZulu government, and as chief minister Buthelezi had the absolute power to remove any chief who showed opposition to Inkatha, to designate new "tribes" for chief to rule over, or to divide existing tribes between different chiefs.<sup>50</sup>

As violence escalated through the late eighties and early nineties, allegations multiplied of central government support for Inkatha over and above the payments regularly made to the KwaZulu government. Initially promoted as the "moderate" alternative to the ANC, Inkatha was later used by elements within the government to promote violence, apparently in the hope of derailing the negotiations process. Time and again, eyewitness reports described the inaction of the South African Police (SAP) in the face of warnings of Inkatha attacks, police logistical support for vigilantes wearing Inkatha symbols and police crackdowns on self-defense units organized by the ANC just before Inkatha attacks broke out.<sup>51</sup> In other cases, the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) of the SAP was accused of inflaming rather than suppressing violence.<sup>52</sup>

In June 1991, it emerged that Inkatha had received secret payments from the security branch of the SAP for many years.<sup>53</sup> The government attempted to explain the "Inkathagate" revelations as a legitimate tactic to counter the ANC's pro-sanctions stance, but allegations continued of police complicity in supporting Inkatha and provoking violence. In August 1991, de Klerk was forced to confirm, in response to press reports alleging that the army and security police had been involved in training hit squads in the KZP, that two hundred Inkatha members had been secretly sent to be trained by the military intelligence division of the SADF in the Caprivi Strip in northern Namibia in 1986, and integrated into the KZP on their return. Two years later, a standing commission

49. Legal Resources Centre (Durban) and Human Rights Commission (Durban), *Obstacle to Peace: The Role of the KwaZulu Police in the Natal Conflict* (Durban: LRC & HRC, June 1992); Africa Watch, "Traditional" Dictatorship.

50. In general, the hereditary principle was more or less followed in the appointment of chiefs; however, where chiefs opposed Buthelezi, they were harassed, deposed, or worse: in November 1993, gunmen attacked the home of chief Elphas Molefe of Nqutu in northern Natal, killing ten youths including the chief's son. Molefe had been suspended and then dismissed from his position by Buthelezi, as a result of his opposition to the policies of the KwaZulu government; "Traditional" Dictatorship, 16-24; *Impunity for Human Rights Abuses in Two Homelands*, 11-12.

51. Numerous domestic reports of police bias were confirmed by international observers. See, for example, Africa Watch, *The Killings in South Africa: The Role of the Security Forces and the Response of the State* (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 1991); Amnesty International, *South Africa: State of Fear* (London: June 1992); International Commission of Jurists, *Agenda for Peace* (Geneva: June, 1992).

52. In February 1994, following an ANC campaign after months of serious conflict in the East Rand, the ISU was replaced by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the townships of Katlehong and Thokoza. Violence dropped overnight to a fraction of its former levels.

53. In addition, the Inkatha-aligned and anti-sanctions United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) was described in one internal police document as "a project under the control of the SAP." The Inkathagate revelations, and many of the subsequent allegations of covert government support for Inkatha, were originally published by the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail*.

of inquiry investigating political violence accepted the "high probability" that at least one hit squad had been operating in Natal, in which the leading figure was a Caprivi trainee.<sup>54</sup>

In various court inquests and official investigations over the years of the worst violence, it emerged that security police had been involved in many attacks attributed to one or other side of the conflict. On the eve of the election, it was confirmed that senior SAP officials had been involved in supplying Inkatha with weapons and financial support.<sup>55</sup> A few days later, a task force investigating security force hit squads concluded that "the number of deaths caused by . . . hit squads is unquantifiable but would represent a significant proportion of those who have died in political violence in Natal/KwaZulu."<sup>56</sup> Whatever the original basis for the mobilization of Zulu ethnicity to create Inkatha, it was clear that, far from uniting Zulu-speaking South Africans, the IFP had been used by at least elements within the state to divide them.

