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â\200\230= {ragedy -is-  
â\200\234..unfolding .  
inâ\200\231 South -  
Africa.. A

country â\200\234iie  
unlimited. . " .7 7

~ federalism. - Â° -  
i Â¢ He also rejected Saocial-  
â\200\234ism. He had secn theâ\204¢â\200\235  
-, effect of Afro-socialisi on.:,  
: \* the rest of the continent,\*:  
;" and wanted no part of thatâ\200\235  
  
2o for his country. But the: :  
Â© ANC was not only Social-~  
ist. It was under the ideo- -

with  
otential-- "and "

â\200\230g THL0L

o

immens â\202¬  
resources, mineral  
and human, is on  
the verge of chaos. "

The violence  
increases hourly; the  
structures of law and  
order are disinte-  
grating. -

Eventually;  
thing  
them, but that some-  
thing, at once bruta  
and \_ inefficient, will  
make apartheid at its  
worst seem enlight-â\200\231  
ened and humane. =

Meanwhile in. Kwa-  
zulu (Zululand), a great.

ly, â\200\234some-  
will- replace

â\200\234throughout . most.

P

â\200\230injustice is being per-  
elraled.lA man and a  
political  
w'niuhâ\200\231i%&d so much to  
offer to a new South  
Africa are being

. brushed = aside and

could well face a  
bloody repression.

- -.1" first. visited Ulundi,  
the capital of Kwazuiu,  
in- 1984, In those days

\_the structures of apan-

--heid were still in placer

o

" South Africa. Blacks

".were denied a political

. identity and, therefore,  
a:full ration of human

movement .

" origins

dignity. Not in Kwazulu.  
There, blacks ran gov-

ernment offices. Some-

senior blacks had white  
juniors. The almosphere  
was much healthier than  
in the rest of South  
Africa. >

Admittedly, Kwazulu's  
, dubious. -~  
The South African Gov-.

were

ernment had re-estab-  
lished a version of the

ancient Zulu kingdom as\_  
of its grand apart-.

part  
heid strategy, under  
which blacks were lo  
have political rights only

in their own homelands. -

- â\200\224

' 2002

Most of those homelands  
were merely enclaves of  
corruption and squalor,  
but not Âwazulu. Gatsha

Buthetezi, its Chief Min- -

ister, made the kingdom  
into a centre of princi-  
pled resistance. .-

Y - establishing

Ulundi as his capi- -

tal, he sent a signal  
to his own people and to  
the world. It was there  
that . Cetswayo and his

. impis. were defeated by  
.Lord Chelmsford:

the  
final battlefield for the  
ancient Zulu kingdom.

... As\_his craftsmen care-

fully restored Cetswayo's  
kraal, Mr Buthelezi care-  
fully rcbuilt his peo leâ\200\231s

â\200\234morale;â\200\231 " offering \_tliem

pride \* iii" the past and

â\200\230hope for the future.  
: He denounced "apqï¬\201-\_

the

logical direction of the  
South African Communist  
Party, still rigidly Stalin-  
ist, and determined to use  
power of a umilary  
state to impose Stalinism  
on South Africa.

Those extremely umat-

" tractive characters con-

demned Mr Buthelezias a  
stooge, and most Western  
liberals â\200\224 fellow travel-  
lers, did they but know it  
â\200\224 fell into line. The ANC  
also started to kill Inkatha  
supporters in Natal. Need-  
less to say, Inkatha retali-  
ated,: and - the violence  
gained momentum.

It would be absurd to  
â\200\234claim. that Inkatha is a  
\_liberal democratic party:  
â\200\230we eare talking about  
Africa.. Like .the ANC  
\* fargelyâ\200\231 Xhosa in origin)  
.or the National Part  
(originally Afrikaner) it is  
tribal creation, withâ\204¢ a  
one-party state ethos.

Ahnra te a seesinl difor.

CONDEMNED: Buthelez

a large measure of power-  
sharing.. This was accept-  
able to many whites and  
could have been a blue-  
print for the rest of South  
Africa. But alas,  
National Party govern-  
ment rejected it: it was 100  
rapid a pave of change.  
Since then, the Nation-

alists have given up trying .  
e pace. A few  
years ago, the Afrikaners ,  
discovered guilt, and real- \*\* .  
Y ised ihat-the supposcd  
" moral basis of apartheid

10 control

was an illusion.- But they  
were still in the grip of\*

i wanted a federation

theâ\200\231

power illusion stems from  
the Afrikanersâ\200\231 tempera-  
ment. Power-brokers  
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that the only way to con-

- duct negotiations was to

identify the other main

power-broker, the ANC,  
and cut a deal. Inkatha  
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.-irrelevancies. s

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Mr Mandela and a hand-  
; fl .of other moderales;  
T i Aaniges e A

L1994

EN F.W. de Klerk was inaugurated as President in September 1989, the presiding pastor took a text from the Book of Jeremiah: \*â\200\230For who hath stood in the counsel of the Lord, and hath perceived and heard his word?â\200\235 Mr de Klerk is a devout and strict Calvinist, and he felt what Afrikaners call aroeping, a call from God: he had to discern the will of God, and act upon it. g

The idea, and the form of its expression, were nable, in the tradition of the Boer people and their almost Israelite view of their destiny. Mr de Klerk was trying to persuade them of the hardest thing'â\200\224 that their destiny now lay in relinquishing supreme power and sharing all civil rights equally with the other inhabitants of their country. Few could forbear to cheer such courage.

