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## SOUTHSCAN

A Bulletin of Southern African Affairs

1 July 1994



## Pressure mounts on Mandela to accept security role for SA in region

As South Africa's new government seeks unsteadily to elaborate a new military policy, demands are coming from the Organisation of African Unity, which it joined this week, and its close neighbours, for it to become involved in regional disputes, and to begin setting up a regional security mechanism.

The most immediate issue is Lesotho, where President Nelson Mandela this week said there was a complete collapse of law and order.

The Maseru government recently repeated its request for SA military intervention. Pretoria had declined a similar request earlier this year (*SouthScan* v9/15 p117).

Mandela, speaking in Cape Town last week, said SA, with the Frontline States, was trying to resolve the problem peacefully by sending an ultimatum to the dissident security forces.

Further steps would depend on the response of the dissidents.

It appears only SA troops may be used: Mandela noted that "if any action is taken, even if it is taken by one country, it will be as result of the unanimous decision of the Frontline States".

While strong voices have been raised against military intervention by SA anywhere in the region, Mandela gave an indication of his anxiety when he said that the instability in Lesotho could "snowball beyond Lesotho, where you have lawless individuals trying to subvert and overthrow a democratically elected government".

SA is trying to steady its own society at the moment, and a tough line by Mandela in Lesotho will give a strong message not only elsewhere in the region, but also in right-wing and Inkatha quarters at home.

SA was also this week welcomed into the Organisation of African Unity. It is widely expected to prop up the creaking OAU edifice, and Mandela promptly began a schedule of some 30 private meetings with heads of state.

On Tuesday morning he met Angola's President Eduardo Dos Santos and Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko separately.

"We have discussed the question of Angola...the meeting was very positive," Mandela said after seeing Mobutu, who appeared to be acting as go-between for Angola's Unita rebels.

At the historic meeting - where he was elected OAU second vice chairman - Mandela also heard circuitous argument about the massacres in Rwanda (from which the Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni later absented himself),

SA foreign minister Alfred Nzo met the representatives of the warring parties and told them firmly that the only way to solve their civil war was to stop hostilities and talk.

The line sounded suitable, but diplomats said there would be no solution until the present government, which had organised the genocidal paramilitary units, was pushed from power.

### Diplomatic commodity

The presidents consulting on Rwanda were bitterly divided. Mobutu is seen as the champion of Rwanda's rump government, composed of the majority Hutu tribe, while Uganda is openly accused of backing the mainly Tutsi rebels of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF).

Nzo has been offering SA's most saleable commodity for the moment - its apparent success in brokering agreements between apparently eternally opposed sides. He offered to the OAU SA expertise in negotiating and constitutional expertise.

According to foreign affairs officials several requests for SA assistance have already been made. Nzo said SA was willing to assist, for instance in Rwanda, Mozambique and Angola.

SA has been asked to lend 50 armoured personnel carriers to Rwanda, on a UN request, though there is concern that SA military drivers are also being requested.

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Nzo said some form of regional security mechanism was now being considered. This could involve the establishment of a military force and a forum for discussing and resolving regional conflicts, Nzo said. But each country should find an internal solution to its problems.

Officials said SA's peacemaking role could be underpinned by its economic weight.

Nzo would not be drawn on the issue of compensation for Angola - he said it would have to be negotiated and involve the UN.

### 'New birth'

Mandela, addressing the OAU on Monday in Tunis, praised Africa's "new birth" in an era free of apartheid, but pointed to the Rwandan disaster as a failure of leadership by the continent.

Opening the first OAU summit free of colonial or apartheid rule, Mandela said: "The titanic effort that has brought liberation to southern Africa and ensured the total liberation of Africa constitutes an act of redemption for the black people of the world." The three-day gathering of about 40 heads of state has been widely perceived as a chance to recover credibility for an Africa often turned against itself, trapped in war, famine and poverty.

Rwanda, where a bloody civil war rages on, "stands out as a stern and severe rebuke to all of us," he said.

The civil war in Rwanda, where an estimated 200,000 people have died in two months, provides a test case for about 40 heads of state at the summit.

The summit was preceded by a week-long meeting of foreign ministers.

Both Rwandan sides are represented at the summit, with the provisional government of the majority Hutu tribe taking Rwanda's seat and the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front, representing minority Tutsis, attending as an OAU guest.

# Mandela Joins Angola Peace Effort

## South African's Stature Seen Possible Key to Breaking Impasse

By Paul Taylor

Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, June 23—South African President Nelson Mandela tentatively agreed today to try to help end one of Africa's most intractable civil wars, a two-decade old conflict in nearby Angola now in the throes of heavy fighting and threatening to cause a famine.

The commitment represents a modification of the tone Mandela struck at ceremonies in Tunis earlier this month marking South Africa's admission to the Organization of African Unity, when he cautioned that he was not a "messiah" who could provide quick-fix solutions to a continent beset by war, poverty and disease.

Even today, Mandela said he did not relish the idea of intruding on peacemaking initiatives started by others. But he noted that South Africa has geographic, commercial and political ties to Angola and not long ago, under a different government, played an active military role in its civil war.

Diplomatic analysts say Mandela's South Africa, one of the only regional powers in sub-Saharan Africa, is likely to face more pressures to become involved in mercy missions on the continent at a time when its leaders want to concentrate on redressing the legacy of apartheid at home.

The analysts also say there is a chance that Mandela's moral suasion could break the impasse in the Angolan peace talks, which have been underway for eight months and, at least on paper, do not seem far from resolution. The key outstanding dispute involves a proposed power-sharing arrangement not dissimilar from the

one negotiated in South Africa to ease the transition from apartheid to a multiracial democracy.

"I am prepared to see both parties in the near future," Mandela said after meeting with Alioune Blondin Beye, the U.N. special envoy to Angola, and a delegation of mediators from the United States, Portugal and Russia, who went to Cape Town to urge him to become involved.

The Angolan civil war broke out in 1975 between rival anti-colonial forces, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the U.S.-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Upon independence in 1975, the MPLA became the government, with the help of Soviet money and Cuban troops.

UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, cast himself as a democrat and got

funding from the United States, primarily under the Reagan administration, which considered his movement the front line in the war against Soviet expansionism in Africa.

Meantime, the white-minority regime in South Africa sent troops to Angola to aid UNITA. Pretoria's purpose was to destabilize a communist neighbor that was harboring guerrilla forces trying to overthrow apartheid.

In 1989, U.S. diplomacy led the way in brokering a regional peace accord that resulted in the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola.

The one component of that deal that never took was peace and reconciliation within Angola. Although the warring parties adhered to a ceasefire for 18 months in 1991 and 1992, they never fully demobilized their armies. When Savimbi lost a U.N.-certi-

fied election in 1992, he cried foul, and a month later fighting resumed. This second phase of the war has taken an estimated 200,000 lives since October 1992.

Last year, as Angola appeared on the brink of a war-induced famine, the United Nations made an emergency appeal, and donor countries from the West have since poured in nearly \$200 million in food aid, preventing a catastrophe.

But the threat of starvation now looms again, as the U.N. World Food Program's airlifts have been suspended since May 28 as a result of the resurgence in fighting. This week, a U.N. truck convoy was attacked by UNITA guerrillas near Lobito. Fifteen trucks and their contents were burned, and a driver was injured. In the past 18 months, seven U.N. employees have been killed trying to deliver food.

