

## Zulus appear ready to call off boycott of S. Africa elections

By Chris Erasmus  
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is ready to drop his boycott of next week's all-race elections.

After a long session Monday with South African President F.W. de Klerk, Buthelezi says, "The discussions have gone very well," and that he hopes for an announcement "that might be very positive."

If Buthelezi calls off his boycott, rooted in demands for a separate country for his Zulu followers, it could end the violence that has killed hundreds and threatened voting in Buthelezi's KwaZulu homeland.

Buthelezi concedes his demand for delaying the election was hopeless in the face of opposition from the government and African National Congress. "I am a realist," Buthelezi says.

The Inkatha Youth Brigade has called off a march in Johannesburg today, easing fears of a repeat of the violence at an Inkatha march two weeks ago that left 53 people dead.

But violence continued elsewhere Monday:

► In Thokoza township outside Johannesburg, an award-winning South African press photographer, Ken Oosterbroek, was killed and two col-

leagues were wounded while covering a fierce firefight between Inkatha hostel residents and National Peacekeeping Force troops.

Pulitzer Prize winner Greg Marinovich, on assignment for *Newsweek*, was wounded in the chest and Reuters photographer Juda Ngwenya was wounded in the arm.

Associated Press photographer Joao Silva, who saw the firefight, says the three were shot by the peacekeepers. That could not be confirmed.

► In Natal province, 26 people were killed over the weekend, bringing the toll to 293 since de Klerk ordered a state of emergency two weeks ago.

And in a bizarre twist Sunday night, police rescued three men and a 14-year-old boy, all claiming to be Inkatha supporters, from a makeshift prison cell in the basement of the ANC's regional headquarters in Johannesburg.

A fifth man who was earlier found bleeding in the streets near the ANC offices told a police patrol he had escaped.

Police spokesman Dave Bruce says ANC officials became "extremely aggressive" toward the police.

ANC spokesmen say the captives were caught breaking into a vehicle and that the ANC had planned to call the police.



By Joao Silva, AP

**PHOTOGRAPHER WOUNDED:** Pulitzer Prize winner Greg Marinovich, who was on assignment for 'Newsweek,' was shot in the chest in a township east of Johannesburg on Monday.



# Zulu Nationalist Leader Appears to Yield on Election

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 18 — South African negotiators said today that they were near a breakthrough that could avert a violent election boycott, after Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, the Zulu nationalist leader, made a last-minute appeal to be included in elections next week.

Chief Buthelezi met for much of the day with President F. W. de Klerk and senior officials of the African National Congress, reportedly seeking a way his Inkatha Freedom Party could be added to the ballot for the vote that begins in eight days.

A Government official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Chief Buthelezi was no longer demanding that the election be postponed or that an autonomous Zulu province be accepted before elections.

## Failure Still Possible

After months of melodramatic near-misses, officials were wary of declaring success before the leaders conclude their talks on Tuesday. Chief Buthelezi has spurned one face-saving compromise after another and driven former supporters to despair.

But officials said they were encouraged by the fact that Chief Buthelezi initiated the talks without his customary theatrical fanfare, and that he called off a potentially explosive Inkatha march in Johannesburg today.

"Finally the political will is there from Buthelezi's side," an official said.

Speculation was rife that the impasse was broken at the wish of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelethini. The King has been mulling an offer by the African National Congress that would allow him to retain a largely ceremonial monarchy if he would agree to end Zulu defiance of the election.

## Gathering for Zulu Loyalists

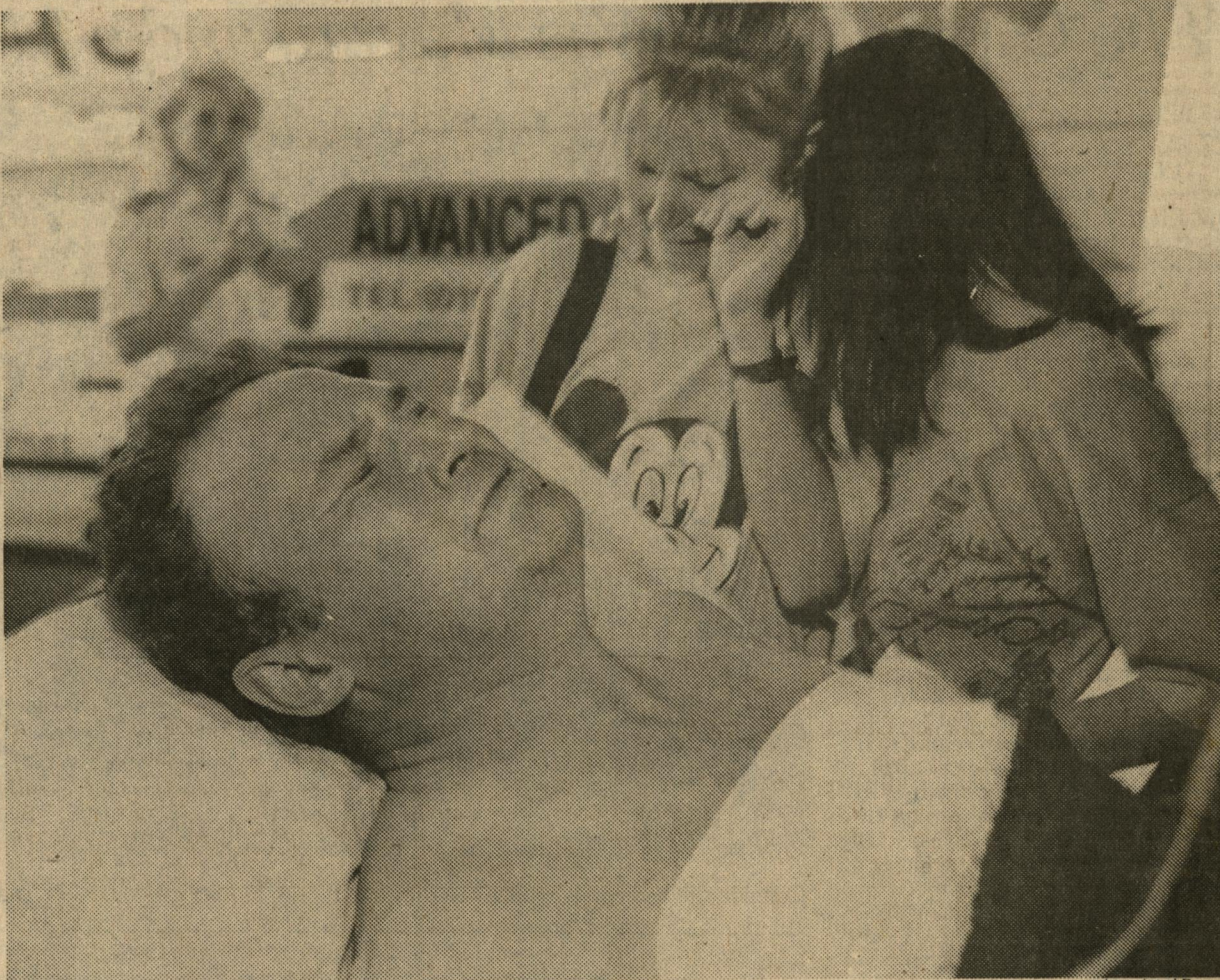
The King announced today that he and other Zulu chiefs would hold tribal assemblies of loyal Zulu subjects on the election days — an event that could divert troublemakers from disrupting the election, or could, presumably, be turned into an Inkatha get-out-the-vote effort.

As the leaders met in Pretoria, there was a new convulsion of violence between Inkatha and African National Congress supporters in townships east of Johannesburg.

The fresh spate of factional killing left at least 20 dead, including one of the country's most celebrated photographers, Ken Oosterbroek. Mr. Oosterbroek, 31, apparently died from a broken neck when he was trampled as reporters and peacekeepers ran for cover during a gun battle.

Another photographer, Greg Marinovich, a Pulitzer Prize-winning free-lancer whose work has often appeared in The New York Times, was seriously wounded in the chest, but was reported out of danger tonight.

The new National Peacekeeping



Associated Press

Force was humiliated in its first assignment to contain township unrest. The peacekeepers are a hastily trained 3,000-member force made up of former anti-apartheid guerrillas, Government soldiers and troops from black homeland armies, created as a symbol of national unity.

## New Force Deployed

Last week the men, clad in powder-blue uniforms and driving powder-blue armored vehicles, were deployed in Katlehong and Tokoza townships, where the army had kept the peace since February.

But when fighting erupted, witnesses said, the peacekeepers at first were slow to intervene, and then panicked, firing wildly into a migrant workers' hostel that serves as an Inkatha fortress.

During the day the men in blue were stoned by residents on both political sides — Inkatha backers because it is not part of the force and considers it biased, African National Congress supporters because the

peacekeepers had failed to contain the violence as well as the army.

João Silva, an Associated Press photographer who was present at the gun battle outside the hostel, said he believed the peacekeepers fired the bullets that hit the photographers.

Tonight a convoy of army vehicles poured back into Tokoza to relieve the embarrassed peacekeepers.

## A Call to the President

The latest attempt to end the Inkatha election boycott began over the weekend when Chief Buthelezi called Mr. de Klerk, "a bit out of the blue" a Government official said, and asked to meet early this morning.

The official said Chief Buthelezi suddenly seemed seriously interested in joining the elections.

The two men and their aides talked until the afternoon about election and other issues. Then Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief African National Congress negotiator, joined the talks.

The official said the coalescing deal did not include any new concessions to Chief Buthelezi.

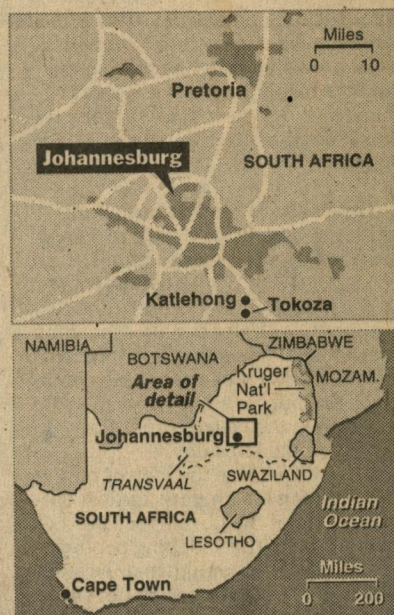
## Talks in Kruger National Park

At a summit meeting 10 days ago in the wilds of the Kruger National Park, Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, promised the King a ceremonial monarchy and a budget to maintain his tribal patronage network in exchange for a promise to restrain his royalist subjects during the elections. At the time Chief Buthelezi apparently succeeded in deflecting the overture, and the meeting ended in gloom.

Last week a panel of international mediators, led by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, left Johannesburg before their attempt to broker a settlement had really begun, because Chief Buthelezi insisted the mediation include his demand to postpone the elections.

That event may have driven home to Chief Buthelezi that his dream of a postponement was a fantasy.

Today he told reporters, "I don't think there is any possibility of postponing the elections, although I would



The New York Times

The Zulu leader called off a protest march in Johannesburg.

prefer a postponement."

"But I am a realist," he added.

## Talks Going 'Very Well'

Chief Buthelezi said the talks "have gone very well," and added that he hoped to make an announcement Tuesday "that might be very positive."

His late entry into the election would create serious logistical problems. For one thing, millions of ballots have been printed that do not include Inkatha. An official said there had been some talk of using a sticker to add the party's name.

Including Inkatha would also require amending the election law to allow a late registration, which would mean a quick session of Parliament.

But Mr. de Klerk said the deadline was not insurmountable.

"Time is running out, but there is always time to find solutions," Mr. de Klerk said.

# Massacres Spreading in Rwanda

NAIROBI, Kenya, April 18 (AP) — Ethnic massacres have spread throughout Rwanda, aid officials said today.

"The situation is catastrophic, not just in Kigali but in the rest of Rwanda," said Jean-Luc Thevoz, a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva.

A Ghanaian peacekeeper was shot in cross-fire near Kigali airport Sunday and was evacuated with serious leg wounds, said Abdul Kabia, executive director of the United Nations force in Rwanda.

Rebels also blew up a Government radio station in Kigali that had incited Hutus to kill Tutsis, Mr. Kabia said.

