Gloom returns as **ANC-Zulu summit** fails to end conflict

By R.W. JOHNSON in Durban

THE euphoria of last week's peace "summit" between the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and rival Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been fol-Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been fol-lowed by a return to pessimism about the chances of conflict be-tween the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party being solved by per-

Freedom Party being solved by personal diplomacy.

Pessimism is compounded not only by the weekend massacre of 11 ANC supporters near Durban in Natal, but also by the failure of the black homeland Bophuthatswana to register for April's election and the decision of the white right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront to reverse Friday's registration by its leader, General Constand Viljoen.

Inkatha also registered at the 11th hour on Friday — on the condition

Constand Viljoen.

Inkatha also registered at the 11th hour on Friday — on the condition there is "international mediation" on constitutional amendments.

It is difficult to see what Chief Buthelezi's concession amounts to. His "provisional registration" implies no promise that Inkatha's boycott will actually be reversed.

Both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi have been under intense Anglo-American pressure, so talk of international mediation only means more of what has been going on.

Chief Buthelezi has always promised freedom of political campaigning within the KwaZulu homeland.

This seems highly improbable. Whatever Chief Buthelezi says, ANC campaigners enter Inkatha strongholds at risk to their lives.

Meanwhile, there has been no letup in the intense ANC pressure against Inkatha members in Rand townships.

It is hard to discern what the ANC

against Inkatha members in Rand townships.

It is hard to discern what the ANC offered Chief Buthelezi. He has denied reports he was offered a vice-presidency or even a Cabinet post.

Mr Mandela is, in any case, severely constrained in what he can offer. Some within the ANC leadership have begun to feel, belatedly, that the ANC's position is strong enough for it to be able to afford a degree of generosity towards Chief Buthelezi, but the leadership will veto any concession which gives him real leverage. real leverage.

Yet it is only by acquiring such leverage that Chief Buthelezi will

feel secure.

Already his reiteration of the demand for a separate Zulu kingdom has caused settlement hopes to dim but the demand symbolises the degree of security he requires.

In fact, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had complicated agendas to jurgle at their meeting. feel secure.

In fact, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had complicated agendas to juggle at their meeting.

They were under immense diplomatic and domestic pressure to hold such a summit and both wanted to appear reasonable, to avoid blame for the failure of a deal.

Both also had to deal with divisions within their own ranks. Mr Mandela's nominee as the head of the Natal ANC, Mr Jacob Zuma, seems disposed to accept the idea of a constitutional Zulu monarchy while the erstwhile Natal ANC leader, Mr Harry Gwala, has indignantly rejected such a notion.

Mr Zuma is conscious of King Goodwill Zwelithini's enormous popular appeal to ordinary Zulus, but Mr Gwala also speaks for many.

Similarly, Chief Buthelezi has to keep in check those Inkatha elements who favour electoral participation.

Had he simply announced an electoral

pation.

Had he simply announced an election boycott three months ago, these elements would have launched a breakaway. As it is, the strategy of protracted talks has forced them to stay on board until it is too late for such a venture.

Much the same is true for Chief

Right urged to take part in election

PIETERSBURG, South Africa: The leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, repeated yesterday that he would go down on his knees to persuade those boycotting South Africa's first all-race election in April to take part.

Mr Mandela, speaking hours after gunmen killed 11 blacks in an ANC section of the Bhambayi shack settlement outside the Natal province port of Durban, called for extra registration time to enable all white and black right-wingers to sign on.

to sign on.
"I am prepared to go down on my knees to ensure there is peace in this country," Mr Mandela told a campaign raily in the northern Transvaal town of Pietersburg.
The ANC suggested the Inkatha Freedom Party was responsible for the attack by about 20 gunmen and said such massacres were the worst possible intimidation.
"The massacre was allegedly per-

worst possible intimidation.

"The massacre was allegedly perpetrated by the IFP," a statement said. "There can be no talk of freedom of political activity while (massacres) continue and the guilty persons are not apprehended... the killers and selfish spoilers must be isolated and defeated once and for all at the ballot box."

