

ï¬\201 Near the -abyss
| in Natal

SENDING the army into Natal may quell some of the shocking violence marring South Africaâ\200\231s progress to black

- rule. But it cannot resolve the conflict between the . pro-election and anti-election adherents of the African " National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. That can only be done by political means. The leadersâ\200\231 summit ~ on Friday may be the last chance for a compromise before the scheduled April 26-28 all-race elections. If there is no " deal, the violence is likely to worsen, taking South Africa closer to open civil war. President De Klerk and the ANC : _ leader; Mr Nelson Mandela, say they want to negotiate. ' Inkathaâ\200\231s leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez, and the Zulu %

"% The constitutional system of central government to , King, Goodwill Zwelithini, must show a similar willingness.

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_emerge from the elections suits the ANC, which shares the : tendency of its close allies, the communists. And

| but for South Africaâ\200\231s â\200\234colour

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the ANC is expected to win the poll with ease. It also sui's President De Klerkâ\200\231s National Party, which expects to do well from the constitutionâ\200\231s power-sharing arrangements. But it does not suit other parties or interests. Inkatha, a

. regional force, has promoted a model for federalism. There

are inherent merits in such a system, not just for KwaZulu â\200\235, More generally, a

federal system would make more likely the emergence of a pluralistic democracy. Mr Mandela, unlike some other ANC leaders, appears to have acknowledged this recently by offering concessions towards autonomy in Natal. Chief Buthelezi rejected these as insufficient. And the Zulu King unilaterally declared sovereignty over KwaZulu, consistent

- with Inkatha's election boycott.

An emergency summit to defuse these issues was postponed by last week's massacre in downtown Johannesburg. A few days later Mr De Klerk declared a state of emergency in Natal, deploying troops and police in areas where Inkatha supporters have made electioneering impossible. Now the summit is back on. Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have reportedly suggested they will offer extra powers of home rule for the Zulu King if he agrees to drop his independence demands. And Natal could be excluded temporarily from the elections if Inkatha agrees to end-its: boycott and give its members an opportunity to register for-a vote about mid-May. e

Chief Buthelezi and King Zwelithini should try to bring a peaceful end to the crisis by considering seriously Mr Mandela's concessions, if only as a starting point for further-negotiation. A cooling off period in Natal would help. But if elections are to be delayed there, very firm assurances will be needed about when and how they would proceed later.- There should be no encouragement for extremists to think the path to democratic rule can be blocked by violence's_

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_â\200\234tution*â\200\230over: thÃ© â\200\234coming . yÃ©ars, _and
" thereby. reverse â\200\230tha ANC's few conces-
sionslo federalism,â\200\235 " - -

â\200\234Nor, Wil voters be able to du'eciï¬\202y"

mine,.which: politicians actually serve, -
and have the power to unseat renegades,
. Qver-the; past weeks, several ANC.
- rivals have been flattened, including the
ruling cÃ©lique 1A~ the homeland of
Bophuthatswana. South Africaâ\200\231s ambas-
sador . to. Bophuthatsuana was installed
to runâ\200\231the region, in case' anytody did
not get the message that the central
authorities were in the process of rol*mg
over opponents. -

.The homelands were a segregationist
â\200\234concoetion, of course, and perhaps could
not â\200\230realistically -survive in the post-

apartheid era. But the takeover of
. Bophuthatswans was nonetheless had
news. The running street battles raised
the level of acceptable violence another
notch (the level went up again last week:
when Johannesburg became a war zone
for a day). ;More. importantly, the
takeovers encouraged the notion. prevalent
in many parts of the ANC that the
way to solve regional opposition to its rule
was to send in the army and take over.
Now ANC officials have set their sights on
their main opposition; the Inkatha
in Natal. Over the week-

- Freedom Party
end, the. South African government
heeded the ANC's calls to send troops into
. Natal to pacify the region. Actually, the
- word- ANC leaders used in calling for the
military action was "takeover"
.. "ANC officials- argue that a security.
takeovers necess
- riors have created such an atmosphere of
that a free and fair election
in the region is impossible. This is doubtful. -
less true But it's also the use of ANC
- the votes there just such
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- South Africa's police

" that " Inkatha - leader. %
'Buthelesi has become: dangerous

- popular rebellion in Natal,
strongholds The local warlords
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+ National Party: politicians. (arg hit, even -
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to quell political oppositions
. lead to more violence of the
fold as easily as the whites;
" did In their path we
Bophuthatswana: let us, together
It's commonly said -] M i A

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.noid. We don't presume to know the state
- of Mr. Buthe's mind; but it does seem to
true that some people are out to get him...
choose their representatives. Ballots will be
" be cast for a party. Party elites deter-

Top ANC and communists
cially the Slove recently

Buthe will soon be

history. ANC officials, including

Mandela, have more or less agreed for a
The ANC and
the National Party have handled Inkatha
deplorably, forcing it into corners. The
concessions- so far have been - almost

insulting, so it is hard to expect much

from the current three-way talks,

- The horrific massacres of the past
few years should have persuaded every-

one that these ethnic-differences cannot
be solved by a military offensive and eth-
nic cleansing. The point of democracy is
that the winner does not take all.

Majorities are supposed to respect

- minorities. Power is supposed to be
perserved--among several institutions, so -
that all citizens feel enfranchised, even if
" their party or ethnic group does not occur

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That ANC has been fudging

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principles In the hunt for a
tion, the organization -
whirlwind that should not achieve;
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shown someâ\200\231- encourdging. pmg:ess in
their economic theories, for example..â\200\231
At the moment; the ANC â\200\230Tooks tor be

â\200\230the dominant political force:: Butâ\200\2303ome-

ddy, theâ\200\231 partyâ\200\235 may., spilnter or Yoters
may. rebel. Unfless theâ\200\231 ANC'Sâ\200\231 {edders

â\200\234have visions of & totalitarian state, they
. might _.consider â\200\230the:. possiblilly â\200\230that
â\200\230because Zulu war- .

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ALY TELEERAPH

R PETER EVANS sits at his desk,
a white-haired, pink-faced man in a
. sky-blue safari suit. He runs one of

But there is no staff and no patients.
Dr Evans works alone in his fourth-
floor office, the only person in the

Fishtown in Pietermaritzburg.

The Edendale Hospital, which serves
a town of more than half a million
people, has been emptied, a casualty
of feuding between the two bitter
foes of South African politics.

The wards have a Mary Celeste
appearance. Half-eaten meals lie on
trays and tables. Beds are a jumble
of sheets and blue blankets. Floors
are strewn with linen, pillows and
surgical gloves. Cots, trolleys and

the largest hospitals in South Africa.

eerily-silent building, writes Trevor -

Frightened staff flee
1,645-bed hospital

wheelchairs are jammed in the
entrance. More surgical gloves,
tubes, pillows, towels and dressings
are scattered in the lobby.

The hospital serves the black
township of Edendale, a few miles
from Pietermaritzburg, the capital
of Natal.

It has 1,645 beds, 200 doctors, 1,500
nurses and 1,000 other staff. It
handles 1,000 outpatients a day and
delivers 1,000 babies 2 months. But

the hospital was shut down after
most of the staff, apart from doctors,
walked out last week.

Dr Evans, the hospital's chief:
superintendent, was in his office as
usual yesterday. â\200\234This is a vital
institution and its closure has caused

a lot of suffering. Many of the staff did not want to go. They were intimidated â\200\224 very unhappy at leaving their patients.â\200\235

The hospital is run by the

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government of KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland in Natal, and political base of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. S

Many of the hospital workers are Inkatha loyalists, though some support the ANC. They have also been involved in a long-running pay and conditions dispute with the management. Last week Harey

Gwala, a hardline ANC official,

spoke to them, and an ANC flag was hoisted at the hospital. Next day the staff left.

â\200\234They were frightened out,â\200\235 a local teacher said. â\200\234You can close a hospital by scaring those who work there and make hundreds of innocent people suffer.â\200\235

Mediators e

! A TEAM of international me-

. diators is expected in South Africa this week to try to reach a settlement between the African National Congress

. and the mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party.

But the participation of the team's two leading figures, Lord Carrington and Dr â\200\230Henry Kissinger, was still in doubt last night. Lord Carrington said in London that he would have to be asked to mediate by all parties to the conflict, and so far he had been asked only by Inkatha.

