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| WINNIE Mandela fs in trouble  
again. The Cape Times newspa.  
[ has obtained an African  
[ National Congress document  
i that alleges Mrs Mandela  
| filched hundreds of thousands  
of rands from the liberation  
| movement's coffers between  
| February 1991 and March 1992.  
| ANC officials admitted yes-  
terday that the document,  
based on the findings of an in-  
temal commission of inquiry,  
was authentic. They said the  
ANC was investigating fraud  
charges against Mrs Mandela.  
Clearly the ANC had  
sought to suppress the docu-  
ment. Its findings were based  
on the work of an internal cony-  
mission which sat more than a  
year ago. :  
The revelations come at a  
â\200\234imaging time for the ANC,  
th South Africaâ\200\231s first demo-  
itic elections less than three  
â\200\234weeks away, but they do not  
come entirely as a surprise,  
Mrs Mandela was fired from  
! the ANCâ\200\231s department  
of welfare in March 1992  
after she had been  
head of the department  
for her young lover Dali

ANC investigated  
. ANC investigate

- Winni

\_representation

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From John Carlin in Johannesburg

Mpofu, had misappropriated in  
the region of 400,000 rands  
(£80,000). f

During the next month her  
world collapsed, | She was  
stripped of all her official ANC  
titles, including president of the  
Women's â\200\231s League/ And then  
Nelson Mandela announced  
their separation,

But at the end  
she was re-elected

Women's League and then in  
January she was placed 315th in  
the ANC's 2002 electoral list. Under  
the new system proportional  
what will come

of last year

into effect in the coming elec-  
tion, she was guaranteed a seat  
in parliament. What the Cape  
Times report indicates is that  
when the ANC drew up their  
original list of national candi-  
dates in December last year  
they chose to turn a blind eye to  
her misdemeanours,

The document obtained by  
the Cape Times alleged that,  
among other things, Mrs  
Mandela and Mr Mpofu had  
failed to declare or deposit do-

head of the -

:

N -2 Y  
Mandela: mlgsln

As of  
funds  
received during 2 trips  
together to the United States in  
1991; that she deposited a dona-  
tion of R474,000 into her per-

sonal account and subsequently  
transferred only R434, to

the ANC; that she had pocketed -

ed the interest on ANC funds  
she had placed into her own ac-  
count; that she paid R350,000  
for a farm for returning ANC  
exiles which was worth only

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Lo pont

â\200\230:â\200\230Mi¬\201ndela  
â\200\234 President FW de Kierkâ\200\231s Na-  
\* tional Party. They will be asking

94 -4 610

s fraud â\200\230hegations against former welfare chief .

Â¢ Mandela inquiry

â\200\230R160,000, with the im lication  
that the outstanding Â£190000  
Wwent into her own pocket. \_

The document said Mrs

. Mandela had refused to testify

before tha commission, but ac-

. knowledged she owed the ANC  
r R74,000. Mrs Mandela has not

~fetumed any of the money to  
the ANC yet, . -

. The alf;gatiom against Mrs  
are.a godsend for

why the ANC sought to gup-  
press the findings of their inves-  
nâ\200\231g:Ltipn. Tihe\_ascandali is not of  
suca magnitude that it is goi  
to cost atshc â\200\230VANC the electig:)g.  
But it will have an effect on the  
floating voter population.

Nowhere is this bigger or  
more important than in Cape  
Town, where the ANC docu.  
ment was evidently leaked. The  
Western Cape, ofv which Cape  
Town is the capital, is the one  
province in South Africa where  
the polls indicate that the ANC  
may not win a majority, It  
would be a surprise now if the  
National Party did not clinch  
control of the - provincial  
parliament,

\_/}/Qu/?%Â»ewÃ©)m o o (;.Zi¬\202/-fâ\200\231â\200\235/â\200\230/

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F'W, Mandela have giveh up on  
Lo stop Natal-KwaZulu turning

Â£nd of the

Buthelezi: now itâ\200\231s up to the kmg  
into a bloody elect10n batt]ei¬\201eld

7 â\200\230Â«l The TFP is without &

" futdre. Political party  
food is to participate  
in elections and get  
votes, but Inkatha  
does not want votes  
and wonâ\200\231t participate.

Râ\200\224 : â\200\224 State President  
Dr Buthelezl | - FW de Klerk

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10HN MACI FNNAN  
o531 Corresponaent  
Â¢ demaocratic elec  
in Natal apd Kwa-  
are likely 10 mark @  
;:Qâ\200\230.!â\200\231,LIJÂ»";â\200\230 battle, and  
ce expected to  
ntinue untii an accommodation  
an be reached with both the King  
-{ the Zulys and the IFP

But ANC and government gources  
<ay they have reached the end of the  
road with KwaZulu Chlef Minister  
and leader of the {FP, Dr Manago  
| Buthelezi, and are now making

yuy King Goodwill Zwe-

5 approval of the transition Dy

to entrench bâ\202¬ role of the  
monarchy

The bleak forecast of escalating  
and continuing violence comes after  
the leadersâ\200\231 summit this week failed  
{o deliver any deal. There also seems  
little hope that either further urgent  
talks by 2 task group of jaterpational  
ediation efforts â\200\224 both set 0 start  
thic week â\200\224 will offer any solution

AA¢ the same time sources say the  
povernment and ANC, operating  
through the TEC, will do their best to  
jsolate Dr Buthelez) from King Good-  
will by accepting proposals which  
entrench the monageh's role, rights  
and privileges in the constitution.

The summit of leaders averted  
hreakdown but the only real agree  
ment was that nothing tangible had  
been achieved

Now a task group representing the  
four is to meet yrpeatly to discuss  
proposals on recognition of the King  
of KwaZulu. But Nelson Mandela has  
warmed he has no exaggerated expec-  
tations Negotialions also continue in  
ap attempt to reach agreement on  
terms of reference for the interna-

tiona} mediators

A follow-up meeting of the four  
leaders is foreseen later this week to  
discuss progress which might be  
achieved in these negotiations.

Mr Mandela told crowds at a Bop-  
hathatswana rally: "We are commit-  
ted to peace and I will continue pre-  
vail upon him (King Goodwill) to  
accept the offer we have given him."

Dr Buthelezis package of propos-  
als - which would have guaranteed  
the IFP's participation - were not  
even discussed. This was because the  
ANC special  
conditions cannot  
not reopen the 1994  
at this stage

( ) Q ( ) Q i n 1994 d o d , o t

v End 0 & free food ! 1994

|  
' Ur Buthelezi's proposals called for  
the lifting of the emergency, media-  
tion on outstanding issues, ratifying  
> of the position of the Zulu monarchy  
1994 and kingdom, and postponement of  
the election. In return he bound him-  
self to the outcome of mediation.

| Now ANC and government sources,  
are claiming Mt Buthelezi has finally  
" reached the end of the road. He will  
! be out of a job after the elections.  
. Speaking at Smithfield in the  
' Southern Orange Free State yester-

, day, President De Klerk said the IFP

was without a future. | |  
1994 They are getting thinner and thin-

|  
" ner because they won't eat. Political

party food is to participate in elec-  
tions and get votes, but Inkatha does  
not want votes and won't partici-  
pate. 1995 he said. ey

Mr Buthelezi's reaction is that he  
knows how to play the waiting game  
and will continue to work for a con-  
stitutional solution t} xaliis dght:: =

Mr. Buthelezi said the IFP had  
been 1994 elbowed out ; 1994 oi the train 1995. In

" his view there was no further point in

negotiating because his party was ex-  
cluded (rom the national unity gov-  
ernment. o :  
King Goodwill has said he will not

advise his subjects to vote and there  
are fears that chiefs might launch  
mass action during the election peri-

od so people cannot vote.

SEE PAGES 6.7

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BRENDAN Sf ERY : Precautions po 2hsure the safety of |  
T â\200\224â\200\224 aircraft ang Crews ip Â¢ â\202¬. Operational]

HuspitalÃ©ï¬\202ipâ\200\230stÃ©nds by

.4/ lone  
to deploy 3 Navy replenishment â\200\230  
â\200\234Ship, SAS Urakensberg, to Ri.  
Chards Bay a9 4 floating hospitay for  
SADF woundeg if the Nata) violence  
turns into 35 all Out shooting war.'  
The 20 000-lgp vessel will also be  
used ag 3 standby helicopter landin  
Pad ang | ling facility fop the  
S AAF

YAAS AhÃ©h{â\200\230uptfrs deployed in sup.  
pPort of army troops

: area, This follows ap Incident thjg  
(â\200\234'h;r-r "Eâ\202¬NCY plans haye been made \* vpek ;

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i "N KwaZyry Would he o  
HelyÂ¢ Opter refueâ\200\234mg i walkover for them. |  
p.ral Nata) py a \* . The use of armoured v  
Pumas of the s as Elands arg RatÃ©ls . Â¢,  
I â\202¬ likely tq become ; [  
â\200\230â\202¬ the barboyp l fnore secure ang .  
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ACCEIS Lo stocks 9 ..-"-piercing Erenades,  
ADF S0urces sai pigy- he num

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d, the SAAR says, it [s taking



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| F&iÃ©ial EÃ©rty le:â\200\230lder' Â»

seeks talks with IFP

YASANTHA NAIDOO

The leader of the newly  
lawnched Federal Party,  
Frances Kendall, is interested in  
talks with Inkatha Freedom  
Party leader Mangosuthu Buthe-  
lezi as she believes the parties  
are fighting for a common goal,

Speaking in Durban this week,  
Ms Kendall â\200\224 political analyst,  
businesswoman, author and  
Nobel Peace Prize nominee â\200\224  
said the FP and the IFP were  
fighting for a federal govern-  
ment.

â\200\234The big question mark lies  
with the Inkatha Freedom  
Party's next step,â\200\235 she said. |

Ms Kendall said the IFP vote  
counted for a large percentage of

voters and her party could bene-

fit from the votes. â\200\230  
She said the Skukuza talks  
were crucial for the future of the  
IFP but had been â\200\234sabotaged by  
unnecessary meddlingâ\200\235. â\200\230  
â\200\234As soon as I saw other people  
like the Communist Partyâ\200\231's Mac  
Maharaj at the surmmit, I knew  
what the outcome would be. The  
summit should have included  
only the four role players and  
not the other bigwigs whom I be-  
lieve were there to ensure 'Nel-

COMMON GOAL: Frances  
Kendall. â\200\230 '

son Mandela does nothing foolish  
like bring about peace.â\200\235

Ms Kendall, whose party advo-  
cates devolution of community

ower and direct democracy,  
said the FP was totally opposed  
to the State of Emergency de-  
clared last Thursday.