Mr. Thevoz reported "tens and tens of thousands of dead" and said at least 400,000 of Rwanda's 8.5 million

people had been driven from their homes in the outbreak of fighting that started after Rwanda's president died in a plane crash April 6.

The killing began in the capital, Kigali, the next day, and two days later rebels began an offensive into Kigali.

The rebels, mostly members of the minority Tutsi tribe, had been in a demilitarized zone in the north since last year.

An official of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, the rebel group, met Sunday in Kampala, Uganda, with Rwanda's ambassador. They agreed on the need for a truce, but did not sign one.

About 26,000 Rwandans have fled to Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda and Burundi, according to the CARE aid agency, while hundreds of thousands have been displaced within Rwanda.



## Tulum Journal

## The Glory That Was Mayan, and a Modern Mess

By ANTHONY DePALMA

Special to The New York Times

TULUM, Mexico — Within the walls of this ancient Maya stronghold, facing the gemstone sea and sacred structures built long ago, modern Mexico seems blessed with history.

Outside, history is hell.

A ramshackle city almost as large as ancient Tulum itself has sprung up just beyond its walls, preying on the thousands of sightseers hauled here every day by smokey buses from the resort city of Cancún, 80 miles away. Broiled by the Yucatan sun, the buses are kept idling so their air-conditioning can run, choking everyone nearby.

The food stands operate without running water or electricity. Tourists frantically sweep through as many of the 50 or so shops as they can, haggling over quartz daggers, cheap T-shirts and pornographic whistles.

It is not a pretty sight, but Mexicans are pragmatic and realize that the past, while revered, can also be used to turn a profit. By whom, however, is the issue that has turned Tulum into a battleground, an especially sensitive one because of the Indian unrest in Mexico this year.

On one side are Government officials who realize that Mexico is rich in history but poor in the resources to care for its past. They have turned to private developers for help, asking them to build a new shopping center about a mile away from Tulum into which vendors can be moved if they are willing to buy space.

Once the new building is operating, the ragtag shacks — illegally located on federal land near the ruins — will be removed, the bus parking will be relocated alongside the new shops, and the original area will revert to jungle. Motorized carts will take tourists from the buses to the ruins and back.

Opposed are the vendors themselves, mostly poor people of Maya descent. They say they cannot afford the \$22,000 to buy a 15-by-30-foot stall in the new shopping center. The Government has helped make financing available at rates that are somewhat below market, but even these conditions are burdensome to people who say that in the best of times they barely make \$10 a day.

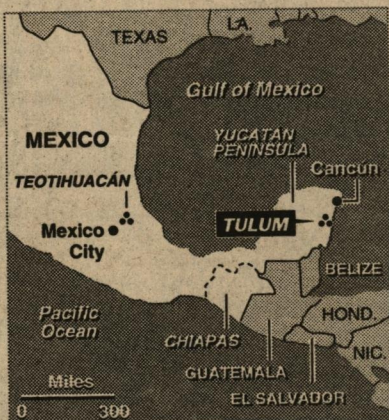
They do not like the idea of moving or of having to compete against outsiders whom the developers are bringing into the shopping center.

"They want to make history a big business," puffed Antonio Cervantes Sixtos, a T-shirt shop owner and a leader of the disaffected vendors. "We don't want to have any part in it."



Sergio Dorantes for The New York Times

Outside the ancient Mayan stronghold of Tulum in Mexico, a battle is raging over ramshackle stalls like these.



The New York Times

The Tulum ruins are surrounded by food stands and tourist buses.

Late last year officials were taking a hard line, threatening to bulldoze any vendors who had not relocated by the end of February. But when Maya Indians in Chiapas rose up in arms on Jan. 1, such a hard line became politically untenable. Deadlines were pushed back, the bulldozers never showed up and the road that leads directly to the walls of Tulum remains open months after it was supposed to be closed.

Rebeca Nussbaum Peniche said

she bought a stall in the new concrete building because someone told her it would be a good investment. She also was afraid of the bulldozers. But her space was not finished in time for the scheduled Feb. 15 opening, and since the buses are still allowed to go close to the walls, hardly any tourists stop at the new site.

She now pays almost \$600 a month for the stall, even though she isn't selling a single carved Maya head there.

"How do I feel? Powerless," she said. "But in truth, to me it seems an offense for them to try to sell Mexico's patrimony this way."

Though Tulum is far from being the grandest Mayan site, its proximity to major beach resorts makes it the most visited, attracting more than a million visitors a year. But its problems with tacky surroundings are shared by other archeological sites. The pyramids in Teotihuacán, 31 miles northeast of Mexico City and the work not of the Maya but of the precursors of the Toltecs, are encircled by shabby stands and people selling cheap trinkets. Officials are trying to relocate them too.

The head of the development group that built the shopping center in Tulum thinks the vendors are being shortsighted and unfair.

"The only thing we're doing is help-

ing the state and federal governments because they don't have the money to dignify the historic site themselves," said Eduardo Rebolledo Stringle, director general of the Tulum Development Group. "If I was buying the archeological zone itself or the ruins, I would agree that Mexico is selling its history. But because our project is 1,500 meters from the ruins, it has nothing to do with that at all."

At times, the struggle for Tulum has turned ugly. On Feb. 19, bulldozers blocked the old road to the ruins. Not long after, Marcos Cárdenas Valdés was stabbed five times in the chest and abdomen because, he said, he refused to move his T-shirt shop.

Mr. Cervantes, who is president of a union of the vendors, said he had been intimidated, and even received death threats. He said some vendors had been threatened with the loss of their vendors' licenses.

The vendors know their stands are ugly and disrespectful of the grandeur of Tulum. What they want is the chance to start over again in a new area, but not under the control of outsiders. They say they are just like many of Mexico's poor, tired of watching other people get ahead.

"If they don't do something about this," Mr. Cervantes said, "we'll end up with the same problem here that they had in Chiapas."

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THE GUARDIAN  
Tuesday April 19 1994

# White farmers and their herd of new voters

**Nathan Steele**  
Reports from Daliwe  
in the Eastern Cape,  
where landowners  
have been wedded to a  
pro-riparian view of  
the workforce

ALIWE Advice Office, on the second floor of a modest brick building on a street of Cathcart in the Eastern Cape, has a deliberately innocuous name, chosen to encourage immediate suppression of any thought that was set up as the focal point for the anti-apartheid struggle in the area before the National Congress was elected.

The veranda outside, half a dozen women sit patiently on chairs or waiting to recount their complaints. Kenneth Siel, head of the office, listens to them one by one.

"We are surrounded by farms which are not prepared to accept change," he explains. "The majority of farm workers still are child labour has not changed. Many people from Johannesburg and the East Rand come to small towns like this to escape the laws of apartheid."

The immediate issue is next election and the almost total dependence of black farm workers on their white employers might be a better kind or cruel according to character and mood, they treat their African staff as part of the state's livestock. (I was away on remote farms, rely on their employers for access to voter education, to vote, and transport to the polling station.)

The local magistrate, Ian Ansell, is the official representative of the independent election commission. He appoints a presiding officer at every polling station, the voters, the returning officer, and other officials.

There was some discussion whether we are the right people, but magistrates are the coup in South Africa with the infrastructure to do the job, he says.

It needs little imagination to see what illiterate black voters feel when they come to their ballots for the first time and find those well-known white faces in charge. All assurances about the secrecy of the ballot are bound to be empty.

Mr Sigidi tells us of a man who threatened to shoot a member of a voter education team who went on to his property to investigate. The area is called Henderson from Cathcart the gravel road winds through a spectacular landscape of grassland with occasional patches of maize beside the river. We pass widely spaced signs for farms with names like Ferndale, Blackwood and Underchurch.

They are not Afrikaner diehards but people who still sometimes go "home" to British relatives when they are on holidaying in Cape Town or on the Natal coast. Henderson polling station is the Farmers' Association next to the police station

and prison. Two miles beyond it we come to the farm about which the complaint was made.

The man and his wife are out, but while one of us takes photographs of three Africans who emerge from the outbuildings the farmer's elder daughter, a student, explains that the weekly security meeting of local farmers decided not to allow outsiders to conduct voter education, let alone political parties to canvass.

We drop in at the next farm for another view, but are ordered out of the front yard by an apologetic elderly farmer who claims we are trespassing and refuses to answer questions.

Back on the road a police van flashes its lights to make us stop. We are confronted by a police sergeant and a white woman, the first farmer's wife. Her daughter had phoned to report our visit. She is furious that strangers have taken photographs without her permission.

We explain that the daughter raised no objection and after being promised that no photos will be published the mother calms down sufficiently to talk about the election.

"We ran our own voter education. We will be taking our workers to the poll, just as we always take them everywhere. Our workers know what to do."

"I've lived in Zambia and Rhodesia. I've seen it," she

These are not  
Afrikaner diehards  
but people who still  
sometimes go  
'home' to Britain

adds. The "it" is not explained.

A man arriving in a second car identifies himself as the son of the late neighbour. He is in khaki shorts and shirt and a brown South African army bush-hat. He has been a reservist for 25 years, he reveals, during a by now good-tempered exchange which also includes the proud boast: "We are descendants of the 1820 settlers."

He is angry that the recent drought forced him to rent grazing land near Daliwe township, and move some of his cattle there. At least four have been stolen or killed.

"In the old days in Texas," he smiles, "rustlers were tied by the neck and stood on the back of a cow. You smacked its backside, and it ran off, and the man was hanged."

Asked what had made the National Party recognise apartheid was wrong, he indirectly confirmed what few white South Africans can bring themselves to say outright: sanctions worked, and the cost of the cross-border wars became too high.

"It may have been the economic situation and it may have been Angola. The younger crowd, the 25-year-olds, had a different attitude from us. They saw no point in it."

He said he had always opposed the government himself. He was a Democratic Party man. It must be encouraging news for his African staff as they run the gauntlet to the polls for the first time in their lives.



THE GUARDIAN - LONDON 19/4/94

## Ex-priest runs as PAC's sole white

Chris McGreal in Durban

**F**OR whites who dread the Pan Africanist Congress slogan of "one settler, one bullet" more than its unrealistic threats of mass expropriation, Cosmas Desmond makes an unlikely election candidate.

But the socialist former priest, apartheid foe and one-time head of Amnesty International's British section has turned his back on Nelson Mandela to stand as the sole white running for the party that whites most fear.

Mr Desmond has signed up with the "only truly African party" because, he argues, the African National Congress has surrendered the interests of blacks to its scramble for power.

"I became more and more critical of the ANC because, in terms of values and methods, it is more a white party than an African party. They are rejecting everything African as primitive and perpetuating the old Western system."

"And the PAC do profess to be socialist, whereas the ANC have has given up any semblance of socialism. The ANC are more concerned not to upset whites than to serve blacks," he says.

The PAC slogan is not an issue for Mr Desmond. "They're perfectly accepting of me. 'One settler' is not official policy. Anybody who's first allegiance is to Africa is not a settler; that's not racism," he says.

Yet the party's military

wing has targeted whites for attack. In Cape Town, three PAC members are on trial for the murder of a white American student, Amy Biehl, who was beaten to death by a mob chanting "kill the settler".

While critics wonder at the decision of a man who has long struggled for individual rights and justice, for Mr Desmond there is no contradiction.

"The single biggest issue for me was land. The ANC used to say it was the key issue. They have even given up that in the constitution. ... The PAC maintain that nobody can own land, and I agree. That is a Christian and a socialist view," he says.

Mr Desmond arrived from Britain in 1960 as a Franciscan Order missionary, and he contested forced removals, even after house arrest and banning orders. His film on the removals, *The Dumping Ground*, was eventually banned.

The church warned him he was too provocative, before relieving him of his parochial duties in 1970. He left the country in 1978, returning to settle in Durban in 1991.

For Mr Desmond to be elected, the PAC would have to pick up about 6 per cent of the vote. Polls put the PAC in third place behind the ANC and National Party, with between 3 per cent and 8 per cent.

Whatever the outcome, Mr Desmond believes the PAC's standing will rise under an ANC government.



*THE GUARDIAN - London 19/4/94*

## Buthelezi hints at deal in talks on South African poll

David Bernsford  
in Johannesburg

**F**RESH hopes developed last night of a settlement between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and the rest of South Africa's major political groups, after trilateral talks with the African National Congress and the government.