But Jeremiah is the darkest of the prophets, and perhaps the choice of his words showed foreboding as well as hope. â\200\230â\200\230Behold, a whirlwind of the Lord is gone forth in fury,â\200\235 the text goes on. Is that whirlwind about to fall upon South Africa at what should be its moment of triumph, its first all-race elections which will take place next week?

It is more than possible, for the transition has, in an important respect, been bungled. The making of the new South African constitution has been compared to that of the American Founding Fathers in 1787. The comparison does not stand. There was not, in the end, a proper debate about the constitution. President de Klerk made the mistake of forcing the pace by setting the election date before agreement had been reached. What ought to have been the slow deliberation

\_of the-best legal and political minds and  
the scrupulous consideration of every  
legitimate interest degenerated into a

igism=-power deal.

Inward-looking and arrogant after  
more than 40 years of power, the

sion, but preferred to trade with its most  
effective single opponent, the ANC.  
Between the leading figures on both sides  
grew up that strange-intimacy that often  
exists between prisoner and jailer, a dan-  
gerous attraction of opposites.

The younger generation of National  
Party politicians, seeing that the ANC  
would win any election and knowing that  
black African politics have little respect  
for anyone who comes second, thought  
that their own futures depended upon  
getting the best possible relationship  
with the ANC. The agreement made is  
good for the ANC, and good for many at

National Party did not relish wide discus--

Whirlwind of change

most of those that have run black Africa

the top of the National Party, but whether  
it is good for South Africa is another  
question.

For the constitution, once its transi-  
tional phase is passed, is a system of  
winner-takes-all. In a land of extraordi-  
nary variety and huge size, it has no con-  
stituency system whatever. Candidates  
are chosen from central party lists. In a  
nation which is not really a nation at all,  
but a hotchpotch of subsidiary nations,  
no proper provision is made for the devo-  
lution of power. In a country of numerous  
minority races, no protection.is offered  
against oppression by the majority. If the

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ANC, as is quite possible, wins more than two thirds of the seats in the first election, it will have the power to rewrite the constitution by itself.

Many people, perhaps most in the Western world, brush these anxieties aside. They are rightly impressed by the statesmanship of Nelson Mandela and the sophistication of the ANC's political machine. Since the ANC is the expression of the black will, they reason, why should we worry; what right have we to stop them?

It is probably true that an ANC govern-

ment in South Africa will be wiser than

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these past 30 years (although the power of the South African Communist Party within the ANC+and the idiocyâ\200\231 of the partyâ\200\231s economic programme should not be forgotten), but this is beside the point. The point is that whatever new government emerges has been given the means to impose a tyranny more arbitrary than that of apartheid, which, even in its worst moments, did not' completely â\200\230destroy freedom of speech, economic freedom, strained, and â\200\230particularly ' when/the, political pluralism and the rule of law.

That is why it is silly to blame the breakdown 'of negotiations over the

ll # believe that it'will be'protected

future of KwaZulu-NatÃ@l"â\200\230onTChief Man-' ; gosuthu Buthelezi. Even if it is true that he is erratic,-that\_he countenances Vio-â\200\234lence (does not the ANC do the same, and, uâ\200\230more?). and that he has lost some,of hisg \*" popular support, his objections towhati happening are justified. | 3Ã¢ :

His territory is a natural candidate foraâ\200\231|.â\200\231 federated status. His Zulu people have a | ! strong identity and a geographical'base.â\200\235 |~

/42 The Zulu kingdom exists in the minds of

Zulus. If it is not accommodated in the,  
constitution, | Zulus ' will, eventually,  
either secede successfully; or be crushed  
bloodily. " Both "would " be\* disasters for  
! South Africa. The same applies, in lesser;  
degree, to lesser tribes. And it applies, in  
a less 'geographical sense, to the most:  
powerful of all the tribes, the Afrikaners.:

Klerk, But will they trust him or his suc:}

cessors when the ANC rule them unre- |

defence forces in which, at present, they,  
! still predominate, are used to: suppress;  
and kill them? 'The Boers have always:  
' fought for, what they see as their land. For  
the . moment, . most . of them just . ,

is not, they will fight again. w0 Ly o  
% If only the West would pour the same  
' moral energy into building the new South  
\*. Africa that it poured into destroying the

old. Hero-worship of Mr Mandela is no

substitute for carefully laying the found-

ations of freedom. The most longed-for of  
jons are, taking place on a false,

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hid 7F %  
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. \* o R Rupert Pennant-Rea is the: |  
deputy governor of the Bank of

England, but before he became  
. respectable he was a journalist. 'Last  
" week he said that when he worked on the  
Economist ' he had written hundreds of  
stories about differences of opinion  
between the Bank and the Treasury, but  
' that \*'I can admit now that they were all  
made up', '. LR T ER AN R R Pl  
As a consequence of this admission, we  
can now reveal, thousands of people have  
cancelled their subscriptions to the Econ-  
" omist, the pound is' poised to collapse  
when the money markets reopen tomor-  
row morning, and Mr Pennant-Rea has  
been removed from his post and offered  
the editorship of the Sunday Times by Mr  
Rupert Murdoch, ¥ #iiss s ek s  
Really? So there is some respect for

truth in public life! No, not really â\200\224 we  
can now. admit that the preceding para-  
graph was all made up. /

At present, enough whites trust:Mride!| !

