

THE INDEPENDENT LONDON
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Inkatha executes five ANC Zulus

FIVE Zulu youths loyal to the ANC were executed yesterday in Natal province, South Africa's bloodiest political battlefield, after being lured into an Inkatha area by a promise of peace talks.

The killings, in revenge for the deaths of eight Inkatha men outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters on Monday, brought the March death toll in Natal to 266, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, said it was clear Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party was "determined to drown the country in blood".

Mr Ramaphosa is a key figure in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which called on Tuesday night for a state of emergency to be declared in Natal and the homeland that lies within its borders, KwaZulu. President F W de Klerk, who met his cabinet yesterday, called an afternoon press conference at which it had been expected that he would give the government's stamp of approval to the proposal of the multi-party TEC. However the press conference was postponed at the last minute, and without explanation, until nine o'clock this morning.

The speculation in political circles last night was that Mr de Klerk simply did not know how best to deal with the growing belligerence of Chief Buthelezi and his nephew, the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, both of whom have called on their supporters to boycott the general elections due in four weeks.

On Tuesday Chief Buthelezi,

JOHN CARLIN in Johannesburg

leader of the only black party not taking part in the country's first democratic poll, warned of a "final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation".

The distinction would have mystified many Zulus, 70,000 of whom marched in Durban on Friday in support of the ANC. The conflict in Natal is not so much ethnic, the participants on both sides being being Zulus, as a struggle for power between ANC progressives and Inkatha conservatives.

The five young ANC men were lured to their deaths in KwaMashu, a large black township outside Durban. Inkatha officials had invited them to a migrant workers' hostel to talk peace.

Nine youths in all went to the meeting in the hope of defusing the violence in KwaMashu. According to survivors, upon arrival at the hostel they were met by three men in a mini-bus. They were dragged into a room at gun-point, kept there for two hours and then ordered to leave the room one by one, whereupon they were met by a hail of AK47 bullets. "I came out and I ran. There was a big crowd of people with AK47s and I ran right through them," one of the four survivors said. He added that an Inkatha Youth Brigade leader had told them earlier he was very angry about Monday's killings in Johannesburg.

The response of the ANC in Durban yesterday only increased fears that the violence in Natal will esca-

late during the run-up to the elections. Spokesman Dumisani Makhaya warned that ANC members would not take this latest attack lying down.

The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was in no mood yesterday to buckle to armed Inkatha pressure for the elections to be suspended pending agreement on Chief Buthelezi's confusing demand for the establishment of a "Zulu kingdom". In the same way that the white right have proved unable to explain what they visualise when they call for a separate Afrikaner state, so the government and the ANC — who between them command the support of 85 per cent of the population — have been unable to fathom what the Inkatha leader wants.

Under the new constitution agreed by the majority of South Africa's political parties, Natal will have an elected provincial parliament and the Zulu king will continue to be the king, with the same powers he has enjoyed for more than 20 years within the KwaZulu homeland, under the guidance of his uncle the chief minister.

Mr Mandela said yesterday he could only conclude that King Goodwill was labouring under "a misunderstanding" as to his future status under an ANC government. The ANC president declared: "An attempt to postpone the elections or drown them in blood cannot be countenanced."

The only effective response, ANC officials were saying yesterday, would be to send in the army.

18 THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1994

LONDON

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

ANC peace party killed by Zulus in 'revenge act'

FIVE African National Congress members have been shot dead while trying to talk peace with Zulu nationalists.

Police said the victims were arranging a truce on Tuesday night in a hostel near Durban run by the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC's bitter rival, when they were dragged out, driven to a railway station and executed.

The ANC intensified calls yesterday for a state of emergency to be declared in the strife-torn KwaZulu homeland, as the authorities discussed tougher security measures.

An ANC spokesman said gunmen from the Zulu hostel in KwaMashu township had said the killings were in revenge for Monday's slaughter in Johannesburg, when 53 people died in clashes involving Inkatha, the ANC and the police.

In one incident on Monday, eight Zulus were killed by ANC security guards.

As violence raged on in Natal yesterday, 70 Inkatha supporters were fired on as they returned from a military training camp near the Kwa-Zulu capital of Ulundi.

Police said three of the Inkatha supporters had been tearing down an ANC poster in the town of Eshowe when four men opened fire on their bus. One of the attackers was said to have been wounded by return fire.

The incident came as the Transitional Executive Council, which is jointly gov-

By Alec Russell
in Johannesburg

erning South Africa with President de Klerk until next month's multi-racial elections, was drawing up plans for a security clampdown in KwaZulu to safeguard free political activity.

The transitional council's management committee was meeting yesterday to put the finishing touches to a resolution which is expected to leave open the option of a state of emergency in KwaZulu and parts of Natal. Details will be disclosed later this week.

Such a drastic measure would require the approval of Mr de Klerk, who held a cabinet meeting in Pretoria yesterday to discuss options for action. Government

Defence gag on sacked scientists

Armcor, South Africa's state-owned weapons manufacturer, has won a gagging order from the Supreme Court preventing disgruntled defence scientists from exposing secrets of the country's missile programme.

Sixteen scientists, made redundant from an Armcor subsidiary, threatened to make public details of South Africa's co-operation with Israel on missile technology unless they were paid \$900,000 in lost salaries and benefits.

sources said the President wanted to delay any state of emergency until after next week's planned meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the head of Inkatha.

However, Mr de Klerk is coming under growing pressure from the ANC, which is accusing the government of neglecting its responsibilities while the country burns.

Violence has escalated in Natal since Inkatha, which wants greater federal powers and tacitly supports the Zulu king's call for a sovereign Zulu state, missed the deadline for registration of candidates for next month's poll.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's general secretary, called yesterday for an immediate takeover of KwaZulu, saying Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi were determined "to drown the country in blood in their determination to stop the election from taking place".

His remarks came after Chief Buthelezi said on Tuesday that Monday's battle could mark the start of "a fight to the death between the ANC and the Zulu nation".

Johannesburg's townships were tense after Monday's killings. Two men were stoned to death in Soweto by political rivals yesterday.

● Gunmen attacked a minibus, killing seven people and wounding four, in Katlehong township, near Johannesburg, yesterday — AFP

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had to go free, Smit said.

He said it was unfortunate the police were, for example, not allowed to take statements from victims after the attack, and that several State witnesses had made statements only after the trial began. Others said the ANC and PAC had told them not to make correct statements.

Smit exonerated the police from any involvement in the attack. He rejected the evidence of two witnesses who said they had seen the police helping the attackers and providing transport for them, as untrue and unreliable.

He said about 120 Boipatong and Slovo Park residents had testified in the trial. Not one of them had seen police vehicles on the scene during the attack.

area after the attack, and then withdrawn.

The time had perhaps arrived to reconsider the manner of investigation and actions by the Goldstone commission, he said.

He said the finding would be welcomed by those who understood the difficult task facing the SA Police.

Report by S. Denny, Sept. 14; Commissioner St. Joe

Half of Natal's Inkatha supporters plan to vote

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The NP looks set to become the leading opposition party in a new government, helped by support gained in Natal from the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This is the verdict of two independent opinion polls conducted by different companies last month. They show more than half of Inkatha supporters will vote.

A national survey by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) shows a sizeable 17% overall swing vote but predicts the NP will be the "out-and-out" opposition to the ANC in the absence of Inkatha from the poll. No other parties would get more than 10%.

The KwaZulu/Natal poll commissioned by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) indicates that the region would have been in for a close race between the ANC and Inkatha if Inkatha participated.

ANC chances of getting a two-thirds majority appear to have dropped, with it losing 5% of its support, according to the national poll. It is likely to get 59% to 64%.

Although conducted before the formation of Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, the MMR poll suggests it could get up to 7% of the national vote.

The PAC picked up enough new support to be the country's third choice with between 3% and 8%.

The MPD Natal/KwaZulu survey found the IFP's support in the region to be half that of the ANC's 50.3%, with the NP at more than 19%.

About 4% of black IFP supporters list the AWB as their second choice.

Report by S. Mordkheevich, TML, 18 Osborne St, Osh.

Proof of support for the federal option

Dear Sir,

THE arrival of more than 330 people at the launch of the Federal Party (Business Day, March 30) is clear proof that the federal option enjoys massive support among "ordinary people". The school band that led Frances Kendall and her retinue into the Johannesburg City Hall can justly feel proud of ushering in a new era for SA.

In the many years that Ms Kendall and husband Leon Louw have been running the Free Market Foundation, she has repeatedly proved her dedication to the cause of a federated SA. In her aptly titled book *The Solution*, co-authored with her husband, she espoused a country of 285 cantons and I challenge anyone to be more federal than that.