### The Elections and After

Despite the violence which had threatened to engulf South Africa in civil war, the elections went ahead. In the final weeks before the election, civil service strikes and mass demonstrations in "independent" Bophuthatswana provoked an invasion of the homeland by AWB members in support of the doomed regime of President Mangope. The South African government was finally forced to send in the SADF to restore order and enforce the right to vote. In Ciskei, less dramatically, the government capitulated peacefully in the face of similar demonstrations. Although the Conservative Party maintained its boycott of the vote, the white right wing split after the Bophuthatswana fiasco, and a constitutional faction led by ex-General Constand Viljoen contested the elections as the Freedom Front. Just one week before the election, well after all nominal deadlines had passed, Inkatha lifted its boycott and announced that it too would participate in the poll. Levels of violence immediately dropped dramatically, and continued to decline in the months to come.<sup>57</sup>

In a landslide victory, the ANC won 62.6 percent of the national vote: on 10 May 1994, South Africa became the last African country to achieve "self-deter-

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54. *Fourth Interim Report*, Johannesburg: Goldstone Commission, 6 December 1993. The Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, headed by Justice Richard Goldstone, was appointed by the government in 1991 under the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation Act 1991, in accordance with the terms of and in agreement with the parties to the National Peace Accord of September 1991.

55. *Interim Report on Criminal Political Violence by Elements within the South African Police, the KwaZulu Police and the Inkatha Freedom Party*, Johannesburg: Goldstone Commission, 18 March 1994.

56. *Preliminary Report of the Transitional Executive Council Investigation Task Group into the Matter of Hit Squads in the KwaZulu Police, Flowing from the Fourth Interim Report of the Goldstone Commission, dated 6 December 1993*, Pretoria: TEC, 22 March 1994, para. 17. These allegations were supported by the Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, General Roy Doring, in a speech made at his retirement in July 1994.

57. By the end of September 1994, 2,363 people had been recorded killed during the year in political violence in South Africa (by the same time in 1993, 3,000 had died): 1,631 of these had been killed by the end of April, and 732 between April and September (HRC Monthly Reports).

mination" when Nelson Mandela was formally inaugurated as State President. Three centuries of colonial government and almost five decades of apartheid rule were ended. The ten ethnically determined homelands, the foundation of the apartheid system, were finally reincorporated and replaced by nine new geographical regions. The interim constitution adopted during negotiations guaranteed equal rights and equality before the law to all South Africans on the basis of a single citizenship and united state. For the first time, parliamentary sovereignty would be contained by a constitutional court with the power to enforce the bill of rights. The ANC committed itself to a "reconstruction and development program" to rectify the injustices wrought by apartheid.

Concessions had been made in the course of the negotiations to the demands for ethnic recognition made by the right wing and Inkatha, as well as to the National Party's calls for protection of the more moderate white minority. A five-year government of national unity was installed, in which parties that achieved more than ten percent of the national vote, including the National Party and the IFP, were represented.<sup>58</sup> Ex-President de Klerk became one of two new deputy presidents; Chief Buthelezi was made Minister of Home Affairs in the new cabinet. Although the ANC had originally proposed a single national government which would delegate administrative powers only to subordinate authorities, the constitution established nine new regions and regional assemblies with substantial powers to legislate on their own account, albeit in the first formulation only concurrently with the national government.<sup>59</sup> Local government structures were given substantial powers.<sup>60</sup> A degree of protection was given to traditional forms of government and customary law.<sup>61</sup> Extensive protection for language rights was guaranteed, and eleven official languages designated.<sup>62</sup> Although state discrimination was prohibited, most forms of private discrimination were not forbidden by the new Bill of Rights. Despite the ANC's commitment to affirmative action, white civil servants were guaranteed their positions under a new government.<sup>63</sup>

In last minute agreements seeking to persuade the right wing and Inkatha to

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58. The National Party received 20.4 percent of the vote nationally and a majority of 53.2 percent in the Western Cape. Against all opinion poll predictions, which estimated its regional support at between 25 percent and 45 percent, the IFP won 50.3 percent of the vote in KwaZulu-Natal, and 10.5 percent nationally. Although the Independent Electoral Commission indicated that it was satisfied that the election results accurately reflected the views of the South African people, in many parts of KwaZulu the accuracy of the poll was impossible to verify. Extensive horse-trading between the ANC and IFP took place at the local level to resolve conflicts, and at the national level persistent but unsubstantiated claims were made that the overall result had been agreed between the parties. See, for example, Claire Robertson, "Nats and DP Tried to Cook Poll Results," *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 23 October 1994.

