

THE STAR, TUESDAY 29 MARCH 1994

The Star

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This far, no further

The right to protest is fundamental, but it carries profound responsibilities — especially in volatile times.

THE centre of South Africa's largest city was plunged into bloody anarchy for several hours yesterday. For those who witnessed it, it was an inestimably ugly and frightening sight. This cannot be allowed to become a precedent for the closing weeks of the election campaign.

We do not know who fired the first shots, and we cannot be certain that we will ever know. But there is a clear lesson to be learnt. In extraordinary times like these, when a spark can start an all-consuming conflagration, the right of all South Africans to march and demonstrate in support of their political views carries with it special responsibilities. These responsibilities are so serious that if they are flouted, the right might even have to be redefined as a privilege — and privileges can be removed.

Any parties, or leaders playing a political role — as Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is playing in this period — have to ask themselves two questions among others. First, will our planned action *have the effect* of being provocative, and placing lives at risk? It is no defence to say this was not the intention. Second, have we ensured that none of our supporters is armed? Again, it is not good enough to say one didn't know.

If political leaders — from whatever party — are not prepared to honour these basic responsibilities, then they invite inevitable illiberal censure: the temporary prohibition of some or all high-risk demonstrations.

This is a step to be avoided by the authorities if at all possible; it is a desperate measure which can be justified only on the grounds that there is no rational alternative. A reversion to state of emergency politics would inevitably open the door to political abuse, and it would tragically mar the birth of the new South Africa. But if politicians are so cynical as to actively explore the Bosnia option, then it is a step that might have to be considered.

NEWS

This was no movie, but deadly real life

I saw my first gunshot victim yesterday. There he lay motionless, his head in a pool of blood. For a second I couldn't take my eyes off him. Then a wall of photographers blocked my view and I felt nauseous.

By the time I saw the third and fourth bloodstained, limp bodies prone in the street, I felt very little.

No doubt, after I have attended the third and fourth peace rally that turns violent, the adrenalin won't rush as quickly, the impis and toyi-toying men won't be quite as frightening, and every rally that begins and ends peacefully will come as a surprise.

Before I left Switzerland, my mother had warned me about these rallies, which make up most of the news on South Africa that we get to see in Europe. Her parting words at the airport

**IT ALL
seemed
like a film,
writes
Christina
Stucky**



were: "When you hear gunshots, drop to the ground.

"Don't turn around to look where they come from. Don't be a hero."

If she knew how I dived right into the middle of marching impis, how I cowered behind rubbish bins when shots were fired a few metres away, she would be scared senseless.

Just like all the mothers of all the young men and women in downtown Johannesburg yesterday.

day.

The entire event reeled past me like a film. In fact, at the start of the march there was an all-pervading sense that this was a show of force staged for the omnipresent cameras.

The way some warriors jumped in the air, shaking their assegais and knobkerries directly at the zoom lenses of photographers, came off too slick, too rehearsed.

At that point the rally was not much more than an exotic event to me, although the stares of the chanting men were a bit intimidating, as was the young man who stuck his face in mine and snarled.

It all seems like a film to me still. Nothing seems real — neither the chanting in the beginning, the chaos in the middle, nor the return to normal downtown city life at the end.

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TRIP CANCELLED: ANC president Nelson Mandela cancelled a trip to Transkei where he was to meet traditional leaders, apparently because of the laryngitis which has been plaguing him since last week. This was the second time Mandela had tried to meet chiefs in the region, said ANC Transkei media liaison officer Nat Serache. He had wanted to see them during his election roadshow in the homeland earlier this month but his schedule had been too tight. Mandela would probably have wanted to reassure the chiefs about their future, Serache said.

Calm before the storm... the march at first appeared relatively peaceful, but the mood soon changed when sniper fire and the heavy thud of stun grenades ripped across Library Gardens.

PICTURES:
DUIF DU TOIT

Induna cannot speak of peace as the bullets fly

Six months ago, with a letter in his hand and peace in his heart, Magazine Dhlomo walked into Selby Hostel in a successful effort to end the hostel wars that had claimed more than 50 lives.

Yesterday Dhlomo, a shield and a spear in hand and sadness and anger in his heart, stood in the Library Gardens, sipped his soft drink and shook his head.

"I cannot speak peace now..." he said. "How can I? My aunt's son has been shot dead by people firing from these buildings. At this moment I don't see the need to speak peace."

An Induna from Jeppe Hostel, Dhlomo did not know how he could tell his family that he was preaching peace on the Reef while his "son" had been killed.

"I have to go and bury him in Nkandla, KwaZulu, and I don't know what I'll say to his parents."

It was a sad day for Dhlomo and a sadder one for peace.

Before the shooting at the Library Gardens, where Dhlomo had gone to show support for his

**JOVIAL
RANTAO**
relates a
tale of
despair



king, Goodwill Zwelithini, he was hopeful that the Hostel Peace Initiative, which he started with the Methodist Church's the Rev Mvume Dandala, would succeed.

His hopes were dashed by the bullets which echoed through downtown Johannesburg yesterday.

"I've lost hope in negotiations. I could have been killed."

Yesterday, ideas of peace lay in ruins. Hostel inmates — Dhlomo included — were incensed and seeking revenge.

As Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu of the IFP Transvaal leadership arrived at the Library Gardens, Dhlomo shook his head again.

"I've got nothing more to say," he said. "It's back to square one now..."

Gloom persists on jittery JSE

The gloom persisted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange today after yesterday's bloody street battles in the city caused the overall index to skid 147 points to 5024.

But overseas investors took advantage of a much weaker financial rand to buy into blue chip counters, which helped the industrial index regain 14 points of the 152 lost yesterday.

"This market is very jittery," a dealer said. "It has been over-

bought for some time but political factors are now a major influence and the smaller investors are taking their profits and running."

De Beers, one of yesterday's main casualties, lost another 125c to R103 and blue chip miner Vaal Reefs was 250c off at R456.

Minorco, a rand hedge for South Africans, was 325c off at R96.75. — Business Staff.

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Terror as marchers reach Soweto

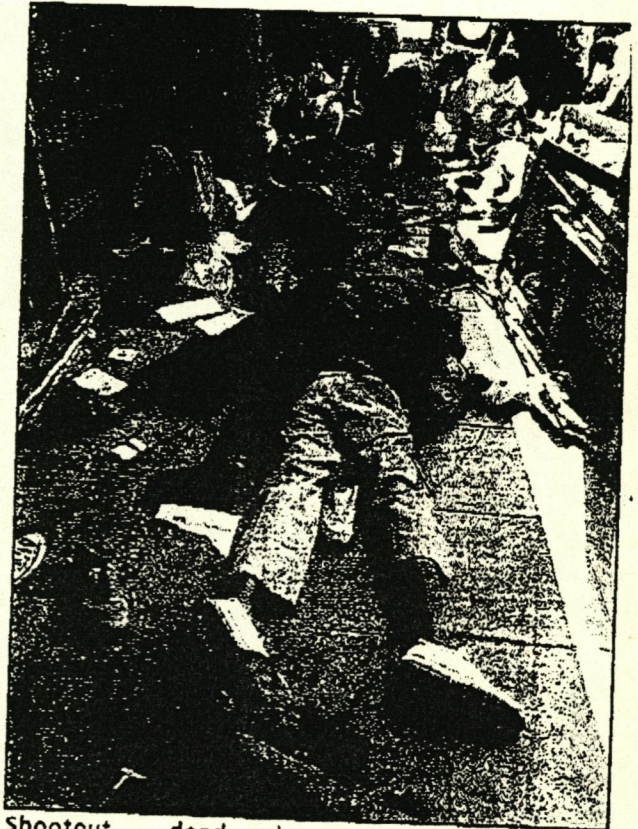
■ BY ABBEY MAKOE
SOWETO BUREAU

Many Soweto residents feared attacks from hostel dwellers returning from the chaotic rally in central Johannesburg yesterday.

And those residents with jobs, most of whom returned several hours early from work because of the day's mayhem, were forced to walk long distances to their homes as taxis, most of them normally operated by IFP supporters, were either ferrying Zulus home or simply off-duty in honour of the rally.

The Dube Hostel, outside whose premises three people were shot dead, resembled a war zone.

Heavy gunfire from impis who could not attend the rally in order to guard their hostel could be heard from the premises all day long.



Shootout . . . dead and wounded lie outside ANC headquarters in Plein Street.

ANC, IFP blame each other for the mayhem

Accusations fly in carnage aftermath

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and JOVIAL RANTAO

The ANC and the IFP blamed each other yesterday for the carnage that followed yesterday's march in support of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his demands for a sovereign Zulu monarchy.

President de Klerk blamed organisers of the march and said insufficient care had been taken to prevent violence and discipline the marchers.

At a press conference yesterday, the ANC strongly denounced the incidents of violence, describing them as part of a general campaign to destabilise the PWV and endanger free and fair elections in the province.

ANC leaders said information they had received on Sunday evening — which they had duly passed on to SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe

BOTH parties claim they had information of planned disruptions before the march, and this had been handed to the police

and PWV regional commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz — suggested that the organisation's regional and national offices were targets of the march.

ANC leaders Thabo Mbeki, Penuel Maduna, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Tokyo Sexwale told the press conference that security personnel at their regional and national offices had shot in self-defence at a group of Zulus who had tried to gain entry into the offices.

