

How ANC massacred Zulu demonstrators

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg
Pictures: T J Lemon

THE middle-aged woman was dancing and singing as she led fellow Zulus towards the African National Congress (ANC) headquarters in central Johannesburg. It was 11.15am, and 20,000 royalist Zulus had brought the city to a standstill. Several shootings and clashes had already occurred, but nothing had prepared them for what was about to happen.

On the first-floor parapet of Shell House, the former oil company headquarters that serves as the offices for South Africa's government-in-waiting, the ANC's heavily armed and flak-jacketed security guards had grown increasingly nervous and angry at the anti-ANC slogans being shouted by the crowds.

There may have been a shot directed at them from somewhere, but witnesses, including ANC officials watching from the windows above, say there was not. Without warning, the ANC guards opened up with automatic weapons on the largely unarmed crowd. The ululating woman's tribal colours, her exposed red bra, multi-coloured skirt and red-and-white polka-dot headscarf made her an easy target. She was one of the first to fall. When the four to five minutes of shooting subsided, eight Zulus lay dead and another 20 were injured.

Tony Dias, 18, a university student working at his father's fast-food restaurant opposite Shell House, watched as the bodies fell. He and his family crouched for cover as ANC bullets smashed through the window. Later, the ANC would claim that the Zulus had been shot while attempting to storm its HQ, even though they were gunned down at the side of the building, far from any entrance.

Dias said the demonstrators were taken by surprise. "They were doing their own thing, they were not breaking anything or threatening any-

body." He described how the marchers fell after the first shots were fired, dropping their traditional spears and shields. Police found two handguns, one home-made, among the dead; neither appeared to have been fired.

A senior ANC politician, a member of its ruling national executive, watched the incident from the fourth floor and later needed treatment for shock. The Zulus, she confirmed privately, had been slaughtered "in cold blood". Not everyone in the ANC reacted with such concern. As the smoke from the six-hour battle of Johannesburg cleared, 53 people lay dead and more than 300 injured. All the dead, and 90% of the wounded, were Zulus.

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

The police, outnumbered and overwhelmed, tried to investigate who was responsible for the killings. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who had been on his sickbed when the shooting happened, arrogantly denied detectives entrance to Shell House to gather evidence. He said the ANC would hand over its guns to the police when it deemed fit.

The ANC had murdered opponents on the streets in the same manner that white police once gunned down children in Soweto. That these brutal actions were those of a movement which is about to take over running the country sent shockwaves across South Africa.

White women rushed to supermarkets to clear shelves for the civil war they now believe is coming. Travel agents were inundated by families booking flights to send 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 aftermath 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.

HOW ANC MASSACRED ZULU DEMONSTRATORS

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 at his desk overlooking the gardens.

As the demonstration broke up in disarray, bands of marauding ANC youths, known as comrades, began hunting down Zulus. At 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. Already bloodied from an earlier beating, he was discovered dazed and bruised slumped against a wall.

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

The rocks kept coming; as they bounced off his head they were retrieved and used again. The man's moans became more feeble, and he lay on the ground, only moving now with the force of the blows. "Burn him," a comrade said, and another went up behind the Zulu with a box of matches. But his attempt to set fire to his clothes failed: the man's Yankee baseball T-shirt was too sodden with blood.

The Zulu's head was now swollen grotesquely, his face unrecognisable as human. Finally, a comrade came up to deliver 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 had lasted 10 minutes. Finally, a shot rang out and the comrade killers fled as the police belatedly arrived on the scene.

THE horrific events of last week threatened to snuff out any chance of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's crisis. The leaders indulged in war talk, the botheads 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 plan were laid to salvage this week's four-way leadership summit.

Shocked by events, Mandela and President F W de Klerk began to embrace what they had always rejected: that the elections could not proceed in Natal without a political deal with the Zulus. A tentative deal, offering the Zulus new self-governing 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 compromise 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 intention was to station thousands of the troops south of the Tugela river, rather than north of it, where the KwaZulu stronghold lies. But De Klerk and Mandela were warned even 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 white 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 Mathiane and
Caroline Lees, Johannesburg*

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WORLD NEWS

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1-15

sacred rators



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Postpone the poll to avert civil war

SUNDAY
TIMES

3/4/94

South Africa is 24 days away from an election that was supposed to mark the end of the country's strife and reconcile its divided peoples. It will do neither; instead, it will exacerbate the divisions and push the already appalling bloodletting to new depths.

The transition from apartheid was never going to be easy. That South Africa is now on the brink of civil war, however, is not simply a legacy of apartheid, but of the bungled way that transition has been handled. Realities have been ignored in the headlong pursuit of power by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and the supine rush of F W de Klerk's tired and discredited National party to give it up.

In the face of mounting opposition and violence, these two players still insist that the election must take place come "hell or high water". But they are perpetrating an enormous fraud on 40m South Africans and the rest of the world. Their propaganda machines insist the election will be substantially free and fair, and that once a popularly elected government is in place peace will blossom. Neither will happen. There is no way that the elections are, by any standard, going to be free or fair. The campaign is a bloody mess. Black supporters of the National party are being murdered by ANC "comrades"; bombs planted by right-wing terrorists are blowing up ANC and National party offices; and, most significantly, the burgeoning war between the ANC and its Zulu rival, Inkatha, daily claims more lives in Natal and around Johannesburg.

