

AP1994-4-4-10

ANC investigates fraud allegations against former welfare chief

Winnie Mandela inquiry

From John Carlin in Johannesburg

WINNIE Mandela is in trouble again. The *Cape Times* newspaper has obtained an African National Congress document 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 yesterday that the document, based on the findings of an internal commission of inquiry, was authentic. They said the ANC was investigating fraud charges against Mrs Mandela.

Clearly the ANC had sought to suppress the document. Its findings were based on the work of an internal commission which sat more than a year ago.

The revelations come at a damaging time for the ANC, with South Africa's first democratic elections less than three weeks away, but they do not come entirely as a surprise.

Mrs Mandela was fired as head of the ANC's department of social welfare in March 1992 after allegations that she and her deputy head of the department, her young lover Dali

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

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

But at the end of last year she was re-elected head of the Women's League and then in January she was placed 31st in the ANC's electoral list. Under the new system of proportional representation that will come into effect in the coming election, she was guaranteed a seat in parliament. What the *Cape Times* report indicates is that when the ANC drew up their original list of electoral candidates 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-



Mrs Mandela: missing funds

nations received during a trip together to the United States in 1991; that she deposited a donation of R474,000 into her personal account and subsequently transferred only R434,000 to the ANC; that she had pocketed the interest on ANC funds she had placed into her own account; that she paid R350,000 for a farm for returning ANC exiles which was worth only

R160,000, with the implication that the outstanding R190,000 went into her own pocket.

The document said Mrs Mandela had refused to testify before the commission, but acknowledged she owed the ANC R74,000. Mrs Mandela has not returned any of the money to the ANC yet.

The allegations against Mrs Mandela are a godsend for President FW de Klerk's National Party. They will be asking why the ANC sought to suppress the findings of their investigation. The scandal is not of such magnitude that it is going to cost the ANC the election. 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 document was evidently leaked. The Western Cape, of 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.

THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY

LONDON - 10/4/94

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Tribune 10/4/94

HE/IM

*FW, Mandela have given up on
to stop Natal-KwaZulu turning*

End of the

*Buthelezi: now it's up to the king
into a bloody election battlefield*

road



Dr Buthelezi

'The IFP is without a future. Political party food is to participate in elections and get votes, but Inkatha does not want votes and won't participate.'

— State President
FW de Klerk

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"End of the road"

JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Correspondent

The first democratic elections in Natal and KwaZulu are likely to mark a bloody political battle, and violence is expected to continue until an accommodation can be reached with both the King of the Zulus and the IFP.

But ANC and government sources say they have reached the end of the road with KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of the IFP, Dr Manago sutho Buthelezi, and are now making efforts to buy King Goodwill Zwelithini's approval of the transition by offering to entrench the role of the monarchy.

The bleak forecast of escalating and continuing violence comes after the leaders' summit this week failed to deliver any deal. There also seems little hope that either further urgent talks by a task group or international mediation efforts — both set to start this week — will offer any solution.

At the same time sources say the government and ANC, operating through the TEC, will do their best to isolate Dr Buthelezi from King Goodwill by accepting proposals which entrench the monarch's role, rights and privileges in the constitution.

The summit of leaders averted breakdown but the only real agreement was that nothing tangible had been achieved.

Now a task group representing the four is to meet urgently to discuss proposals on recognition of the King of KwaZulu. But Nelson Mandela has warned he has no exaggerated expectations. Negotiations also continue in an attempt to reach agreement on terms of reference for the international 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 Bophuthatswana rally: "We are committed to peace and I will continue prevailing upon him (King Goodwill) to accept the offer we have given him."

Dr Buthelezi's package of proposals — which would have guaranteed the IFP's participation — were not even discussed. This was because the ANC especially is adamant that elections cannot be postponed and will not reopen the constitutional debate at this stage.

Dr Buthelezi's proposals called for the lifting of the emergency, mediation on outstanding issues, ratifying of the position of the Zulu monarchy and kingdom, and postponement of the election. In return he bound himself to the outcome of mediation.

Now ANC and government sources are claiming Mr 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 yesterday, President De Klerk said the IFP was without a future.

"They are getting thinner and thinner because they won't eat. Political party food is to participate in elections and get votes, but Inkatha does not want votes and won't participate," he said.

Mr Buthelezi's reaction is that he knows how to play the waiting game and will continue to work for a constitutional solution that is right.

Mr Buthelezi said the IFP had been "elbowed out of the train". In his view there was no further point in negotiating because his party was excluded from the national unity government.

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 period so people cannot vote.

SEE PAGES 6,7

Hospital ship stands by for all-out KwaZulu war

BRENDAN SEERY

Contingency plans have been made to deploy a Navy replenishment ship, SAS Drakensberg, to Richards Bay as a floating hospital for SADF wounded if the Natal violence turns into an all-out shooting war.

The 20 000-ton vessel will also be used as a standby helicopter landing pad and refuelling facility for the SAAF helicopters deployed in support of army troops.

Helicopter refuelling points used in rural Natal by the Alouettes and Pumas of the Durban-based 15 Squadron are likely to become risky areas while the harbour is more secure and easy to defend.

Serviced by trained medics and doctors of the SA Medical Service, the hospital would be capable of carrying out major operations and would have access to stocks of "clean" blood. SADF sources said the deployment of the Drakensberg would be "a major morale booster" for troops on the ground if the security situation deteriorated.

And, the SAAF says, it is taking

precautions to ensure the safety of aircraft and crews in the operational area. This follows an incident this week in which a lone gunman managed to shoot down a helicopter at Tembisa township near Johannesburg using only a 9mm pistol.

A SAAF spokesman would not divulge details of the precautions, which he said would be taken "as required by specific operations".

Military analysts have pointed out that, despite the heavy deployment of SADF troops and armour, any sort of fighting in KwaZulu would be no walkover for them.

The use of armoured vehicles such as Elands and Ratels — some of them mounted with 90mm artillery guns — is also largely symbolic, particularly in crowded townships like Umlazi.

Despite being armoured, the vehicles are all vulnerable to hand-held weapons like the RPG-7 rocket and AK-47 rifle-launched armour-piercing grenades.

The number of troops so far sent into the region, roughly 3 000, are far less than would be needed to effectively deal with what could deteriorate into a classic guerrilla/insurgency conflict.

Tribune 10/4/94

HE/IM.



MAKE YOUR MARK:

IFP posters lining Durban's streets. Picture: SHELLEY KJONSTAD

**Make your
mark (but
not yet) say
IFP posters**

YASANTHA NAIDOO

Members of the public thought their eyes were deceiving them when they saw Inkatha Freedom Party election posters on Durban streets yesterday.