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Lranquil venue brings

no assurance of peace

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JOHN Mac

Friday  
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with King  
> than four  
\*ak for lunch  
teaders met and they

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pm. It did not take place an  
and went

ds' angd smiled  
but it was  
t statement

they had achieved little.

Mr. FW de Klerk conceded that  
the statement â\200\234hidec more than  
lt disclosesâ\200\235 and noted this was  
deliberate because discussions on  
â\200\234burning issuesâ\200\235 were still in-  
complete

â\200\230 The tension was palpable when  
Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said no  
progress had been made con-  
cerning submissions by the IFP  
and King Goodwill and that some  
IFP proposals had not even been  
discussed. These called for a

postponement of the election and international mediation on a range of outstanding issues.

Mr Mandeia then expressed his complete surprise at Dr Buthe's statement. He said of the demand for a postponement: "We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise whatsoever,"

A working group will meet this week and report back by Thursday on proposals to accommodate the kingdom of KwaZulu. But Mr Mandela has already emphasised he has no exaggerated hopes.

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FRIEND OR FOE? ANC leader Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini shake hands and smile for the camera, but their summit achieved little or nothing

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04 1 (o)

Zulu monarch rebukes Mandela for ANC slights, 'the  
invasion' of Kwa

JOHN MacL ENNAN  
Political Correspondent

King Goodwill's resentment  
boiled over as he rebuked  
Nelson Mandela at the leaders  
summit this week,

And the ANC leader had to  
take it because it is essential for  
the government to get the  
other side. His undoubted  
support among millions of  
means he can mobilise  
his numbers against the in-  
coming administration

After this closed meeting King  
Goodwill also took the extraordi-  
nary step of releasing the 12  
pages of closely-typed criticism  
which he heaped on Mr Mandela.

He made it clear that he was  
receiving Mr Mandela in audi-  
ence and not as a negotiating  
equal and rapped him and other  
ANC leadership figures for not  
observing protocol. A Zulu king  
is not just another black leader  
who should be approachable by!  
just anybody  
\* case put by King Goodwill  
1 over personal slights and

3 Of ANC leaders; He \*  
reviewed the history of the  
Zulu monarchy and raised im-  
portant political issues such as  
the emergency in KwaZulu as!  
well as what he termed the Shell  
House massacre  
The Zulu nation is the only  
nation in the whole of southern.

Africa which had to face the full:  
might of the British or any other:  
army. The Zulu nation was the  
last to take up arms against  
the colonial enemies of

black South Africa . .-The Zulus  
were the only people in the  
heart of South Africa on whom  
the Bantu Authorities system  
had finally to be forced ;. = &

This is seen-as an implied  
threat, especially as he said  
The action of the Zulu nation  
is self-rule within a federal.  
formula leaves us with no other  
option, whatever it may cost us.  
'+ He quoted former Anglo  
American chairman Gavin Relf  
as saying that no one, including  
the ANC, has done more to halt  
the ideological thrust of apart-  
heid than Bythelezi"

The monarch described the

" aggression, an invasion of our v package,

for a sufficientlv, gutgnomaus  
G

has allegedly suffered: -privileges as a: 'const ,tutidnalr\_';l'  
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Zulu, and the Shell House massa  
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emergency as an act of foreign - T.the ANC suggests a  
| i-\201gnÃdâ\200\230:w entice the  
territory, and a rape of our na:- king out-of his opposition â\200\230to the  
tional dignity and prideâ\200\235. ~ o-interim: constitution:' Among the  
He called on Mr Mandela to do. - lollipops ls;.a coronation over  
all possible to ensure â\200\234that all â\200\234 which the Chief Justice may pre-  
those who plotted, organised and -~ side. Hewolld:also 'do the offi-

executed the massacre are ar-' : cial':Opening â\200\230of the proviacial  
rested and tried for their crime. ; - legislature evÃ@ry yeÃ@ar.

â\200\224â\200\224

cre. |

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Until and unless you personally <. In return he would promote  
distance yourself from the shed- - freedom of 'm)lltical activity, he

ding of the innocent blood of my would hÃ@t  
father's people by meand of your ~ want to vote and he would co-0p-

personal inltiative leading to the â\200\230erate with the IRC. " Â« -

nder people who

conviction of those who ateâ\200\231 ' Theâ\200\234goveinment yesterday

guilty of this crime, our dialogue 8120 released: proposals which  
will remain difficult; if not-lms: ~have beer put to the king. In  
possible.â\200\235 Haegs terms. of, â\200\230thesÃ@ the kingdom of  
The king demanded self rule Â¢ KwaZulu would be governed by  
for a Zulu nation in a federal sys- -+ the king; an executive and a  
tem and said he would not en-r:)councll of 80 members.  
courage his people to vote ini~ Â¢ . They would have- jurisdiction  
terms of the present constitutlon, \_over the land which s subject to

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which does not in his view allev =

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kingdom. SRR e

At the press conference Mrâ\200\231:

Mandela bent over backwards'inâ\200\231}} Wi

his praise of the Zulu royal house i potWers

and pledged that the ANC would Â¥&and: t4s

do everything needed'to Ã@nsure @ Ientâ\200\231 a nâ\200\231 :

the king enjoys full rights and a3 of their Jurisdiction a8 well

SyerFFAditionigIndigenous

monarch. - i â\200\230 â\200\234afid\*customs\*relating to

And a proposed agreement put - Zulu subjects. . |- !

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| By EDYTH BULBRING |

| and RAY HARTLEY J

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King Good

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Wr Mandela Played what he had

id be his ace card by

f10g King Goodwil) powers ae 3

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T Concerns were

Same time.  
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NC's faibure

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â\200\230ade was gp standby tn  
this weekend to move into

nï-\201uumx drama was played ont  
Kruger

ETOWing crisis {n Nata)

The 13-hopr Summit began hadly for  
the ANC, which had hoped Mr Man.  
dela and King Goodwill could meet in  
private. The ANC believes the king's

! 2dvisers have an undye influence on  
| hun and waniad to avold oytsjde inter-  
| ference.

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will Zwe.  
Peaceful gloe.  
\$ torpedoed at |  
summit by jn- |  
  
K grotp has been set .

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|| Editorial spurs i\202(  
election debate

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KING Goodwill Zwelithini,  
the Zulu monarch, pulled a  
copy of last week's Sunday  
Times out of his briefcase at  
Friday's summit meeting and  
read the editorial aloud to Nel-  
son Mandela, President F W  
de Klerk and Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi, the Inkatha chief,  
reports Caroline Lees,

- They had already seen it. It  
was faxed to De Klerk from  
the South African embassy in  
London early on Monday  
morning. Staff at Mandela's  
African National Congress  
(ANC) had discussed it with  
him by Tuesday afternoon and  
Buthelezi had been told about  
it on the phone by friends in  
London.

The editorial, calling for a  
postponement of the elections  
in South Africa to avert the  
possibility of civil war, became  
the focus of heated debate on  
radio talk shows and news.  
paper articles throughout the  
week. It said the political  
transition had been "bungled"  
and argued that continuing vi-  
olence had made "free and  
fair" elections, planned for  
April 27, impossible,

The South African  
Broadcasting Corporation  
first drew the public's atten-  
tion to the editorial on its tele-  
vision news on Monday  
morning. After that the office  
of The Sunday Times in  
Johannesburg received phone  
calls from people all over the  
country requesting copies,  
political parties campaigning  
in the election, including the  
Federal Party and the Free.  
dom Front, issued press re-  
leases supporting the call o

review the election date,

At last somebody has dared to question the way the election is being rushed through, said his spokesman for Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. Whether you agree with it or not it is the first time the international press has put forward an alternative opinion on what is happening here.

Carl Niehaus, spokesman for the ANC, which was criticised in the editorial for its intolerance, did not like The

Sunday Times's views, nor the fact that it had aired them,

\*We did not think that it was

a fair opinion, he said. It was - is :

. & negative piece of journalism,

it was not based on a realistic assessment of the situation

and as far as we are concerned

It was just a piece of right-

-wing propaganda.

~

But some of the right wing did not like it either, On Tues-

day, The Citizen, a Johannesburg -

burg newspaper, denounced the editorial. It said the elections would not be postponed and quoted Marthinus van Schalkwyk, of the ruling Nat-

-ional party (NP): The

hysterical tone of its editorial article and its unwarranted criticism of the NP confirms our belief that we South Africans know more about how to solve our problems than a

British editor 6,000 miles |

wasn't.

leke Milis, a Johannesburg talkback radio host, disagreed, He said that South Africans were in danger of

oming \*t0o close and too -

tiredâ\200\235 to be able to see the  
political situation clearly  
themselves and they should  
welcome fresh opinion.

After reading most of the  
editorial (o ligh teners on his  
afternoon show, he safd: â\200\234Jq  
might take an outside publica-  
tion to re-alert people, These  
are important questions which  
should be debated.â\200\235 One iis-  
tener asked: â\200\234Why does it  
take a British newspaper to  
say these things before anyone  
will listen?"

John Patten, editor of the  
Natal Mercury, a Durban-  
based newspaper which ran 4  
story about the editoria! on  
Thursday, said it had created  
national {memt because it ex-

pressed views rarely heard in.

South Africa, â\200\234There is a lot  
of political correctness that  
g0es on in the Souith African  
Press. I did not necessarily  
agrec with all ks arguments  
but 1 think it was & valuable  
contribution to (he debate.

"It raised questions that  
needed to be talked about . |, ,  
and that is what a newspaper  
editorial Is all about."

~\*

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4 camps: but one is for thoge |

for those who have fled  
Chief M X fâ\200\230ro\_râ\200\230r)  
| lnk.m:t'ngosulhu Buthelezi's  
Hogg.

bouring KwaZul

S fn u homeland,  
rule. On both sides of th  
ANC-Inkatha divide, peOpI:  
are termibly vulnerable.,

nÂ«lj\_ic visits by bored  
policemen are the only protec-  
tion for 300 people who have M  
st up camp at Canefields,

their homes were torched

THERE is little difference by

tween them. One is & tent c?:cy  
surrounded by acres of sway-  
Ing sugar cane, the other n  
nearby kragl in the lush Natal  
hills. Both are Zulu refugee Â«

who fear the ANC, the other

replris Andrew

katha fs seeking self-

A razor-wire fence and 5p0-

they say, by supporters of

refugees

Â® continued from page 16

rotection from the ANC.  
ggunmng in the dust in his  
front yard last week, they told  
hortor stories that matched  
those of the Canefields  
refugees.