His participation in a mediation team would also depend on the terms of reference and the circumstances.

It is impossible for me to
say what sort of ideas | might

" By Alec Russell In Durban and Robert Shrimmsley

have about what could hap-
pen if [were to go there,â\200\235â\200\235
said Lord Carrington. â\200\234One
has to look at a number of
things, including whether
mediation would be success-

ful, before getting into it.â\200\235â\200\231
... Dr Kissinger's office. in New
York said thatâ\200\234while the for--
. mer US Secretary of State was

honoured to have been asked
to be part of a mediation team,
â\200\234we are waiting for more pre-
cise terms of referenceâ\200\235.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, In-
katha national chairman, had
said earlier that [Lord Car-

rington and Dr Kissinger

would head the delegation. A
joint ANC-Inkatha working
group met outside Johannesburg-

burg to finalise plans for me-
diation. Dr Mdlalose told the
Natal Mercury yesterday
that most of the mediators
would arrive this morning
and hold their first meeting
on Thursday.

He also said that one of

- them, German political sci-
entist Paul Kervenhörster,

had already arrived in South
Africa. Other members of the
team are believed to be con-
stitutional experts from a
number of countries.
Mediation was agreed by
Mr Nelson Mandela, the
ANC leader, and Chief Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi, the In-
katha leader, at a summit
last month as a means of

breaking the deadlock over
the interim constitution. In-
katha is demanding more
powers for regional govern-
ments than are allowed for in
the current draft, which is to
oversee South Africa until a
permanent constitution is

drawn up after the April 26-
.28 elections.

Inkatha also wants guarantees that these powers cannot be overruled by the new government, which is set to be dominated by its bitter rival, the ANC. :

In the past month, the subject of mediation has faded from the public eye as violence has increased in the eastern Natal-KwaZulu

expected to arrive this week |

region. Police said yesterday that since the state of emergency was declared in the region last Thursday, 64 people had been killed.

If the mediation does take place, it will at the very least serve to postpone a potential further escalation of bloodshed between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha, which is boycotting the elections. But Inkatha and the ANC appear to have opposing views of the function of mediators. Inkatha wants their decision to be final.

The ANC is believed initially to have regarded a commitment to mediation as a token gesture. It said yesterday that the outcome should not be binding.

South Africa's Big Risk: Misjudging the Zulus

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

ISANDLWANA, South Africa — From the sphinx-shaped crag that gives this place its name, a vast amphitheater of yellow grass, drenched in blood and history, roils east to a distant horizon.

On a sunny January day in 1879, a British force of 1,800 soldiers on their way to an anticipated easy conquest of Zululand looked up from this plain to see 20,000 Zulu warriors cascading down from the plateau.

The field is still dotted with the graves of the British, buried where they were disemboweled. The mounds of white stones serve as little monuments to the folly of underestimating the Zulus.

As South Africans undertake their own push into

Zulu country, dispatched by President Frederik W. de Klerk with the blessing of his likely successor, Nelson Mandela, the question in many minds is whether the Zulus are being misjudged again.

Will this police action, intended to quell factional violence and protect voters in the country's first post-apartheid election, feed into an attempted conquest of the Zulu royalists, the last major bastion of black resistance to the new South Africa?

And if so, what defiance will they encounter from the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, and his chief minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, men who revel in their martial heritage? How many of their divided subjects will rally to them?

What de Klerk and Mandela believe is that they are just going to drive tanks through the Zulus, said Gertrude Mziya, a leader in Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party but a non-Zulu, 2 hereditary princess of the Basotho tribe.

"They are making a very big mistake," she said. "That is just going to create an England-Race thing that is going to last for centuries."

Not so, countered Zibuse Mlaba, a Zulu chief who supports the African National Congress. He said the ANC, after winning the election, would find a way to settle with the king, and traditional Zulus would follow him into acquiescence.

At the end, he will give in, Chief Mlaba predicted. After the elections, the provincial government will accommodate the king. They will give him observer status and let him sign bills after they are discussed in Parliament. They will set aside some

ZULUS: Dangers for South Africa in Underestimating Their Strength

Continued from Page 1

ange benefits for him, better than -
what he is getting now. It will be
enough.

No tribe in South Africa.

arouses the mixture of fear

romance inspired by the Zulus, the
largest ethnic group, with about 7
million of 40 million South Africans,
and the most nationalistic.

Many Zulus are educated and
urbanized, and many of the most polls
say a majority prefer the ANC to
Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha.

But even Zulus who despise
Chief Buthelezi usually acknowl-
edge some loyalty to the king, and a
strong sense of being Zulu.

It is the only remaining monar-
chy among the dozen or so tribes of
South Africa, and the only tribe
with such an imperial history. King
Shaka, the brutal militarist of the
early 19th century, built the Zulus
by forcible amalgamation of many
powerless clans and tribes into a
war machine that gave nightmares
to both the British and the Boers,

The history of battle is what
unites the Zulus and encourages
them, Chief Mlaba said. "No one
else conquered the British Army.
Although they were beaten later,
they still believe they can maintain
that sense of beating the oncoming

- government, That's their weakness. |
They forget that all this was m-

older days.

Remember the role of Mlaba-

South is a national liberation struggle

"We don't take things easy," he
said. "They jump before looking

into things seriously. It takes time "

to realize their mistake.

2 Muâ\200\230zi, whose husband is
ul ined Jukatha whea
it â\200\230was still-a Zulu cultural move-
ment, agreed: â\200\234They caa lolerate Lo
some extent, but when they arc
angry nothing can stop them. Now
it has reached a stage whete no oae
can stop them.â\200\235

The other thing history has be-
stowed upon most Zulus, she add-
ed, is an altachment to the land.

â\200\234In their communitics there was
nc_:lcr any geed Lo volte,â\200\235 Mrs. Mzizi
said.

To the traditional Zulus, she
said, the most burniag issue is not
podmul freedom or the cight to
vote, nor â\200\230promises of modcra
houses and clinics.

The issue is termitory, which is
held by the tribe and allocated by
the chuef.

â\200\234They believe they arc the only
nation that fought the Britsh and

* the Boers, and so most of the things

ir South Afcica bdong to them,â\200\235
she said. .

When :ucluwds of apanhad de-
wvised 10 black homelands, the one
they created for the Zulus was a
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. domain.

splotchy rash across the formee
British colony called Natal, the
choicest parts of which whitcs kept
(â\200\230cr themselves.

-, On-the ground, (he -boundaries

;ucuumtcd but- uamistakable:
whereves the nduhung pastare

heaves upward into eroded ced hill-

â\200\234sides, wherever the paved road*

tuaus lo gravel, wherever the colo-
nial-style plantations give way to

â\200\230huts and tin-roofed shandies, that is
probably KwaZulu.

The arca north of the Tugela
River, which crosses central Natal,
is moa(ly rural, and, overwhelming-
ly Inkatha. It is the stronghold of
Zulu tradition.

The Zulus could have had their
in the 1970s, when
the South African government
tried to spin off the fledgling home-
lands, -

To Pretoria's fury, Chief Buthe-
lezi, the homelands leader, refused.

The chief, a cousin of the king,
was happy to use the levers of tribal
power, but he aspired to be more

than an ethnic politician. He want-
ed to be a mass liberation
leader, and Inkatha movement
to be a match for the ANC.

In the 1980s the ANC, through a
surrogate called the United Demo-
cratic Front, moved strongly into

Natal, targeting Inkatha. The con-
gress and its allies made many con-
cessions and urban town-

the Xhosa-

educated, but did not penetrate
into the more remote rural areas.
The rivalry was often violent,

-and it hurt Zulu unity.

Zulu unity.

. Although the young people
ANC had little taste for what
they called the demon of tribal-
ism, they won over a number of
Zulu chiefs, men who had fallen
out with the royal family or who
presided in areas near the cities and
saw the inexorable encroachment
of modern times. .

and, in 1994, extended its
reach to the Zulu migrant workers
in the cities and townships around
Johannesburg

Often, Zulus add that despite its
staunch nonracial policies the
ANC frustrates the ambitions of the
Xhosa table, including Mr. Man-
dela.