It looked as if the four-way talks had brought the IFP into the election contest, but the posters urged supporters not to make their mark just yet.

Ed Tillet, IFP spokesman, said the posters which went up on Durban streets yesterday, bear the face of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with the words, "make your mark when the time is right".

"The rationale behind the posters is to increase the visibility and public profile of the IFP. We want to show our supporters that just because we are not participating in the elections we have not faded into oblivion."

Mr Tillet said the IFP was not opposed to elections, but were opposed to the "fraudulent April 27 elections," as it was not "an all-inclusive democratic election"

He said the poster urged supporters to remember and support the IFP only when the election was "democratic"

Federal Party leader seeks talks with IFP

YASANTHA NAIDOO

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

Speaking in Durban this week, Ms Kendall — political analyst, businesswoman, author and Nobel Peace Prize nominee — said the FP and the IFP were fighting for a federal government.

"The big question mark lies with the Inkatha Freedom Party's next step," she said.

Ms Kendall said the IFP vote counted for a large percentage of voters and her party could benefit from the votes.

She said the Skukuza talks were crucial for the future of the IFP but had been "sabotaged by unnecessary meddling".

"As soon as I saw other people like the Communist Party's Mac Maharaj at the summit, I knew what the outcome would be. The summit should have included only the four role players and not the other bigwigs whom I believe were there to ensure Nel-



COMMON GOAL: Frances Kendall.

son Mandela does nothing foolish like bring about peace."

Ms Kendall, whose party advocates devolution of community power and direct democracy, said the FP was totally opposed to the State of Emergency declared last Thursday.

Tribune 10/4/94

HE/IN

Tranquil venue brings no assurance of peace

JOHN MacLENNAN

They chose one of the quietest venues possible for the leaders' summit. But even the peaceful setting of the Kruger National Park was not enough to assure a tranquil outcome.

The four leaders and their entourages jetted into the bush airstrip at Skukuza early on Friday and were taken to the nearby Jakkalsbessie camp on the banks of the Sabie river.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela first talked alone with King Goodwill for more than four hours. After a break for lunch the four leaders met and they were later joined by their delegations for talks.

Meanwhile a media contingent was flown into Skukuza for a news conference scheduled for 4.30pm. It did not take place on time.

Deadlines came and went. Eventually the leaders arrived well after 10pm.

They shook hands and smiled for the photographers, but it was clear from their joint statement

they had achieved little.

Mr FW de Klerk conceded that the statement "hides more than it discloses" and noted this was deliberate because discussions on "burning issues" were still incomplete.

The tension was palpable when Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said no progress had been made concerning 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 Mandela then expressed his complete surprise at Dr Buthelezi'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.



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.

Tribune 10/4/94

HE/IM

Zulu monarch rebukes Mandela for ANC slights, the 'invasion' of KwaZulu, and the Shell House massacre

The King and I

JOHN MacLENNAN
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 new government to get the monarch on its side. His undoubted support among millions of Zulus means he can mobilise large numbers against the incoming administration.

After this closed meeting King Goodwill also took the extraordinary 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 audience 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."

The case put by King Goodwill ranged over personal slights and insults he has allegedly suffered at the hands of ANC leaders. He also reviewed the history of the Zulu monarchy and raised important 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 nation to take up arms against the colonial enemies of black South Africa. The Zulus were the only people in the whole of South Africa on whom the Bantu Authorities system had finally to be forced."

This is seen as an implicit threat, especially as he said: "The rejection of the Zulu nation's self-rule within a federal formula leaves us with no other option, whatever it may cost us."

He quoted former Anglo-American chairman Gavin Relly as saying that no one, including the ANC, "has done more to halt the ideological thrust of apartheid than Buthelezi".

The monarch described the

emergency as an "act of foreign aggression, an invasion of our territory, and a rape of our national dignity and pride".

He called on Mr Mandela to do all possible to ensure "that all those who plotted, organised and executed the massacre are arrested and tried for their crime. Until and unless you personally distance yourself from the shedding of the innocent blood of my father's people by means of your personal initiative leading to the conviction of those who are guilty of this crime, our dialogue will remain difficult, if not impossible."

The king demanded self rule for a Zulu nation in a federal system and said he would not encourage his people to vote in terms of the present constitution, which does not in his view allow for a sufficiently autonomous kingdom.

At the press conference Mr Mandela bent over backwards in his praise of the Zulu royal house and pledged that the ANC would do everything needed to ensure the king enjoys full rights and privileges as a constitutional monarch.

And a proposed agreement put

forward by the ANC suggests a package designed to entice the king out of his opposition to the interim constitution. Among the lollipops is a coronation over which the Chief Justice may preside. He would also do the official opening of the provincial legislature every year.

In return he would promote freedom of political activity, he would not hinder people who want to vote and he would co-operate with the IEC.

The government yesterday also released proposals which have been put to the king. In terms of these the kingdom of KwaZulu would be governed by the king, an executive and a council of 80 members.

They would have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenureship system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects. They would have legislative and executive powers regarding indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant areas of their jurisdiction as well as over traditional indigenous laws and customs relating to Zulu subjects.

Tribune 10/4/94

HE/IM

Royal flush beats ANC ace

By EDYTH BULBRING
and RAY HARTLEY

A DESPERATE attempt by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to persuade Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to support peaceful elections in Natal was torpedoed at this week's crisis summit by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela played what he had hoped would be his ace card by offering King Goodwill powers as a constitutional monarch with sway over the whole Natal province.

But Chief Buthelezi scuppered the proposal by insisting the offer could not be considered unless all Inkatha's other concerns were handled at the same time.

Although a task group has been set up to consider the proposals, the ANC's failure to persuade the king to distance himself from Inkatha's call for a poll boycott does not augur well for the elections in the violence-ravaged province.

The Independent Electoral Commission announced yesterday it would push ahead with elections in the province — even if it could not operate in certain areas — and an army mechanised brigade was on standby in Eshowe this weekend to move into KwaZulu.

The political drama was played out at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park on Friday when President F W de Klerk, the king, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi met to discuss the growing crisis in Natal.

The 13-hour summit began badly for the ANC, which had hoped Mr Mandela and King Goodwill could meet in private. The ANC believes the king's advisers have an undue influence on him and wanted to avoid outside interference.

However, despite two attempts by Mr Mandela to meet the king privately, advisers Stan Armstrong and Mario Ambrosini insisted that according to protocol, King Goodwill should be accompanied by his full delegation.

Sources at the meeting said the king then proceeded, in Zulu, to read to Mr Mandela a hardline 12-page document which referred to perceived past insults from the ANC and attacks on his supporters.

Only when he had finished was Mr Mandela able to table for discussion his proposals for a Zulu monarchy.