A military analyst said the fighting could continue after an accord is initiated, because of expected delays in the deployment of a U.N. peacekeeping force to oversee another demobilization.

The two sides have agreed in principle on a demobilization plan and on a power-sharing arrangement that would give UNITA—which received just over one-third of the votes in the 1992 election—a share of seats in national, provincial and local governments.

Diplomats describe the chief problem facing the negotiators in this way: In South Africa, the parties themselves came to the conclusion after many years that there was no alternative to power-sharing, and they appear to have a genuine commitment to making it work. But in Angola, the combatants have had a power-sharing formula foisted on them by outsiders, and they appear mistrustful of it.

Now, the diplomats say, it is Mandela's turn to try to make Angola's combatants see the light.

## U.N. Readmits South Africa

Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, June 23—A cheering General Assembly today readmitted South Africa as a full member, ending 20 years of banishment because of its racist policy of apartheid.

The 184-nation assembly decided by acclamation to seat the new black-majority government of Nelson Mandela, whose African National Congress won the nation's first democratic elections two months ago.

South Africa is a founding

member of the United Nations, but it had been suspended from General Assembly work since 1974 because of its racist policies. While still a U.N. member, it did not vote in the General Assembly or take part in any of its committees.

Since Mandela's inauguration, South Africa has joined other international bodies such as the Organization of African Unity, the Nonaligned Movement and the Commonwealth, which groups Britain and many of its former colonies.

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## Hawks and doves battle over future of military policy

A split is developing on new military policy between hawks and doves among military analysts and advisers to the African National Congress.

In a recent article, Laurie Nathan, head of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town hit out at fellow military analysts Rocky Williams, Abba Omar and Krish Naidoo, accusing them of ignoring the realities of Southern Africa and harking back to a Cold War obsession with deterrence and military power. In a paper, published earlier this month, he said the current debate on the defence budget lacks coherence for a number of reasons: the lack of transparency with regard to the arms industry and the Special Defence account; a preoccupation with short-term rather than long-term factors; and the absence of a post-apartheid defence review which is based on a threat analysis, foreign policy and national security policy.

In his view, the following long-term processes are required to make the debate more meaningful and rational:

1. The debate should be situated in the context of a coherent policy framework with the following components:

- Foreign policy, particularly with respect to regional relations; a common security regime in Southern Africa; international peacekeeping and peace enforcement; arms control and disarmament; and the role of military power in external relations.

- National security policy which is based on an analysis of military and non-military threats; prioritising these threats in terms of their severity; and formulating national strategies to address the threats.

- A defence review which determines the role and priorities of the defence force in the medium- and long-term on the basis of the above and relevant constitutional provisions.

- Determination of military force design, structure, posture, doctrine and strategies.
- Determination of requirements for military personnel, equipment, weaponry and infrastructure and budgetary constraints.

2. An investigation should be undertaken into

the arms industry and its economic potential, limitations and problems. This will require a high level of transparency with regard to the industry and Special Defence Account. Without greater transparency, Armscor's claims about the economic benefits of arms production cannot be verified or refuted with any accuracy.

3. SA requires clear policy on arms exports. The policy should specify the criteria to be used in determining to whom and under what circumstances arms may be sold to other countries. It will also be necessary to establish an oversight mechanism to ensure compliance with these criteria.

4. An investigation should be undertaken to determine where savings in the defence budget could best be made. The investigation would consider areas of waste and inefficiency, etc. It could also consider the transfer of certain military assets to other government departments.

5. All of the above processes should be transparent and subject to public scrutiny and debate. Open commissions of inquiry could be established to this end. Parliament should also play a central role.



## ANC's honeymoon seems over as 'orchestrated' land occupation begins

The first signs are emerging that the African National Congress-led government's honeymoon period is over and those who voted them in are already seeking results.

This week an organised mass squat of land near white housing on the Rand took place. The area, called 'Liefde en Vrede', and situated near a white suburb, had been earmarked for low cost housing for immigrant families, and had streets and utility connections laid out.

Squatters from Soweto and neighbouring townships took possession last Friday, and were forcibly removed by the Johannesburg municipality the following day.

A city council official said that "land invasion" was taking place on an orchestrated basis in a number of places.

"There is an expectation among people that if they occupy land the new government will eventually give it to them. We do not have resources to cope with land invasion on such a large scale".

Wildly optimistic housing targets set by provincial leaders for new houses have been drastically cut back by the national housing minister Joe Slovo, and local officials are now having to find another means to get the homeless to accept patience.

The ANCPWV provincial government has said it will construct a million houses in the next five years, but all are agreed

that speed in providing at least some housing is of the essence. Local officials say they fear a disorderly stampede for land, in the belief that it will lead to housing.

The ANC has denounced the city council, still an all-white body until local government reforms go through (*SouthScan* v9/21 p162), demanding it apologise to the squatters.

Premier Tokyo Sexwale called for a moratorium on further land invasions - but also an end to any demolition of squatter shacks. There are fears he will not be able to straddle the two positions for long.

In his first policy speech Sexwale said his administration would build 150,000 low-cost housing units in the next 12 months.

The figure was widely questioned, with NP leader Olaus van Zyl saying the goal of building 600 houses a working day would take "a year or two, or three, longer" than intended.

A national housing official said that by the PWV's own targets they are already 8,000 homes behind.

Housing Minister Dan Mofokeng suggested that failure to build more than 100,000 new homes would create serious problems for the future. DP leader Ian Davidson said the province did not have the capacity to deliver on Sexwale's promise. "At most 70,000 low-cost houses could be built in 1995", he

said. National housing minister Joe Slovo and the nine provincial housing ministers late last month agreed on the construction of 80,000 new homes in the next year.

PWV officials are agreed that the numbers of homeless in the province are massive and mounting, but even the existing population size is uncertain. The Transvaal Regional Housing Board said it had received 242,000 applications for housing subsidies worth more than R2.5bn.

Mofokeng visited the site of the Liefde en Vrede (Love and Peace) settlement this week and said police would protect the squatters from angry white residents who fear their property values will collapse. He said that water would be made available.

### Anarchy

The pressure for houses is as strong elsewhere in the country. Last week in Cape Town a judge ruled that anarchy would result if the courts approved squatting, ordering a group of 50 families of municipal land where they had moved over the past year. But he added that illegal residents were to be evicted only where the municipality implemented its offer to move them to an alternative site organised for them a few kilometres away.

The occupied land had been proclaimed for formal housing.

*Continued on back page*

**INSIDE:**

## Land occupation

*Continued*

The squatters had refused to move to another site unless the municipality built them houses there.

Judge RM Marais said it would be "entirely contrary to the common law of the land" for people to "acquire lasting rights to the land of another by the simple expedient of occupying it and refusing to leave". But that argument will only hold if the homeless see some advance in their situation.

### Eastern Cape backlog

In the Eastern Cape Province plans are already underway to make up the massive housing backlog.

Pretoria Portland Cement plans a major R750m development at its factory in Port Elizabeth, a new kiln which could be the largest single investment in the region for many years. It would add an additional 600,000 tons to the current output of 265,000 tons, but the development depends on a suitable alternative source of limestone being found.

Company officials said the expansion was based on anticipation of a massive expansion of housing and school building in the region.

The Eastern Cape government intends building 61,000 houses in the first year of its reconstruction and development programme, the regional local government and housing minister said last week. Max Mamase said the housing scheme would be coupled to an employment and skills development programme. He said the department was determining what criteria contractors would have to meet such as offering employment and taking on community based partners.