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" make apartheid at its:

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immense

resources, mineral .

and human; is-on -

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\_violence

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brushed aside and  
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bloody repression.

..I\* first- visited Ulundi,  
the capital of Kwazulu,  
in-1984. In those days

i:.the structures of apart-

heid were still in place

throughout - most. of

South = Africaâ\200\231 â\200\230Blacks  
were denied a political  
identity and," therefore,

a:..â\200\230mll ration of human -

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ernment offices. Some \*  
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â\200\230lished a version of the

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Most of those homelands  
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Buthlezi, its Chief Min- -

ister, made the kingdom  
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. pled resistance. ..

' Y establishing  
Ulundi as his capi-  
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to his own people and to  
the world. It. was there

that. Cetswayo .and- his -  
- impis" were defeated by

Lord Chelmsford:: the

have political Fights only final battlefield -for the

in their own homelands. \*

ancient Zule kingdom.  
As his craftsmen care-  
fully restored Cetswayo's  
kraal, Mr Buthlezi care-  
fully rebuilt his people's  
morale; offering them  
pride inâ\200\231â\200\230the past and  
hope for the future.

He denounced â\200\234apart-  
- heid, and correspol

nded  
with Nelson Mandela,  
then in prison. At that  
time, he was acknowl-

edged .both by Mandela-

and by Western liberal  
opinion to be an impor-

. tant figure in the struggle

for a new South Africa.  
Then liberal opinion  
turned. Mr Buthlezi did  
what it would not allow  
any black' to .do:. he  
thought for himself. He

{ had been a member of the

ANC, but. he quarvelled  
with it over two issues.  
First, he realised that  
South Africa was too big  
and complex to be a uni-

" tary state. South Africa is

larger .than Britain,  
France,

combined, while its ethnicâ\200\231

. diversity makes Yugosla-  
via seem simple. Mr Buth-",  
elezi decided that there

and " Germany

lens U e gt s e it  
for his country. But the  
ANC was not only Social-  
ist, 3t was undcr the idec-  
logical direction of " the  
South African Comimunist  
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stooge, and most Western  
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(argely Xhosa inâ\200\231 origin)  
or the National Pa  
(originally Afrikaner) itis  
a triba) creation, with' a  
one-party state ethos..  
There ic 2 crucial differ-  
ence. The Nationalists did  
turn South Africa into a  
one-pal% state, - for 40  
rs. e ANC would  
now like to turm South  
Africa into a one-party

â\200\230state, indefinitely.

NKATHA had no  
such ambitions. [t

was prepared to  
accept a compromise  
between the various  
power blocks. The result

would have been a South  
Africa based on a bal-  
ance of forces. The alter-  
native to a balance of  
force is rule by force.

In the mid-Eighties, dur-  
ing negotiations over the

. future of Natal, Mr Buthe-

lezi proposed a devolved  
govermmcnt. Though the

ulu majority would gm-  
dominate, there would be

- Africa.

. National

' ment rejected it: it was too

â\200\234dlaim that Inkatha is a , Tapid a pace of change. . -

: \_liberal democratic party: -  
about -

Â© years ago, the Afrikaners

iy .ised that the supposed  
. moral basis of apartheid

CONDEMNED; Buthelezi wanted a tederation

a large measure of power-

sharing. This was gooept- :  
able to mang.e:lmtw and

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print for the rest of Southâ\200\235.  
But- alas;  
Party - govern-.

Since then, the Nation-

" alists have iï-\201liven up trying -  
t

to control the pace. A few .

discovered guilt, and real-

was an iltusion. But they  
were still in the grip of  
three ouwner ilusions

First, there was the ille-  
sion of Africa. Every Afri:  
kaner thinks that he has a  
hotline to the black

syche. Afrikaners

lieve that, unlike theâ\200\231  
English, they are true  
Afvicans and. can there-  
fore live in harmony with



the other indigenous  
inhabitants. The blacks  
have no corresponding  
illusion.

Then there are the twin  
illusions of power. The  
Afrikaners have been in  
charge for so long that  
they could not believe  
they would ever cease to  
be. The blacks would be  
invited to the table, but  
the place settings would  
remain unaltered. That, of  
course, is nonsense. A  
black table will be a different  
table. The second

the -

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a AR

power illusion stems from  
the Afrikaners' tempera-  
ment. . Power-brokers  
themselves, they decided

that the only way to con-

duct negotiations was to  
identify the other main  
power-broker, the ANC,  
and cut a deal. Inkatha  
and other minorities were  
irrelevancies. 1

. HIS is a criminal  
2 misunderstanding  
of the ANC. Behind

Mr Mandela and a hand-  
ful of other moderates.  
there is - coalition of  
Communists and town-  
ship radicals. They will -  
eventually seize control  
of the ANC, after which  
any safeguards that the  
whites have negotiated  
will be worthless.

But even before that,  
there are elements in the  
ANC who want to use the  
apparatus of state power  
that they will inherit  
from the Nationalists to  
crush - Buthelezi and  
Inkatha. They may suc-  
ceed. .