On the basis of the overwhelming success of this publication, she and Leon founded Groundswell, a political movement that inspired many during the dark days of PW Botha's reign.

Anyone who, despite this, doubts that there is a new force in SA politics need look no further than supporter Clem Sunter. For years he has informed our collective intellect with stunningly elegant metaphors of growth and decline. Can anyone forget where they were when they first heard of the high road and the low road?

The Federal Party was emphatically not born of the collapse of the Liberal Voice, which the centrist DP so foolishly rebuffed a couple of months ago.

The fact that the Liberal Voice was led by Leon Louw is purely coincidental. It must be clear, even to the most cynical observer, that the Federal Party is primarily federal while the Liberal Voice was primarily liberal.

I urge all ordinary people to support this new party and to get a friend to support it as well.

ANTON VAN NIEKERK
Krugersdorp

Warning of backlash in KwaZulu

FW set to declare state of emergency

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk is expected to impose a state of emergency in Natal and KwaZulu today.

The move follows this week's Transitional Executive Council recommendation, the postponement of a summit meeting of leaders until next week and the failure of an Independent Electoral Commission and KwaZulu government task team to facilitate TEC activities in the region.

The Cabinet met for most of yesterday to discuss the deteriorating security situation in Natal and how it could be brought under control.

Legal experts worked into the night on details of legislation for the state of emergency in order to ensure that, while strengthening the powers of security forces, it would not affect political parties' ability to canvass support freely.

The measures could include granting the Defence Force powers of arrest, and place restrictions on how political marches and mass meetings should be conducted.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said this week political activities would not only be permitted under the new regulations, but protection would be provided by the security forces if necessary.

Powers accruing to the SADF under the reformulated emergency could include search and seizure, arrest and detention, the confiscation of illegal weapons and the prevention of intimidation.

A spokesman for the President's office said De Klerk would be holding a news conference this morning at which an "announcement can be expected".

The move is seen as evidence of govern-

ADRIAN HADLAND
and TIM COHEN

ment's and the TEC's determination that the election should proceed as scheduled.

But the declaration is likely to invoke the ire of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Tuesday a "final struggle" between the Zulu nation and the ANC would be launched if the election date was not postponed.

Speaking at an election meeting in Eersterus last night, President FW de Klerk described this statement as an effective declaration of war.

He compared it to Ramaphosa's "aggressive comments and threatening statements", and asked: "Have our people totally lost their perspective?"

SA leaders were apparently demonstrating a total incapacity to work in the best interests of all. De Klerk criticised all parties, saying Inkatha had failed to take the opportunity of "walking through all the open doors we provided".

Sapa reports that KwaZulu Ministers have reacted angrily to the possibility of a state of emergency. Deputy Works Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said it would not end the violence but would create more problems. Its intention was clearly to topple the KwaZulu government. Health Minister Ben Ngubane said it was a serious matter that deserved cabinet attention.

The ANC said yesterday it fully supported the declaration of a state of emergency

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Emergency

in KwaZulu/Natal to counter a "systematic campaign of violence and bloodshed" mounted to wreck the election.

"States of emergency under various NP governments have been used to stifle all legitimate and peaceful political activity," the ANC said. However, this one would not undermine anyone's democratic rights.

ANC leaders Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo flew to Durban yesterday for closed-door talks on deteriorating security in Natal, ANC sources said.

The DP gave its "conditional" approval to a state of emergency in Natal. It said all parties had to commit themselves to international mediation and agree to joint military and security structures. The KwaZulu Police, SAP and SADF should be brought under the SADF's command in the region.

But the Afrikaner Volksfront said it would be final proof that negotiations had failed and the elections should be cancelled.

TEC delegates were told this week that increased numbers of SADF troops were already being deployed in Natal/KwaZulu.

A meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi, which led to the establishment of a task team to deal with relations between KwaZulu and the IEC, gave rise to optimism on De Klerk's part that co-operation had been secured. But IEC sources said the

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task team's first meeting on Monday was "unsatisfactory and frustrating".

Its failure to make any progress and the summit meeting's postponement appears to have convinced the Cabinet yesterday that the immediate declaration of a state of emergency was the only option.

However it is possible that the state of emergency will not be imposed immediately and could be delayed pending the result of the next week's four-leader summit meeting.

Meanwhile, military analysts said millions of Zulus, inspired by pride in their warrior traditions, could rise in open revolt if emergency rule was imposed. They said up to 40% of the 8.5-million Zulus could take up arms.

Brig Bill Sass of the Institute for Defence Policy said: "The greatest problem with the KwaZulu Police is that they might step aside. They could allow their weapons to be taken over by Zulu royalists."

Analysts Helmut Heitmann cautioned that sending in troops might escalate the conflict with Zulus.

"It is a very volatile situation. It could trigger off a rebellion or even full-scale insurgency," he said.

Report by A. Haslam and T. Cohen. TEL: 11 Disraeli St, Jhb; and P. Bulger and M. Bosch. Secs. 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● See Page 4

ANC fined R100 000 for NP disruption

TIM COHEN

THE ANC has been fined R100 000, conditionally suspended for four months, for disrupting an NP meeting in Venda in the first completed hearing in terms of the Electoral Act.

The Independent Electoral Commission said the hearing arose from an incident in Dzanani on March 9 when an NP meeting was disrupted and did not take place. The ANC was found guilty of infringing the Electoral Act and given a formal warning by the tribunal.

The NP said the ANC would do well to heed the warning. "The time for parties like the ANC to transgress the code of conduct with impunity is now past."

ANC spokesman Baleka Kgosisile said the NP's comments gave the incorrect impression that ANC supporters were under instructions to disrupt meetings.

Another case brought by the NP against the ANC, involving an incident in Postmasburg where President FW de Klerk was hit with a stone, was heard in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday. Procedural matters were raised and the case was postponed until April 5.

Sapa reports the NP goes to court today in a bid to obtain an urgent interdict to stop ANC members assaulting its members in

Parys's Tumahole township.

The NP said the hearing was an interim measure pending a summons on the ANC in terms of the Electoral Act.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa might also face disciplinary action if the IEC finds that he transgressed the electoral code. The IEC is investigating Holomisa's claim that the NP would get blacks to eat "pap and vleis" laced with non-toxic ink "so that when you go to vote, they will say you can't vote twice - because the ink will be under your hands".

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and J. Reed and S. Schreier, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● Comment: Page 14

ROBYN CHALMERS

THE National Hostels' Co-ordinating Committee has unveiled its plans for a R325,5m upgrading of state-owned hostels.

The committee was set up last July by the Housing Department and National Housing Forum, and R325,5m was allocated to the hostel upgrading initiative.

The committee's interim policy document, which was adopted last week, stated that local negotiating groups should be set up before final decisions were made about upgrading SA's 181 hostels over the next few years. These groups would include representatives of hostel residents, surrounding communities and public authorities.

Hostels could be converted for family ownership or redeveloped for rental purposes.

Committee unveils R325m hostels plan

"Rental can accommodate single persons or families, but ownership will be restricted to accommodate families in accordance with the housing subsidy scheme," the document states.

Ownership standards would be set by the subsidy scheme, whereby residents earning less than R1 500 a month would qualify for R12 500. Applications for conversions costing more than the housing subsidy would be considered only if the applicant had the additional funds.

Rental standards would be sparse to

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Hostels

ensure that government could convert as many hostels as possible. A maximum of four occupants to a 15m² room was cited.

All hostels would have electric lights, a plug point in each room, hot water, concrete screed floor, plastered and painted walls, and basic civil services.

"Redevelopment proposals must ensure that residents acquire the skills necessary in order to participate in the ongoing management of the proposed complex."

No redevelopment application would be

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considered if it meant displacing residents. Alternative accommodation had to be found before funds would be allocated.

All projects would have to promote humane living conditions; embody a development orientation in terms of empowerment, participation and promoting economic development; promote social integration within hostels, and between hostels and adjacent communities; and initiate local institutions and administrative procedures to maintain improvements.

Pistol found

AN ARMY patrol found an unlicensed 9mm pistol in a vehicle in which six peace monitors were travelling in the East Rand township of Katlehong on Tuesday, police said. All six occupants had denied ownership of the pistol. They were taken to Alberton police station for questioning before being released.

Violence 'set to worsen'

THIS year could be the most violent in SA's history, according to analysis by the Human Sciences Research Council.