There was intense speculation that the chief may have agreed to participate in next week's election at regional level, fighting the ANC for control of KwaZulu and Natal.

It is believed to be too late for Inkatha to contest the national election realistically. But, if Chief Buthelezi is allowed to register the party in the provincial election, Inkatha will be able to bus in large numbers of supporters from other parts of the country to boost its chances of snatching the Natal premiership for the chief.

A settlement with Inkatha would involve the elevation of the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, to the position of constitutional monarch for KwaZulu-

Natal. The ANC president, Nelson Mandela, has gone on record as saying that the same powers as Queen Elizabeth II's are on offer to the king.

Chief Buthelezi said that the talks had gone very well and it was hoped there would be a very positive announcement today. President F. W. de Klerk, who led the government team, said he was hopeful. Mr Mandela told a rally in the Eastern Cape he was "convinced we are going to reach a settlement soon", and there would be peace in Natal.

Despite the sudden optimism, the chances of a breakthrough depend on the unpredictable character of the chief. Inkatha's central committee is believed to be strongly in favour of joining the political settlement, but he has until now managed to block peace moves.

A factor in Chief Buthelezi's shift of stance may be evidence, still to be released, as to the alleged involvement of his senior aides in a security force conspiracy to destabilise the country. It is believed that there have been high-level talks involving the government over

the possible arrest of senior Inkatha figures implicated by the Goldstone Commission. Amnesty for such activities would be a strong bargaining counter for the ANC.

The sudden initiative on the political front comes in the wake of threats by Inkatha to march on Johannesburg, in order to lay wreaths at the spot where eight Inkatha demonstrators were shot dead outside the ANC's headquarters last month. Police testified before the Goldstone Commission yesterday that the massacre was unprovoked and the work of ANC security guards.

Meanwhile South Africa's Photographer of the Year, Ken Oosterbrook of the Star newspaper, was killed and two others wounded during violence in the East Rand township of Thokoza yesterday. He was reported to have broken his neck, possibly diving for cover amid an armed clash between Zulu hostel dwellers and ANC supporters.

Herd of new voters, page 12  
Apartheid and Africa, 02  
cover story



THE INDEPENDENT - London 19/4/94

CHILDREN were playing again yesterday outside the Alpine primary school in Mitchell's Plain, where Norman Afzal Simons, 27, taught form Standard 3D. Earlier in the day the "Coloured" teacher appeared in court on a charge of murdering Elro van Rooyen, 10, thought to be among 22 victims of the notorious "Cape Strangler".

"I couldn't believe it when I heard who had been arrested," said Neil Dheunis, 12, one of Mr Simons' pupils. "I always felt safe when he was around." Since February, when six bodies were found in shallow graves near Mitchell's Plain, Neil and his friends had been ordered by their parents not to leave the street where they live, and not to go out after dark.

The Cape Strangler began terrorising Mitchell's Plain in the mid-Eighties. All but one of his victims was under 15, and all were sodomised and strangled. As the pace of the killing accelerated, hysteria grew in the township, built on

## Coloured teacher charged in 'Cape Strangler' murder

RAYMOND WHITAKER  
in Cape Town

the windswept sand dunes of the Cape Flats to house Coloureds ejected from areas of Cape Town they had occupied for generations. In less than 20 years, more than 1 million people have been decanted into its treeless streets.

"This has been a terrible time for Mitchell's Plain," said Willie Simmers, a community worker. "People felt the police weren't trying. The area has a lot of social problems and strains — we have the biggest psychiatric hospital in Africa on our doorstep. The bodies were found in the middle of a very hot summer, and there was a kind of frenzy afterwards. People were setting fire to the bush because they thought the Strangler was hiding in there,

and squatters living nearby were assaulted."

The Strangler even became an election issue. The National Party (NP), whose candidate for premier of the Western Cape is the hardline Law and Order Minister, Hernus Kriel, used a photofit picture of the suspect in an advertisement accusing its opponents of wanting to give the Strangler a vote. According to Mr Simmers, the NP minister was criticised at campaign meetings for his policemen's failure to catch the murderer, and he voiced a widely held suspicion when he said: "It

seems very strange that this man has been arrested and charged only a week before the election."

Local newspapers, with little concern for due legal process, have been proclaiming that the Strangler is in the bag. The headlines can only bolster the NP, which is already riding high thanks to support from Coloured voters fearful of the African National Congress. The Western Cape, where Coloureds are in the majority, is the only region where Nelson Mandela's party may lose.

In Mitchell's Plain, a key election battleground, everyone who knew Mr Simons expressed disbelief yesterday. Two of Mr Simmers's colleagues, Dawn Adams and Faiekah Philander, met him on training

courses. "He was my group leader," said Ms Philander. "We would go to him with all our problems, and he would go out of his way to help." Ms Adams saw him as "very decent, very clever — he was always above us in class — but also very emotional". "Whether he is the Cape Strangler or not," said Ms Philander, "one thing is for sure: he can never live in Mitchell's Plain again." Yesterday, his parents left home for an unknown address.

It will be some time before the township relaxes its guard completely. Yesterday, the first day of the new term, patrols of parents were still escorting pupils home from school. But Mr Simmers and others highlighted one ironic outcome of the long-running tragedy: it may have helped to create community feeling where there was previously only dislocation. "This is a very dreary place," said Mr Simmers, "but consoling the families of victims and raising money for them did bring us together."



# Sand, sun and booze on package poll trip

THE INDEPENDENT  
London 19/4/94

JOHANNESBURG — The South African elections will be turning up a whole new definition of the term "floating voter", writes John Carlin.

By special arrangement with the august Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), World Leisure Holidays has arranged for a polling booth to be installed at a beachfront hotel in the Indian Ocean setting of the Comoros Islands, just three hours' flight from Johannesburg.

A charter flight leaving on Saturday 23 April will be carrying 140 white South Africans to Le Galawa Beach Hotel to spend the week of the elections — voting is from 26 to 28 April — a safe distance from the madding black crowds.

For the fear to which these, like many other whites are prey is that the black population will go on a riotous looting spree — "affirmative shopping", they call it in Soweto — to celebrate the inevitable victory of Nelson Mandela.

Bruce Hutchinson, the managing director of World Leisure, said he did a bit of market research and discovered that whites' zeal to vote had nevertheless got the better of their fear. "We found that reservations during the voting period were extremely poor, so I got hold of the IEC, suggested they set up a voting booth at the hotel and when they agreed, we put an advertisement in the paper offering an 'election special'."

The advertisement, which ran in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* on 20 March, offered a package for 2,990 rand (£580) that included a return airfare, daily breakfasts and dinners, theme parties, dinner dances, water sports, an election booth on the beach and — the clincher, Mr Hutchinson said — 24-hour news coverage from CNN. "CNN will be blitzing on the election so people won't miss a thing."

Within two days of the advertisement appearing, the flight was fully booked. "We resolved a problem. People don't want to be around for fear of upheavals or strife and yet they don't want to leave because they want to vote. So now they'll be able to vote in comfort and total safety at the beach," Mr Hutchinson said.

What is more, they will be able to drink. In South Africa, a ban has been imposed on the public sale of alcohol during the three days of the elections. At Le Galawa Beach, the voting will be anything but dry.



# Four rescued from ANC 'torture cell'

from MERVYN REES in  
Johannesburg

A MAJOR row erupted in South Africa today after police stormed an alleged "torture cell" below a building housing the Johannesburg regional headquarters of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Police discovered three badly assaulted men and a 14-year-old boy — all said to be members of Zulu Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party — being held captive in the basement cell of the ANC building. The discovery was made after a fifth man escaped from the cell and alerted a police patrol in Hillbrow on Sunday night.

Three of those being held, and who

had been severely assaulted, were elderly and the fourth was a 14-year-old, said police spokesman Col Dave Bruce. He said when members of the Flying Squad attempted to enter the Jeppe Street building a man tried to prevent them from gaining access by pointing a firearm at them.

One of the captives claimed he had been held since 16 April.

Col Bruce added that senior members of the ANC arrived at the scene

and became "extremely aggressive" towards the police.

The alleged captives, the senior ANC officials and the members of the Flying Squad, who were joined by their Johannesburg duty officer, then went to John Vorster Square police headquarters where assault charges were laid.

Col Bruce said the ANC members had told police the captives were caught breaking into a vehicle and that they had planned to call them when the Flying Squad arrived.

ANC regional head Mr Tokyo Sexwale later pledged a full investigation into the allegations and said firm action would be taken if the claims were proved to be true. He denied any knowledge of the allegations made by those found in the cell.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Momoepa said he was not aware of the details of the police report. "It is not the policy of the ANC to hold people against their will," he said, adding that a full statement would be issued later today.

The discovery of the cell and torture allegations, which come barely a week before South Africa's first multi-racial elections, will further fuel tension between Inkatha and the ANC.

Inkatha, 53 of whose members were gunned down on the streets of Johannesburg two weeks ago, had planned a defiant protest march on the ANC's Shell House headquarters today to lay wreaths where their comrades had fallen. The march has now been postponed until tomorrow.

President De Klerk today met Chief Buthelezi in what was believed to be a last-minute attempt to end Inkatha's boycott of next week's first all-race election.

The meeting was not announced in advance and followed the breakdown of international mediators' attempts last week to resolve South Africa's political deadlock. A spokesman in De Klerk's office refused to say if anyone else, such as Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, was attending the meeting.

De Klerk, Buthelezi, Zwelithini and Mandela are expected to hold one last summit before the election. Their last summit two weeks ago ended with no progress made on the Zulu leaders' demands for post-election Zulu autonomy.

THE EVENING STANDARD

London 18/4/94



*The Guardian - London*  
*19/4/94*

## 12 SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

Commission hears of 'unprovoked' attack on crowd

# Massacre blamed on ANC guards

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**S**OUTH African police yesterday produced their first coherent account of the killings of Inkatha members in central Johannesburg three weeks ago, claiming the massacre was the work of African National Congress security guards.

The latest allegations, to the Goldstone Commission of inquiry, coincide with an embarrassing incident for the ANC in which four people — one with a broken arm — were allegedly found in a makeshift cell in the basement of their Johannesburg headquarters.

Police said three elderly men and a boy aged 14 — all "severely" injured — were discovered on Sunday during a raid after a fifth man had escaped and raised the alarm.

The ANC said later that the detention of the four was the work of a security guard who had been "conducting his own personal investigation after his car was broken into".

Responsibility for the killings in Johannesburg on March 28, into which the commission yesterday opened hearings, has become an important political issue because of attempts by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party to mo-

bilise around it opposition to next week's elections.

According to the latest police figures, 35 people died and 61 were injured on March 28.

There were two main incidents during the day: the killing of eight Inkatha demonstrators outside the ANC's national headquarters, Shell House, and the deaths of another four people when gunfire broke out at Library Gardens, a square next to the city hall.

In a third incident shots were fired from the ANC regional headquarters at Inkatha marchers, wounding four.

The ANC claimed at the time that the eight died when an Inkatha mob stormed Shell House. But, in opening submissions to the Goldstone Commission yesterday, police said ANC security men had opened fire on a "relatively disciplined" crowd of Inkatha demonstrators without provocation.

Barry Roux, the police counsel, said about 12 heavily armed ANC guards had taken up positions outside the front of the building several hours before.

He said the first rounds, from a shotgun, were fired at the crowd at close range from a Shell House balcony to the rear of the building. The guards at the front had then rushed to the side and joined in the firing at the demonstrators.

Mr Roux said the shooting at

the ANC's regional headquarters — the site of Sunday's alleged kidnapping — was similarly unprovoked. Police had recovered cartridges from a balcony.

The Library Gardens gunfight has been the subject of widespread speculation, with reports of mysterious snipers and agents provocateurs dressed as police.

However, Mr Roux told Judge Goldstone that there was no "credible" evidence of sniper fire. He said the Inkatha crowd was calm, but excited individuals were firing into the air.

Police officers were ordered up to nearby rooftops to try to spot those within the crowd responsible for the firing.

On the ground a "black man in a red shirt" suddenly pulled a pistol and began firing at the crowd. A police constable tried to disarm him, but was shot. Two other presumed accomplices also began shooting at the policeman. He returned fire, fatally wounding two, before dying himself.

Meanwhile, members of the crowd opened fire on surrounding buildings, seemingly in the mistaken belief that the policemen on the roofs were snipers.