Mr Mandela said there would be no peace if some players remained outside the electoral process. "I am prepared to talk to those who have refused to register... We must develop absolute patience and the ability to understand the fears of others."

fears of others

fears of others."
He said he would urge the Independent Election Commission to extend the election registration deadline, which expired at midnight on Friday, so as many parties as possible could take part. "As far as registration is concerned, there should be no dead-shoes. Even after Friday night, we should still be prepared to extend the registration date," he said. Most major groups have signed up

the registration date," he said.
Most major groups have signed up
for the election from April 26 to 28,
but not the Afrikaner Volksfront
(AVF) or the Bophuthatswans
black homeland.
AVF co-leader General Constand
Viljoen registered on Friday "to
keep our options open", but the
full AVF leadership voted on Sunday to withdraw the registration.

Reuters

Buthelezi's allies in the Freedom Al-liance, the Afrikaner Right and the Bophuthatswana homeland. For all

Bophuthatswana homeland. For all these groups, the Rublcon was probably crossed some while back.
Logic suggests, then, that the Mandela-Buthelezi deal will turn out to be no deal at all.
What doubt remains exists largely because no one can be quite sure what the old Mandela charisma may have achieved.

If his movement would allow it, Mr Mandela is probably of a mind to bestow all that Chief Buthelezi wahts. But the more impersonal logic of the entrenched Inkatha-ANC feud runs so deep and strong that it would take a brave man to argue that it will not prevail.

The Times

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PORT ELIZABETH-The Freedom Front will contest the April elections.

The front, registered by Gen Constand Viljoen minutes before the cut-off date of midnight on Friday, will submit lists of candidates before tomorrow's deadline—thereby almost certainly precipitating a split in the right-wing.

And in another development yesterday It was trained that Prof Carel Boshoff, leader of the Airliance Freedom Foundation and son-in-law of Dr H F Ver-woerd, had joined the group who will contest the election.

The decision to go shead and hulfil requirements to contest the poll followed yet another dramatic day which began with a group of Conservative Party MPs and the

Political Staff

generals meeting secretly to make

a final decision on participation.

It was decided that hardliners should be approached again in a final attempt to prevent a split in right wing ranks.

rigid wing ranks.

Late fast night, the meating was apparently still in session.

But OP leader Ferdt Hartzenberg has made it clear be will not participate and he has the backing of a majority of volksrand niembers who voled on Saturday sealest naticipation. against participation.

The decision by the breakaway group leaves them with a heotic race against time to finalise their candidates list by lomorrow.

It is understood the front will not field a full list of candidates, but will put in enough maines to

cover the percentage of the vote it

The decision by the group to go ahead will mean they will either guit the OP or be expelled for going against party policy

And it will set the scene for an other bitter Afrikaner twis, with feelings already running high.

The pro-participationists, how ever, have no regrets about the de-cision and are adamant that what they are doing is right "for our people".

They argue that the only way to achieve a volkstant is by negotia-tion and that any attempt simply to declare any area of the country a volkstant is impossible because of financial and logistical impli-

Report by P Dall, 19 Eastine Smal, Port Bhebail)

meet today

INKATHA and the ANC meet to-day to pays the way for interna-tional mediation in their con-stitutional dispute amid pressure from Dr Mangosulbu Butheless to have the election data postponed.

The IFP leader fold a meeting in Port Elizabeth yesterday that "ey aything possible" had to be done to secure his party's participation

For highlistime, Tr Buthelessings nearly stelled his deaths for the election to be delayed.

Hoth President De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandels are opposed to a postponement, attrough Mr Mandels believed the IFP and dishevel and the transport that to submit their oand dishes listation the poll.

Political Staff

But Dr Buthelest said the country would "alide into the abyas" if the election was not all-inclusive.

"If the IPP is to take part in the election, election will have to be directed to possibly profiponing the election," he said.

There was no chance! the cap between the IFF and the worth ment and ANC could be Blidged by the election.

"It is far better to spend a little more time in ensuring we achieve an all-inclusive bonstitution that works, then to rush a settlement which will not be worth the paper it is writing on," he said.