In terms of the proposals, King Goodwill would be recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations in KwaZulu Natal.

He would have a royal constabulary and a budget, be consulted and briefed on legislation and his powers would be entrenched in the constitution.

In return, the king would be expected to guarantee that all parties would be able to campaign peacefully in the elections.

King Goodwill, said sources at the meeting, responded by asking for 30 minutes to consult his advisers, including Chief Buthelezi.

The consultations lasted 90 minutes, and royal household member Prince Vincent Zulu returned to the meeting with the blunt message: "The king has examined your proposals and finds them unacceptable."

The meeting continued with Mr Mandela asking repeatedly what further concerns the king had, and how these could be accom-

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Times 10/4/94

HE/IN

Editorial spurs election debate

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 Nelson 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 newspaper articles throughout the week. It said the political transition had been "bungled" and argued that continuing violence had made "free and fair" elections, planned for April 27, impossible.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation first drew the public's attention to the editorial on its television 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 Freedom Front, issued press releases supporting the call to review the election date.

"At last somebody has dared to question the way the election is being rushed through," said a 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 fair opinion," he said. "It was a 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 Tuesday, The Citizen, a Johannesburg newspaper, denounced the editorial. It said the elections would not be postponed and quoted Marthinus van Schalkwyk, of the ruling National 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 away."

Mike Mills, a Johannesburg talkback radio host, disagreed. He said that South Africans were in danger of becoming "too close and too tired" to be able to see the political situation clearly themselves and they should welcome fresh opinion.

After reading most of the editorial to listeners on his afternoon show, he said: "It might take an outside publication to re-alert people. These are important questions which should be debated." One listener asked: "Why 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 a story about the editorial on Thursday, said it had created national interest because it expressed views rarely heard in South Africa. "There is a lot of political correctness that goes on in the South African press. I did not necessarily agree with all its arguments but I think it was a valuable contribution to the debate."

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

THE SUNDAY TIMES - LONDON

10/4/94

Fear grips

THERE is little difference between them. One is a tent city surrounded by acres of swaying sugar cane, the other a nearby kraal in the lush Natal hills. Both are Zulu refugee camps; but one is for those who fear the ANC, the other for those who have fled from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, reports Andrew Hogg.

Two thousand troops were dispatched last week as an embryonic civil war threatened Natal province and its neighbouring KwaZulu homeland, where Inkatha is seeking self-rule. On both sides of the ANC-Inkatha divide, people are terribly vulnerable.

A razor-wire fence and sporadic visits by bored-looking policemen are the only protection for 300 people who have set up camp at Canefields, north of Durban. Last month their homes were torched, they say, by supporters of

Inkatha; now their food is provided by the ANC, to whom their allegiance is assured.

"How could I even think of supporting Buthelezi? His people burned the home where I grew up and killed three of my neighbours," said Fanile Ntanzu, 39, as barefoot children lined up behind him to receive their daily food ration. "To lose my home on the eve of independence makes me very, very bitter."

"Before, I disliked Inkatha because it forced its members to give money for weapons. The younger supporters are also ill-disciplined. They take young girls away toyi-toying [dancing] and they often come back pregnant. But now I have bigger reasons to hate."

A short drive away, Senzo Mfayela, the local Inkatha chairman, was trying to secure food and shelter for dozens of Inkatha refugees seeking

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refugees

◆ continued from page 16

protection from the ANC. Squatting in the dust in his front yard last week, they told horror stories that matched those of the Canefields refugees.

"It was six o'clock in the morning when a group of young ANC 'comrades' kicked in the door of my house," said Ngenzi Mhlongo, an elderly lady. "We had been expecting trouble and I had sent all my children away except 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 too old."

Who is to blame? Mfayela, a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly, said that ANC "hooligans from outside the area come and attack

people living here."

But to Fanile Ntanzu, Mfayela is himself "a murderer". Sam Khumalo, a local ANC election co-ordinator, regards him as "the biggest warlord in the area" and says Inkatha simply wants to preserve undemocratic tribalism.

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

"A 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," said an SADF officer.

"But actively to engage against Inkatha? I can't see it. The problem for a lot of officers is that at present they don't know who to vote for. If Buthelezi agrees that Inkatha will take part in the election, we'll vote for him."

THE SUNDAY TIMES
LONDON 10/4/94

A rebellion to strangle the country

● Helmoed-Romer
Heitman sees
South Africa's
leaders being blind
to the dangers of a
revolt in Natal

THE continuing violence in Natal contains the potential for much more serious conflict. Although there is no inevitability about this, the danger lies in the inability of the political actors to understand the potential for disaster.

President De Klerk's government has a limited grasp of security matters at best, has unravelled much of its intelligence system, and pays little attention to what is left. The ANC is arrogant, is riding high 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 government and Inkatha do not seem fully to understand what damage all-out conflict would do to KwaZulu/Natal and to the Zulu people.

This unhappy combination of political muddleheadedness creates a situation in which some misstep could easily trigger escalation. One such event might be ANC "mass action" 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 "fish" 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 mountains, hilly country, bush and cane fields offer almost ideal conditions. The borders with both Mozambique and Swaziland are conveniently nearby, facilitating a 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 Richard's Bay. They handle 76% of all South African imports and exports, and 92% of the oil and coal trade. Secure 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.

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

THE SUNDAY TIMES

LONDON 10/4/94

The Zulu lion roars again

PROFILE

King Goodwill Zwelithini



Walking in Shaka's shadow: Zwelithini is prepared to fight for independence

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SUNDAY TIMES-LONDON
10/4/94

PHONE No. :

Apr. 10 1994 3:15PM FOI

THE ZULU army charged

CM : PHONE No. : Apr. 10 1964 3:17PM P02

THE ZULU nation is once more at the centre of unrest and violence in South Africa. Under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi, its warriors are taking up their traditional weapons of shield and spear to fight against the forces of the African National Congress.

The battlefield is much changed, but the Zulus still have proud memories of the last time they marched into action in their native land. Then the enemy was the British Army, and the fiercest battle of the war was at Rorke's Drift.

Here, in the form of a letter home from one of the survivors, historian ANDREW ROBERTS reconstructs the events which helped change the course of history in South Africa and which later became immortalised in the film Zulu, starring Michael Caine and Stanley Baker.

*Rorke's Drift, Natal
Friday, January 24, 1879*

MY DARLING Polly,
By the time you receive this letter you will probably already have heard the news about the struggle which took place here on Wednesday. This is to let you know that, by the grace of God — for nothing else I know can explain it — I and most of the rest of B Company of the 24th are all right.

We lost 17 men in all and the Zulus more than 450, which — considering there were 139 of us and more than 4,000 of them — is not bad going. But those figures belie the truth about this campaign.