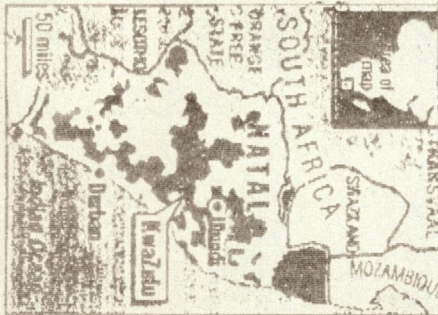
None of this appears to shake either Mr Mandela or Mr de Klerk. Rather than addressing the underlying reasons for the violence, the ANC and the government blindly push ahead, believing states of emergency and military force will provide the solutions. They persist in claiming that the new constitution they have drafted is a federal one, even when scores of foreign experts have pointed out it is not.

themselves. History is on their side, yet debate on this has been stifled. To raise issues such as ethnicity and nationalism is considered politically incorrect. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu chief, and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu monarch, are dismissed as spoilers. Yet all they are asking for are federal powers along the lines enjoyed by German, Canadian or American states and provinces. Is South Africa to be plunged into a bitter civil war for the sake of this?

Mr Mandela, who favours compromise, remains hostage to the communists around him and has displayed weak leadership. He is an old man suffering from the strain of leading his faction-ridden movement to power. Last week, as the country plunged into the abyss, he was on his sickbed.

The ANC has so far won everything it has wanted: a centralised state and the enforced removal of the apartheid homelands. The only ones standing in the way are now the Zulu royalists. The ANC claims Chief Buthelezi is not interested in elections because he has little support and knows the ANC would win in Natal. Both premises are wrong, but if the ANC truly believes them, then why not call the chief's bluff? Grant KwaZulu-Natal the right to have special powers to govern itself. If Chief Buthelezi does not then enter an election, he will be truly a spoiler. If he does, then, according to the ANC, he will lose anyway, so that an ANC regional parliament can be ordered to reject the special powers.

Declaring states of emergency and sending in the army is no solution. They will be able to take Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital, but will face an unwinnable guerrilla campaign in the hills of northern Natal. At some point, a political solution to the Zulu question will have to be found. It is better to do it now, rather than have a Bosnia raging on the southern tip of Africa, with thousands more dead; around the British passport holders clamouring to get to Heathrow and a first World economy.



Natal elections may be delayed

by Richard Ellis
Durban

Freedom party can be included on ballot papers — the ones for Natal have not yet been printed — and to give it time to campaign.

DESPERATE to avert civil war in South Africa, Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk have agreed to postpone this month's elections in the strife-torn province of Natal if pro-royalist Zulus drop their demand for independence.

The Sunday Times has learned that De Klerk and Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) leader, have formulated a joint peace plan to put to King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu monarch, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu political leader, at a summit this week. It is seen as the country's last hope of avoiding war.

Under the proposal, Zwelithini will be given reassurances that his position will be safeguarded in the new South Africa and he will have special powers to rule his people.

If he accepts, Mandela and De Klerk will postpone voting in the area "for a few weeks" so that Buthelezi's Inkatha

It is a significant concession from the two leaders who, until a few days ago, were insisting the election dates of April 27-28 were "set in stone". Sources said they remained adamant, however, that elections would proceed in the rest of South Africa on those dates.

Pressure for a short delay in Natal has grown since last week's bloody ANC-Inkatha battles in central Johannesburg that left at least 53 dead, and continuing clashes in Natal, the Zulu heartland, in which more than 100 died. In the worst incident yesterday, gunmen attacked a church in Natal, killing three worshippers and wounding 11.

Mandela and De Klerk are said to have accepted that keeping security in the province in the 24 remaining days before polling would probably be impossible unless a political deal was struck. Despite last week's declaration of a

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New deal could delay Natal election

CONTINUED FROM P.1

state of emergency in Natal, security chiefs have warned they do not have the manpower to pacify the region should the violence worsen. Reinforcements have been drafted in, but it emerged yesterday that just 1,200 troops are in the province; about 20,000 might be needed if a Zulu rebellion erupts.

"We have to accommodate the Zulus," a senior government source said yesterday. "A formula has to be found to protect King Goodwill's sovereignty. He is as legitimate a monarch as Queen Elizabeth. We cannot escape the fact that he and Buthelezi have millions of followers. It's important both of them are happy with the formula."

While news of the initiative will bring fresh hope that South Africa can reach a peace deal, battles remain. With both the government and ANC sources declining to give details of the offer — which they said was still being worked on — it was unclear whether it will go far enough to accommodate the Zulu demands for self-government.

Buthelezi may also argue that he would want to take part in the election eventually, as he has supporters outside Natal. Government sources say, however, that they would not agree to any nationwide delay. Buthelezi would also have to give "cast iron" guarantees of his involvement in a new election in Natal and it would be a "take it or leave it offer". Mandela will also have difficulty in settling any postponement to headline ANC officials, who want to see Buthelezi crushed by military force.

