

AP/1994-4-4-4

Nine hacked *The Age* to death as *4-4-94* Natal toll climbs to 40

By ROSS DUNN,
Pietersburg, Sunday

Violence in South Africa's strife-torn Natal province continued unabated yesterday with 19 more lives lost, bringing the toll to 40 since the state of emergency was imposed there on Thursday.

The killings occurred despite the deployment of about 1200 Defence Force troops there in the past few days.

Attackers stabbed or hacked to death nine people, including a five-month-old baby, in a house in Port Shepstone, south of Durban, last night, police said. The victims were supporters of the African National Congress.

The Defence Force said hundreds more troops arrived in the Natal-Kwa-Zulu region today to enforce a state of emergency aimed at quelling the violence ahead of the country's first all-race elections on 26-28 April.

Most of the other overnight victims were shot dead in separate incidents in Eshowe, in northern Natal, and Inanda township on Durban's northern outskirts.

Violence monitors said the number of killings had fallen dramatically in townships around Durban before and after the state of emergency was announced but the carnage was spreading to isolated areas in the midlands and northern coast.

"It's too early to judge the effect of the state of emergency," said one violence monitor. "It could make things better in some areas and worse in others."

The carnage has cast doubts on the optimism of the African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, for a political settlement in the region and an early lifting of the emergency regulations.

He said that if the meeting planned for Friday with himself, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu

King Goodwill Zwelithini and President F. W. de Klerk had taken place earlier, the state of emergency need not have been introduced.

The declaration of the emergency has been fiercely opposed by Chief Buthelezi, who has declared that it is seen as an invasion of his territory.

Mr Mandela was due to stand with other political leaders, including Chief Buthelezi and Mr De Klerk, at an Easter pilgrimage of more than a million black Christians in the northern part of South Africa today.

The politicians were invited only to attend and will not be allowed to address the congregation of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), which mixes Christian, and traditional African beliefs, and has a membership of more than five million blacks.

This is on the orders of the church's founder and leader Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyane.

On the eve of the Easter Sunday service, Mr Mandela pledged his commitment to ensuring freedom of religion.

Speaking in Cape Town at a ceremony marking 300 years of Islam in South Africa, he said Islam was one of the greatest faiths, "which we will be proud to preserve and enhance in the new South Africa, together will the heritage of all major religions".

Political leaders are stepping up their campaigns as the election nears, and opinion polls showing that voters are still prone to major shifts in thinking about the parties.

In the latest survey, commissioned by 'The Sunday Times' in South Africa, support was drifting away from the ANC in some provinces, the Western, and Northern Cape.

This support seemed to be going to Mr De Klerk's ruling National Party, and the Democratic Party of Dr Zach De Beer.

— with Reuter

Natal massacre lifts the Easter death toll to 40

By correspondents in Durban

TEN women and children were massacred near Port Shepstone, south of Durban, police said yesterday, in what appeared to be the second Zulu nationalist attack in the same day against African National Congress enclaves in Natal, taking the Easter death toll in the region to at least 40.

The victims, supporters of the ANC, were among 19 people killed overnight in various incidents in the region, police said. Most other parts of the violence-racked province were relatively calm under the state of emergency rule proclaimed by President de Klerk on Thursday.

Lieutenant Dawood Kaider, a police spokesman in Port Shepstone, about 100km south of Durban, said all the victims of the Saturday night massacre were female, their ages ranging from five months to 70 years.

All belonged to the Mzelemu family, and all had been hacked to death at their kraal in the Kulu section of Murchison, near Port Shepstone.

He said a group of armed men arrived at the homestead of the pro-ANC family, identified themselves as South African police and demanded entry from the occupants.

"When entry was refused," Lieutenant Kaider said, "they

broke down the door and began firing shots."

When police arrived on the scene yesterday, they found one woman hacked to death inside the house and "the others scattered all around, most of them chopped in the head".

It was the second incident on Saturday in Natal attributed to Zulu nationalist attacks against ANC enclaves.

Five people were killed early on Saturday in Bhekuzulu, in the Natal midlands, when gunmen set fire to a tribal village and shot two dead before spraying the congregation in a nearby church with automatic weapons fire, killing three and wounding 11.

The latest deaths bring to more than 40 the number of people killed in KwaZulu-Natal since Thursday night, according to a tally by the public SABC radio.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) said hundreds more troops arrived in the region yesterday to enforce a state of emergency aimed at quelling the violence ahead of the country's first all-race elections on April 26-28.

The region, traditional home of the country's 8.5 million Zulus, is the main battlefield between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

SADF Natal Command spokesman Colonel Frans Verfuss said security forces were adequate, but hundreds more men were ready to move in if the situation deteriorated.

He said large quantities of weapons — mainly AK-47 assault rifles — continued to enter Natal province and the adjoining KwaZulu homeland.

The state of emergency was declared to ensure the elections could be held in the area. Violence has risen markedly with the approach of the poll, which Inkatha is boycotting and the ANC is widely expected to win.