â\200\234It was six o'clock in the  
morning when a group of  
young ANC â\200\230comradesâ\200\231  
kicked in the door of my  
house,"â\200\235 said Ngenzi Mhiongo,  
an ciderly lady. ' We had been  
expecting trouble and | had  
sent all my children away ex-

cept my 20-year-old son.  
When they burst in they shot  
him in the leg and dragged  
him out, saying they would  
kill him. He pretended to  
surrender but then managed  
to escape into the bush.

Then the comrades came  
back and said they would kill  
my husband and me, but they

. decided we were 100 old.

"Who is to blame? Mt'af'ela, a  
member of the KwaZulu leg-  
islative assembly, said that  
ANC hooligans from outside  
the area come and attack

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"Inkatha; now their food is  
provided by their food is pro-  
their allegiance is measured. .-

ANC, to whom  
How could I even think of

supporting: Buthelezi? Hi

people burned the homes' A  
where 1 grew-up and killed

three of my neighbours, said

;Fg?xlc Ntanzu,  
children lined up behind him  
\*:po ;mll their daily food ra-  
sy Yion. To lose my home on the  
7 dispatched last week: cilp(ou?sp;na:t;::E ot ver T  
bryonic civil war threatened

9, as barefoot

naEgg;vem bitter, ',  
, e ore, [ disli :  
Natal province and its neigh- \* because ifof@dlik:dml:na:na



\230bg}g  
to give â\200\230money for weapons.  
he â\200\230younger supporters are  
also ill-disciplined. They take  
young girls away to i-toyiing  
dancing] and they often come  
back pregnant. But now | have  
-looking pmcr reasons to hate.â\200\235 -  
\*A short drive away, Senzo  
Mkhizana, the local inkatha  
man, was trying to  
north of Durban, Last month food and shelter for  
Inkatha refugees seeking

confrontation on 17.â\200\230  
g g

,

people living here. i

But to Fanile Ntanzu,

Mkhizana is himself â\200\234a mur-  
dererâ\200\235. Sam Khumalo, & local  
ANC election co-ordinator,  
regards him as â\200\234the biggest  
warlord in the areaâ\200\235 and says  
Inkatha simply wants to pre-  
serve undemocratic tribalism.

Should these tensions lead  
to a civil war, there will  
probably be nobody to pre-  
vent a full-scale slaughter. The  
deployment of the South Af-  
rican Defence Force (SADF)  
seems an empty gesture,

â\200\234A lot of us feel that if the  
ANC has to fight hard here, it  
will exhaust itself and the  
changes some of them want to  
bring in will take place much  
slower, if at all, as a result,â\200\235  
said an SADF officer.

â\200\234But actich'y to engage  
against Inkatha? I canâ\200\231t see it.  
The problem for a lot of offi-  
cers is that at present they  
don't know who to vote for. If  
Buthelesi agrees that Inkatha  
will take part in the election,

e S L

we'll vote for him.â\200\235



Be Tl e  
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repeion

to strangle  
â\200\230the country

Â® Helmoed-Romer  
Heitman seeas  
South Africaâ\200\231s

leaders bsing blind

to the dangers of a  
ravolt In Natal

THE continuing violence in  
Natal contains the potential  
for much more serious con-  
flict. Although there is ne in-  
evitability about this, the  
danger lies in the inability of  
the political actors to under-

stand the potential for

disaster,

President De Klerk's gov-  
ermment has a limited grasp of  
security matters at best, has  
unravclied much of its intelli-  
gence system, and pays htte  
attention 10 what is left. The  
ANC is arrogant, is riding  
hilph after the destabilisation  
of Bophuthatswana and  
Ciskei, has the whiff of power  
in its nostrils and will not put  
up with any limits on that  
power, The KwaZulu govern-  
mentand Inkatha do not seem  
fully 10 understand what dam-  
age all-out conflict would do  
10 KwaZulu/Natal and to the  
Zulu people.

This unhappy combination  
of political muddlheaded-  
ness creates & situation in  
which some misstep could  
easily trigger escalation. One  
such cvent mght be ANC  
â\200\234mass actionâ\200\235 in KwaZulu

under protection of the state of emergency. Similarly, a provocation could be staged by radicals from either side. Any escalation could then easily turn from an inter-party conflict into a rebellion. The step from that to a "people's war" is a very small one.

An insurgency in Natal would be extremely difficult to deal with. The population is deeply divided, with both sides suspicious of the current government. The people have a strongly martial history, and years of political violence have armed many of them and hardened most. The KwaZulu police might join any rebellion or at best be neutral. Much of the population lives in rural areas with a high population density that would give guerrilla warfare an ideal sea in which to swim. Many

others live in slums and squatter settlements around the towns and cities. -

The physical terrain is also well suited to insurgency. The mountainous, hilly country, bush and cane fields offer almost ideal conditions. The borders with both Mozambique and Swaziland are conveniently nearby, facilitating the flow of supplies and the establishment of refuge areas.

-The long coast is another potential access route.

Then there is the question of how the white right-wing in northern Natal would react to

a revolt. Its members could become an important source of military and technical expertise, and intelligence.

Whereas the government could handle an insurgency in any other part of the country, or even ignore it altogether, it would have no room for manoeuvre in Natal. The industrial heartland of South Africa, the Witwatersrand, is critically dependent on Natal's two harbours, Durban and Richards Bay. They handle 76% of all South African imports and exports, and 92% of the oil and coal trade. Se-

cure access to them is vital to South Africa's economy. Two railways and two pipelines link the Witwatersrand to Natal's harbours, and are intensely vulnerable to saboteurs,

An effectively-run rebellion in Natal could exert a thorough stranglehold on the economic heartland of South Africa. Any government would have to react swiftly and decisively, and that would translate into civilian casualties and collateral damage.

Securing the railways and pipelines alone could swallow 20,000 men. Offensive operations and border closure would demand many more, That would force the army to call up citizen force units, with A negative impact on the economy. With the military at full stretch, other dissident groups might be tempted to violent expression of their own dissatisfaction.

Helmuth-Romer Heitman is the South Africa correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly

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P TL7 VO'CIREN EVAVAY B8 SV ) DO e  
The Zulu  
lion roars  
oain

PROFILE  
King Goodwill Zwelithini  
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Walling in Shaka's shadow: Zwvelithini is prepared to fight for independence

Dine 1 Anan e A0 2070  
SUNDAY TIMESÂ\204¢ Lonoon  
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LIIE LWL arlny Cnargeu

THE ZULU nation is once more 3t the centre atte  
of unrest and violence in Sotrth Africa. Under

iotegy is based en-  
Their battle siralegy 15 Bantu  
& re sk the n  
d Â¢ A ) people back in Lendon thgâ\200\230iâ\200\230tu;câ\200\230:,eaw tireiy oD atmc;-d\}  
râ\200\230;\gk "3 some rather  
the leadership of Chief Buthelezi, its warriors P wild men of Africa. Dub & i%Â¢ U trbesmen  
. Â¥h0 O ing and then I  
are taking up their traditional weapons of be respected, admired, al \* aimess s"?()â\200  
\224m get lo close quarters  
;r'ne}%:nd rioli¬\201 t against the forces of 'e;â\200\230;'d;;o,â\200\230 pelieve any of t  
hese sboriesâ\200\231 ;â\200\231?s::oxt\mas possible and m}â\200\230 on ;13â\200\230;  
e African National Congress. Y assacre t at which ihese y  
- ; blame for the mass and combat 2  
The bsttiefield is much changed, but lhe \*r'\ug;e:gâ\200\231noâ\200\230{â\200\230â\200\234m  
-,â\200\230i¬\201gâ\200\230enough\_ sentyics, oF &'hbmâ\200\230.e fellows excel. sa Do  
Zulus still have proud memories of the last ammunition boxes pot beins gyenes. On\_Wednessay  
., Wâ\202¬ â\200\234â\200\231e?i¬\201d â\200\230attac  
time they marched into action in their native That's all just propeganda &0 dâ\200\230\*â  
\200\230li¬\201â\200\234"z wardidg off their TEPEO T, oees of  
Ia,?: ,2' z\_n e eg%y wfashtehe Dritish Aenty the Seu mesm::reron?â\200\230;h% cam- iner wo  
ra%;mg ovâ\200\230tâ\200\230;rab at our bayo  
and the fiercest e of the war was at Isandhlwana by IO ishi their co! : d< and slesh  
â\200\230e Dyt ; ening 3 rsery and astonishing ith their bare han<  
fiuek & Deie ' -l iy ?x;â\200\234rl:ai-um. "fâ\200\230f,sî¬\202m\ {heir mean-looking spears  
Here, in the form of a letter home from one "â\200\235"'f"g chould you believe the tales â  
\200\230.me regiments which attacked us.  
of the survivors, historian ANDREW iher Shou ing Shaka, o s T, ne command o Oetemayos  
ROBERTS reconstructs the events which nephew, the present Kiâ\200\235@:câ\200\230â\200\235k  
â\200\230f',?h?g brother, Prince Dat;â\200\230\_lg:rgtnâ\200\234 anl-  
helped change the course of history in South are just bloodthirsty maniacs. Jo0h missed ou  
t OR [ oS mâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231m'- gh  
Afn'tâ\200\230:a 'ali¬\202d Zulich Iater be;'aghn iorlnmorwlised are minm;y'tgengsî¬\201. s  
upes s:')?nh- wana and â\200\235vftfrâ\200\231inbâ\200\234ii¬\201aâ\200\230d&?ss i their  
in the film Zulu, starring Michael Caine and leaders and the ATCES Most werc l<iCoc0. & hea  
dring  
X Africa. R 40s, who wore the ISO Â¢ les  
Stanley Baker. % erjllh AT dEnt of a zalu Smpi @mY) 7540 of hardened gwn which deno  
. Rorke's Drift. Natal charping ab you is t.hewâ\200\230n'vâ\200\230(;it ,::â\200\230T;â  
\200\230Wv;â\200\235r% a married man.  
Friday. January 24, 1579 }';â\200\234â\200\230â\200\234;;,.;' {Sâ\200\231.{,â\200\231;;,k e h  
att-run, waving  
\$ Lheir asscgais and chanuing uSuthu! :  
bl e im'a chorus which chill e B, o wLUs conngt DAY on,  
A o > highly . he King 3 e  
this letter you will proba- m?;t;yaâ\200\234drgy barefook. Tbex gl which he only does uâ  
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bly already have heard the than 8 malch lxmĩ-\\201av!:l\\?n% oy ,,rr):du.tr;â\\200\\230eeir-nâ  
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ncourages SOunges  
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know can explain it â\\200\\224 I and most of YO O warsior â\\200\\224 With an 8SersEt oopgng  
in lighting penicup â\\202-0e s  
the rest of B Company of the 24th hejght of 6t lin â\\200\\224 \\fi-\\202gi senfâ\\200\\230:t;r â  
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crwxse  
are all right. throwing 2ssegais, b~ turned e A hift  
i 3 proad-bladed S f behing our makes  
Wwe lost 17 men in all and the Zulus ;?%â\\200\\230Z,"&hĩ-\\201ĩ-\\201" the iKlawâ\\200\\224 8N  
mâ\\200\\230ĩ-\\201;.c:gâ\\200\\230kf:â\\200\\230mrkeâ\\200\\230s Drift, the fal  
more than 450, which â\\200\\224 considering A 18â\\200\\230iâ\\200\\230% â\\200\\234blage on a 2ft  
handle named which lay in store for us it whey %Ex  
there were 139 of us and more than 4.000 i N gfter the sound it makes oD being into the com  
pound. There are n&: ]  
of them â\\200\\224his not bad going. But those : publed out of an opponentâ\\200\\231s body- a  
ny wunmm%::g.ugâ\\200\\230ĩ-\\202iĩ-\\202c;f&? it  
fipures belie the truth about this worse, they DX A its  
campaign. g Intact to bloat up 40 the SR [T So  
Ever since landing at Durban. Fye been Jeival Fhich e, evers corpee is SÂ¥Y  
making quite & study .of our enemy, aad ) ONE e carrâ\\200\\230\_; â\\200\\230gfe-handed tematic  
ally mutilated and its stoma  
it is my opirâ\\200\\230ggnhthat the %ulus may be Xnobkerties o Sronwood OF slashed open- X  
ey e  
poor benign eathens, but they are maces T <igned specially [ have been t0ld that w y  
first-class fighting men. If anyone back ) leadwo0d OERED T A Warmiof gound Oolonel Durnfo  
rd, who comâ\\200\\230\\235  
there ever writes | %1%1 off as a.dbunch of a5 smâ\\200\\235ma o 3 o rge ox-hide shield, and  
ed at ]sag;;igl:m ;!eofwgi-\\201mâ\\200\\230;â\\200\\231i.  
T 'od th easy-f heâ\\200\\230 ; : different colour e i oy um- el m;\\eg'Ã@n llay nearby. Had L  
ord  
{â\\200\\230?}fpef)gâ\\200\\230Ã@ â\\200\\231;r;â\\200\\230:en Bl enr;iilgs â\\200\\230;m:: â\\200\\224  
lo overwhelm. and kil more than Greece of the Prassians under Freder- we esgâ\\200\\231unh:  
;w %Dmmâ\\200\\231:" d%â\\200\\231("m%â\\200\\230; 35 :f:arined <ford, our wmmmdẽĩ-\\201n-c;â\\200\\230ĩ-\\201eeâ\\200\\231f  
2 850 of Wales's linest. ick the Great. bers roughly 50.000. ATHLENe elms ped 10 the Âcamp  
soon Al  
here. at lsandhlwana. TL is tre worst military disasier in They are a nation designed for  
war regyments. But it is througn â\\200\\230,â\\200\\231,ĩ-\\201c,{,%â\\200\\230Ã@â\\200\\231râ\\200\\231g e T ere, and gtarted. W Butk b  
it was under the shadow of the hill our entire coloninal hisory. More white tare. And th:s  
wwctory was echieved and tacUcs rather % their em- gead, the buzzards would have  
there that the second ballalion of the men didc violeril: on that e day withoul modern weap  
cnry. 1 drend 0 that they have c;mmdu(()) xl) e fabt- . feast.  
24th were encamped. Zulu speed. effi- than in the entire hiory of the imagine what mighl  
hzve happ2ned pire here. The Zâ\\200\\230ĩ-\\202uoiâ\\200\\231a ort unique 0 iyt that we ot Rork  
e's prift â\\200\\224  
ciency. disciphine. fighting ability and EEuropean ocolonisation of Anca These had they ba  
d the Martini-Henry dable orgpnamuon. 8 5 The firs i  
fapatical ocourage allowed thern -- men are not lixe otdur Africens, Ly breech-loading rif  
les insted of us. We Lhis continent.  
armed only with their assegais (spearsy resemble the Spariars in Sthentury  
  