Snd. Times
3/4/94 - London

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg
ictures: T J Lemon

A middle-aged woman was singing and singing as she led a Zulus towards the African National Congress (ANC) headquarters in central Johannesburg. It was a warm day and 20,000 royalist soldiers had brought the city to a standstill. Several shootings and clashes had already occurred, but nothing had prepared them for what was about to happen.

On the first-floor parapet of the House, the former oil company headquarters that served as the offices for South Africa's government-in-waiting, the ANC's heavily armed flak-jacketed security forces had grown increasingly nervous and angry at the anti-apartheid slogans being shouted by the crowds.

There may have been a shot fired at them from somewhere, but witnesses, including ANC officials watching from the windows above, say it was not. Without warning, the ANC guards opened fire with automatic weapons on the largely unarmed crowd. A wailing woman's tribal dress, her exposed red bra, her multi-coloured skirt and red-and-white polka-dot scarf made her an easy target. She was one of the first to fall. When the four to five minutes of shooting subsided, the Zulus lay dead and over 20 were injured.

Anthony Dias, 18, a university student working at his father's food restaurant opposite the House, watched as the soldiers fell. He and his family hid for cover as ANC soldiers smashed through the door. Later, the ANC would claim that the Zulus had been shot while attempting to storm its HQ, even though they were gunned down at the side of the building far from any entrance.

He said the demonstrators were taken by surprise. "They were doing their own thing, were not breaking anything or threatening anything." He described how the soldiers fell after the first shots were fired, dropping traditional spears and shields. Police found two guns, one home-made, and the dead, neither appeared to have been fired.

A senior ANC politician, a member of its ruling national executive, watched the incident from the fourth floor. He later needed treatment for a head injury. The Zulus, she could not privately, had been killed "in cold blood". Everyone in the ANC re-



"MASSACRE"

Dazed: a young Zulu marcher tries to recover after being left battered and bruised by the ANC.



Devastated: marauding ANC comrades corner the youth again and begin to pelt him with rocks.



Sunday Times
3/4/94

ANC MASSACRE OF ZULUS

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Postpone the poll to avert civil war

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The transition from apartheid was never going to be easy. That South Africa is now the brink of civil war, however, is not only a legacy of apartheid, but of the angled way that transition has been handled. Realities have been ignored in the adorning pursuit of power by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and the supine rush of F.W. de Klerk's tired and discredited National party give it up.

In the face of mounting opposition and violence, these two players still insist that the election must take place come "hell or high water". But they are perpetrating an enormous fraud on 40m South Africans and the rest of the world. Their propaganda machines insist the election will be substantially free and fair, and that once a popularly elected government is in place peace will blossom. Neither will happen. There is no way that the elections are, by any standard, going to be free or fair. The campaign is a deadly mess. Black supporters of the National party are being murdered by ANC "brades"; bombs planted by right-wing terrorists are blowing up ANC and National party offices; and, most significantly, the ongoing war between the ANC and its rival, Inkatha, daily claims more lives in Natal and around Johannesburg.

None of this appears to shake either Mr Mandela or Mr de Klerk. Rather than addressing the underlying reasons for the violence, the ANC and the government blindly push ahead, believing states of emergency and military force will provide the solutions. They persist in claiming that the constitution they have drafted is a federal one, even when scores of foreign experts have pointed out it is not.

The reason for this was demonstrated by last week's horrific events in central Johannesburg: the ANC is determined to seize power by riding roughshod over those who stand in its way. The movement's true nature was exposed when its gunmen mowed down Zulu traditionalists exercising their inalienable right to demonstrate their opposition to the election and their support for the king's call for independence, for KwaZulu-Natal. As our investigation of the events shows, witnesses (including ANC officials) saw Zulus slaughtered in cold blood solely for having the temerity to march to the ANC headquarters.

Just three days earlier tens of thousands of ANC supporters had marched through Durban, a city divided between it and Inkatha. They went past Inkatha's offices, yet none was shot. When the Zulus did the same last Monday in Johannesburg, 53 of them were killed. While it preaches democracy,

the ANC practices totalitarianism. It pretends to kill its opponents rather than use reason and argument. Its intolerance to criticism and its adherence to communist ideals means South Africa will be a virtual one-party state. As its officials gloated over its "victory" last Monday, they refused to allow police entry to their headquarters to inspect ballistic evidence. Despite all this, de Klerk and the West continue to go along with the charade that all is well. The leaders at the Foreign Office and State Department support the ANC and acquiesce in a planned domination.

At heart, the issue bedevilling South Africa is simple. The ANC wants a centrally planned government; the Zulu traditionalists, worried by the ANC's Xhosa leadership and its socialist-communist leanings, demand substantial powers to rule

themselves. History is on their side, yet debate on this has been stifled. To raise issues such as ethnicity and nationalism is considered politically incorrect. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu chief, and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu monarch, are dismissed as spoilers. Yet all they are asking for are federal powers along the lines enjoyed by German, Canadian or American states and provinces. Is South Africa to be plunged into a bitter civil war for the sake of this?

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The ANC has so far won everything it has wanted: a centralised state and the enforced removal of the apartheid homelands. The only ones standing in the way are now the Zulu royalists. The ANC claims Chief Buthelezi is not interested in elections because he has little support and knows the ANC would win in Natal. Both premises are wrong, but if the ANC truly believes them, then why not call the chief's bluff? Grant KwaZulu-Natal the right to have special powers to govern itself. If Chief Buthelezi does not then enter an election, he will be truly a spoiler. If he does, then, according to the ANC, he will lose anyway, so that an ANC regional parliament can be ordered to reject the special powers.