Xhosas, like the Zulus an off-
shoot of the Nguni peoples who
descended into Natal in the 16th

century dominated along the
coast in eastern Cape region,
because they were the first to en-

counter European missionary edu-

cation, they have been disproportion-
tionalely represcated amoag
liberation leaders.

â\200\234Why do you never write about
: ANC? * Chief

uthelezi snapped during an inter-
view last week, co I:fmng that
lakatha is 5o often ideatificd as a

AS storm clouds gathered over Natal, King Goodwill Zwelethini's insistence on a postponement of the planned discussion with President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela was bitterly condemned by Beeld.

â\200\234The deplorable conclusion,â\200\235 said the newspaper, â\200\230â\200\234is that the will is still lacking and that the power struggle has become more important than the welfare of millions of afflicted people.

â\200\234The attitude of the king and Chief Buthe-lezi is totally unacceptable.â\200\235

An attempt to apply the â\200\234Bop recipeâ\200\235 to kwaZulu could unleash the mother of all conflicts in South Africa, said Beeldâ\200\231s editor, Willie Kiihn, in his personal column.

If the Zulu royal house were destroyed in such a clash, the ANC might be the most spectacular loser.

The ANC could also be the greatest loser yif the elections were cancelled or postponed. It could be accused of treachery and the PAC might suddenly be presented as the new liberator.

Dawie, political commentator of the Nasionale group, said the blood bath in Johannesburg had made the cloud that hung over the peace process and the election darker than ever.

Heading for
a punishing

BEELD'S political columnist, Lood, is convinced that the recalcitrant police generals will } come off second best if they push things too far with President De Klerk.

A little bird had told him that the police heads were going around saying that no one is going to â\200\234mess about with themâ\200\235, said Lood. Their exact words, he had been told, were: i
â\200\234The State President must understand that he is not dealing with the defence force now. He's dealing with the police.â\200\235

But, said the columnist, if the generals took on a battle with the State President and the South African public, white or black, they would lose.

Finansies en Tegniek, the Nasionale

Groupâ\200\231s business journal, said the accusations against the generals fitted perfectly into the situation created by the so-called total onslaught.

High level

of noise

IF the debate between Foreign Minister Pik

Botha and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC conveyed any message to the SABC it must surely be that the participation of rowdy political partisans in an event of this kind is nothing but a hindrance to speakers and viewers alike.

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As the speakers agreed in their final (remarkably genial)

exchange, the interruptions destroyed their concentration

and thus lowered the standard of the debate.

President De Klerk and Mr Mandela, who are to meet in a similar programme on April 14, are far more forceful speakers and far more likely to evoke a high level of noise. Let us hope, therefore, that the SABC will profit by last Mondayâ\200\231s experiment and give the two giants of the political arena a clear run. v

Butheleziâ\200\231s stance is bitterly condemned

"nd erÃ©: The Oscar for inseparable corde-

â\200\224 Fred Mouton in Die Burger Sayings of the Week

O | have a gut feeling that the real intention behind the recent AWB incursion into the Land of the Lost City was the establishment of a volkstaat called â\200\234Bierboephuthatswanaâ\200\235. â\200\224 P MW Tenant, Scottsville, in a letter to the Weekly Mail.

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O Hernus is just a little bit of a river boat gambler. â\200\224 A colleague of the Minister of Law and Order, as quoted in Rapport.

oono

O The ANC is nurturing in its bosom a
whelp of the Soviet tiger. â\200\224 Die Kerk-
bode, official organ of the N G Kerk.

Vote for
the beach

THESE hazardous times certainly seem to
be separating the men from the boys where
commercial enterprise is concerned. Wit-
ness this advertisement in the Sunday
Times:

VOTE IN THE COMORES

At the beautiful Le Galawa Beach Hotel
Election booth located at the hotel!
24-hour CNN news coverage!

THE decision by an Australian rugby union side not to send a team to South Africa could lead to the cancellation of its Topsport Super 10 fixture against Natal.

The Natal Rugby Union yesterday ruled out the possibility of rescheduling the match, due to be played in Durban on April 16, to a venue outside South Africa after the New South Wales Rugby Union expressed

concern that its team's safety could not be guaranteed.

Fears about the violence have not deterred England, which is to go ahead with its tour of South Africa next month.

Mr Louis Luyt, president of the South African Rugby Football Union, said he had received assurances from the English Rugby Union yesterday following the New South Wales decision.

Natal Super10 rugby

â\200\234They (E
coming and t
the same,â\200\235]

In Sydney,
Dick Shaw
reaction an
would stand

After a me
tive yesterd
Parkinson s
Australian

Scholtz spar
legal wrangl

By IAN GAULT

THE departure of talented Nashua Maties centre Christiaan Scholtz to Transvaal has opened a can of worms in Western Province rugby circles because two-year â\200\230â\200\234contractsâ\200\235 were signed.

There is even a chance of litigation.

In the hope of retaining players

in the province and not having them teased away by fat offers elsewhere, Western Province Promotions was set up to help provide jobs and the like in exchange for the players's signatures to stay in WP for two years.

Scholtz was told late last week he was breaking the agreement, but left for Johannesburg yesterday.

The Norwich Western Province Rugby Football Union, as such, will not be involved in any legal action, but if there is to be litigation, it could come from WP Promotions.

Mr Morne du Plessis, a spokesman for WP Promotions. hinted

{

RUGBY REBEL ...
Christiaan Scholtz

there could be litigation, but said there was much to consider before taking such a big step.

Officials are concerned that if the two-year contracts are legally binding, then it is meaningless having them if they can so easily be broken.

Our Johannesburg Correspondent reports that Scholtz attended Transvaal training last night, but is apparently not being con-

sidered for the ma
Otago on Saturday.

Whether he will serve two weeks residential is still a moot point are made to be broken

There was no official statement on the Score but a source close to said there was a 200\230\200\234no could stop Scholtz Transvaal. 200\234Western should know you can such a contract (as they by WP) on an amateur said the source.

Meanwhile, Transvaal Kitch Christie has requested other player 200\224 per Scholtz 200\224 be added to

to play three matches
lia and New Zealand
month.

Transvaal are conf] with the legal skills of t
dent Mr Louis Luyt, anj
with the Scholtz trans
circumvented.

@ Transvaal and
back Chris Dirks is ou
for two weeks after an
on a wart on his foot.

10 die, 100 hurt as bus

A COLLISION between a stationary mini-
bus and a bus returning from the Zionist
gathering at Moria clamed 10 lives yester-
day, helping to push the Easter weekend
traffic death toll to 194.

A least 100 people were injured in the
collision, which closed the Kempton Park
turn-off on the N1 near Pretoria for
several hours.

Â Mr J Theron, 69, of Cape Town, was
killed when two Cape Town cars collided

on the R44 coastal road, a kilometre
side Kleinmond at 7.30am yesterda

Two passengers, Mr J A Wydema
Mr M Visser of Bellville, were tak
Hermanus Hospital where they
treated for cuts and bruises.

Â Later, three people died and se
were injured in a taxi collision on t
to Pietersburg.

Â Five people were killed and 1
jured when a taxi careered out of co

FREETOWN.

announced yesterday.

yesterday.

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o Sihe i e 2

46 Killed in rebel attack

â\200\224 Forty-six people were killed when Sierra Leone rebels attacked the town of Masingbi, 200km east of here, the government

One dead in bomb blast

BILBAO, Spain. â\200\224 A bomb blast killed one person in the city of Bilbao in northern Spain

Russian head
â\200\230not Jewishâ\200\231

MOSCOW. â\200\224 Mr Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party expressed outrage yesterday at reports its ultra-nationalist leader had a Jewish father but changed his name to conceal his origins.

/

S Africa chiefs- set sï¬\201mmit date

By ROSS DUNN,

Moria, Monday, /.Z

The Easter Sunday gathering of the Zion Christian Church prayed for peace, and the political leaders gave them hope.

Standing shoulder to shoulder, smiling for the cameras after the service, were the President, Mr EW. de Klerk, the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

They conferred, and announced they would be holding a summit on Friday with the traditional king of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The meeting will discuss ways to stop the political violence and the Zulu-based Inkatha partyâ\200\231s boycott of this monthâ\200\231s first all-race elections.

LeadÃ©rs fin
By ROSS DUNN,

Moria, Monday

In South Africa, when Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane speaks a million people fall silent. That includes the most powerful political leaders in the country

who gathered before him on Easter Sunday for a service that an-

nually attracts an estimated one |

million of his followers in the Zion Christian Church.