The ANC held both IFP regional leaders and Calitz and his officers responsible for what

happened.

At an IFP press conference, IFP Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza alleged that Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers had been infiltrated into Zulu marchers and were the ones who started shooting.

"I received information on Sunday night about the ANC's plan and passed the information to the SAP and the SADF," Khoza said. Initial information was that MK cadres would wear brown SADF uniform and masquerade as soldiers.

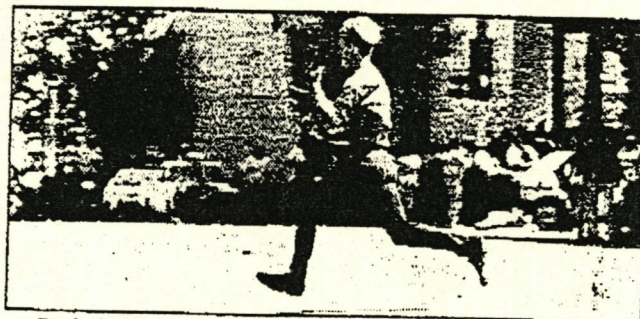
"What happened today was not a mistake. It was a deliberate, calculated assassination of people who were here to support democracy," Khoza said.

IFP Transvaal chairman Humphrey Ndlovu, speaking at the scene of the shooting, said Zulu leaders would meet soon to decide their next step. The IFP, he said, would lay a formal complaint with the police.

Retaliation, Ndlovu warned, should be expected. "We know what we'll do. It won't end today," he said.

President de Klerk requested a full criminal investigation into the incidents.

"There can be no excuse at this critical stage in the political process for provocative and potentially violent actions such as we have seen today. It not only endangers the election and reform process, but also the very fabric of society," De Klerk said.



Red alert . . . gunfire spurs a policeman into action.

'Demonstrators stormed building firing wildly'

ANC guards fire at marchers: 11 killed

■ BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT

Eleven people died in a hail of bullets outside the ANC's headquarters in central Johannesburg in a clash between Zulu royalists and ANC security guards yesterday.

The firefight came after three shootouts with marchers at the organisation's PWV regional offices in Jeppe Street earlier in the day.

Reporters on the scene counted 11 bodies after the shootings.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the head office had been attacked from three directions by armed and angry marchers. ANC security personnel had returned fire.

Police could not confirm last night how many people had died in the

POLICE "absence" during fatal shootout at ANC offices questioned

shootout.

Mamoepa said the ANC, after receiving information that their offices would be targeted, had requested added security from the police and Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat several times before the attack.

He said that before the attack several policemen had been on patrol, but that for about 30 minutes during the shootout no security forces had been present.

Mamoepa said the attacks on the ANC had begun at about 8.30 am when ANC executive

member Penuel Maduna had escaped a volley of gunfire and ducked into the ANC headquarters building in Plein Street.

Mamoepa said that at about 11 am, after several gunfire exchanges at the ANC's regional offices, thousands of protesters, led by an AK-47-wielding man, had marched on the headquarters.

The ANC had asked police to divert the march away from the offices, but in vain, he added.

The marchers then split and approached from Wanderers and De Villiers streets. Others proceeded along Plein Street and most of them were heavily armed," said Mamoepa.

He said security staff had fired warning shots in the air and the marchers had retreated, but an-

other contingent of demonstrators had then appeared from King George Street, this time firing at the building with automatic weapons.

"We again fired two warning shots, but it is at this stage that the behaviour of the police has to be explained. For 30 minutes there was no security force presence and the marchers continued to fire," said Mamoepa.

He said that after another contingent of marchers had stormed the building firing wildly, ANC security guards had opened fire.

After the volley, during which people scattered and residents boarded up their flat windows, bodies lay everywhere.

Paramedics treated the wounded at the scene, but for many it was too late.

Mandela, FW to meet king and Buthelezi

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

A crisis summit that will bring together F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for the first time will start tomorrow.

Efforts to get the talks off the ground were yesterday given fresh urgency by the horror killings in central Johannesburg and the spiralling violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

According to a statement issued last night the meeting will end on Thursday morning. Details were thrashed out between the SA Government, the KwaZulu government, the IFP and the ANC yesterday.

The summit will address escalating violence, the need to create a climate for free and fair elections and the "need to find urgent solutions to the political differences which underlie the current tensions", said the joint statement issued by

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Mandela, FW, Buthelezi, king to meet

◀ From Page 1

the four sides

News of the political initiative came amid fresh indications last night that the Government — in concert with the Transitional Executive Council — was poised to move strongly to stamp out violence in the four weeks remaining before the

In a statement reacting to the incidents in Johannesburg city centre yesterday, De Klerk hinted at imminent action: "The time has arrived for the urgent consideration — by the Government, the TEC, the IEC and others — of additional measures or steps which can prevent a repetition of what

has happened (in Johannesburg) and on recent similar occasions."

The need for steps to ensure free electioneering in KwaZulu/Natal will also dominate the TEC's meeting in Pretoria today.

Last week the TEC paved the way for action

by giving its management committee a mandate to recommend whatever steps it deemed necessary to stabilise the situation in the province.

Yesterday the ANC signalled that it would be demanding firm action from the TEC.

(47 South St, Johannesburg)

THE STAR, TUESDAY 29 MARCH 1994

Second day of tension in CBD after reports of fresh threat of violence

The battle of Jo'burg



Panic in President Street... marchers flee and policemen try to draw a line on sniper fire ringing out across the Library Gardens during yesterday's inner-city fray.

There was an air of tension in central Johannesburg today after yesterday's anarchy in the CBD when a march by tens of thousands of Zulu royalists went horribly wrong.

Yesterday's events moved the KwaZulu election boycott bloodily to the country's centre stage.

At least 38 people died, including 18 in the city centre. More than 250 were injured in Greater Johannesburg and last night, as marchers made their way home, at least five people were killed at railway stations en route to the East Rand and Soweto. A further seven bodies were found near hostels in Soweto last night.

Tensions rose this morning when a band of about 100 men armed with spears and assegais poured out of a train near Newtown and panicky commuters scattered. Minibus taxis blocked roads into the area and traffic turned back. But the armed men vanished.

There were also uncon-

DAY OF madness brings KwaZulu/Natal election crisis to shocked city centre

firmed reports of another group of armed men moving into the city from Booysens.

Many Soweto commuters were left stranded as minibus taxi services came to a halt.

An SAP spokesman said police had gone to Newtown, but could give no details of what had happened. He said police had reports of SACP supporters gathering for a march, but details were unclear.

Today's panic came amid rumours that a second march was scheduled from George Goch Hostel today. The march did not take place.

The Star's switchboard was inundated with callers asking whether the CBD was safe.

Several cases of violence



Photographs: Gary Bernard

Reports: Chameela Bhagowati, Cheryl Hunter, Happy Nkhoma, Kaizer Nyatumba, Jovial Rantao and Justice Malala

were reported today. A police search of a train at New Canada Station last night yielded three AK-47s and 10 pistols. Nine people were arrested.

Yesterday's march by tens of thousands of Zulu royalists to the Library Gardens in support of their king's call for sovereignty spun out of control and the city was paralysed by hours of sporadic gunfire.

Estimates of the number of marchers ranged from 20 000 to 50 000.

There were conflicting re-

ports on whether the marchers started the orgy of violence or were first attacked by snipers.

Soon before midday a clash between marchers and ANC security guards outside the organisation's Plein Street headquarters left 11 people dead.

Outside the ANC headquarters and at Library Gardens, security forces trained weapons on surrounding high-rise buildings as reports of sniper fire were received. Police searched several buildings, but no snipers were found.

Last night Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, with the approval of the Transitional Executive Council, declared 11 districts unrest areas.

They are Johannesburg, Alberton, Boksburg, Benoni, Germiston, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Randburg, Roodepoort, Springs and Westonaria.

In unrest areas security forces have increased powers, including of detention and searching.

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Second day of tension in CBD

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President de Klerk warned yesterday the time had come for the Government, the TEC, the Independent Electoral Commission and other parties to consider additional security measures to prevent a repeat of the carnage.

"It not only endangers the election and reform process, but also the very fabric of society," he said.

From 10.30 am to 12.30 pm in Johannesburg a 10-square block area from Sauer Street in the west, Commissioner Street in the south, Nugget Street in the east and Noord Street in the north was a virtual war zone.

Hospitals around the city reported their busiest day since 1976 and

Johannesburg Hospital declared a "code red" and went on full alert.

Train and bus services were brought to a halt and there were few taxis on the rubble-strewn streets.

Police said 27 people had been arrested in the city and at Selby Hostel. Weapons, including eight AK-47s, had been confiscated.

Among the dead were two policemen and a traffic officer.

At a media conference last night, ANC officials blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party for the carnage, and said ANC offices and leaders had been targeted.

The IFP charged that ANC agents provocateurs had been planted among the marchers and had opened fire, sparking

the mayhem.

Kriel said in a statement that "Inkatha's excuse that the meeting from which the violence erupted was a gathering of Zulus and not an IFP meeting must be dismissed as a transparent political ploy".

A police spokesman said 10 people were killed and 10 more injured in attacks on trains travelling into Johannesburg yesterday.

In Soweto, at least six people were killed as violence erupted at several hostels and railway stations before the march.

