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/ ulu Vendetta Clouds the South Afrlcan

By BILLKELLER

Special to The New York Times

MAQONGQO, South Africa â\200\224 The  
red dirt road that twists up the hill to  
this Zulu village is a route of ambushes,  
assassinations, flights and funeral pro-  
cessions stemming from the factional  
feuds of South Africaâ\200\231s largesttribe.

One massacre in particular putâ\200\231 this  
corner of the mainly Zulu Natal Prov-  
ince, a lush region known as Table  
Mountain, on the map of horrors.

African Nauonal Congress, expelled  
from thexr hor 3s by the elders of the

Inkatha Freedom Party, waylaxd a  
minivan groaning slowly up the hill to  
the primary school and coldly emptied  
rifles and machine guns into the shriek-  
ing children. Six students died, followed  
within a week by 14 more deaths in the  
lnkatha reprlsals i e Fowgad

Revenge Called the Alm \_ â\200\230

Table Mountam ls peaceful for the  
â\200\230moment â\200\234and -rival .Zulu leaders are  
preparing for South Afrxca s ftrst free  
elections next â\200\230April. But no-one here  
imagines that in this most savagely

Last March young partisans of the.

divided provbâ\200\231 )e. democraue pohtxcs .

will neatly take ihe place of war.

Across Natal hate and fear have  
partitioned places like Table Mountain  
into one-party fiefs, raising doubts not .  
only about the possibility of a normal  
election, but also about how the winner

will be able to govern. ~ - .-

â\200\234Tell God to save us after these elections,â\200\235 said Charles Maphumulo, the acting Zulu chief on this side of

Table Mountain.

A 71-yearâ\200\224old Inkatha stalwart, the

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% â\200\224\_ Continued From Page e  
chnef said that to his villagers the election is not about race, tribe, economicsâ\200\231 or. \_personalities, -and \_certainly not about the lofty principles. like federal-â\200\231 ism negotiators are debating in Johannesburg. The issue, he said, is which party will be in a better position to avenge â\200\230itself for years of-grievances. i :If the African- National Congress . wins, he asserted, rocking forward in the kitchen chair he had propped under a shade tree in his front yard, â\200\234youâ\200\231 wonâ\200\231t see me again, or my house.â\200\235 | Natal, the birthplace of Inkatha, is the \_province where the black resistance against white rule evolved into a fratricidal war of black against black. | When Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi founded Inkatha in 1975, it was widely' regarded as a legal surrogate for the banned African National Congress.

- South African federation, Mr. Mandela-
- laâ\200\231s ideal of a country where ethnic
- â\200\230stricted -to â\200\230campaigning within their
- the i-\201ol]s -'j.f;f ST

.. ity that pervades Natal,â\200\235 said Radley  
- Keys; a leader of the liberal Democrat-  
\_ic Party.and a frequent peace arbiterâ\200\231

|

A Break With the Mainstream

Mr Buthelezx who administered the area of Natal set aside under apartheid as a Zulu homeland, used his position to campaign against the segregated system and for the release of the congressâ\200\231s imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela. :

But in 1983 Mr. Mandelaâ\200\231s supporters \_organized a nationwide front . to

. assert control over the anti-apartheid movement, sometimes by force. In Na-

- tal, the front mobilized students and

.challenged â\200\230Mr. Buthelezi, him.an apartheid puppet.

Increasingly, Mr. Buthelezi, a proud descendant of Zulu royalty, broke with the anti-apartheid mainstream and went his own way. Almost alone among black leaders, he opposed economic sanctions against South Africa. He scorned the Communists who aligned themselves with Mr. Mandela. He accepted secret support from the South African Army.

\* -; Since Mr. Mandela was freed and the ban on the congress was lifted, Mr. Buthelezi has promoted a bitter Zulu nationalism - among his - followers, ! warning. that foreigners like Mr. ! - Mandela want to dominate the Zulus. | .Th vendettas spawned here spread Alike & V;rus to the crowded black town- | shls around Johannesburg, where Zulu migrant workers clashed with ! ' .otheg,ethnlc groups.

s Competing Visions .

branding

In Natal itself, the African National o

Congress dominates in the metropolitan townships and squatter camps. Inkatha holds sway in the more traditional rural areas. . -

\* Buthelezi, who is bargaining for i -a constitution that will entrench Natal's autonomy, still threatens to boycott the. elections scheduled for April 27, but, his party has already begun a campaign. i

Mr. Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi have begun to cross the province, raising money, urging their followers to obtain voter cards, and offering their competing visions of the future In-  
katha's notion of a Zulu state within a

groups retain their cultural identity but -are politically one. -~  
But the rival parties are largely re-

own bastions of support. And nonpartisan - }-  
san ellectlon experts who have scouted .Natal fear a spate of violence intended -to frighten rival enclaves from going to

- Patchworks of Loyalties :

"It is really a one-party-state mentality -  
in this area. .

Regions like Table Mountain which are rural but within commuting range of cities, are patchworks of loyalties.'