ANC and Inkatha lawyers are expected to strongly contest elements of the police account.

**Apartheid and Africa, Q2  
cover story**



THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON 19/4/94

# Buthelezi poised for U-turn

A DRAMATIC about-turn yesterday, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of South Africa's Inkatha Freedom Party, was poised to agree today to take part in next week's elections.

The eleventh-hour move, coming after the conservative Zulu leader had repeatedly warned he would not participate unless the threat of Inkatha embarking on a terror campaign to sabotage voting in Natal.

South Africa's chances of achieving free and fair elections and moving into a stable democracy have significantly increased. Instigation, however, remains a key feature in the predominant Zulu province, where political violence has killed more than 200 people in the past two weeks.

The deal, expected to be made public today, came at an all-day meeting yesterday between Chief Buthelezi, President FW de Klerk and the African National

Congress Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, at the Union Buildings, seat of government in Pretoria. The three, possibly accompanied by the ANC President, Nelson Mandela, will meet this morning to finalise details.

What was not clear yesterday was whether Inkatha would take part in the national poll or, as seems more likely in the light of the technical difficulties involved at this late hour, only in the elections for a provincial parliament in Natal and, possibly, the Johannesburg area. National voting will be from 26 to 28 April.

No official statements have been made yet but, according to sources close to the talks, the Inkatha leader agreed to take part in the elections in exchange for a commitment from the government and the ANC to entrench the position of the Zulu monarchy in the new constitution.

Parliament — the apartheid parliament — is expected to sit

one last time in Cape Town in the next week to pass the new arrangements concerning the Zulu king into law. It is expected that the rights, privileges and powers the king will be granted will be in line with proposals made by Mr Mandela at a summit with Mr de

JOHN CARLIN in Johannesburg

The sources said last night that Chief Buthelezi had not received any pre-electoral concessions on his long-standing demands for greater devolution of powers to provincial governments.

If any dangers still lurk they will surface after the elections. All

Joe Slovo interviewed by Hunter Davies ..... 21

Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini 10 days ago. According to those, the king would get an annual state budget; he would have a royal court and a royal council, also state-funded, with formal links to the elected provincial parliament of Natal; he would have authority over all tribal chiefs; and he would have a royal constabulary.

polls indicate that Inkatha will be defeated by the ANC in Natal, and that the majority of Zulus will not vote for Inkatha. In such circumstances Chief Buthelezi might cry foul in the manner of Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

Why has Chief Buthelezi capitulated? Everything indicates he contemplated remaining outside parliamentary politics after the

elections, weighed up the chances his rag-tag — if well-armed — bands would have in a campaign against the South African army and decided to cut his losses.

His isolation has become painfully evident in the past week. The Kissinger-Carrington mediation effort failed because of his stubbornness, deepening the distaste with which he is viewed by former allies in the West.

The business community, also once his friends, issued strong statements repudiating his dangerous anti-electoral stance. One of the country's leading newspapers, *Business Day*, also called on him to retire from politics while another, the once-loyal *Sunday Times*, condemned his "reign of terror".

"The penny," one senior member of the government remarked, "has finally dropped for Buthelezi". The Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, emerged from yesterday's meeting and, with a big smile,

said: "Sometimes a winning try is scored in injury time."

Despite the day's developments, 50 miles south in Tokoza township, Inkatha supporters resumed a terror campaign after two months of relative peace. At least 19 died after gunfights erupted on Sunday night and continued yesterday.

Tokoza and neighbouring Kadehong, near Johannesburg, were the most violent townships between last May and January, when about 1,800 people died as Inkatha supporters, pro-ANC self-defence units and police clashed. Carnage follows talks, page 12



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# Fear and fury divide townships in the Zulu hills

MR SHABALALA was in no mood for negotiation. He stands over six feet tall. His eyes are angry, he moves through a crowd like a man striding through grass. He speaks like a man who expects no reply. In South African shorthand, Thomas Mandla Shabalala is a warlord.

The fear and fury had been building all day. An angry crowd pressed the peace monitors up against their car and shouted at them. The heavily armed Internal Security Unit (ISU) police were beginning to step back towards their armoured cars, fingering their shotguns and machine-guns. They were trying to protect the peace monitors who had come into Lindelane, an Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold, to prevent civil war in the area. In the hot, dusty evening air the three white monitors, one a young German student and another a middle-aged South African woman, were sweating in their heavy bullet-proof vests. They looked frightened.

Suddenly a silver Mercedes with a "Peace in our Land" sticker on its windscreen nosed into the crowd and out stepped Mr Shabalala and his bodyguard armed with a G3 heavy rifle. The crowd fell silent and parted as Mr Shabalala strode up to the peace monitors. "You people are not wanted here," he growled at them. "My people hold no meetings, no rallies here so we don't need monitors. This is a peaceful area. You are not needed

**Richard Dowden in Lindelane joins peace monitors seeing Inkatha and ANC clashes at first hand**

here. This is my area and you must have my permission to come in. Now go."

The young Indian commander of the ISU unit tried to say something but Mr Shabalala turned on him and he fell silent. "The only way there will be peace in this area is to chase those people away," he said, gesturing to the houses across the valley.

Then he stepped back into his car and was gone. "Those people" — the inhabitants of the hillside facing Mr Shabalala's fiefdom — are indeed being chased out. Nowhere better illustrates the battle that Inkatha is waging against the elections and the African National Congress than these neighbouring Zulu townships outside Durban; Lindelane and Section F of Ntuzuma.

Lindelane means the place of waiting and it was supposed to be a temporary reception area for people waiting for houses. It is a slum of mean houses of mud or cement blocks and tin roofs spread over a low hill. The people who live there are mostly unemployed or labourers, their children swarm the streets all day. It is part of KwaZulu, Mr Shabalala rules it like an old-fashioned chief and it is an Inkatha stronghold.

F section of Ntuzuma is on the shoulder of the neighbouring hill.

It has brick houses surrounded by fences and neat gardens, its people have jobs, its children have shoes and go to school. It is a "location" in South Africa proper and not part of the Zulu-administered KwaZulu. It is dominated by ANC posters. Such is the social division between the pro- and anti-election forces.

In St Paul's Church, Ntuzuma, which faces Lindelane across the valley, Father Duncan Mackenzie does not read out the anniversaries

gang was watching the people leave. No one dares cross over from Lindelane to go to church any more, said Fr MacKenzie, because anyone coming to Ntuzuma is suspected of being an ANC member. For years Inkatha groups and criminal gangs have been pressing into this area like waves on a sea wall. It is beginning to crack.

The courtyard of the church is piled high with beds and wardrobes, bags and suitcases, the be-

**For years Inkatha groups and criminal gangs have been pressing into this area like waves on a sea wall. It is beginning to crack**

at the end of Mass, he reads out this week's casualties and graphically describes how victims were shot. Fr Mackenzie, a wiry, silver-haired Scot, speaks in fluent amaZulu to his congregation packed into a garage that has been turned into a church. They were all turned out in their Sunday best and sang the stirring four-part hymns as if their lives depended on it.

During mass all was quiet but as the people streamed out into the bright sunshine a shot cracked the Sunday morning peace. Up on the hill above the church an Inkatha

longings of people who have fled their homes, chased out by Mr Shabalala's gangs. Every night about 100 people gather next to the church to be fed from a huge communal pot of food. Fr Mackenzie, standing by the church, points out Mr Shabalala's house on the opposite hillside. He blames Mr Shabalala for the attacks on Ntuzuma. "He doesn't want an election and he will set up road-blocks to stop people voting. I have told everyone that if they want peace here they should arrest him but they say, 'Where's the evidence?'"

Just outside the church Samson Nxumalo, 47, is standing despondently by a pick-up truck loaded with household furniture. He is a furniture salesman, and his house is on the edge of the area. Raiders attacked it at midnight, dropping a hand-grenade through the bedroom window. There is a hole in the concrete floor and the walls are splattered with shrapnel holes. Mr Nxumalo had just enough time to reach the door before the grenade exploded. He was wounded in the back. The furniture looks as if it has been attacked by a mad axeman.

Mr Nxumalo had already sent his wife and three daughters away and only he and his two sons were in the house when it was attacked. He has moved to his brother-in-law's house nearby and is trying to make his house look inhabited because if he moves out the people from Lindelane will move in. The house next door, a small round white hut, is inhabited by Inkatha people. "I was friendly with them but people can bluff you," he said. "I will not vote in the elections. None of the parties are innocent. The only way there will be peace is for the leaders to understand each other but when the leaders make speeches to attack each other, then there is fighting."

Throughout the day gangs of youths glared at each other across

the valley or engaged in "poster battles". One side would put up posters of Nelson Mandela, then a gang from the other side would race across, tear them down and put up posters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader. A few shots were exchanged.

In the evening the tension mounted. Inkatha groups across the valley and up the hill began chanting and singing. ISU armoured cars stopped patrolling and took up positions either side of the valley.

The peace monitors decided to try to talk to the Inkatha side. I went with them and we were told that gunmen had attacked Lindelane on Saturday, shooting at random into the area and then the police had come in and used tear-gas. "We are very angry," said one man. "The police is on the side of the ANC, we have seen it." He also accused the peace monitors of working for the ANC.

That was when Mr Shabalala turned up, threw the peace monitors out and declared that peace would only come when the people across the valley were cleared out. I drove back to the church and, as I approached it, a young man was being carried to a car. He had just been shot in the stomach. Even as Mr Shabalala was speaking the Inkatha groups on the hilltop above the church swooped down, shooting as they came. As we leapt into the cars shots crackled across the valley.

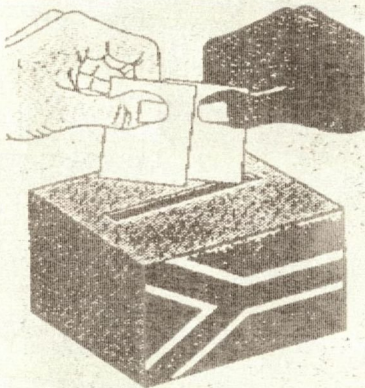
THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON 19/4/94



THE INDEPENDENT - LONDON 19/4/94

Nineteen dead in township gunfights as hostel-dwellers and multi-party National Peace-Keeping Force clash

SOUTH AFRICAN



ELECTIONS



# Carnage follows Inkatha talks

JOHN CARLIN in Johannesburg

BIG SMILES marked the end of talks between the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday. But 50 miles south in Tokoza township, Inkatha supporters resumed their terror campaign after two months of relative peace.

At least 19 people died, a South African photographer included, after gunfights erupted in the township on Sunday night and continued yesterday. The photographer was Ken Oosterbroek of the Johannesburg *Sun*, killed yesterday afternoon in crossfire between Inkatha hostel-dwellers and members of the multi-party National Peace-Keeping Force (NPKF), deployed in the township last week. Two photographers were wounded in the shooting. Tokoza and neighbouring Katlehong, outside Johannesburg, were the most violent townships in South Africa between May last year and January.

About 1,800 people were killed in

clashes between Inkatha supporters, pro-ANC self-defence units and the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) of the police. In response to popular clamour, the army replaced the ISU in February. As if by magic, the violence all but ceased. Amid misgivings among township residents, most of whom support the ANC, the South African army was replaced last week by the NPKF, a body specially trained to keep the peace in the election period. The NPKF includes members of the army, the ANC's guerrilla wing and some of the black homeland armies.

The Inkatha hostel-dwellers interpreted the arrival of the NPKF as a declaration of war. On Sunday night, amid reports that gunmen had been bussed up from the Inkatha heartland of Natal province, the war began again.

The self-defence units, dormant

since the arrival of the army, took up weapons again in response to Inkatha attacks, and the NPKF were unable to intervene. Yesterday sporadic gunfire could be heard around Inkatha's stronghold in Tokoza, Madala hostel. Hostel-dwellers opened fire with automatic rifles on the NPKF members, distinguishable from regular soldiers by their blue berets.

It was when NPKF troops fired back that Oosterbroek, three times made news photographer of the year in South Africa, was killed. Residents of Tokoza yesterday felt if the NPKF had never entered the township, the killings might have been avoided. They said they rued the day the army had pulled out. In the evening, as if in answer to people's prayers, an army platoon was redeployed in Tokoza.