A countrywide survey of black voters, conducted by the council's sociopolitical monitoring and analysis division, found the single greatest obstacle for prospective voters was the level of political violence.

The research highlighted people's unrealistic expectations of the transitional government, with 67% believing their standard of living would rise. Only 5% believed it would fall; 7% believed it would remain the same.

Asked what they believed was the most important benefit they would gain from a new government, 20% indicated material gratification in the form of housing, education and work.

About 46% expected freedom, equality and peace, while 5% indicated they expected nothing. Between 30% and 70% of blacks expected speedy tangible gratification from the interim government. While 58% predicted less violence than at present under a transitional government, 25% expected the same amount or more.

The report said violence was likely to increase during the following year because chances were that "far more than 50% of the population will be disillusioned, which could lead to a crisis of legitimacy for the transitional government".

KATHRYN STRACHAN

Researchers Chris de Kock and Charl Schutte said politicians would have to make every effort to dampen expectations and shift attention from material to idealistic goals.

The Human Rights Committee said at least 111 people were killed and 402 injured in election-related violence and intimidation over the past 10 days. The casualty rate between March 18 and March 28 was the worst to date, it said.

□ Sapa reports East Rand police said seven people died and four were injured in shootings near Kwesini Hostel, Katlehong, yesterday.

Police said a bakkie with five people on the back and two in the front flashed its lights at a taxi near Zonkessizwe. The taxi stopped and five men, armed with AK-47s, leapt off the bakkie and shot at the passengers.

Soweto police reported finding two bodies in Meadowlands, Soweto, on Tuesday night.

Reuter reports Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Themba Khoza alleged yesterday that ANC youths killed three Zulus at a roadblock in Soweto on Tuesday night.

Police yesterday reported 14 further political killings in Natal/KwaZulu, pushing the toll in the province to at least 74 since Friday.

Report by K Strachan, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; C Moku, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb; and O Oubourne, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb.

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JOHANNES NGCOBO

them about a planned Operation Access visit.

Mzizi said the insinuation that hostels could prove volatile was an insult to Inkatha's leadership in the East Rand. "The IEC thinks Indians are inferior," said Mzizi.

Inkatha West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said Dhlomo — a former Inkatha general secretary — and Kriegler were not welcome near hostels on the East Rand.

"We would repeat what happened to Kriegler when he was at Ulundi in Natal. Inkatha members are angry, and Zulus in particular. If Kriegler wants to be hurt he should defy my warning," said Ndlovu.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje said the IEC's visit to Ulundi had managed to set up a working group between the commission and the KwaZulu government.

that people were free to vote for parties of their choice and free not to vote in the elections. "This freedom requires tolerance and acceptance that one person's democratic freedom can be exercised only if he or she allows everyone to do the same," said Cronle.

He said Inkatha was in the minority in East Rand townships and the party's leadership knew that some hostel residents wanted to vote on April 27. It was unfortunate that hostel residents would be prevented from voting.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat director Rupert Lorimer said Ndlovu had been through a difficult period because of the shootings in central Johannesburg on Monday. He hoped cool heads would prevail.

Report by J. Harobo, DML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Zulu homeland move

JOHANNESBURG — An African National Congress leader yesterday called for a quick takeover of the Zulu homeland, before its nationalist leader could "drown the country in blood".

The call came as the Transitional Executive Council gave the go-ahead for the government to declare a state of emergency in the Zulu-dominated Natal Province and KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland where Mangosuthu Buthelezi is chief minister and head of the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party.

The council is overseeing the run-up to the country's elections on April 26-28.

If President F W de Klerk agrees to the council move, security forces would be given special powers to ensure violence does not disrupt the country's first all-race vote, which Chief Buthelezi opposes.

"We would want the state of emergency to be declared right away," the ANC's secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa told Radio 702, a Johannesburg radio station.

"It is quite clear that the chief minister and the IFP are determined to drown the country in blood in their determination to stop the election from taking place," he said.

The transitional council announced its decision on emergency measures shortly after the government said the country's top four leaders had agreed to a peace summit next week.

Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini had agreed on a venue but not an exact date, a spokesman said.

The warning came as hostel-dwellers shot dead five ANC supporters near the South African port of Durban last night in apparent retaliation for the killings of Zulu marchers in Johannesburg, the ANC said yesterday.

It said three other



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

people were killed yesterday in another Durban settlement, two in an attack carried out by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

At least 274 people have died in political violence in the Zulu heartland since the beginning of March, the highest toll in four years.

ANC spokesman Roy Ainslie said nine youths were attacked after they were invited to a hostel in Kwa-Mashu township, an Inkatha stronghold, to discuss peace in the violence-hit area.

"The boys were asked: 'Do you remember what Mandela did to us in Johannesburg'," Mr Ainslie said.

"The hostel-dwellers opened fire and five of the nine boys were killed."

At least 53 people were killed in Johannesburg and its townships during incidents linked to Monday's march through the South African commercial capital by Zulu royalists backing their king's demands for a sovereign Zulu kingdom.

Chief Buthelezi issued an angry statement yesterday in which he accused the ANC of planning the deaths of some of the Zulu marchers during Monday's carnage in Johannesburg.

"We have now entered a final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation, unless there is extension of the voting date to enable a negotiated settlement," he said.

Chief Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini are demanding that Natal-KwaZulu becomes an autonomous state in post-apartheid South Africa.

— REUTER



Tensions high: township residents flee from teargas during clashes near a Soweto Zulu workers' hostel.

Violence blast for leaders

JOHANNESBURG — International observers criticised South African authorities yesterday for failing to stop violence that killed 53 people during anti-election demonstrations by Zulu nationalists.

The observers, representing the United Nations, the European Union and the Organisation of African Unity, said in a statement they "deplore, in the strongest possible terms, the needless violence and loss of life

in Johannesburg" in yesterday's demonstrations.

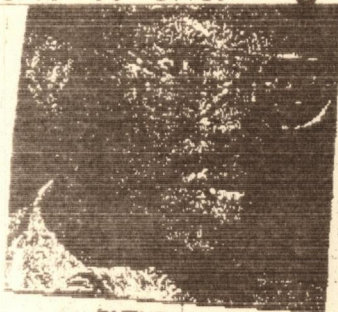
Declaring the deaths could have been prevented, they argued that "the failure to plan adequately for yesterday's march, to define routes and to take steps for effective crowd control contributed to the violence".

The observers urged South Africa's political leaders not to allow any marches that were not properly planned and in which supporters carried weapons.

Reporters counted at least 30 bodies in downtown Johannesburg on Monday after armed Zulu marchers were caught by sniper fire from rooftops and clashed with police and security guards from the rival African National Congress.

The rest died in incidents in black townships around Johannesburg, including 18 in the largest Johannesburg township, Soweto, according to a police spokesman.

— AFP



BUTHELEZI

No apartheid-mould racist



MANDELA

Recognises what he did



F.W. DE KLERK

Didn't need converting

Where apartheid really succeeded

It's the black who will lose in a civil war, writes Cosmas Desmond, who recently defected from the ANC to the PAC.

APARTHEID, we are now told by everybody from President de Klerk to Piet "Promises" Koenhof — was a terrible mistake.

A costly mistake, for which the victims are still paying the price, while the perpetrators are laughing all the way to the Government of National Unity.

A misnomer in the grand tradition of the Abolition of Passes Act (which extended them) and the Extension of Universities Act (which closed them). But apartheid, from a white viewpoint, was not a mistake; it served its purpose.

The present stand-off, and threatened confrontation, between the ANC and the IFP marks, I believe, the greatest success of 40-odd years of apartheid. What more could apartheid's apologists have hoped for than that the prosperity and security of whites should be assured for ever while "the Bantu" kill each other?

How they must be revelling in the irony of the fact that their arch-enemy — the "terrorist", "communist-dominated" ANC — is now looking to them, through the once-hated SAP and SADF, to quash their opponents in KwaZulu.

Dominant

Throughout most of the 1980s the UDF/ANC campaigned for the removal of troops from the townships, now, as the dominant group in the TEC, they are prepared to order them in; even though it will mean the death of people. Black lives, however, as apartheid has taught us — and them? — are expendable.

Apartheid as a political, social and economic system finally failed. De Klerk was astute enough to recognise that, to read the writing on the wall.

The original writing on the wall, in the Book of Daniel, said: "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Parsin." Meaning: God has measured your sovereignty and put an end to it; you have been tried in the balance and found wanting; your kingdom has been given to the Medes and the Persians.

De Klerk, as a devout, Bible-reading Christian, might have realised this and taken fright; he didn't need a moral conversion.