Ever since landing at Durban, I've been making quite a study of our enemy, and it is my opinion that the Zulus may be poor benighted heathens, but they are first-class fighting men. If anyone back there ever writes them off as a bunch of savages who should be easy to defeat, you remind them of what happened some ten miles from here, at Isandhlwana.

It was under the shadow of the hill there that the second battalion of the 24th were encamped. Zulu speed, efficiency, discipline, fighting ability and fanatical courage allowed them — armed only with their assegais (spears)

— to overwhelm and kill more than 850 of Wales's finest.

It is the worst military disaster in our entire colonial history. More white men died violently on that one day than in the entire history of the European colonisation of Africa. These men are not like other Africans, they resemble the Spartans in 5th-century

Greece or the Prussians under Frederick the Great.

They are a nation designed for warfare. And this victory was achieved without modern weaponry. I dread to imagine what might have happened had they had the Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles instead of us. We must get it into the heads of the

people back in London that these are not wild men of Africa, but a foe to be respected, admired, and certainly feared.

Do not believe any of these stories which lay the blame for the massacre on there not being enough sentries, or ammunition boxes not being opened. That's all just propaganda to disguise the truth. They were outfought at Isandhlwana by men for whom campaigning is a nursery and astonishing bravery second nature.

Neither should you believe the tales that their great King Shaka, or his nephew, the present King Cetewayo, are just bloodthirsty maniacs. They are military geniuses, superb tribal leaders and the Bismarcks of Southern Africa.

The sight of a Zulu impi (army) charging at you is the most terrifying in the world. They attack at a very fast half-walk and half-run, waving their assegais and chanting "uSuthu!" in a chorus which chills the blood.

They are highly mobile, moving 50 miles a day barefoot. They are more than a match for cavalry over the stony broken ground you find here. When 20,000 charge, as they did at Isandhlwana, or even 4,500 in our own little sideshow on Wednesday, the very ground shakes in a way that turns your stomach to water.

Each warrior — with an average height of 6ft 1in — carries several throwing assegais, but the major weapon is a short, broad-bladed stab-spear called the iKlawa — an 18in blade on a 2ft handle named after the sound it makes on being pulled out of an opponent's body.

SOME also carry the dreaded knobkerries, double-handed maces made of ironwood or leadwood designed specially for smashing into brains. A warrior will also carry a large ox-hide shield, a different colour for each regiment.

We estimate Cetewayo's army numbers roughly 50,000, divided into 35 regiments. But it is through discipline and tactics, rather than numbers, that they have carved out their empire here. The Zulu nation is a formidable organisation, of a sort unique to this continent.

Their battle strategy is based entirely on attack. Unlike the Bantu tribesmen, who indulge in some rather aimless spear-throwing and then retreat, the Zulus get to close quarters as soon as possible and rely on hand to hand combat at which these huge, fit, brave fellows excel.

On Wednesday, we spent 12 hours warding off their repeated attacks. They would climb over the corpses of their comrades to grab at our bayonets with their bare hands and slash at us with their mean-looking spears.

The regiments which attacked us, under the command of Cetewayo's brother, Prince Dabulamanzi had missed out on the action at Isandhlwana and so their blood-lust was high. Most were veteran warriors in their 40s, who wore the isiCoco, a headring made of hardened gum which denotes a married man.

ZULUS cannot marry until the King gives permission, which he only does for warriors late in life, those who have washed their spears. It means soldiers do not have to worry about wives, children and other emotional distractions. Instead, this life of enforced celibacy encourages younger warriors to try to excel in battle, expending in fighting pent-up energies which might otherwise have been turned elsewhere.

We well knew, behind our makeshift barricades in Rorke's Drift, the fate which lay in store for us if they got into the compound. There are never any wounded taken. To make matters worse, they believe that a corpse left intact to bloat up in the sun keeps its spirit, which will haunt the killer. So after the battle, every corpse is systematically mutilated and its stomach slashed open.

I have been told that when they found Colonel Durnford, who commanded at Isandhlwana, he was rammed, slit open and a circle of decapitated heads lay nearby. Had Lord Chelmsford, our commander-in-chief, not returned to the camp soon after the massacre, and started to bury the dead, the buzzards would have had a feast.

The first that we at Rorke's Drift —

Reconstruction

and our blood ran cold



by ANDREW ROBERTS

a small Swedish mission station near the Buffalo River — knew what was in store for us was at 3.15pm on Wednesday. Two horsemen of the Natal Native Contingent galloped into view shouting the news that the camp at Isandhlwana had been obliterated, and an impi was on its way here and would arrive soon.

I will never forget that awful moment. We had all heard about Zulu battle strategy and the famous bull tactic. In this, the strongest warriors were sent forward in the centre to get to grips with the enemy quickly while two 'horns' of troops raced around the flanks till they met behind the enemy and then turned inwards. It is said that during King Shaka's battles, the reserves — the 'loins' — were ordered to sit with their backs to the battle so they did not get over-excited by the prospect.

Twenty-three years ago, King Cetewayo had used precisely these tactics when he established his claim to the kingship by slaughtering his brother's army at the battle of Mathambo — The Place of Bones. For weeks afterwards, bodies were washed up along

the Natal coastline after they had floated down the Tugela River; 23,000 were killed that day, and those who attempted to escape across the Tugela were finished off by the crocodiles.

We decided, or rather our commander, Lt John Chard of the Fifth Field Company, Royal Engineers, decided, not to try to evacuate and make for the open country. He ordered us to fortify the post where we would stand and fight. He also gave us orders that we were never to say 'die or surrender'.

Including the native contingent there were about 400 of us at Rorke's Drift, and with very short notice we started building a perimeter across the 30 yards which stretch between the mission house — which was serving as a field hospital — and a fairly stout stone barn which housed the stores.

Loopholes were cut in the hospital walls through which to fire, and a barricade of mealie bags and biscuit boxes was built across the north side of the perimeter. It was these makeshift walls which were to save us. They came to about chest height by

the time the first Zulu came into sight at 4.15pm.

'Here they come, black as hell and thick as grass' shouted Private Wall as he sprinted down the Oscarberg Hill above us, having spotted the impi through his telescope.

This was the point when that treacherous coward Captain George Stephenson, who was in charge of the native Natal contingent of some 300 men, upped and left us. We had the satisfaction of shooting at them as they fled on their horses and killed one white sergeant.

FROM a force of 400 men defending around 250 yards of perimeter, we were suddenly down to 129, of whom 35 were invalids. We hardly had time to rearrange the biscuit boxes and shorten the perimeter before the first Zulus ran into sight around the western edge of the Oscarberg hillock.