In Krugersdorp early yesterday, one person was killed and another injured as hostel dwellers from Kagiso and police exchanged gunfire.

Workers fled Johannesburg's CBD in fear,

many insisting on police escorts out of the city.

Just after midday, the rally at Library Gardens in President Street degenerated into wild violence as shots appeared to be fired from all directions.

Witnesses said shots were fired at protesters from the windows of a nearby building. The marchers returned fire, and confused policemen returned fire in all directions.

After the bloody confrontation, five bodies lay sprawled on a street corner opposite The Star building.

A short while later, the large group of marchers broke up into smaller bands who rampaged through the city, looting, drinking heavily and assaulting passersby.

Marchers came from all over the Reef, by train, by bus, by taxi and on foot. Estimates are that about 40 000 demonstrated all over the city.



1 THE LIBRARY GARDENS: Thousands of marchers poured into the square in front of the Johannesburg Library and milled around the surrounding streets for several hours. Shots were fired into the air and a policeman and several other people were wounded.

THE SHOTS:

The mood of the crowd was angry. Then suddenly, at about 11.40 am, shots were fired at the marchers from a building in Market Street. Marchers returned fire and the gardens became a battleground. No official toll was available last night but reporters counted at least five bodies here.

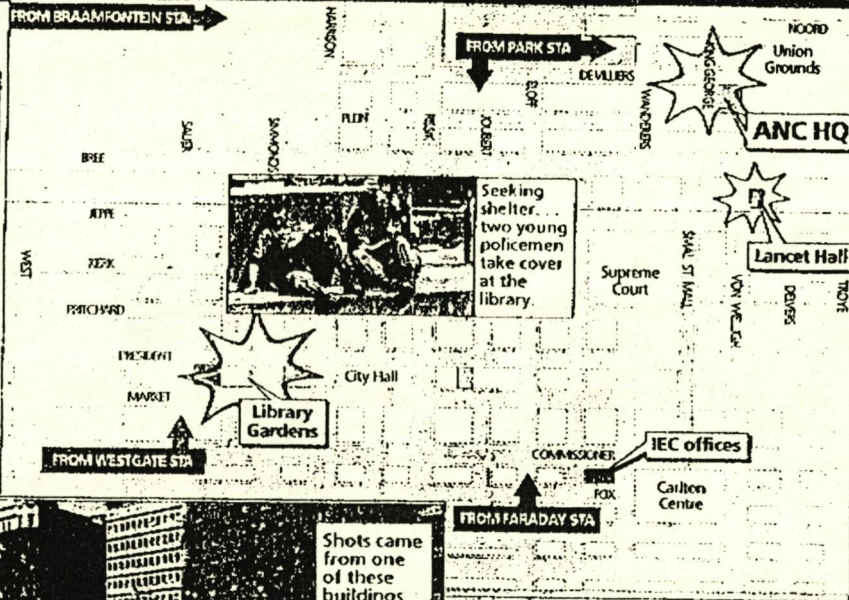


Shots came from one of these buildings in Market Street.

BEFORE THE DEATHS: Brandishing traditional weapons, the marchers jog towards the Library Gardens. Earlier in the day and during Sunday night there had been widespread trouble at hostel areas around the city, particularly at Denver, George Goch, Wolluter and Diepkloof.

GRABOC: GAIL IRWIN

PK, R&IS: GARY BERNARD
AND LINDA ZOLIPAKI



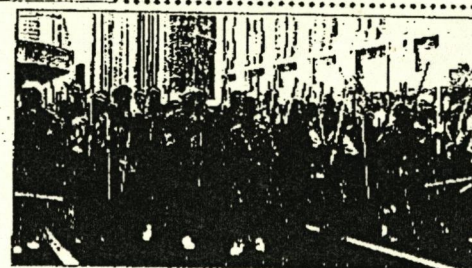
BEFORE THE DEATHS: Brandishing traditional weapons, the marchers jog towards the Library Gardens. Earlier in the day and during Sunday night there had been widespread trouble at hostel areas around the city, particularly at Denver, George Goch, Wollhuter and Diepkloof.



Aftermath of a firefight... bloodbath in the street.

2 ANC HEADQUARTERS: The firefight came after three earlier shoot-outs between marchers and ANC at the organisation's PWV offices in Jeppe Street. The protesters then moved to the ANC's HQ in Plein Street about 11am. The ANC said the marchers split

up and also approached from Wanderers and De Villiers streets. They retreated when ANC security guards fired into the air. Marchers fired at the building from King George Street. More warning shots were fired, an ANC spokesman said. Then the building was stormed and the ANC guards opened fire. Eleven people were killed.



3 LANCET HALL: The ANC's regional headquarters in Jeppe Street was the scene of three shootouts between the organisation's security guards and marchers. Police searched the top of the building after claims of snipers on the rooftop. One person was injured.

**3 die as PAC
and ANC clash**

Three people, including a Transkei soldier, were killed in a clash between the ANC and PAC in Port St Johns in Transkei on Monday afternoon. The violence apparently began when a PAC supporter shot and wounded an ANC supporter. — Sapa.

Danger if you're from wrong clan

■ BY HAPPY NKHOMA

By about 10.30 am yesterday most of the different groups of Zulu royalists had found their way to the Library Gardens and had converged on the grass.

There was no public address system in sight. There was also no sign of Zulu or IFP leaders.

About six braves stormed the nearest liquor store and returned with beer bottles. Other small groups upturned plundered hawkers' stands and set the wares alight.

The greater part of the thousands-strong crowd stood aimlessly around the garden, with a warrior breaking into an occasional solo chant.

A group of about 100 armed men and women marched and danced around the Zulu gathering, threatening every bystander who did not seem to be part of their clan.

One group from the East Rand arrived at about 10.45 am. The idle warriors in the garden greeted them with gunshots fired into the air. Soldiers and police ran into the crowd. Some Zulus ran away.

As the police tried to calm a man with a gun in the crowd, a policeman was shot and a Zulu warrior was shot in the head.

As anger spread through the crowd, the Internal Stability Unit was called in.

The wait continued, while the warrior's body lay on the ground, uncovered.

Occasionally factions broke off and chased down the streets, frightening bystanders.

At about 11.30 am a few men tried to plunder hawkers' stands and shops in Bree Street. The police moved in and escorted them back to the gardens a few blocks away.

Ten minutes later shots rang from a building across Market Street, and the bullets sprayed into the crowd. As the marchers panicked, more shots rang out from surrounding buildings.

Paramedics rushed in, but as soon as they had taken away one blood-soaked man on a stretcher, more shots rang out, forcing them to abandon their work.

Police fired stun grenades into the crowd to force people to take cover.

Plainclothes policemen combed the nearby buildings but could not find the snipers or their guns. The warriors ran as far as West Street.

Three more warriors lay dead after this wave of confusion.

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Man down
... police
retaliate
after
gunfire
hits a
colleague
at the IFP march
through Johannesburg.
PICTURE: JACCOB RYKLIFF



Goldstone briefs investigation team

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The team investigating the Goldstone Commission report implicating senior SAP officers in arms-smuggling was briefed by the commission yesterday.

All members of the team except one — a senior SAP officer — were present at the briefing held in the Pretoria office of Transvaal Attorney-General Dr Jan D'Oliveira, SC, who is heading the team.

There are two foreign experts on the team — Colonel Jilles Aubry of

the Paris Police security branch and Zimbabwe Police assistant commissioner Francis Mapuranga.

Other members include human rights lawyer Arthur Chaskalson, SC, and Major-General Martin Nel of the SAP Commercial Branch.

It is understood that Nel, currently in Paris at an Interpol conference, might be replaced by General Daan le Roux.

Le Roux had, however, not been informed of his possible appointment to the team by yesterday.

157 deaths recorded in past 12 days

Seven slain in Natal today

Durban — At least seven more people were reported killed in Natal today, pushing the provincial death toll to 61 since Friday and 157 in the last 12 days.

In war-ravaged Bham-bayi, north of Durban, police said two people were hacked to death and another two were injured after an attack in the early hours of this morning in which six shacks were also set alight.

Fired

In nearby Inanda, Joseph Shezi burnt to death inside his shack after shots were fired into the dwelling and it was set alight by unknown attackers, on Monday.

In strife-torn Ngonya-

THREE early morning blasts kill a man and severely damage NPKF member's home in Umlazi

meni, south of Durban, C Majola was shot dead after an attack on residents in a kraal. Two youths were also shot and injured in Monday's attack.

In KwaDabeka, the bodies of B Ngcongco and Dumisani Hlangwa were discovered on Monday near a stream close to their house, south of Durban.

Police today confirmed a third fatality in Sun-

day's ambush in the Natal North Coast area of Mangetti, near Mandini. Police said H Shandu was killed along with Mandla Mtshali. The African National Congress named C Mhlongo as the other victim. — Sapa.

Rocked

■ The home of a member of the National Peackeeeping Force was rocked by three explosion at Umlazi today, The Star's Correspondent reports.

Police said the explosions occurred at about 1.45 am.

A person living in the house, Duncan Ndlovu, was killed.

Damage to the house was extensive.