There in the hot dustbowl valley of Moria, 40 kilometres east of Pietersburg, was the sight of thoroughly respectful and orderly masses of men, women and children, some of them robed in

blue and white, others yellow and green, and many more in khaki military uniforms but without a gun in sight.

In a continent known for chaos and violence, Moria must be the setting for the largest, most peaceful and disciplined annual gathering in Africa.

In this sea of humanity, an observer suddenly becomes optimistic that South Africa could indeed be blessed with a peaceful future.

But the reality is that this is an extraordinary event. When the

followers return to their homes"

and work, they are again faced with a violent society.

The church â\200\224 which mixes Christian and traditional African beliefs â\200\224 claims six million members, more than any of the major political parties.

One by one, leaders arrived to pay their respects to the church: the President, Mr E W, de Klerk, the African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the Pan-Africanist Congress president, Mr Clarence Mak-

'tu, the Democratic Party leader; Dr Zach de Beer, the Inde-

ndent Electoral Commission chief, Justice Johann Kriegler, and finally â\200\224 hours later than

Local newspapers were reporting speculation from unnamed Government officials that Mr De Klerk would propose that regional voting be delayed in KwaZulu-Natal to bring Inkatha into the electoral process at a later date.

Mr Richard Carter, a spokesman for Mr De Klerk, said the parties had agreed the venue of the meeting would not be disclosed. This was to avoid the glare of media attention.

The summit follows last weekâ\200\231s explosion of violence in Johannesburg that left more than 50 blacks dead in a day, and the killings in Natal that have left more than 40 dead since Thursday despite the imposition of a state of emergency.

A senior ANC official said the former US Secretary of State Mr Henry Kissinger and the former

British Foreign Secretary {Lord Carrington were due to arrive this week to mediate on peace.

The chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, said today that conditions for free and fair elections in KwaZulu-Natal had improved since the declaration of the emergency.

Speaking on state radio, he said however that cooperation from Chief Buthelezi's KwaZulu Government for the holding of elections had not met expectations.

Reports from Britain say emergency plans are being drafted to airlift up to 350,000 Britons out of South Africa if chaos erupts after the election.

Reports from Lisbon last week said the Portuguese Government had plans to evacuate about 600,000 Portuguese nationals.

d a rare vision of peace

Mr EW. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela meet privately before attending the Zion Christian Church Easter celebration.

the rest of the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Two years ago Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi were allowed to deliver speeches from the same platform at Moria on Easter Sunday. All of them preached peace, and the violence continued unabated.

This year the bishop said they would not be allowed to speak, only listen to what he had to say.

He has endorsed this month's all-race elections, and this may have been bad news for Chief Buthelezi who is boycotting the poll. At the same time, he had praise for all the political leaders. 3

The bishop said he had met all the leaders, and his observations had told him they were all peace-lovers, beyond any doubt. He criticised the ordi-

nary folk of South Africa for not

giving them the support they
needed to end the violence.

Bishop Lekganyane â\200\224 using a
network of speakers to relay his
message throughout the tempo-
rarily densely populated valley
â\200\224 said the country was also on
the brink of violence of â\200\234cata-
strophic proportion ... We have
no option but to join hands in
prayer for the birth of the new
South Africa.

â\200\234Yet I feel that it is not yet too
late to give up hope of achieving
peace, no matter how fragile the
present negotiations are.â\200\235

The bishop told his followers
to approach the ballot box with
tolerance for those who did not
share their political views.

But with violence contiffuing
to rage in Johannesburg and
particularly in Natal, some)i his
final words-this year may|have
had the most relevance for his
followers ahead of the elections.

â\200\234Even if whole armies sur-
round me, I will not be afraid,â\200\235
he said.

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DR pPETER EVANS siLs a0 s desie 4_ ' 5 3 LS 04 8 o : PRV

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the Jargest hospitals 19 South Africa 3 Ã© . |cader of the fokatha Freedom ! '

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Dr Evans works alonÂ¢ in his fourth s o) = e OSpl Many of the hos Jital workers arc

floor office, the only pcraÂ«mi the =3 Inkatha joyalists: though somÂ¢

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closure has caused staff left.

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A TEAM ol \ul.vrrnl'mn.ll e By Alec Ru55c1| In puthan and Roberl Shĩ¬\201mslcy ceglon. Polk
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De/C /gy

Whites begin panic-bu
leaflets spread fear

By Chrlistepher Munnlon In Johannesburg and Hugh Muir

and wide.
spread disruption during the

clection period w
Llamed y2sterda:

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giving rise to sp

s sick jokeÂ@s

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BRITISH expatriatss in
Johannesburg reacted to
reports of an emergesiey air-
li& with a miftur'c of
humour, derision and axnger,
wriles Caristopher Munzion.

Mrs Dlane Goodall, who
lefty Bristol 15 years sgo,
wanted to know if the British
govcrmux_u ~would provide
reeYeturn flights,~ Â@:* 3

â\200\234Tlhis is home for us and we
would certalnly come back
whatever the politics,â\200\235s

Mr. Michse! Gunn, 8
plunjber who moved to
Johahnesburg: frop{â\200\230Man-,
chester seven yedrs'dgo, sald:â\200\235

;sTlâ\200\230u; aly pa?!f tn my house
vhgther United.

the Le{:ag'u'e;â\200\230l 2t T ..)g)'l;l{k...gâ\200\231(gn
. Mrs Brenda Brockley, who

emigrated from Tyneside
with her husband four years
ago, thought the suggestion
was "abit of asle joke"

What do they plan to do
then? Put a million of us in
some refugee camp and set
up soup kitchens?

Nazi AWD has denied any
knowledge of the pamphlets.
The South African govern-
ment and other political par-
ties have also been concerned the
pamphlets. There is no jus-
tification for spreading alarm
and despondency at this
stage in our history, a
government spokesman said.
The pamphlets have been
given fresh impetus by for-
eign reaction to last week's
violence in Johannesburg
and the declaration of a state
of emergency in Natal,

The Foreign Office yester-
day played down a claim by
the South African Broadcast-
ing Corporation (SABC) that
Britain had drafted plans to
airlift 350,000 British citi-
zens from South Africa if

township violence spread.

A spokesman said: "If any-
one wants to leave South
Africa, there are any number
of commercial planes so there
is no need for an evacuation."

It is known, however, that
the Foreign Office is becom-
ing concerned as it monitors
the deteriorating situation,

There is always a likeli-
hood that Britain would be

called upon to help British
citizens if the situation got
out of hand and commercial

flights ceased.

flights ceased. :
If there were no commer-
cial flights and there was a
serious problem for British
nationals, of whom there are a
huge number, we would look
at chartering airlines to bring
them out," said a spokesman, "But
we are not advising anyone to
leave at the moment."'
According to the SABC,
about 1-3 million whites hold

dual British-South African
citizenship ' but..priority. in
2, such an evacuation would be
given to those whose sole
nationality is British". " Â\$
% Lastyweeks fhe radio
â\200\234teported that*lisÂ¥on ;had
similar plans to evacpate
. 600,000 Portuguese nationals
â\200\234ifnecessarys S
On the sporting fronf, an
Australian rugby unionjsids
:,has cancelley gaisif to D&rban
Jafer this*ionty because of
the violence. The Southi Afri.
cans are trying to persuade
English' players that there is
no threat to thelr tour sckd-
uled for May arnd June. !
P A â\200\234featherwght fight
- between Welcome Ngita of
South Africa and Kennedy
McKinney of America has
been switched to an American
venue after violent scenes on
TV rrightencd US orgaplsers.

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Easter summit:

â\200\224

World

21

Compromise plan

on election peace

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 South
African president F.W. de
Klerk is likely to present
Zulu leader Mangosuthu
Buthelezi with a comprom-
ise aimed at bringing him
into the nationâ\200\231s first all-race
elections, a government
source said.

Mr de Klerk is due to meet
Inkatha Freedom Party leader

Chief Buthelezi, African National
Congress leader Nelson Mandela

and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithi-
niin a (Feace summit on Friday.

Asked if the agenda could In-
clude postf)oning regional but not
national voting in Chief
Butheleziâ\200\231s heartland of KwaZulu-
Natal, a government source said
â\200\234all dpo bilities will be consi-
deredâ\200\235.

