

# insight@ipt

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*KwaZulu Natal is catching its breath after the second democratic election which saw the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) losing tremendous support (although not as much as was punted by the polls) in favour of the African National Congress (ANC). The former won 34 of the 80 seats in the provincial legislature and the ANC 32. Within days of the announcement of the final results, the Minority Front, which had won two valuable seats in the legislature announced a coalition with the ANC.*

*Bargaining between the IFP and ANC began and continued until finally an agreement was reached and coalition governance began in KwaZulu-Natal. For minority parties represented in the legislature it may be increasingly difficult to have their voices heard. Nevertheless this is a significant point in the history of KwaZulu-Natal where fighting between the ANC and IFP has claimed about 21 000 lives.*

*In this second issue of **insight@ipt**, we look at the political situation in this province after the election, and the bargaining that occurred once these election results were announced.*

*We also put the spotlight on two particular government departments. The first is safety and security and the second education. Both are key ministries and cover the areas in which we, at the Independent Projects Trust (IPT), operate. Nationally, new ministers have been appointed for both portfolios with President Thabo Mbeki selecting Kader Asmal as education minister and Steve Tshwete as minister of safety and security.*

*In KwaZulu-Natal, the provincial minister of education Eileen kaNkosi-Shandu was appointed in February 1999 and reappointed after her party, the IFP, won the election. Chief Nyanga Ngubane continues with the safety and security portfolio he has held since 1997. Although this time around he also took over the local government ministry, as well as continuing with the traditional affairs portfolio that he has held since 1994.*

*We have a keen interest in the performance of these departments, both nationally and provincially, and have attempted to outline the commitments made by these ministers in order to ensure that their promises are kept.*

**KwaZulu-Natal after the election:  
The problem of provincial government  
by Alexander Johnston**

The essential nature of the 1999 election result in KwaZulu-Natal was to confirm two features of the provincial political scene, both of which have been developing since mid-1996. The first is a balance of power between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) which leaves rural and urban areas divided in their allegiances between the two rivals, with huge majorities in the countryside compensating the IFP which has a limited presence in the towns.

There is nothing dramatically new in this -- the 1994 result reflected the same kind of split. But the divide has been sharpened and hardened by the IFP's loss of support in the urban areas. This was first apparent in the local elections of 1996 and confirmed in the most recent poll on June 2 1999.

It has also been accompanied by an increasing ANC presence in the rural areas. In terms of results, rural votes fell well short of the more ambitious ANC forecasts, but this development still strikes an ominous note for the IFP's ability to retain in the future the narrow lead of one percent in the overall provincial result which it achieved in June.

The second feature of the result has been to confirm a changing atmosphere in the relations between the ANC and IFP from mutual rejection to what might be termed a wary, adversarial co-operation. This grudging mutual acceptance was born of a joint recognition that the legacy of the civil war, which consumed the province in the years of struggle and interregnum, could not be allowed to drag on.

The peace process began in about mid-1996. It has involved largely secret diplomacy, which has proved long-drawn-out, subject to remission and to this day inconclusive. Nevertheless, despite the parties' inability to reach a final settlement of their differences, a de facto improvement in relations allowed the elections to be held in peace. The new balance of power and the improvement of relations between the ANC and IFP combined to put in place a coalition government in KwaZulu-Natal.

The question of the provincial premiership -- an issue raised during the period of horse-trading that followed -- was complicated by three factors:

- The IFP's candidate, Lionel Mtshali, who had served as premier for only a few months before the election, had greatly unsettled the other parties by his brief, abrasive and confrontational tenure of the office before the election.
- Democratic Party (DP) leader Tony Leon's veto on DP participation in coalitions which would put the ANC in government.
- The issue of whether or not President Thabo Mbeki made the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal for the ANC a condition for offering Buthelezi the deputy presidency, as Buthelezi himself claims and Mbeki denies.

Under pressure of these three circumstances, the ANC apparently swallowed its objections to Mtshali. The disagreement over the spoils of office was resolved by agreeing to negotiate a new constitution for the province. This will provide for two extra posts for provincial ministers (bringing the total to twelve) both of which will go to the ANC.