An Inkatha leader, who has regu-

larly been at the heart of the township violence in the last four years, Themba Khoza, warned yesterday that the disruption would extend to other parts of the Johannesburg area.

After he was forced by the threat of police action to call off a planned march through Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Khoza, Inkatha's top Johannesburg leader, warned his organisation would enforce a stay-away from work in the region, and start "rolling mass action". He said that South Africa's currency, the rand, would be the main target of the protests. According to the Goldstone Commission, Mr Khoza has been on the payroll of a secret security police terror unit since 1989.

Yesterday he described the planned campaign as "civil disobedience in the way that Mahatma Gandhi carried out".

But there was little of the Gandhi spirit in evidence at the ANC Johannesburg office at the week-

end, when at least one security guard locked up four men in a makeshift cell in the basement of the office.

First reports indicate the victims were Inkatha supporters. But the evidence that surfaced after the police intervened suggested otherwise.

The ANC's Johannesburg leader, Tokyo Sexwale, called a press conference at noon in an attempt to limit the damage. He said the security guard had been suspended and handed over to the police, who were present in numbers at the ANC office, for questioning. The security guard, Mxolisi Kali, was then presented to reporters. He said he had captured only one man whom he claimed was a common criminal trying to steal his car. A mystery remains over what exactly happened. The only certainty was that the men were seized on Saturday and held until yesterday morning. One of them, at least, had been badly hurt.



UPDATE

Daily News

19/4/94

HE/IM

# How God stepped in to save South Africa

## Daily News Reporters

GOD intervened to save South Africa from a civil war, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today in giving the background to his lunchtime announcement that the IFP would take part in next week's General Election.

The key person in saving South Africa from its worst fate was Professor Washington Okumu, a Kenyan, who was added to the list of seven international dignitaries brought to South Africa as international mediators. He had the backing of the Organisation of African Unity who felt that an African presence was necessary.

Dr Buthelezi's tale of what went on behind the scenes will go down as one of the most fascinating aspects of South African history in this period of transition.

## Mediation

"When my spirits were down after the international mediation had been aborted, and I was leaving Johannesburg for Ulundi on Friday, April 15, I received a message at the airport from Professor Washington Okumu that he wanted to meet me at the the airport and would be there in 20 minutes.

"I waited at Lanseria Airport for as long as I could on the morning of April 15 for Professor Okumu, but as two of my colleagues had an appointment with His Majesty the King I had to leave. However, the aircraft had been air-borne for only a few minutes when I was told there was a problem and we had to turn back.

"Fortunately Professor Okumu was still there and I said that it was as though God had prevented me from leaving, and I was there like Jonah brought back. I told Professor Okumu that my forced return was a God-send.

"He insisted that everything should be done to try and see if lost mediation could be retrieved and that I should do everything I could to negotiate even at this late hour the IFP's participation in elections."

## Participate

"I shared with Professor Okumu the IFP's problems — the fact that the IFP took a decision not to participate because of its serious concerns regarding His Majesty the King which had not been met, and that I could not disregard that. If I did so, I would be committing treason".

Professor Okumu said that everything notwithstanding, he was going to see Mr Mandela whom he has known a long time as well as President de Klerk.

"I had hardly arrived back in Ulundi on Friday when Professor Okumu telephoned and said he had been in touch with the Government who said they were quite prepared to look at the concerns I expressed. Professor Okumu was very firm and said I should telephone the State President at 3 o'clock that afternoon."

"Before I did so, the State President telephoned and asked me what it was I wanted to say to him. I said that I gathered from Professor Okumu that he wanted to talk to me and I gave him the background. The State President told me that the issue of the IFP's participation was sympathetically looked at by the Government. They were prepared to look at participation on a regional level but I told the State President that there was no way the IFP would participate at a regional level only — the IFP had support all over South Africa.



Page 1 of 2

*ELECTION LATEST*

HE/IFP

Daily News  
19/4/94

# He's in!



... and now the IFP will  
contest polls nationwide



## IFP fails to submit evidence on massacre

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday failed to submit evidence to a Goldstone Commission of inquiry into violence that flared during the Zulu march in Johannesburg on March 28, in spite of it having requested the probe.

The IFP was to have made submissions after the South African Police, but the party's legal representative, Mr Maurice Basslian, told the commission he had been instructed by the IFP only on Wednesday last week.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the IFP's failure to make submissions bordered on the contemptuous, given IFP spokesman Ms Sue Vos' request the day after the march for an urgent inquiry.

He ordered the IFP to submit reasons by 9 am today for its failure to make submissions.

Police said ANC security guards opened fire first as IFP supporters marched towards Shell House.

Counsel for the SAP, Mr B Roux, said police at the scene had reported IFP members to be "relatively disciplined".

At about 11.10 am an ANC security guard armed with a shotgun fired in the marchers' direction from a Shell House parapet.

Police apparently told the guard to stop firing.

About 12 ANC security guards, one of whom was armed with a "brand new AK-47 rifle" and others with pistols and shotguns, moved from Shell House's main entrance to the corner of Plein and King George streets as two policemen tried to di-

rect the marchers away from King George Street, but were ignored.

Another policeman asked the 12 security guards to return to the main entrance, whereupon one guard pointed his 9 mm pistol at the police sergeant's chest, ordered him out of the way and threatened to shoot him, the SAP submitted.

As the vanguard of the march approached to between 50 and 70 m of the guards, proceeding along King George Street, the ANC guards opened fire.

Shots were also fired from a Shell House parapet and marchers returned fire.



## Natal's violence toll at weekend is 26

DURBAN. — At least 26 people were killed in violence in Natal at the weekend, according to police and the South African Defence Force.

The Natal Security

Committee, comprising officers of the SADF and South African Police, reported 20 weekend killings, and the KwaZulu Police said six people had been killed in that territory.

ry.

Most of the killings were in townships north of Durban and at other trouble spots.

SAP spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said two men, Mr B Dlamini and Mr T Dlamini, were burnt to death when their shack was set alight at Bham-bayi on Sunday night.

He also reported the killing of headman Mr Jacob Magwazi in the Port Shepstone area. There were no further details.

The KZP said four people were killed in the Umbumbulu district in separate incidents on Sunday evening. Three of the victims were Funani Gumede, 16, Bongiseni Ndlovu, 20, and Joseph Dladla, 48.

The fourth man was unidentified.

KZP Const R S Buthelezi was killed when a patrol vehicle came under AK-47 rifle and 9 mm pistol fire on Sunday night at Mandini on the North Coast.

Two other policemen were seriously injured.



# NPKF 'fired on by own supporters'

UNITS of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF), came under fire from their own supporters in the ANC yesterday in Tokoza, an AFP photographer on the scene said.

There were no immediate reports of casualties, but residents of the township, east of here, said four people were killed in firefights in the same area earlier in the day.

The fighting erupted as pro-ANC residents put up a large banner bearing a portrait of their leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, outside a migrant labour hostel populated by supporters of the Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party.

The African National Congress (ANC) militants came under fire from the hostel, and members of self-defence units, the ANC's township militia, fired back.

NPKF troops launched a skirmish toward the return fire source rather than the hostel, and arrested three ANC men with AK-47 assault rifles, ammunition and clips.

One of the men was struck on the head with a rifle butt, leading to an unusual protest by ANC militants against the NPKF, which comprises soldiers from the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as well as troops from the South African Army and several Black homeland defense forces.

Shots were fired toward the NPKF and, as the scene got uglier, tense troops took up positions in the street, threatening to open fire into the crowd of militants unless they backed off, the photographer reported.

The arrested men were whisked away in an armoured personnel carrier, but the peacekeeping force came under fire once again immediately afterwards.

As the NPKF units spread into the township streets looking for snipers, four armoured vehicles full of SADF soldiers could be seen driving into the township to cheers from residents.

The controversial NPKF, whose training period at a military base near Bloemfontein, was marred by reports of insubordination, drunkenness and desertion, replaced the regular army in the troubled townships of Johannesburg's East Rand last week.

The move has been strongly criticised by the IFP, who have remained outside the country's democracy process, and thus of the interim authority the NPKF answers to in the run-up to the April 26-28 election.

In another development, an explosion interrupted SABC broadcasts in the Western Transvaal and the North-Western Cape.

A police spokesman said there was no indication of the motive or the type of explosive used in the attack on an SABC transmitter in the Christiana region.

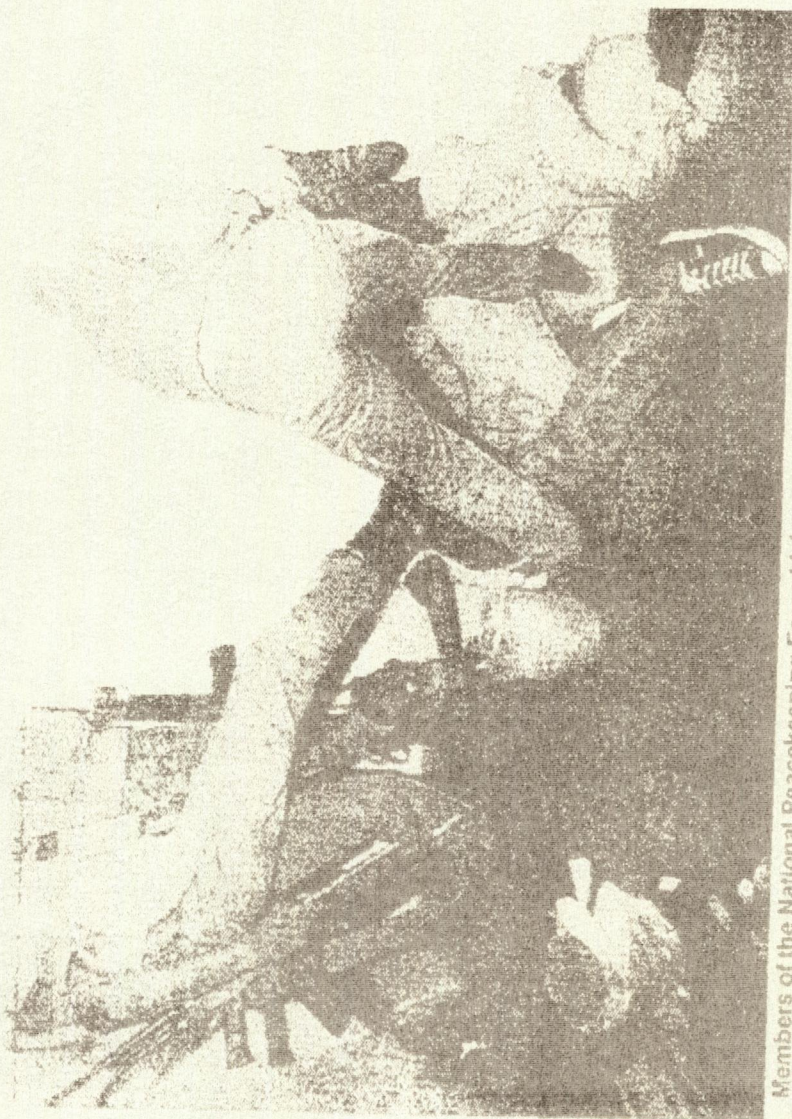
The SABC programme controller for Orange Free State, Mr Dries Dippenaar, said radio and television had been interrupted in the Christiana region, while television broadcasts had been stopped in Schweizer-Reneke. The latter is a stronghold of extreme Right-wing supporters.

A series of bomb attacks blamed on the

White Far-Right has been carried out in several parts of South Africa, targeting offices of the African National Congress and the National Party, as well as businesses and high-voltage cable pylons.

Most of these attacks have taken place in the Western Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Mr Dippenaar said damage to electrical cables would probably be mended by yesterday, but repairs to transmission cables would take longer. — Sapa-AFP.



Members of the National Peacekeeping Force kick men aside after arresting them and searching for weapons during running gun battles in Tokoza between Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress supporters. The IFP are opposed to the upcoming elections set for the end of the month.



## Forces want to reduce Ntl polling stations

DURBAN. — Security forces in KwaZulu/Natal want the 1 600 polling stations originally planned by the Independent Electoral Commission to be cut by half so they have enough police and soldiers to protect voters in the strife-torn region next week.

Briefing journalists in Durban on the latest situation in KwaZulu/Natal — under a state of emergency since the beginning of the month — police and army regional commanders said yesterday the IEC had only recently brought them into the voting station identification process.