Hope turning into  
despair, peace into vio-  
lence, democracy into  
barbarism: it is a

wretched outcome for a  
wonderful country.  
South Africa, . which  
could have been Africa's  
last hope, will become  
Africa's next victim.,

1 S )

-AFR-1334 10:24

17

ONSIDERING

: democracyâ\200\231s dismal

â\200\230N difficult: to understand why everybody. in the  
West seems to suppose that it is the only acceptable form of government to replace white supremacy.. in South Africa, even in an area like the land

of the Zulus, where it will

have to be imposed by force. -  
Â© Common sense suggests it might be a good idea to experiment. with . other. systems:

systems that were not doing at all badly before the white man arrived. As luck would have it, in one large and important part of South â\200\230Africa, Natal, the land of the Zulus, an alternative system, monarchy, doesâ\200\231exist â\200\224 and, moreover, exists in surprisingly good health, with an able and popular young King whose uncle, Chief Buthelezi, is an impressive statesman with a worldwide reputation. Contrary to reason, however, instead of welcoming this alternative system of government as a way of saving at least a section of South Africa from an all too predictable descent into democratic disaster,,,  
Â©xa<\_:ny'the opposite. It throws its weight behind resident de. Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, who insist in democracy, and nothing but democracy, for the whole country, ST v G -  
â\200\230Such dogmatic faith in Afri-

can democracy, against all the evidence of the past 30 years,

really is a bit rum. One could understand it alternative existed, or if there was no serious opposition to a

unitary: stateâ\200\231 But Africaâ\200\231s

most: powerful:and: pf\_esli-:  
gious, tribe-do not.want it,â\200\230or  
not in the form on offer. What

record in Africa, it isâ\200\231

tems, which might do better.  
n. African\_soil,.or. even to-  
pevert to.indigenous African .

the West does ..  
. dom, therefore, would be no  
. mere geographical expres-  
-â\200\230sion or artificial post-colonial

if mo viable'  
iracy dawns.

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reality, they actually conform  
to that reality. For most of the  
Natal whites, on whose will-  
ingacss to stay the future of  
the economy depends, would  
far prefer to live under a Zulu  
king in an independent Natal  
than under a neo-Marxist  
African Nationalist, central  
government. . .

Alone among the African  
tribes, the Zulus have a rec-  
ord that commands and  
receives Western â\200\224 particu-

\_larly British â\200\224 respect. They

aearly defeated the British  
Empire at:the height of its  
power â\200\224as, of course, did the  
Boers whom.the British also

. learnt to respect. That the

time for the white maa to  
cede power in South Africa  
has .come, nobody now  
doubts. Who better to cede it  
to, without humiliation or  
resentment, than the heir to  
Shakaâ\200\231s throne?. .

Of course thisis a romantic  
view, but that is.why it is the  
right one. Alone among the  
new nations of Africa, an  
independent Zululand would  
have a myth,.a historical  
memory, to sustain it â\200\224 a  
myth with almost as much  
resonance for whites as  
tlacks. The Zulus â\200\224 what  
else is there about Africa that  
every schoolboy knows?

An independent Zulu king-

construct.. It would be a  
nation with -roots, what De  
Gaulle called a real nation.

â\200\234That is -what. all the other

African states have not been,

â\200\234â\200\230and what black South Africa  
â\200\234will not be. Nelson Mandela

is a nationat and international  
hero todayâ\200\231 as black democ-  
But- so was  
Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana,

and Julius Nyerere in â\200\230Tanza- -  
mia. Unfortunately the repu-  
tation of neither has, survived,â\200\231

-any- more:.than have the

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Worsthorne's

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launch 2 new democracy as is  
possible -to imagine. How,  
much wiser for the West to.  
use such influence and eco-\*  
nomic clout it still has. to  
press foran independent Zulu  
kingdom. Nothing could more  
eloquently symbolise the end  
of the colomal era and white  
hegemony than the restora-  
tion of the Zulus to their his-  
toric place in the African sun.  
The rest of the. continent  
might have cause to tremble.

But the fear caused would be  
authentically African, rather  
than all the false hopes raised  
by yet another democraticâ\200\231  
mirage. 4

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17-GPR-1994 - 108:25 Å« | s sseseaseessiiasses v 1 s 1

EN F.W. de Klerk was  
inaugurated as Presidentâ\200\231

in September 1989, the Cunpan, TELZGraAPA. LEADER.  
presiding pastor took a . i |  
i h text from the Book of Jer- S : . Ti& .  
:':gll lg?'tfxf foâ\200\230::w:,â\200\231:fr}â\200\231,asfi¬\201câ\200\231geâ\200\231r'câ  
\200\231:f},ig?&i¬\201" ANC, as is quite possible, wins more than  
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Afrikanerscall aroeping, a call from God: - constitution by itself. A E e v  
! i il : ... â\200\231Many people, perhaps most in the  
2;:: ?t AR thefml - Go.t.l,i\_a;;d it Western world, 'bgush. these agrgett:}eâ\200\230s  
; â\200\234The i o tre axd : aside. They are rightly impressed by the  
'sionf vÅ»l'g;?: â\200\231;)rî¬\201?et?i¬\201 fgf;rtlr:Å@iggneâ\200\231;};i¬\202fe statesma  
nship of Nelson Ma'ndelaâ\200\230 .an% Å»  
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~But Jeremiah is the darkest of the  
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\200\231s economic programme should not \*

tri : ; s â\200\230 reotten). but this is beside the point.  
triumph, its first all-race elections which .%gâ\200\231p%i e hat whatever new govern- .  
will take place next week? | % :

t . e nt emerges has been given the means :  
It is.more than possible, for the transi- g;eimpose : tyranny more arbitrary than.-  
tion has, in an important respect, been ÅŸ

