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"Gloom returns as

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ANC-Zulu summit
fails to end conflict

By R.W. JOHNSON in Durban

THE euphoria of last week's peace
Â«â\200\234summitâ\200\235 between the leader of the
African National Congress, Mr Nel-
son Mandela, and rival Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been fol-
to pessimism
. about the chances of conflict be=
.tween the ANC and the Inkatha*

Freedom Party being solved by per-
sonal diplomacy.

Pessimism is compounded not only
by the weekend massacre of 11 ANC
rters near Durban in Natal,â\200\231

| . but also by the failure of the black "

. homeland Bophuthatswana to regis-
ter for April's election and the deci-
sion of the white right-wing Afri-
kaner Volksfront to reverse Friday's
registration by its leader, General
Constand Viljoen.

Inkatha also registered at the 11th
hour on Friday â\200\224 on the condition

. there is â\200\234international mediationâ\200\235

' on constitutional amendments.

It is difficult to see what Chief

. Buthelezi's concession amounts to.

. His â\200\234provisional registrationâ\200\235 impl-
fes no promise that Inkatha's boy-
cott 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 prom-
ised freedom of political campaign-

! ing within the KwaZulu homeland.

This seems highly improbable.
Whatever Chief Buthelezl says,
ANC ' campaigners enter Inkatha

strongholds at risk to their lives.

Meanwhile, there has been no let-

' up, in the intense ANC pressure 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.

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 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 pop-

ular appeal to ordinary Zulus, but

Mr Gwala also speaks for many.

Similarly, Chief Buthelezi has to keep in check those Inkatha ele-

ments who favour electoral participation.

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

in election

| PIETERSBURG, South Africa: The

leader of the African National

Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, re-

peated yesterday that he would go

. down on his knees to persuade
. those boycotting South Africa

first all-race election in April to
take part.

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

«] am prepared to go down on my
knees to ensure there is peace in
this country,» Mr Mandela told a
campaign rally 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-
petrated by the IFP,» a statement
said. «There can be no talk of free-
dom of political activity while
(massacres) continue and
guilty persons are not apprehen-
ded. ... the killers and selfish spol-
iers 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. «X
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.â\200\235

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. «Ag far as registration is concerned, there should be no deadlines. Even after Friday night, we should still be prepared to extend the registration date,â\200\235 he said.

Most major groups have signed up for the election from April 26 to 28, but not the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) or the Bophuthatswana black homeland.

AVF co-leader G al Const! Viljoen registered on Friday â\200\234to keep our options openâ\200\235, but the full AVF leadership voted on Sunday to withdraw the registration.

Reuters

a

Buthelezi's allies in the Freedom Alliance, the Afrikaner Right and the Bophuthatswana homeland. For all these groups, the Rubicon 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 wants. 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

(Bitter right-wing schism looms -

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PORT EBELI14ABETH-â\200\224The
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The new board, which has expanded to reflect the growth Thebw, conaiste of chalmman Sam sMontsl, mansging director Yusi Rhmanyile, Mr Ternail Ayob, 8 lawyer with strong connections to the Mandela family, Prof Dendis Davis, 2 constitutional adviser to the ANC, Stanley Qoidstain, Gary Harlow, Wendy Lubabe, Rerneth Mqamaha Gabriel AMokgoko, Gary Mortolo, Bizwe Nxagans, Litha Nyhonrha Israel Skosane and Lind= Zama.

Thebe spokesman Ninabicing Mmati said the changes &la hob reflect any shift in company policy There Was a BUSCONCERTion that Thebe was ANC-aligned because someÃ© hoard members were sympathetic to the organisation. (Finance | Correspondent)

THE NATAL

OLITICS QUITE clearly was the motive for the brutal massacre and gutting of homes {n Bham-bayi oft Sunday. And while similar atrocities happen virtually daily in other parts of Natal and the rest of the country, allegations by a KwaZulu politician about high-level political involvement in last year's slaying of 11 ANC supporters near Cetâ\200\231mndee have led to the Goldstone commission reopening its investigation into the case. â\200\231 â\200\235 i â\200\234, Yet, while the killing and destruction go on the response from the politicians is a raging argument over

. whether the BAP's Internal Stability Division or intolerance among opposing political factions is to blame.

Â» In fact, they seem almost to be more concerned about political propaganda than about the terrible 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 el the flames through public disputes over who's to blame?

South Africa

Witness 8{3'%!79 HJ;,â\200\235'IIVâ\200\231L

by Wyndham Hartley

Chance boost for the P

WITH each unobserved deadline the Sout
African political scene becomes 1

used Negotiations deadlines have come s
forie, but for months the talks between

â\200\230reedom Alliance, the government and the
ANC have conlinued regardless. Frustration

ind the macch of time towards the April poll
raused the government and the ANC to chay ge
he anterim constitution without politica?
lgreement with the FA,
This, with a change lo the Electaral Act,
nade last Friday the final date for registratior
or the election. There was & degree of seri
wusness about this deadline, for it saw Inkatha
ind maderate Afrikaner Volksfrant leader
onstand Viljoen register â\200\234provisionally"
Inkatha particulacly have given notice that
heir next objective is the shifti April 27 as
he date for democracy. While ANC'prasident
{elsanâ\200\231 Mandela and President F.W. De Kleck
ave declared that the election date is absa-
itely non-negotiahle, observers by now cen be
wgiven a little scepticism. Too many other
absolutelyâ\200\235 nan-negotiable issues have been
gnncdded

Yet it does seem unlikely that the ANC will
puntenance a chenge (n the election date.
levelopments aver the weekend, determined
y the fall of & dice; have made it even less
"kely that the ANC will concede on the elec-
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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 Makwethu

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 | the determination the ANC can muster

