

those traditional leaders (Chiefs and indunas) who indulged in extortion and undemocratic practices. In particular, they were opposed to those Chiefs and indunas who resisted the formation of ANC branches in their localities.

Once shuttle diplomacy had defined and narrowed down the differences between the Chiefs and the ANC, the next step was to secure a clear commitment from the two sides to work together to promote peace in their areas. This entailed a further set of commitments. The Chiefs undertook to be father figures to all members of their communities irrespective of party affiliation. This was crucial. Chiefs who were politically active were almost invariably supporters of the IFP. Not only were they party members, they were also usually party leaders in their areas, exploiting their traditional positions where possible to prevent competition from the ANC. This partisanship made such Chiefs appear to their ANC subjects as no more than faction leaders when tradition demanded that the Chief be above all partisanship. Getting the Chiefs to proclaim their political impartiality and to do so in public was an important breakthrough. The ANC supporters, for their part, were required to pledge allegiance to their respective traditional authorities, to inform the Chiefs concerned of any intentions to establish branches of the party in their localities and to apprise them well in advance of any political rallies. These commitments and counter-commitments effectively established the playing field and the broad rules of the political game. The detailed negotiations leading to these undertakings were usually carried out in the presence of a representative of the Local Peace Committee.

Once COMSA was satisfied that the basis existed for a reasonable working relationship between the Chiefs and the IFP on the one side and the ANC on the other, the next step was to help form a peace committee based on the chiefdom and with the Chief of the area as the chair. These local committees were usually designated Resettlement and Development Committees (RDCs) and were in effect an adaptation of the LPCs (which were usually urban-based) to meet and reflect the conditions of rural communities living under traditional authorities. Membership in the RDCs was generally open to all. Included were the Chief, who was usually the chair; all his indunas; representatives of the local clergy; the South African Police (SAP); the South African Defence Force (SADF), if they were in the area; a representative of the Local Peace Committee; and a representative of the amabutho.

The RDCs usually met once a week in the Chief's kraal. At those meetings, it fell to each induna to report on the security situation in his ward in the preceding week. The representatives of the political parties used the opportunity to raise matters which either militated against peace in the community or inhibited free political activity. But no less important, it was also at these meetings that the rebuilding of houses destroyed in the violence was discussed. As part of the confidence-building measures within the community, the practice was to appoint a representative from each of the two political parties (ANC and IFP) to visit the tribal authority together and to make a list of all the houses that needed rebuilding or repairs. The sight of the two political antagonists working together in the interest of the whole community made a tremendous