A gunbattle erupted on the square outside the Johannesburg Library yesterday. Unknown men opened fire on thousands of Zulus gathered in support of King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for sovereignty. Patrick Laurence (right) witnessed the events and Duif du Toit took the pictures



*Sheer madness on
the library steps*

The shots rang out. They reverberated across the open square opposite the library in the city

For a brief few seconds the thousands of Zulus who had gathered there did not react. It was as if the thought of someone firing into their massed ranks was too incredible to be true.

Then they started to break for cover, running in all directions to escape the gunfire. Their bodies were crouched towards the ground as they ran.

Minutes before I had edged my way through the crowd to the stairs leading to the library. As I did so, Zulu men who had come to demonstrate their support for their demand for an independent Zulu kingdom acknowledged my presence. "Ntshane," they said, meaning, roughly, "bearded man".

Humphrey Ndlovu, a well-known Zulu leader, stood on the stairs. He wore tribal dress, replete with a leopard-skin headband. A pistol was tucked inconspicuously into his belt.

On the stairs Themba Khoza, a leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, was reading a message on his radio pager. I could read it over his shoulder. It said: "ANC provocateurs placed among marchers instructed to begin random shooting." The message came from the IFP information office in Durban.

Restrained

Within minutes shots were fired from the eastern edge of the crowd. I had moved away to the side of the library entrance to talk to Rupert Lorimer, of the National Peace Secretariat.

Lorimer had been saying that the Zulu marchers were "reasonably restrained" when he was cut short by the gunfire.

He and his colleague, Antonie Gildenhuys, threw themselves to the ground, taking shelter behind a low parapet.

I hesitated for a moment. More shots were fired. I fell to the ground and dragged myself to the edge of the parapet. All around were Zulus.

Two of them produced handguns, a revolver and a pistol, and prepared to return fire. They steadied themselves as they sought to locate the enemy gunmen.

As I lay there, Zulus either leapt over me or trod on me as they scrambled for safety. Firing seemed to break out all around me.

During a lull I scurried to-

wards President Street to the south of me, taking shelter with a cluster of Zulus and journalists behind a police armoured vehicle.

There was more gunfire, louder than the first shots. Nervousness must have showed on my face. A Zulu man, half my age, offered reassurance. "All right," he said, "all right."

He patted the tar to tell me, symbolically, to keep my head down.

The Zulu men around me kept pointing excitedly at a building across the square in Market Street. They were convinced it contained a sniper or snipers.

There were bullet marks on the wall near one of the windows, about five or six storeys

up the building. They had been left there by Zulu marksmen.

Police, armed with automatic rifles and protected by flak jackets, began to approach the building. I decided to follow them.

As I made my way across the entrance to the library, shoes, sticks and sharpened rods lay around me. They had been dropped by fleeing men

at the height of the shooting.

Just beyond the stairs leading to the library — where I had been talking to Khoza and Ndlovu before the shooting started — I came across a dead Zulu.

A young man, he had been shot in the temple. He lay on his back barely six feet from where I had dived for cover.

He was bare chested. Blood

trickled from the wound, staining the concrete slabs. A United States flag was tied to his left wrist.

A woman lay against the library wall, whimpering with pain. She had been shot in the leg.

Two fat men lay nearby, sheltering behind the edge of the stairs. They were not wounded, merely too tired and

too shocked to move.

In Market Street policemen kept their guns trained on the window where the suspected sniper had his lair.

A policeman, clearly elated by the fighting, remarked as I passed: "It is going to get a lot worse." I asked: "You mean today?"

He replied smilingly: "Between now and the election."

Another policeman interrupted to tell him in Afrikaans: "We've got two AKs." The smiling policeman answered: "Mool so... nice work."

As I moved away from the crowd I caught a Zulu man's eye. For a brief second we were comrades who had survived the bullets.

I gave him the open palm peace salute. He replied: "Um-fowethu... my brother."

I was deeply moved. Emotion welled up. My lips mouthed the word "um-fowethu" but no sound came out.

But sentiment had to be tempered by reality. I had had to duck away from enraged Zulus earlier yesterday.

When I first arrived to observe the crowd, I saw a white man, wearing a grey flak jacket and carrying a pistol, chasing a black man.

The fleeing man ran into the crowd outside the library. The white man ran after him.

The pursuer caught his man in the crowd. But when he tried to arrest him Zulu men attacked him. I saw him being struck fiercely across the head.

Miraculously

Adrenaline kept him going. He miraculously escaped the closing circle of Zulus, even managing to retrieve his pistol when it fell to the ground.

The hunter became the prey. He fled past me, chased by angry men wielding sticks, clubs and spears. I got out of the way, running into a doorway.

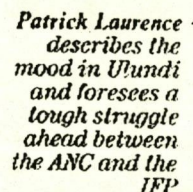
The white man collapsed when he reached his armed comrades. Blood poured from a wound in his head. An ambulance was called.

Less than a block away a black man lay dead on the pavement. A grey-haired man of about 50 — he looked as if he had been typecast for the role of a dignified Zulu worker in a film — had been shot in the back of the head.

As he lay there, his one arm across his stomach, conflicting reports were spread about how he had died.

He had been shot by a white man wearing a yellow shirt, he had been shot by a sniper on the roof of a building in President Street, he had been shot by gunmen in the crowd who had fired exuberantly into the air to cheers...

Another victim of South Africa's terrible conflict lay dead, not in a township or a village but in the middle of the city, not far from the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.



Harry Gwala, the tough-minded ANC leader from Natal Midlands, confidently predicts the imminent political demise of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Buthelezi's days are numbered, Gwala, a Zulu like Buthelezi, asserts. His tone edifies no doubt.

Buthlezi's control of KwaZulu, the only remaining black polity to hold out against the ANC, will lapse on April 27-28 when South Africans elect a government of national unity for the whole of South Africa, Gwala states.

Joe Stora, national chairman of the South African Communist Party, agrees.

Labelling KwaZulu a "Verwoerd bastion", he proclaims that Buthe-lezi will be "merely a snell in history" after the elections.

The huge ANC march in Durban on March 26 -- called to demonstrate that the ANC, and not Buthelezi's IFP, has the support of the majority of Zulus -- gives political substance to these prophesies.

Buthelezi admits to concern over an "ANC plot" to undermine the loyalty of KwaZulu civil servants, as it did, in his view, in the nominally independent territories of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. He accuses the ANC of using its dominance of the

multi-party Transitional Executive Council to "pulverise" its political enemies and not, as it proclaims, to level the playing field.

But Buthelesi, who is accused of preventing free political activity in KwaZulu, seems calm and determined to resist ANC "machinations" even though they include, he believes, the transfer to Natal of arms stolen by ANC cadres from armoureds in Bophuthatswana.

The thought of the TEC sending units of the South African Police into KwaZulu holds no terrors for Buthelezi, who is the KwaZulu Minister of Police.

"The KwaZulu Police is minuscule," he says. "More than 30 of police stations are already manned by the South African Police. I think we run only 24 in the whole of KwaZulu. The South African Police is already helping us. We work with them. The Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu is an appointee of the Minister of Law and Order."

But the prospect of South African soldiers being sent into KwaZulu invokes an entirely different response from Buthelesi, reflecting deep suspicion of the South African Defence Force.

"If the SADF is coming to kill us, it (will not be) the first time that we face that," Buthelesi says. Recalling

previous invasions of Zulu territory by soldiers, he says: "So if their aim is to come and attack us, to force their will on us, then so be it."

His words appear to convey a mood of fatalism, of having to fulfil a historic burden of resistance rather than meekly submitting to superior force.

If the Zulu leader refuses to be cowed by either the ANC or President de Klerk's outgoing government, Walter Felgate, one his chief aides, is even more confident.

Neither the threat of a takeover in KwaZulu by South African soldiers nor the prospect of an ANC regional government in KwaZulu/Natal after the April election appears to disturb him.

He talks about "protest politics" and "shedding fat", and finds comfort in analogies with the Algerian struggle for independence against the French, with KwaZulu and Buthelezi loyalists presumably filling the role of Algerian nationalists.

But, more specifically, he believes that a free and fair election will be impossible in KwaZulu and Natal without the co-operation of the KwaZulu government and Buthelesi's IFP. He repeats one phrase several times: "It is inconceivable".

That means, Fagate deduces, postponement of the April election, and acceptance of IFP and KwaZulu demands for their participation in the election.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly shares the confidence of Buthelezi and Fegale, judging from the bar-racking and jeering which it directed at Mr Justice Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), when he tried to talk to its members on April election.

A mass demonstration of support for Buthelezi in Ulundi, led by KwaZulu civil servants carrying a banner entitled "KwaZulu Forever", and ending in the burning of the South African and ANC flags, provides further evidence that Buthelezi is not without support.

A visit to the IFP office in Vryheid, 100 km north of Ulundi, provides another reason for Buthelezi's refusal to submit to numerically and militarily superior forces mustering against him. People there are queuing to join the IFP.

Jurie Mentz, who defected to the IFP from De Klerk's National Party, remarks that the office has recruited more members in three days than it did in three months.

He offers an explanation: the conflict between the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and the ANC. The ANC, unlike the IFP, is opposed to Zwelithini's call on his subjects not to vote in the election and his declared deter-

mination to re-establish the pre-colonial Zulu kingdom.

Thus, to demonstrate their support for Zwelithini, Zulus are joining the IFP which supports the king on both points. Since the king's entry into the political arena, there has been a stiffening of resistance to the ANC in Zulu-speaking Natal and KwaZulu.