I noticed with horror — having, as I say, made a special study of the Zulus — that one of the three regiments earmarked to attack us was none other than the uThulwana. This was Cetewayo's personal regiment, raised by his father King Mpande. It was housed in the royal kraal at Uhundi.

tion to their monarch was legendary. And they were clearly relishing the opportunity to wash their spears in his enemy's blood.

The king holds a quasi-religious, almost mystical place, in Zulu society. He is not just a temporal and military, but also a spiritual leader. It is he who invokes the rains, institutes the ceremony of the first fruits each year, and he alone can call the nation to war. Their dedication to him is total, partly because he is able to commune with their ancestors, whom they worship, and partly because the Zulu nation is a vast cousinage which he heads.

Cetewayo's father had hundreds of wives, as did his father, Senzangakhona, so kings are actually related by blood to roughly two-thirds of the tribe. That, as well as the need for military obedience, and the tendency for the Zulu kings — such as Shaka and Cetewayo himself — to be remarkably gifted leaders, has meant that the Zulus obey their monarch unquestioningly, especially in matters relating to war and peace.

The whole fabric of the nation is woven around the army, and the army is in thrall to its commander-in-chief. It was thus the personal bodyguard of the king, with their distinctive white shields, which first flung itself against our barricades at about 4.30pm on Wednesday.

BUT even oxhide shields cannot withstand the power of a .45 Martini-Henry bullet, the finest rifle of today. Its range is most effective at about 400 yards, which was roughly the distance at which they turned their trot into a full charge. Packed as densely as they were, it was impossible for us to miss. We could never reload and re-fire fast enough, and eventually these brave men reached the wall itself and the struggle became hand to hand — all stabbing assegais, thrusting bayonets and smashing rifle butts.

Again and again, in wave after wave, they came on. The noise was unbelievable; the crack of rifle fire, the screams of dying men, the war cries, and the clashing of assegais against our bayonets. We knew that if ever they got inside the compound it would be swiftly over — with more than 4,000 of them against 139 of us, our sole hope was to protect the perimeter. The fighting went on for 12 hours, with fresh troops of theirs being flung against our increasingly exhausted men.

A further problem was that our soldiers defending the northern perimeter were coming under constant fire from behind. Zulu riflemen had climbed the Oscarberg hillock which overlooked the drift. Little could be done about this, but luckily they only had ancient rifles and were appalling shots. Nevertheless, occasionally a man would fall, shot in the back, and a dangerous gap would appear in our defences.

Our most serious worry by far, however, came at about 6.15pm when the Zulus, fighting their way through the hospital room by room, also set fire to its thatched roof. We had to evacuate our wounded through holes smashed in the wall by pick-axes and then carry them across the compound to a defensive redoubt we had decided to retreat to and then defend to the death. The fighting in the hospital was probably the most desperate of all, and those who fell — such as poor Joseph Williams who had been bracing a door with his body — were instantly dismembered. Acts of amazing heroism were commonplace that day.

Henry Hook killed no fewer than nine Zulus as they crawled through the hole he and another man, John Williams, had made. Henry received a serious scalp wound from an assegai which hit his helmet, but it didn't bother him one bit. The sheer speed of his reloading and firing held back the Zulus in that cramped space as 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 his

the doorway, and pulled him through the hole after him.

As soon as they had left, the Zulus smashed down the door and entered the room with furious cries of disappointment and rage. Illuminated by the flames from the burning hospital, the Zulus returned to charge the tiny redoubt to which Chard had managed to retreat. During the few occasional lulls in the fighting, we heard the Zulus performing their war dances, building themselves up to yet higher levels of martial endeavour. Their courage was inexhaustible. They still came on after midnight.

After eight hours of being fired continually, our rifles became so hot they burned our hands and often jammed, and even the bayonets began to twist and buckle. Fighting is hot work in a Southern African summer, and our thirst was terrible.

It was not until about 2am that the assaults began to drop off. When, at 4am, the hospital was totally gutted and darkness fell, the shooting gradually stopped. For the first time in 12 hours, a certain eerie silence fell, with only the shouts of the wounded to punctuate it.

With no prospect of relief, most of us wounded, 15 of us dead and two others mortally wounded, we were in no position to stand another concerted attack the next day. No one was allowed 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 nor ever will again. The Zulus had gone. The ground around was littered with more than 20,000 empty cartridge cases, hundreds of assegais, some broken rifles and, of course, many hundreds of the brave Zulu dead. We pulled down the hospital at first light so 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 Oscarberg. It turned out they were not about to 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. If Cetewayo had wanted to slaughter the 18,000 or so inhabitants of Natal, the place is now at his feet. But he is too intelligent for that.

THIS war is not of his making but ours. He will fight a defensive war inside Zululand, avoiding battle unless, as at Isandhlwana, the conditions are perfect. Sir Bartle Frere, the governor of Cape Colony, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the 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 martial vigour deserves.

Yours ever, Arthur

■ FOOTNOTE. The Zulu War ended on July 4, 1879, at a battle outside the Royal Kraal at Ulundi, in which Gatling guns and massed cavalry smashed the Zulu impi. King Cetewayo was captured some time later, but not before he was successfully hidden 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 the most regal of any sovereign she knew. In 1906, the Zulus rose again, losing 3,000 men in the Bambata Rebellion. The present King, Goodwill Zwelithini, is the direct descendant of Cetewayo, and as such, commands the personal allegiance of all Zulus.

Mandela tells Zulus: obey or be wiped out

SOUTH AFRICA prepared for civil war yesterday as the African National Congress (ANC) vowed to use military force to "wipe away" Zulu royalists holding out against this month's elections.

After the collapse early yesterday of a summit that was billed as the country's last chance of peace, Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, warned that he would take "tough measures" against the Zulus once he was elected president.

Red-eyed after 14 hours of inconclusive talks, he dismissed hope that a settlement might still be reached with the Zulus of King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He said the elections 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. "The order of things will change after the elections," he said, and people in Natal, the

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

Zulu heartland, would have to obey the laws of the new government. "If there is resistance, we shall just wipe them away."

Ramaphosa dismissed fears that the royalist Zulus, whose support is estimated at between 3m and 5m, could mount an effective rebellion against the polls of the incoming ANC government in which he is likely to be a deputy president. "I am not going to say the tanks will roll in, but ... He laughed.

The hardline attitude was backed by a senior government minister who had attended the failed summit along with President F W de Klerk. He said government funds to the KwaZulu government run by Buthelezi would soon start to be cut off, and the "boots would be put in".

Both sides yesterday began preparing for an armed showdown, with Zulus saying they

would deploy their "own military" in hostels around Johannesburg and the rest of the country and that South African soldiers would be refused entry.