The latest reduced number after consultations was 1 009, with a deadline today for final locations, but security forces would prefer a total of around 750 to suit available manpower.

SA Police, SA Defence Force troops and KwaZulu homeland police would be deployed at voting stations in numbers from five to 25 or more, depending on the perceived threat of intimidation and violence.

"Guarding more than 1 000 polling stations would be very difficult at this stage. We would want less than 800 and 750 would be preferable," SAP Deputy Regional Commissioner Brigadier Jeff Barber, said.

A total of 341 polling stations had been laid down for the 26 districts making up the KwaZulu homeland — where Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is refusing to take part in the elections — and security forces wanted this number reduced as well.

SAP Regional Commissioner Lieutenant-General Colin Steyn confirmed a reduced number of polling stations was, from the security force point of view, a critical issue in ensuring as free and fair an election as possible.

"If we can reduce the number of polling stations, then we will be in a better position to effectively guard them," he said.

Intimidation was expected at certain polling stations in KwaZulu/Natal, with violence possible, Gen Steyn said.

"In terms of the boiling pot, yes, we are sitting on a pot, and if the lid blows off ... I don't know." (Report by M van der Velden, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)



# King to call mass vigils of all Zulus

## Zulu king settlement soon, vows Mandela

EAST LONDON — A settlement on the issue of the Zulu king would soon be reached and there would be peace in Natal, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking to chiefs and commoners at the Mngqesha Great Place of Maxhoba Sandile, paramount chief of the Rharhabe Xhosa and brother-in-law of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, he pleaded for an end to mass action, saying it had achieved its end, namely democratic elections.

Earlier, Chief Sandile had presented Mr Mandela with a beaded "stick of peace" and urged him to take it with him when he went to negotiate with the king.

Mr Mandela was also given a black-and-white ox and a leopard skin.

which Chief Sandile said was in recognition of his noble lineage, not because he was leader of the ANC.

Mr Mandela said he and the king were making progress in discussions on their differences.

"I am convinced we are going to reach a settlement soon and there is going to be peace in Natal and in all areas where (the Zulu) people are."

Recalling he had been a legal adviser and friend to King Goodwill's father, King Cyprian, Mr Mandela described the current king as his "leader" and also his "child".

"It is in that spirit that I have had discussions with him. It is in that spirit that I have made progress with him."

The ANC was offering King Goodwill a status higher than that accorded

him by the KwaZulu constitution.

"We are going to put him in the same position as Queen Elizabeth," he said.

Mr Mandela said the high level of political violence and ordinary crime was of grave concern.

"It is our task to make sure the instability is brought to an end, that we stop it," he said. "Peace is a very important message."

The emigration of many Whites was partly due to the way "we behave ourselves". Whites feared demonstrations would continue, that "we will continue beating up people" and that Blacks would take over their houses. — Sapa.

(Report by B MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament.)







## Not guilty party

THE Citizen's editorial (April 15) highlights the two-ring circus act being played out as the "new democratic process" by both FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

The Editor correctly referred to the "mediation that never took place". He should have gone a step further and demanded to know who it was who sent the Kissinger and Carrington group faxed terms of reference that were vague and misleading.

So misleading, in fact, that the mediation group travelled needlessly with the most important ingredient, that of a possible recommendation on postponement of the election, omitted.

An omission vital to the plans of the National Party/ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. Consider the facts as we have been permitted to know them out of secret bilateral bush meetings over the past four years.

The two elements conspired to make things so difficult for parties in disagreement at CODESA that a 12-month break re-

sulted.

When it resumed, those outside the principally bilaterally "levelled playing field" felt obliged to withdraw. This, in essence, left the two major players and a bevy of lesser lights easily handled out of the magic word "consensus".

The Zulu King and the IFP, who jointly exercise influence over about 40 percent of the country's population, became the losers.

A group, moreover, that would have been the major political opponent of a Communist dominated ANC National Executive, set to come into power alongside privileged remnants of the National Party. The result — so-called "government of national unity".

One has to admire the audacity of those who sent the fax to Kissinger and then had the temerity to present a "revised" edition on his and Carrington's arrival. One thing is absolutely certain and that is that the Zulu king and Chief Buthelezi were not the guilty party.

The emerging end game makes it clear that the National Party/ANC alliance fear the IFP in a straight election race. The fear is well-founded, for if concluded democratically, the IFP at very least would be the main opposition in Parliament, the National Party would run a poor third, with the DP tagging along behind in its customary place.

MIKE BOWERY

Petervale

## Why children?

WHY is it that whenever one watches mass action marches or crowd gatherings that the ANC supportive crowds always include masses of children, whereas IFP and other party supportive crowds consist almost without ex-

ception of adults only?

Are the children enticed there to swell the crowds, or are they there as potential cannon fodder to create an incident?

M D SHACKLEFORD

Braamfontein



## Why bother to hold election?

WHERE is the righteous and proper anger of our people over the terrible invasion of Bophuthatswana? We are told of some 80-odd busloads of ANC mobsters who were transported in to destroy that country — with the tacit approval of the South African "Government".

And that "government" jumped in at hardly a moments' notice to take over the country and force it back into the Republic, although Bophuthatswana had a rightfully-elected government, chosen at two successive fully democratic elections.

Where is the democracy in the actions of either the ANC or the "government" of South Africa?

Our house servant returned from a week's leave at her home village

near Rustenburg. And what had she to tell? Of houses burned down, shops gutted and looted, schools burnt to the ground and a hospital and clinics totally destroyed. Where are we to get medical help or food or schools for our children? was her cry.

Is this the pattern favoured by our present "government" and by the government to come? And the same type of action, though not so vicious, has been applied in the Ciskei and in Lebowa, and is still being applied.

Now we see the obvious programme to destabilise KwaZulu, the clear and unmistakable manipulation of conditions there.

One might ask: Why bother to hold an election at all? The pattern is clearly one of intimidation and violence. And

all the time we hear futile bleating about "free and fair elections". How can there ever be under prevailing conditions, with the ANC pulling all the strings and getting everything they want?

The Christian churches by and large have let themselves be used to produce a guilt complex on the part of White churchgoers, so that they are unwilling to oppose the inroads of godless Communism and the organisations it has infiltrated, like the ANC. This has even been boasted about in a recent organisational circular of the ANC.

Why are our people unwilling to take a stand against what will undoubtedly destroy the culture and the Christianity we have striven to propagate down the years?

REV DR J F ALLEN

Melrose



Parliament may be recalled at once

# Hopes of IFP

Natal Mercury 19/4/94

HE/IM

## poll deal soar

HOPES soared last night that Inkatha would go to the polls next week.

This comes in the wake of significant progress in top-level, all-day talks in Pretoria to include the IFP.

While preparations for a poll boycott continued in Natal — with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini set to call all his subjects to his Nongoma palace for a vigil during the three-day poll — the IFP plans to paste up 15 000 "Vote Buthelezi" posters throughout the region this week.

Government, Inkatha and ANC sources were all hopeful last night of a major breakthrough when talks between President De Klerk, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC resume today.

Sources said it was still technically possible to make changes to the 80-million ballot papers, so as to accommodate Inkatha.

"All sorts of creative ideas such as stickers, rubber stamps and partial reprinting are being considered to put Inkatha on the ballot," a government source said.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, on an election tour in Transkei, will take the place of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who initially led the ANC team.

Today's session may be followed by a dramatic announcement by Inkatha that it will, after months of constitutional wrangling, take part in the poll.

It is understood that Parliament could be recalled this week to make revisions to the

By Donwald Pressly  
and Steve Mathewson

constitution to boost the federal powers of regions and grant the king rights in Natal similar to those enjoyed by the British monarchy.

Emerging from the meeting — sought by Dr Buthelezi — an unusually jovial KwaZulu chief minister indicated the day had gone well.

Mr De Klerk told journalists that "some progress" had been made and that he was optimistic of further advances this morning.

"The parties had agreed not to disclose the substance of their discussions."

"Time is running out, but there is always time to find solutions," Mr De Klerk said.

While the ANC has insisted that the election dates remain sacrosanct, the constitutional accommodations made to the king are believed to be sufficient to satisfy Inkatha.

Significantly, Dr Buthelezi for the first time accepted that the election would go ahead as scheduled.

It is understood that if Mr Mandela had been at the talks, a comprehensive package of proposals would have been signed and sealed.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said he had learnt not to express himself at such a critical stage during negotiations, but while talks were continuing "there is always hope".

The last word of foreign minister Pik Botha, who was a surprise participant, was: "Not often, but sometimes, a winning try is scored in injury

time."

A government source said there seemed to be a realisation in Inkatha ranks that long-term accommodation of the king, believed to have been accepted by the monarch, was more secure than associating his kingdom with a political party.

● Military and police officers serving on the Natal joint security committee have made it clear that the security forces were going to rely heavily on the KwaZulu Police in manning polling booths during the election.

A media conference at Natal Command was told that a directive had been issued by Dr Buthelezi instructing the KZP to help provide security at polling booths.

SAP regional commissioner Lt Gen Colin Steyn said: "We are going to depend on the KZP for support. We'll be pleased to have their help on the days of the election."

Asked about the dangers of political bias from the KZP, he said the situation would be closely monitored.

Police and military officers emphasised that there were far too many polling booths in Natal and KwaZulu to be policed properly.

Their appeals to the Independent Election Commission had already resulted in the number of voting stations being reduced from about 1 600 to 1 009. It was hoped, however, to have the number reduced to as few as 750.

It would require at least five policemen to maintain security at a reasonable level at the booths.

(Report by D Pressly, S Mathewson and L Moshen, 18 Cecil Street, Durban)



Massacre: IFP fails to submit Shell House evidence

# ANC fired first shots,

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HE/IM

## says counsel

JOHANNESBURG—The IFP yesterday failed to submit evidence to a Goldstone Commission of inquiry into violence that flared during the Zulu march in Johannesburg on March 28, despite having requested the probe.

The IFP was to have made submissions after the South African Police, but the party's legal representative, Mr Maurice Basslian, told the commission he had been instructed by the IFP only last Wednesday.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the IFP's failure to make submissions bordered on the contemptuous given IFP spokesman Sue Vos's request the day after the march for an urgent inquiry.

He ordered the IFP to submit reasons by 9am today for its failure to make submissions.

Meanwhile, the SAP and the ANC offered conflicting versions of the shooting outside the ANC's headquarters, which left eight IFP supporters dead and about 20 injured.

Police said ANC security guards opened fire first as IFP supporters marched towards Shell House.

Counsel for the SAP, Mr B Roux, said police at the scene had reported IFP members to be "relatively disciplined".

About 11.10am an ANC security guard armed with a shotgun fired in the marchers' direction from a Shell House parapet.

Police apparently told the guard to stop firing.

Police said there was no reason whatsoever for the ANC guards to shoot at the

marchers.

A "zip" gun and a 7.65mm pistol were found on the bodies of marchers killed.

At the site from where ANC guards fired, police found 16 spent AK-47 cartridges, seven 7.65mm, six shotgun, 12 Makarov and 15 9mm cartridges, said Mr Roux.

ANC counsel George Bizos told the commission Witwatersrand police commissioner Gen Koos Calitz had arrived at Shell House about 10.30am to be asked by ANC senior legal adviser Penuell Maduna to ensure the marchers were disarmed and the area around Shell House cordoned off.

As the crowd, estimated at several thousand, moved towards the northwest corner of Shell House, shots were fired at ANC security guards who were patrolling on foot, Mr Bizos submitted.

Mr Bizos said the marchers were about 15m from the security guards on the corner of Plein and King George streets when the order to open fire in self-defence was given.

"They knew of the rumours to assassinate Mandela and realised that, once the marchers gained access to Shell House, all the leaders and staff members could be assassinated".

Mr Bizos questioned the SAP's description of IFP marchers as "relatively disciplined", saying marchers who assaulted and stabbed people and robbed hawkers of their goods were involved in "public violence of the worst sort".

Mr Bizos emphatically denied SAP allegations that ANC bodyguards had turned police away. — (Sapa)



by Wyndham Hartley

South Africa

# Who supports whom?

THE four years of negotiations, which finally produced an interim constitution, were bedevilled by parties without an established constituency. Those who participated in the tricameral parliamentary elections had a vague electoral definition but it was racial and limited. Even the National Party's support levels could not be determined; it had contested a whites-only election and then took control of both the Indian and coloured houses of parliament.