" most of those that have run black Africa  
these past 30 years (although the power

â\200\230bungled. The making of the new South.. el apartdl}(eiid, â\200\234;hicchâ\200\230:  
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â\200\234African constitution has been compared gâ\200\230ggâ\200\230i;â\200\230râ\200\230;  
sb Åç )sp ath e ston  
to tl}zlast Å°f,rtÂ\$e American Fo&xnding Fathex&s political pluralism and the rule of law.

in 1787. The comparison doÃ@s not stand. :

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of the best legal and political minds and - future of KwaZulu-Natal on Chief Man-  
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true that  
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. | . inward-looking and arrogant after.. more?) and that he has lost some of his  
: | more than 40 years of power, "the = popular support, his objections to what is  
National Party did not relish wide'discus= happening are justified. e

â\200\230sion, but preferred to trade with:its.most His territory is a natural candidate fo  
ra  
â\200\230effective â\200\230'single opponent, the ANC.â\200\231 federated status. His Zulu  
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grew up that strange intimacy that'often - The Zulu kingdom exists in the minds of  
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-{\*that their own futures depended uponâ\200\231 powerful of all the tribes. the Afrikaners  
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whites trust Mr deâ\200\231

with the ANC. The agreement made is.â\200\231! - Klerk, But will they trust him or bis suc-  
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it is good for South Africa isâ\200\231 another, ;

and kill them? The Boers have always

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By GENE MUSTAIN and MICHAEL O. ALLEN

Daily News Staff Writers

DURBAN, South Africa â\200\224 Andy Cox wept for South Africa last week.

He cried when his frantic-search through the lush green bush of Zululand came to its dreadful end, and he wept again when he faced the relatives of his missing men. Two days ago, the horror was still so close he could not describe what he saw without breaking down twice more.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230How can we ever have peace when people are this way?â\200\235â\200\231 he asked. â\200\234This was so savage.â\200\235

The dead were poor, young Zulus. They were day laborers for Cox, a young, white businessman hired by the government to distribute nonpartisan pamphlets about the upcoming election â\200\224 an event that has created a figurative Mason-Dixon line of killing hate in KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland surrounding this seaside city.

Last Monday, they wandered over the wrong side of the line â\200\224 into an area controlled by KwaZuluâ\200\231s chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who sent mediator Henry Kissinger packing by demanding the impossible, the postponement of the nationâ\200\231s first all-race election.

Around noon, shortly after their driver telephoned Coxâ\200\231 office and said they were thinking of leaving because the area seemed tense, the victims were kidnaped, tortured, shot, hacked and set

afire. At different points along the frenzied bloodletting, the driver and two others managed to escape.

I lay on the ground and pretended I was dead, said

- one of the survivors, a teenager named Lucky Mkhwanazi. Then I ran.

The murders, which Buthelezi's police and government refused to talk about on Friday, offered a grim preview of what the future may bring to Natal Province, which includes KwaZulu.

Many now fear that Buthelezi - unable to get what he wants, which is a separate Zulu kingdom for his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelthini - seems intent on plunging KwaZulu into a civil war that might spread across the country and cause a stillborn democracy.

The outlook is very grim,

- Buthelezi said on Thursday, adding that he could not control his supporters. But Buthelezi, a diabetic insomniac given to violent rages, controls everything in KwaZulu - from the police to the parliament to life and death in the huts - through a network of 300 tribal chiefs and cronies.

And evidence is mounting that he has been preparing the mainly rural and illiterate Zulus - who've never known any authority but him and the king - to wage terror against urban Zulus who

. want to vote in the election. - Voter-education workers too frightened to give their names said last week that Zulu chiefs loyal to Buthelezi and the king issued orders on Feb. 18 that no voter education will take place in areas controlled by them.

The workers said Zulu men have been issued guns and rifles and are preparing for battle in the traditional Zulu warrior ways: staying away from women, drinking tribal

concoctions and communing

PARAMEDICS try to immobilize man wounded in gunfight between  
and those backing Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaMashu township,

with spiritual ancestors.

The area where voter-education workers fear to tread  
is roughly north of the Tugela  
River, Tugela meaning fear-  
some in the Zulu language.  
There, in an area known as  
Thafamasi, Andy Cox's

T

phleteers met their gruesome  
end. :  
Lucky Mkhwanazi and the  
two other survivors fled back  
below the river and alerted  
Cox, who notified police in  
Durban not controlled by  
Buthelezi. Otherwise, the  
Thafamasi massacre might  
not have come so soon to  
light. Twenty-four hours af-  
terward even though one  
survivor had staggered into a  
rural police station and told  
his story Buthelezi's police  
still had not visited the scene.  
Cox, whose office is about  
80 miles away, got there be-  
fore they did. One of the sur-  
vivors, the driver of the van  
the men were using, had  
called and said that while he  
had escaped, he feared some-  
thing terrible had happened.  
The driver had last seen  
the others at an elementary  
school in Thafamasi. They  
had gone there believing it to  
be a good place to distribute  
pamphlets about the election,

in support of African National Congress  
north of Durban, South Africa, yesterday.

and asked the principal for  
permission.