Dr Buthillezi-stild if the paper or

mediation succeeded, the IFP would contest the election

When IFP halfonal chairman Dr Prank Milaiose and AMC secre-tary-general Jacob Zuma meet in Johannesburg Joday, the key Issue will be seekings mutually accept-able mediator. able mediator

Among those who have been mentioned, are exclus president from mouther far all the firm mouther far all the firm mouther far all the firm mouther far all the far wealth ambassador Lord David

Oreport by S Wantedwein 18 Discorpe Super Children

Washington Letter 8/3/94 Helin

SA will stay a US priority

NITED States assisfor Africa George Moose has assured Congress that South Africa will remain a priority of the Clinton administration after the April election

Mr Moose's statement made during congressional testimony on post-cold war US policy towerd Africa's four regions. comes at a time when some anslysts are expressing concern that there could be a fall-off of interest mor a black majority government is in place.

In a recent paper, Dr Walter Kansteiner, tormer African at fairs director in the U S National Security Council, mento that there was no smele issue in Africa more important be able to influence the coming to US national interests than South Amea's transition

In his testimony, Mr Moose said the US was committed not just to a democratic South Africa but also to an economically strong South Africa that could contribute to the economic strength and political stability of the region.

He noted that in addition to continuing development assistance the Clinton administration was preparing a U.S. initiative with other government agencies to strengthed democratic institutions and to ald the disadvantaged.

In his paper. Dr Kansteiner said the U.S. - with other Westem and Asian nations - would Africa for two months

ANC leadership toward market omentated economic policies as well as political tolerance.

Dr Kansteiner said the Clinton administration, the US Congress and private American organisations all had roles to play in encouraging all South Africans to take part in the elections which were threatened by problems such as intimidation.

Apart from its importance for South Africans themselves and the region, the success of South Africa's political and economic transition was crucial for American race relations, Dr Kansteiner said.

Neil Linesen is standing in for Simon Barber who is in South

KwaZulu rejects 'cover-up' claims

THE KwaZuln Police has rejected sleims by one of its lleutenants that it "sowered up" the alleged involvement of a senior IFP leader to the nural northern Natal last year

It was reported this week that po lice quashed an investigation into dee after it was apparently found that IFP Transvaal organiser. Themps Khozs had ordered the

The Coldstope Commission con-firmed that the policeman, Ludest leigh Mosta, and his family were in protective custody

Lit Mbats told the commission he was booked off sick by his superiors when he asked permission to arrest two suspects who admitted taking part in the attack on the orders of Mr Khoza.

But police commissioner Roy During said yesterday that he was satisfled "from a preliminary investig-ation" that the reports were unfounded

The investigation is being given all the necessary stlention and at this date, one arrest has been made and a person has appeared before the court several times," he said.

Political Staff

After the massacre on November 7, 1993, the district detective officer im-mediately assigned the case in the special investigation unit. Lt Minata was never involved in the investiga tion, according to Gen During

Gen During said Lt Mosth had sought early retirement for health reasons since 1991 and was referred to an Emparized doctor at his (It Montal) requests that medical report after the department of health refused to board him, as

He resuted "with contempt" the suggestion that it Mbata was ordered off sick to prevent the inves-

. IRecent by S. Markinston, 18 Opening Street, October

Meany 8/3/94

Thebe 'weakens' its links with A

THEBE Investment Ltd yester-day announced a reshume of its board and the board of its main shareholder, the Batho-Batho Trust in a move which appears to weaken, although not break, There's controversial link with

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has stapped down as Batho-Batho trustee although his dep-uty, Mr Walter Sisulu, temains on the board. Mr Mandela recently hinted at distancing the ANC from Thebe

îndependent businessmaa Ham Montsi has replaced Encs Mabuza as chairman of Thebe.

Thebe yesterday announced the changes following the resigof three directors.

Mabuza and Mr Lester ve left the board to purnal business interests To Serwale resigned log nominated for the

PWV provincial government premiership.