â\\200\\224â\\200\\224  
must ge: it lnio the hesds of the  
  
e A â\\200\\224â\\200\\224â\\200\\224â\\200\\224



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Daily Mail, Saturday, Aprh g9, 1994

Reconstrue

od ran cold

me:imcmexirstwn came Inte  
sight at 4.15zm.

â\200\230Here Lhey come, black as hel) and

<hick as grassâ\200\231 shouted Private wall

inted down e v'4

hsving spotted he impid

oM 3MOH

a small Swedish mission station near  
the Buffalo River â\200\224 knew what was  
in store for us WAaS at 3.15pm On  
Wwednesday. Two horsemen of the No~  
tal Native Oontingent galloped into  
view shouting tbe news Lhat the camd we decided, or rather our command- 7  
st lsandhlwans had been obliterated, er, Lt John Chard of the Fifth Field of shooting 3t  
and an iMpi was on ils way here and Engineers, deci they {ed on their herses and lled  
would arrive soon. Â¥ te and make, for one white sergeant.  
I will never forget that awful mo- the open cOUNLIY. He ordered us 4o  
ment. We had all heard about Zulu forlfy the post\_where we would stand  
and the famous bull and fight. He also gave us ordets that  
3 we were never o say -â\200\231  
surrenderâ\200\231. g - ROM a force cÂ©f 400 Den de-  
Inchhding theâ\204¢ hative contingent. 3 25Â¢ yerds  
of us at Rorkes pe were suddenty

\*ady

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to sit with thei  
they did not get

3 Loopholes were cut in the hospital y, opde A S study of tbe &  
swayo had used P 3 walls through which 10 fire, and 3 of the thres regopents  
when he established his claim to the parrcade of mealie bags and biscuit d us was DnwX  
ingship by slaughtering his brother's boxes Was built across the north side  
arnmy at the battle of Mathambo â\200\224 o the perimeter. lt was these make- CeleÂ©ayo's  
The Place of Bones. For weeks after- shift walls which were 0 save uw. by his father  
wards, bodies were washed up along They came %0 about chest height by housed in the

teal

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PHOME Mo,

tion to thedr nunarch wWoF xuq, onnuv\_  
and they wers clcarly relishing the  
oipormmw 10 wash thOIT EpeRTA n  
his enemy's blood

The king holds & quasl-rouglws.\_ sl-  
most myetical plack, in Zulu society.  
He is not just & temporal and -

ry, but also 8 spiritual leador. It is  
he who invokes the rajns, institutes  
the ceremony of the first fruits each  
yesr, and he alone cafl call the nation

Yo war, Thelr dedication to him {8

total, partly because he is able W

commune with their ancestors, whom

they worship, and partly beeausÃ© the

Zulu nation is & vast cousinage which

lie heade,

Cetewayo's father had hundreds of  
did his father, genzangakhos  
are actuslly related by  
blood Yo hly to two-thirds of the  
tribe. That, RS well as the need for  
military obedience, and the tendency  
for the Zulu kings â\200\224 such as Shaka  
and Cetewayo himself â\200\224 to b re  
markably gifted leaders, hes meant  
that the Zulus obey their monarch  
unquestioningly, especially in matlers  
relating to War and peace.  
The whole fabric of the nation i8

. woven around the army,  
I bmmi~\201uwmwmm  
inchief, It was thus the personal  
bodyguard of the king, with their dis-  
tinctive white shields, which first  
flung itself against our barricades at  
about Â¢.80pm on Wednesday.

UT even oxhide ghieids can  
not withstand the power of

i a .49 Martini-Henry pullet,

the finest rifie of today. Its  
rar;ge is most effective at about 400  
yards, which was Toughly the distance  
at which thex turned their trot inw &  
{ull charge. acked as densaly 88 they  
were, it was tmpossible for us W0 miss.  
We could never reload and reÃ«  
enough, and eventually thes? brave  
men reached the wall itsclf and the  
struggle hecame hend to band â\200\224 all  
stabbing assegals, thrusting bayoncts  
end smashing rifie butis.

Agajn ond again, in wave after

wave, they came on. The noise Was  
unbelievable; the crack of rifle fire,  
the screams of gmlg me!

hing

crios, and the of assegals

against our baionelsâ\200\230 We knew that i

ever they got inside the compound it

would De awiftly over â\200\224 with more

of them sgoinst 139 of us,

was Lo protect the De-

2 fighuing went on for 12

nours, With of theirs

Yheing flung against our increasingly  
exheusted nen.

A further problem Was that our 601  
diers defending the northern perumes  
ter were coming under constant fire  
from behind, Zulu riflemen  
clitmbed the rberg hillock which  
overlooked the drift, little could be  
done about this but luckily they only  
had ancient and were appalling  
ghots, Nevertheloss, occasionally &  
men would fali, shot in the back, and  
a gangerous gap would@ appear in our  
defancas.

Qur most serious worri' by fer, how-  
ever, came at about 8.18pm when the  
Zulus, fighting thelr Way whrough the  
nospital room by room, lso set fir  
its thatched roof. We hed to evacl  
our wounded through hoies smashed  
in the wall by pick-axes and then  
carTy them across the compound lo &  
defensive redoubt we i  
retreat to and then defend W the  
deatn. The fighting in the hospital  
was probably the most gesperate of  
all, and those who fell â\200\224 suc  
Joseph Willtams who had becn brac:  
ing & door with his body â\200\224 were in-  
stantly dismembered. ActÂ® of anmazing  
heroisin were commonplace that day.

Henry Hook killed no {ewer than  
nine Zulus as they crawled through  
he and another man. John

had mads. Henry reeeived 8

) wound from an assegal

, but it didn't  
bother himn oneÂ¢â\200\231 Â¢ anhcer speed  
of his reloading and iring held back  
the Zulus in that cranxgd space &%  
the burning roof started to fall in.

Meanwhile, the sick were being  
dragged through into the next room  
- all except A soldier named Conley,  
who could not move due to a broken  
leg. Hook was watching for Mms

Rpr. 168 1334  
LhE WA WwWay, B  
ulled him through the hole into the  
room.  
As soon as they had the Zulus  
singed down the door and crawled  
in.

ir war  
yet higher  
a cavour. Their  
ge was unexhaustible. They still  
came on after midnight.

After eight hours  
usually our rifles  
burned and often jammed,  
and even the bayonets began to twist  
and buckle. Fighting in hot work in a  
Southern African summer, and our  
thirst was terrible.