The move follows the weekend
slaying of nine women and :
including a five-month-old baby,
who were stabbed and hacked to
death in a black rural area south of
Durban.

The mostly ANC victims were

among 43 people killed in KwaZulu-Natal since Mr de Klerk declared a state of emergency there last Thursday.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there would be no distinction between regional and national voting.

In the elections from April 26 voters will be able to cast two ballots - one for the national legislature and one for regional assemblies.

CAPE of good ~"*V*"
hope, Page 15

Tuesday April 5 1934

Investment is up but,
South Africa still hit

by ca

Sanctions have ended and even Mandela |
has called for foreign investors to return, |
but violence and a two-tier exchange-rate |
pose obstacles to an essential component

information
took flight.
Lie international
: movement, however
drods of companies withdrew, !
and banks imposed onerous |
repayment conditions for loans |
to what was a pariah state.
Now, sanctions are off. The
South African government has
a new-found optimism, encourages
aging companies which left in |
the '80s to return in the '90s.
And Nelson Mandela has added
his voice to the call for interna-
tional capitalism to come to the
support of a new democracy. |
The outflow of capital from |
South Africa has not yet
stopped. The end of sanctions
was not enough to convince all
investors that they should
again pile in. The level of crimi-
nal violence ~ let alone politi-
cal violence ~ is a deterrent to
many. (A piece of research by
the London School of Economics
reached the grim conclusion
that there was a statistically
significant correlation between
the numbers of companies an-
nouncing their intention to in-
vest in South Africa and the
| level of violence as measured
" by monthly murders.)
| Violence, too, has a practical
effect. It is very hard to get
double-shift working going
properly in many areas because
of the violence problem, says
the South African finance min-
ister, Derek Koos. So, if you
are using your machinery for
only half the time you would
like to, it affects your
risk-reward ratio directly.
But there are signs that, de-
spite South Africa's continuing
problems ~ problems that
won't disappear with the elec-
tion of the government of

national unity on April 27th â\200\224
forelgn Intercest in investing or
ro-investing In South Africa is
growing, - .
Internal Reserve Bank- fig-
ures show that, in 1932, net in-
vestment in bonds and equities
by foreigners totalled 313 mil-
llon rand (Â£43.5 milllon). In
1993, the total was 4.23 billion

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i ! plant to make television tu
of real growth. Ben Laurance reporis

[January this year, the figure
i was 1.63 billion rand. &
Cf course, that level of infocw

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could disappear again over |
i night f something happened {9 |

. trigger 2 collapse of interna.

i tonal confldence in the now |

| South Africa, But at least it

? points in tha right direction.

{ â\200\234The vetwn of the US so far |
i has been in the form of porTs- !

tllo fnvestmonts,â\200\235 says the
: Reserve Banx govomor, . Dr

i to Lavest malnly in South A%
ica have been â\200\230launcha2d

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{ | Ciwis Stals, â\200\234Three trust funds |

recentiv.â\200\235 But, so far, there has

i been little direct invesument

roni overseas in new venrures.
Plisbury, part of Grang Mfet-
ropolitan, has said that Â\$t wil
sct up a joint venturo to masu-
facture foods. Dacweo of Korea
s tal

{ South â\200\234African group x
; Amerlean about sotting ugfa
oS,

; There are rumours of a deal
tunder which Philip Morrls will
Licepco the'production of Marl-
i boro cigarettes in thg country.

Is there concern about the ap-
! parent hesitation of interna-
tional business to return?
| â\200\234Not really,â\200\235 says Mr Keys.
-"I?eod)le are very canny: they
will do a lot in the way of licens-
ing, franchising, or maybe joint
ventures, Capitalists are cau-
tious, you know.â\200\235 As the fig-
| ures for investment in bonds
{ and shares indicate, there is an
: emerging willingness to com-
mit money to South African in-
dustry. Louis Geldenhuys,
economist with the stock ex-
change broker Firtz Senokal, Moulton
and Kitshoff in Johannesburg,
says: â\200\234There are some good
reasons to be optimistic about
the equities market over the
coming year. The economy
seems to be in the early stages
of an upturn. Commodity prices
â\200\224 and remember, commodities
still account for â\200\230a significant
proportion of South African ex-
port earnings â\200\224 are more likely
to rise than fall. And, generally
speaking, interest rates in
countries which are our major

and, in the single month of

1{.r?]d.pâ\200\230.g partners seem likely to
also, EDES e

klpg.to an offshoot of the -

capital outflow

Using the governmentâ\200\231s eco-

nomics model, the impact of in-
ward investment could be pro-

found, Between
South Africa
1 around 0
country. Over
the years

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in 1985 and 1993,
saw capital of

and leave the
that period, eco-
averaged 1 per

e

Growth

capital outflow could

=20 that alone could

.2 growth rate to

- can't a year, â\200\235 says

And, if there were 0

capital Inflow of

Â¢\$1.5 billion (11 billion) & year;

then you would be looking at
growth of 4 percent a year.

Mr Keys says: â\200\234Foreign in-
vestment is critical because, if
you don't have it, then the bal-
ance of payments constraint
keeps â\202\234propping up. Foreign in-
vestment brings both technol-
ogy and access to markets â\200\235
It is difficult to envisage the
South African economy being
able to generate the growth it
needs from investing domestic
savings, he says. The personal
savings ratio is, in the blunt
language of Mr Keys, â\200\234bugger
all â\200\224 2 per cent or something â\200\231.

| Both the Finance Ministry
â\200\230and the Reserve Bank would
like to see the abolition of South
Africa's two-tier exchange rate
system. The commercial rand
(5.2 to the pound) is used for
everyday trade and the pay-
ment of dividends; the financial
â\200\230rand (7.2 to the pound) covers
capital transactions by over-
seas investors.

But Dr Salsburies believes that
three conditions would have to
be fulfilled before the financial
rand system could be abolished.

| Overseas investors hold around
4 billion financial rand on
deposit.

â\200\234We don't really yet know
" what investors will want to do
| with their money in the now
in South Africa, he says, â\200\234but we
are pretty sure that those
people with 4 billion rand on

deposits will want to take it out,

of the country. It is difficult to
| see how we can abolish the sys-
tem when there is still that
overhang.

â\200\234And, as long as there is that
. overhang, it is difficult to get

the two exchange rates close to each other for a sustained period. Outside observers believe that the Reserve Bank would want to see the financial rate at a discount of less than 10 per cent to the main currency for at least three months before it was prepared to act.

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Derek Keys, ce mlnister:
Capitalists are cautious.

If it came below 10 per cent, it would give you more courage to take the plunge, says Dr Stas. Finally, the Reserve Bank would like to be able to build up its foreign exchange reserves to a level where it would know that it could deal comfortably with any foreseeable hiccup. If we were to abolish the financial rate and then had to reintroduce it, we would have lost forever, says Dr Stas.

One of the ironies of South Africa's balance of payments problem during the past

years is that although it has paid a huge price in terms of unemployment, falls in real GDP per capita, and low growth, it is now a country with relatively low foreign liabilities. In 1985, we had about \$25 billion of foreign debt and it has been reduced to less than \$15 billion now, says Dr Stas. Not that anyone would object to those liabilities rising if they brought new investment. Technically, only around 83 per cent of the labour force is in paid employment. Some of the remaining 17 per cent operates in the black market. One estimate suggests that this so-called informal sector could account for perhaps 20 per cent or more of the labour force.

But, as Dr Stas points out: in terms of contribution to GDP, it is much smaller. You have to have a lot of vendors sitting on street corners selling fruit, vegetables, clothes and so on to replace one gold mine. In terms of value added, the informal

mal sactor 18 much smaller.â\200\235

lf the new South Africa wers
to attract frash investmeant
from overseas, and the number
of stroot vendors were to fall as
they fcund jobs in factorioes, fow

would complaln.