The principal turned out to  
be the local Zulu chief, Elliott  
Shangase, a staunch member

of Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. He ordered all students out of the school, and the pamphleteers into a classroom.

Some 18 men armed with guns and pangas then showed up. A few told the driver they were taking him to a police station. Halfway there, they stopped, ordered him out and set the van afire.

My driver told me he ran at that point because he decided he would rather be shot in the back than hacked to death, so he ran, Cox said.

Meanwhile, back at the school, the chief questioned the pamphleteers, including four cousins who called each other brothers. He accused them of working for the African National Congress party of Nelson Mandela, whom Buthelezi once admired but now reviles.

The victims denied it. They told the truth that they were being paid about \$6 each to distribute election materials that they themselves could not read.

The chief then left. He

said we must sort this out with our kidnapers, Lucky recalled from his hospital bed, where he was being treated for a shotgun blast that took most of his right hand away.

The kidnapers ordered the victims to strip, tied them up in pairs, then began beating them with metal yardsticks and clubs. The victims screamed their innocence, but the kidnapers began hacking at them with the pangas.

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The killing fields of Zululand

The blackboard, the walls,

everything was splattered with blood, said Cox, welling up with emotion. I saw a hunk of flesh on a desk.

Still alive, the victims were  
marched out of the school  
and into the bush until they  
were ordered to lie in a cop-  
per-colored ravine. The at-  
tackers began hacking at  
them again; one produced a  
â\200\234zipposâ\200\235 â\200\224 a homemade shot-  
gun â\200\224 and began firing  
rounds into heads.

That's when Lucky and an-  
other survivor broke free  
from their ropes, got up and  
outran shotgun shells.

All but one of the unlucky  
eight were found where they  
died. At the end of his search  
for them, Cox fought back a  
retch, then angrily confront-  
ed the Zulu chief and told  
him to come see what his  
men had done. But the chiefâ\200\231s  
bodyguard stepped forward  
and told Cox, â\200\230â\200\230â\200\234The chief  
doesnâ\200\231t look at corpses. Itâ\200\231s  
against our tradition.â\200\235

" SM3N Aliva

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DAILY NEWS

Sunday, April 17, 1994

â\200\230Kids see words  
work for them

Book a chronicle of hfe in projects

By KAREN HUNTER-HODGE

Daily News Staff Writer

Errol Kenya James is a former drug dealer. Charece Sanders struggled through the trauma of a teenage abortion. Alejandro Smith is an asplrmg poet.

They have all been shaped by growing up in Harlem housing projects. Their lives defy stereotypes and challenge the image of public housing solely as a breeding ground of violence and despal\_r.

Harlem writers

tell it stra:ght

of Writers Crew members:  
The Fourth of July and all  
ages are engaging in fire-  
works activities.  
housing project in Harlem  
where (on this day) noises  
from the pop of firecrackers  
and the boom of M-80s in  
ash cans (are deafening).  
Sk+ (sky) rockets launch  
super sparks in the sk+ cre-  
ating an assortment of rain-  
bow colors. Dexter, 1989.

\* K Kk  
| walk to the steps  
| head for the surface with  
a mass

Above, a different world,  
different people of a dif-  
ferent class.

Shirts, ties, Jackets  
Where | get on the tram  
the world is mostly black  
Where | get off  
it seems like so many

white people can attack  
what a misconception.  
these people don't care  
about me,  
Their perception of me  
is as small as a pea  
How can I be important?  
: Paco, 1990  
\* &k  
Then it was my turn. I was  
wheeled into a cold room  
and propped up on a bed. I  
remember the large ... I'm  
not sure what it was, but it  
looked like a giant vacuum  
bag. An L.V. was put into my  
arm, and my last words be-  
fore I blanked out were "I'm  
sorry," to the baby who I  
would never get a chance to  
meet. Marisa, 1990

Excerpts from Journals-

I live in a

With the help of two sociol-  
ogists, they and other prod-  
ucts of the projects have ex-  
pressed their thoughts and  
feelings and provided in-  
sight for others through  
the written word.

James, Sanders and Smith  
are among the subjects of a

new book, "The Uptown Kids,

Struggle and Hope in the Pro-

jects" (G.P. Putnam, \$24.95),  
by sociologists Terry Wil-

liams, who teaches at the  
New School for Social Re-  
search, and William Korn-  
blum, a professor at the City  
University Graduate Center.  
Williams and Kornblum se-  
lected several city housing

projects in central and Span-  
ish Harlem from which they  
recruited members for the - I

Harlem Writers Crew, a

- group of teenagers who kept -

journals and met each week



to talk about their lives.

Uptown Kids chronicles the triumphs and travails of about 40 Crew members during a four-year span starting in 1989. It examines crime, drugs, community, sex and rap music through the eyes of young people.

The theme of the book may seem startling that housing projects can be decent places in which to raise children. It's not easy, the authors said, but it is possible with attention and guidance.

Williams said he intended to get people to think about

what they don't know about this population. Through these subjects, I can debunk stereotypes.