One manifestation has been the pre-emptive occupation by "Zulu loyalists" of stadiums booked by the ANC for election rallies.

Three ANC rallies have been thwarted in the past fortnight, the most recent being in Vryheid. Another sign has been the intensification of the long and bloody conflict between the IFP and the ANC. The latest report by the Human Rights Commission shows that Natal-KwaZulu now accounts for more than 60 percent of the fatalities in South Africa's political violence.

The ANC, worried by the turn of events in Natal-KwaZulu, speaks of ethnic chauvinism. Its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, writes of a "war of terror against democratic forces". Not all the victims are ANC members, however.

From Buthelezi's perspective, another image comes to mind: the entry of the king into the arena has, for the present, at least checked the decline in the IFP's fortunes in the struggle against the ANC for allegiance of the Zulu people.

THE STAR, TUESDAY 29 MARCH 199

URGENT SUMMIT: A summit that will bring together F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for the first time will start tomorrow. Efforts to get the talks off the ground were given fresh urgency by the horror killings in central Johannesburg and the spiralling violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

South Africa

Witness 29/3/94

HE/IM

by Wyndham Hartley

The last outsider

THE homelands were designed as bulwarks against the black majority. Ironically it was an understanding that real democracy would mean the collapse of white power that led to the creation of satellite states where black people could exercise an ethnic vote. Hence over the years the Verwoerdian ideologues have frequently claimed that blacks do enjoy full democratic rights, they just may not exercise them in the arena of power.

It required brutal force to keep the homelands in place in the face of activism which insisted that all people, regardless of ethnicity, were fundamentally South Africans and should enjoy an equal franchise in the country of their birth, and not in some infertile patch of turf in the middle of nowhere.

A profound misunderstanding of modern demographic trends, such as industrialisation and urbanisation, meant the homelands could not work. Millions of people were supposed to exercise political rights in areas where they had never lived and with which they had no relationship other than a distant accident of birth.

There has been no international recognition for the independent variety of homelands, the self-governing brand still less. Of more significance, popular support for the homelands in South Africa itself rested only with those

who became part of the ruling ethnic elites that developed in those areas. Still worse, the homelands became objects of loathing as their role in robbing people of their political rights became more clearly understood.

When the negotiations began at Codesa, three of the "Independent" homelands were being run by military dictators who had usurped power. The others, it was assumed, would all form a power bloc supporting the National Party, because their existence depended on the funds, patronage and protection provided by the NP Government of the day.

At Codesa the power blocs were roughly equal but soon the homelands began to drift towards the ANC in the seemingly sure knowledge that it would win the election and thus control the purse strings in the new South Africa. Those who were expected to align themselves with the National Party instead hived off and formed an alliance with hardline whites who wanted to see apartheid restored.

It is instructive to note that the ANC, which initially did not want the homelands represented at multiparty talks, has quietly stopped its strident condemnation of all the homelands; those who now supported the ANC were suddenly acceptable. This has given the ANC enormous power in the multiparty talks structures which thrashed out the interim consti-

tution and the rules of the game in the run-up to the election.

Principle takes a back seat to political power, particularly in the structures that negotiated the interim constitution and the plethora of councils and commissions which they spawned.

Thus we have the situation that Transkei and Venda, to name only two of the homelands now supporting the ANC, are not on the agenda as far as mass action and agitation for free political activity is concerned. The National Party, for instance, is unable to campaign in Transkei and its military leader, Bantu Holomisa, is allowed to obfuscate and talk in circles about security without being sanctioned by the TEC. He is, of course, on the ANC's list and sure to be elected. There is a whole host of homeland leaders on the ANC's list; reward for their support in the "sufficient consensus" cauldron of the World Trade Centre.

In sharp contrast the TEC has concentrated its efforts on the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu. With the fall of the first two, KwaZulu now stands as the last remaining homeland outside of the process. That KwaZulu is a part of South Africa and should be part of the process is not in question; what is, is how it should be brought into the democratic fold.

It is no accident that the last remaining homeland is the one with the strongest ethnic identity. Zulus have a king and a traditional following of some substance. While that support cannot be easily measured, it is far more substantial than any of the other homelands. A further irony with regard to KwaZulu is that Buthelezi's launch of Inkatha and acceptance of self-governing status was done with the explicit approval of the ANC-in-exile. Also, one of the most revered leaders of the ANC and South Africa's first Nobel peace laureate, Albert Lutuli, was a Zulu.

In other regions of the world, chaos has resulted as ethnic groupings that were forced together broke into separate parts. This has been, particularly in Yugoslavia and some parts of the former Soviet Union, a violent process. What a tragic irony that in South Africa the violence is associated with trying to dismantle the ethnic divisions exploited by apartheid.

Hopes of defusing the conflict now lie with international mediation on the issue of federalism and recognition of the Zulu king. Let us hope the mediators are able to speedily arrive at a solution which will solve this intractable problem; and, more to the point, that the ANC and Inkatha will accept the results of that mediation.

Bloodbath as Johannesburg march turns into battlefield

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

The white South African nightmare of bloodshed in the centre of Johannesburg came true yesterday. There has been violence in Johannesburg before, notably during the "taxi wars" — but nothing on this scale. As mutilated bodies lay in Library Gardens and on street corners, fear rippled through the white suburbs.

Shock waves spread through the financial markets and shares slid on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The mayhem came only a day after President de Klerk held talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on ways of preventing violence in the run-up to South Africa's election, now less than a month away. Hennis Kriel, the Law and Order Minister, sent police reinforcements into Johannesburg, urging King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus to "control his subjects ... in view of the extremely serious situation".

Mr Kriel declared ten magisterial districts around Johannesburg unrest areas. Among those killed were two policemen and a traffic officer. Colonel Dave Bruce, Witwatersrand police spokesman, said.

The African National Congress last night blamed "incompetence" by the police for the killings. Zulu leaders, on

the other hand, blamed ANC sharpshooters for the deaths in Library Gardens.

Independent witnesses confirmed that the marchers had been fired upon by strategically positioned rooftop snipers. The attacks were clearly well-planned and added a sinister new dimension to political violence in this country. The majority of the victims of the shooting were Zulus. None of the ANC guards at the party headquarters was hurt.

But Thabo Mbeki, the ANC chairman, who had earlier called for a state of emergency to be declared during the elections, indicated that the failure of the police to protect the ANC national headquarters against attacks by crowds of armed Zulus "suggests a little more than incompetence". The ANC admitted that its security guards had fired on a group of Zulus who were advancing on Shell House, the headquarters building.

Patrick Lekota, a senior executive member, and the ANC prime ministerial candidate in the Orange Free State, said that marchers had assembled on the pavement opposite the ANC building and advanced towards it, arms in hand. "The ANC's security personnel fired warning shots and the advancing group retreated," he said. A second assault was

■ The ANC and Inkatha accused each other over the violence that broke out on the streets when Zulus tried to march on the ANC headquarters. President de Klerk put the blame on the indiscipline of organisers

made, which was again dispersed by warning shots from the ANC's own security men. "It would appear that at this point the police officers on duty withdrew," Mr Lekota claimed. "Because not one was visible afterwards, for the following 30 minutes. Shots, evidently from automatic weapons, were heard ... and another group of armed men advanced from around the same corner to be joined by one from across the street with the obvious intent of storming the ANC head office. The ANC's security personnel then fired into the advancing groups, inflicting a number of casualties. The groups broke up and those that were able to fled.

Humphrey Ndlovu, the Inkatha Freedom Party regional chairman, insisted that the firing from the bank building overlooking the gardens had been an unprovoked attempt to kill as many people as possible. A statement issued by Inkatha demanded that the day's events be investigated by Judge Richard Goldstone's commission of enquiry into



ELECTION COUNTDOWN

violence and intimidation "as an urgent priority and to appoint local and international investigators". Ed Tillett, the Inkatha spokesman, added: "Reports have also been received that shots were fired on marchers from assassins who concealed themselves within the ranks of march participants."

Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC's local regional head and prime ministerial candi-

date for the Johannesburg province, said that he had been in touch with General Koos Calitz, the regional police commissioner, on Sunday and was told that steps would be taken to protect the regional and the national ANC offices.

He said the police had promised they would establish roadblocks to ensure that no arms would be brought into the city centre, but none had been set up. After flying over the city in a helicopter, he said: "I could see the police doing absolutely nothing."

Many other senior ANC members complained that there was no protection for the building all morning, despite a number of reports being made of threats from the Zulu demonstrators. In fact, it was not until nearly 2 pm that police began to bring up barbed-wire barricades to seal off the streets around Shell House.

President de Klerk put the blame for the deaths squarely on the march organisers. "Insufficient care was taken by the organisers of the march to prevent violence and to discipline participants," he said. "There can be no excuse at this critical stage in the political process for provocative and potentially violent actions such as we have seen today. It not only endangers the elections and reform process, but also the very fabric of society." He called on all political leaders

to exercise control and restraint over their followers, to ensure there was no repetition of the day's events and to avoid any action which could lead to violence. "The time has arrived for the urgent consideration — by the Transitional Executive Council, government, the Independent Electoral Commission and others — of additional measures or steps which can prevent a repetition of what has happened today and on recent similar occasions."