59. Constitution, Chapter 9, on Provincial Government. In later amendments to the Interim Constitution, the regional governments were given exclusive jurisdiction over some matters.

60. Constitution, Chapter 10, on Local Government.

61. Constitution, Chapter 11, on Traditional Authorities.

62. Constitution, Sections 3, 31 & 32; see also footnote 1.

63. The provisions of the new constitution relating to federalism and the protection of minorities are considered in detail by Stephen Ellman, "The New South African Constitution and Ethnic Division," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 26, 1 (Fall 1994).

participate in the vote, the ANC made further gestures towards the protection of minority rights.<sup>64</sup> Separate regional and national ballots were arranged in place of the envisaged single vote.<sup>65</sup> An additional "constitutional principle," which would guide the drafting of a final constitution, stated that the recognition of the right of the South African people to self-determination, "shall not be construed as precluding . . . constitutional provision for a notion of the right to self-determination by any community sharing common cultural and language heritage, whether in a territorial entity within the Republic or in any other recognized way."<sup>66</sup> Provincial governments were given the right to frame their own constitutions, and to "provide for the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch in the province," a provision required in the case of KwaZulu/Natal.<sup>67</sup> Days before the election, a secret deal was made to transfer land in KwaZulu to the personal control of King Zwelethini.<sup>68</sup>

The newly elected multiracial national assembly will also sit as a Constituent Assembly to draft a final constitution. It is unlikely, however, that the basic framework of the negotiated settlement will change significantly. The ANC failed to win the 67 percent of the popular vote that would have enabled it, under the terms of the interim constitution, to override the wishes of the other parties in compiling the final version. Moreover, all parties are bound by the thirty-four "constitutional principles" agreed during the negotiation process, which limit in particular the central government's right to alter the constitutional arrangements for regional government. Moreover, the cost of restructuring the existing system of administration will be too great for further major revisions to be made; vested interests will rapidly emerge from the interim arrangements. Already, new tensions have emerged between national and regional governments, even where both are ANC dominated: regional premiers, frustrated at their inability to act decisively because of the remaining restrictions on provincial authority, have called for greater powers to be devolved from the center, while denying that they are challenging the ANC's commitment to uniformity of policy.<sup>69</sup> The

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64. The changes were enacted in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Act (hereafter First Amendment Act) and Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Act (hereafter Second Amendment Act), adopted in March and April 1994, respectively.

65. First Amendment Act, section 12, amending Constitution, Schedule 2.

66. First Amendment Act, section 13, adding Constitutional Principle XXXIV to Constitution, Schedule 4. The ANC had initially maintained that the business of drafting a new constitution should be left entirely to a new Constituent Assembly; it had conceded, however, that an interim constitution should be drafted to rule the transitional period, and that the Constituent Assembly should be bound, whatever the outcome of the vote, by "constitutional principles" agreed during the negotiation process. Principle XXXIV was adopted to persuade the "moderate" right-wing, as represented by the Freedom Front, to contest the elections.

67. First Amendment Act, section 8; Second Amendment Act, section 1.

68. Under the terms of the Ingonyama Trust Act, made public only after the elections, King Zwelethini was made the sole trustee of tribal land in KwaZulu. Following an investigation by a committee appointed by the new government, a compromise was reached to amend the legislation to give fewer powers to the king and increase accountability in decisions relating to the use of the land.

69. Amrit Manga, "Federalism or Just a Question of Functions?" *New Nation* (Johannesburg), 7-13 October 1994.

final constitution may even recognize these tensions by strengthening regional powers.