**The problem of provincial government**

It would be premature to assume that the formation of a coalition government between the two principal political rivals in KwaZulu-Natal (even if it is followed by the promised fulfilment of the peace process in amnesty and reconciliation measures) will solve the problems of governance in the province. Indeed, there is a danger that they will merely be institutionalised in the new constitution. In effect, the problem of provincial government in the South African political system is twofold. It is a problem of governance and a problem of political competition. With regards to the former it is a problem of effective organisation of resources and coordination of responsibility between national and provincial levels to deliver the benefits and services of government.

As the audits of the director general of the Public Service and Administration department discovered, the Presidential Review Commission confirmed and the Auditor General's reports underline with depressing regularity, these issues involve problems of capacity, skills and resources, as well as leadership and morale. However, they cannot be divorced from problems of political competition. The question of good governance in the provinces is greatly complicated by a political culture which is weak nationally and incorrigibly provincial in its gravitational pull. There are several reasons for this:

- Patterns of demography as well as a history of racial exclusion and inequality combine to encourage the persistence of ethnic, racial and territorial dimensions to competition for political allegiance in the provinces.
- The constitution and the electoral system combine to offer rewards to minority parties at provincial level.
- The sheer inertial weight of the ANC's national dominance encourages other parties to tailor themselves to constructing provincial majorities as a substitute for real national presence. As a result, notwithstanding the better performance of the DP in the 1999 elections, the battle for alternative government is fought only at the provincial level. This has a negative effect on good governance in the provinces.

#### **Decentralisation and KwaZulu-Natal**

It is not decentralisation itself that is the problem. If, as in the United States of America, competition for the lower levels of government involved parties which had a reasonable chance of success in competition for national government, then a bipartisan approach to questions of good governance at the lower level would be more feasible.

Where competition at provincial level is a substitute for a competitive national political culture and not part of it, then the issues of governance and competition are mixed, to the detriment of performance, delivery and capacity.

This is particularly true of KwaZulu-Natal. It would be patently untrue to say that governance has been worse here than in all other provinces, but that is not the point. The point is that it could have been much better if the province's political discourse had not been so hopelessly mixed.

The IFP has argued that good governance would best be served by something approaching self-government for the 'Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal' and at the same time to give an 'identity' cast to the politics of good governance. This is an unhelpful confusion. The claims of ethno-nationalism can be made on various grounds, but good governance has no essential connection to them.

For its part, the ANC has tended to make other, equally damaging confusions. These include the confusion between party and state, and between

political allegiance and patriotism. The ANC's claim to be the party of good governance is not so much that its people are more energetic, abler or more disciplined than others, but that others are, in effect if not always in intention, saboteurs of national goals.

These differing approaches to good governance in the provinces will not disappear just because the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal have found a less confrontational basis for their co-existence and have assumed joint responsibility for ruling the province. This is likely to be shown in two areas, the drafting of a new constitution for the province and relations between central and provincial departments.

#### **A new constitution for KwaZulu-Natal**

The question of a new constitution has arisen not out of some consensual agreement that it will put governance in the province on a sounder basis, but authority is required for increasing the spoils of office to be shared out. Initial reports suggest that two new Cabinet positions provided for by a new Constitution for KwaZulu-Natal will be 'soft' ones, with responsibility for 'poverty alleviation' and women and youth, rather than some more clearly defined line functions.

The passing of the provincial constitution in 1995 by the KwaZulu-Natal government followed by its subsequent rejection by the Constitutional Court saw bitter disagreement between the ANC and IFP, over such matters as the extent and limits of provincial powers and the role of traditional Zulu leaders (especially in local government). It would be remarkable if the IFP has dropped the aspirations which made the previous constitution so contested, or the ANC has dropped its objections on issues which are central to its lasting differences with the IFP.

#### **Relations between central and provincial government departments**

The ANC has assumed office for the second time as national government, pledging that effectiveness and delivery are to be the criteria by which it will be judged in office. Since so much money is spent and so many services delivered in the provinces, the ANC clearly feels that its record as a national government will be at stake in the provinces.

In what is clearly a precursor to taking a close interest in and firm line with the provinces, the ANC's national leadership has taken on greater powers to influence the appointment of provincial premiers and

participate in selecting provincial ministers. The issue is not so simple in cases where other parties have provincial portfolio responsibilities, but the greater emphasis on coordination which is represented by the organisation of national ministries into 'clusters', will be defeated if there are not close links between central and provincial departments.