The new board, which has expanded to reflect the growth in Thebr, consists of chairman Sam Montsi, managing director Yusi Rhanyile, Mr Ismail Ayob, a law-ver with strong connections to the Mandela family, Prof Dennis Davis, a constitutional adviser to the ANC, Stanley Goldstein, Gary Harlow, Wendy Luhabe, Kenneth Mgqampho, Gabriel Mokgoko, Gary Motolo, Sizwe Nassana, Litha Nybonyha, Israel Shosane and Linda Zama.

Thebe spokesman Nibabiseng Mmati said the changes did not reflect any shift in company policy There was a misconcep-tion that Thebe was ANCaligned because some board members were sympathetic to the organisation. (Finance Correspondent)

THE NATAL ERCUR

Deathly

OLITICS QUITE clearly was the motive for the brutal massacre and gutting of homes in Bhambayi on Sunday. And while similar atrocities happen virtually daily in other parts of Natal and the rest of the country, allegations by a KwaZulu policeman about high-level political involvement in last year's slaying of 11 ANC supporters near Dundee have led to the Goldstone Commission reopening its investigation into the case.

Yet, while the killing and destruction go on the response from the politicians is a raging argument over whether the SAP's Internal Stability Division or intolerance smong opposing political factions is to blame. In fact, they seem almost to be more concerned about political propaganda than about the terrible human tragedy tearing our society apart.

One would have thought that with so much evidence already of what the causes are, with the Nats and the ANC practically running the country together through the TEC, and with negotiations going on between the ANC and the IFP, the politicians would by now have been able to produce a far more coherent response. What hope is there of stopping the violence when they themselves fuel the flames through public disputes over who's to blame?

'Blatant lie'

JOHANNESBURG-ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa's claim that the internal stability division was thousands of people was a "blatant lie" minister of law and order Hernus Kriel said. yesterday.

The claim showed how blind the ANC was to the real causes of violence, Mr Kriel TRECORD IN C Marger, 181 Commercial Street. said. - (6apa)

WITH each unobserved deadline the South African political scene becomes more conbused Negotiations deadlines have come and yone, but for months the talks between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC have continued regardless. Frustration and the march of time towards the April poll laused the government and the ANC to change he interim constitution without political igreement with the FA

This, with a change to the Electoral Act, nade last Friday the final date for registration or the election. There was a degree of serisusness about this deadline, for it saw Inkatha ind moderate Afrikaner Volksfront leader 'onstand Viljoen register "provisionally"

Inkatha particularly have given notice that heir next objective is the shifting of April 27 as he date for democracy. While ANC president Telson Mandela and President F.W. De Klerk ave declared that the election date is absoutely non-negotiable, observers by now can be orgiven a little scepticism. Too many other absolutely" non-negotiable issues have been conceded.

Yet it does seem unlikely that the ANC will ountenance a change in the election date. evelopments over the weekend, determined by the fall of a dice, have made it even less kely that the ANC will concede on the elecon date. Independent Electoral Commission hairman Johann Kriegler, live on national ilevision, made the draw for the order in phich parties will appear on the ballot paper. ut of the het came a P - the Pan Africanist

CLARENCE MAKWETHU

Congress of Azania will top the list. This is a nightmare for the ANC

The ANC always wanted a single ballot for both national and regional elections for two reasons. Firstly, it would have seriously disadvantaged smaller regional parties (to the benefit of the larger ones) and, secondly, there was real concern that voters would see the

second ballot paper as the lime to vote for their second choice, the PAC.

Thus the dark horse of the elections, which has a simple Africanist policy which sells itself, now has by chance been given the single most important advantage in the election, the first position on the ballot. Vote number one for freedom, vote number one for the party that will return the land which the evil white "settlers" took from you. What a wonderful election fillip for the PAC. The significance was not lost on PAC leader Clarence Makwe-

A delay in the date of liberation will enrage many of the ANC's younger supporters. Both Mandela and De Klerk have predicted dire consequences for the country if the election is postponed. The ANC's position now will harden; a delay will further favour its most significant opponent in the contest for black votes. Any perception that the ANC has failed to deliver the promised liberation on the promised day will be avoided with all the determination the ANC can muster

While the Football Party and Riss might be amusing, the number of parties now registered for the election has serious implications.