He said the building of 61,000 houses

was "not an ambitious plan" in terms of finance. He questioned the availability of builders.

He envisaged an annual increase in houses built in subsequent years to meet demand, ultimately building 250,000 houses in the tenth year.

The plan also made provision for consumer education on the rights and responsibilities of land owners.

Mamase said housing would be available on rental basis, with the option of purchase.

Solving the national housing question will not only rely on finance and the capacities of the construction industry. It will also need a rationalisation of SA's complicated land tenure rules, according to lawyers, who say that as many as 130 different laws affect land subdivision.

According to land surveyor Clarissa Fourie, writing in *Indicator SA*, there are important legal and economic implications involved in the 'densification' of urban areas, which will almost certainly be the result of mass housing programmes. Every local authority has by-laws governing subdivision. If conditions of title aimed at maintaining certain standards of living are removed, land values would drop.

For local authorities to be able to deliver on the type of housing programme envisaged by the ANC, they would have to review many of their by-laws.

In the case of rural land, before subdivision can proceed the Minister of Agriculture has to be satisfied that each subdivision is capable of producing a net profit of at least R50,000 a year. This flies in the face of ANC land reform programmes, which argue the case for black smallholdings.

But all these change will take time - and time is of the essence.

# Crisis over the squatter 'invasion'

The new PWV regional government faces an acute dilemma over the upsurge in the occupation of land by hundreds of thousands of homeless people, reports **Mduduzi ka Harvey**

**S**QUATTER settlements in the PWV region are mushrooming with the coming to power of new regional and national governments seen as sympathetic to the homeless. The crisis was linked to accelerated urban drift in South Africa, Housing Minister Joe Slovo said this week. He added that in some cases, land invasions were being orchestrated "by outsiders who do not have the best interests of (the squatters) at heart, but who are instigating such actions for their own personal and political gain".

Last week the PWV Housing and Local Government Ministry noted an "alarming upsurge" in land occupations. Affected areas included Vanderbijlpark, Randburg, Mulbarton south of Johannesburg and the Nancefield industrial area in Soweto.

Stressing that land invasions might lead to unnecessary tensions, fuel animosities and "create a climate conducive to 'Third Force' exploitation", the ministry insisted that such campaigns were aimed at the previous government.

A million people in the province are estimated to need decent housing. In recent years 200 000 people have invaded land, establishing informal settlements with a total of 30 000 structures in 15 areas in the PWV. These include Olifantsvlei, Bloubastrand, Hospital Hill in Lenasia, the coloured township of Ennerdale, Doornkop and Nootgedacht.

These are in addition to what the Transvaal Provincial Authority calls "less formal towns" where serviced stands have been allocated to the homeless, such as Ivory Park, Orange Farm and Zonk'izizwe.

Years of migration to the PWV and the failure of past governments to establish new townships and build houses for Africans has driven many into makeshift shelters. Residents include rural job-seekers and "street people", former occupants of overcrowded shacks in township backyards and workers who live kilometres from their workplaces. They are adamant they will not be forced off the land unless the government gives them alternative housing.

The squatter upsurge poses an acute dilemma for the new regional government. As squatter communities are solidly behind the ANC, the ANC-dominated administration will find it difficult simply to crack down on land invasions. At the same time, it cannot appear to be cavalier about property rights. In Zevenfontein and Goedgevonden, informal settlements have brought a backlash from affluent whites. Middle-class coloured people and Indians have reacted in a similar way to squatter settlements in Eldorado Park and Lenasia.

Land invasions are also causing tensions between the National Party/Democratic Party-dominated Johannesburg City Council — which is taking a tough line on squatting — and the PWV government. The council's destruction of a settlement in Devland, near Eldorado Park, this week during a bitter cold snap sparked a heated response from regional premier Tokyo Sexwale.

Reacting, Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson stressed that land invasions posed a serious threat to low-cost housing development.

Recently Sexwale told the provincial legislature he planned to build 150 000 low-cost houses in the next 12 months — or 50 houses an hour, according to Davidson. Sexwale's announcement was met with deep scepticism by housing experts and business, who pointed out that years of recession had sapped the construction industry's capacity to deliver. Slovo has expressed concern about unrealistic regional government housing targets.

This week the Transvaal regional housing board revealed that the number of applications for government housing subsidies in the PWV and other parts of the Transvaal — translating into R2,5-billion — far outstripped its budget.

**S**poradic land invasions started in the mid-1980s with the breakdown of influx control.

The United Democratic Front embarked on a programme to claim vacant land for the settlement of landless people, and informal settlements sprang up. In 1990 over 1 000 homeless people, led by the ANC and Wattville Concerned Residents' Crisis Committee, created Tamboville on land in the East Rand owned by the local authority. In the same year 200 Daveyton residents occupied land rumoured to have been allocated to a private developer.

A year later, the movement shifted to the Vaal, with Sharpeville residents occupying land earmarked for a new black township. The West Rand has also been affected: farms and mining land in the vicinity of Leratong Hospital close to Krugersdorp and Randfontein has seen repeated invasions and evictions since 1992.

TPA spokesman Sakkie van der Walt said land invasions are accelerating because of high expectations created during the election build-up. "Many people are moving from the backyards of other residents."

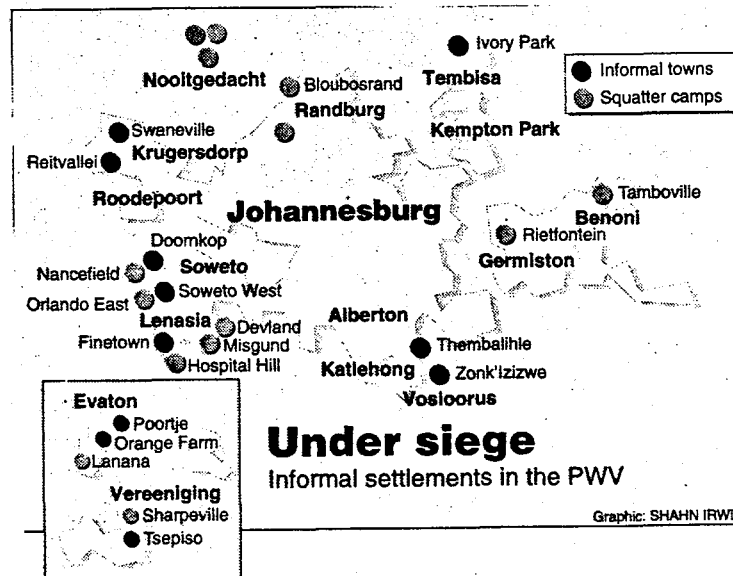
Land affairs spokesman for the PWV government, Sicelo Shiceka, ascribes the rise in land invasion to the abolition of the Group Areas Act: "In the 1990s there was an unprecedented flood of people from the rural areas. This was compounded by the severe drought and wars in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Zaire."

Asked whether the government

would arrest and evict land invaders, Shiceka was vague. But Slovo was more forthright. Stressing that the land being invaded had in many cases been set aside for communities involved in negotiations, he warned that the government "will not legalise any actions which will undermine the rights and expectations of such communities, and will not legitimise a process of queue-jumping".

Shiceka said his department would look into cases where land was acquired in "a suspicious manner". He made reference to "people or syndicates" who benefitted from the sale of state land by the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

The regional housing board and an assets committee would establish the quantity of state-owned land and start land redistribution talks.