The death toll in Natal since the state of emergency was declared 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 almost 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 mediation by Lord Carrington, the former British foreign sec-

retary, and Henry Kissinger, the former American secretary of state, is bogged down before it begins as the differing sides still cannot agree on their terms of reference.

The midnight press conference by the four leaders, under a blanket of stars near the Kruger national wildlife park lodge where they had

met, told the story of the impasse. Mandela and Buthelezi openly bickered in front of the world's cameras and gloomily admitted little progress had been made. Only De Klerk tried to inject a note of optimism by saying that negotiations were at least continuing.

The meeting foundered on the key questions of Zulu de-

mands for a postponement of the elections, a lifting of the state of emergency in Natal, a satisfactory recognition of the position of their king and for international mediation on their claims for self-governing powers.

While the government indicated its willingness to consider a postponement of

voting in Natal, Mandela flatly rejected any election delay. "We cannot postpone our freedom," he said.

Observers who attended post-summit talks with ANC and government officials yesterday condemned the ANC's determination to push ahead with the election. A senior United Nations official accused the ANC of "arrogance".

The UN official said Buthelezi had given "a firm and definite undertaking to participate in elections" should the state of emergency be lifted, the king's position be constitutionally recognised and mediation take place. These were real concessions

Tearful times: a child at a refugee camp in Natal. Picture: Simon Townsley

and the ANC had apparently ignored them, the UN official said. "They are being very inflexible," he said.

"It's like Zimbabwe all over again," said a Commonwealth observer, referring to the military action the government of Robert Mugabe took in the mid-1980s against the rebellious minority Ndebele tribe that left 20,000 dead. "Except here it's going to be worse."

De Klerk and particularly Mandela are also still convinced the Zulu royalists represent a small minority which can be militarily contained in the run-up to the election and beyond, something many defence and political analysts believe is naive. Buthelezi yesterday warned that the Zulu campaign to get the right deal would continue for another "100 years" if necessary.

The ANC's insistence that the election will go ahead comes despite mounting evidence that planning for it is far behind schedule. With just 12 working days before voting begins, only half of the required 20,000 ballot boxes have been made and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) still needs to interview, recruit and train 100,000 electoral officers and organise at least 10,000 cars and drivers.

The list of polling stations is still to be worked on in many areas; 10,000 were originally planned, but the police have said they only have the manpower to provide security for 6,000.

In Sweto, the huge black satellite city outside Johannesburg which has 2m-3m voters, 64 polling booths are planned; observers have calculated this means 30 electors having to vote every minute.

fears grow over ANC's ruthless tactics

South Africa prepares

to swap tyrannies

by Fred Bridgland in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africans, injured to bullying by 46 years of apartheid rule, are preparing for life under what many fear could become a new tyranny when the African National Congress is elected to government in less than three weeks.

There is also widespread scepticism about whether the April 26-28 poll can be truly free and fair.

Fears that ANC rule will be authoritarian have been sharpened by Nelson Mandela's enthusiastic embrace of the KwaZulu-Natal state of emergency to subdue his political opponent Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is one of the more piquant ironies that Mr Mandela made opposition to previous states of emergency a central pillar of the "freedom struggle", yet when he becomes South Africa's first black State President at the end of this month he will be armed with emergency powers permitting detention without trial and indemnifying his security forces against prosecution.

A benign President Mandela may well continue to use to good effect the KwaZulu-Natal state of emergency, which affects the freedom of a quarter of the South African population. The levels of violence and intimidation in the province between Zulu Inkatha loyalists and Zulu followers of the ANC have become intolerable.

on inous reactions to his first really hostile questioning from reporters.

He was asked at a press conference in Shell House, the ANC's national headquarters in central Johannesburg, whether the killing of nine Inkatha supporters by ANC marksmen from Shell House balconies on March 28 was a foretaste of how his government would deal with political opponents.

He snapped back that the question was "esoteric" — and he did not have time to deal with esoteric questions because he was too busy

making concrete efforts to bring peace to South Africa. He was similarly testy when asked why he had refused the police entry to Shell House to investigate the actions of the ANC marksmen.

When asked if his Cabinet's law and order minister would allow political opponents to set conditions for police investigations into murders and other alleged criminal activities, he snapped: "Let's face that when we are in government. I am entitled to negotiate with law and order officials as I choose."

Herman Giliomee, a professor of politics at the University of Cape Town, described Mr Mandela's reactions as typical of the ANC's current "psychosis of triumphalism", which he said was against the spirit of the new constitution.

Professor Giliomee, a liberal Afrikaner who broke with the ruling National Party 24 years ago, long before it was respectable to do so, is concerned about the atmosphere of intimidation in which the general election will be held.

"It is an immense charade," said Professor Giliomee. "The major players, including the international community, have decided that this will be a free and fair election although they know it is impossible for it to

this attitude was the reaction of UNOMSA (United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa) to the March 28 killings in Johannesburg. In its 700-word statement, UNOMSA made no reference to the Shell House massacre but condemned "the carrying of weapons in public marches" by the Inkatha demonstrators, the victims of the ANC fire.

A further example of the ANC's "psychosis of triumphalism" was seen as the KwaZulu-Natal crisis came to a head. Joe Slovo, number four on the ANC's parliamentary election list and chairman of the South African Communist Party, referred at a rally of ANC supporters in Natal to the ANC-engineered downfall last month of anti-ANC governments in the "independent" homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. "Two down and one to go," he said, indicating that next on the list was the KwaZulu homeland, where Mr Buthelezi is chief minister.

And lest any of his Zulu audience doubt that he had Eswazulu in mind, Mr Slovo said Chief Buthelezi was destined to become "merely a smell in history".

Similar sentiments were expressed by the ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. "We are the ANC," he said. "We will call the shots in Natal as we call the shots in the whole country... If Buthelezi does not like it, we will impose it on

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 KwaZulu 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 homelands dictatorships which are opposed to the ANC.

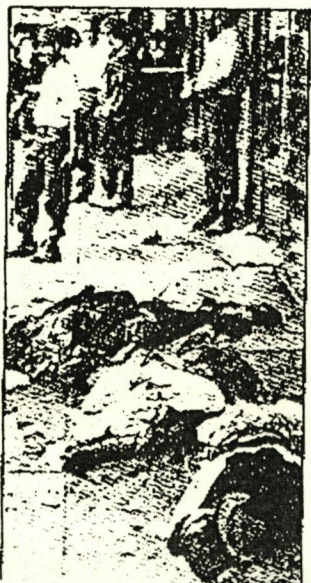
He said: "A lot of people are asking why other no-go areas are not being singled out for similar treatment. Among the no-go areas Leon had in mind was KwaZulu's neighbouring "independent" homeland, Transkei. It is ruled by the military dictator General Rantso Molema, who, soon after he came to power 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 Buthelezi has obstructed the ANC in KwaZulu.