He said: "The government intends discussing these matters with the relevant institutions. Obviously, such measures or steps should not prevent political parties from campaigning peacefully and democratically."

□ **Transkei pact:** The Transkei Government has given the go-ahead for the National Party to open two offices in the homeland before next month's election (Inigo Gilmore reports). The agreement was struck after five hours of talks in Umtata between Major General Bantu Holomisa, the homeland ruler, and National Party representatives. The Transkei government will provide security for the offices and its personnel until April 4 when the situation will be reviewed again.

City war zone, page 1
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FOREIGN NEWS

Zulu battle in the 'Gold City' leaves 28 dead

AT LEAST 28 people were killed yesterday and hundreds wounded when fighting flared in central Johannesburg between Zulu nationalists, supporters of the African National Congress and police.

The "City of Gold", South Africa's financial heart, resembled a battlefield by the afternoon. Corpses littered the flowerbeds of the showpiece Library Gardens and pools of blood soaked the pavements.

Trouble erupted at a rally by Zulus opposed to next month's multi-racial elections. In the worst single incident, eight Zulus were shot dead and at least five wounded by ANC security guards firing from the windows of the ANC national headquarters after hundreds

By Alec Russell
in Johannesburg

of demonstrators threatened to attack. Some shots hit the offices of the British consulate nearby.

About 15,000 Zulus had marched on the city in traditional impi (regimental) formations to show their support for the demands of their monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, for an autonomous Zulu state.

It was not clear who started the shooting. Inkatha accused the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, of using snipers. The ANC blamed Inkatha and the "Third Force", a suspected reegade element within the

security forces, believed to be trying to destabilise the political process.

Before the violence, there had been a minimal police presence, with only a few police vehicles following the Zulus. No attempt had been made to cordon off streets to restrict the marchers, as happened in Durban on Friday when about 50,000 marched through the city centre.

The ANC said in a statement that its officials had repeatedly appealed to the national police commissioner, Mr Johan van der Merwe, for protection, without any significant response.

As the Zulus marched into the city centre in the morning, waving spears and clubs, shopkeepers barricaded windows and sent staff home. Local people, black and white, took refuge.

Many of the marchers were spoiling for a fight having been caught up in earlier violence with ANC supporters as they poured out of their migrant-worker hostels in nearby townships. At least six people had been killed in Soweto.

But other Zulus had been driven in from northern Natal, the Inkatha heartland, and initially seemed to be unaware of the tensions.

At about noon, as thousands milled in the sunshine in the Library Gardens, there was almost a festive atmosphere, with scores of Zulu women dancing to encourage their men to outdo others in theatrical war dances.

Then a shot rang out from near the rear entrance of the City Hall.

An angry horn went up from the crowd before

another volley of shots tore the air, and they scattered, leaving a big Zulu in a bright red shirt on the pavement, with blood pouring from his head.

As people continued to fall, several Zulu warriors produced assault rifles from under their cloaks and started returning fire, seemingly at random. All the

while, thousands of Zulus were running around bent double, taking their spears on their heads as in their ancestral days, seemingly looking for some way in which to end the danger.

One of the most extraordinary sights as I watched from a balcony was that of a young man who suddenly darted in cover and raised

the bullets to perform a grave war dance.

Chaos seemed to be the prime instigator of the 20-minute battle. While there were allegations of unidentified gunmen opening fire from buildings, most of the casualties seemed to be gun-wielding Zulus shot by the police.

But rather one group of

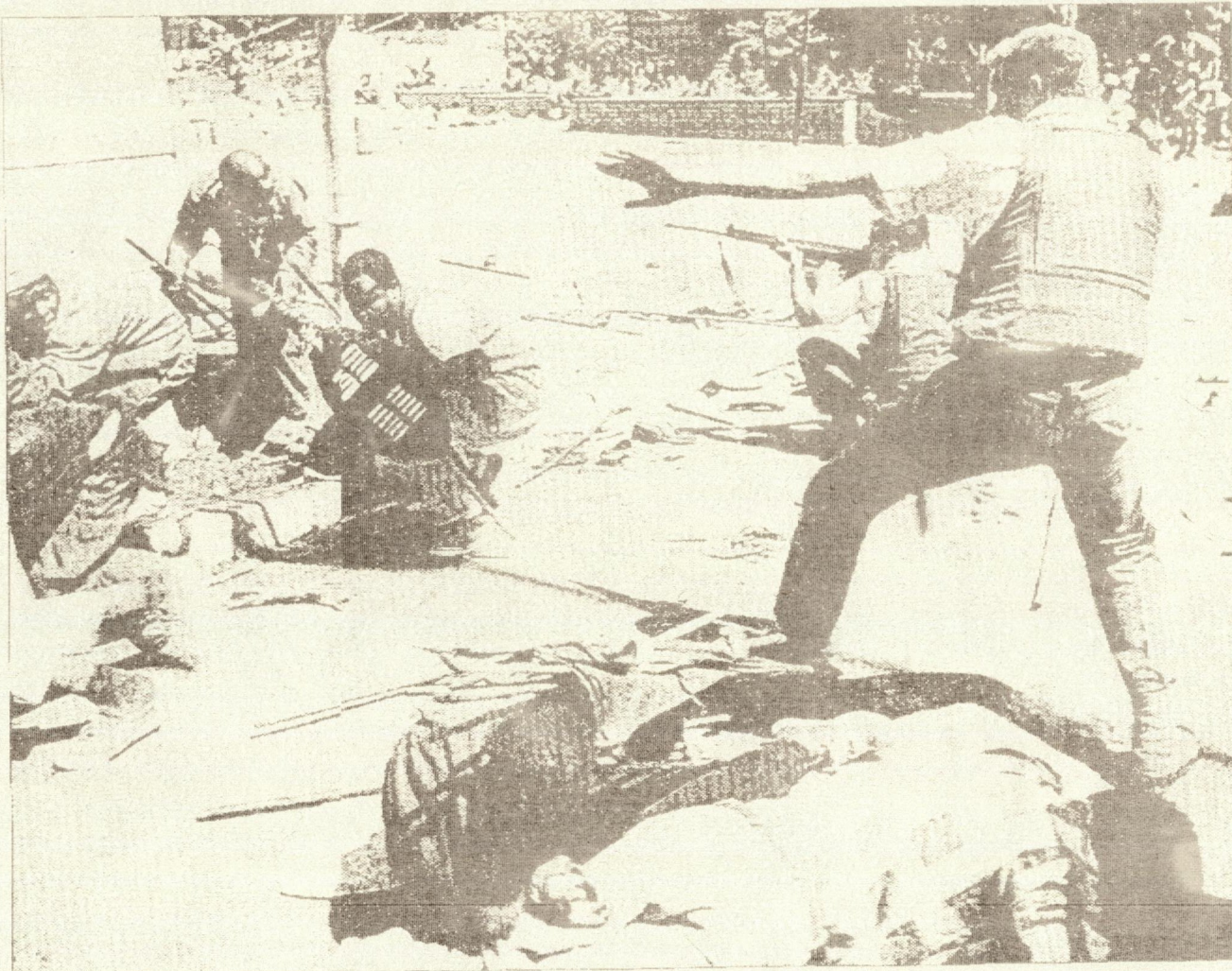
demonstrators was clearly fired on without provocation from a building overlooking their route. And when the Zulus marched on the ANC headquarters and its separate regional office, security men in both buildings appear to have made little effort to minimise the casualties in the crowd.

Given the number of un-

armed in South Africa's turbulent society, and the fight to which political passions have been inflamed, it could be argued that yesterday's carnage was a disaster waiting to happen.

Unfortunately, it threatens to offer merely a foretaste of what could come.

Editorial Comment — P20
When the terror struck — P21



Urban warfare: armed police try to break up fighting in central Johannesburg yesterday after Zulu nationalists marched into the city



29.3.94

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Yesterday violence
flared in the heart
of South Africa's
commercial capital.
FRED BRIDGLAND
in Johannesburg
sees ill omens for
the country's
democratic future

SOUTH AFRICA'S apparently unstoppable general election and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's seemingly immovable Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party collided with shocking force and bloodshed yesterday on the streets of Johannesburg.

The most immediate political outcome is likely to be the stripping within days, possibly hours, of most of Chief Buthelezi's administrative powers in KwaZulu, where he is chief minister.

State President F.W. de Klerk read the riot act to the Chief during a five-hour meeting in Durban on Saturday. He said that although Buthelezi was entitled to continue Inkatha's boycott of South Africa's first all-race general election in four weeks time, the prevention in KwaZulu of free political activity and campaigning for the poll had no

When the terror struck downtown

PAGE 2/2

number four on the list of ANC candidates for the new Parliament, crowed: "Two down and one to go" — a clear reference to KwaZulu.

In a speech in southern Natal on Sunday, Slovo, a self-confessed lifelong Stalinist until a recent Damascus conversion to the virtues of democracy, set out to insult the KwaZulu chief minister and sow further division and strife among the Zulus like some colonial adventurer of old.

"Buthelezi will soon be merely a smell in history," said Slovo. Calling on KwaZulu civil servants to stand up to "Inkatha's reign of terror," Slovo — who publicly applauded the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan — revealed his fundamental arrogance by boasting: "I am a white man, but I am sure that if I stood against Buthelezi in an election I would win."