The Crew met at Williams' apartment in Harlem. Many, but not all, of those who participated found answers to personal questions and found themselves.

Some are still students, others are teaching, writing or working at an array of jobs. At least one is in jail.

On a spring day, Errol Kenya James surveyed the courtyard of the Wagner Houses on 122d St., where he grew up. Children played and people sat on benches unmarked by graffiti.

What you see here is a community of people with

- lives, hopes and dreams of a

better life," said James, whom the authors called Dexter in the book.

His story is a reflection of those hopes and dreams.

James, now 23, was a high school dropout enticed by

Alejandro Smith

drug dealing. At age 16, he

said, he was making up to \$3,000 a day running narcotics from suppliers to customers.

James eventually was busted, spent time at Rikers Island and was sentenced to five years probation.

Bolstered by his family and tenant leaders from the projects, James was put in touch with Williams. At first distrustful, James ended up embracing the Harlem Writers Crew. He earned his high school equivalency diploma and now works for the Black Student Leadership Network, a national tutorial program. He plans to attend college.

Another of the Uptown Kids was Charece Sanders, 23, called: Marisa 'in the book. She got pregnant in her sen-

ior year at Manhattan Center High School and had an abortion. She wanted to graduate and felt she wasn't prepared for motherhood.

There are a lot of single mothers in the world, Sanders said. Not just in the projects. Some of them make it, some of them don't. I was fortunate to have a strong family

. I'm not for abortion, but I didn't want to be a statistic.

Sanders, who got involved in the Crew through neighbors, wrote chillingly of her abortion. Now 24 and a junior at Lehman College in the Bronx, Sanders has two young sons.

With a support network that includes the children's father and her family, she plans to attend medical school and work in pediatrics.

The Crew, Sanders said, allowed her to achieve and realize her potential.

- You can better yourself without forgetting where you

HOWARD SIMMONS DAILY NEWS

WRITE ON: Crew member Errol Kenya James (front), with authors William Komblum (I.) and Terry Williams.

come from," she said.

Alejandro Smith doesn't live in the projects anymore. But he still lives in Harlem and hasn't forgotten where he came from.

A friend brought him to the Crew, and the experience had a profound impact.

The Writers Crew gave me a chance to express myself the way I wanted," said Smith, 25, given the pseudonym Paco in the book.

A graphic artist, Smith writes with passion about the conflicts of living in the world of business and the world of Harlem.

In school you had to write a certain way. You had to follow a structure. The Writers Crew was an outlet. What I found there were a lot of young people with the same feelings and experiences I had.

It gave me a chance to open up. It was therapeutic. I noticed I had a skill, and that my writing affected people."

By BILL KELLER

Soweto, February 1994. Roelf Meyer,

President F.W. de Klerk's boyish-looking Minister of Constitutional Affairs, arrives on his first campaign visit to the largest black metropolis in South Africa. He enters a fenced and weedy park. Before he speaks to the tiny crowd of the living gathered there, he is informed he must commune with the dead.

A traditional diviner, or sangoma, has been invited to explain the presence of this descendant of white oppressors to the ancestors who watch over African affairs.

"Our ancestors, they knew before they

passed away that we had a war between you and me, between whites and blacks," explained Joshua Nxumalo, an African National Congress defector now serving as a Soweto operative of Mr. de Klerk's National Party. "Our ancestors don't know that this war has ended." And so Mr. Meyer stands sheepishly as the sangoma explains him to the ancestors and then anoints him with the bile of a "slaughtered goat."

The event is contrived, as most campaign events are contrived, but in South Africa there is something vaguely heartwarming about watching a white leader feel foolish for the sake of black votes. In fact, the initiation goes on so long, and Mr. Meyer seems so uneasy, that some onlookers wonder if perhaps the Soweto hosts are taking a pixieish revenge for years of National Party racism.

There are at least two campaigns for the allegiance of South Africans who will vote April 26-28.

One is a media campaign, virtually indistinguishable from election campaigns anywhere in the Western world. It is a constant barrage of newspaper ads and radio spots, some cynical, others high-minded, most of them the slick, generic work of international advertising experts. It is a duel of slogans and put-downs.

"Now is the time," trumpets the A.N.C. in its ads. "Now is the time to make the change," mimics the National Party, thereby stealing the A.N.C.'s line and, bizarrely, im-

plying that the A.N.C. is the incumbent. An American who was plopped down in media South Africa would take a few days to sort out the words, but would instantly recognize the music.

On the ground, the campaign is dizzyingly :

South African, and, for all the distracting television footage of conflict and intolerance at the margins of the campaign, usually uplifting.

There is nothing in American politics to match the messianic frenzy of Nelson Mandela's appearances, or the spectacle of President F. W. de Klerk, the heir of a brazenly racist white oligarchy, laboring for the confidence of blacks. Even the goofy moments of cross-cultural awkwardness transcend silliness, in a country that was contrived to keep cultures apart.

In a way store-bought ads cannot, the face-to-face campaign has drawn the political have-nots into the cacophony of democracy, infusing the whole political ritual with energy and legitimacy. :

#### Campaign Freeze-Frames

Sandton, March 1994. Two emissaries of the African National Congress are here in the Beverly Hills of white South Africa, expecting, a congress spokesman says beforehand, an evening of queries about swimming pool taxes. Indeed, one white woman wonders if the next Government will punish affluent whites for their life styles, and what Mr. Mandela will do about suburban crime. But most of the audience is drawn from the hidden black populace of suburbia: maids, cooks, gardeners and nannies.