Controversy is growing over the role of the KwaZulu police, which many political analysts expect to remain loyal to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also KwaZulu chief minister.

The ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Thursday the homeland police would be confined to barracks under the state of emergency. Colonel Verfuss said they would continue normal activities until their role and the chain of command were defined.

An opinion poll published yesterday said the ANC was assured of a safe victory in the elections, but its lead was slipping, while President De Klerk's National Party was gaining in three key regions.

The poll, conducted in the first two weeks of March and published in the Sunday Times newspaper, showed the National Party could win control of the Western Cape region in the general election.

AFP, Reuters

THE AUSTRALIAN

MONDAY APRIL 4 1994

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Natal poll may be delayed to avert civil war

By RICHARD ELLIS in Durban

THE President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, and the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, desperate to avert civil war, have agreed to postpone this month's elections in the strife-torn province of Natal if pro-royalist Zulus drop their demand for independence.

The move came as South African security forces rushed in reinforcements to Natal, where a state of emergency showed no promise of halting tribal-political strife which has killed 40 since the emergency declaration on Thursday.

In the latest violence 10 females from one family, aged from five months to 70 years, were massacred in what appeared to be a Zulu nationalist raid against an ANC enclave near Port Shepstone, about 100km south of Durban.

When police arrived at their home yesterday they found one woman hacked to death inside and "the others scattered all around, most of them chopped in the head", a spokesman said.

The South African Defence Force said yesterday it would deploy about 1200 troops in the region to ensure that people in Natal-KwaZulu could take part in the country's first all-race elections this month.

It is understood Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have formulated a joint peace plan to put to the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and the Zulu political leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at a summit this week. It is seen as the country's last hope of avoiding war.

Under the proposal, the king will be given reassurances that his position would be safeguarded in the

new South Africa and that he would be accorded special powers to rule his people.

If he accepts, Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk will postpone voting "for a few weeks" so that Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party can be included on ballot papers — the ones for Natal have not yet been printed — and has time to campaign.

It is a significant concession from the two leaders who, until a few days ago, were insisting the election dates of April 27-28 were "set in stone". Sources said they remained adamant that elections would proceed in the rest of South Africa on those dates.

Mr Mandela, who returned to the campaign trail yesterday after being off sick, reportedly with laryngitis, for nearly two weeks, told supporters in the north of the country he

hoped the summit this week would enable the state of emergency to be lifted.

"I hope that our talks with (Buthelezi), President De Klerk and the king could lead to the lifting of the state of emergency," he said.

Pressure for a short delay of the election in Natal has grown since last week's bloody ANC-Inkatha battles in central Johannesburg which left at least 53 dead, and continuing clashes in Natal.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk are said to have accepted that keeping security in the province in the 24 days left before the election would probably be impossible unless a political deal was struck.

Despite the declaration of a state of emergency in Natal, security chiefs have warned they do not have the manpower to pacify the region

should the violence worsen. Despite reinforcements being drafted in, it emerged yesterday that about 20,000 might be needed if a Zulu rebellion erupted.

"We have to accommodate the Zulus," a senior government source said yesterday. "A formula has to be found to protect King Goodwill's sovereignty. He is as legitimate a monarch as Queen Elizabeth. We cannot escape the fact that he and Buthelezi have millions of followers."

While news of the initiative will bring fresh hope that South Africa can reach a peace deal, hurdles remain.

The Sunday Times, AFP

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Insight

Academics reveal why Inkatha is so opposed to the election

Playing the ethnic card

has arguably done more than most to derail the democratic process. Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton explain why, and look at how Inkatha is so opposed to the election which will destroy its power

VEN years ago, we contributed to a book, *Inkatha, An Analysis of Power*, with the words, "While some have been taken in the past by the clearly ethnic appeals, the dramatically prominent role that King Zwelithini is being allowed to play on the Natal postage has swung the balance towards regional and tribalisation."

One of his pronouncements, that he will display a "patronism" towards non-Zulus, cannot but inflame the passions created and sustained by apartheid. (This is the danger of the future.) There is no retracting any but the sequential points we made. As we said in the book, "At a time when the struggle for a non-racial and ethnic divide have served apartheid, Inkatha continues to exploit differences and mobilise calls."

References to earlier work by alert analysts to the project under Minister Mangosuthu and other leaders of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) in 1975 as the "Rural Liberation Movement" membership initially Zulu. Inkatha leaders led to an ethnically-exclusivist. Initially, some ambiguity in the "Rural" to be the resurgence of the "founding fathers" featured in Inkatha's press.

actions in the 1980s, the regional population doubt about the thrust. It was to be a power in the region than just within the district was to be achieved through the inter-relationship of the economy and the KwaZulu (the Bantustan) and its two-fold through constitutional (the Natal/KwaZulu) bore remarkable



KING Goodwill and Dr Buthelezi in tribal dress

similarities with the process followed some six years later at Rempton Park, and through setting in place regional administrative and service structures (such as the Joint Executive Authority and Joint Services Boards).