The new dispensation has also affected the dynamics of ethnic politics in South Africa. Scarcely had the KwaZulu homeland been dissolved into the new region of KwaZulu-Natal, when the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelethini, long restive under the financial control of his uncle, began to test his new independence from Inkatha.<sup>70</sup> In September 1994, he announced that a long-time opponent of the IFP within the royal family would replace Chief Buthelezi as "traditional prime minister"<sup>71</sup> and invited ANC President Mandela to the annual Shaka Day celebrations, previously an exclusively Inkatha affair. Challenged by Buthelezi for failing to consult him, Zwelethini canceled the day's events. Buthelezi went ahead on his own account, attracting a crowd of 15,000 Inkatha supporters.<sup>72</sup> Previously claiming to defend the Zulu monarchy as the unifying symbol of the Zulu nation, Buthelezi now claims to be the true guardian of Zulu interests in opposition to a monarchy hijacked by the ANC.<sup>73</sup>

Although the stage on which South African politics is now played has dramatically altered the role of ethnicity, it is clear that group loyalties of race, language, and culture will remain important in mobilizing popular support. The dispute over title to the leadership of South Africa's Zulus is still conducted in terms of ethnic "authenticity." The right wing, though deeply divided, remains committed to an Afrikaner homeland of some sort. Meanwhile, other groups are also mobilizing: coloured residents of the PWV region, outraged at proposed flat-rate rents and service charges for former African group areas, have demanded similar concessions and launched a rent boycott in support of their demands. Proposals have been made for a "Coloured Resistance Movement" (Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging) to match the AWB, and even for a coloured homeland.<sup>74</sup> Other politicians, including Chief Buthelezi as Minister of Home Affairs, are, with some success, using the millions of illegal aliens present in South Africa as a scapegoat for the country's economic problems.<sup>75</sup>

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70. The constitution of KwaZulu, unlike those of the other homelands, had been established with the Zulu king as a constitutional monarch, and Chief Buthelezi as Executive Chief Minister of the homeland government. Zwelethini had therefore previously been completely financially dependent on Buthelezi, who controlled the subvention from central government. One effect of the Ingoyama Trust Act was also to increase the King's political independence, by increasing his control over tribal land.

71. Farouk Chothia, "King Names the 'Rightful Heir'," *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 16-22 September 1994. Prince Israel Mcwayizeni Zulu, a senior prince in the Zulu royal family, is an ANC MP and member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

72. Chief Buthelezi and his bodyguards later invaded a television studio where a spokesman for the king was being recorded live, and berated him in Zulu for his criticism of Inkatha. Buthelezi, now Minister of Home Affairs and responsible, amongst other things, for regulation of the media, was forced to apologize publicly for his actions.

73. "Buthelezi Reiterates Claim to be Traditional Zulu Prime Minister," *South African Press Association*, 1 October 1994, as reported in SWB AL/2116 A/11. 3 October 1994.

74. Don Mattera, "Leaders Shy Away from the 'Coloured Problem'," *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 7-14 October 1994; Tyrone August, "Focus on Ethnicity," *The Sowetan*, 5 October 1994; "Sowejoca Boycott On," *The Sowetan*, 6 October 1994.

75. David Beresford, "Waves of Illegal Immigrants Find Only Poverty in South Africa," *The Guardian* (London), 6 October 1994.

South Africa faces an economic and social crisis caused by the policies of apartheid: the enforcement of a harsh system of migrant labor; the extreme restrictions on freedom of movement; the impoverished system of "bantustan" education; the widespread detention of children; the forced removals of stable communities to homeland slums. The abolition of apartheid controls has in some respects worsened the crisis in urban areas, as vast squatter camps have mushroomed to accommodate those who have flocked to the cities to seek work. In these circumstances, there is fierce competition for resources at the margins of society: between the poor and the very poor, the employed and the unemployed, those who live in formal township housing and those who live in the migrant workers' hostels or the squatter camps.<sup>76</sup> Few or no state structures exist to mediate or even provide neutral policing in case of conflict.