# Apartheid crimes inquiry demanded

Chris McGreal  
in Johannesburg

THE finding by a South African judge at the weekend that the security forces murdered Matthew Goniwe and three other black activists in 1985, but that no individual could be held responsible, has strengthened demands for the creation of a "Truth Commission" to investigate apartheid crimes.

Judge Neville Zietsman said after a year-long inquiry that there was no doubt members of the police and South African defence force killed Goniwe and three colleagues in an attempt to reduce spiralling civil unrest in the Eastern Cape.

He named five officers on whom suspicion had fallen but said there was not enough evidence to identify them as the murderers.

The officers included a one-time military intelligence chief, Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who authorised the drafting of a military signal ordering that Goniwe and the others be "permanently removed from society".

The judge dismissed the army's claim that the signal was no more than an order to detain the activists. He described it as a death warrant.

Twenty days after the secret order was issued, the burned and mutilated bodies of the four activists were found near Port Elizabeth.

The judge accused Gen Van der Westhuizen and several other army witnesses of lying to the court. But he said that although the signal was an order to kill Goniwe and the others, there was no direct evidence to prove that their killers knew of the signal or of its contents.

"In my opinion there is prima facie proof that it was members of the security forces that in fact carried out the murders. A case of suspicion has been made out against certain members of the police force and against certain members of the South African defence force, including General

Joffel van der Westhuizen... but suspicion does not constitute prima facie proof," Judge Zietsman said.

Goniwe's widow, Nyameka welcomed the verdict that the security forces were guilty but was unhappy that no individuals were held accountable.

"I can't forgive and forget, or go on with my life, until I know the actual killers. We cannot close this chapter yet. I am appealing to people to come forward," she said.

Goniwe's father, Mbulelo, backed a call by South Africa's new justice minister, Dullah Omar, for a Commission of Truth and Reconciliation, similar to those in Chile, El Salvador and Burundi, to lay bare the political crimes of the apartheid era.

Those in favour argue that it would contribute to reconciliation and help the country deal with its past.

They say the proposed amnesty for political crimes, which could lead to the release of the white rightwingers involved in the election-week bombings, or Chris Hani's murderers, requires a full accounting of politically motivated killings.

But the demand appears to conflict with a number of political realities, not least President Nelson Mandela's emphasis on wooing whites, particularly Afrikaners and members of the security forces who would be the focus of any investigation.

The commission would also have to investigate the role of the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu homeland authorities, particularly the KwaZulu police, in political violence.

It would probably meet strenuous objections from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has been pacified to some degree by his cabinet position and control of KwaZulu/Natal.

Finally, in an attempt to balance the investigation, the commission would have to examine abuses by the African National Congress in its prison camps in Angola and elsewhere during the years of armed struggle against apartheid.

# How I cheated death at hitman's hands

**Gavin Evans, who was targeted by a covert military death squad in South Africa, argues the country badly needs the new Truth Commission.**

THE man who was supposed to kill me was called Donald 'Peaches' Gordon. A former Cape gangster, he admitted to the Harms judicial commission into political killings he had been hired to stab me to death outside the *Weekly Mail* and *Guardian* offices, and then steal my watch and wallet to make it look like an ordinary, if vicious, mugging.

Luckily, the people who hired 'Peaches' — the Civil Co-operation Bureau, a covert death squad set up in the 1980s by South African military intelligence — had out-of-date information on my address. I had abandoned my flat a couple of years earlier after 10 policemen armed with shotguns and tear-gas turned up one day to find me.

'Peaches' did not prove to be a diligent detective, and he quit searching for me. Soon after his admission to the Harms commission, he was found dead with a bullet hole in his head.

At the time, I was a journalist and an official of various anti-apartheid organisations. I had been an underground member of the ANC for nine years. The se-

curity services found out about my double life from a mole among ANC exiles: they could not use this information in court, so an assassination was planned.

I escaped, hundreds did not. My anthropologist friend David Webster, for example, was killed by a single shotgun blast from a moving car outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg. David's friends, personal and political, are all now in power. They have even renamed the local park after him.

But, five years after his death, and despite several judicial inquiries, no one has been charged with his killing and no one has admitted responsibility. Until now, there has been no compulsion on anyone to tell the truth about what happened in our society for so many years.

All that could change after last week's crucial announcement by South Africa's new Justice Minister, Dullah Omar, that a Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be set up to enable the country to come to terms with its past. The commission will offer people indemnity from prosecution — in exchange for full disclosure of their politically-motivated crimes. Omar, like me, was once on a CCB hit-list. The CCB planned to kill him by interfering with his heart pills.

I have met the man who was responsible for trying to kill both of us, who confessed after being subpoenaed by the Harms commission. His name is Lieutenant Abram 'Slang' van Zyl, a CCB operative and former policeman.

I spent over an hour with van Zyl and his wife at their home in Gordons Bay near Cape Town in 1990. Van Zyl, then 29 and a

professional hitman, had a soft face and a soft manner — but hard, snake-like eyes. 'Slang' in Afrikaans means 'snake'.

He had no remorse. 'I will never apologise for anything done while I was a member of the CCB. You have to fight war with war,' he told me. He was not prepared to say what he had in mind for the future (though I later learnt he was employed by a packaging corporation as a 'strong arm' enforcer, used against the company's rivals).

Most of the senior officers from the bad times are still around and, if they are not forced to disclose past actions, the fear is they may return to their old ways.

Only two years ago, the current defence chief, General Georg Meiring, was implicated in a covert operation in Britain, attempting (unsuccessfully) to 'reveal' an ANC-IRA link.

Police chief General Johann van der Merwe has been implicated in covert arms sales to the Inkatha-connected KwaZulu police and in protecting officers allegedly involved in planning massacres on commuter trains and in squatter camps. There are powerful interests wishing to keep a lid on the truth.

On the other hand, the new Minister of Police is a former long-term political detainee, Sydney Mufamadi. The Defence Minister is former ANC military chief Joe Modise, and the Justice Minister is Omar.

The result is that — although strong opposition exists within the security forces — the political will is there to prompt fuller disclosure. Now, with the setting up of the Truth Commission, the means have been established.

THE GUARDIAN  
Monday May 30 1994

Will the South African government's new Truth Commission really expose the terrible secrets of the past?

# Time to dig up the hatchet

Chris McGreal

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday June 10 1994

**F**RANK Chikane still meets the policeman who ripped the hair from his scalp, forcing him to scoop the bloody locks from the cell floor and dump them in a bin.