The African National Congress claimed support of the masses. While it was certain that a large number of people backed the ANC, just how many could not be determined. Other liberation and anti-apartheid movements were described as one man and a fax machine, but again no definition of constituency existed.

Homeland governments, either the independent or self-governing varieties, were de facto one party states. Most had never contested a free and fair election in their territories and where they had, the single largest perceivable support base was the boycott vote.

Inkatha dominated the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, but it nominated people for election to the assembly who were elected unopposed without a formal poll. Places in the assembly were inextricably intertwined with a system of patronage and reward. Levels of sup-

port remained a complete mystery in the feudal structures of the homeland.

In 1990 during the interminable talks about talks period leading up to the Codesa forum, the central debate was who could legitimately be represented at the multiparty negotiations. The ANC and its anti-apartheid allies rejected homeland governments and political parties as sell-outs who should not be part of the debate to formulate a new South Africa. The National Party insisted that they had valid constituencies and should play a part. The formal parties of the tricameral parliament shared this position, the NP insisted.

Of course the ANC's attitude to the "sell-outs" changed dramatically when some of them threw in their lot with the ANC and not, as expected, with the Government. Venda, Transkei and the Labour Party are the classic examples. Thus some 25 parties eventually assumed places at the multiparty talks in spite of the lack of definition of their support levels.

This led to the creation of "sufficient consensus" as a means of reaching decisions. The reasoning was that a small "sell-out" party, like the National People's Party of Amichand Rajbansi, should not enjoy the same weight of representation as others at the talks. Quite logical really, but the truth behind sufficient consensus was that no political party had a defined constituency. The National Party Government,

because it controlled the remains of apartheid powers, and the ANC, because it had the moral authority of the people's choice as heir to that power, enjoyed unquestioned status at Codesa.

A number of parties, including Inkatha, challenged the sufficient consensus style of the multiparty negotiations on the basis that decisions were taken according to power perceptions as opposed to defined constituencies. Only an election could sort out the problem of who supported whom in the maze of South African politics.

Now we are a scant eight days from the election and the political definition which we so desperately need to calm the country and reduce intense rivalry. But Inkatha will not be there and in one area at least, the election will serve to further muddy the waters of support bases rather than clarify them.

There are reports of intense intimidation in KwaZulu areas. Even innocent people distributing pamphlets have been killed, probably by people who could not even read what the pamphlets contained. Families in KwaZulu areas of Inkatha dominance are preparing to ensure that they are visible in and around their homes over the election so there can be no doubt about whether or not they voted. However, in the spirit of liberation many others will cast a vote, or attempt to. No voter should have

to pay with his life to exercise his democratic right.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has always claimed to support democratic principles. Quite rightly, he has insisted that not to vote is also a democratic choice. In the interests of saving lives Buthelezi could still emerge as a statesman of stature if he creates the circumstances whereby going to a voting station will not be seen by some as an act of betrayal punishable by death. Or where staying at home is not seen as betraying the final liberation from apartheid and earning a similar sentence.

To achieve this, Buthelezi could now do a deal with another political party for accommodation on its lists and then urge his supporters to cast their votes in that direction.

Or he could simply call on all his followers to write IFP on their ballot papers. Papers spoilt in this way are still counted and this would give an indication of IFP support level in Natal/KwaZulu, and indeed throughout the country, without conceding on the constitutional issues which still plague talks between the ANC and the IFP.

All those dying in the violence are Zulu subjects of the king. A political gesture of the nature will save lives and allow all the people of Natal/KwaZulu to participate in what, after all, should be a festival to celebrate the official demise of apartheid and white supremacy.

HE/IM





DURBAN'S hopes of setting up a metropolitan forum to reshape local government in the region before the election have been dashed with the cancellation of last night's inaugural meeting.

The announcement came as the ANC and IFP dug in their heels over whether the IFP belonged in the statutory establishment or non-statutory camp on the Durban metropolitan local government negotiating forum.

Both parties have their own interpretations of the recently passed Local Government Transition Act's description of the qualifications for statutory and non-statutory.

## ANC-IFP row sets back metro forum

By Wendy Knowler  
Municipal Reporter

"By our reading, we don't qualify as statutory," said the IFP's Gavin Woods yesterday. "There is no ambiguity in the wording — we have never taken part in elections at local government level."

With many IFP supporters

already serving on town councils which qualify as statutory, the ANC's concern is that if it is to share the non-statutory seats "50-50" with the IFP, the council would in effect be dominated by the IFP.

Mr Woods said the IFP was anxious to settle the matter and move forward together with the ANC. "We don't wish to dominate them on the new

council, but we won't allow them to dominate us."

He warned that if the IFP was to be statutory this would mean fewer seats for existing councillors and thus "dilute their contribution".

The 1 500 would-be members of the forum are unlikely to get together before next week's elections, making it virtually impossible to meet the May 2 deadline imposed by the Local Government Transition Act.

If that is the case, the forum's broadly-based convening committee will have to apply to the administrator for an extension.

### FP in talks with IFP

CAPE TOWN—The Federal Party has had "informal talks" with IFP members, recommending they be re-presented on the FP's election list if the IFP did not contest the elections, FP national leader Frances Kendall said yesterday.

She said the suggestion was made because "our position is so close to theirs".

(Report by E. Kemp, Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

Natal Mercury 19/4/94

HE/jm



# Hopes high IFP will join poll

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY  
Political Editor

## DE KLERK OPTIMISTIC

Progress during the morning led to an ANC delegation under the direction of secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa arriving. At a break in the talks at 3 pm, De Klerk and Ramaphosa expressed cautious optimism that a breakthrough could be on the cards.

De Klerk said that, while time is running out, "there is always time to find solutions". Ramaphosa said the matter was extremely "sensitive" and that everything possible was being done to find a solution.

In the late afternoon Buthelezi and his delegation emerged from the Union Buildings in a positive and cheerful mood. Buthelezi immediately surprised by saying that he accepted that the election will not be delayed. He said he was confident that the last ditch talks would bring about results.

He would not discuss specifics about the day's talks, but did say they had gone well and should produce something positive later today.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the discussions were about the future of the country but said recent weeks had taught him not to express optimism about the outcome of talks. But while there was discussion hope was always alive, he said.

## MARCH PUT ON HOLD

The developments yesterday apparently have caused the IFP's youth brigade to put its mass action and protest march on hold. Talks with the South African Chamber of Business also played a role in the public protests being delayed.

Developments came amid reports that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini could call meetings of the faithful to attend an "imbizo" over the election period to mourn those killed in Johannesburg two weeks ago. Such a call would guarantee maximum disruption of the election in Natal-KwaZulu.

Should an agreement be reached today it will undoubtedly involve guarantees on the position of the king and signed agreements on future negotiations and constitutional amendments.

If Inkatha is indeed accommodated in the election at this stage, it will involve either a reprint of the ballot papers or a system of stickers to allow an Inkatha vote to be identified. Either measure will strain the already stressed resources of the Independent Electoral Commission almost to breaking point.

Report by W. Hartley, 244 Longmarket St, Pmb.

**W**ITH only a week to go before the election, South Africa is closer than ever to a settlement which will see Inkatha participate in the April 27 poll.

Unexpected developments yesterday saw the ANC, Inkatha and the government poised to conclude an agreement which will significantly reduce violence and assist the holding of free and fair elections.

Sources in the government and Inkatha are waiting with bated breath for the continuation of the talks this morning in the belief that an agreement is almost "in the bag".

It is understood that a late night meeting of Inkatha's central committee on Sunday led to the resolution which made an approach to President F.W. de Klerk possible. Even last night Inkatha was mobilising its resources to participate in the election.

The drama began early in the morning when Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi requested, and was granted, an urgent meeting with De Klerk.

The meeting, which came amid fiery war talk from the Inkatha Youth Brigade that they would enforce a stayaway and march on the ANC headquarters in downtown Johannesburg, began at 8.30 am at the Union Buildings.



# FW optimistic over talks

STATE President De Klerk said last night some progress had been made at a meeting with IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at the

Union Buildings yesterday.

He was optimistic further progress could be made when talks resumed today.

"Time is running out, but there is always time to find solutions," Mr De Klerk said, speaking on

the Union Buildings steps.

The aim of the talks is to include the IFP in the constitutional process and to address the issues of violence and free elections.

Emerging earlier from the talks, Mr Ramaphosa said: "We are dealing with very sensitive mat-

ters as you all know, and we are trying everything to see what is possible."

Chief Buthelezi told an impromptu news conference he was confident the meeting would bring about positive results.

The leaders had discussed the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal

and the march being planned by IFP youth leaders in Johannesburg, he said.

There was no specific outcome to the meeting he could mention yesterday.

The talks had however gone well and he had no

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## FW optimistic

### FROM PAGE 1

doubt they would bring positive results when they continued today.

He had been informed the Johannesburg march organisers were replanning the march.

It was in order for his people to march, especially because their relatives had been killed in cold blood, Chief Buthelezi said, referring to Zulus killed in the Johannesburg march on March 28.

It was a democratic right to march and the IFP was not begging for that right.

The march was not being planned by the IFP's head office but by people on the ground, he said.

Asked if the IFP would participate in the election, he said physically it was possible, but practi-

cally he did not believe it would be so because it would afford the IFP only a few days of campaigning.

Asked if he advocated the postponement of the elections, Chief Buthelezi said he did not think there was any possibility of them being postponed.

Other parties, including those involved in the mediation effort, had said the date was cast in stone.

Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, said: "The discussions were about the country's future and all parties expressed their concern about the state of affairs at the moment."

"We are all looking forward to solutions to the problems we are currently engaged in."

(News by Rams Mafija and Norman Patterson, IAT Commissioner St, Johannesburg.)



THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 14 APRIL 1994 11:01 AM

# TOP PHOTOGRAPHER DIES IN CLASH

**Confusion  
on cause  
of death**

By Hugo Hagen  
and Sapa

AWARD-winning Star photographer Ken Oosterbroek died in Tokoza yesterday during a gun battle between the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) and hostel dwellers.

Two other photographers, Greg Marmovich, a Pulitzer Prize winner on assignment for Newsweek, and Juda Ngwenya, of Reuters, were wounded.

How Mr Oosterbroek died was not clear last night.

Dr Demetrius Pagugas, the Natalspuit Hos-

pital doctor who examined Mr Oosterbroek's body immediately after he had been taken to the hospital, said that his neck had been broken and he suspected that he also had a fractured skull.

"The blood on his head came from the severe

**TO PAGE 2**



# Top photographer dies in Tokoza

**FROM PAGE 1**

nosebleed such an injury would cause."

He had seen on television news the body of someone, presumably a photographer, jerk.

"We could only see the legs and could not see who it was. If it was Mr Oosterbroek, the jerking might have come from the shock of the force of his neck being broken."

However, the Star's lawyer, Mr Paul Jenkins, said he was more inclined to believe reports by pictures editor Robyn Comley and psychologist Brian Dyke to the contrary.

They were two independent eye witnesses who were adamant that they have seen a clear bullet entry wound on the left side of his chest, indicating Mr. Oosterbroek had been shot through the heart.

Mr Jenkins said he was less inclined to give credence to earlier speculation that a bullet sliver might have struck Mr Oosterbroek in the head.

"All, however, will become clear on Wednesday morning when the post-mortem is conducted by the head of forensics at the Hillbrow Hospital, Dr Dennis Kemp."

The National Peace-keeping Force could not

take responsibility for the safety of journalists in the East Rand townships, NPKF spokesman, Colonel Connie van Rensburg said yesterday.

Col Van Rensburg said sporadic fire began "from the hostel area directed at the general public in the area".

Earlier reports said trouble started when African National Congress supporters erected a banner opposite the hotels' entrance.

Col Van Rensburg said the NPKE went to investigate and drew fire from the hostel. "They returned the fire."

Asked about an allegation by Associated Press photographer Joao Silva, who was also on the scene, that the shots which hit his colleagues came from the NPKF, Col Van Rensburg said: "It's possible. It was cross-fire."

"The NPKF cannot accept responsibility for the safety of any journalists in the area."

The matter was still being investigated.