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Sunday Times
3/4/94

LONDON

The time has come to think about what the PC-brigade consider unthinkable: whether South Africa is a viable state. The country is a tenuous entity, manhandled together by British imperial conquest just 90 years ago after British soldiers defeated the Zulus and then the Boers to get hold of the country's mineral riches, and kept together after independence by the authoritarian hand of Boer apartheid. It is a mishmash of 11 tribes and lacks the typical requirements of a functioning democracy such as a literate population, a large middle class and a cohesive population.

For the sake of peace, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk must take the plunge, however unpleasant. At this week's summit with Chief Buthelezi and King Zwelithini, they should postpone the election, not just in Natal, as they are now belatedly considering, but nationwide. Using international mediation led by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington, they should give serious thought to the formation of a confederation of South African states, where frightened minorities and tribes, from the Zulus of Natal to the Coloureds of the Western Cape and the Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Free State, are given opportunities to govern themselves. Referendums could be held to judge the support for such moves.

Linked together economically, especially by free trade, but largely politically autonomous, these new states would form a peaceful, prosperous commonwealth that would be the engine for Africa. The alternative, trying to use force to keep together a fragmented country, would be to repeat the same mistake made across the rest of post-colonial Africa, and will bring the same bloody result: decades of ethnic strife and the unnecessary deaths of thousands.

How ANC MASSACRED
Zulu Demonstrators

Buthelezi frozen out as ANC lies down with its old enemy

Report by
Fred Bridgland
Photographs by
Tom Stoddart

THE FALCON has landed in Kwa-Zulu and Natal. His mission, in effect, is to end the political life of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party and chief minister of Kwa-Zulu.

Brigadier Deon Ferreira of the South African Defence Force (SADF), known as The Falcon by those who served under him in Angola for its daring battlefront exploits against the Cubans, is busy imposing virtual martial law in Kwa-Zulu/Natal. Following President F. W. de Klerk's declaration of a state of emergency there.

Brigadier Ferreira now controls the Kwa-Zulu Police, having wrested from Chief Buthelezi his Kwa-Zulu Police Ministry portfolio, the chief minister's key instrument of power and patronage.

Chief Buthelezi's enemies, and particularly the African National Congress, have accused him of forming hit squads within the Kwa-Zulu police to strike at Inkatha's opponents.

In his latest role, The Falcon enjoys the support of such disparate ANC figures as its president, Nelson Mandela, and the movement's Natal Midlands leader, the hardline Stalinist, Harry Gwala. They are backing his deployment of armoured units, infantry and paratroopers across the territory in an attempt to impose peace and make possible a "free and fair" poll in the general election in less than four weeks' time.

"The state of emergency enjoys my whole-hearted support," said Mr Mandela. "I shall expect all ANC-organised structures in Natal and Kwa-Zulu to conduct themselves so as to assist the attainment of the emergency's objectives."

The support of the Black Imper-

ialist as Mr Mandela was known in his underground resistance days — after his vigorous objection to all previous states of emergency in South Africa, is both an extraordinary paradox and part of a hidden reality underlying South Africa's transition from white rule to ANC government.

In October 1987 Ferreira, then a colonel, was commander of SADF forces in south-east Angola when they confronted three armoured brigades of the Marxist MPLA and Cuban armies probing towards the Namibian border.

In the South African military's biggest land battle since World War Two, one enemy brigade was entirely destroyed and two badly disintegrated. The Falcon's men destroyed or captured 21 Soviet-made tanks, four Soviet SA-8 mobile missile systems, 50 armoured cars, four multiple rocket systems, 87 logistics trucks and a lot of armaments.

The battle turned the political tide in southern Africa. The Soviet Union told the Cubans at the UN that it was no longer prepared to fund them; and Moscow's decision led directly to diplomatic negotiations and the signing of the 1988 New York Accords which stipulated Cuba's withdrawal from Angola and South Africa's pull-out from Namibia.

The Accords also provided for the expulsion of the ANC and its guerrilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), from Angola, crippling its ability to pursue its hit strategy.

Using The Falcon's managers on the Angolan front, he has then professional and personal pleasure in inflicting heavy losses on the ANC's military forces wherever he found them, whether in East Ger-

many training camps or integrated into MPLA and Cuban contingents.

The New York Accords, and the negotiation techniques pursued by Chester Crooke, the US Secretary for Africa, also unlocked the path to political change in South Africa, which began in earnest four years ago when the ban on the ANC was rescinded.

However, before an agreement could be struck between The Falcon and the Eac. Pimpernel, a sophisticated deal had to be thrashed out between ANC leaders and SADF generals. This deal will result in, among other things, an announcement this week that the two old enemies, the SADF and Umkhonto, will be integrated into a new South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

Part of the reasoning that led the ANC leadership into this deal was its knowledge that the country's current lawlessness means it will have to impose a massive security clampdown within weeks of achieving power in the 26-28 April poll.