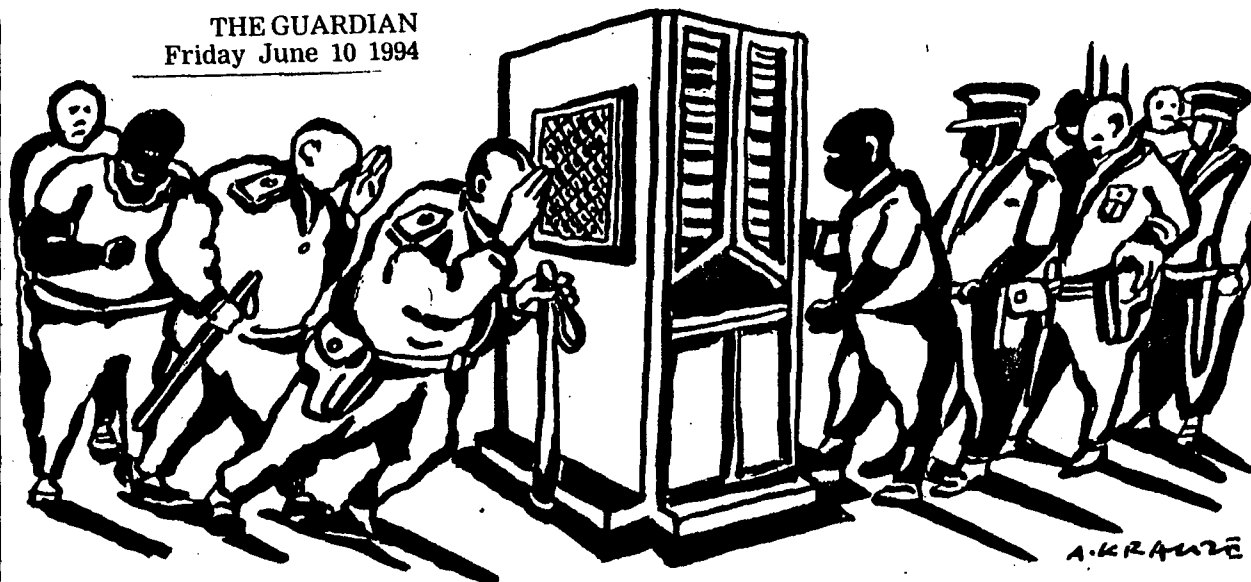
By the standards of South Africa in the late 1970s, Reverend Chikane's torture at John Vorster Square police headquarters was sadly unremarkable. On occasions the activist churchman was beaten so badly he was unable to walk on release. Others never walked again, victims of the recurrent "accidental" deaths in police custody.

Both men have risen to powerful positions, Chikane as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the policeman as a senior officer occasionally called to his victim's offices on business. When they meet, the policeman offers no acknowledgement of wrongdoing, no hint of apology.

Those who suffered at the hands of apartheid's enforcers are looking to the government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission to lever confessions and help purge South Africa of its past injustices by laying bare the full and ugly truths. The victims of the state-sanctioned hit squads and torturers argue that they do not want retribution, but they do want to know who was responsible for their suffering and to ensure it does not happen again.

It might seem that a leader of Nelson Mandela's moral stature would have the same interest, but his emphasis on reconciling the people of South Africa is leading away from truly confronting the past. In doing so, it threatens to drag more than the remnants of that past into the future.

Chikane offers up his own experience to back the call for a



full exposure of apartheid's criminals. "I always make an example of two people. One minister in the national party government came to me and said: 'I am very sorry because I was a deputy minister of law and order when you got detained. We ordered that, and I know you were tortured and know we were wrong and I want you to forgive me'. But the policeman in John Vorster has not acknowledged the torture. I find it very difficult to relate to him in the way that I would relate to a person who has confessed, and therefore it means I am a prisoner of that act. He is a prisoner of that act."

If South Africa does not examine its past, it too risks remaining a prisoner. Can victims really follow Nelson Mandela's call to set aside bitterness and offer forgiveness and reconciliation if those responsible for their suffering do not at least show remorse?

The victims are entitled to

know who their persecutors were. Matthew Goniwe's widow says she does not want retribution against the men who stabbed and shot her activist husband in 1985. We now know that a former head of military intelligence gave the order. But who pulled the trigger? Surely Mrs Goniwe is entitled to know that. South Africa also needs to know where he is.

While the administration has changed hands, the system is still laced with criminals — state-sanctioned murderers, torturers and those who went beyond the bounds of an apparatus the United Nations declared a crime against humanity in itself. The policeman who tortured Chikane continues to wield power over every person brought into John Vorster Square. Considerably more sinister individuals occupy positions in the security apparatus.

How the Commission will work is unresolved, but initial planning suggests the govern-

ment is shying away from full disclosure. South Africa's new Justice Minister, Dullah Omar, says the identities of those responsible for crimes will be known, but he is evasive when asked whether making names known is the same as making names public. Initial proposals indicate that while a condition of indemnity from prosecution will be a full confession, all that will be made public is that the individual has applied for indemnity. Crimes will be known only to the Commission, which will incorporate them into a broad report focusing on structures not individuals.

Those who favour shedding only a little candlelight on apartheid's criminals say it is necessary to bury the past for the sake of the future. Nelson Mandela has made a point of wooing the security forces, still controlled by whites. Some black South Africans are weary of reconciliation which looks like pandering to whites, but

those with newfound responsibilities in government warn of the dangers of destabilisation. What, they ask, if the Commission reveals senior National Party officials and members of Inkatha as criminals? What are the consequences of revealing the ANC's own abuses? What then happens to the government of national unity? And if police generals are implicated, will that not send the security forces into revolt?

Almost everyone involved in the administration of South Africa since 1949 is guilty to some extent. National Party cabinet ministers carry the same responsibility for the climate of their domain as Germany's Nazi administrators. They shaped a system which made it possible for the state to murder with impunity. Every paper-pusher involved in forced removals or racial classification, every white who voted for apartheid, has a responsibility.

But that is not where the

Commission needs to delve. The historians have already documented what was done through the warped legal processes of the South African parliament, and the voters have given their verdict. The Commission needs to explore those that went further than the extravagant latitude for abuse already permitted by apartheid laws. It needs to expose those who murdered and tortured the system's opponents, attempted to upset the transition to democracy and continue to threaten stability.

Those who favour a degree of protection for apartheid's criminals say shielding their identities, or the extent of their crimes, will encourage them to testify, and reassure the security forces. But if those seeking indemnity are required to reveal more than just their own crimes, to act as witnesses for the prosecution against those who refuse to confess, it would encourage others who feel vulnerable to prosecution to come forward and testify. The more open the process, the more that white South Africans understand what went on in their name, the less likely they are to balk. Only when it is shielded behind closed doors will they become suspicious of the intent, and fear persecution.

The alternative is to leave the killers in place. The dangers of that are evident still in Kwa-Zulu/ Natal. Senior officers in the KwaZulu Police (KZP), once directly under the control of Chief Buthelezi, have been implicated by the Goldstone Commission in hit squads and gun running. While the South African police and army appear to have jumped on board the reconciliation bandwagon, the KZP shows no such interest. Police-backed hit squads continue to operate. If the killers are left in place, they may conclude it is business as usual.



# South Africa Tries to Take the Force Out of Police

By STEVEN A. HOLMES  
Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN — Until recently, a sweep by 200 armed members of the South African police through the mixed-race township of Manenberg would have signaled a crackdown on political dissidents.

Instead, the 200 officers who descended on Manenberg one day at the end of May were deployed to root out the violent gangs that have plagued this and other townships on the flat plains east of Cape Town.

As strategy, the effort was more public relations than policing. Few arrests were made, and no weapons were seized, as the officers moved through the town and searched a number of dwellings, trailed by reporters, photographers and television crews.

Even so, police officials said they had hoped to make an important point: after decades spent enforcing apartheid and ruthlessly repressing dissent, South Africa's police force is being transformed into an organization whose sole function is to protect, not to intimidate.

"The people voted for a change and it is my duty to insure that the change is brought about on the ground," Patrick McKenzie, the provincial police minister, said at the local precinct house before deploying his officers.