Another reason favouring a single ballot system was that with a huge rate of functional illiteracy in the country there would be many spoilt ballots or voters could simply make a mistake and cast their vote for the wrong party. With 29 or so parties on the lists, many with odd and lengthy names, the problems for illiterate voters are even more intense.

The heavyweight ANC and National Party find themselves among unknowns in the middle of the list. It will take considerable effort for voters to find them in spite of the appearance of a photo of the leaders and the party's emblem

All this dramatically helps the PAC, of course, but it also means that the percentage of spoilt papers will increase. Voter education research at the moment puts the potential for spoilt papers at between 10 and 15%. The myriad of choices on a ballot paper that could be half a metre long can only increase the number of spoilt papers. Most of these will come from the ANC's potential share of the votes giv ing its organisers further cause for concern

Some might argue that in the short term this will be good for the government of national unity which will take office after the election. The ANC will not have the two thirds majority they need to control the writing of the new constitution (within the bounds of the agreed constitutional principles) and may not even have a decisive majority in the national assembly. There will be a balance of parties and the ANC will have to deal with others to get their way.

Through its chance first selection from the hat, the PAC could threaten both the ANC's overall majority and the National Party's chances of being the second largest party and earning a deputy president's slot. April 27 looks set to be the deadline that will hold in spite of the increased pressure to have it postponed.

P: poll can be delayed

THE Democratic Party can live with a limited postponement of the elections for the sake of a freer and fairer polt, but only if all par-

This was the message from DP leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday at the start of his three day tour of the coastal and southern regions of Natal.

However, De Beer warned that such a move does not enjoy blan-ket support and therefore "should not be done". Later, in Umhlali, he took a stronger line and said such a step will, in the light of current violence, be "disastrous"

This means mediation to bring dissenting parties such as Inkatha and the Freedom Alliance into the elections has little chance of suc-

cess, said Da Beer.

De Beer said he will, however,

in the interest of a more inclusive, freer and fairer election, support the extension "by a couple of days" of the registration deadlind for parties that are still undecided

about contesting the elections.

De Beer predicted violence in the province "will be maintained" and may increase before the elec-tions, but should decline after

At a lunch hour meeting in Um-hiell, an existing DP constituency represented by MP Kobus Jor-dan, De Beer said elections are, for the first time, not about apart-hold, but the standard of living

heid, but the standard of living that can be provided in SA.

• De Beer returns to Natal in about three week's time to visit the midlands. 2 living and northern midlands, Zululand and northern regions. — Durban Bureau. Report by T Costhulzen, 437 Smith St. Dbn.

0 00

IFP official denies he armed Ngutu assassins

JOHANNESBURG - The Inkatha Freedom Party's Themba Khoza on Sunday night expressed outrage at allegations that he armed assassins to murder 11 people in Ngutu, northern Natal, last November.

The London-based Observer newspaper said earlier in the day that it had uncovered evidence suggesting Khoza, the IFP's political director in the Transvaal, had organised the massacre in Nqutu. The newspaper charged he had used assassins from the Kwesini hostel in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg.

As a result of its investigations. the Observer said an inquiry had been opened by the Goldstone Commission.

Reacting to the report in the Observer, KwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During yesterday rejected any auggestion of a cover-up in the investigations Into the Ngutu massacre.

- Sapa.

Coloured Nat MP Kuiler joins IFP

CAPE TOWN - For coloureds to serve the National Party is to consent after three centuries of history to dig their own grave, the Inkatha Freedom Party's newest parliamentary recruit, James Kutler, said vesterday. Kuiler, MP for Manenberg

since 1989, resigned from the NP

yesterday to join the IFP.

"I say to the coloured people:
Wake up before it is too late'. The Nats have nothing to offer you," he said.

He is leaving the NP to cam-paign for the IFP's version of federalism which will empower coloured people in the Cape and put them firmly in the seat'

Kuiler said the African Nat-ional Congress is "just as power-

hungry to govern'

"The coloured people must also not allow the ANC to ride roughshod over them." — Sapa. (Report by D. van Zyl. Press Gallery, Parlia.