They have come filled with a sense of entitlement to speak to the next Government, the first Government they regard as theirs, about pensions and minimum wages and the violence in their own community, just across the freeway in Alexandra township.

Afterward, a white woman who has listened to the problems of the domestic work-

Democracy is when a white, to get black votes, plays the/fool.

ers concedes the disproportion of need. We worry about high crime, she said. They worry about living in a war zone.

And a black maid who has talked to her employers about the election certain mutuality of interest.

They say if the ANN.C. wins they'll go overseas and I'll lose my job, she says.

: ( ; . :

In the end, few white residents of Sandton will support the A.N.C.; as few black inhabitants of Soweto will vote for the National Party. The new Government will inherit a country still polarized by grievance and intolerance. But often in the campaign the gap seems bridgeable by the sheer exuberance of human nature.

Lavender Hill, April 1994. in the courtyard of a tenement in a mixed-race slum outside Cape Town, the African National Congress has come prospecting for votes from the so-called coloureds, descendants of slaves who now fear the black majority

. more than they resent the white minority.

Before long the A.N.C. partisans are outnumbered by a vociferous crowd of National Party supporters, and they are barking insults at one another across a cordon of peace monitors. At the edge of the crowd, armed young gangsters lurk opportunistically, flaunting guns and knives. A few rocks fly.

Then someone thinks to put on music, loud calypso music, and before long both sides are dancing wildly. It seems not to matter to the National Party crowd that the bouncy tune is the A.N.C. campaign jingle. "Now is the time to make our voices heard ..." They dance until they are exhausted. Then they go home glowing with sweat and good humor.

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concedes a

On the Hustings in South Africa

Agence France-Presse

An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter stomped on an African National Congress poster in Empangeni, South Africa, earlier this month.

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liberal democratic party  
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- K10I police tire on  
. black marchers

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN [N STANDERTON

AS MANY as 68 black demon-  
strators were hurt, and seven  
taken to hospital, when riot  
police fired rubber bullets and  
tear-gas at a crowd of 2,000  
trying to march from the  
Sakhile township to this agri-  
cultural town in Transvaal,  
The march had earlier been  
declared illegal, as had a  
similar gathering of 200 or so  
ultra-rightwingers from the  
Afrikaner Resistance Move-  
ment (AWB). They were lying  
in wait for the marchers on the  
other side of the railway which  
divides Standerton, 100 miles  
south-east of Johannesburg,  
from its Indian and Black  
townships. However, the uni-  
forted and armed AWB

storm-troopers avoided the at-  
tention of the police by staying  
under cover at the town's  
cattle market and claiming to  
be holding a farmers' bazaar.

Tensions have been rising  
for the past fortnight as the  
sacking of two supermarket  
employees for theft led to a  
strike at the store, and then 19  
a general boycott of the town's  
shops by the black commu-  
nity, Farmers staged 2 mass  
protests, driving their tractors  
through the streets and claim-  
ing that Standerton was part  
of the Afrikaner volkstaat,

There have also been a wave  
of both threats resulting in  
the closure of a number of  
Stores

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concessions  
on Afrikaner  
homeland

BY MICHAEL HAMLYN, SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

NELSON Mandela, the African National Congress president, last night announced sweeping concessions for the black and white conservative groups that are boycotting South Africa's April elections.

The ANC has given the go-ahead for a special sitting of parliament to amend the constitution to provide for greater regional powers and a constitutional principle that could be the first step to some kind of Afrikaner volkstaat.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would call for a meeting of the multi-party negotiating forum leading to a special parliamentary sitting within days. He described the concessions as historic and added that they showed how far his organisation was prepared to go to

have an all-inclusive political settlement.

President de Klerk welcomed the ANC leader's announcement, saying that it cleared the way for participation in the election by all groups, such as the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which are demanding regional autonomy for Afrikaners and Zulus. Mr de Klerk said that he would recall parliament next month to amend the constitution.

Rowan Cronje, the chairman of the right-wing Freedom Alliance that groups the black and white conservatives, cautiously welcomed the proposals, saying they deserved "serious study",

The concessions include the granting of a double ballot

Faper so thai voters may make separate choices for the national and the regional legislatures. Mr Mandela also offered greater regional taxation powers and the virtual entrenchment of regional constitutions. He said that the ANC had accepted that Natal province could be renamed KwaZulu/Natal. But most importantly, he added that the ANC agreed to another constitutional principle on the right to self-determination.

On the face of it, this would be some way towards satisfying the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for the establishment of a volkstaat, although Mr Mandela has always made it clear that white self-determination should not lead to balkanisation.

Mr Mandela said: "South Africa is today at the crossroads. The way forward requires vision and balanced leadership which transcends narrow political interests." He denounced parties steeped in the politics of the past the politics of racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence who seek to drown the process in blood. This shall not, and cannot, be allowed.

Mr Mandela said that the constitutional principle on self-determination would be based on the negotiations already conducted with the Volksfront. He said that he still did not approve of the

principle of states that are based exclusively on ethnic groups