Where two things coincide, the development of such links could be interesting. The first thing is where President Thabo Mbeki has made 'new broom' appointments of ministers known to take a strong line with civil servants. The second is where the appointment is in an area considered sensitive by the provincial government.

#### **Kader Asmal: education minister**

The appointment of Kader Asmal to the national education ministry could be a case in point. Expectations of him are high; he has a reputation for driving officials hard; and education in KwaZulu-Natal is considered crucial by the IFP.

Asmal has already been quoted as saying that he will consider his officials responsible for any 'debacle in the provinces', which suggests that he may be no scrupulous respecter of demarcation lines.

#### **Steve Tshwete: safety and security minister**

Another minister with an outspoken and vigorous conception of his role is Steve Tshwete, whose safety and security portfolio represents one of the most contentious areas of government, where ANC/IFP relations in KwaZulu-Natal are concerned.

One of the most bitterly contested of Lionel Mtshali's actions as premier was the removal of ANC provincial member of parliament Bheki Cele as chairman of the portfolio committee on safety and security.

This was followed by incidents that were clear indications that the new incumbents in the national and provincial offices of the directorate of public prosecutions were prepared to move against IFP figures in ways which abandoned the caution of previous incumbents.

The area of safety and security, as well as justice will in all likelihood continue to be contentious areas between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal, both at the level of argument over provincial powers and at the level of individual cases and operations.

#### **Conclusion**

Neither the changing balance of power, nor the improved relations between the ANC and IFP appear to have done more than superficially alter the dynamics of governance or political competition in KwaZulu-Natal.

The post-election, post-negotiation lull will soon give way to activity as the issues of the constitution and the practicalities of co-existence between central and provincial government make themselves felt. Then will be the real test of whether the problem of provincial government can be seen in a new light.

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#### **Introducing our national ministers ...**

##### **Kader Asmal**

The recently appointed national education minister is 65 years old and was born in Stanger, KwaZulu-Natal. Well known for his dedicated work as the minister of water affairs and forestry for the national government between 1994 and 1999, Asmal qualified as a school teacher at the Springfield Teachers' Training College in Durban.

He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree through the University of South Africa before studying law in London and Dublin. As a law teacher at Trinity College, Dublin for 27 years he specialised in human rights, labour and international law. He returned from exile in 1990 and took up a position as Professor of Human Rights at the University of the Western Cape. Asmal chairs the disciplinary committee of the African National Congress and was in position number four on the party's election candidate list.

Asmal replaced Sibusiso Bengu, regarded by many as a failure, who retired from the education portfolio. Known as a particularly hard working minister, who is more interested in how things will be done than why, Asmal could exhibit the drive and workaholic characteristics needed to get education functioning efficiently in South Africa.

##### **Asmal's promises and views**

- Immediately on being appointed, Asmal said that his first task would be to meet his staff and listen to the needs of the people of South Africa.
- Adult education is a priority.

- Asmal has committed himself to prioritising teacher retraining, particularly to enable blacks to have more access to science and mathematics.<sup>1</sup>
- To eradicate illiteracy within five years.<sup>2</sup>
- To tackle violence in schools.<sup>2</sup>
- Graduates should do six months' to a year's national service.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Mercury* July 1 1999.

2. *Independent on Saturday* July 3 1999.

3. *Natal Witness* June 19 1999.

### Steve Tshwete

Known as Mr Fix-It, the new safety and security minister was redeployed from the sports ministry. The 61-year old matriculated at the Welsh High School in East London and majored in Philosophy and English while reading for a Bachelor of Arts degree through the University of South Africa. He worked as a clerk at the Welsh High School, but after losing this job worked unpaid for a legal firm.

He served as secretary of the Border Regional Command until his arrest in June 1963. Tshwete was charged with 16 counts of sabotage, membership of a banned organisation, furthering its aims and soliciting finance for it and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment which he served on Robben Island. On his release he worked in several positions, but devoted most of his time to political work. He was detained for four months in 1983 and left South Africa two years later. He underwent military training while in exile and was appointed the army commissar of Umkhonto weSizwe. Tshwete returned to South Africa as the African National Congress' national organiser and chair of the national organising committee.