It was not until about 2am that the

drop off. When, at  
, the hospital was totally gutted  
darkness fell, the shooting gradu-  
ally stopped. For the first time in 12  
hours, a certain eerie silence fell, with  
only the shouts of the wounded  
punctuate it,

With no prospect of relief, most of  
us wounded, 15 of us dead and (so  
others mortally wounded, we were in

position to stand another concerted

attack the next day. No one was al-

lowed to rest, we just waited for dawn  
and prayed.

As the sun came up, I felt a sense of  
relief that I have never known before

I again. The Zulus had  
and around was jittered  
by cartridge

in rifles and, of course,

so brave Zulu dead.  
piled down the hospital at first light  
they could not use it for cover and  
then rebuilt the barricades.

Imagine how my heart sank when  
at 7am, the impi suddenly reappeared  
at the western end of the Oscarbargo.  
It turned out they were not about  
attack again, but only to salute us.

They could not have eaten for four days, and had been continually on the move since leaving their headquarters last Saturday. What warriors they are.

To those who will tell you, my dearest Polly, that we saved Natal from invasion, say it is nonsense. Tewayo had wanted to slaughter the 18,000 or so inhabitants of Natal, the E\Iace is now at his feet. But he is 100

telligent for that.

The war is not of his making but ours. He will fight a defensive war inside Zululand, avoiding battle unless,

as at Jsandniwana, the conditions are perfect. Sir Bartle Frere, the governor of Cape Colony,

3 Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal have brought this terrible and UNNECESSARY WAR upon us. It is at their door that the destruction of the South Wales Borderers should be laid,

I'm no politician, but it seems to me that the Zulus have merely lived up to the proudest of the traditions of their forefathers. I only hope we now treat them with the respect that their bravery and merits) vigour deserves.

Yours ever, Arthur

& FOOTNOTE. The Zulu War ended on July 4. 1874, at the battle outside the Ropai Kraal at Ulundi, in which Gatling guns and massed cavalry smashed the Zulu impi, King Cetshwayo was captured some time later, but not before he was successfully held by his people who resisted every blandishment and inducement to give him up.

This destroyed British claims that he was a tyrant who was hated by his own people. He was sent into exile, in the course of which he met Queen Victoria who declared him (he most regal of British SOVEREIGN she knew. In 1906, the Zulus rose again, losing 3000 men in the Bambata Rebellion. The present king, King Zwelithini, is his direct descendant of Cetshwayo, and as such, commands the personal allegiance of all Zulus.

3:19PM



Gy

Er

Mandela

Zulus: obey or

tells

be wiped out

SOUTH AFRICA prepa-ed  
for-civil war yesterday as the  
afrikan National Congress  
(ANC) vowed to use military,  
rarc: to â\200\234wipe awayâ\200\235 Zulu  
royalists aclding out against  
this month's elections. -

After the collapse early yes-  
terday of a summit that was  
billed as the country's last  
chance of peace, Nelson  
Mandela, the ANC leader,  
warned that: he would ke  
â\200\234tough measuresâ\204¢ agzinst the  
Zulus once he was elected  
president.

Red-eyed after 14 hours of  
inconclusive talks, he dis-  
missed hope that a settlement  
might still be reached with the  
Zulus of King Goodwill Zwe-  
lithini and Chief Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi. He said the elec-  
tions would go ahead despite  
the country's spiralling  
violence.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the  
ANC's secretary-general, said  
that those resisting the new  
order would be swept aside.  
â\200\234The order of things will  
change after the elections,â\204¢ he  
said, and people in Natal, the

by Richard Ellis  
Johannesburg

Zulu heartland, would have to  
obey the laws of the new gov-  
ernment. â\200\234If there is resis-  
tance, we shall just wipe them  
away.â\200\235- . . :

Ramaphosa dismissed fears

that the royalist Zulus, whose -

support is estimated at be-  
tween 3m and 5m, could



mount an effective rebellion  
against the polls or the incom-  
ing ANC government in  
which he is likely to be a dep-  
uty president. "I'm not going  
to say the tanks will roll in, but  
... He laughed. :

The hardline attitude was  
backed by a senior govern-  
ment minister who had at-  
tended the failed summit  
along with President F W de  
Klerk. He said government  
finances of the KwaZulu govern-  
ment run by Duthlezi would  
soon start to be cut off, and  
the boycott would be put in place,

Both sides yesterday began  
preparing for an armed show-  
down, with Zulus saying they

would deploy their own mili-

tary units around  
Johannesburg and the rest of  
the country and that South Af-

rican soldiers would be re-  
fused entry, -

The death toll in Natal since  
the state of emergency was de-

clared 10 days ago rose to 156,

With the discovery of five

more victims, including a

policeman. Security forces  
were also deployed in large  
numbers in the troubled  
Kwamashu township near  
Durban, - : \$

" The collapse of the summit

barely two weeks before the  
election on April: 26-28, has  
left South Africans with al-  
most no hope that war can be

averted. Although the four .

leaders agreed to set up yet  
another joint committee to  
examine their differences which  
will report back on  
Thursday officials on all  
sides said it was just going  
through the motions, -

The other avenue for peace, -

planned international media-  
tion by Lord Carrington, the  
former British foreign sec-

internatio

retary, and Henry Kissinger,  
the former American - sec-  
. retary of state, is bogged down  
before it begins as the differing  
sides still cannot :agrce. on  
their terms of reference. -  
The - midnight 3 press -con-  
ference - by the -four-leaders,  
under â\200\230a blanket â\200\230of stars' near  
the Kruger: national wildlife  
park -lodge /where,theyhad

e â\200\224â\200\224

â\200\230met, to'd the story of the im-  
passe. Mandela and Buthelezi

openly bickered in front of the

â\200\230worldâ\200\231s cameras and gloomly  
â\200\234admitted little progress had  
been made. Only De Klerk

tried to inject a\_note of op-  
â\200\234timism by saying that negotia-  
tions were at least continuing.

. The rmecting foundered on

the key questions of Zulu d>

for a postponement 0  
E::ngiicĩ\201ons,â\200\230 a hĩ\201ilsgNz taâ\200\230lt.':  
o el'ĩ\202ef"gi\202w'ti'on of the

satisfactory FOCORTL R, (. - . | rs: who a  
positionâ\200\231of their king an t-summit talks with- ANC  
B nal - mediation o0 nd government officials yes-

their claims for sclf-govcmmg  
dicated its willingness to c;m-r  
sider 2

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voting "in Natal,â\200\235 MandÂçla  
â\200\234latly rejected any clection de-  
lay. \*â\200\234We cannot postpone our  
freedom,â\200\235 he said. .- .~ ",  
Observers: who attended

terday condemned the ANC's  
dÃ@tcrznination, to push ahead  
with the clection., Aâ\200\231 senior  
United " Nations â\200\234 official â\200\234ac-  
cused the ~ANCâ\200\230of

â\200\230arrmmn.,. .\_.v< '., : . . :  
- The UN official said But-  
Belezi had given â\200\234a:firm and  
definite undertaking toâ\200\235 part-  
icipate .in electionsâ\204ç should  
the state ' of emergency be  
- lifted, the king'â\200\231sÂ® position be

| constitutionally - recognised .

. and â\200\230med:ation . take place.  
â\200\230 These were real concessions

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e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 AR

Ttaxrful times: a child at  
A refogee camp in Natal,  
Picture: Siron Towusley

and the ANC had , reatly  
{ ignored then, the U.E!pgmcizy!  
3aid. â\200\234They are beirg very in-  
lexible,â\200\235 he said. oo  
â\200\234Itâ\200\231s like Zimbabwe atl over  
again,â\200\235 sajd Âç Commonwealth  
\* observer, referring lc the mi-  
Âç hryaction the govenment of  
Robert Mugabe 100k it} -the  
: Irin;d-198\_()s 8g2inst the rebel-  
- Ibus minority Ng tri  
.. tatleft '20,0&} duiibiklrixg;gi  
here itâ\200\231s Â£0ing to be worse."  
- De Klerk and particularly  
Mandela are also ity jcon-  
-vmced the Zuly royzlists re-  
\_present a smal) minority  
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in the  
tcflâ\200\230c\_sclion andâ\200\231 g  
v, HlINg many. defence -  
<. ttical analysts believe ?:gmp:Ã©  
Bu'heiezi yesterday warned  
that the Zujy Gmpaigr. to get  
the right deal would continue  
for another â\200\234jog yearsâ\204ç jf  
meCesszry, Geto ) T  
â\200\234 . The ANC's fasistence.  
. â\200\234theâ\200\235 election â\200\234 il 'go""zhtoi:it  
- comes despite â\200\230mounting, evi-  
" dence'that planning for 4 Is far  
-bchlqd schedule: With ju}t 12  
\_ Wworking days . before voting  
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Quired - 20,000 -tallot - boxes  
- have beer made and the In-  
-dependent Electoral Com.  
mission (IEC) stil'needs {o  
Interview, recruit â\200\230ang train  
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. areas; 10,000 were originally

\_planned, but the police have  
said they only have the man.  
g?o&r 10 proâ\200\230.wdc' security â\200\230or  
In Scweto, the h e  
satellile i ugt:nz!iagg  
hannesburg which has 2n.  
Im vours, 64 polling booths  
are planned: o rs have  
: calculateq Llis nieans 30 elec.  
-trs having (g vore cvery  
inute,

years grow over ANC's ruthless tactics

South Africa prepares  
to swap tyrannies

SOUTH Africans, alarmed at  
bullying by 46 years of apart-  
heid rule, are preparing for  
life under what many fear  
could become a new tyranny  
when the African National  
Congress is expected to  
take government in less than  
three weeks.

There is also widespread  
scepticism about whether  
the April 27-28 poll can be  
truly free and fair.

Fears that ANC rule will be  
authoritarian have been  
sharpened by Nelson Man-  
del's enthusiastic embrace of  
the KwaZulu-Natal state of  
emergency

by Fred Bridgland in Johannesburg

this attitude was the reaction  
of UNOMSA (United Nations  
Observer Mission in South  
Africa) to the March 28 Kill-  
ings in Johannesburg. In its  
700-word statement, UN-  
had refused OMSA made no reference to  
the police entry to Shell the Shell House massacre  
the ANC's national head- House to investigate the but condemned the army-  
quarters in central Johannes- actions of the ANC use of weapons in public  
burg. whether the killing of marksmen. marches' by the Inkatha  
and Inkatha supporters by When asked if his Cabinet demonstrators, the victims  
ANC marksmen from Shell net's law and order minister of the ANC fire.  
Eloase balconies on March 28 would allow political appo- A further example of the  
was a foretaste of how his intentions to set conditions for ANC's psychosts of  
trium-  
government would deal with police investigations into phalisms was seen as the  
political opponents' murders and other alleged KwaZulu-Natal crisis came  
He snapped back that the criminal activities, he too. Joe Slovo. number  
to subdue his question was a scateric 235 224 snapped: 234 230  
Let's face that fact that four of the ANC's 231s parlia-  
colitical opponents' Mange: and he did not have time: that when we are in a governmenl. mentary e  
lection list and  
Suthu Buthelezi, leader of deal with scateric questions [ am entitled to negotiate  
the Inkatha Freedom Party. he was 00 busy with law and order officials  
It is one of the more as [ choose, 204  
piquant ironies that AMc Man- Herman Giliomwee, a pro-  
cela made opposition to pre- fessor of politics at the Uni-  
versity of Cape Town,  
cannot pillar of the 234 freedom described Me Mandela's  
struggle', yet when he reactions as typical of the  
becomes South Africa's first ANC's current psychosis of  
black State President at the township of ' ', which he  
end of this month he will be sad was against the spirit of  
armed with emergency pow- the new constitution.  
ers permitting detention 231 professor Gilotee, a lib-

without total and indemnify- ccal Afeikancr who broke  
irg his sccucity wetti the raling Nulialonal  
against prosecution.

