WORLD NEWS

The Mail on Sunday, April 3, 1994

How ANC massacred Zulu demonstrators

by Richard Ellis Johannesburg Pictures: T J Lemon

THE middle-aged woman was dencing and singing as she led fellow Zulus towards the Af-rican National Congress (ANC) hondquarters in central Johannesburg. 1t 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 pre-pared 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-wait-ing, the ANC's heavily armed and flak-jacketed security guards had grown increasingly nervous and angry at the anti-ANC slogans being shouted by

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 utulating woman's tribal colours, her exposed red bra, multi-coloured skirt and redpolka-dot and-white 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 down at the side of the build-Dies 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 cus-tomers, mostly blacks seeking

protection.

At the Johannesbury 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 demo-cratic 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 gen-erally 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 secunity 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 gun-men 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 walk-ing in front of the marchers as they fell: "The first one was hit in the stomach. He screamed in Zulu, 'Oh mother, I am dylng. 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 surdens 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 DEMONSTRATTORS

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

pardens.

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, mum-bling 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 election failed. set fire to his clothes failed: the man's Yankee bascball Tshirt was too sodden with

The Zulu's head was now swollen grotesquely, his face unrecognisable as human. Finally, a comrade came up to deliver the coup de grace: us-ing two hands to burl 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 fied as the police be-latedly 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, father 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 genuinc 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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RLD NEWS

sacred

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Postpone the poll to avert civil war

outh 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. Realines 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. Mangosuthn Buthelezi, the Zulu chief, and king Goodwill Zwelitbini, 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?

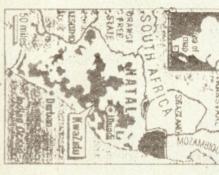
Mr Mandela, who favours compromise, remains bosiage to the communists around him and has displayed weak leadership. He is an old man suffering from the strain of leading his faction-ridden movement to power. Last week, as the country plunged into the abyss, he was on his sickbed.

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 flowers to govern itself. If Chief Buthelezi does not then enter an election, he will be truly a spoller. 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; assume in within passume holders clamouring to gat a Mental with the same and which the same and the same







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state of emergency in Natal, security chiefs have warned they do not have the manpower to pacify the region

both of them are happy with the formula." he and Buthelezi have millions We cannot escape the fact that monarch as Queen Elizabeth followers. It's

Reinforcements have been

should the violence worsen.

While news of the initiative will bring fresh hope that

"We have to accommodate the Zulus," a senior governereignty. He is as legitimate a protect King Goodwill's sov-"A formula has to be found to ment source said yesterday. unportani

as he has supportery outside part in the election nationally mands for self-government. that he would want to Buthelezi usay also argue

ALTERIAL A

South Africa can reach a peace deal, hurdles remain. With both the government and ANC sources declaing to give details of the offer — which they said was still being worked on - if was anclear whether it will go far exough say, however, that they would not agree to any nationwide delay. Buthelezi would also Natal Government sources

New deal could delay Natal election

to accommodate the Zuin de-338.66 have to give "cast iron" guar-antees of his involvement in a new election in Natal and it would be a "take it or leave it offer". Mandela will also have Bathelezi crushed by postponement to hardline ANC officials, who want to see difficulty in selling any

atal elections be delaye

by Richard Ellis Durban

DESPERATE to avert civil war in South Africa, Nelson Mandels and President F W de Klerk have agreed to postpone this month's elections in the strife-torn prov-ince 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 avolding war.

Under the proposal, Zwe-lithini will be given reassur-ances that his position will be safeguarded in the new South Africa and he will have special powers to rule his people.

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

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

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 Johannes-burg that left at least 53 dead, and continuing clashes in Na-tal, the Zulu heartland, in which more than 100 died. In the worst incident yesterday, gunmen attacked a church in Natal, killing three worship-

pers 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 pol-lical deal was struck. Despite last week's declaration of a

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Johnsy- the

by Richard Ellis Johannesburg ctures: T J Lemon

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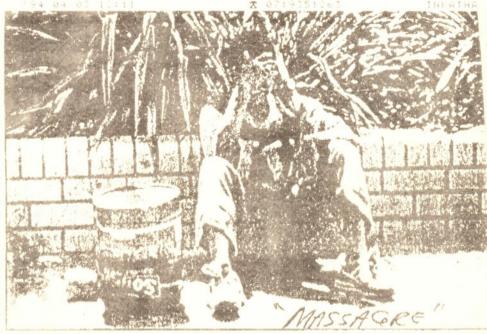
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Dazed: a young Zulu marcher tries to recover after being left battered and bruised by the ANC



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



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e pointed out it is not.