He is still to prove himself in the safety and security ministry. For many years his involvement has been in sport, but he is held in high regard by the ANC leadership, most significantly by President Thabo Mbeki. That is possibly why he was appointed as safety and security minister, but it is certainly not sufficient.

*Business Day* (June 18 1999) described Tshwete as not having the attention span to deal with critical detail needed to embark on institutional reform in the police service. The newspaper also criticised him for picking the wrong fights with the wrong people at the wrong time. *Financial Mail* (June 25 1999) said that the plus side of Tshwete was that his star was so low that it could only rise.

### Tshwete's promises and views

- To make South Africa a safer place.
- Adequate protection from crime.
- To establish a special investigation team for top priority national crimes and new legislation to eradicate illegal firearms.<sup>1</sup>
- To look at legislation that may hamper police. (This relates in particular to complaints about Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act which deals with the use of force in arresting or attempting to prevent escaping suspects.)
- To empower and improve the morale of the police.
- That prisoners must live a tough life and be taught the dignity of hard labour.
- Police transformation is a priority issue.
- Racial representation of the police's top management will be 50-50 by the end of December.
- To work closely with justice, correctional services and home affairs departments.

1. *Independent on Saturday* July 3 1999.

### Former rivals form coalition government in KwaZulu-Natal by Nicola Jones

Political rapprochement between the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal currently appears, at face value, to be in full swing. The two parties have agreed to join forces and form a coalition government in the strongest ever show of political co-operation in the province.

One-time bitter enemies, whose political fighting caused the death of more than 21 000 people before the 1994 elections, the ANC and IFP recently reached a political settlement which focuses on peace, stability and development in the province. Years of peace talks and negotiations between the two parties have resulted in a political deal which allows the IFP at national level to keep three cabinet seats, including that of home affairs minister for IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. At provincial level the IFP has retained the premiership of the province, and six of the ten cabinet posts, but an agreement provides that once a provincial constitution is adopted the ANC will also have six cabinet posts. The two parties each have an equal number of portfolio committee chairpersons' posts at provincial level.

However, while both parties are attempting to present this deal as a victory for African unity, there are many pointers which underline both the fragility of the present situation, and the fact that the ANC has, in essence, managed to negotiate itself into a far stronger position in KwaZulu-Natal than ever before.

If one analyses how the ANC conducted their 1999 election campaign, and also at the recent negotiations between the two parties, it becomes clear that party leaders are still interested in tilting the balance of power in their favour. While their political rhetoric at rallies has calmed down substantially when compared with speeches delivered before the 1994 elections, there was still some IFP-bashing. And most noticeable were the highly publicised police investigations into various high-ranking IFP officials. IFP hard-liner and former security policeman Philip Powell, possibly the IFP official most hated by the ANC, became involved in a public wrangle with the office of the national director of public prosecutions over the exposure of an arms cache in the province. IFP KwaZulu-Natal minister for safety and security Chief Nyanga Ngubane's home was raided by the same office and former IFP member of the provincial parliament Chief Calalakubo Khawula was arrested. While there may well have been legal justification for these moves, the ANC capitalised on the investigations and prosecutions in the hope of discrediting the IFP.

#### **Paramilitary activities in KwaZulu-Natal?**

Another alarming aspect to these investigations is an allegation that Buthelezi not only knew of but approved paramilitary activities aimed at undermining the 1994 elections in particular. If there is documentary evidence to this effect, and if Powell is charged with treason, as has been speculated, not only Buthelezi but also KwaZulu-Natal Premier Lionel Mtshali, national Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Ben Ngubane, and provincial Welfare and Population Development Minister Prince Gideon Zulu, among others -- who were allegedly present at a KwaZulu homeland cabinet meeting in 1994 when paramilitary training was discussed -- will undoubtedly be called to give evidence in court. This could have catastrophic political implications both for the IFP and the coalition government.

It is interesting to note, however, that in spite of a great deal of negative publicity the IFP continued to do far better at the ballot box than pre-election polls indicated. This victory was something the ANC did not anticipate. Insiders say the party was expecting

the IFP to lose to the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal. The IFP would then have had to negotiate from a position of weakness. The ANC intended to smooth over the pain of the loss of power with an offer of the country's deputy presidency to Buthelezi.