Pacty 24 years ago. long wdience doul that he bad  
A benign Fresident Man- beiore it was respectable lo EwaZulu in mind. Me Slovo  
deta may well continue to use

doso, is conceraed about the satd Chief Buthele:i was das-  
te good effect the KwaZulu- atosphere af intimidation  
Natal state of emergency,

in which the geaeral election  
which affects :he freedom of wilt be held.

a quarter of the South Afri- â\200\234It s an tmmense cha-  
can population. The levels of rfade,â\200\235 satd Protessor Gilio-  
vinlence and intimidation in nee. The major plavecs,  
the province between Zulu â\200\230acluding the laterrational  
[nkatha Foval'sts and Zulu

corimunity, have decided  
followers of the ANC have T ! 8 that this il be a free and  
2ecome intolerable. % . Â¥ facr election although they

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ominous reactions to his fiest making concrete efforts to  
veally hoitle questioning bring peace to South Africa.  
from repor:ers. Ife was similarly testy when

He was asked at a peess asked why he  
confecence i Shell House,

chairman of the South Afri-  
because can Communist Party,  
seferred at a raly of ANC  
supporters in Nztal to tie  
ANC-engincerred downfall  
ast month of ant-ANC gov-  
dent\*â\200\231

homela cks:-' af  
3ophuthatswana and Ciskei.

â\200\234Two down and one to 0.  
ke said, indecating that next  
olt the st was the KwaZu.u  
bometand, swhere Mr Buthe-  
I2ze s chief intnistar.

And lest any of his Zulu

forces

toed to become â\200\234mnerely a  
smell in historyâ\204ç".

Similar sentiments were  
expressed by the ANC secre-  
tary-general Cye:l Rama-  
phosa. â\200\234We are the ANC,"  
ar satd. â\200\234We will call the  
saots in Natai zs we call the  
shots tn the whale cour-  
try ... ff Buthe ezi does not

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negotiating with Zulu  
 kings can be a perplex-  
 ing and fluuï¬\201111 wyk 10  
 :rs. In olden days, those  
 (o show due respect or  
 : diafavour were taken to  
 =ial killing fiold and  
 4 10 daath. Neighbouring  
 who threatenad tha he  
 y of the amaZulu, the  
 of tha Haavens, would  
 'mun and subjugated at  
 :nt of aseegals, the short  
 lg spears that were the  
 rtk of their military Â¢m-  
 alding.  
 =5 have changed, but not  
 When Nelson Mandela,  
 Adean National Congress  
 lender, and 1ITW de  
 tha South African presi-  
 at down last weak 16 try  
 . peace deal with the cur-  
 ilu monarch, they found  
 see not juee dealing with  
 an, tha small, dapper,  
 sdackad King Cnndwill  
 ind, but whï¬\201 o host of  
 : wherever Goodwill  
 â\200\230he ghosts of his illus-  
 -ncesters are with him,  
 does no: consider him-  
 - be onpe man, he is  
 " explained a frustrated  
 ment negotiator, â\200\234â\200\234He is  
 T and all his aneestors.  
 suid to De Klerk that if  
 5 nol sen this problem  
 his lifetime then he will  
 -oxt lifetime. He consid-  
 sÂ¢)( no more than & sym-  
 hcad of the Zulu  
 n, but & vitally im-  
 one whose duty is (o  
 : kingdom together."â\200\235â\200\231  
 Majesty Zwelithini  
 11 Ka Bhekerulu, as he  
 aily titled. was bom in  
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 litical power, and his  
 been inzxorably iuter-  
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 aÂ» THised any other  
 Ad, hunting with knob-  
 (the reditional Zuju  
 club) &nd engaging ia

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a of hs father, King  
 from alcoholism, that  
 old he was 10 become  
 I his scheJling was cat  
 - achicved only a junior  
 2, the cquivalent of a

sEs.  
s reccnt involvement  
;s much of his time  
t farming the lands he  
und his modest whiic-  
alace al Nongoma, the  
Â royal houschold set  
â\200\234beautitul rolling hills  
syÂ of Zululand. . He  
:nse pride in his farm-  
clieves himself o be &  
) for hic people's das  
claim th2 land taken  
R oo

FHOMHE Mo

from them under white rule,  
His careful breeding of Nguni  
cattle has made his stock onc of  
the country's most roughtâ\200\231  
after. .  
He is Cluistivn but pracdees  
polygamy. 1Ic has five wivea,  
chosen from the aunuud guther-

â\200\234ings â\200\230of barc-breacted Zuly

maidens, and, at last count, 19  
children. At official funciions  
he woare Italian suits, Britigh-  
style military uniform with

ceremonial sword or bare

chested in the vuditivnal re-  
galia of leopard skins and ani-

mal tailg, clutching a cpew wnd

shield, :

Whatever his attre, and  
wlintuver the funetion, he is  
nver alone. Amouy his cplou-  
rage is the imbongi, the official  
praiscsgiver, whoss job is (v  
give hour lung pociiic uceolades  
to the king and at the sanw timc  
meake amueing pui dowuns of  
Mandela and the ANC,

Nut hobody Â»ils more

siongly at Zwelithiniâ\200\231s side  
than Sliaka, the infamous 19th-  
century founder of the Zulu cm-  
pire and an acclaimed warrior.  
His military rtactics aee still  
quoted admiringly in war  
textbouks.

\_ There are many pacaliclcs be-  
tween Shaka and e cighth  
successor to the Zulu throne.  
Shaku founded the Zulu empire  
under difficult conditionsg;  
Zwelithini has had (0 try to pre-  
serve his nation under fatal  
odds. Shaks hud to usurp the

throng from his hali-brothers;  
Zwelithini had to wrest it from  
his uncle, who was regent until  
Zwelithini reached marhood.

The kingdom he inherited in  
1971 at the age of 23 was &  
somy sham of the one Shaka  
had forged. The mighty Zulu  
nation once suetched from the  
Mozambique border to Trans-  
vaal, before being crushed by  
the British empire in 1880  
Then, under, the jackboot of

.Africaner apartheid planners,

Zwelithini's domain had been  
reduced to a ridiculous self-  
governing territory, 29 pockets  
of land dotting Natal, about  
10% of the territory which ruled  
by Shaka.

In the early years of his  
reign, and until recently,  
Zwelithini was mocked as an  
ill-educated puppet of Chief  
Mangosuthu Buthe, another  
uncle who is his hereditary  
prime minister. There were, in-  
deed, several clashes between  
the two as the headstrong  
young monarch tried, but  
failed, to assert his pre-emi-  
nence, But the turbulent royal  
Zulu household is no place for  
the faint hearted and Zwelithini

has matured into the job, Now  
45, friends say he has \*come of  
age in the current crisis in  
South Africa, and believes it is  
his destiny and historical duty  
once again to resurrect the people  
of his 8m subjects, South Af-  
rica's largest tribe,

There is no doubt that he has  
substantial loyalty among  
Zulus and can command many  
more than those who would fol-  
low Buthe. While urbanised  
and detribalised Zulus largely  
reject his leadership, some es-  
timate that he would have the  
loyalty of at least two-thirds; a  
formidable number should he  
not be accommodated in the  
new South Africa.

Even Zulus who support the  
ANC show him respect. When,  
unannounced, he visited a Dur-  
ban sweet factory run by a  
white Zulu sympathiser, all

2,000 workers, including ANC

members, paid homage, shouting the traditional greeting: Rayede! Hail to the King!

With the country's current crisis, Zwelithini believes his moment has come. He feels that at last he can stamp his position in history and make himself worthy of the ghosts who accompany him.

Zwelithini's intense, almost reborn, nationalism has not just shocked Mandela and De Klerk, but his own people. Even Buthelezi has been surprised by the vehemence and stubbornness he has displayed in pressing for an independent Zulu nation. Member of the royal household in Ulundi, the KwaZulu vapiwal, walk of Buthelezi having to temper his

Apr. 10 1994

. S  
nephew's desire to unleash the military option to win independence. \*He is much more of a warmonger than his uncle, said a white military expert who has been training Zulus. Zwelithini's reasoning is simple. The Zulus were only militarily defeated by the British at a great cost but have never been conquered by anybody else. Even the Boers, with

their superior armoury, had -

been forced into an uneasy stalemate and it was only after British redcoats took Ulundi that the Zulus were subjugated. Zwelithini, leader of the most powerful and militant tribe in Africa, has decided that his people's humiliation has gone on too long. No longer should

Zulus be ruled from Pretoria.

Zwelithini gazes west and north at the two tiny kingdoms of Swaziland and Lesotho run

by less powerful tribes than the

Zulus and wonders why they should have independence and his people do not. On top of that, all the Xhosas, the smaller

. A . . .  
neighbouring tribe who have

been long-time enemies of the  
Zulus but who have never been  
able to defeat them, are about to  
take power in the new South  
Africa.

â\200\234They would genuinely die  
rather than be ruled by the  
Xhosa ANC from Pretoria.â\200\235  
said a government negotiator.  
â\200\234â\200\234They say that the Xhosa have  
never crossed the Tugela (the  
river which marks the boundary  
of the Zululand) and they  
aren't going to cross it now  
with Walpike of paper they  
call the constitution.â\200\235\*

FO2

31 22FM

Mandela and Dr Klerk  
already tried to woo Zwelithini  
They thought they had found  
the solution to the â\200\234â\200\234Zulu prob-  
lem" back in January. A  
meeting with the king,  
Klerk, with backing from  
Mandela, is understood to have  
offered Zwelithini the position  
of ceremonial head of state  
of the new South Africa. They  
calculated that by accepting this  
new role the king would leave  
Buthelesi and his Inkatha Fr-  
ontline party isolated and weaken  
their call for Zulu indepen-  
dence. Zwelithini, however,  
rejected the offer, saying  
â\200\234could not see the point of  
over an area to which I have  
historical claimsâ\200\231â\200\231,

Many royalists believe  
younger Zwelithini would have  
accepted. No longer. For many

traditionalists, the Zulu lion  
the nation has roared and -  
no longer. He is silenced.

ghost of Shaka is walking  
blood-soaked Eden of 70

land  
island.