"The levels of political violence and ordinary criminal violence in South Africa are now so high that they just cannot be tolerated, otherwise society will disintegrate," said Steffen Ellis, director of London University's African Studies Centre.

"There are people inside the ANC — notably the Mbokodo hard-core — who have exactly the same

kind of attitudes as the securocrats [security strategists] in the SADF. They will get on like a house on fire with the old-guard Afrikaners."

Method: (The Boulder That Crushes) was the much-feared elite security branch of Umkhonto whose methods matched those of the South African security police for ruthlessness and brutality.

Mr Ellis, author of *Comrades Against Apartheid*, a book examining the role of the South African Communist Party inside the ANC, has closely studied the developing SADF/ANC relationship.

His views were endorsed by a newly retired and highly decorated SADF brigadier. "The ANC has certainly come to grasp the reality of the situation," he told *The Sunday Telegraph*. "They accept that they'll need the SADF for the suppression of insurgency from left and right. It makes me optimistic about the future."

According to Mr Ellis, the ANC also realised that the SADF was the only institution in South Africa that could guarantee the country's territorial integrity. "It makes them very beholden," he said.

For 13 months SADF generals, sometimes 24 at a time, have been meeting Umkhonto commanders — mainly at the Military Intelligence College in Pretoria — to work out the details of their historic deal.

The SADF had concluded that it could defend the borders of the country virtually for ever by military means, but the solution to South Africa's internal problems was 30 per cent political and only 70 per cent military. The SADF had decided to adopt as its strategy pushing the politicians towards a political solution. By this time last year the SADF high command had decided that it would

emerging new constitution, and it would be prepared to act to safeguard it.

Implicit in the SADF's deal with the ANC is that it will also act against any attempt to carve out an independent Afrikaner *voetstreek* or an independent Zulu kingdom. The SADF honours that pledge last month when it put down a right-wing excursion in KwaZulu-Natal designed to signal a white Afrikaner uprising. It is now suppressing Zulu nationalists with an iron fist.

But the SADF's leaders exacted a price from the government-in-waiting.

There will be no interference with the present SADF command structure. SADF pension rights will be respected. There will be a total amnesty for all SADF personnel who fought the ANC and no Nuremberg-style trials. There will also be no takeover of white farms: many top SADF officers were raised on farms, which have almost a spiritual significance to many Afrikaners.

"Of course, the time will come when dependency on the SADF will create problems for the ANC," said Mr Ellis. "For example, a crunch will come when the ANC has to restore law and order. I will be the same old military — and the same old police — in action who were previously vilified."

"There will inevitably be a reaction among ANC street militants and intellectual militants. They will yell 'foul' and say the ANC has got too comfortable in power."

"But I suspect many other people will be delighted that the violence can be ended under the auspices of a Mandela government which can claim legitimacy, while using the security apparatus inherited from

INKATHA

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Observer - 3/4/94 - London

The Buthelezi henchman who leaves mass murder in his wake

THERE can be few societies where a man implicated by a judicial commission in mass murder and named as an agent of sinister forces whose aim is to sabotage democratic reforms could 10 days later organise public chaos in the country's commercial capital and blame it on his rivals.

Themba Khoza, the Transvaal leader of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, is not a man to fall on his sword. As organiser of Inkatha's bloody incursion into Johannesburg last Monday, in which 31 people died, he has made an enormous amount of political capital, condemning the African National Congress for the massacre of his followers.

Four weeks ago, *The Observer* named Khoza as a suspect in last November's Ngutu massacre in Natal province in which 11 ANC supporters died and where a promising investigation by police was quashed by Inkatha loyalists in the KwaZulu homeland.

Four years ago, Khoza was caught at a roadblock with AK-47 assault rifles and a bomb in his boot, driving from a battle at a Witwatersrand hostel in which 30 people had just died. A magistrate accepted Khoza's story that the arms were a plant.

Two weeks ago, the Goldstone Commission publicised *prima facie* evidence that Khoza was a paid police agent and central organiser of so-called Third Force activities, including the planning of massacres on trains and from the hostels on the Reef, the townships around Johannesburg.

Khoza's march into Johannesburg last Monday dramatically furthered the agenda of the Third Force. It discredited the ANC, nicked whites, clouded the

election and destabilised the country. Two events sparked the violence. Snipers in the buildings surrounding Library Gardens fired on the crowd there. Meanwhile, eight blocks away at Shell House, the ANC's headquarters, ANC guards opened fire on the crowd. Both events happened at about the same time, but it is the first that holds the most unanswered questions.

Who were the snipers who fired on Library Gardens, resulting in counter-fire, confusion and death? Inkatha blamed the ANC. However, it would have been virtually impossible for ANC guerrillas armed with AK-47s to gain access to high-security buildings and leave again, undetected. At the very least, why were they not spotted by police, who, according to Major Kobus Peche, set up observation posts on top of the buildings?



Buthelezi: New evidence of Inkatha's sinister links.

Lood, the pseudonym of the political columnist in *Beeld*, the largest Afrikaans language daily newspaper in South Africa, sketched a more plausible scenario, pointing out that a key aspect of the Goldstone Commission's investigations is the involvement of private security companies in Third Force operations.