Li

Stanley Uys »

F almost 7 million people
cannot live together in
South Africa. why not let
them live apart? Partition
the country, draw new
boundary lines, keep them from
sach other's throats. Even, if
necessary. give Natal to Chisel
Mangosuthu Buthe. As Uys
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e x...~l...\$f...s are und: ng thair
wazshungs again Either before
0' polling. they say. thin
nil 'a;i apar:, the centoe »
'x"' held. Better 20 go back rig
acw ict the draaing b(.al'A

Over the years. part:uc-' \ nas
sivs proponents.
traaâ\200\231lsc. zrticles â\200\224 al
ve surfaced.iand thes
opped from sight. Maar
South mâ\200\230.icans have been
cted \'ag.lcw bty the apparz
u"}::hutv of Far rtition, 't
t=ought that small can be bezu-
tj:-â\200\230l that sxiils and resources.
kumas as well 23 natural. can
cc.m- for morz than size Bot
bit by bit. the arguments have
tween v*ou'd dowT.

The biggest tirtiton expar-
ment of all was the 19 biacxk
b-mâ\200\224e.and: crezied by the

Ur Hendrik Versoerd in 1RE.
C""â\200\230â\200\234aâ\200\230 to th= concept was taat
gvery Afncan would be sÂ»
phenad cclsâ\200\230_itu:io'lau,f, not
necessarily phssically, cut *r
the whitesâ\200\231 p-â\200\230-L:xcaJ tnstwc
tions. ang gvea citizenship in
h:s own ethnic homeland. He
would then nevar bother the
whites again, except of course
te work tor them. The home-
jands never got <ff the ground
Only four everntually accepted
what was called â\200\234indenpen-
denceâ\200\235 but what should have
been â\200\234partitionâ\204¢ â\200\224 the T3VC
states: Transkel, Bophuthals-
wana, Venda and Ciskel Treir
citizens {otal 7,5635.5%0.

The remairing six homelands
(Lebowa. Gazankulu, KwaNds-
beie. KaNgwane, Lwa-Qwa and,
ÂYes, to its credit. RwaZulu) pre

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ferred to be_come â\200\234self-govern-
ing.â\200\235 Their citizens total

11.671.804. A decisive majority
of Africans, therefore. never ac-
cepted â\200\234independence.â\200\235 They
wanted to remain part of Seuth
Africa and its riches.

The partition experiment was
a disaster. Over the years, most
of thc homelands have foun-
dered in cconcmic stagnation,
corruption, dictatorial rule and
political unrest. Pretoria kept
them afleat: in 139192, direct
transfers from the South Afri-
can government made up about
two-thirds of budgsted revenue
of the four *â\200\230independentâ\200\235
TBVC states.

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LR ARD AT â\200\224

iving wi

Chief{ Butheleziâ\200\231's cdemands
for Natal, if not secession, am
something suspiciously BK2 1,
while King Goodwill Zwelition:,
taking his cue from his uncle.
s:milarly goes over the top. Un-
penially demanding a monar-
chy over the whole of Natal. in-
clading KwaZulu. Actually, bz
aom'd be modestly accomm

dated here, because (e monar-
kv at best would b
ceremonial.

At a pwnch, Natal
cailv nught ;Jm o

zr enfeebied efort as ;

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Â£ it were not for the wicon
. able fact that tna majorit

IPPERY

x-,r polis show thal. wi
zside. more Zulus suZpoTt =
ANC than supr:or' Butheleziâ\200\231s
inkatha. anc that 5â\200\224â\200\230. per cent o

Zulus province-wide want =
. vote in the elections, in sgite 7
;I their leadersâ\200\235 directive to them

o toycott the ballot.

This is the first time in thair
. Yives that they will be abie

vote on the same rojl as whites.
;and they want to etp""'xv..
{what an vhury electon is bk
Buthelezi's call for a boycott. i
quote most commentaters, has
oewn a â\200\234monumentai Siunder.â\200\235

As for the Afrikarers, them
is turmoil among them Cver
â\200\234self- determination.â\200\235 About
half of the 2.8 million Afrixa-
ners probably will vote for =
Klerk. â\200\231Iâ\200\230m: rest are further oo
vided = botween General Coc-
stand Â¥ajoen's Freedom Froct
(Â¥F), which wants o secure &
volkstaet constitutionalls
through Participation in the
elections, Land the remainder
wifp arc boycotting the elsc
tiens and are not averse D
extra-parliamentary actien:
some 24 Conservative Parmy
members of parliarcent. t'ne d'tâ\200\224
credited Afrikaner Resistars
Movement (AWB), and an as:
sortiment of para-military anc
fringe groups. This extremist

nr'mwmgforcexsnolh..ht_~ â\200\230
be dismissed though.

The JRA has shown whz
havoc a few hundred dunr-
mincd men can cause. Toe
problem for the new hem2
! landers is that, search as they

mizhi. they cannot find a singte |
ma"l Aesial district in South Al Â¢
rica in which blacks do notous-
numbier whites. So. if @ eoit
stoad is proclaimed anywhere.
the nwon'Â» black populatior
will have so come under Afrika-
ner hege â\200\230mom.

Nelson Mandela is willing 9
go sunie way towards accom-m:â\200\224
dating a olkstaat, but not 2
sovercizn one and not one in
which apartheid reappears. Toe
homelanders. hopefully. say
they ik they can get aroun 1.
these |)uâ\200\230|\1L.â\200\230lâ\200\230)~ by drawing 8â\200\231
rols o in which Afrikaness
will b 3n the majority, hut (k2

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r-ick has stiil tÂ¢ e performed
12 is no surprse that the â\200\224Â«.fr;
Laner right-wing has a: oided
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ca's surface 19 and:=1Z:per
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Afrikaners. @

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L uf Afrikaners will bve out-
s jâ\200\224* it. ln a diaspora. Svminll-
czilv, this might Be reassuring

t m practice the p{ecrs of t
Jizsaw justdgnâ\200\231

Probably. the oist Afrikacers
czn hope for 15 19 create little
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anpe Free Stae. where th
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experieiiice of national-
when a o/ cannct se-
palitical â\200\234self-determina-
lt goes cultural

The dice are loaded teco
l2avily agains: partidon in
South Africa. }orcne thing. un-
acceptable population move-
mems would be necessary. Fer

nother, partition is associated
L"n apartheid and the home-
ja*ds. and vppxsing partition
has become synoncmous m'.h
onposing aparâ\200\231..ed Blacks cen
sized to the outreaches of
homelands wantad to return to
the core. and post-clection this
derec if anything will acceler

2:ncdns are lcoking tor thair
real destiny â\200\224 in a commen
| economy.

| Formal parâ\200\230.mO'\ has Âçz-
i curied only in pred"rur::a" â\200\231
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agricultural societles lixe In
i Paiistan- ::Â«_..g,adrx'm ang Palss-
5ne. In Africa. the prebiem has
Teen the meagre dimensions <f
so many of its sTugding stat=
â\200\224 the t r" Togos. Benins, Dy:-
tcutis. As those two percepc~<
-).mr_l scientists, Hemb:rt
23am anc Kogila Mood

saint cut. political 1..caâ\200\224v-'
dence in an industrial setting
thwarted by economic
mâ\200\230erdependence:Â».

* further-

Some of the author's
thoughts are illuminating "Par
dison is possible solution for
country's race relations. be-
cause ethnicity in South Africa;..w

cannot be territorialised.â\200\235

-Jâ«_â\200\230 the centrifugal force:-e):"r

. aim in the rest of the world.
-further forces in South Africa
" can bind the antagonistic sides-
! merge into a common state
And â\200\234South Africans cannot
Zimbabwe each other through
union without destroying their
source of wealth.â\200\235

Africa, for example, 272

3.8 per cent of the population.

%whites 13.1 per cent, Coloureds:
86per cent and Asians 23.
South Africa cannot be split up

in these proportions. because?
r_frica.fxs and Whites prominently
are scattered across 152
country, and also because of
if. say, some Whites and Col-
oureds in the Western '...;e
would like to cut admit and set

up their own state, nothing
remotely approaching a consen-
sus is possible.

Certainly, ANC supporters â\200\224
and they number at least 62
cent of the electorate â\200\224 do not
want a homeland. Like all nationsâ\200\231%'
regimes in Africa, they are
insisting for strong central govern-

ment. because they believe that
| tasks they will face will require
a strong central control.