Thus once the election results were out and the IFP scraped through to victory, the ANC had to rethink its position rapidly. One of the senior leaders' tentative plans to block an IFP premiership, according to ANC sources, was to approach the Democratic Party (DP) and suggest a coalition between themselves, the DP and Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front. The ANC subsequently announced an alliance with the Minority Front, which gave them parity with the IFP's 34 seats in the provincial parliament.

#### **Buthelezi as deputy president?**

Although there is now some confusion over whether Buthelezi was offered the position of deputy president -- South African President Thabo Mbeki denied it, and Buthelezi stated publicly that he turned the offer down -- there is little doubt that there was some discussion about a 'swop'. It appears that the deal was the position of deputy president, if the IFP conceded the KwaZulu-Natal premier's position.

Whatever the case, if Buthelezi had accepted the post of deputy president, it would have amounted to political suicide for the IFP. His followers would have seen him as putting his personal interests before those of the party. The ANC perhaps assumed that Buthelezi was so vain and ambitious that he would accept the position at any price. One cannot entirely blame the ANC for this perception. The IFP has since the 1994 elections been the only black party thus far who could have taken on the ANC in an opposition role. They have consistently through the years insisted on the necessity of strong opposition in any democracy. But instead of taking a strong parliamentary opposition role, they have played second string to the ANC at national level. Ultimately the ANC could well have adopted the position that any deal is better than no deal. When negotiations reached a stalemate, they withdrew from the race for premier and announced their coalition government plans together with the IFP.

Meanwhile, the IFP had been busy with internal deliberations of its own. A strong faction within that party was pushing for some kind of co-operation with the DP, which would have given them a working majority in the provincial legislature. The DP, under

party leader Tony Leon's dictates, favoured a joint ANC, IFP and DP government led by the IFP, but without Mtshali as premier. However, possibly because of Leon's somewhat colonial arrogance at national level, this fell through.

Although the ANC conceded the premiership to the IFP, they refused to budge on the issue of parity with the IFP for the number of provincial cabinet positions and portfolio committee chairperson positions, which also made any accommodation of the DP impossible for them. Thus the provincial ANC/IFP coalition government in KwaZulu-Natal was born. However, in contrast to the cosy ANC/IFP relations at national level, tensions between the two have surfaced numerous times throughout recent years at provincial level. Both parties have engaged in bitter and acrimonious debates on numerous occasions in the provincial legislature and the province has a history of violent and volatile politics.

To compound the situation, the IFP at provincial level in particular is not a happy party. There is little provincial autonomy such as their counterparts in the ANC appear to enjoy; indeed, IFP insiders say virtually no decision, however small, is taken without Buthelezi's ratification. This would explain why the province saw two premiers summarily dismissed and replaced between 1994 and the 1999 election; it would also explain why seemingly competent and experienced officials are dropped or resign for no apparent reason.

These factors could make for extremely interesting times ahead. Buthelezi could wish his party to take an opposition stance to the ANC on a contentious issue such as the role of traditional leaders in government, which has caused much conflict between the two parties in the past, but the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal cannot now oppose the ANC in the provincial legislature without appealing to the minority parties for support.

The IFP's hands, in short, are tied. Far from having strengthened its position, the IFP has become in many ways hostage to the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal. Whether or not it will be totally absorbed by that party, or will simply dissipate slowly into the mists of history, remains to be seen.

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### **Introducing our provincial ministers ...**

#### **Eileen kaNkosi-Shandu**

KwaZulu-Natal's minister of education has for the most part been complimented for a no nonsense approach to education. A relative newcomer to the post -- she was appointed in February 1999, and reappointed after the recent general election -- she faced many challenges. Her predecessor, Dr Vincent Zulu was sacked in response to the 1998 matriculation results in the province which realised a dismal 50,3 percent pass rate.