'Who else, other than trusted and known security guards, could gain access to office blocks around the Library Gardens with weapons, gain access to the roof, fire a few shots at the crowd and leave the building unhindered — or, even better, continue with the security of the building?' he wrote.

The common point between Inkatha's and the ANC's versions is that the massacre resulted from a conspiracy. The question is: whose conspiracy? Khoza, by his own admission, had foreknowledge of the events. He had such 'reliable information' that the ANC was going to infiltrate *agents provocateurs* into the march that he informed the Commissioner of Police on Sunday night.

As Lood points out, Khoza could have known in advance what was going to happen and was setting up the ANC. Shortly before the shooting at Library Gardens, Khoza — who was there — received a message on his pager from Inkatha's 'Durban Information Office': 'ANC provocateurs placed among marchers. Instructed to begin random shooting'. Was that a warning for Khoza to pass on or a command paged to Inkatha agents placed throughout the crowd and on the buildings?

The explanation that the ANC planned the operation lacks the

crucial piece of evidence that a detective looks for: motive. The ANC, apparently assured of victory in the election, had least to gain from turning Johannesburg into a bloodbath.

Also puzzling is the assault on Shell House. ANC intelligence had forewarned the police of this possibility but inexplicably they did nothing to cordon off or protect the building. According to eyewitnesses, ANC security guards opened fire on a provocative but not immediately threatening crowd. Their trigger-happy behaviour handed Khoza an unexpected bonus.

At his first press conference last Monday, Khoza blamed 'ANC agents provocateurs' for the chaos, but by the next day the focus had switched exclusively to the 'massacre of Shell House', the more clear-cut instance of ANC wrongdoing.

Last Thursday night, Khoza appeared on *Talk At Nine*, a popular radio talk show in the Witwatersrand. Mary, an Afrikaner from south Johannesburg, assured Khoza that 'many thousands of whites are right behind you'. Eddie, a neo-Nazi from the Orange Free State, offered Khoza the support of the Boer nation. Moses from Soweto was less complimentary. 'When I hear your voice on the radio, I'm always depressed simply because you always come to the radio on top of the corpses of our people. When our people die, Themba Khoza can be found.'

The urbane, heartfelt pose that Khoza had been adopting all week, to match his West African robe, slipped for an instant, and the voice snapped: 'If you don't know what you're talking about, you better shut up.'

Phillip van Niekerk

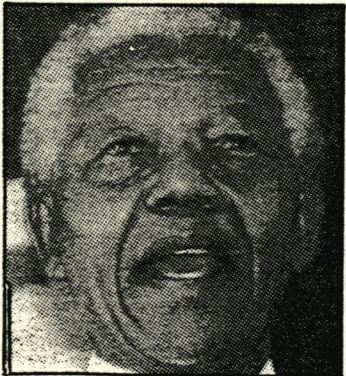
Observer

3/4/94 - London

Buthelezi comes to table



BUTHELEZI: Ready to talk.



MANDELA: Summit role.

ULUNDI, South Africa: Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will still attend a key summit next week aimed at defusing pre-electoral violence despite the imposition of emergency rule in his KwaZulu black homeland and Natal province.

Buthelezi, who is KwaZulu chief minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he planned to attend next week's summit with President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela but added that if the talks did take place, it would be in a "sour atmosphere".

He told the domestic news agency SAPA, after attending a Good Friday church service near the KwaZulu capital, that he still had hopes the summit could achieve something. "Otherwise I wouldn't be going," he said.

"If the discussions next week do not come up with something that will make it possible for us to participate in the elections, even at this late stage, then of course we will continue to play the role of being opposed to the status quo as set out after the

elections. "Buthelezi and his close ally, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, have rejected the emergency rule imposed by de Klerk on Friday in a bid to restore peace ahead of the April 26-28 all-race election.

The two Zulu leaders' rejection of the emergency had cast doubt over the proposed four-way summit which had been postponed from Wednesday to an as yet unannounced date next week.

Both Mandela and de Klerk have said they are still prepared to go to the summit but Zwelithini has yet to declare his position.

The Zulu monarch originally asked for a postponement to allow Zulus to bury their dead after a pro-royalist march in Johannesburg on Monday erupted into violence, leaving 53 people dead.

The summit was called to address the violence sweeping Natal and KwaZulu, where more than 170 people have been killed since Zwelithini called for the restoration of a sovereign Zulu kingdom

on March 18. The leaders will also discuss the position of the Zulu monarchy under the new constitution to come into effect after the election, which both Buthelezi and Zwelithini are boycotting.

The emergency rule gave soldiers and police powers to clamp a grip of steel on Natal province where political violence threatens the historic elections.

Buthelezi's rejection of the election, which he says will not deliver the autonomous Zulu State he seeks, has fed tension in the region where about 300 people were killed last month alone.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader has previously said he does not rule out participation in the elections on condition that they are postponed "a month or two" — an option ruled out by de Klerk and Buthelezi's main black rival, Mandela.

The summit on violence and constitutional disputes is due to bring Buthelezi, Mandela, de Klerk and Zwelithini together for the first time.

Reuter

SOUTH AFRICA

The Sunday Age

3. 4. 94

Buthelezi arms deal bid thwarted at 11th hour

By Ross Dunn,
Johannesburg, Saturday,

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's black homeland administration planned to buy 1000 rifles on the very day the South African Government imposed a state of emergency in his region.