For minorities (Whites. Col-
oureds, Indians) the answer
- seems to lie in federalism. and

this is the likely direction of
the future South African minority
in politics. Woe betide the government
that does not consider this

the federal factor in post-apartheid
politics. But federalism will not

be the precursor of partition. It

is purpose will be to preempt it

SA opt

AST opinion polls So
s will see before the

Mariental Congress

ctory but is lusing

ing which
voting, 28 April. The concern is nat
ta influence the result unfairly

The Johannesburg Sunday
found that ANC support
dropped from 65.9 per cent in
November to 56.5 per cent last month.
The National Party had grown
14.5 per cent to 19.9 and the white
right, which has splintered in

the last few weeks, had dropped from
24.8 per cent to 19.9.

In a separate poll conducted
the Durban-based Institute for
Multi-Party Democracy under the
auspices of the Oxford Academic
long-time Inkatha devotee R
Johnson, it emerged that even if
Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe:
Mandela, had decided to join the elec-
tions he would have struggled badly
against the ANC in his own Zululand
heartland of Natal/KwaZulu.

While ANC support remains
more or less constant in the prov-
ince at a shade over 50 per cent
Inkatha's had dropped from 32.7
to 24.8 per cent since November. The
National Party, whose provincial
support has grown from 9.5 to 19.9
per cent, has been the main benef-
iciary of Buthe's decision not to
join the elections. The im-
portance of the poll is that it

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ion polls say
ANC is assured of
electoral victory

JOHN CARLIN

in Johannesburg

RKwaZulu will
realign after
Despite C
ulu king Good

the Zulu :

port for Inkatha u:
which was high in N
virtually ceased to exist.

The polls reinforce the wide-
spread perception that the main rea-
son Chief Buthelezi is boycot-
ting the elections, indeed is trying
to hold the entire democratic process
to ransom with the threat of
war, is his difficulty with the no-
tion of becoming an opposition
politician.

As to the reason why the ANC is
shedding some of its vote, it appears
to be due to the decision taken col-
lectively by the ANC and the gov-
ernment to introduce a double bal-
lot system for the national and
provincial parliaments. Some voters
now seem disposed to hedging their
bets and splitting their votes on
polling day.

If the results of the Sunday Times
national poll hold firm then four
of the 231 ministers would accompany 2
vice-president F W de Klerk in the
cabinet of the coalition government
of national unity that will rule
South Africa for the first five years
after the election.

While most of the country, as the
polls now conclusively show, would
like nothing more than to get on

with the business of holding free
and fair elections, the refusal of
Chief Buthelezi to heed the popular
will has led to continuing tension
between Inkatha and ANC support-
ers in the Zulu townships. The dec-
laration of a state of emergency last
Thursday in Natal/KwaZulu has i

minished the number of violeat
hnoints, according to the polics,
s had litile irapact on the
ate, which yesterday climzed
or the last five days.
pes for peace were balstersd
dav by news of the imminzo:
ival in South Africa of the former
secretary of state Henry Kissiz-
ger and Britain's former foreizn sac-
retary Lord Carrington, on a media-
tion mission.

A senior ANC official, who did
not wish to idsntified, said talks be-
tween the ANC and Iakatha would
take place over the next few days Â©Â¢
prepare the ground for the mediz-
tors' arrival.

â\200\234My understanding is that Kis-
singer and Carrington ... will az-
rive this wesk,â\200\235 said the ANC off-
cial, adding that the mediatorsâ\200\231
recommendations would not be
binding. â\200\234They will be here to ms-
diute, not to arbicrate,â\200\235 he said.

Specaking in the United Sates,
Mr Kissinger said he was honoured
to be asked lo mediate. â\200\234I am wait-
ing for more precise terms of refe:-
enec and the high-level meeting be-
tween the parties which is taking
place on Friday,â\200\235 he said.

Today Inkatha is due to held 2
march in the northern Natal town
of Empangeni. [tis expected to pro-
vide a stiff test of the ability and re-
solve of the army, deployed in nuzm-
bers in the province followin
imposition of the state of eme:-
gency, to conrain the kitlings.

A0t B B O R oâ\204¢, T

Pass Notes

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mericaâ\200\231s covernt
of Cambodia and rajearionofa
similiar peace accord faHT years
earlier, thereby aliowisg 135,000
Amerjcans to die tn the interven.
ing partod? Well. yes. Very peaceful

: Â¢ Â¢ (L " -t . s

Did he not envisage â\200\234limited nuclear war 7Ly ic a paint. but hie qin g
(s Nobal Peace Prize. iig tried to give it back when Sazon {ell to the
COMIMUIIZTS TWO Yeidrls & the peace. They woulc it and anyw

brought about tha 1873 sefire besween Egypt and Israet and "shuttie

But when Jerusalem and Damascus before the peace deal in 1974,

In effect making the Middle East war inevitable? Possibly, but he could peacefully persuade President Carter to let the Shalafistan into the LS Resulting in the seizure of the American Embassy in Tehran? Perhaps, but helped Rhodesia become Zimbabwe.

I thought that was Lord Carrington? Him too. In fact he is also expected to go to South Africa to mediate.

Poor old Super-K will probably need some help politics? Yes, he didn't exactly go out in a blaze of glory either what with all that Nixon had been up to (remember Watergate?). But he's kept his influence as an unofficial adviser to Bush during the Gulf war. A dab hand at the unofficial is he? He is bit of a paragon. Everything on paper will be used against me. Even now? Yes. He will only give spokesmen to be based Kissinger Associates whence he serves up his return for around \$7.5 million a year. — China Ventures, the business he has just founded, wouldn't interfere with his impartiality, would it? Not at all. He simply has affinity with the Chinese after having negotiated a detente with them under Nixon.

A pretty powerful bloke in his day, then? "Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac."

After 17 years out of

about paper

in Washington.

of wisdom in

Most likely to say: The nice thing about being a celebrity is that when you bore people, they think that it's their fault. Least likely to say: Just let them fight it out and wear themselves out.

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Debt that
Prefosiad-,
â\200\230must payâ\200\231

EVEN as South Africaâ\200\231s army is
lauded for its peace-keeping role
in the strife-torn â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235 a
newly published book contains a
reminder of its role during the
1970s in turning Mozambique and
Angola into â\200\234killing fieldsâ\200\235, writes
Benjamin Pogrund. The army
spearheaded South Africaâ\200\231s policy
of regional destabilisation.

Barry Munslow, of the School of
Politics and Communication at
the University of Liverpool, says
the people of these two countries
suffered more than anyone from
the struggle against apartheid,
even compared with the black peo-
ple of South Africa itself.

South Africa owes Mozambique
and Angola an â\200\234enormous moral
debtâ\200\235 and the new democratic gov-
ernment to be elected this month
must make â\200\234every effortâ\200\235 to com-
pensate them for â\200\234the intolerable
burden that they have carried for
volunteering to be the rear base
for the anti-apartheid struggleâ\200\235.

Mr Munslow is among 17 ex-
perts who discussed sustainable
development in post-apartheid
South Africa at a conference at the
School of Development Studies at
the University of East Anglia.
Their papers are now published in
a book*, covering issues including
jobs creation, energy, the courts,
health, the media and education.

South Africa undoubtedly faces

profound economic problems, Mr
Munslow says. But comparison of
the GNP per capita figures of
\$2,500 (£1,700) for South Africa
and \$80 for Mozambique shows
the huge regional disparities in
standards of living, even allowing
for the gross inequalities within
South Africa. He says the experi-
ences of seeking peace in Angola
and Mozambique can be applied
to South Africa.

* Sustainable Development for a Demo-
cratic South Africa, edited by Ken
Cole and published by Kegan Paul
Publications Ltd, London.

IF YOU have relatives
in South Africa, you'd
better get the spare
bedroom ready.
Because any day
now they will be
knocking on your
front door.

Nelson Mandela and
his Communist ANC
pgangsters plan to dis-
mantle the Zulu nation
because the Zulus like
the whites and the
whites respect the
Zulus

Bleak

And if that happens, the
future for white folk living
in South Africa is prellly
damn blealc

Within weeks, the ANC
s banking on being the
new blac mastess of
South Africa, The coun-
try's last white President,
Fyederik De Klerk, will go
down in history as the

_half-wit who gave away
his country.

The pavements: of

Johannesburg, Durban

DAILY STAR, Tuesday, April 5, 1994

ITGHEN

PARTNERS IN CRIME: Mandela and De Klerk

and Cape Town are
already streaked with
ibal blood.