The reason for this was demonstrated by t week's horrisic events in central tannesburg: the ANC is determined to e power by riding roughshod over those stand in its way. The movement's true ure was exposed when its gunmen mowed rn Zulu traditionalists exercising their socratic right to demonstrate their oppoon to the election and their support for ir king's call for independence for aZulu/Natal. As our investigation of si ats shows, witnesses (including ANC of-als) saw Zulus slaughtered in cold blood: 'ely for having the temerity to march e to the ANC headquarters.

et three days earlier tens of thousands of C supporters had marched through Dur-, a city divided between it and Inkatha. went past Inkatha's offices, yet none shot. When the Zulus did the same last nday in Johannesburg, 53 of them were ightered. While it preaches democracy,

ANC practices totalitarianism, It preto kill its opponents rather than use on and argument. Its intolerance to critia and its adherence to communist ideals ty state. As its officials gloated over its tory" last Monday, they refused to allow police entry to their headquarters to ter ballistic evidence. Despite all this, de Klerk and the West continue to go ig with the charade that all is well. The easers at the Foreign Office and State artment support the ANC and acquiesce s planned domination.

t heart, the issue bedevilling South Afis simple. The ANC wants a centrally ilnated government; the Zulu tranalists, worried by the ANC's Xhosa tership and its socialist-communist ings, demand substantial powers to rule

themselves. Illstory is on their side, yet debate on this has been stiffed. 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 spollers. 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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Surday times 3/4/94

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 soldlers 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 co-

hesive 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 un-

necessary deaths of thousands.

How ANC MASSACAED. Zulu Demonstrators

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(S.DF), known as The Falcon by

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Report by Fred Bridgland Photographs by Tom Stcddart

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The New York Accords, and the negotiation techniques pursued by C.este: Croke, the US Secretary for Afr.ca also inbocked the path topolitical charge a South Africa, which began ineanest four years

However, teore an agreement corle je struck beween The Falcos and the Eac. Pimpernel a sophisticated deil had to be thaspidoutbewen ANC leaders and SAD: geneals This deal will result in, among oher things, an amouncement his week that the two old memis, he SADF and Unkionia, will be integrated into a new Soitt Afrian National Defence force (LANDF).

l'act of the resoring that lec the ANC leatership into this deal was its knowledge hat the country's curer: lawlessies: means it will hareto impose a massive security clampion within weeks of achieving poveriothe26-8 Apr.l poll.

The leve's o political violence and entury circulai violence in South Mice ar new so high that they just carried be telerated. otherwise society will disintegrate,' said Steite. Ellis director of Lexica Inversity's Afrean Sudie: Centre.

Trere are 160 le inside the A:C-nitab.ytheWbokoochard. core - wio have exitly the same

kind of attitudes as the securocrats emerging new constitution and it [security strategists] in the SADF. Theywill get on like a house on fire with the old-guard Afrikaners."

Mortod: (The Boulder Tait Crusies) was the much-feared elite security tranch of Umichento whose ne hods matched those of for rithlessness and brutality.

M: Ellis, action of Comretes Against Agartheid a took examining the role of the South Africa Communist Party inside the ANC, has closely studied the developing SADE AND relationship.

His views were endersed by a newly retired and highly described ago when the bar of the ANGwas SAD prigadier. "The ANG has certainly come to grasp the reality of the situation," he told The Sunday Telegraph. 'They accept aut they'l seel the SADF for the surpression of insurgency from left and right. It makes me optimistic about the fiture.

According to Mr Ellis the ANC also realised that the SADF was the only institution it South Africa that could grantee the country's territorial integrity. "It makes them very belicken, he sail

For 13 months SADF generals, sometimes 24 at a time, have been muchas Urakhanta commanders mainly at the Military Ittelligence College in Pretoria - to work out the details of their historic deal.

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

would be prepared to ac to safe. guard t.

Impicit in the SADI's leal with the AVC is that it vill also act againg any attempt to carve out an independent Alrikanervokstear or an independent Zu u kng.om The the South African security police SADF honource that place last month when it put dowr a rightwirg acursion in Boolutiatswana designed to signal a white Afrikanerupising. It is now suppressing Zula rationalists with an i'cn fist.

But he SADF's leaders exacted a price from the sovernment-inwatirs.

There will be so nterference with the present SAD command structure. SADF pension rights will be respected. There will be a total amaery for all SAD' rersonnel who lought the AIC and no Nurecberg-style trials There will alse be no takeover of while farms: many top SADF office's were raised in farms, which have almost a spirtual significance ic many Afrkmers.

"If wurse, the time will come when dependency in the SADF will create problems for the ANC," said Mr Elis. "For exampe, a crunch will came when the aNC has to restors law and order I will be the same dd military - aid the same old poice - in action who were previously vilified.

"There will inevitable be a reaction acong ANC street militants and intellectual militants. They willer, 'foul' and say the ANC has got :oucom:ortablein pwer.

"Bull suspect many other people will be delighted that he violence can beenced under the auspices of a Mantela governmen which can clain egitimic, while using the security apparatus is bening

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 Nautu massacre in Natal province in which 11 ANC supporters died and where a promising investigation by police was quashed by Inkatha loyalists n the KwaZulu homeland.

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

Two weeks ago, the Goldstone Commission publicised prima acie evidence that Khoza was a aid police agent and central oraniser of so-called Third Force ctivities, including the planning f massacres on trains and from he hostels on the Reef, the townhips around Johannesburg.