The main aim of apartheid had, however, already been achieved and his pre-emptive move ensured material gains would be preserved.

Whites will still be all right — the ANC had assured them of that — while blacks fight over the scraps. The ANC and IFP appear prepared to fight a vicarious war over apartheid.

Instead of joining forces to fight —

not necessarily by force — a common enemy, they have been manipulated into fighting, by military means, each other.

Both are doing the Nationalists' dirty work. The only winners in a Natal civil war will be the whites.

The IFP and KwaZulu, the ANC, may say, are not the symbols of apartheid, they too are victims of it.

Dr Buthelezi also has a record, long recognised by the ANC, of opposing apartheid, he cannot possibly be accused of being a racist in the apartheid mould.

On the other hand, the ANC, whatever the IFP may say, are not the reincarnation of the Nationalist Party, determined to impose foreign rule on the Zulu people; they too are Zulus and subjects of the king.

Apartheid is still, or should be, the common enemy. But they have allowed apartheid to divide them and set them against each other.

The ANC made a fundamental mistake in 1978 when it turned its back on Dr Buthelezi and sought to isolate him. Not only is it not prepared to rectify that mistake, it refuses even to acknowledge it made it.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela, I suspect, understand this, but their respective advisers either cannot or do not want to.

They have their own agenda, which has more to do with their own lust for power than with the interests of the people they claim to represent.

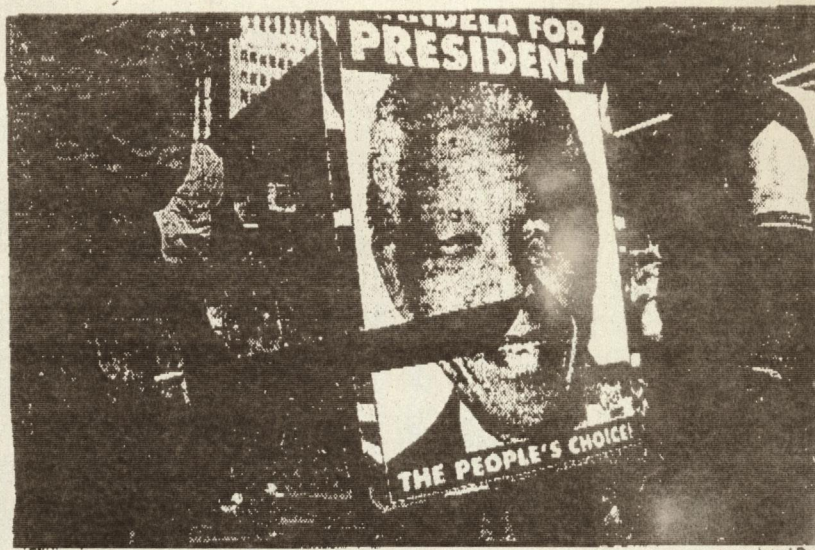
They blithely accept, and even positively advocate, civil war, secure in the knowledge that it is not they who are going to die. But the black masses are used to dying; they have been doing it for 200 years.

For the sake of a share in political power, essentially on white terms, the ANC is prepared to call upon the apartheid forces to crush its former allies and fellow blacks.

If the ANC had been half as accommodating towards Buthelezi and the IFP as it has been towards De Klerk and the NP, we would have had a united black front instead of the prospect of civil war.

That is one very good reason, among many others, for my choosing to align myself with the PAC, which is not a party to this internecine warfare.

DAILY NEWS 3/3/94
HE/JM



Associated Press

A protester, armed with a machete, stands near an election placard of Nelson Mandela, African National Congress leader, in downtown Johannesburg.

Communist scare emerges in S. Africa

Ties used in attempt to weaken ANC support

BY PAISLEY DODDS
The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Paul Todd is young, white and liberal. He supports the end of apartheid, and he'd like to give the ANC a chance to govern. But he won't vote for it in April's election.

"The more I hear about state intervention and nationalization, the more I think the ANC and the Communist Party are one and the same," said Todd, who runs a Johannesburg sporting goods business.

In the closing weeks of the election campaign, the National Party has been pounding the front-running African National Congress for its ties with South African Communists.

Full-page newspaper ads leading up to the April 26-28 election show a salivating wolf marked by a hammer and sickle walking beneath a sheepskin with the ANC logo.

"What lies beneath the ANC?" the ad questions. "Communist lies!"

The tactic could backfire. Many blacks, especially the 7 million living in squatter settlements, are drawn to the Communist Party with its history of opposing apartheid and its calls for land and wealth redistribution.

But for South Africa's white minority, at least, the ANC's acknowledged Communist ties are a source of anxiety if not outright fear.

Communism was illegal in South Africa from the 1950s until 1990 and has always been painted as an

ogre that will seize homes, property and private wealth for sharing among the impoverished masses.

The ANC and its Communist Party members have proposed taking the wealthy and setting up a claims court to hear grievances under reform programs aimed at distributing property more equitably among the black majority.

Hoping to reduce the ANC's expected wide victory margin in the election, President F.W. de Klerk's National Party has been highlighting the number of Communists on the ANC's election ticket. The party asserts that 28 out of the ANC's top 50 candidates for Parliament are present or former Communists.

"The ANC is linked to hard-core socialism which has failed throughout the world," de Klerk tells in rallies.

The ANC says that it has only Communists in its top 50 posts, a only 27 among all 200 of its Parliament candidates, who are ranked in order of seniority and will earn seats depending on how much of the vote the ANC wins.

Historically, the Communists were among the staunchest and most radical foes of apartheid among whites. Some gave their lives or spent decades in prison.

That is one reason ANC leader Nelson Mandela refuses to repudiate the Communist Party or to distance himself from people such as Cuban leader Fidel Castro, a friend of the ANC for decades.

Top activist in Mandela's party is Communist

By SAHM VENTER
The Associated Press

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — A

Communist revolutionary works in the top ranks of the African National Congress, leading protest marches, negotiating the country's future and making policy decisions next to Nelson Mandela.

He is Joe Slovo — the 67-year-old leader of the Communist Party who likes to poke fun at his adversaries by wearing red socks.

The working-class boy from Lithuania joined the South

African Communist Party as a teenager, after his parents emigrated from Lithuania.

As a dedicated Communist and an ANC activist, Slovo has fought most of his life for the end of white-minority rule and National Party government. He was among the first whites voted into the ANC leadership. As No. 4 on the ANC's election list, he is assured of a seat in Parliament in April elections.

Among conservatives, the white-haired Slovo is perhaps the most hated ANC member. They say he is

behind a conspiracy to impose a Communist dictatorship, using the ANC as his vehicle to power. But Slovo insists there is nothing sinister about himself or his party.

"My main goal is still to destroy the apartheid state and eliminate racial inequities," he said.

Although communism suffered from "distortions" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, he said, he believes that it still represents a noble ideal.

"The Communist Manifesto has faded up until now, but so has the

Sermon on the Mount," he said.

Slovo suffered years in exile, detention without trial, house arrest and a charge of treason of which he was acquitted. But the most painful experience was the death of his wife, Ruth First, killed in 1982 by a police bomb in Mozambique. He blames South African security forces.

"The depth of that wound is still with me. I was particularly angry that violence of the South African state extended to someone who had never been involved in the military," said Slovo.

Thursday, March 31, 1994 / Fort Worth Star-Telegram / Section A, Page 15

Stoppage turns political

Pensions: hospital workers demand security

by VUSI NGEMA

THE ANC flag flew over Edendale Hospital yesterday as political tension mounted during the third day of a general strike.

Miniature ANC flags were also circulating freely among workers demanding pension and job security and promotion pay. However, graffiti on the walls calling for TEC intervention at the KwaZulu-administered hospital were replaced with slogans calling for the intervention of the IFP.

The political overtones of the strike developed against a background of lengthy meetings between the superintendent of the hospital, Dr Peter Evans, and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane, which strikers believe have produced no substantial proposals to resolve their grievances.

In a telephone interview yesterday Ngubane said he has issued a memorandum to workers via Evans, fully explaining the KwaZulu government's position on all the issues raised by the striking hospital staff.

On the issue of pensions he said the KwaZulu government can offer no further assurance to the workers than the one given two weeks ago. "We are part of the South African parliamentary service and whatever applies to all workers in South Africa on this issue similarly applies to our civil servants as well."

He said the issue of promotion pay is a departmental one and is being attended to. "There has been some sluggishness on this issue but I believe it can be solved through the correct departmental procedures," he said.