They present an especially daunting prospect for those who will supervise the elections. . - !

â\200\234This village, the seat of a tribal domain encompassing 20,000 people, was 'African National Congress territory

â\200\230until its chief was slain in 1991. Mr.

i is not Nelson Mandela. It is an undisciplined

'scornful of traditional tribal authorities

â\200\230in to campaign for votes.

i chair. â\200\234No. No, no, no. Not here. I don't

## Election

â\200\230Buthelezi installed Charles Maphumulo

as acting chief, and in the ensuing protests anti-Inkatha dissidents were driven out, their homes razed to the ground.

- To the remaining residents of Mangu, the African National Congress

plined army of young upstarts indoctrinated with revolutionary ideas and

ties.

Mr. Maphumulo the acting chief was incredulous at the suggestion that congress organizers might be allowed

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234Here?â\200\235 he said, stiffening in his

want all that nonsense. They are spoilers too much.â\200\235

African National Congress Stronghold

Just across the flat-topped bulk of Table Mountain in the village of Kwa-Ximba, Chief Zibuse Mlaba oversees an African National Congress stronghold of 50,000 people. - -

Mr. Mlaba who is 38 is a third-generation supporter of the A. N.C. and a key congress emissary to traditional Zulu leaders. His older brother was, shot dead, he presumes by Inkatha, and

- after several attacks he travels with

two armed bodyguards : :

â\200\234In Kwa-Ximba, Mr. Buthelezi is dls-'  
paraged ds a man desperate for power  
and playing .dangerously on the anxi-  
eties of old chiefs to hold back . the  
inevitable. â\200\230Anyone who â\200\230'supports â\200\234In-  
katha there keeps it a deep secret ach

. Chief Mlaba has already: â\200\230made his  
\_bargain with more modern ways. In  
Kwa-Ximba the hereditary chief â\200\230and'  
â\200\234tribal elders now share power with. a  
council. dominated by the African Na-  
tional Congress. - After ~elections, he  
said, tribal authorities will retain their  
role as arbiters of ritual and custom l  
but will surrender executlve power to

an elected council. . â\200\230:.A,-?'fâ\200\230. s l

The compromise has produced a flt-  
ful peace that has allowed regionall  
authorities to introduce a small meas-l  
ure of prosperity. -Every house â\200\230has  
electricity \_and \*running â\200\230'water, the  
roads are paved, and there is a clinic..  
The Inkatha chief across the mountain  
in Maqongqo said he had been too busy'

coping with violence to procure any of  
these amenities. % Â¢

â\200\230Mr. Mlaba concedes many chxefs ini  
Natal fear the erosion of their custom-!

ary power, and are uneasy about the,  
A.N.C. because fewâ\200\231 of its top leaders-  
are Zulus. : |

3 i o Photographs by John W. Woodroof for The New York Times  
â\200\234Tell God to save us after these elections,â\200\235 said - of grievances by the winners. He asserted, with two  
Charles Maphumulo, the acting Zulu chief on Table - aldes, that if the African National Congress wins,â\200\230  
Mountain in Natal, where he fears revenge for years \_ â\200\234von wonâ\200\231t see me aea  
m. or mv house.â\200\235

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Chief beuse Mlaba of Kwa Xxmba, a stronghold of fear erosxon of their customary power if the African -

50,000 members of the African National Congress ~ National Congress wins the elections in April as  
. on Table Mountam in Natal, sald many local leaders. few of ltsâ\200\231top leaders are Zulus. o v

Time Is Against Him

. In the long run, Chief Mlaba said, the  
As a result congress partisans here,  
do not dxsmlss Mr. Butheleziâ\200\231s threat5|- trend is .against inkatha. G he tribal ' of civil war, - - . S Eid : order is slowly eroding as more and  
â\200\230Blade Nzimande, a congress leader- more Zulus fall within the thrall of the  
for the central Natal region, said that if; cities, and the appeal of Zulu national-  
the A.N.C. wins the elections, it maylism-will fade\_,un.less a new government |  
s & siide o aribtanncy and 4 does something to rouse fears of ethnic |

heavy crackdown to subdue resistance; peTacenTan. - . R d  
from Inkatha and its tribal supporters. mĩ-\201zr?-z?utcllznx:}ougtaln, Ctt;:e: It\{laphl'x  
-;  
â\200\234We are under no illusions,â\200\231 he said. ; : yastecs that Ume s  
â\200\234We will have to govern under very : agâ\200\230z;,xp;g him. J :  
difficult circumstances. Natal is likely 5 h;; 'r:â\200\230e;;hl\_:â\200\230: yter?ersriggt  
lfsuiohgeliâ\200\230; 2 :ĩ-\201g  
to be the last province to settle dow Yo ; %"  
peacefully.â\200\235 niti n ascends to the chieftainship after he

has completed a special school for tribal  
al leaders. The chief-in-training is 18  
years old, and supports the African  
National Congress.