Her appointment in KwaZulu-Natal gave her the opportunity to return home after serving as the national deputy minister of public works. KaNkosi-Shandu was born of "Christian, rural parents" on a farm in the IFP-dominated regions of northern KwaZulu-Natal. In 1964 she matriculated at the Inanda Seminary in Durban where she obtained the highest award given to a girl in recognition of her honesty, character and service. She then completed a teaching diploma at the University College of Zululand (now the University of Zululand) and also studied at the University of Botswana and Swaziland to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree. A particularly valuable contribution to her education was obtaining a diploma from Canada in Community Development and Social Leadership specialising in Co-operatives, a method of enabling communities to learn self-help and self-reliance.

She taught in Swaziland from 1968, while continuing her studies. Ten years later kaNkosi-Shandu was appointed vice-principal and in 1979 obtained the community development diploma. That same year she became involved in various community projects and later served as the community development officer for Inkatha. She returned to teach and served as a school principal until April 27 1994 when she was elected as an IFP member of parliament. kaNkosi-Shandu is also president of the Inkatha Freedom Party Women's Brigade and serves in the party's National Working Council.

The education minister has faced some criticism from various sectors for her strong views which she has made clear in several interviews and public meetings. In particular, she stated during a series of meetings around the province aimed at improving the matriculation results, that parents who want their school to reintroduce corporal punishment should get together, approach the principal and demand it.

**kaNkosi-Shandu's promises and views**

- The attitude of learners needs to change. "There is a lack of focus, discipline and commitment by learners."<sup>1</sup>
- Parents need to become more involved in their children's education. "It's a known fact that we are struggling with finances, but if parents want the best for their children they need to take an active part."<sup>2</sup>
- Parents should don their overalls and get down to repairing the school windows, doors and mowing lawns.
- Teachers are "employees" of the education department and have been employed to teach.
- The syllabus is very British. "It does not prepare the future generation for the logistics and resources of the South African economy and history. There is no use educating millions of children when they will be of no use to industry."<sup>1</sup>
- It was the duty of each regional chief director in the provincial education department to explain the contribution that they made to ensure that matriculants passed in 1998.
- Absenteeism by teachers will not be allowed. "I expect educators to arrive at school 15 minutes before school starts and to stay at school 15 minutes after school has gone out in order to make sure that everything is in order for the following day's work."<sup>1</sup>
- Teachers should stay in school for eight hours, conduct tests on a monthly basis and not hold their meetings during school hours.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Independent on Saturday* February 20 1999

2. *Natal Witness* February 11 1999

**Chief Nyanga Ngubane**

The KwaZulu-Natal minister for safety and security is also responsible for two other portfolios: traditional affairs and local government.

Fifty-five year old Ngubane was born in Bulwer, in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands. He passed matric through private studies and studied for one year at two hospitals. His most prominent activities have been in the Bulwer area as local Zulu *inkosi* (the Zulu word for chief). Ngubane served in the legislative assembly of the former homeland of KwaZulu from 1983 and as deputy health minister and Cabinet minister without portfolio in that administration.

Ngubane has held the portfolio of traditional and environmental affairs since the KwaZulu-Natal parliament was formed in 1994. In March 1997 he took over the safety and security ministry and after the 1999 election Premier Lionel Mshali gave him the local government portfolio.

Ngubane's leadership of the department is rather overshadowed by charges relating to the arms and ammunition act that he is facing at present. This follows a raid at his Bulwer home in April during which a shotgun was allegedly confiscated. Many have questioned what led to the raid, particularly in the run-up to the elections. Nevertheless the minister appeared in court on May 27 with his 35 year old son as co-accused. He continues to serve as minister and will make a further court appearance on November 8.

The charges detract somewhat from his activities as provincial minister for safety and security. While his position is hampered to some extent by the powers that are available to him as a provincial minister in this portfolio, he is not particularly vocal – although at the moment his personal circumstances do make it rather difficult for him to be outspoken about corruption and crime. Concerns have been raised about the abilities of one person to hold all three portfolios. And for Ngubane himself the task may be unsurmountable. While there is record of him attending some meetings, more often in the role of traditional affairs minister, it is difficult to find information about his activities, particularly in the safety and security field -- he is not one to release statements about the work being undertaken by his ministries. To give Ngubane the benefit of the doubt, this may mean that he is busy taking care of the day to day tasks that his portfolios are concerned with and that he does not care for media attention. But some focus on his activities would certainly give the public more reason to have confidence in him.

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