SUCH overweening conceit and triumphalism from one of Nelson Mandela's closest lieutenants lends support to Inkatha's assertion of the authenticity of a document it released last week supposedly detailing ANC plans to destroy KwaZulu.

The document, whose accuracy the ANC has not denied, says: "We must prepare the anvil for the coming hammer... Events in Bophuthatswana, combined with the deteri-

orating situation in Natal, now urge the accelerated implementation of a strategy for the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation within South Africa.

"Efforts must be made to persuade [KwaZulu] civil servants that job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots. Combined with mass action, and stepped up organisation from within the KwaZulu government, a situation of ungovernability could reproduce itself fairly rapidly in the areas it administers. Though the consequences will be more extensive than in Bophuthatswana, this should not deter us from the political correctness of such a strategy."

It raises questions about the ANC which become extremely important as it nears power after the April 26-28 election, which it is tipped to win with between 50 and 70 per cent of the total vote.

There is absolutely no question that Inkatha has prevented free political activity in KwaZulu through intimidation or that Chief Buthelezi has made an historic strategic error in refusing to contest the general election. But Inkatha has not been alone in the use of crude threat to curtail political liberty.

In Transkei, neighbouring KwaZulu/Natal, the military dictator, General Bantu Holomisa, has pre-

vented the ruling National Party and the liberal Democratic Party from campaigning on his territory. Holomisa, who came to power in a coup and later displayed the dismembered bodies of black opponents of his rule in the national stadium, is however number 13 on the ANC's Parliamentary election list and is tipped to become South Africa's new Defence Minister at the end of next month.

Is it coincidence that the only homeland dictators who have been threatened by riots, pension payment demands and other "spontaneous" eruptions of public concern are those who are either ANC opponents or are not servile sycophants?

The Western Cape — Cape Town and its beautiful hinterland — will be an even more crucial testing ground than KwaZulu/Natal and Transkei for the probity of the new democratic constitution. It is there that the tolerance of an ANC government to opposition will be tested to the limit.

The reason for this is the strong showing of the National Party in the province, with opinion polls predicting that it will form the first government in the new Western Cape Parliament. It is clear that coloured (mixed race) voters — 2.1 million in the 3.7 million electorate — will opt for the National Party. "People won't be voting for the Nats," says veteran ANC leader

Joe Marks who recently defected to the Democratic Party in protest against ANC-instigated killings. "It would be too much like spitting on your mother's grave. But they will be voting against the ANC."

Coloured effrontery in daring to reject the ANC has led to threats from another leading "white ANC comrade", Ronald Segal. Mr Segal, brought in to spearhead the ANC's Western Cape campaign from his regular job of editing the Penguin African Library, describes the National Party's early lead as an example of "surviving racism". In an article in the *Cape Times* he warns that if this "racism" prevails it will greatly offend the ANC's patience, generosity and commitment to "non-racial democracy".

DOES this mean that any opposition to an ANC government will be simply dismissed as racism? Hermann Giliomee, Professor of Politics at the University of Cape Town, argues that Segal, who for 30 years has been one of the ANC's leading white advisers, has come close to signalling that the ANC will be tolerant provided no one votes against it.

It may at least be one of Chief Buthelezi's lasting legacies that he rang the alarm bells about the real democratic credentials and intentions of South Africa's next government.

Summit called in wake of Johannesburg carnage

David Beresford and Gary Younge in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk, the ANC's Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to start a two-day emergency summit tomorrow in the wake of gun fights which left at least 18 dead and more than 250 injured in central Johannesburg.

Negotiators representing South Africa's three leading political groupings yesterday agreed on the meeting, which is also likely to include the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, after mayhem in the commercial capital dealt a severe blow to chances of next month's majority-rule elections taking place as scheduled.

The streets of Johannesburg were turned into a battleground between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The worst incident was outside ANC headquarters where eight Inkatha supporters were killed as they took part in an armed demonstration. They were apparently shot by gunmen firing from the ANC building.

Three more Inkatha supporters and a white policeman were killed in the Library Gardens, behind Johannesburg city hall.

Further killings were reported elsewhere in the city. One man was left for dead after being stoned with bricks to roars of enthusiasm from a watching mob in a park near the ANC headquarters.

At least six deaths were reported in the township of Soweto, which has been relatively unaffected by political violence recently. The killings followed another weekend of carnage in the province of Natal in which police said 54 people died.

The law and order minister, Hernus Kriel, told Reuters he would declare "unrest areas" in 10 areas, including central Johannesburg, where police would have special powers.

The most important foreign player in the South African political drama, the United States, warned, however, that postponement of the election was out of the question.

"Intimidation and violence cannot be permitted to deny the South African people their opportunity to join the ranks of the community of free democracies," the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, said in Johannesburg.

Charges and counter-charges were flying between the ANC and Inkatha over responsibility

for the Johannesburg clashes. The ANC claimed that security guards — behaving "with impeccable forbearance and patience" — had opened fire in self-defence when Inkatha stormed their national headquarters.

Inkatha's Transvaal leader, Themba Khoza — recently linked by the Goldstone Commission with the "Third Force" conspiracy to destabilise South Africa — said: "What happened was planned and executed by

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THE GUARDIAN - LONDON
29/3/94

Summit called as 18 are killed in Johannesburg clashes

continued from page one
the ANC. And the army simply let it happen." Both sides claimed they warned police in advance of impending violence and had little response.

Inspection of the scene where the eight were killed suggested that, at best, ANC claims that their headquarters were being stormed were exaggerated.

The eight Inkatha men were killed within a few paces of each other, apparently as they rounded a corner at the back of the skyscraper which houses the ANC leadership. Bullet holes suggested that they were fired at from the lower four

floors of the building, or from a balcony.

But perhaps the most striking aspect of the Johannesburg carnage was the inadequacy of police supervision of the Inkatha demonstration, which suggests the security establishment is either incapable, or uninterested in keeping the peace.

Only a few squad cars and police vans were to be seen as thousands of Zulus carrying "traditional" weapons and barely concealed firearms poured into the largely deserted city centre at what is normally the morning rush hour. Crowd control was non-existent.

South Africa

Witness 29/3/94

HE/IM

by Wyndham H. Huey

The last outsider

THE homelands were designed as bulwarks against the black majority. Ironically it was an understanding that real democracy would mean the collapse of white power that led to the creation of satellite states where black people could exercise an ethnic vote. Hence over the years the Verwoerdian ideologues have frequently claimed that blacks do enjoy full democratic rights, they just may not exercise them in the arena of power.

It required brutal force to keep the homelands in place in the face of activism which insisted that all people, regardless of ethnicity, were fundamentally South Africans and should enjoy an equal franchise in the country of their birth, and not in some infertile patch of turf in the middle of nowhere.

A profound misunderstanding of modern demographic trends, such as industrialisation and urbanisation, meant the homelands could not work. Millions of people were supposed to exercise political rights in areas where they had never lived and with which they had no relationship other than a distant accident of birth.

There has been no international recognition for the independent variety of homelands, the self-governing brand still less. Of more significance, popular support for the homelands in South Africa itself rested only with those

who became part of the ruling ethnic elites that developed in those areas. Still worse, the homelands became objects of loathing as their role in robbing people of their political rights became more clearly understood.

When the negotiations began at Codesa, three of the "independent" homelands were being run by military dictators who had usurped power. The others, it was assumed, would all form a power bloc supporting the National Party, because their existence depended on the funds, patronage and protection provided by the NP Government of the day.

At Codesa the power blocs were roughly equal but soon the homelands began to drift towards the ANC in the seemingly sure knowledge that it would win the election and thus control the purse strings in the new South Africa. Those who were expected to align themselves with the National Party instead hived off and formed an alliance with hardline whites who wanted to see apartheid restored.

It is instructive to note that the ANC, which initially did not want the homelands represented at multiparty talks, has quietly stopped its strident condemnation of all the homelands; those who now supported the ANC were suddenly acceptable. This has given the ANC enormous power in the multiparty talks structures which thrashed out the interim consti-

tution and the rules of the game in the run-up to the election.

Principle takes a back seat to political power, particularly in the structures that negotiated the interim constitution and the plethora of councils and commissions which they spawned.

Thus we have the situation that Transkei and Venda, to name only two of the homelands now supporting the ANC, are not on the agenda as far as mass action and agitation for free political activity is concerned. The National Party, for instance, is unable to campaign in Transkei and its military leader, Bantu Holomisa, is allowed to obfuscate and talk in circles about security without being sanctioned by the TEC. He is, of course, on the ANC's list and sure to be elected. There is a whole host of homeland leaders on the ANC's list; reward for their support in the "sufficient consensus" cauldron of the World Trade Centre.

In sharp contrast the TEC has concentrated its efforts on the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu. With the fall of the first two, KwaZulu now stands as the last remaining homeland outside of the process. That KwaZulu is a part of South Africa and should be part of the process is not in question, what is, is how it should be brought into the democratic fold.

It is no accident that the last remaining homeland is the one with the strongest ethnic identity. Zulus have a king and a traditional following of some substance. While that support cannot be easily measured, it is far more substantial than any of the other homelands. A further irony with regard to KwaZulu is that Buthelesi's launch of Inkatha and acceptance of self-governing status was done with the explicit approval of the ANC-in-exile. Also, one of the most revered leaders of the ANC and South Africa's first Nobel peace laureate, Albert Lutuli, was a Zulu.