In addition, the thrust towards regional consolidation rested firmly on the legitimacy that King Goodwill gave to it, and to Buthelezi as "traditional prime minister to the Zulu nation".

Legitimacy

The legitimacy was based on the continuities of a "Zulu nation" that had claim to the region, and that had its own "traditional" power structures. "Tradition", in the Inkatha sense, has always meant loyalty to chiefs, to Buthelezi himself, and to the king. Zwelithini's role was to define who could be admitted to membership of the Zulu nation, to determine the conditions of such membership, and to identify those who are to be demonised as traitors or as the ethnic foreigner.

Within this view of the world, bodies like the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC were portrayed as bodies led by non-Zulus. In other words, all organisations that had a national thrust to their politics were located outside the ethnic fold. This was necessary because they undermined both ethnic mobilisation and related regional projects of Inkatha.

The issues that have become flash-points in politics since 1973 are exactly the issues which have

come under Inkatha's control as a governing party within a bantustan. After 1976, housing, education, policing, township administration, etc, became points of struggle. The growth of unions contradicted both the economic and political positions advanced by Inkatha, especially after the formation of Cosatu in 1985.

In the late 1970s, when KwaZulu moved to the next stage of self-government, control was extended over police and education. In both these areas Inkatha moved swiftly to initiate and reinforce its own interpretation of the world and the locus of the enemy. Speeches made by Buthelezi, as minister of police, to KwaZulu Police passing-out parades illustrate this well — as do the contents of what was initially called the "Inkatha syllabus" followed in KwaZulu schools.

Violence flared up regularly from the mid-1980s, undoubtedly aided directly and indirectly by organs established by the central state to fight off the "total onslaught". The pattern had been set. The co-operative structures between central government and the bantustans had been set in place.

That is the large context within which to ask the question: "What does Buthelezi want?" At the most general level it is an easy question to answer: he wants to maintain and extend power. The more difficult question is to say how he is going to achieve it when every opinion poll shows support for Buthelezi personally (and for the IFP generally) is a considerable way off achieving that goal. In addition, he and those around him seem hell-

bent on staying out of the elections.

We should, however, note the very unpredictable status of opinion polls in these elections, and the undoubted effect that people's real and imagined fears of intimidation and persecution will have.

Already, it has been pointed out that with the IFP and the Zulu king calling for an election boycott and with the political intolerance that characterises the political culture in the region, every person who walks into a polling booth in certain "Inkatha areas" will not have cast a secret vote, but a vote against the boycott position.

To offer a possible explanation of the route being followed by Buthelezi, the king and the IFP, we have again to trace certain continuities — with the clear warning that to attempt predictions in this time of flux is even more hazardous than usual.

Buthelezi has relied fairly consistently on structures which have been dominated by chiefs. That is what the bantustan system amounted to — a creation of apartheid to allow "tradition" to dominate all political processes.

These "traditional" roles — now supported, along with democracy, by every party that has pronounced on the issue — do not depend for their existence and claims to power on the popular will. They are, furthermore, male-dominated, apply only to part of the population, discriminate against people living in rural areas, and are highly inefficient and frequently corrupt.

What better form of government to retain when it is clear that you are going to lose an election — a

form that will exist whether elections go against you or not; a system that is undemocratic, if not anti-democratic.

And yet, in some form or other it carries the stated support of the major parties (including the ANC-led alliance). Just this month the king once again pronounced that Buthelezi was his "traditional prime minister".

It does, however, still leave the question as to how Buthelezi hopes to achieve the establishment of such a level of government where the major structures agreed upon in negotiations will undoubtedly be democratically elected.

The strategy is that of arguing for the legitimate existence, and recreation, of the "Zulu kingdom" based on the prior existence, and the colonial destruction of such a polity. Within this argument the role of the king is central, along with the undefined (but generally accepted) notion of the "Zulu nation", and a "government to the Zulu nation", namely the KwaZulu government and KLA.

From the start of the negotiations process, Buthelezi stayed out, not only in his personal capacity, but as prime minister to the king and the Zulu nation. He said he would not participate until the political claims of those elements had been acknowledged.

Support

The second, and related, part of the strategy was to call for a single-stage process of drawing up a constitution, in which all parties present would have a say, and in which it was hoped that the major elements of the IFP and "Zulu nation" demands would be included. The two-stage process that was accepted, with the prior election of a constituent assembly that would serve as a test of popular support (and hence the demolition of certain parties who did not carry such support), meant that the part played by Inkatha and its minor allies would carry less weight.

Inkatha and its spokespersons have not, however, stayed out of negotiations — they have just not followed the central route through the World Trade Centre. Through bluster, through ultimata, through stalling and delaying, and through the threat of violence, Inkatha has gained considerable concessions.

Except, that is, the most important one — acceptance of the political package that hinges around the "Zulu nation", the king, a territory, and a government, the KwaZulu government, dominated by chiefs. This article, published by courtesy of *Work in Progress*, was written by Gerhard Mare, a lecturer at the Centre for Industrial and Labour Studies at Natal University, Durban, and Georgina Hamilton, a Durban freelance journalist and author.