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mo.

KING Goodwill Zwelithini.  
the Zulu mouyrch, pulled &  
copy of last week's Sunday

| Times out of his trisl vase al

Friday's summit meeting and  
tend the editorial aloud to  
Nelson - Mandela, President  
FW de Klerk and  
Mungosuthu. Buthelezi, - {he  
Inkathaâ\200\230 chief, reports Caro~  
lne lees, i oo T

s â\200\230They had ulrend{ seen i, I  
was faxed to v Kierk from:  
the South African Â¢mbessy in  
London carl?vjâ\200\230 an , Manday.  
morning. Stall at Mandelaâ\200\231s  
African Nulional. Congress  
(ANC& had discussed it with  
hin' by Tuesday afternoon  
and â\200\230Buthelezj Lud heen told  
aboul \*it on the phane by  
fricnds In London. ~

The editorial, calling for  
paviponement ot South Af.

ricaâ\200\231s clelections to averi the  
poeability of ivil war, . bee  
came the focus of heated de.  
batÂ¢ on radio talk shows and  
in newspaper articles. It said

the political transition had

FHOME No.

Our editorial

bÃ©en â\200\234bungledâ\200\235 and argued  
that continuing violence had  
made â\200\234free and, falrâ\204¢ elec-  
tions, planned for April 27,  
impossible, "

hÂ¢ South African Broad-  
casting Corporation first drew  
the public's attention to the  
cditorial onits television news  
on -Maunday. morning, After  
that the office of The Sunday .

"Times in Jolmmesbu? re-  
rom

ecived phone calls:  
pÃ©eople all over: the couniry  
requesting capies. Political :  
particy campaigning in the  
clectlon, including the Federal  
Party and the Freedom Front,  
issudc press releascs suppoit=

â\200\234ing the call to review the elee-  
tinn date. e

â\200\234Al last somcbody gy  
dared ta quortion the way the  
clection is being rushed  
through," said a spakesman  
torâ\200\231 Buthelezi's Inkatha - Frec-  
dom ! party. â\200\234Wihether you  
agree with it of not, it is the  
first time the international

: =eontinued on page 17

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Ã@ continued trom p : â\200\230 h ate

M page 16 :

Dress hy that .

native ;â\200\231i;t: Ã@â\200\230cr))rward an alter. mo,\_c"fbgg::gx Afticans knoy

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-arl Niehays "W miles away v .

for the ANG, wiighhoxeman Mike Mitie s

cised i Â¢ . ich wag â\202~t~ talkback radio anhesburg

intolerance, yi ',â\200\230,%"â\200\230â\200\234lâ\200\231.kforj\_ its He saig lha, S:::i,dï

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contributioy to the d:t:., (g l:lc

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A rebellion  
to strangle  
the country

@ Helmoed-Romer  
Heltman sees  
South Africaâ\200\231s

leaders being blind

to the dangers of a  
revolt in Natal

THE continuing violence in  
Natal contains the potential  
for much more serious con-  
flict. Although there is no in-  
evitability about this, the  
danger lies in the inadblity of  
the political actors to under-  
stand the potential for  
disagter, = 2 S T lige

President De Klerk's gov-  
ernment has a limited grasp of  
secunty matters at best, has  
unravellled much of its intelli-  
gence system, and pays little  
attention (0 what is lcfi. The  
ANC is armrogant, is riding  
l:a{gh aficr the destabilisation  
of Bophuthatswana and  
Ciskei, has the whifT of power  
iu its nostrils and will not put  
up with anl limits on that  
power. The KwaZuly govern-  
mentand Inkatha do noy seem  
fully to understand what dam-  
age all-out conflict would do  
to KwaZulu/Natal and to the  
Zulu people.

This unhappy combination  
of political muddleheaded.  
ness creates a situation in  
which some misstep could  
eaciyy trigger escalation. One  
such event might be ANC  
â\200\234mass actionâ\200\235 in KwaZuly  
under protection of the slate  
of cmergency. Similarly, a  
provocation could be staped  
by ladicals from either side.  
Any cscalation could then eas.  
ily tum from an inter-party

. conflict into a rebellion. The

siep from that 10 a â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s  
warâ\204¢ is 2 very small one,

An insurgency in Natal  
would be extremely difficult

10 deal with, The population is  
decply divided, with both  
sldes suspicious of the current  
government. The people have  
astrongly martial history, and  
years of political violence  
have armed many of them  
and hardened most. The  
KwaZulu police might join  
any rebellion or at best Be neu.  
tral Much of the population  
Nvesin rural arcas with & high  
Population density that would  
give gucrrilla â\200\234fish" an ideal

FHOHE Ho.

sea in which lo swinu. Meny

otherslive in stums and squat-  
ter gettlaments around the  
towne and Âçitics.

The physical lermain s also  
well suited 10 insurgency, The  
mountains, hlil country,  
bush and cane fielas offer 2!  
most ideal conditions. The  
borders with both Mozam-  
bique and Swaziland are  
conveniently nearby. facilitat-  
ing a flow of supplies and (he  
establishment of refuge arcas.  
The long coast is another  
potential aceess route,

Then there is the question  
ofhow the whitc right-wing in  
northern Nataf would react to  
a revolt, Its members could  
become an important source  
of military and technical  
expertise, and intelligence.

Whercas the government  
could handle an insurgency in  
any other part of the country,  
Or cven ignore it altogethes, it  
would have no room for  
manocuvre in Natal, The  
industrigl heartiand of South  
Africa, the Witwatersrand, is  
critically dependent on Na.  
tal's two harbours, Duiban  
and Richard's Bay, They han-  
dle 76% of all South African  
imports and exports, and 92%  
of the eil and coal trade. Se-  
cure access to them is vital (o  
South Africa's economy. Two  
railways and two pipelines  
link the Witwatersrand (o Na-  
@al's harbours, and gre in  
tensely vulnerable lo  
saboteurs.

An effectively-run rebellion  
in Natal could cxerf a thor-

ough stranglehold on the economy heartland of South Africa, Any government would have to react swiftly and decisively, and that would translate into civilian casualties and collateral damage.

Securing the railways and pipelines alone could swallow 20,000 men. Offensive operations and border closure would demand many more. That would force the army to call up citizen force units, with & negative impact on the economy. With the military at full stretch, other dissident groups might be tempted to violent expression of their own dissatisfaction,

Helmoed-Romer Heitman is | -

the South Africa correspondent |  
for Jane's Defence Weekly

|

Hp

WINNIE MANDELA, the

leading African National Congress leader, was embroiled in

now controversy last night

after a secret ANC document

was leaked accusing her of

having stolen tens of thou-

sands of pounds from the

movement, reports Richard

Ellis. o g

The internal ANC report al-

leged that the estranged wife

of Nelson Mandela, the ANC

president, had illicitly profited

from donations made to the

movement by American

sympathisers and that she had

taken a £38,000 kickback!,  
on a farm bought by the ANC

{or returning exiles. it

The ANC last night confirmed that the document, drawn up more than a year ago, was authentic and said its investigation into the fraud allegations against Winnie Mandela was continuing. Carl Nichaus, an ANC spokesman, said it had been kept secret to avoid any person being wrongly damaged by an incomplete investigation',

The document was given to The Cape Times newspaper, apparently by ANC insiders opposed to Winnie Mandela's recent revelation to the highest ranks of the party.

The newspaper said the ANC was still trying to work out how much money was missing, Mandela, who is head of the ANC's Women's League and is widely tipped as a future cabinet minister after the ANC's expected victory in this month's first democratic South African elections, had refused to appear before an internal commission into the affair headed by Oliver Tambo, the late ANC leader,

According to the commission's report published by The Cape Times, Mandela had been involved in various alleged scams while head of the ANC's social welfare department between February 1991 and March 1992, before her separation from her husband.

She was said to have been caught counting piles of dollars, and cheques after a visit

to America in 1991, The re-

ik 1

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Winnie accused  
of cheating ANC

sald (he money was  
â\200\234donatlonsâ\204¢ to the ANC she  
and Dali Mpofu, hier then gep-  
uty and alleged lover, had col-  
lected during thele vislt and  
had falled to declare o the  
ANC.

There waus also evldence  
that she had pocketed  
â\200\234substantialâ\200\235 amounts of in-  
terest yilded by funds depos-  
ited into her personal account.  
These funds were legally des-  
tined for the social welfare  
department. 3

According to the report, she  
had admitted shaving 74,000  
rand (Â£14,800) off a donation  
destined for the same depart-  
ment, The money had, to date,  
not been paid back,

She had allegedly also prof-  
ited from the purchase of a  
farm in Walkerville, east of  
Johannesburg, which was  
bought by the ANC for rÂ¢turn-  
ing exiles for 350,000 rand  
(Â£70,000), but was worth only  
160,000 rand (Â£32,000). The  
report sald Winnie Mandela  
was 2 maln party in the deal.

The leaking of the report is  
likely to fuel further debate  
about her presencc near the  
top of the ANC's list of  
prospective. members of par-  
itament â\200\224 she s number 31 on  
the list â\200\224 and 10 widen the rift  
between her and her oppo-  
nents within the movement,  
who have launched & cam-  
palgn to curb her ambitions to  
replace her husband one day  
as ANC leader.

A statement issued by Win.  
nie Mandela yesterday did not  
Lo into details about her re-  
sponse to the publication of  
the report, but said she had  
instructed her lawvers to  
undertake litigation against  
the newspaper.

The Cape Times, however,  
strongly defended its story.  
"â\200\234We knew of the document's  
existence for some {ime, and  
we managed to obtain it from a  
very relighle canree after a cer.  
tain amount of investigation,â\200\235  
sald Koos Viviers, the news-  
paperâ\200\231s editor. â\200\234I have no  
doubt as (v its suthenticity,  
We will certainly defend any

legal action very fully."

FO4

The Orlando Sentinel, Sunaay, Aprit 10, 1994

Outraged Zulus to fight

for freedom,

1 The hopes of an end to  
political violence in South  
Africa remain dim, but all sides  
agree to outside mediators.

R eâ\200\224â\200\224 e i Ayt

ASSOCIATED PRESS

P P S e i

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa â\200\224 Zulus  
are angry and ready to fight for autonomy,  
nationalist leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
said Saturday, the day after the failire of  
talks seen as a last chance to end the politi-  
cal violence

Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party re-  
jected African National Congress proposals  
to create a constitutional Zulu monarchy,  
saying they did not go far enough to meet  
demands for independence.