## Even a Name Change

Change came officially from the top in May, when officials of the new Government of President Nelson Mandela announced a restructuring of the Police Department, complete with a name change — from the South African Police Force to the South African Police Service.

The revamping will create a 141,000-member department by consolidating the main police force with those of the former tribal "homelands," and then decentralizing the police command structure, giving more power to officials in the provinces. It is unclear whether the racial makeup of the force, whose command structure is overwhelmingly white, will change markedly. At present, about 60 percent of the patrol force is nonwhite, although it is drawn largely from the mixed-race population.

Like many aspects of the new Government, the police restructuring plans are, for the moment, short on details and long on a process of consultation with different political factions. They are also fraught with the possibility that the process and the police force itself will get bogged down in partisan bickering.

But more than any of the other institutions of South Africa, the Afrikaner-dominated police, with its network of informers, hated anti-riot squads and lightning raids in the middle of the night, represented the hard edge of state repression on a daily basis.

## 'Community Policing'

The buzzwords "community policing" are as much in the air in South Africa these days as they are in New York or Los Angeles. The country's interim constitution already mandates consultation between police and local leaders, and the new South African Bill of Human Rights protects citizens from searches without warrants and detention without trial and requires the police to issue warnings to those arrested indicating that they have a right to remain silent and that anything they say could be used in court.

The restructuring foresees the establishment of police-community forums that will work on setting priorities for the police in a given locale or deciding where to place police stations. Officials say they are also scrapping the military ranks of general, colonel and major for top police officers. While they did not say what the new police commanders would be called, the old ranking system is felt by the new Government to have been part of the paramilitary culture that infused the police in the past and is

out of step with the new era of community policing.

In addition, police officers are to undergo increased training in crime fighting techniques and in sensitivity when dealing with individuals — especially nonwhites.

"A user-friendly police service is essential if we are to succeed in winning the confidence of the population" and in bringing crime and violence

under control, said Sydney Mafumadi, the new Minister of Safety and Security.

## High Crime Rate

And the police have a lot to do. Last year this country of 40 million people had 17,487 killings. In Natal province, killings amounted to 203 per 100,000 population; in the Western Cape, 58.5 per 100,000 and in the area that includes both Johannesburg and Pretoria, 87.2. In the United States overall, by comparison, there were 9.3 killings per 100,000 in 1992, the last year for which figures are available.

By the end of April, the Manenberg township, about three and a half square miles of dreary, graffiti-scarred tenements that house some 71,000 people, had numerous shootings and 14 killings. Most were the result of shootouts between one gang, the Hard Livings, and their antagonists, the Clever Kids and the Jesters.

The gangs vie mainly for control of the trade in Mandrax, a sedative manufactured in India and Pakistan that is illegal in South Africa. It is often crushed into a mind-numbing concoction with the potent local marijuana and smoked.

For all the talk of reform, however, the operation in Manenberg seemed hardly different from the days of apartheid, except that the residents seemed more bemused than fearful. Some expressed satisfaction with the presence of the police. But when the officers entered some apartments without warrants to conduct searches, many in the crowd shouted for them to leave the area.

After the police and camera crews had departed, Rashied Staggie, 40, co-

leader of the Hard Livings, said he would be willing to work with the police to negotiate a truce with other gangs in the area. But he said he did not appreciate flashy police sweeps which, he said, only served to make the community more aggressive toward the authorities.

"The police must understand that the gangs are also part of the community, that they have always been here and that they will always be here," Mr. Staggie said. "Apartheid put us here and they must not forget that fact."

Even as he vowed to reform the police, Mr. Mafumadi stressed that the police should not fear that the new Government would undertake wholesale purges of the ranks.

"It must be immediately said that no one — whether within the S.A.P.F. or the community — has anything to fear whatsoever from this process of change," Mr. Mafumadi said.

By eschewing a general housecleaning, the new Government is hoping that South Africa's nonwhites will learn to trust some of the very officers involved in recent abuses.

## Big Test in Natal

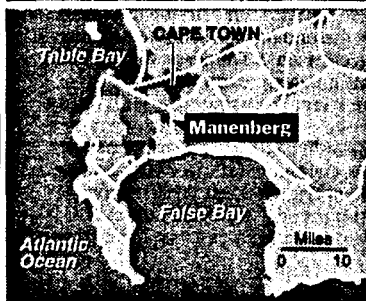
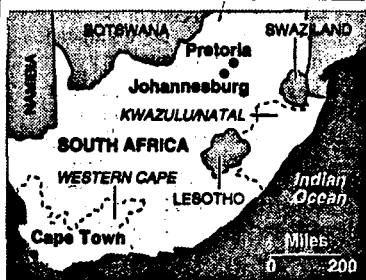
That tricky calculation could be put to its sternest test in Natal, where elements of the central police force and the KwaZulu police were deeply involved in the violent political fight between the African National Congress and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi.

In March, a commission headed by Judge Richard J. Goldstone found evidence that the South African police armed and assisted Zulu nationalist hit squads that carried out terrorist attacks against supporters of the A.N.C. Two of the top police officials who oversaw the operation, Lieut. Gen. Basie Smit, the second in command, and Maj. Gen. Krappies Engelbrecht, the chief of counterintelligence, have announced they will be retiring. A third official named in the report, Lieut. Gen. Johan le Roux, remains on the force.

## In the new South Africa, protectors, not intimidators.

In April the South African Police raided a camp where some members of the KwaZulu police were suspected of training nationalist guerrillas on how to set ambushes, make gasoline bombs and blow up buses.

According to a report by an investigator for the Transitional Executive Council, among those who were aware of the existence of the camp was Celani Mthethwa, who was the KwaZulu Minister of Justice before the election, and remains in charge of the police in Natal today.



The New York Times

Police officers are trying to convince people in Manenberg that they are there to protect them.



# The titanic battle for control of the Defence Force

Threats to expose moles in the ANC were behind the attempt to gag this newspaper, write **Stephen Laufer and Anton Harber**

**T**HE aborted attempt by Minister of Defence Joe Modise to censor the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* last week revealed a titanic struggle between Modise and Defence Force chief General Meiring for ultimate control of the armed forces.

And a major element in this battle is information that Military Intelligence operatives claim to have that would compromise individual ANC leaders.

Meiring took the initiative last Thursday when, with some last-minute arm-twisting, he pushed Modise into the interdict against this newspaper. Sources close to the Ministry of Defence say the general won Modise over with the threat of major political damage to the ANC and the government through the revelation

of highly placed South African moles in the ANC, dating back to its period in exile.

This has raised fears that such information could give the military a hold over some ANC leaders, including ministers and deputy ministers.

Said one intelligence source: "Meiring is a sharp strategist. He would have known all the implications of the interdict and may have been testing Modise."

But neither of them banked on the strong reaction they faced. In a move unprecedented in South African politics, the minister's own party, the ANC, and its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, all criticised him sharply and publicly.

Modise won back some ground in a crisis meeting on Monday morning when he ordered Meiring to withdraw the affidavit, blamed him for the criticism he had faced and over-rode Meiring when he did not want to concede the newspaper's legal costs. Modise is now taking steps to surround himself with civilian and polit-

ical advisors, such as his long-standing colleague Ronnie Kasrils, to ensure he does not rely directly and solely on Meiring's advice.

Observers are now watching to see if Modise is able to follow this through and assert his authority as civilian and political leader of the military.

This leaves the question of what, if any, compromising information the military gathered in its decades of fighting the ANC that it can now use.