The arms deal was meant to have gone ahead on Thursday when State President F.W. de Klerk made his announcement, but was blocked at the last minute.

The revelations have called into question Chief Buthelezi's professed desire to achieve an end to political fighting with his arch-rivals in Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

The ill-fated deal involved the sale of LM-4 semi-automatic rifles from the security division of South Africa's electricity supply giant, Eskom, to an arms dealer in Johannesburg, who then planned to sell them to the KwaZulu police.

Some members of the force have been implicated in the massacre of

ANC supporters, and Mr Mandela is adamant that under the emergency regulations they will be confined to barracks.

Chief Buthelezi is both Chief Minister and Minister of Police in KwaZulu. Last night, at the very time revelations about the arms deal were beginning to emerge, he said he was hopeful about the prospects for a planned peace summit next week involving himself, the traditional King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

There was uncertainty after the declaration of the state of emergency whether the meeting would go ahead, but Mr Buthelezi indicated it appeared to be on and said he held out hope "otherwise I wouldn't be going".

However, threats by Mr Mandela to confine the KwaZulu police to barracks and Mr De Klerk's "appalling and shameful" decision to declare an emergency were not conducive to good negotiations, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said it was difficult to say what might happen if a settlement was not reached to accommodate him and his supporters. But he



Waves on a crest: South African Defence Force troops wave to township residents from an observation point above Natal's strife-torn Kwa Mashu township.

would continue to act as before: "For decades I've been practising resistance politics, by that I don't mean

taking up arms... but people are very angry.

"I don't want to speculate or pre-

dict how their anger will be expressed on the ground."

Two Eskom employees have been suspended over the weapons deal, and the matter has been referred to the standing commission on public violence, headed by Justice Richard Goldstone.

Eskom spokesman Kevin Morgan said today the electricity corporation had thought that the arms would be exported, but suspicions arose that they would be going to the KwaZulu Government.

Eskom chief executive Allen Morgan yesterday informed the Goldstone Commission and the South African Police about the matter.

"The deal was cancelled before delivery took place, when it was discovered that the dealer intended to sell the weapons within South Africa," he said in a statement.

Meanwhile, troops have been begun to tour through troubled spots in KwaZulu, and Natal following the imposition of the state of emergency.

The security forces have been given wide powers to deal with unrest.

Zulu chief in peace talks

ZULU leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend a key summit aimed at defusing pre-electoral violence in South Africa, despite the imposition of emergency rule in his Kwa-Zulu black homeland and Natal province.

Buthelezi, who is Kwa-Zulu chief minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will meet President Frederik de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

More than 170 people have been killed since King Zwelithini called for a sovereign Zulu kingdom on March 18.

The Sunday Telegraph 3/19/90

SUNDAY WORLD

More Natal deaths

DURBAN: Five people were killed overnight in Natal and the KwaZulu black homeland barely 24 hours after a state of emergency came into effect in the Zulu region, state radio reported yesterday.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation radio said four

people, including two policemen, were killed in the KwaZulu township of KwaMashu north of Durban.

A fifth person was killed in Umlazi, another KwaZulu town on the outskirts of the Indian Ocean port city.

South African security officials were due to outline plans for troop deployments in Natal and KwaZulu in support of the state of emergency.

The emergency rule was proclaimed late on Thursday by President F. W. de Klerk, with the support of the ANC, to prevent violent Zulu opposition to the country's first all-race elections derailing South Africa's move to democracy.

The elections, scheduled for April 26-28, are expected to be won by the African National Congress and will lead to the disappearance of the KwaZulu homeland, which is run by the ANC's main black rival, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi has signalled his willingness to hold a peace summit,



Cross of hope: A woman takes her message to the streets of violence-ravaged Bhambayi township during a peace march.

despite the clamping of emergency regulations on his power base in Natal province.

The meeting is due to bring together for the first time four leaders — Chief Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

The agenda includes

the constitutional demands of Chief Buthelezi and his ally the king as well as the political violence in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi and the king have vowed to resist the elections because they will not deliver their demand for an autonomous Zulu state in Natal.

But Chief Buthelezi,

attending a church service in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, said: "If the discussions next week ... do not come up with something that will make it possible for us to participate in the elections, even at this late stage, then of course we will continue to play the role of being opposed."

— AFP, REUTER

Richard Ellis
Johannesburg
Pictures: T J Lemon

A middle-aged woman was singing as she led Zulus towards the African National Congress headquarters in central Johannesburg. It was 11 a.m. and 20,000 royalist soldiers had brought the city to a standstill. Several shootings had already occurred but nothing had happened for what was expected to be a peaceful demonstration.

The first-floor parapet of the Shell House, the former oil company headquarters that was the offices for South African government-in-waiting, the ANC's heavily armed and jack-jacketed security guards had grown increasingly angry at the anti-apartheid slogans being shouted by the demonstrators.

There may have been a shot fired at them from somewhere, but witnesses, including ANC officials watching from the windows above, say it was not. Without warning, the ANC guards opened fire with automatic weapons on a largely unarmed crowd, including a woman's tribal headdress, her exposed red bra, a blue skirt and red and white polka-dot scarf made her an easy target. She was one of the first to fall. When the four to five minutes of shooting subsided, Zulus lay dead and 20 were injured.