While the Football Party and Kiss 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 20 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 giving its opponents 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
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P pciâ\200\230)lâ\200\230lh can be delaye

PHE Democraticâ\200\231 P ~an live

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in the interest of & mote inc! e,
freer and fairer election, PP

dissenting partie
a;usd the Fgfreedom Alliance into the about three wee
elections has little chance of zue

fong. â\200\224 Durban Bureau.
Â\$Ã@ay, cald De Dar l;!easpon by T Oosthulzen,

ith e â\200\231nm\â\200\230;cd pos nt of

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" only if all E:rr- days" of the registration dendlin
: si for parties that are gtill undecided
.= {he message from DP nboutcontestlnĩ¬\201

h de Beer yesterday De Beer pre

< â\200\234will be

. of his three-day tour of the provinee â\200\234will
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fal and ;outhern fegum :i':ms, gut should declin

However, De Beer warned that
\ch & move dods not enjoy blan-

e v-v;Â»Fbrt and therefore "shlou' lâ\200\230d hlall, aennf:Ã@stâ\200\230l)r;g DP Â¢
he dÃ@neâ\200\235 in Umhlali he repres
hns eraâ\200\230tienrÃ© â\200\230:nlcâ\200\231i caid such dean, De Beer said elections art:
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p Jw;;n tf:e light of current for the first time, not ahout apart-
violence, be â\200\234disastrousâ\200\235.

heid, but the Â\$

the elections.

icted violence in
maintainedâ\200\235
e the elec-
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This means mediation to bring thatcanbe provided in SA.

De Bber said he will, however,

Coloured Nat
MP Kuiler
joins IFP . =

CAPE TOWN -~ For coloureds to
serve the Nationa! Party is to
consent after three centuries of
history to dig their own grave,
the Inkatha Freedom Paity's
newest parliamentary recruil,
James Kuller, said vesterday.

Kuiler, MP [for Manenberg
since 1089, resigned from the NP
vesterdar to join the IFP.

â\200\2341 say to the coloured people:
â\200\230Wake up before {t is too late'.
The Nats have nothing to offer
vou,â\200\235 hesaid. |

He is leaving the NP to cam-

.ign for the IFP's version of
â\200\230ederalism which will empower
coloured people inthe Cape and
â\200\234putthem firmly in the seatâ\200\235.

Kuiler said the African Nat
ional Congress is "â\200\230just as power-
hungry to govern'â\200\231,

â\200\234The coloured people must
also not allow the ANC to ride
roughshod over them.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

< such as Inkathe @ De Beer returns

to Natal in
Kâ\200\231s time to visit the
midlands, Zulyuland and northern

ril.
M}\t a lunch hour meetlng in Um-
gnstituency
MP Kobuz Jor-

tandard of living

457 Smith St Db,

IFP official denies he-

armed Nqutu assassins

JOHANNESBURG -~ The Inkatha
Freedom Party's Thembz Khozs
on Sunday night expressed
outrage at allegations that he
armed assassins to murder 11

eople in Nqutu, northern Natai,
ast November.

The London-based Observer
newspaper said earlier in the day
that it had uncovered evidence
suggesting Khoza the [FP's
political directorin the
Transvaal had organised the
massacre in Nqutu. The
newspaper charged he had used
pseassinsg from the Kwesinl hostel
in Katlehong, east of

JoxaunEshurg

garesult of its investigations
the Observer satd an in uiï¬\201y had
been opened by the Goldstone

CoRmmisâ\200\231slon,
. Reacting to the report in the
Observer, KwaZulu Police
commiesloner Lieutenant
General Roy During yesterday
rejected ?ny } : u est { on of e
cover-up In the investigatt
Into the Ngutu mnncse "

â\200\224 Sapa

IFP denies taklling IDs

THE Inkatha Freedom Pa
strongly denled taking ID books from its mem |
bers in Elandskop and said the ides was sim |
ply "ridiculousâ\200\235]

IFP Natal midlands chairman Jabulani |
Khanyile was responding to an article in las!
week's Natal Witness that said the
Women's League protested about the &
confiscation of the ID books.

Khanyile said there is only on
Elandskop and his organlsation {s conf
by the ANCWL's claims. â\200\234The IFP is Â¢
go for the elections. . . so how can we t

yesterday |

(Report by D. van 29). Press Gallery, Periaa.

ID books of our own members ' â\200\224 WH
ment) by

Report by Y. Grimbeek, 2Â¢d Iongmarte! Sire

w Kk &

N.J. EDWARDS of Hilton asks Tnkatha MP
Mike Tarr for clarity on whether he still
apholds the right of all S8outh Africans to vole,
how he would recommend his constituents vote
If the lEP atays ont, and how he reconciiies hin
commitment ts dermoeracy with â\200\234the policies of
those advocating resistance to the slectionâ\200\235.
Tarr replies that of eourse he uKholds the
right of all to vote. To the second he sald the
IFP {s not yet out of the election process and if
they are in he would edvise constituents to
vote Inkatha, if not, they should vote accord-
ing to thelr conselence. He sald Inkatha has
made & principled stand against the ANC â\200\224 "I
believe the IFP is right and if the writer be-
llevs thet { am wrong I invita him/her to get
in touch with me".

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Bop cabinet d ecides against po -
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\200\234bauon This means Geaeral Constand V.
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However, the cablnat decided to Mangipe as ssging at g news coafar- Â¥eenwhile, AVF constit
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Buthelezi: election mugt be delayed "z â\204ç
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" zaid vestardgy meeting was underwsy in Cape ANC deputy =2cretary-geners] Tletie Groerawsl
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But ke cave ng indizaion of Town Jeaterday to decide the kingd Jaeoh Zuma yesterday gaid A
NC oyt participation lo the electiogs Âç
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eâ\200\231 Heirejacted walk of AVF
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