He said a decision to allow the TEC to inspect workers' files to determine benefits owing can only be taken by the KwaZulu cabinet. The cabinet does not recognise the transitional authority.

Ngubane said he believes the strike is politically motivated. "I cannot be sure of this, but the fact that political leaders like Harry Gwala have been to the hospital to address the striking workers worries me a bit," Ngubane said.

He also said he could not attend to the Edendale crisis personally as he is faced with similar crises in other parts of Natal. "There is a hospital crisis at Newcastle, Appelsbosch and Ngwelazana, all of which need my attention."

Meanwhile, the situation at the hospital deteriorated rapidly as patients had to transport each other on stretchers to operating theatres. Hygiene is also poor with rubbish and dirty laundry in corridors.

Patients left unattended: page 3

Marchers demand KZ takeover

SEVERAL hundred KwaZulu civil servants marched through central Durban yesterday to demand the South African government and the Transitional Executive Council take administrative control of KwaZulu immediately.

Marching under the Public Sector Forum, marchers made their way through the CBD to Durban's CR Swart Square police station where they planned to deliver a memorandum.

Natal Congress of SA Trade Unions official Kumbela Ndaba said the march was part of a programme of "rolling mass action" to demand free political activity in KwaZulu.

He said the marchers were also demanding immediate SADF deployment throughout Natal to stem the escalating violence. There were no incidents of violence or disruptions reported. — Sapa.

News by C. Doonan, 30 West St, Dur.

Witness 31/3/94

HE/IM

1994



Associated Press

Tensions remain high: A man pleads with a plainclothes police officer not to fire as he is detained after a shooting incident at a Zulu workers' hostel Tuesday in Soweto. The man was released.

Emergency decree suggested for Natal

Rivals trade blame; violence continues

Associated Press

DURBAN, South Africa — ANC and Zulu leaders blamed each other Wednesday for escalating political violence, including the deaths of five ANC supporters shot execution-style after meeting Zulu rivals.

The killings overnight in Kwa-Mashu, a black settlement outside Durban in Natal province, came as the nation's Transitional Executive Council suggested a provincewide state of emergency to ensure residents can safely take part in South Africa's first all-race election next month.

An emergency declaration must come from President F.W. de Klerk, who has scheduled a news conference for today.

The violence continued unabated Wednesday. Seven black commuters were gunned down south of Johannesburg, and police said two people were killed in a gun battle near where the five African National Congress supporters were killed.

Zulu nationalists, led by Inka-

tha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, oppose the April 26-28 vote without guarantees of regional autonomy for the Zulu homeland. Buthelezi demands postponement of the election warning of nationwide strife if proceeds as scheduled.

Since Friday, more than 70 people have died in Natal from political strife. A Zulu march Monday in Johannesburg exploded into chaotic street warfare, killing more than 50 people.

Buthelezi, speaking on South African television, condemned calls for an emergency and said deployment of troops would be seen as confrontational.

In KwaMashu, ANC supporters spent nearly two hours holding peace talks in an Inkatha-dominated hostel before being driven away at gunpoint and shot, said Jabulani Shibe, an ANC supporter who escaped.

He said three killers announced they were avenging the deaths of Zulu nationalists in the Johannesburg violence Monday.

18 THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1994

London

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

ANC peace party killed by Zulus in 'revenge act'

FIVE African National Congress members have been shot dead while trying to talk peace with Zulu nationalists.

Police said the victims were arranging a truce on Tuesday night in a hostel near Durban run by the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC's bitter rival, when they were dragged out, driven to a railway station and executed.

The ANC intensified calls yesterday for a state of emergency to be declared in the strife-torn KwaZulu homeland, as the authorities discussed tougher security measures.

An ANC spokesman said gunmen from the Zulu hostel in KwaMashu township had said the killings were in revenge for Monday's slaughter in Johannesburg, when 53 people died in clashes involving Inkatha, the ANC and the police.

In one incident on Monday, eight Zulus were killed by ANC security guards.

As violence raged on in Natal yesterday, 70 Inkatha supporters were fired on as they returned from a military training camp near the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

Police said three of the Inkatha supporters had been tearing down an ANC poster in the town of Eshowe when four men opened fire on their bus. One of the attackers was said to have been wounded by return fire.

The incident came as the Transitional Executive Council, which is jointly gov-

By Alec Russell
in Johannesburg

erning South Africa with President de Klerk until next month's multi-racial elections, was drawing up plans for a security clampdown in KwaZulu to safeguard free political activity.

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Such a drastic measure would require the approval of Mr de Klerk, who held a cabinet meeting in Pretoria yesterday to discuss options for action. Government

Defence gag on sacked scientists

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Sixteen scientists, made redundant from an Armcor subsidiary, threatened to make public details of South Africa's co-operation with Israel on missile technology unless they were paid £900,000 in lost salaries and benefits.

sources said the President wanted to delay any state of emergency until after next week's planned meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the head of Inkatha.

However, Mr de Klerk is coming under growing pressure from the ANC, which is accusing the government of neglecting its responsibilities while the country burns.

Violence has escalated in Natal since Inkatha, which wants greater federal powers and tacitly supports the Zulu king's call for a sovereign Zulu state, missed the deadline for registration of candidates for next month's poll.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's general secretary, called yesterday for an immediate takeover of KwaZulu, saying Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi were determined "to drown the country in blood in their determination to stop the election from taking place".

His remarks came after Chief Buthelezi said on Tuesday that Monday's battle could mark the start of "a fight to the death between the ANC and the Zulu nation".

Johannesburg's townships were tense after Monday's killings. Two men were stoned to death in Soweto by political rivals yesterday.

● Gunmen attacked a minibus, killing seven people and wounding four, in Katlehong township, near Johannesburg, yesterday — AFP

THE TIMES - LONDON.

31/3/94

ANC peace envoys shot down in Zulu township

FROM INIGO GILMORE IN DURBAN
AND MICHAEL HAMLYN IN PRETORIA

KWAMASHU, a township north of Durban, was on a war footing last night after a meeting intended to negotiate peace ended with five members of the African National Congress being murdered in apparent revenge for Monday's killings on the streets of Johannesburg.

With Natal rapidly reaching flashpoint and the government having taken control of two troublesome homelands, President de Klerk was last night on the verge of declaring a state of emergency in the

three men, one of whom carried an AK47. The ANC group was bundled into a van and taken to the railway station, where they were met by an angry Inkatha crowd.

According to Mr Mbhele, each ANC man was taken from the van individually and raked with gunfire. The four who escaped did so by jumping from the van and fighting their way through the crowd. Ed Tillet, the local Inkatha spokesman, said later there was no evidence that the gunmen had been members of the party.

In Kathichong, near Johannesburg, yesterday seven people were shot dead by five gunmen with AK47s who stopped a minibus taxi.

Mr de Klerk was to have held a media briefing in the capital's Union Building yesterday to explain the new emergency decision, but postponed it until this morning. Officials suggested that some additional legal steps were needed before the announcement could be made.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) had called for the imposition of an emergency in Natal at its weekly meeting on Tuesday, when it heard reports of the hardening opposition to the elections by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha.

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, said yesterday: "We would want the state of emergency to be declared right away. It is quite clear that the Chief Minister and the IFP are determined to drown the country in blood in their determination to stop the election."

Velaphi Ndlovu, a minister in the KwaZulu government, criticised the TEC, saying the state of emergency would not end the violence but would create more problems in the region. The intention, he claimed, was to topple the KwaZulu government.



ELECTION
COUNTDOWN

province. If he does, it will be the first time such measures have been used in South Africa since October 1990. An all-day Cabinet meeting in Pretoria agreed to endorse the measure.

In KwaMashu, the unarmed ANC peace delegation of nine had arranged to meet hostel-dwellers after two weeks of bloody conflict in which more than 20 people had died. But five of the delegation were shot dead, two were seriously hurt and two escaped. Party members were in mourning at the ANC office in the township yesterday. Witz Mbhele, 26, deputy ANC secretary in KwaMashu, explained the events leading to the massacre.

He said the meeting was moved to the hostel and after it had begun the local Inkatha Freedom Party leader left the room, locking the door on the ANC and the remaining Inkatha delegates. He returned two hours later, then left again and came back with

The Daily Mail - LONDON 31/3/94

Mandela says No to poll delay

Mail Correspondent
in Johannesburg

NELSON MANDELA has ruled out delaying South Africa's first all-race elections to meet Zulu demands for an independent state.

'Any attempt to postpone the elections or drown them in blood cannot be countenanced,' the African National Congress leader said yesterday.

He called for firm government action against political violence which has claimed 274 lives this month in the Zulu heartland of Natal.