Analysts have asked wryly whether Transkei's military dictator has escaped the wrath of "people's power" because he is a supporter of the ANC, 15th on their 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 co-optate 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's summit talks with Chief Buthelezi.

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

On the march: the ANC has used much-hated tactics to subdue the opposition Photograph: Julia Nguwenya



negotiating with Zulu kings can be a perplexing and fraught task to us. In olden days, those to show due respect or disfavour were taken to a killing field and died to death. Neighbouring who threatened the honour of the amaZulu, the of the Heavens, would ruin and subjugated at int of assegais, the short spears that were the rk of their military em- biling.

es have changed, but not When Nelson Mandela, African National Congress leader, and P.W. de the South African presi- at down last week to try peace deal with the cur- lu monarch, they found ere not just dealing with an, the small, dapper, adackad King Goodwill imi, but with a host of : wherever Goodwill the ghosts of his illus- ancestors are with him.

does not consider him- be one man, he is explained a frustrated ment negotiator. "He is and all his ancestors. said to De Klerk that if s not sort this problem his lifetime then he will ext lifetime. He consid- self no more than a sym- head of the Zulu n, but a vitally im- one whose duty is to : kingdom together."

Majesty Zwelithini ll Ka Bhekezulu, as he ally titled, was born in e year the Afrikaners itical power, and his been inexorably inter- with apartheid: as it has o he has risen.

is raised like any other ld, hunting with knob- (the traditional Zulu club) and engaging in us. It was only upon h of his father, King from alcoholism, that old he was to become his schooling was cut : achieved only a junior e, the equivalent of a es.

his recent involvement es, much of his time t farming the lands he and his modest white- alace at Nongoma, the e royal household set beautiful rolling hills ys of Zululand. He use pride in his farm- elieves himself to be a d for his people's de- claim the land taken

from them under white rule. His careful breeding of Nguni cattle has made his stock one of the country's most sought after.

He is Christian but practices polygamy. He has five wives, chosen from the annual gather- ings of bare-breasted Zulu maidens, and, at last count, 19 children. At official functions he wears Italian suits, British- style military uniform with ceremonial sword or bare chested in the traditional re- galia of leopard skins and ani- mal tails, clutching a spear and shield.

Whatever his attire, and whatever the function, he is never alone. Among his entou- rage is the imbongi, the official praise-giver, whose job is to give hour long poetic accolades to the king and at the same time make amusing put downs of Mandela and the ANC.

But nobody sits more strongly at Zwelithini's side than Shaka, the infamous 19th- century founder of the Zulu em- pire and an acclaimed warrior. His military tactics are still quoted admiringly in war textbooks.

There are many parallels be- tween Shaka and the eighth successor to the Zulu throne. Shaka founded the Zulu empire under difficult conditions; Zwelithini has had to try to pre- serve his nation under fatal odds. Shaka had to usurp the throne from his half-brothers; Zwelithini had to wrest it from his uncle, who was regent until Zwelithini reached manhood.

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

In the early years of his reign, and until recently, Zwelithini was mocked as an ill-educated puppet of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 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- eminence. 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 pride 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 Buthelezi. 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, shout- ing the traditional greeting: Bayede! 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 ac- company him.

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

nephew's desire to unleash the military option to win indepen- dence. "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 Brit- ish — at great cost — but have never been conquered by any- body 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 militaristic 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 it all, the Xhosas, the smaller 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.

"They would genuinely die rather than be ruled by the Xhosa ANC from Pretoria," said a government negotiator. "They say that the Xhosas have never crossed the Tugela (the river which marks the boundary of the Zulu heartland) and they aren't going to cross it now with that piece of paper they call the constitution."

Mandela and De Klerk h already tried to woo Zwelithi. They thought they had for the solution to the "Zulu pr lem" back in January. A meeting with the king, Klerk, with backing fr Mandela, is understood to h offered Zwelithini the posit of ceremonial head of state die new South Africa. They c ulated, that by accepting t new role the king would let Buthelezi and his Inkatha Fr doin party isolated and weal their call for Zulu indep dence. Zwelithini, however, jected the offer, saying "could not accept sovereig over an area to which I have historical claim".

Many royalists believe younger Zwelithini would h accepted. No longer. For m traditionalists, the Zulu lion the nation has roared and no longer be silenced. ghost of Shaka is stalking blood-stained Eden of Z land.

Our editorial

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 Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Mungosuthu 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 South Africa's elections to avert the possibility of civil war, became the focus of heated debate on radio talk shows and in newspaper articles. It said the political transition had

been "bungled" and argued that continuing violence had made "free and fair" elections, planned for April 27, impossible.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation first drew the public's attention to the editorial on its television 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 Freedom Front, issued press releases supporting the call to review the election date.

"At last somebody has dared to question the way the election is being rushed through," said a spokesman for Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom party. "Whether you agree with it or not, it is the first time the international

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spurs debate

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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 a 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 Tuesday, The Citizen, a Johannesburg newspaper, denounced the editorial. It said the elections would not be postponed and quoted Martinus van Schalkwyk, of the ruling National 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 away."

Mike Mills, a Johannesburg talkback radio host, disagreed. He said that South Africans were in danger of becoming "too close and too tired" to be able to see the political situation clearly themselves and they should welcome fresh opinion.

After reading most of the editorial to listeners, he said: "It might take an outside publication to re-alert people."

John Patten, editor of the Natal Mercury, a Durban-based newspaper which ran a story about the editorial, said it had created national interest because it expressed views rarely heard in South Africa. "There is a lot of political correctness in the South African press. I did not agree with all its arguments, but I think it was a valuable contribution to the debate."

A rebellion to strangle the country

● Helmoed-Romer Heltman sees South Africa's leaders being blind to the dangers of a revolt in Natal

THE continuing violence in Natal contains the potential for much more serious conflict. Although there is no inevitability about this, the danger lies in the inability of the political actors to understand the potential for disaster.

President De Klerk's government has a limited grasp of security matters at best, has unravelled much of its intelligence system, and pays little attention to what is left. The ANC is arrogant, is riding high 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 government and Inkatha do not seem fully to understand what damage all-out conflict would do to KwaZulu/Natal and to the Zulu people.

This unhappy combination of political muddleheadedness creates a situation in which some misstep could easily trigger escalation. One such event might be ANC "mass action" 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 "fish" 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 mountains, hilly country, bush and cane fields offer almost ideal conditions. The borders with both Mozambique and Swaziland are conveniently nearby, facilitating a 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. Secure 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.