Khoza's march into Johannesurg last Monday dramatically urthered the agenda of the Third orce. It discredited the ANC, anicked 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 anned 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



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

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 provacateurs' 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: 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 sol-diers 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.

Buthelezi arms deal bid thwarted at 11th hour

By Ross Dunn, Johannesburg, Saturday,

NKATHA 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 Kwa-Zulu. 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 preelectoral violence in South Africa, despite the imposition of emergency rule in his KwaZulu black homeland and Natal province.

and Natal province.

Buthelezi, who is KwaZulu chief minister and 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.

SUNDAYWORLD 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 fival, Zulu Chief Mantonuthu 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 hannesburg res: T J Lemon

ddle-aged woman was and singing as she led ulus towards the Af-Vational Congress adquarters in central Was d brought the city to a Several shootings hes had already occut nothing had pre-

first-floor parapet of ouse, the former oil headquarters that the offices for South government-in-waitad grown increasingly and angry at the anti-

gans being shouted by

at them from some INC guards opened automatic weapons gely unarined crowd ting woman's tribal ier exposed red bra, jured skin and redilus lay dead and

orking at his father's

re fired, dropping ditional spears and Police found two one home-made,

dead, neither apfrom the fourth floor The Zulus, she conprivately, had been nered "in cold blood".

cryone in the ANC rewith such concern. As oke from the six-hour of Johannesburg ed, 53 people lay dead more than 300 injured. dead, and 90% of the

ided, were Zulus.

ere was undisguiseding over the "lesson" the had inflicted. Tokyo ale, the ANC's Johannesleader, told police that ulus deserved what they Another said: "Let them e for more — and this time nem bring the king." The s, she said, had been ocause in marching by

ne police, outnumbered overwhelmed, tried to ingate who was responsible the killings. Nelson dela, the ANC leader who been on his sickbed when shooting happened, arntly denied detectives ener evidence. He said the would hand over its to the police when it

he ANC had murdered onents on the streets in the te manner that white ce once gunned down dren in Soweto. That these al actions were those of a



Dazed: a young Zulu marcher tries to recover after being left battered and brulsed 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 cus-tomers, 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 demo-cratic 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

in much the same way as building opposite ran to safety Zulus marched past Shell as more bullets shattered its House. They were not glass doors.

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 after-math 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 carliest 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 bul-lets. At 8am, a Zulu Induna (leader) was killed by a single shot outside the ANC's re-

gional headquarters. British consulate staff working in the

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 screamed in Zulu, 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 b up in disarray, bands marauding ANC you you known as comrades, b hunting down Zulus. park at the back of ! House, a Sunday Times porter saw a bunch of 20 c rades round on a suspe Zulu man in his 20s. Aln bloodied from an earlier! ing, he was discovered d. and bruised slumped again wall.

None of them bothere check whether he was a 2 Rocks and boulders bro off nearby walls rained d on the Zulu's head, as took their turn to try to him. Somehow he manage get up, lunging like a drur his attackers. They backer for a minute or two, be one fly-kicked the man to ground. He collapsed, m bling for mercy through s len lips, as the group move for the kill, pushing away Sunday Times reporter four photographers who formed a rough phal around the injured man.

The rocks kept coming they bounced off his head were retrieved and used as The man's moans bec more feeble, and he lay or ground, only moving with the force of the ble "Burn him," a comrade s and another went up bel Zulu with a box matches. But his attemp set fire to his clothes fa the man's Yankee baseba shirt was too sodden blood.

The Zulu's head was swollen grotesquely, his unrecognisable as human nally, a comrade came u deliver the coup de grace: ing two hands to hurl a jag rock the size of a paving st he split the man's head li pumpkin. The onslaught lasted 10 minutes. Finall shot rang out and the comi latedly arrived on the seer

THE horrific events of week threatened to snuff any chance of a negotia settlement to South Afri crisis. The leaders indulge war talk, the hothcads of ANC gloated and the Zi mourned their dead. But hind the scenes at sceret m ings between officials from ANC, the Zulus and the ernment, seeds of a peace I were laid to salvage week's four-way leaders summit.

Shocked Mandela and President 1 de Klerk began to embi what they had always rejec that the elections could proceed in Natal withou political deal with the Zu A tentative deal, offering Zulus new self-govern powers and a postponem of voting in Natal, was dra up in return for them dr their calls ping independence.

Part of the pressure on Klerk and Mandela to o promise came from secu chiefs who warned that a n tary solution was unobt able despite the declaration a state of emergency in province.

Western diplomats fami with the government's pl said last week the intent was to station thousands the troops south of the Tuj river, rather than north of where the KwaZulu stro hold lies, But De Klerk 1 Mandela were warned e that would provoke a guern campaign by Zulus.

The other key factor is t the army simply does have enough men to pacify region. To add to its 12,0 operational troops now av able, the army has issued c up papers to 50,000 reservi but only 20% of these wi part-timers are expected report.

"If it turns into a genu armed rebellion Helmut-Romer Heitman, defence analyst, "it will be extremely nasty situation t will not easily be contained

Additional reporting Nomavenda Mathiane Caroline Lees, Johannesbu