'Decisive steps need to be taken without delay,' he added. 'The South African

government should exercise its jurisdiction to end the carnage and ensure normal political activity.

'If the forces of peace act together, we might yet be saved from what would be a mutually-debilitating conflict,' Mandela, 75, continued in a speech which was read out on his behalf as he recovers from a throat infection.

The transitional executive council, which is overseeing the run-up to the April 26-28 elections, gave the go-ahead

this week for the government to declare a state of emergency in Natal.

Mandela did not respond to accusations that the ANC plotted Monday's bloodbath in which 53 died as gunmen fired on Zulu marchers at the party's HQ in Johannesburg. He is to attend a peace summit with Zulu leaders and President F.W. de Klerk next week.

Zulu leader King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Inkatha Freedom Party are demanding an autonomous state in Natal and the adjoining KwaZulu homeland, home to many of South Africa's 8.5 million Zulus. They have warned of major unrest if elections are held in the area.

Scatterlings host historic debate

History was made in London last Wednesday 23 March, when representatives of the ANC, IFP, NP, DP and PAC shared a platform at the South African Embassy to address an audience of expatriate South Africans.

The forum was unique in that it was the first time representatives of most of the major parties had shared a platform in the UK. The event was chaired by Adam Teege, news editor of SA Times. The evening was organised by the Scatterlings Club, an independent non-political social club formed in 1989 for young South Africans living in the UK and close on three hundred people crowded into the theatre of the embassy to listen to the speakers.

The speakers attending were former Rivonia treason trialist Denis Goldberg (ANC), former ambassador to the UK and MP for Berea Dr Denis Worrall (DP), former labour party MP and House of Representatives whip Patrick McKenzie who flew from SA to address the forum (NP), chairman of the PAC UK branch Dabi Kumalo (PAC) and Inkatha Freedom Party Central Committee member Ben Skosana (IFP).

The speakers were each given fifteen minutes to address the issue:

"What can my party do to persuade you to return and build your future in the new

South Africa."

All of the speakers adopted a general approach to the issue focusing in the main on the general policies of their respective parties rather than the specifics of the issue put forward by the forum.

For representatives Denis Goldberg and Dabi Kumalo the forum represented a memorable first as it was the first time either had set foot inside the South African embassy, although both joked that they had spent many years demonstrating outside the embassy. Denis Goldberg also recalled how he had lead protests in Trafalgar Square while fellow panelist Denis Worrall was ambassador. The evening was conducted in a light hearted and optimistic atmosphere and both the audience and the speakers expressed satisfaction at the way the evening had proceeded. Dr Worrall said that less than ten years ago, he could never have imagined such a debate taking place.

Mr Skosana took the opportunity to explain why the IFP is not contesting the election. To illustrate his point he recounted the

anecdote about the spider and the fly. "While the spider invites the fly into his parlour, the fly knows that if it accepts it will not emerge alive." Commenting on the issue raised by the forum he quoted President Kennedy and said "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country."

Mr Kumalo, a graduate of Oxford University and a barrister by profession, who has spent almost thirty years in the United Kingdom took the opportunity to "dispel several myths about the PAC." The PAC, he argued, puts the interests of all African (defined not by race but as those people whose loyalty lies with South Africa) people first.

Denis Goldberg, argued that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. He said that with a growth rate of only 3 1/2 % per year in the economy, housing, clinics and tertiary education could be provided. On the question of land distribution, he offered no solution other than to say that the ANC believes in the right of the individual to own property. The only price South Africans returning would



From left: Nolene Viljoen (Scatterlings), Patrick McKenzie (NP), Louis Kriel Jnr (Scatterlings), Sean Friend (Scatterlings), Dennis Goldberg (ANC), Dabi Kumalo (PAC), Seated: Ben Skosana (IFP), Adam Teege, (SA Times Editor) and Denis Worrall (DP).

have to pay, he continued, would be to accept every South African as a fellow South African.

Dr Worrall, said his vision of the future South Africa was no different to that of Denis Goldberg. "The difference however, lies in politics...ends, means and choices." He said that uncertainty prevails in South Africa, in particular uncertainty about the violence and the policies of the ANC.

"We will help as Democrats to sort out their economic policies. We will see that they stay in their tracks

so that we can have our hospitals and schools."

He also stressed that because of the system of proportional representation, every vote counts. "You belong to a great country with a great future in which you have a role to play. This is the reason for you to make your contribution to what must be the beloved country."

Mr McKenzie told the audience not to hope for a better life, but to vote for it. He argued that there is no point in replacing domination by one group with that of another.

He warned that whatever happens in the elections, there will be a government of national unity but that no partnership works if both partners aren't strong.

Commenting on the evening, Mr Sean Friend, Vice Chairman of Scatterlings, said, "I was thrilled that the five political parties kept their word and sent their representatives -without them we would not have had the event. But I was even happier that we had such a tremendous response from the South African community in London."

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ANC peace party killed by Zulus in 'revenge act'

By Alec Russell
in Johannesburg

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The incident came as the Transitional Executive Council, which is jointly gov-

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Gunmen attacked a minibus, killing seven people and wounding four, in Katilehong township, near Johannesburg, yesterday — AFP

'They pulled John out and shot him . . . I came out and they shot my head but I ran'



Eyewitness

Chris McGreal
in KwaMashu,
Natal

JOHN MKHIZE did not expect to have to beg for his life at a peace meeting. Baba Shibe did not anticipate being shot in the head after spending two hours hearing from Inkatha sup-

porters how they wanted to end the slaughter. But both were luckier than five fellow KwaMashu residents who were lured to talks with Inkatha hostel dwellers in this strife-torn black township and then individually executed.

As they went to their deaths, a local hostel leader told them they were paying the price for the killing of more than 50 people at Monday's Johannesburg march to back Inkatha's call for a boycott of next month's multi-racial elections. In reality, they were paying the price of Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi's campaign to wreck the vote.

Baba Shibe wept, his body shaking, his hands clasping his bloodied, bandaged head before he could describe Wednesday night's murders. He is not an ANC member, and says he cares little for politics. He still cannot quite believe a peace effort could end in such carnage, but then he sees it as a local problem not as a wider part of Natal's civil war.

Over the past fortnight, dozens of residents around the Inkatha hostel in Kwa-Mashu's B-section have been burned from their homes by hostel dwellers. About ten were murdered in the raids. Hundreds more have fled. One weary resident and ANC

member, Jabulani Ngidi, arranged a meeting with a hostel leader who identified himself as Mr Magwazi. Local residents were invited to join, including 27-year-old Mr Shibe.

The Inkatha delegation arrived at Mr Ngidi's house on Wednesday evening suggesting the talks be shifted to the hostel. The nine residents reluctantly agreed.

On arrival they were locked in a room with three Inkatha men while Mr Magwazi disappeared. They asked to be allowed to leave but were told a hostile crowd

had gathered outside and that it would be too dangerous. For two hours they

talked peace. The Inkatha supporters insisted they too wanted an end to the killings. Arrangements were made for more meetings. When Mr Magwazi finally reappeared and unlocked the door it became apparent his time had been spent very differently.

Armed men carrying two-way radios frisked the peace delegation for weapons. There were none. Then they were told the venue had changed again and were bundled toward a minibus. It did not travel far, just to the nearby railway station. As it drew to a halt a mob waving AK-47s clamoured. Mr Magwazi had again disappeared.

Mr Shibe was in the front seat next to the driver when a young man recognised by some in the delegation as an Inkatha youth leader gave them a chilling message.

"He said the guys got shot at Jo'burg and we as residents of B-section shot a lot of them. He was explaining to his colleagues they must kill us. As he was talking we saw the danger. They ordered us to jump out individually. While we were coming out we were shot one by one," Mr Shibe said.

Some climbed out quietly to their deaths. Cedrick Dlamini and Thombinkosi Ngcobo said nothing as the guns moved toward their heads and the triggers were squeezed. John Mkhize, a clerk at the King Edward Hospital, wailed for his life. Mr Shibe was staring at him in terror.

"John was screaming and they were telling him to come out, and he wouldn't get out. John asked them why they were shooting us when we were there to make peace. One of my colleagues said: 'Because we are going to die; there is no option but to come out and die.' And he climbed out ahead of John and they shot him through the head. They pulled John out and shot him. And then I came out and ran and they shot my head but I ran

through some of the crowd," Mr Shibe said.

John Mkhize was left for dead and rescued with critical injuries. Baba Shibe ran for his life and escaped. Two others got away while the crowd was baying for another of their colleagues. Five were murdered, including the man who originally went to the Inkatha hostel to try and quell the killing, Jabulani Ngidi.