It was these tensions, in part, and the organizational weaknesses of the ANC as an all-inclusive movement that allowed ethnic mobilization to succeed and political violence to escalate during the period leading up to the elections.<sup>77</sup> Under circumstances in which no formal structures existed for mediating conflict, ethnic, cultural, and regional loyalties were easily mobilized by Inkatha. In the PWV region, for example, the ANC's commitment to ending the system of migrant labor that fed South Africa's mining industry, and its repeated demand that the hostels be closed or fenced, failed to take account of the fact that migrant workers depended for survival on the continuation of the system that exploited them.<sup>78</sup> When Inkatha began a recruitment drive on the Reef in 1990, the party offered hostel-dwellers a potential defense to the threat that their livelihood would be destroyed. Similarly, although the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa)<sup>79</sup> aimed to ensure that the

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76. Paradoxically, the dismantling of the overt machinery of apartheid during the period leading up to the elections increased violence in black communities — an effect described as the "deregulation of social control" in Graeme Simpson & Janine Rauch, *Review of Political Violence 1991* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 1992); see also Mike Morris & Doug Hindson, "South Africa: Political Violence, Reform and Reconstruction," *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 53:43-59, (1992).

77. An important factor in the violence was the weakness of ANC structures at grassroots level: only unbanned in February 1990, the ANC was in no position to channel and control political frustrations once violence broke out in the PWV region in August 1990. The government's systematic efforts during the emergency of the 1980s to destroy representative black political organizations, such as the civics (alternative local government structures), also reduced the chances of mediating conflict.

78. Maintaining a base and family in one of the homelands (or in the countries surrounding South Africa) where they traveled for one month each year, often continuing to live, by design of the mine management, in ethnically segregated hostels under headmen resembling the headmen of the chieftainship system, migrant workers saw themselves as only temporary residents of the townships. Largely excluded from the township mobilization of the mid-1980s, their whole way of life was threatened by proposals for reform, such as the conversion of the barracks-like hostels to family units, or the abolition of the tribal authorities, on which their families depended. Lauren Segal, *The Human Face of Violence: Hostel Dwellers Speak* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 1991); *Fortresses of Fear* (Johannesburg: Independent Board of Inquiry, May 1992); David Everatt & Derek Schrier, *Hostel Violence in Soweto 22 July 1990 - 31 July 1992* (Johannesburg: CASE, 1992).

79. Contralesa was formed in 1987 by chiefs who were part of the fierce resistance to the granting of "independence" to KwaNdebele and the incorporation of Moutse into the homeland.

chieftainship system would survive in a new constitutional order for South Africa, most UDF/ANC cadres made no secret of their view that chiefs were an obscurantist relic of the past. The UDF/ANC was essentially an urban movement, whose program for government addressed urban problems and included little in the way of an agenda for the rural areas or a role for traditional leaders.<sup>80</sup> Although the same conflict potentially arose in all the homelands,<sup>81</sup> it became most acute in KwaZulu, where the chieftainship system in rural areas had been left institutionally strongest by white rule, but where the homeland boundaries also enclosed the large ANC-dominated townships of Durban.<sup>82</sup>

Frustrations within black communities are likely to grow worse as the new government inevitably fails to satisfy the expectations raised by the elections. Although it is to be hoped that the ANC's program for the "reconstruction and development" of South Africa will alleviate the worst conditions and begin to establish supportive and neutral state structures in the poorest areas, networks based on family, region, and language will continue to play an important role in economic support and therefore political mobilization. In the poorer white areas, insecurities brought by the end of protected status will similarly result in racial and ethnic identification in opposition to the new order. In these circumstances, effective democratization at local and regional level may be as important as reconstruction at a national level in defusing tensions and reducing the potential for violence. The new South African constitutional dispensation must recognize the reality of existing loyalties, however atavistic, or risk being overthrown by them.

### Conclusion

The conflict in South Africa illustrates the problems inherent in recognizing group rights to "self-determination" for ethnic minorities in any form. Ethnicity

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80. The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa stated that "The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution." No details were provided.