Government and ANC intelligence operatives believe a decades-long programme to recruit agents inside the ANC by the South African spy services was ultimately successful in penetrating the top echelons of the political and military wings of the organisation.

The South Africans allegedly used "false-flag operations", in which they pretended to be British, American, Israeli or Soviet agents gathering information and won over ANC leaders sympathetic to those governments. At a later point, they would reveal to their source that they had

been supplying information to the apartheid government, thus compromising them and forcing them to continue supplying material.

The South African intelligence operation was allegedly so successful that at least one cabinet minister and one deputy in the present government are alleged to have been South African informants. This newspaper is aware of the alleged identities of the two, but will not publish their names without conclusive proof of any collusion with the apartheid authorities.

Intelligence analysts are sceptical about claims from the MI operatives interdicted along with *WM&G* last week. "They are too junior to have run or even had knowledge of really senior ANC figures working as agents for the other side," said one. Modise appears to have acted with little reference to his advisors, instead trusting Meiring's advice. Contacted by this newspaper on receipt of the interdict last Thursday, the minister's political advisor asked somewhat sheepishly to have a copy of the

court papers faxed to the ministry.

The debacle, commented Institute for Defence Policy director Jakkie Cilliers, "illustrates the need for the Defence Ministry to seek policy advice from outside, from a parliamentary defence committee, from civil society, and other advisors. The minister should not depend solely on the generals for guidance."

The interdict debacle was a prime argument for the rapid establishment of the truth commission, argued several government sources. "It will create an ordered framework for dealing with the past and reduce the risk of blackmail to the government or leading political figures," said one.

It is understood that President Nelson Mandela received an extensive counter-intelligence briefing by the ANC's security department prior to choosing his cabinet. Sources refused to divulge what the president was told, but said "he is a lawyer. You must be careful not to come to him with circumstantial evidence, he demands proof".

And one cabinet insider said:

"Craig Williams left a network behind inside the ANC (when his cover was blown). Some might now be in politics and positions of influence. The way out for poor Modise is to recommend to the president the publication of the Steyn report" into the DCC's activities.

Mandela angrily told viewers during his televised pre-election debate with FW de Klerk that the then president had refused to show him the Steyn report. Repeated requests to the President's Office this week failed to produce clarity on whether Mandela had seen the report since coming to power.

Modise has been criticised for going into overdrive in implementing Mandela's reconciliation policies within the Defence Force at the expense of senior Umkhonto weSizwe cadres waiting to be appointed to the Defence Force. He is known to have built a close relationship with Meiring and other senior staff members through months of integration talks.

Besides spending hours together

at the negotiating table, the former adversaries visited submarines and soldiers, had braais and beers together. Some Angry MK cadres this week pointed to Modise's failure to get a single senior ANC military officer appointed to the top echelons of the SANDF since taking office.

Among those waiting in the wings is MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda, tipped to take Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn's old job as chief of staff. Expected during Modise's first week in office, it is understood Nyanda's appointment has been delayed by resistance from Meiring and his colleagues, who say the MK man is not qualified.

Modise's critics counter that he should nevertheless have shown sufficient resolve to appoint Nyanda, even if only to send him for advanced staff officer training. They believe Modise is reluctant to ruffle the general's feathers not least because he has been seduced by the status and privileges available to the minister of defence.



# Niemoller named in Lubowski inquest

Chandre Gould

**J**OHAN Niemoller, named in 1986 as being involved in a plot to kidnap four top ANC members in London, has emerged as a central figure in the planning of the assassination of Swapo leader Anton Lubowski.

A South African Special Forces member between 1976 and 1981, Niemoller's name cropped up repeatedly at the Windhoek inquest into Lubowski's assassination, which heard closing arguments last week.

The inquest heard that Niemoller was given R600 000 by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) to "establish himself in the community" and set up a business front, referred to as a "blue plan", which would disguise the real nature of his business, known as the "red plan". Evidence was that he was ordered by "Frik", the regional CCB manager in Namibia, to gather information and make videos of "everything that was important for use by the CCB".

In the course of executing his "red plan", Niemoller visited Lubowski on more than one occasion under the pretext of seeking advice on matters related to mining operations. Council for the Lubowski family Wim Trengrove argued that he was in fact seeking to gather intelligence about Lubowski which could be used by the CCB.

Niemoller admitted in court that he had videoed Lubowski's house and recruited a colleague, Charles Neelse, to assist him. Both Niemoller and Neelse were named by Trengrove as members of region 8 of the CCB and therefore as having common purpose to murder Lubowski.

Currently a businessman in Windhoek, Niemoller has a classic dirty tricks background. After tak-



Johan Niemoller ... Admitted taking video of Lubowski's house

ing part in the South African raid on Cabinda in Angola in the mid-1970s, Niemoller was sent to London in 1986 where he was drawn into a British operation to take over the Seychelles.

In return he is alleged to have asked for assistance in kidnapping the ANC members, but this operation fell through. He allegedly received a large sum of money from the CCB after tipping them off about the planned Seychelles coup in the mid-1980s.

When Niemoller returned to South Africa he was recruited by Joe Verster as a member of the CCB and assigned as an undercover agent in Namibia from 1989.

In final argument at the marathon inquest, Trengrove referred to affidavits and documents from both the recent inquest into the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and the Harms Commission, which provided a more comprehensive insight into the methods of the military's now disbanded CCB.

The Namibian Supreme Court heard last week that the CCB was responsible for the September 12 1989 assassination of Lubowski. Council for the Lubowski family argued that the shadowy organisation had common purpose to murder Lubowski, and that those consciously operating as CCB members in Region 8, Namibia,

were therefore responsible for murder.

Trengrove accused former CCB chairman Joe Verster and former members Ferdi Barnard, Calla Botha, Abram (Slang) van Zyl, Charles Wildschuudt (formerly Neelse), Donald "The Cleaner" Acheson, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Wouter Basson and Niemoller of involvement in the assassination.

He argued that Namibian police officers incriminated by some witnesses were not linked to the murder.

The conclusions were supported in principle by the Deputy Prosecutor-General John Walters.

Trengrove argued that the CCB "planned a campaign of violent acts to disrupt Swapo's election activities in the 1989 Namibian election" and Lubowski's murder would have been in line with this.

Former Special Forces and CCB member Calla Botha explained in an affidavit the training programme of CCB recruits and named the CCB's deputy director as Helner Muller, not previously exposed as a CCB member.

Botha also outlined the CCB's chain of command, saying all CCB projects were approved by the CCB chairman General Joep Joubert and later General Webb in consultation with the state president, at that time PW Botha.

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday June 24 1994

## Pretoria death squad 'killed Swapo leader'

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**A** NAMIBIAN court finding yesterday that a Pretoria assassination squad murdered the leading Swapo member Anton Lubowski in 1989 is likely to strengthen the case for a "truth commission" to investigate South African political atrocities.

A supreme court inquest ruled in Windhoek yesterday that Mr Lubowski, a barrister, was murdered by an Irish contract killer working for the Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB), an assassination unit run by the South African military. Pretoria previously denied the charge, claiming Mr Lubowski was one of its spies.

The CCB is known to have plotted the murder of South Africa's new minister of justice, Dullah Omar, by replacing his heart tablets with poison. Mr Omar is fighting in cabinet for a truth commission, a non-punitive variation on the Nuremberg trials.