But Inkatha said negotiations should  
continue, and President F.W. de Klerk,  
pledging not to send troops into Buthelezi's  
volatile homeland, held out hope of a politi-  
cal settlement

Buthelezi, de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson  
Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelith-

leader says

ini had met Fridav. Mandela and de Klerk  
failed to persuade the Zulu nationalist lead-  
ers to join the April 26-28 all-race election  
that the ANC is expected to win.

Zwelithini and Buthelezi oppose the elec-  
tions, fearing that an ANC government will  
trample Zulu culture, The ANC plans to  
abolish ethnic homelands such as the Kwa-  
Zulu region within Natal province 2

The government has sent hundreds of  
troops into Natal, including KwaZulu. The  
government used military power to back up  
its ouster last month of Lucas Mangope,  
leader of the Bophuthatswana homeland,  
who also opposed the elections. :

Bloodshed between supporters and oppo-  
nents of the elections has exacerbated rival-  
ries between the ANC and Inkatha, and



there are fears Inkatha's boycott call could lead to fighting at the polls in Natal. At least 11,000 blacks have died in political violence in the last three years.

Friday's summit was seen as a last chance to curb the violence.

The four leaders failed to find any solution, but did agree to call in international mediators. They proposed another meeting this week.

Compliments of

Clift BGaosuey

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Slovo says chances of

IFP participation slim

By NAZEEM HOWA

SACP leader Joe Slovo said yes-

Earlier Sapa reported that at N  
memorial for Chrie Hani at the

terday the chances of the JFP Wallacedene attar camp near  
rethinking - its. .boycott of this , Kraaifontein, pe Town, yester,  
month's e%ecuonarehigm unlike- day, Mr Slovo accused the PAC â\200\234of  
ly as Chief Mangasuthp othelerd shooting a few whites in a churehÂ@

ls clearly not Interested In partici-  
pating in the poll

to counter the ANC'g popularity;  
He sajd the PAC hggh dnr{e

â\200\230Fridays meeting confimed â\200\234nothingâ\200\235 to advance the strugglÃ@  
my Impression that Chief Buthe- ;Og:lhgm NP rule during the period

Jezi Is bent on a eynical mam;nlaâ\200\230 :  
we-

tion of Zuly King Goodwill  
lithint " Mr Slovo sald.

â\200\230It was the ANC that brought  
about the situation in which the

â\200\234He stems to be o raclst regime was forced to nego-  
i ,o"fmî¬\202bâ\200\230fhe",\:,â\200\231f.nâ\200\234%i¬\202 tiate. During all that time the  
PAC  
ttions, but there {8 no chanee of any did nothing, but when negotiations  
postpovement " : started, they hecame so scared of

Mr Slove said he belleved that the ANC's Popularity that they

an effective management of the  
State of Emergency in Kwazuly  
Natal would ensure that the cor-

went to shoot a few whites in &  
church to get what they wanted,"  
Mr Slovo ssid

rect climate was created for the g"" = "mmmmnxm" m;fâ\200\230mn Con  
elections. "\Fm'' ) i

IFP in Durban poster blitz =~ -

By GEORGE MAHABEER

And GRANT CLARK

THE IFP has blitzed Durban with hundreds of posters urging people to vote IFP when the time comes.

One of the posters put on larh poats yesterday led a picture of IFP ] gosulhu Butheled withan X Lhe other, sporting the YFP logo, casied on the public to â\200\234make our coun- 4y {reeâ\200\235 by supporting the [FP.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet rejected claims that the posters were ambjiguous  
â\200\234There I8 po apparent contradiction message of the posters. From the t y lt 8tates clearly we urge voters to vote IPF when the time comes {â\200\234The aim 18 to Inerease TFP visibil-

ity, boost its public profile and to let voters know that we are ot sliding into political oblivion,â\200\235 said Mr Tillet ANC Southern Natal spokesman Dumisanl Makhaye said the showed confusfon within the [F , Sug- gesting a â\200\234strong ngm-elecï¬\201on lobby within the IFPâ\200\235 col the appearance of the posters.

IFP Natal Midlands leader David'

- Ntombela sald he knew nothing about -

the posters.

â\200\234As the IFP Midlands leader I should have been consulted. I spent the whole week in Ulundl and no one meationed anything about posters to me" Mr Ntombela sald.

â\200\230 e gÂ«e-uy,oum ot O Clark, 18 Chborme Strest,

d have motivated

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r-anteez that  
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HE failure of the ANC and  
NP this week f{o  
| King Goodwill Zwelithini

| withdraw his support for the  
{nk4tha Freedom Partyâ\200\231s boycoti  
â\200\234tactics may well count as one of

persu  
3 L

(10ur country's defining moments

+The implications for peace or  
lncontinning war are enormous.

i~ At Friday's summit the ANC  
!t and the NP proposed that the  
' become a constitutional  
monarch in Kwazulu Natal with

'â\200\234s11 his rights, privileges and  
5

. status eptrenched.

They asked in return for guar-  
the citizens of that  
be allowed ordinary  
~democratic rights. These includ-  
gd the oppeortunity to vote in  
â\200\234dthree weeks without courting  
"â\200\234â\200\234death or injury.

! The offer was rejected. It was

King and

attending the king that their real  
agenda, as opposed to his, was the  
aptonomy of Kwazulu Natal and  
a postponement of the election  
day.

gn the four days left to the task  
force established after the Sku-  
kil2a summit it is erucial that His  
Majesty and advisers carefully  
consider the implications of any  
decleion to continue on this road.

The institution of the Zulu mon-  
archy has survived war, invasion,

plague and natural disaster. It is  
a living institution, clearly  
revered by most Zulus, including

a= M

â\200\230 L1  
i I n | l r '  
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Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha  
In this century it has d@tionâ\200\224

ally stood above 8 lan pol-  
iticking. So strongly did Ehĩ-â\202m

.Freedom Party. â\200\231

once feel about this that jt intro-  
duced legislation to make it a  
punishable offence to bring the  
king into politics.

Yet now the king, the institu-  
tion, Is deeply locked in politics,  
caught in a violent war of po-  
sition between the ANC and

Inkatha. The king's subjects are  
divided between these two politi-  
cal foes but the majority appear .

@

" imade clear by the IFP politicians

many who do not support Chief

choice for the monarch

tion forlthe royal institution and a  
desire to vote. Indeed, the boy-  
cotters represent a small fraction  
of the voting populalion as a  
whole,

It is with this background that  
considers the Immediate  
future

There is no chance of the elec-  
tion date being postponed. The  
major parties have made that  
and Mr Justice Johann

KrieglÃ©r, head of the Independent  
Flectoral Commission, sees no  
reason for it Steps are already  
being {aken to excise the most  
turbulÃ©nt portions of Kwazulu

one

clear,

from the election,

More Important, however, 13  
what is happening on the ground.

The country is fraying. Large sections are effectively under military control (buttressed in Natal by an appalling state of emergency), public servants are in revolt, random political violence grows, the police are battered into irrelevance, capital is aflight and the very institutions of the transition the Transitional Executive Council, Independent Electoral Commission and the National Peacekeeping Force are mired in confusion and in-

competence. Delay, quite simply, means disaster,

Certainly, the IFP's decision not to take part in the election is legitimate and democratic. Its steadfast defence of federal powers long after the National Party had capitulated in a welter of nudges, back-channel deals and obfuscatory rhetoric is to its eternal credit.

But that is not the point. Inkatha's opposition to the election now verges on the seditious a campaign to destabilise the election and to deny citizens their

united on two things an affect-

fundamental right to vote. Unimaginable violence looms.

Aware of the unpopularity

its choice (politics and the media) of Inkatha supporters want to vote and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's personal popularity has slumped, even among Zulus) and looking now for another vehicle to perpetuate its power after it is rejected from its offices in Ulundi, Inkatha wishes to annex the Zulu monarchy and its proud traditions to its vainglorious cause.

It is a perilous course. Africans are still wrestling with the legacy left by a political party which shamelessly appropriated both their language and culture in its pursuit of power. It would be nothing short of a national tragedy if the same were to be

allowed to happen to the Zulu monarchy,

upon by Chief Buthelezi to support his allegations that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was intent on destroying anything in its path.

The Inkatha leader's lieutenants produced a document whose authenticity has not been denied by the ANC = setting out Mr Mandela's party's strategy for the destruction of the Kwa:

Zulu bantustan {homeland} "  
The document says: "We

must prepare the anvil for the coming hammer. .. Though the consequences will be more extensive than in Bophuthatswana. this should not deter us from the political correctness of such a strategy."

ANC intimidation has not been limited to Ciskei. Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. There are many "no-go" areas

for parties campaigning against the ANC. Tony Leon, who succeeded Helen Suzman as a liberal Democratic Party MP in northern Johannesburg, was driven from the campus of the University of the Western Cape by ANC Youth League supporters.

It's no use us throwing up our hands in defeat," Mr Leon said. "It's necessary to stand up to the new tyrannies facing South Africa." He noted that the ANC-dominated Transitional Executive Council., which is ruling South Africa in the pre-election period in parallel with President F.W. de Klerk's National Party, had sought to overthrow only those homeland dictatorships which are opposed to the ANC.

He said: A lot of people

are aware of the fact that the ANC is not a

CnDGOOEE0L0L =

are asking why other areas are not being singled out for similar treatment

Among the no-go areas Leon had in mind was Kwa-Zulu's neighbouring

independent homeland. Transkei. It is ruled by the military dictator Gen Bantu Holomisa, who after he came to power in 1987 displayed the dismembered bodies of opponents in a public stadium. Until last week he had refused to allow the National Party and the Democratic Party to campaign for the election on his territory, rather as Chief Buthelez: has obstructed the ANC in KwaZulu.

Analysts have asked whether Transkei's military dictator has escaped the wrath of the people's power because he is a supporter of the ANC, 13th on their par:

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Parliamentary election list and

tipped to be Mr Mandela's Defence Minister

Robert Schrire another

politics professor at the University of Cape Town, said: "The ANC has not allowed principles to stand in the way of power. How else can one explain the decision to cooperate with some of the most autocratic potentates of the collapsing bantustan system? - "The national and regional elections will go ahead as planned in the troubled Natal/KwaZulu region. despite the failure of Friday night summit talks with Chief Buthelezi.

Officials of the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday that 800 police would be established in on the borders of the KwaZulu homeland