Helmoed-Romer Heltman is the South Africa correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly

Winnie accused of cheating ANC

WINNIE MANDELA, the radical 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 thousands of pounds from the movement, reports Richard Ellis.

The internal ANC report alleged 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 for returning exiles.

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 Niehaus, 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 re-elevation 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-

port said the money was "donations" to the ANC she and Dall Mpofu, her then deputy and alleged lover, had collected during their visit and had failed to declare to the ANC.

There was also evidence that she had pocketed "substantial" amounts of interest yielded by funds deposited into her personal account. These funds were legally destined for the social welfare department.

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

She had allegedly also profited from the purchase of a farm in Walkerville, east of Johannesburg, which was bought by the ANC for returning exiles for 350,000 rand (£70,000), but was worth only 160,000 rand (£32,000). The report said Winnie Mandela was a main party in the deal.

The leaking of the report is likely to fuel further debate about her presence near the top of the ANC's list of prospective members of parliament — she is number 31 on the list — and to widen the rift between her and her opponents within the movement, who have launched a campaign to curb her ambitions to replace her husband one day as ANC leader.

A statement issued by Winnie Mandela yesterday did not go into details about her response to the publication of the report, but said she had instructed her lawyers to undertake litigation against the newspaper.

The Cape Times, however, strongly defended its story. "We knew of the document's existence for some time, and we managed to obtain it from a very reliable source after a certain amount of investigation," said Koos Viviers, the newspaper's editor. "I have no doubt as to its authenticity. We will certainly defend any legal action very fully."

The Orlando Sentinel, Sunday, April 10, 1994

Outraged Zulus to fight for freedom, leader says

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

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Zulus are angry and ready to fight for autonomy, nationalist leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Saturday, the day after the failure of talks seen as a last chance to end the political violence.

Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party rejected 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 political settlement.

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

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

Zwelithini and Buthelezi oppose the elections, fearing that an ANC government will trample Zulu culture. The ANC plans to abolish ethnic homelands such as the KwaZulu region within Natal province.

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 opponents of the elections has exacerbated rivalries 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
Cliff Gosney

Sunday Times 10/4/94

HE/IM

Slovo says chances of IFP participation slim

By NAZEEM HOWA

SACP leader Joe Slovo said yesterday the chances of the IFP rethinking its boycott of this month's election are highly unlikely as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is clearly not interested in participating in the poll.

"Friday's meeting confirmed my impression that Chief Buthelezi is bent on a cynical manipulation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini," Mr Slovo said.

"He seems to be on an all-out mission to derail the April elections, but there is no chance of any postponement."

Mr Slovo said he believed that an effective management of the State of Emergency in Kwazulu Natal would ensure that the correct climate was created for the elections.

Earlier Sapa reported that at a memorial for Chris Hani at the Wallacedene squatter camp near Kraaifontein, Cape Town, yesterday, Mr Slovo accused the PAC "of shooting a few whites in a church," to counter the ANC's popularity.

He said the PAC had done "nothing" to advance the struggle against NP rule during the period 1961-1990.

"It was the ANC that brought about the situation in which the racist regime was forced to negotiate. During all that time the PAC did nothing, but when negotiations started, they became so scared of the ANC's popularity that they went to shoot a few whites in a church to get what they wanted," Mr Slovo said.

(News by Nazem Howa, 113 St Georges Street, Cape Town, and Enrico Kemp, 1306 Nedbank Centre, Cape Town)

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 lampposts yesterday carried a picture of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi with an X while the other, sporting the IFP logo, called on the public to "make our country free" by supporting the IFP.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet rejected claims that the posters were ambiguous.

"There is no apparent contradiction in the message of the posters. From the wording it states clearly we urge voters to vote IFP when the time comes.

"The aim is to increase IFP visibility, boost its public profile and to let voters know that we are not sliding into political oblivion," said Mr Tillet.

ANC Southern Natal spokesman Dumsani Makhaye said the posters showed confusion within the IFP, suggesting a "strong pro-election lobby within the IFP" could have motivated the appearance of the posters.

IFP Natal Midlands leader David Ntombela said he knew nothing about the posters.

"As the IFP Midlands leader I should have been consulted. I spent the whole week in Ulundi and no one mentioned anything about posters to me," Mr Ntombela said.

(News by G Mahabeer and G Clark, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

King and country:

THE failure of the ANC and NP this week to persuade King Goodwill Zwelithini to withdraw his support for the Inkatha Freedom Party's boycott tactics may well count as one of our country's defining moments. The implications for peace or continuing war are enormous.

At Friday's summit the ANC and the NP proposed that the king become a constitutional monarch in Kwazulu Natal with all his rights, privileges and status entrenched.

They asked in return for guarantees that the citizens of that province be allowed ordinary democratic rights. These included the opportunity to vote in three weeks without courting death or injury.

The offer was rejected. It was made clear by the IFP politicians

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

In the four days left to the task force established after the Skukuza summit it is crucial that His Majesty and advisers carefully consider the implications of any decision to continue on this road.

The institution of the Zulu monarchy has survived war, invasion, plague and natural disaster. It is a living institution, clearly revered by most Zulus, including many who do not support Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

In this century it has traditionally stood above sectarian politicking. So strongly did Inkatha once feel about this that it introduced legislation to make it a punishable offence to bring the king into politics.

Yet now the king, the institution, is deeply locked in politics, caught in a violent war of position between the ANC and Inkatha. The king's subjects are divided between these two political foes but the majority appear united on two things — an affect-

choice for the monarchy

tion for the royal institution and a desire to vote. Indeed, the boycotters represent a small fraction of the voting population as a whole.

It is with this background that one considers the immediate future.

There is no chance of the election date being postponed. The major parties have made that clear, and Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, head of the Independent Electoral Commission, sees no reason for it. Steps are already being taken to excise the most turbulent portions of Kwazulu

from the election.

More important, however, is 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

fundamental right to vote. Unimaginable violence looms.

Aware of the unpopularity of its choice (polls show the majority of Inkatha supporters want to vote and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal popularity has slumped, even among Zulus) and looking now for another vehicle to perpetuate its power after it is ejected from its offices in Ulundi, Inkatha wishes to annexe the Zulu monarchy and its proud traditions to its vainglorious cause.

It is a perilous course. Afrikaners 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.

Times 10/4/94

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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 KwaZulu 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 asking why other no-go areas are not being singled out for similar treatment."

Among the no-go areas Leon had in mind was KwaZulu's neighbouring "independent" homeland, Transkei. It is ruled by the military dictator General Bantu Holomisa, who soon 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 Buthelezi has obstructed the ANC in KwaZulu.

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

liamentary 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 co-operate 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's summit talks with Chief Buthelezi.

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

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