And cven the diots on
the Nobel Prize Commit-
tce must be wondering
how they ever came to
chonse the dupe De Klerk
and rat-cunning Mandela
for the Peace I'mize. World

â\200\224 s â\200\224 â\200\224 o e

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ieaders, liberal do-gaoders,
hord-rosed busmessmen
and blecding-heart news-
papers have swallowed the
Mandela myth loy years.
Scheol children have
been dinwashed about
how Genlle-Jesus-Man-
dela was jailed for 27 years
sirply tor specaking out

against aparthewd. Hor-

seshilâ\200\231 Mandela was jsiled
because he planned to
bathe bis country m blood
and turn it into 2 one-party
Marxist slale.

Now he's within spitting
distance of his Communst
dream.

And_the world is begin-
ning to cotlon on.

Fven The Sunday Tirnes,
a newspaper much given
io Mandela humbuggery,
has suddenly discovered
whatâ\200\231s happening in South
Alrica.

SanctHions

The only way o stop
Marxism in South Africa is
for the world to whimper
the word â\200\234sanctnnsâ\200\235 in
Mandela's ear.

And cut off all add unless
he stops pumshing the
Zulus and slarts paywng
more than hp service o
democracy

if we don't, Mandcla and
the ANMC will destsoy the
mosl prosperous country
i Afvica.

And how many Britens
will be among those who
teft it too late fo make
their last run for home?

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C, IFP dismiss p()]] delay

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Summit: Confusion reigns over foreign mediators

A GOVERNMENT pro-
. posal to postpone elec-
tions In KwaZulu and
Natal to be tabled at
the leadersâ\200\231 summit on
Friday has already Deen
given the cold shoulder
by the ANC and IFP.

A senlor government s gurce
said President De Klerk
| would suggest that a pravi-

sion in the interim constitu-
tion for the postponement of
provigglal elections should be
invokee when he meets [FP
leader Mangosuthu Buthe laz,
ANC president Nelson Man-
zZulu king Goodwill

n Fnday

dela anc

2 walethir
Lwele

However, ANC spokesman
Carl Nlehaus sad lt was un-
likely the ANC would bend on
its position that the elections
| could not be postponed. A

sentor Inkatha source said the
a} problerns in hoiding
usrate poll would provb-

By Donwald Prassly
Palitica! Reporter

ably count that option out.

The four leaders are sched-
uled to discuss the canstl-
tutional position of the King,
violence in KwaZulu and Nat-
al and the hotding of elections
under the state of emergency.

ANC southern Natal
spokesman Dumisani Mak-
haye seid â\200\234neither Mr Nelson
Mandela nor Jesus Christâ\200\235
would be able to stave off the
anger of the people If the poil

was delayed

Meanwhile, IFP and ANC negotiators, including Dr Bea Ngubane, Dr Frank Madlalose, and Mr Walter Felgate, were meeting at the World Trade Centre yesterday to plan ahead for Thursday's talks.

The talks are aimed at reaching an accord on constitutional disagreements be-

tween the IFP and ANC.

Mr Ntehaus stressed that any breakthroughs could only be formalised (in the constitution after the election and it seemed impossible a way would be found for Inkatha to participate in the election.

Confusion, meanwhile, continued to reign over the talks, with one of the proposed mediators, former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, denying he had ever been invited to mediate.

Another mediator, Prof Paul Kevenhorster of the Hans Ceigel Foundation, was recalled by the Dutch government at the weekend after he announced the interim constitution was not federal.

Former United States secretary of state Dr Henry Kissinger said yesterday he would be honoured to take part. Appointed by President F.W. de Klerk, 18 Pongole Street, Durban

See also Page 3

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Mediators arrive this week

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Former U S
secretary of state Henry Klssinger
and British ex-foreign ecreta
Lord Carrington are due in Sout
Africa this week to mediate [n the
constitutional impasse between
the ANC and Lhe Inkatha Freedom
Farty, an ANC official seid vester-
day

â\200\234My understanding is that Kiss.
inger and Carrington . will arrive
this week " said the senior African
National Congress official, who did

not wish to be {dentified,

He said (he ANC and the Inkatha
Freedom Party will meel for pretn-
ratory talks in the next few days be

fore the arrival of the medialors.
who will Include an as yet unidenti.

fied German stalesman

The officlal said the medistors
recommendations will not be bind-

Ing

â\200\234They will be here to mediate,

notto arbitrate," he said

â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter,

B e e~ U N U) AL

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NEws

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JOHANNESBURG --The In-
dependent Electoral Cornmis-

slon has been Investigating
the logistical Implications of
delaying |the Natal poll, con-
cluding that it would be diffi-
cult but pot impossible

But several political
sources have downplayed

speculation that the Natat
poll could be delayed as part
of the summit between the

Natal poll delay â\200\230difficult but no

Palitical Staff

government, the ANC, the
IFP and Zulu king Goodwili
Zwelithini due to be held on
Friday.

A government Spokesman
sald the agenda for Friday's
discussion would include
measures that would result In
Inkatha participating in the

process.

But the government, had no
pre-planned suggestion that
would include a delay to the
poll in Natal and it was un-
Hkely that this would be
agreed on by all parties, the
spokesman satd. ;

An IEC spokesman con-
firmed that the commigsion
had the power to declare the
poll null and vold In any or all

t impossibleâ\200\231

parts of the country and could
call for the election to be held
again. | [

If the election were to be de-
clared not free and fair, fresh
electlons would have to take
place within 90 days if a single
Province was inyolved and
within 12 months if the entire
election was nullified.

1Repart by T Cohan, 11 Disgonat Straat
Joheannshurg)

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71 R WORLD NEWS

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De Klerk compromise aims to bring Zulus into election

SOUTH African political leaders are to hold a summit on the country's endemic violence this week, at which the President, Mr De Klerk,

leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with a compromise aimed at bringing him into the country's first all-race elections.

Putting aside their differences, Mr De Klerk, the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Chief Buthelezi, who leads the Inkatha Freedom Party, descended on Sunday on Zion City, Morija, in the Transvaal, to share a platform before two million religious worshippers.

It was then revealed that the long-awaited summit, which will include Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, would be held on Friday.

The three leaders were brought together for the

~ 'Easter Sunday rally by the

head of South Africa's all-

Church, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

Mr Mandela exchanged courtesies with Mr De Klerk and chatted amiably in a public show of unity. When Chief Buthelezi arrived, two hours late, he moved along the front row shaking hands with each leader.

Addressing the crowd, Bishop Lekganyene appealed for an end to the violence plaguing the country and pleaded for tolerance towards different political factions.

He called for unity among his followers and asked them to pray for the country's political leaders at this difficult time to enable them to find solutions to the country's problems.

Both ANC and Inkatha sup-

: : porters were blamed for the

e - : : - ; e i savage attacks at the week-

*'Mr Mandela, left, Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi at a rare get-together before two million worshippers at the weekend â\200\224 Reuters picture â\200\230end that left 40 dead in

is likely to present Zulu

" 'black Zion Christian -

By correspondents in Zion City, Nakulu and Johannesburg

Natal province alone.

A government source, asked

yesterday if the agenda could include a postponement of regional but not national voting in Chief Buthelezi's heartland of KwaZulu-Natal, replied: â\200\234All possibilities will be considered.â\200\235

But ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus quickly poured cold water on the idea. '

â\200\234There is not going to be a distinction between regional and national voting. Both will go ahead as planned,â\200\235 he said. o

In the April 26-28 elections, voters can cast two ballots â\200\224 one for the national legislature and one for regional assemblies.

Chief Buthelezi has said he will boycott the poll unless, among other demands, voting is postponed for â\200\234a month or twoâ\200\235 to allow Inkatha time to campaign.

Sources close to negotiations between the Government, the ANC and Inkatha said any delay in regional voting, if agreed at the peace summit, would have to be short.

On Sunday one woman was killed and another wounded

in the Inkatha stronghold of ... Bhambayi, on the outskirts -

of Durban, when ANC gunmen fired into a group of women praying for peace at the foot of the Easter cross.

But the violence was worst in the rural areas where hit squad attacks.

Late last night police said a white gunman firing from a car killed a girl and wounded an elderly woman in what appeared to be a racial attack on black farm workers near Wesselsbron in Orange Free State. :

The Times, Reuters

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