81. Conflict centering on tribal authorities took place in tribal reserves and homelands throughout the colonial and post-colonial period. In the last years of apartheid rule, conflict was particularly acute in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, where, as in KwaZulu, extremely repressive governments manipulated the system of chiefs and headmen to political ends. However, for a variety of political, institutional and historical reasons, violence in these areas did not reach the levels attained in KwaZulu. In the case of Ciskei, see, for example, Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993).

82. Divisions between the national leadership of the black opposition to white government and its representatives in Natal dated back to the early years of founding of the South African National Congress (later the ANC). During the inter-war years in particular, a Natal-based Christian leadership developed a Zulu Nationalist ideology at odds with and more conservative than — though still in opposition to the traditional tribal structures — the position of the national movement. See, further, Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986); Shula Marks, "Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness," in Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989).



is a fluid concept, manipulable by leaders looking for power; its static definition inherently involves excluding individuals from full recognition as equal members of the group — even without the systematized program of discrimination on ethnic grounds introduced by the apartheid state. Moreover, devolving power from central government to minority leaders without guarantees of respect for individual rights runs the risk of simply devolving repression from central to peripheral elites, leaving individual minority members in no better position. As with any rights claim, self-determination or minority rights can be used by the powerful to defend their privilege as much as by the powerless to assert their equal citizenship.

Even though ethnic identities may be manipulated by unscrupulous politicians, and the traditions on which they are based largely invented, the loyalties aroused are no less keenly felt. Political interpretations of ethnic history cannot be successful unless they resonate with folk memories of the past, and modern definitions of group membership build on identities accepted in previous periods. Although any society is potentially divided between different interest groups, ethnicity is one of the most obvious tools for mobilization of political support by competing politicians. A multiethnic state — as are virtually all modern states, but especially the post-colonial states of Africa and Asia — must accommodate ethnic diversity by recognizing a meaningful pluralism in its own society, if it is not to face resistance from those who believe themselves excluded.

South Africa's history has made the choice seem a bipolar one, between the determination of citizenship rights on the basis of fixed group identities, or a unitary and uniform state, in which only one national identity is permissible. The new state must find a position between the extremes, in which the government recognizes that the pure "nation-state" cannot exist, least of all in South Africa, and that South Africans belong to many different groups who may legitimately want political representation at many levels. The legacy of apartheid demands that government take decisive steps to end white privilege, but it also requires a devolution of power from the center, so long as rights are guaranteed for all citizens.

The new constitution lays the foundation for that transformation, delinking ethnic identity from citizenship rights and guaranteeing non-discrimination before the state. Although the motives of both the white right wing and Inkatha were thoroughly suspect, the concessions made as a result of their demanding minority rights and the devolution of decision-making powers may have saved South Africa from more damaging conflict between center and periphery in the future.<sup>83</sup> The ANC's historic commitment to a unitary state and Marxist-influenced ideology risked following the same route as the centralized states of many other post-colonial African countries, where the disregard for regional and ethnic sensibilities led to damaging insurgencies in support of secessionist

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83. However, other concessions, especially those made in the name of "reconciliation" remain unwelcome: encouraging impunity for human rights abuses of the past can only damage the attempt to insure that abusers are made accountable in the future.

demands, or to winner-takes-all politics in which minority groups were consistently suppressed.<sup>84</sup>

Paradoxically, those who will benefit most from the controversial minority protections guaranteed in the new constitution may not be the historically privileged whites nor the culturally and numerically dominant Zulus, but those who would be as much minorities in the new South Africa as in the old: non-dominant groups that without regional devolution and proportional representation could hope for no real political power.

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84. In common with many other liberation movements, the ANC had a naive belief in its ability to act as an all-inclusive movement representing all South Africans. In internal discussions on the Constitutional Guidelines, for example, it was argued by some ANC members (in debating the merits of a one-party or a multiparty system) that "if the ANC as the ruling party represented all the people, other parties were unnecessary"; and similarly (comparing proportional representation to a majority vote) that "a built-in veto for minority protection would not be necessary if a body such as the ANC, which would be committed to all South African, came to power." *Minutes of a Workshop on the Constitutional Guidelines*, 23 July 1989.