By 11.15, a university student working at his father's restaurant opposite the Shell House, watched as the demonstrators fell. He and his family fled for cover as ANC soldiers smashed through the crowd. Later, the ANC claimed that the Zulus were shot while attempting to storm its HQ, even though they were gunned down at the side of the building from an entrance.

The demonstrators were taken by surprise. They were doing their own thing, were not breaking any laws, and were not threatening anyone. He described how the demonstrators fell after the first shots were fired, dropping their traditional spears and shields. Police found two guns, one home-made, among the dead, neither appeared to have been fired.

A senior ANC politician, a member of its ruling national executive, watched the incident from the fourth floor. He needed treatment for a head injury. The Zulus, who were being treated privately, had been hit "in cold blood" by everyone in the ANC ranks, with such concern. As smoke from the six-hour battle of Johannesburg spread, 53 people lay dead and more than 300 injured. The dead, and 90% of the wounded, were Zulus.

There was no disguised anger over the "lesson" the ANC had inflicted. Tokyo Makhosini, the ANC's Johannesburg leader, told police that Zulus deserved what they got. Another said: "Let them bring the king." The demonstrators, she said, had been provocative in marching by the ANC's offices.

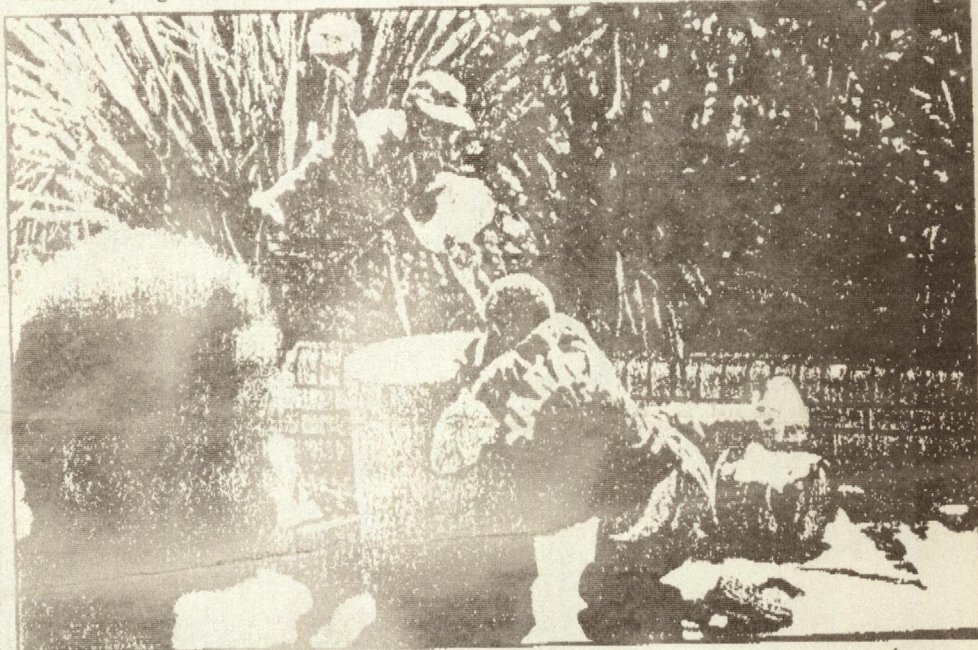
The police, outnumbered and overwhelmed, tried to investigate who was responsible for the killings. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who had been on his sickbed when the shooting happened, angrily denied detectives entering the Shell House to see evidence. He said the ANC would hand over its weapons to the police when it was asked to.

The ANC had murdered demonstrators on the streets in the same manner that white soldiers once gunned down black children in Soweto. That these actions were those of a government which is about to take over running the country, shockwaves across South Africa.

White women rushed to supermarkets to clear shelves of goods as the civil war they now face is coming. Travel agents were inundated by calls booking flights to take their children out of the



Dazed: a young Zulu marcher tries to recover after being left battered and bruised by the ANC...



Devastated: marauding ANC comrades corner the youth again and begin to pelt him with rocks...



Dead: as police belatedly arrive the attackers flee, having 'split their victim's head like a pumpkin'

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 aftermath 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 8 a.m., 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

gardens.

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

None of them bothered to check whether he was a Zulu. Rocks and boulders bounced 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 deer at his attackers. They backed for a minute or two, but he once fly-kicked the man to the ground. He collapsed, begging 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 and 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 said, and another went up behind the Zulu with a box of matches. But his attempt to set fire to his clothes failed. The man's Yankee baseball shirt was too sodden with blood.

The Zulu's head was swollen grotesquely, his unrecognisable as human. Finally, a comrade came up, 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 shot rang out and the comrade killers fled as the police belatedly arrived on the scene.

THE horrific events of the week threatened to snuff 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. 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 dropped in return for them dropping their calls for independence.

Part of the pressure on de Klerk and Mandela to compromise 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 where the KwaZulu border holds lies. But De Klerk and Mandela were warned 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 be part-timers are expected to report.

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

Additional reporting by Nomavenda Mathiane and Caroline Lees, Johannesburg