In other regions of the world, chaos has resulted as ethnic groupings that were forced together broke into separate parts. This has been, particularly in Yugoslavia and some parts of the former Soviet Union, a violent process. What a tragic irony that in South Africa the violence is associated with trying to dismantle the ethnic divisions exploited by apartheid.

Hopes of defusing the conflict now lie with international mediation on the issue of federalism and recognition of the Zulu king. Let us hope the mediators are able to speedily arrive at a solution which will solve this intractable problem; and, more to the point, that the ANC and Inkatha will accept the results of that mediation.

Gunmen fire on Zulu rally

JOHANNESBURG — At least eight people were killed and 18 wounded when gunmen fired on Zulus marching toward the ANC headquarters last night, witnesses said.

Bodies were sprawled on the pavement near the African National Congress headquarters at Shell House in Johannesburg, they said.

Police General Koos Callitz said: "A lot of Inkatha people were marching towards Shell House, then the very next

moment shots were fired from various buildings, including the ANC headquarters."

An ANC member in the lobby of the headquarters said: "The marchers were at the back and coming in this direction. We don't know what was the objective of coming here."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said guards shot and killed several Zulu marchers who tried to storm ANC headquarters during a march to protest against April's national election.

He said Zulu marchers had fired first.

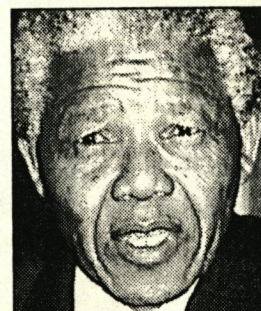
"Some people were kil-

led on the street," Mr Niehaus said. He said no one inside the building was injured.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who was recovering from laryngitis, was not at the offices, he said.

Chaos reigned in Johannesburg's city centre as snipers armed with everything from handguns to assault rifles blasted away from rooftops during the Zulu march.

Police with automatic rifles took up positions on city centre street corners and army troops in riot gear patrolled the city.



Nelson Mandela

The Zulus, opposed to the April 26-28 election that is expected to put the ANC in power, waved spears and other cultural weapons as they

streamed past the ANC headquarters.

In violence elsewhere in the city centre, police and witnesses reported as many as 10 shootings, including five fatalities.

Four more people died in nearby black townships in fighting linked to the march and to a strike call by the Zulus.

Meanwhile in Natal province, police said gunmen ripped a baby from her mother's arms and flung the child into a burning house. Forty-nine people died in the province in ANC-Inkatha fighting at the weekend.

Attackers set fire to a

black homestead and shot and killed at least two people before tossing the 17-month-old toddler into the flaming house at Kwa-Mbonambi on Saturday. The child's mother survived.

The ANC earlier yesterday demanded the Government act against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu homeland, which had stopped the ANC holding election rallies.

President F. W. de Klerk met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday and the two leaders agreed to set up a working group "to search for solutions".

— AFP, REUTERS

TRIBAL WARFARE



By
**DANIEL
McGRORY**

Another brilliant
despatch
from our
award-winning
Chief Foreign
Correspondent
Picture: JOHN
DOWNING



GUN LAW: Rioting Zulus come under fire in the centre of Johannesburg yesterday

Is this the shade of things to come in South Africa?

THE ARMY Brigadier had no doubt that this is the shape of things to come. He was crouched behind an armoured vehicle, almost smothered by screaming Zulus trying to hide as automatic gunfire ricocheted from the pavement and fizzed in all directions.

"The war has started for sure now," he shouted as Johannesburg's Gold district disintegrated into a combat zone. "We warned this would happen and nobody listened. They accused us of scaremongering."

South Africans are listening now. Violence is hardly new, but you don't see corpses piling up on Johannesburg's library steps. This time the blood was running down the streets of its money capital, and it has caused panic.

Truth is, it was only because this massacre happened in the city's elegant banking quarter that suddenly we all sat up and took notice.

This war began long ago. More than 15,000 have died over the past eight years in the murderous siege between Zulus and the mainly Xhosa ANC rivals.

Not a day goes by without some unspeakable atrocity taking place in a township — and usually everyone just looks the other way. It is out of sight, in places where few dare to go. And while it stayed there nobody minded.

Yesterday, a young mother had her baby ripped from her arms and tossed into a burning house in northern Natal and it barely rated a mention on the local television news.

This little mite was victim Number 163 in the past week in KwaZulu land, but instead last night's TV bulletins were dominated by pictures of buildings ringed with razor wire and piles of discarded shoes and weapons littering smoked-glass foyers.

Massacre in Johannesburg stresses Mandela's dilemma

The Brigadier stepped over another body outside the National Bank, shook his head and asked: "Where next?" Nobody answered because nobody knows.

South Africans thought their city centres were immune but yesterday's carnage dispelled that comforting myth. What ministers, the military and Nelson Mandela must decide quickly is how to stop this mayhem spreading.

With 30 days to go to the elections, time is not on their side. Effectively, what President-elect Mandela wants is virtual martial law. He wants to see tanks ringed around the troublesome Zulu homelands in Natal. He wants to see their government neutered and their warriors corralled in their shanties.

Above all, he wants to snuff out the Zulu threat to make polling impossible.

This is a country obsessed with conspiracies but there were mutterings last night amongst the government and the police that the ANC started yesterday's fire-fight to force President de Klerk's hand.

MR de Klerk is reluctant to throw an iron curtain around the Zulus — despite their shrill threats to slaughter anyone they catch voting — but after yesterday he may have no option. This is certainly what an increasing number of South Africa's businessmen now want.

It is a callous way to measure loss of life but, when the bullets started flying in Johannesburg, there were many who looked first to the Stock Exchange as

share prices dipped dangerously.

The analysts were falling over themselves last night predicting that worse will follow. They were not talking about the tribal death toll but the price of gold. When the bankers start to hurt then, say the cynics, so does South Africa.

A beleaguered Mr de Klerk knows he has to restore confidence but he is treading a fine line as how best to do it.

One diplomat who watched the battle in Johannesburg commented: "Mr de Klerk can't ignore the calls to crack down on the Zulus now."

Ironically, at about the time the snipers were opening fire on the crowds in Library Gardens, officials were trying to finalise a summit between the unholy trinity of de Klerk, Mandela and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to agree everyone's next move.

They will meet but few expect them to get past a handshake.

There is no common ground any more, so Mandela will insist that the priority now is to ensure that nothing interferes with the vote on April 27. The whole credibility of multi-racial rule is at stake as critics will rightly claim that if they can't organise an election, then how do they hope to run a country?

The key to what happens next is South Africa's much reviled military. They are unquestionably strong enough to resist any other force, be it the Afrikaner Right-wing, Zulus, or ANC militants, but nobody can be sure if they will hold together.

Morale among the security forces is abysmally low. They fear a purge when the ANC takes

over, and senior commanders argue that their hands are already tied.

You could see the resignation in the eyes of senior officers yesterday as they watched the Zulu march get predictably out of hand.

One officer told how they had recommended routing the Zulus away from the ANC's headquarters in the old Shell building. But political sensitivity insisted the marchers should be allowed to roam where they might.

That is part of Zulu tradition, they argue, along with their right to carry tribal weapons that includes claw hammers, lead piping, screwdrivers and AK47s, as well as cudgels and spears.

They are fearless and the military — and the ANC — know that if their king declares all-out war then so be it. Some of his Zulu chiefs believe that war remains their only course. They argue they should now get on with "the washing of the spears".

IF THEY are bent on war then it fuels the argument that Mr de Klerk should get his retaliation in first and keep them where they can do least damage. The military showed that when it has to, it still can impose its will. Johannesburg is still standing, though its new scars won't heal easily.

Yesterday was traumatic for South Africans, but we should not get too hysterical. It was never going to be possible to conduct an election without violence. Hate and emotion run too deep for that.

What South Africa has to do is keep its nerve now and take every precaution — no matter how unpalatable — to stem the bloodletting.

If it means tanks outside polling stations that is a price worth paying, no matter what the outside world might think.

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Warriors proud to fight for their king

From MERVYN REES
in Johannesburg

THE CARNAGE in the streets of Johannesburg has given white South Africans a glimpse of the slaughter that has been taking place in Natal and Zululand.

But one lesson will have been driven home. Zulus, with their proud warrior traditions, are not to be

trifled with, as rival ANC factions in Natal have discovered to their cost over the past four years.

Today the Zulus are angry at the rules drawn up by President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela for the "new South Africa".

They think the proposed constitution will leave them sidelined. But

what really angers them is the idea that in less than a month's time their sovereign state will vanish overnight, leaving their king without a territory or sovereign state.

They know that after elections on April 26-28, the country will almost certainly be ruled by Nelson Mandela. Yesterday's march was to

have been peaceful, intended as a show of solidarity for King Goodwill Zwelithini and Kwa Zulu chief minister and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader.

Buthelezi has repeatedly said the proposed constitution is "fatally flawed" and the two Zulu leaders refuse to take part in the election.

The king is now demanding that Zulu territory dating back to 1831 be restored to his nation. Exactly where those boundaries are is not certain. To many South Africans, Buthelezi is seen to be spoiling for a fight.

For the moment, the Zulus are simply washing their spears for the battle that is bound to be played out over the next four weeks.

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