● Gunmen stopped a minibus taxi and shot dead seven people in South Africa's Johannesburg township of Katlehong yesterday, police said.

The GUARDIAN - London
31/3/94



Cape district that still bears scars of apartheid

Pretoria's racial zoning destroyed a community. Benjamin Pogrand reports on plans for regeneration

DISTRICT 6, on the edge of Cape Town's city centre, is an eerie sight. A few churches and mosques stand amid large open spaces of weeds and scrub. The roads are wide. Large modern buildings are flanked by low-rise apartment blocks. It is set between the majestic backdrop of Table Mountain and the scenic sweep of the city and Table Bay.

The place is a scarred reminder of the worst years of apartheid. Now, with democracy nearing with next month's elections, the prospect of regenerating District 6 lies ahead. But how to do it is still uncertain.

The name goes back to 1867, when it was the municipality's sixth district. Once it was home to around 40,000 people, most of whom were mixed-race "coloureds". Then came the Group Areas Act of 1950: the Afrikaner Nationalist government zoned the entire country into separate residential and business areas for different racial groups. In 1966, it declared District 6 an area for occupation by whites only.

It was the same pattern throughout the country as whites acted to seize most of the best residential, business and farming land. The removal of coloureds, Asians and blacks, sometimes at gunpoint, ran into the millions while only small numbers of whites were dispossessed of their homes or businesses. The government-determined compensation for non-whites was more often than not derisory.

Cape Town has the country's longest interracial existence and until apartheid was imposed, many whites, coloureds and Asians lived side by side. The Group Areas Act evicted coloureds from suburbs

such as Claremont, Newlands and Goodwood, all names reflecting the immigration from Britain that began at the start of the 19th century. As working-class coloureds were pushed out of their modest houses, whites bought in, going on to upgrade or rebuild to upmarket levels.

Clearing out coloureds and Asians began in the same way in District 6. Residents came to fear the sound of the "GGs" — the Volkswagen Beetles with "Government Garage" number plates used by white officials — as they roared up and down the hilly streets. A "GG" stopping outside a house could mean an official was delivering a "love letter" — the ironic term coined for an eviction notice, usually giving seven days to get out.

Gradually, District 6 was cleared of people. Most houses were bulldozed into the ground. A few churches and mosques were left standing forlornly, bereft of worshippers. But even while the removal went on remorselessly, it proved not to be the same as elsewhere. Perhaps it was the popular view of District 6 — slummy and crime-ridden, as the government said, yet with a tradition of vibrant community life for Christians and Muslims alike embedded in Cape Town folklore. It was also true, as the government said, that most people did not own their own homes but paid rents to private landlords; but it was home to them.

The removal generated such passionate opposition that an unusual thing happened: for once, whites did not rush in to buy up the "ethnically cleansed" properties. A groundswell of public opinion kept a good deal of District 6 bare.

Not only did the clearance take some 20 years, ending in the early 1980s, but few moved in. A multinational oil company that tried to do so had to retreat in the face of public anger. Only the government rode roughshod over opposition, and built an imposing technical college and housing for whites.

Some District 6 residents accepted the inevitable and found accommodation where they could, as close to their original homes as possible. Others waited for government housing up to 20 miles away on the wind-swept Cape Flats. Around 10,000, many of them the poorest, who officially did not exist because they had not been included in the

original census, scabbled around desperately for a place to live.

Ricky Behardien, 36, remembers leaving 18 years ago. His family stayed on as long as possible. "Most houses around us had been bulldozed, we were living in the middle of vacant land," he says. "We were sad to go. In District 6 we lived like a large family. We could go to a neighbour in the middle of the night to ask for a cup of sugar. We still talk about the good old days."

Tahir Levy says five generations of his family lived in District 6. He was born and grew up in Caledon Street, the main road running through the area. Because of a series of enforced moves under the Group

Areas Act — "We were like pieces on a draughtsboard which they moved" — the family gradually scattered and disintegrated. "I seldom see them these days. It's problems of distance, transport and crime," he says.

As apartheid rule nears its end, there is again discussion about how best to use the remaining 39 hectares (96 acres) of open land. A broad-based Community Land Trust, it is proposed, will develop the area. One idea is to provide "affordable" high-density housing for 17,000 people; but that will mean overcrowding, say critics.

People from the past are not hopeful about such plans. But as one former resident says: "The older generation still remembers what was done and they are angry. To younger people, it's just history." Those who were driven out are scarred every bit as much as is the land, he says. For them, "you cannot take the soul from a body and then resuscitate it."

with such concern. As smoke from the six-hour fire of Johannesburg killed 53 people lay dead more than 300 injured. The dead, and 90% of the injured, were Zulus.

There was undisguised anger over the "lesson" the police had inflicted. Tokyo said the ANC's Johannesburg leader, told police that Zulus deserved what they got. Another said: "Let them learn for more - and this time we bring the king." The police, she said, had been ineffective in marching by the ANC's offices.

The police, outnumbered and overwhelmed, tried to incite a riot who was responsible for the killings. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who was seen on his sickbed when the shooting happened, artfully denied detectives entry to Shell House to see evidence. He said the Zulus would hand over their weapons to the police when it suited them.

The ANC had murdered demonstrators on the streets in the manner that white police once gunned down blacks in Soweto. That these actions were those of a government which is about to overthrow the country, shockwaves across South Africa.

Black women rushed to markets to clear shelves of goods. The civil war they now face is coming. Travel agencies were inundated by calls booking flights to take their children out of the country.

Gun shops were swamped by scared customers, mostly blacks seeking protection.

At the Johannesburg stock exchange, a few hundred yards from the fighting, foreign investors dumped the assets they had bought with so much optimism only a few months ago. With local newspapers frightened of attacking the ANC, Ruth Rabinowitz, a member of a pro-democracy pressure group, despaired for her country. "Our new democratic South Africa is degenerating into an Orwellian one-party state," she said.

THE Zulu demonstrators had started arriving in the city early to show support for calls for an independent Zulu kingdom and a boycott of this month's elections. Some came by bus or train, others walked up to 20 miles from townships, escorted by police. Many, as is normal with South African marches of any political persuasion, were armed, with guns, spears, clubs and axes. Though intimidating, they were generally peaceful.

In the war between Inkatha and the ANC that has claimed 13,000 lives in the past four years, it was perhaps too much to expect peace to prevail. But three days earlier, tens of thousands of ANC marchers had taken to the streets of Durban and had marched past Inkatha offices.

in much the same way as Zulus marched past Shell House. They were not attacked.

On Monday, it was different. The pattern that was to result in the Shell House massacre began early. Themba Khoza, a leader of the Zulu Inkatha party and an organiser of the march, claimed to have received information the night before that the ANC was planning to attack it. He contacted a deputy law and order minister, but was reassured about security measures. In the afternoon, Khoza was bitter. "Innocent people had to pay for my mistake," he said. "If only I had not been so trusting."

Whether Khoza is right about an organised ANC ambush is unprovable, but an investigation by The Sunday Times has proved that most of the shooting came from identifiable ANC supporters.

The earliest sign of serious trouble came when a policeman was shot in the head at a railway station by gunmen firing at demonstrators boarding trains. Police chased the gunmen to an ANC stronghold, where they arrested 19 men and found four AK-47 rifles.

As they entered the city, the Zulus were met by more bullets. At 8am, a Zulu induna (leader) was killed by a single shot outside the ANC's regional headquarters. British consulate staff working in the

building opposite ran to safety as more bullets shattered its glass doors.

An hour later two more demonstrators were killed outside the ANC building. An ANC photographer was walking in front of the marchers as they fell: "The first one was hit in the stomach. He screamed in Zulu, 'Oh mother, I am dying.' He did not fire first, but I did not see where the bullets came from."

Another witness said ANC security guards ran onto the street and fired at the two marchers. The man, who has worked in a shop near the ANC's offices for three years, said that he knew the men who had fired: "They shot the Inkatha people from the crowd and then ran away. I know them all."

By this time, the city's central business district was in chaos. At the gardens outside Johannesburg's main library, where the Zulus had massed to listen to their leaders, there

was mayhem as Zulus were fired upon by snipers in buildings nearby: 10 died.

Nobody knows who the snipers were, and each side has accused the other. Police positioned on opposite buildings admit that they may have accidentally shot at each other in the confusion. Later in one of the buildings, they found evidence of spent AK-47 bullets. Alwyn van der Walt, a white accountant, was killed by a stray bullet as he worked in the gardens.