His information was the area was still tense last night, he said.

The National Peace-keeping Force's battalion commander, Colonel Quentin Paynter, is carrying out an in-depth investigation to establish the facts surrounding the incident, according to the battalion operations chief, Colonel Vic Walker.

"I haven't had the opportunity to speak to him yet."

"I cannot say anything until I've had a report from Col Paynter. I'm literally as much in the dark as you are."

However, The Citizen established from informed sources last night that automatic gunfire was coming from three different directions.

Heavy fire came from the Number One, Number Two and Number Three hostels in Khumalo Road, one of Tokoza's main roads.

Fire is also coming from houses in the ANC area.

and from some deserted houses in the so-called no-man's-land separating the two areas.

By 8 o'clock last night heavy gunfire once again broke out in the same area, and the NPKF was reported to have been caught in the crossfire once more.

The Star's news editor, Mr Mike Cohen, said according to unconfirmed reports, the photographers were positioned behind a wall between the hostel and members of the NPKE when the shooting started.

When hostel residents opened fire, the NPKF troops returned fire and the photographers apparently got hit in the cross-fire.

It could be assumed from the angle at which the men were lying that they could not have been hit by gunfire coming from the hostel, but were hit by fire from NPKF members.

In a report by Mr Oosterbroek to his picture editor, Ms Robin Conley, earlier that morning, Mr Oosterbroek described the situation at the hostel as "like open warfare".

Mr Silva said he believed the shots that hit his colleagues came from the NPKF.

It appeared as if a soldier of the NPKF panicked while under fire behind a wall.

He started shooting while photographers were taking cover behind the same wall.

"I saw blood on my hand... Greg was screaming he'd been hit... Ken lay quietly. I knew he was dead," said Juda Ngwenya, wounded in the left arm, while he waited for treatment with other casualties.

Mr. Marinovich was wounded in the buttock, chest and thumb, Mr. Ngwenya was hit in the left arm.

Mr Ngwenya said there

was heavy gunfire from a Zulu Inkatha hostel in Khumalo Street, but none from the residents and the photographers dived for cover.

The injured men were rushed to hospital, but Mr Oosterbroek was declared dead on arrival. Mr Ngwenya had "only a flesh wound", according to his office. A bullet was removed from Mr Marinovich's chest and he was reported to be in a stable condition.

Chief photographer at the Star, Mr Oosterbroek, 32, was last week named news photographer of the year for the third time in six years.

Interviewed on Radio 702 after receiving the award, he said photographers relied on intuition. He indicated he wanted to travel overseas after South Africa's April 27 election.

He is the second news photographer to have been killed this year. Mr Abdul Shariff, 31, was killed in the East Rand's Katlehong in January.

Mr Marinovich won his

Pulitzer Prize in 1991 for a series of photographs of a man being killed by a mob in Soweto.

• See Page Four.



Reuters photographer JUDA NGWENYA... wounded in the left upper arm.







## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# Shocking

THE detention of six people in the basement of the ANC's PWV regional headquarters in Lancet Hall, in the centre of Johannesburg, raises immediate questions of what is going on both at regional headquarters and at Shell House, the party's national headquarters?

You will recall that eight Zulu marchers were massacred in front of Shell House, allegedly by ANC security guards.

Now, six people have been held illegally and allegedly tortured in regional headquarters because they were suspected Inkatha Freedom Party members, though one of them has denied this.

Discovery of the cell came about when one of the men escaped and told a police patrol in Hillbrow that he had escaped from Lancet Hall, but that four others were still being held captive there.

Police found three men and a 14-year-old youth in a "cell-like structure with steel bars" and a fifth man nearby in the basement.

A security guard pointed a firearm at the police and tried to prevent them from gaining access to the building.

The ANC lamely announced yesterday that it had suspended a member of the PWV region's security personnel who, it claimed, had been conducting his own personal investigation after his car was broken into.

Inquiries were being made to establish whether other members of the staff were involved.

"This type of behaviour is unacceptable and will not be tolerated," the ANC said.

Now we don't know how a man manages to detain six people on his own, or how five landed up in a cell-like structure with bars which nobody else knew about - not even ANC officials, who are supposed to know what is happening in their regional headquarters.

We also don't know why anyone who suspects others of breaking into a vehicle should go to all the trouble of detaining them in a cell-like structure when the obvious thing to do is to hand them to the police.

The story, as it is, is implausible and we don't buy it.

Which means the ANC has a lot of answering to do.

Political opponents have naturally seized on this incident to bring up the ANC's torture camps like the infamous Quattro, to show how brutal the ANC is.

Their demands range from calling in Amnesty International and the Red Cross to referring the matter to the Independent Electoral Commission.

We believe the police should handle the case, as they have until now, and that the ANC, which has promised co-operation, should allow the police to establish whether anyone else has been detained, or is being detained, unlawfully in the building.

The Lancet Hall incident follows the shocking massacre outside Shell House and Mr Mandela's refusal to allow the police to execute a search warrant there.

In a leading article yesterday, we said that Mr Mandela and the ANC did justice - and their own cause - a great disservice by the way in which they barred police from entering Shell House in the course of their investigations into the massacre.

Fortunately, the police, who in the case of Shell House were warned off, did not hesitate to go into Lancet Hall although senior ANC officials were extremely aggressive towards them.

We deplore the ANC's actions both at Shell House and Lancet Hall.

No-one and no organisation is allowed to hold people captive, or torture them.

No-one and no organisation should be allowed to frustrate the police in the carrying out of their duties.

The ANC is going to head the next government and it will expect everyone to respect the law.

Yet it has failed to do so at Shell House and Lancet Hall.

It had best do something about these incidents if it wishes to have the confidence of the people of this country.

It cannot be a law unto itself now - or when it is in government.



# NP urges Amnesty probe into 'torture'

By Brian Stuart

AMNESTY International must be allowed into ANC offices to ensure there are no further contraventions of human rights, such as that uncovered this week at the ANC's PWV regional offices, the National Party demanded yesterday.

A huge political row has erupted over what has been called the "KGB-like" holding for alleged torture, of six Inkatha members in the ANC's regional offices at Lancelot Hall in Johannesburg.

Political spokesman yesterday questioned the ANC's commitment to human rights and to justice, especially as it hoped to become the "demo-

cratic" government in an election only one week away.

Dismissing ANC claims that only one of its officials was involved, other political parties have linked the event to the so-called torture camps and to the shooting of Zulu marchers in the Shell House massacre on March 28.

The Democratic Party said the ANC was fond of calling for the resignation of NP leaders for actions they should have known about. The same test would now be applied in public to the ANC.

The NP said that Mr Nelson Mandela, as ANC president, and Mr Tokyo Sexwale, as PWV leader of the ANC, had to accept responsibility for

these incidents, which seemed to continue the pattern set at ANC torture camps, such as Quatro.

"We demand that the ANC immediately open all its offices to scrutiny by Amnesty International and the International Red Cross after the Lancelot Hall incident.

"The alleged incarceration and assault of six people by the ANC is not only a serious abuse of basic human rights, but also makes a mockery of the ANC's publicly-proclaimed opposition to detention without trial."

Mr Olaus van Zyl, the NP's top candidate in the PWV, said he challenged his ANC opponent, Mr Sexwale, to declare publicly whether he had any

knowledge of the six people incarcerated in his regional office.

"If he didn't know, he certainly should have known what was going on in his own headquarters," said Mr Van Zyl.

"There are shades here of Quatro camp and ANC tortures. Is the ANC culture of violence to continue right into government?"

"Are there holding cells at other ANC offices? Is this why Mr Mandela refused the police access to Shell House on the day of the Shell House massacre?" he asked.

NP media director, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, also dismissed the ANC explanation. "After all the explanations, the question still is: Why does the ANC need a cell in its offices?" he said.

"This incident calls to mind the ANC's torture camps and the brutality committed by the Communist Party and the KGB in the former Soviet Union."

The Freedom Front said it was shocking that the ANC should so clearly "continue its old practices", a mere week ahead of the country's first democratic elections.

"To hold and torture IFP supporters in an ANC office is not only disgusting, but indeed reflects on the ANC's perception of democracy and human rights," said Mr Stephan Maninger, media officer of the FF.

"It is also in step with the ANC's careless attitude regarding the shooting of Zulus outside Shell House two weeks ago."

(News by Brian Stuart, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.)



# 'ANC tortured us'

**FROM PAGE 1**

over us, and told us to put our feet through them. They took a thick broomstick and started hitting us. There were many of them.

"They accused us of being Inkatha, although we are not. They asked me about the march on Monday. I told them I am not a politician."

Mr Piase said the men then told one of his friends that they had to go and look for another of their friends, the security guard at the Hilton Plaza, and fetch him.

"When my friend went out with them again, he ran away."

Another man, Mr Themba Khumalo, 18, who had a swollen eye and whose face showed severe bruising, said that the interrogators had also crushed his toes with a shotgun butt.

"I thought they were going to kill me. I am not party political. But they



Mr THEMBA KHUMALO, one of the men freed by police from an underground cell.

did this because I am a Zulu," he said.

The other men who were abducted are Mr Christopher Duke, 18, from Hillbrow, Mr Malsami Moko from Soweto, and Mr Bugith Mqubana, 52, from Berea.

In her comment yesterday, H-P spokesman Steve Vos said: "Is this what awaits Zulu speaking South Africans under a new government? Is this the kind of terror they will be subjected to?"

Ms Vos said the six had been abducted because they were suspected H-P members.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Lester Jacobs said if the ANC cared about accountability, it should withdraw Mr Sexwale's name as an ANC election candidate.

In its reaction, the Freedom Front called on the government to stop protecting the ANC and to let the police investigate all heads.

Security personnel told ANC officials at a meeting yesterday morning that the security personnel member who brought the people to the building, had been conducting his own personal investigation after his car was broken into and that the presence of the people in the building had nothing to do with organisational matters.

The official was suspended with immediate effect and further internal investigations had been launched to see whether other members of the staff had been involved.

"Should any other person be found to be implicated in the incident, appropriate action will be taken," said a spokesman.

No member of the ANC is immune from disciplinary action. This type of behaviour is unacceptable and will not be tolerated," he added.

The ANC PWV Region regrets this incident and condemns it in the strongest terms.

It was not ANC policy to hold people against their will no matter what their crime was. The party believed any individual involved in any form of crime should be handed over to the police.

Officials also agreed yesterday to remain in close liaison with the police and to co-operate with the investigation into the matter.

Police spokesman Col David Bruce said yesterday the men freed from Lances Hall were examined by a district surgeon who had referred three of them to hospital.

When police found them, they all showed signs of serious assault.

"Their faces were considerably swollen," he said.

The men had made affidavits to police and charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm had been laid.

Asked to comment on reports that the men had claimed to be Inkatha, Col Bruce said: "It is alleged that the men claimed to be members of the IFP, but it is of no relevance to which party they belong."

According to Col Bruce the drama started on Sunday night when a man told a patrol in Hillbrow that he had escaped from Lances Hall, but that four others were still being held captive there.

Police found three men and one 14-year-old youth in the "cell-like structure with steel bars".

"They had to break the door down," said Col Bruce. A fifth person was found nearby in the basement.

He added that a security guard had allegedly pointed a firearm at police and tried to prevent them from gaining access to the building for the rescue operation.

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# How ANC tortured us — freed victim

By Chris Steyn

"THEY said they were going to kill us at 12 o'clock on Sunday night," said two of the men who were freed by police from a basement cell at the African National Congress regional headquarters in Johannesburg on Sunday night.

Speaking yesterday from their beds at the Hillbrow Hospital, where they are being treated under police guard, they told The Citizen how they were abducted, held captive and tortured.

Mr Prince Pitse, 17, said three men — who claimed to be policemen and were carrying guns — went to the Senator Hotel in Hillbrow on Saturday and told him and his friend Jabu Mlotswa, 14, from Braamfontein to follow them outside.

When they got to their vehicle, a microbus, they saw four other men already inside.

"They said we must get in. We went because we were afraid of their guns," said Mr Pitse.

"The minute they started the bus, they told

us that we are Inkatha children. They said we would talk at the ANC headquarters, and they took us there."

In the basement of Lancel Hall, Mr Pitse, Mr Mlotswa, as well as two others were told to line up against the wall.

"Then they put tyres

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