Mr Lubowski was gunned down at the gate of his Namibian home on September 12, 1989. He was a member of Swapo's central committee and a near-certainty for cabinet rank in post-independent Namibia.

South African responsibility was immediately assumed. But Pretoria's then minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, told parliament Mr Lubowski had been a spy. He made the "disclosure" as "proof" that South Africans did not carry out the murder, arguing that they would not have killed their own agent.

A South African judge sitting on the Namibian bench yesterday found the murder was carried out by an Irish mercenary, Donald Acheson, known as "The Cleaner". He dismissed

General Malan's claims as untrue.

Judge Harold Levy named as Mr Acheson's accomplices the "managing director" of the CCB, Joe Verster, and other members of the unit — Ferdi Barnard, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Wouter Basson, Johan Niemoller, Calla Botha and Slang van Zyl.

Mr Acheson was arrested after the murder, but released because of insufficient evidence. Judge Levy described this as "the height of incompetence" by the prosecuting authorities in the light of available evidence.

At present there is no extradition treaty between Namibia and South Africa. The government of F. W. de Klerk is believed to have negotiated with Windhoek on a treaty. But talks broke down because Pretoria wanted it to apply only to offences committed after Namibian independence, seemingly to protect the Lubowski killers.

The new South African administration is likely to be more sympathetic. But President Mandela faces a dilemma in that men convicted of similar crimes have been pardoned in South Africa as part of the amnesty process accompanying the transition to democracy. A compromise may be an agreement with Namibia not to extradite the men, but to put the assassination under the jurisdiction of the proposed truth commission.

● After decades as an international outcast, South Africa yesterday reclaimed its seat in the United Nations General Assembly.

The consensus resolution welcoming South Africa "back to the community of nations" ducked the question of its unpaid UN dues totalling \$100 million, saying they had accrued "due to conditions beyond its control". — Reuter

# Edged out, but Buthelezi fights back

The Zulu king may have elbowed Mangosuthu Buthelezi off the throne, but the Inkatha leader has not given up the fight, writes **Farouk Chotia**

**H**AVING lost his stranglehold over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last weekend issued thinly veiled threats to the monarch, questioned his loyalty to the Zulu nation and projected himself as being more powerful than the king.

By contrast, the ANC rallied to the defence of Zwelithini, promising to protect him in the face of Buthelezi's "insults" by enshrining his rights in the national constitution — including a guarantee that the IFP-controlled kwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature would not have the power to withhold his salary.

The 24-year relationship between Zwelithini and Buthelezi has reached a turning-point, with the nephew finally elbowing his uncle off the royal throne in Nongoma.

Informed sources painted a picture of Zwelithini as fearing Buthelezi. Said one source: "The king told the ANC delegation at one of their meetings that he does not want to return to the tyranny and terror he has faced. Those were his exact words."

An elated ANC Natal Midlands spokesman Blade Nzimande said this week that Buthelezi has lost his two "main pillars of support" — the kwaZulu government and the king.

Buthelezi denied there was "any clash or argument of any kind" between himself and the king. But he went on to accuse the ANC of trying to "worm its way into the king's confidence".

Observers believe that without Zwelithini's backing, the IFP's hand in upcoming constitutional talks will be considerably weakened.

At a watershed rally in Umlazi last weekend Buthelezi downplayed the significance of the monarch.

"The only way forward for the Zulu kingdom and for all the people in kwaZulu/Natal will come from you, the members of the IFP," he said.

Buthelezi revealed that the former kwaZulu government had spent almost R7-million on Zwelithini's five palaces, more than R2-million to provide him with labourers, more than R500 000 to assist him in developing "modern farm undertakings" and "to date we have actually spent over R4-million on securing His Majesty's personal position and on supplementary requirements around his person".

Stoking emotions of betrayal among IFP supporters, Buthelezi told the crowd: "In a very real sense, this was your money. It was the people's money ... It was money you, as ordinary people,



King Zwelithini ... Breaking loose from Buthelezi

ple, gladly forewent in favour of that money being spent on schools, hospitals and health."

Buthelezi projected himself as being more powerful than Zwelithini, saying he had "elevated" the monarchy to a position "other Zulu kings have failed to achieve".

He added that he was also "behind" the fact that Zwelithini has emerged as a "modern" king. Buthelezi also raised the possibility of another king in his lifetime, even though he is 65 years old and Zwelithini is 20 years younger. "I am loyal to His Majesty and I will die being loyal to whichever Zulu king walks in the footsteps of great Zulu kings ...." he said.

He also reminded the monarch that he would be reliant on the kwaZulu/Natal provincial

legislature for the "large budgets" he would need to maintain his "kingly way of life".

To overcome the loss of the monarch, observers believe the IFP could attempt to rebuild an alliance with the National Party — particularly its Western Cape region — to demand greater federal powers. Observers believe that the IFP's chances of winning local government elections next year have also been significantly reduced.

As a counter-strategy, Buthelezi may fight Zwelithini for the loyalty of chiefs through IFP-control of the kwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature.

Sources said Zwelithini was determined to ensure that his chiefs adopted a non-partisan role in the ANC-IFP conflict. He fired the first

salvo in this direction when he attended the inauguration ceremony of a chief in Mtunzini shortly after the April poll and voiced concern that some chiefs were "abusing" their powers.

Sources revealed that moves were afoot to convene a private meeting between several chiefs — including ANC kwaZulu/Natal parliamentarian chief Zibuse Mlaba and chief OT Xolo, a former kwaZulu deputy minister who has ditched the IFP — and Zwelithini.

Sources said Zwelithini might also call a meeting of his chiefs to encourage them to adopt a non-partisan role. Sources also said that while Zwelithini had no plan to publicly denounce Buthelezi, he would strip him of his status as "traditional prime minister" by excluding him from the Royal Council he plans to form to advise him

on political and other issues.

The sources said a senior prince who has played a pivotal role in encouraging the king to break away from Buthelezi was a strong candidate for the post of traditional prime minister.

But Buthelezi has strongly suggested that even if the king sacks him, he will continue to perform this function. At the Umlazi rally, he claimed he was "born" to inherit the post.

To boost his claim, Buthelezi is increasingly interfering in the politics of kwaZulu/Natal in his capacity as "traditional prime minister", giving orders to the elected premier, Frank Mdlalose. He has brought Gideon Zulu, a prince loyal to him, into the provincial cabinet and pushed for Ulundi as the province's capital with far greater vehemence than Mdlalose.

By having Ulundi as the capital Buthelezi hopes the IFP will retain its image as a Zulu traditionalist party at a time when Zwelithini has ditched them. Observers believe Zwelithini has indicated his preference for Pietermaritzburg by attending the opening of the provincial legislature in the city while boycotting a ceremony where Buthelezi was to have "presented" the kwaZulu/Natal cabinet to him.

At the weekend Buthelezi also set out to smash the king's credibility among IFP loyalists by questioning Zwelithini's decision to replace his kwaZulu bodyguards with members of the Defence Force.

Sources said Zwelithini's changing of the guard had stung Buthelezi the most: he has lost his eyes and ears in the Royal House, making it possible for the monarch to convene what Buthelezi called "clandestine" meetings with ANC leaders and surround himself with non-IFP princes.

Buthelezi said the move had taken place before the election when Zwelithini told him of a phone call he received from ex-minister of foreign affairs Pk Botha, warning of "threats on his life" and the need to "tighten up" security. Buthelezi suggested that the king's life was now in danger.