As the demonstration broke up in disarray, bands of marauding ANC youths known as comrades, began hunting down Zulus. In a park at the back of Shell House, a Sunday Times reporter saw a bunch of 20 comrades round on a suspected Zulu man in his 20s. Although bloodied from an earlier injury, he was discovered dazed and bruised slumped against a wall.

None of them bothered to check whether he was a Zulu. Rocks and boulders broke off nearby walls rained down on the Zulu's head, as they took their turn to try to kill him. Somehow he managed to get up, lunging like a drugged animal at his attackers. They backed for a minute or two, but he one fly-kicked the man to the ground. He collapsed, moaning for mercy through swollen lips, as the group moved for the kill, pushing away Sunday Times reporter and four photographers who formed a rough phalanx around the injured man.

The rocks kept coming they bounced off his head were retrieved and used again. The man's moans became more feeble, and he lay on the ground, only moving with the force of the blows. "Burn him," a comrade shouted and another went up behind the Zulu with a box of matches. But his attempt set fire to his clothes rather than the man's Yankee baseball shirt was too sodden with blood.

The Zulu's head was swollen grotesquely, his face unrecognisable as human. Finally, a comrade came up and delivered the coup de grace, using two hands to hurl a jagged rock the size of a paving stone. He split the man's head like a pumpkin. The onslaught lasted 10 minutes. Finally, the shot rang out and the comrades fled as the police eventually arrived on the scene.

THE horrific events of the week threatened to snuff out any chance of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's crisis. The leaders indulged in war talk, the hotheads of the ANC gloated and the Zulus mourned their dead. But behind the scenes at secret meetings between officials from the ANC, the Zulus and the

government, seeds of a peace were laid to salvage the week's four-way leaders' summit.

Shocked by even Mandela and President de Klerk began to embolden what they had always rejected: that the elections could proceed in Natal without a political deal with the Zulus. A tentative deal, offering Zulus new self-governance powers and a postponement of voting in Natal, was drawn up in return for them dropping their calls for independence.

Part of the pressure on de Klerk and Mandela to make a promise came from security chiefs who warned that a military solution was unobtainable despite the declaration of a state of emergency in the province.

Western diplomats familiar with the government's plans said last week the intent was to station thousands of troops south of the Tugela river, rather than north of it where the KwaZulu border holds lies. But de Klerk and Mandela were warned that that would provoke a guerrilla campaign by Zulus.

The other key factor is that the army simply does not have enough men to pacify the region. To add to its 12,000 operational troops now available, the army has issued call-up papers to 50,000 reservists but only 20% of these will part-timers are expected to report.

"If it turns into a genuine armed rebellion," said Helmut-Romer Heitman, a defence analyst, "it will be an extremely nasty situation that will not easily be contained."

Additional reporting by Nomavenda Maitshane and Caroline Lees, Johannesburg

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S African leaders postpone summit

By ANTON FERREIRA in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's top four political leaders agreed yesterday to postpone until next week a summit to discuss the growing crisis threatening the country's first all-race elections in four weeks.

The violence behind the crisis intensified yesterday when five African National Congress members on a peace mission were shot dead at point-blank range by Zulu supporters in an ambush in KwaMashu black township near Durban.

At the same time the multi-party authority charged with creating conditions for a free and fair election said it would impose a state of emergency in Natal province, where 266 people have been killed in political violence this month, including last Tuesday's massacre of 53 people.

"As soon as necessary regulations have been drawn up, a state of emergency will be declared in the whole of Natal province. This could be in a matter of a few days," the main ANC delegate to the Transitional Executive Council, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said.

The chief government delegate to the TEC, Mr Roelf Meyer, said security forces needed special powers to ensure that "every person who wants to vote can exercise that right".

Witnesses to yesterday's shootings said the attackers told their victims before shooting them that they were avenging the Zulus killed during a royalist demonstration in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Police said the five ANC members were forced into a minibus at gunpoint when they arrived at a workers' hostel in KwaMashu, a stronghold of the ANC's arch rival, the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party, for pre-arranged peace talks.

At least 53 people died on Tuesday in Johannesburg and the black townships around it when an Inkatha-supported rally degenerated into bloodletting.

Some of the deaths were caused by rooftop snipers who Inkatha claimed were ANC members opening fire on the Zulu marchers.

International observers yesterday criticised South African authorities for failing to stop the massacre.

The observers, representing the United Nations, the European Union and the Organisation of African Unity, "deplore, in the strongest poss-

ible terms, the needless violence and loss of life in Johannesburg", their mission said in a statement.

A boycott of the election by the Inkatha Freedom Party has stoked political warfare in the KwaZulu-Natal region on South Africa's eastern seaboard, where Zulus loyal to Inkatha have been battling the ANC for 10 years.

A government statement yesterday said the President, Mr De Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Inkatha head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus would hold their first meeting some time next week.

The summit was originally planned for today. But the Zulu King demanded a delay to allow mourning for followers killed in Johannesburg street fighting on Tuesday.

After Mr De Klerk twice telephoned the King it was agreed to go ahead with the summit. No specific date was announced and the venue was kept secret.

Chief Buthelezi, fighting the new democratic Constitution because he says it does not provide for Zulu self-determination, called for the April 28-29 poll to be suspended.

He said that instead of voting, the country should observe April 27 as a "national Zulu day of mourning" for those who died in Johannesburg — eight of them when ANC guards opened fire on Inkatha marchers they said were trying to storm the movement's headquarters.

Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC of planning the killing.

"I am outraged that people exercising the same democratic right that the ANC claims for themselves ... should be shot at by sharpshooting snipers ... the killing was pre-planned," he said in a statement.

An ANC official, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, told a news conference the violence in Johannesburg on Tuesday and a random shooting at the ANC headquarters yesterday were part of a plot to destabilise South Africa's commercial heartland, which he said could plunge the whole country into civil war.

He said violence would spill over into white suburbs that had so far escaped the warfare in black townships and could lead to "white women, pregnant women, having their throats slashed".

Reuters, AFP

ANC urges takeover of Zulu homeland

By DONNA BRYSON,
Johannesburg, Wednesday

An ANC leader today called for a quick takeover of the Zulu homeland, before its nationalist leader could "drown the country in blood".

The country's transitional authority, led by the African National Congress and the Government, prepared to ratify a state of emergency in Zulu-dominated Natal province and KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland where Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is Chief Minister and head of the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party.

If President F.W. de Klerk agreed, security forces would be given special powers to ensure violence does not disrupt the country's first all-race vote, which Chief Buthelezi opposes.

"We would want the state of emergency to be declared right away," said Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general. "It is quite clear that the Chief Minister and the IFP are determined to drown the country in blood in their determination to stop the election from taking place."

The Transitional Executive Council, which is governing with Mr De Klerk until the 26-28 April vote, began making plans for a takeover after at least 53 people died on Monday in fierce clashes in Johannesburg and districts around the city. The clashes were linked to Zulu nationalists' opposition to the April election.

Chief Buthelezi said Monday's violence was the beginning of "a final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation".

Political violence is expected to increase drastically in the run-up to the vote. There are fears violence will seriously disrupt voting in Natal, which includes semi-independent KwaZulu and which is home to 6.5 million people.

The independent Human Rights Commission said yesterday 266

people died in political violence in Natal this month, the highest monthly death toll on record.

Chief Buthelezi has called for a boycott of the election, arguing that it leaves no guarantees for regional autonomy demanded by Zulus.

The ANC is favored to win the election and lead the first post-apartheid government.

It says KwaZulu and other black homelands created under apartheid will become part of South Africa after the vote.

Yesterday Chief Buthelezi rejected plans for an emergency meeting this week with the Government and ANC. The Government said it would try to arrange a meeting next week.

Chief Buthelezi's nephew, the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelethini, also rejected the invitation to meet the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Mr De Klerk, saying his people needed time to bury their dead and allow their anger over Monday's shootings to subside.

Monday's march by an estimated 8000 Zulus through central Johannesburg was meant as a show of force and took the marchers straight past the ANC's national headquarters.

Yesterday, unidentified gunmen fired at the ANC headquarters, but no one was injured.

Hostel-dwellers shot dead five ANC youths in a Durban township last night in retaliation for the killings of the Zulu marchers in Johannesburg, the ANC said today.

Three other people were killed in Bhambayi township near Durban early today, said the ANC.

In Soweto township outside Johannesburg, supporters of the ANC and Zulus fought running battles outside a workers' hostel, and at least one person was taken to hospital with gunshot wounds.

— AP