IFP denies taking IDs

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday strongly denied taking ID books from its members in Elandskop and said the idea was simply "ridiculous" IFP Natal midlands chairman Jabulani

Khanyile was responding to an article in last week's Natal Witness that said the ANC's Women's League protested about the alleged

confiscation of the ID books.

Khanyile said there is only one chief in Elandskop and his organisation is confused by the ANCWL's claims. "The IFP is going to go for the elections . . . so how can we take the ID books of our own members." - WR. Report by Y. Grimbeek, 244 Longmarket Street, Prob

Witness 8 3 94

HELTH.

N.J. EDWARDS of Hilton asks Inkatha MP Mike Tarr for clarity on whether he still upholds the right of all South Africans to vote, how he would recommend his constituents vote If the IFP stays out, and how he reconciles his commitment to democracy with "the policies of those advocating resistance to the election". Tarr replies that of course he upholds the right of all to vote. To the second he said the IFP is not yet out of the election process and if they are in he would advise constituents to vote Inkaths, if not, they should vote accord-ing to their conscience. He said Inkatha has made a principled stand against the ANC — "I believe the IFP is right and if the writer believes that I am wrong I invite him/her to get in touch with me".

Bop cabinet decides against poll MMABATHO - The Bophuthatswana Lucas Mangope said he is optimistic

cabinet has decided not to particle that international mediation could

pare in the April elections a Bophu- lead to a constitutional agreement that swang government spokesman before the election The Bophutha-However, the cab net decided to Mangepe as saying at a news coafercall the full parliament together next ence in Minsbatho that the homeland mwana Information Service quoted Later Bothuthatswans President dom Alliance's call for a mediated government is 100% behind the Free-

sellement

The implications that participation in the election would have on Bophuthatgwanas 16-year-old independence must be considered, he said.

Meanwhile, AVF constitutional committee chairman Fanie Jacobs said he is not aware of pro-election; AVF leaders lobbying secrety to take

part in the election.

This means General Constand Viljoen's registration of the Freedom Front will lapse If no list of candidates is submitted by tomorrow, and the AVF will continue to set up demotratic alternative structures to secure a volkstast, he said.

Eur reports and AVF sources said there is agitation for right wing parneipation in the elections

The AVF sources said yesterday that pro-election elements in the right-wing front argued that participation in the polls would not const tute an endorsement of the interim constitution.

AVF directorate member General Tlenie Groenewald pesterday ruled out participation in the elections "at this stage' Hairejected talk of AVF participation in the polls as spacelation and issued a statement saying suggestions are simed at driving a wedge in right-wing ranks. - Sapa.

Reports of N. Patterion, E. van Wyk. M. Schoehage & P. Bulgar, 141 Commissioner St. Tab

Buthelezi: election must be delayed

PORT ELIZABETH - The elections should be postponed to ensure a fair and inclusive settlement, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Euthelest saidyesterday.

But he gave no indication of when he had in mind.

"Without as all-inclusive election we really do run the risk of our country sliding into the abyss . if the IFP is to take part in the siection, then strention will have to be directed at possibly postponing the

election to a later date," he said at the submission of its election cana function in Port Elizabeth

Bothelezi said that the IFP will not participate if international medistion does not take place A meeting was underway in Cape Town yesterday to decide the kind of mediation the IFP wants, and the IFP meets the ANC in Durhan today to work out details.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that there is a "strong likelihood" the IFP will not observe tomorrow's deadline for

didate list to the Independent Electorai Commission.

The party's registration lapses if the list is not submitted by 4.30 pm. ANC deputy secretary-general

Jacob Zunia yesterday said ANC president Nelson Mandela bas requested a meeting with King Goodwill Zwelithini about his demand for a constitutional monarchy in Natal - Sapa

Reparts by J. Sounders and C. Moltay, 143 Constitutioner St. Jibb & G. Artiel SQ. West St. Dign.

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