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COMMENT

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undermine Chjef Mangosuthy  
Butheleziâ\200\231s Â¢laims that he s /  
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Postponement of the election js which wil) undemocraticallyâ\200\231 )  
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i ditional leaders and their politi-

cal head Butheleg;.

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The purpose of mediation, as eg-  
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katha and the Zuluking. If and when  
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ed parties to guarantee  
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agreed upon wil] be introduced in  
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the problem of Inkatha's non-par-  
ticipation in the April 27 election.  
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A\ Buthelezi  
Creates a  
crisis for

mediators

By Alec Russell in Johannesburg

NS RE RN CRION AT e isas  
tarsâ\200\231 attempts to cesolve  
Scuch Africaâ\200\231s pelitical crisis  
wers on the brink of coltapse  
last night after Chief Mango-  
suthu Buthelezi. the [nkathe  
Freedom Party leader,  
demanded that the election  
tate raust be on the agenda.  
Chief Buthetez:, who Âçs  
boycotting the etection due  
on April 26-28. accused the  
sovernument and the African  
National Canzress of chang-  
ing the mediators' terms of  
refecence acd coaspirtnng to  
prevect them from consider-  
ing ackange to the pall date.

Presideat de Klerk and the

ANC said the election date  
3d never been up for  
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A nteeting last nizht  
betiveen lpkatba, ANGC and  
governnent negoliatars to try  
to resolve the mediators:  
teams ot reference broke up  
with all sides agreeing to meet  
again today.

Sources close to the seven-  
man team, led by Lord Car-  
rington and Dr Henry Kissin-  
ger, former US Secretary of  
State, said that unless agree-  
ment was reached within 24  
hours they would abandon  
their mission. The mediators

were due to stact analyvsing  
[akatha's gricvances about  
the jatsrim constitution ves-  
teedav in a bush lodge, bue  
irstead they spent the day at  
their Johanaeshurg hatel.

â\200\234It's clear that the media-  
tors canâ\200\231t mediate if there  
1507t agreement between the  
three pacties on what they  
are mediating about.â\200\235 Lord  
Corrtngton saxd after infor-  
ol talks with I Kissinger  
and Mc Nelson Nandela, the  
ANC teader.

Dr Kissiager sad iÂ¢ would  
be â\200\234totally inappropriateâ\200\231â\200\235 for  
mediators o contemplate  
delaving what he called South  
Africansâ\200\231 date for feeedom.

The final draft of the terms  
of reference drawn up by the  
ANC and the government aan  
Tuesday specifically exc-  
tudes any debate an the elec-  
tion date. But Chief Buthe-  
lezi said the initiat  
agreement drawn up on Sun-  
day left the question open.

â\200\234This is creating an insurmountable abstacle,'â\200\235 he said. It means that there is no possibility that an acceptable mediation could be concluded on its own merit . . . It is putting the cart before the horse. ',

Earlier, in a sign of the

Face to face: Dr Kissinger meets Mr Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday

international concern, it was Norwegian Foreign Ministry and would be working with disclosed that the Norwegian said Mr T Vraeclsen, a Lord Carrington's team. government, which played a special envoy, was en route. Sources close to the mediation significant part in bringing about South Africa's. tors said Norway felt responsible about the Middle East Peace Diplomatic talks in Pretoria said possible because Mr Mandela peace accord, was involved he had been requested by and Medvedev's reaction to in the mediation effort. The fact that he is not a



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1L.ORD CARRINGTON and Henry Kissinger, who were due to travel to a secret venue yesterday morning to mediate on the Zulu question, spent much of the day instead holed up in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel contemplating the thought that their trip to South Africa might have been wasted.

The delay came after Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, had insisted that a possible postponement of the date of South Africa's first democratic elections, due from 26 April to 28 April, should be on the mediators' agenda.

But neither the African National

Congress nor the South African government nor, for that matter,

Lord Carrington and Dr Kissinger,

are prepared even to discuss the idea of a postponement. The terms of reference of the meeting, Dr Kis-

singer said, had to focus on outstanding constitutional disputes and nothing more.

The two foreign-policy veterans made good use of their morning, however, holding meetings with the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, and Chief Buthelezi. They had met President F W de Klerk shortly after their arrival on Tuesday,

The storm erupted at noon yesterday, when Chief Buthelezi called a 22 impromptu press conference in the foyer of the Carlton Hotel and accused the ANC and the government of attempting to sabotage the



mediation effort by colluding to stop Inkatha from taking part in the elections. The new draft [of the terms of reference] is not acceptable to us. The ANC and the government are trying to make sure there is no chance of discussing a new election date, he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who is battling for his political survival, had imagined

that the arrival of the international mediators had presented him

with a lifeline. What he did yesterday,

as two seasoned South African political observers put it, amounted to walking out of his own party's

At a reception on Tuesday night to welcome the mediators Lord Carrington, Dr Kissinger and five others he was beaming with delight, clearly flattered that such eminent gentlemen should have seen fit to travel so far to address a prob-

Buthelezi demands  
N threaten to wreck  
mediators' mission

JouN CARLIN  
; in Johannesburg

lem essentially of his own making. He declared then that what was needed was a miracle.

Nothing short of that, government and ANC officials were saying

yesterday, could possibly pull the:

Inkatha leader out of the mess he finds himself in now. He has consistently refused to take part in the elections, claiming that the constitution neither provides sufficient safeguards for the Zulu monarchy

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nor does it allow for the devolution of powers to provincial governments that he would ideally require.

Those two issues are contained in the mediators' terms of reference. The problem is that it is too late now, even in the unlikely event of Chief Buthelezi's constitutional demands being satisfied, for Inkatha to take part in the elections without

a postponement. That was why yesterday Chief Buthelezi was saying - this should be the first issue on the mediation agenda, : S

But on Tuesday night Mr de Klerk declared that a postponement was impossible. Mr Mandela said the same thing, only more categorically, yesterday morning. And then Dr Kissinger told reporters that what Mr Mandela had described to him as 'the date of freedom for South Africa' was not an issue the mediation team was prepared to discuss. Lord Carrington said it would be inappropriate for seven foreign-crs to take a position on the election date,

. The other mediators are Justice H K Bhagwati of India; A Leon Higginbotham, & retired US judge; Paul Kevenhoerster, a German political scientist; Justice Antonio La Pergola of Italy; and Professor Jean' Antoine Laponce, an expert on ethnic disputes in Canada. .~ - -

Yesterday afternoon, as.-Lord .

' Carrington and Dr Kissinger sat waiting in their hotel rooms, government, ANC and Inkatha negoti-

\_ators met in Pretoria to see if they could agree on new terms of reference for the mediation effort. The meeting ended fruitlessly last night. Sources close to the talks said it was virtually impossible that Chief Buthelezi's wishes would be accommodated. :

With Dr Kissinger, Lord Car-  
rington, Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk,  
the vast majority of the South Afri-  
can population and the interna-  
tional community at large firmly re-  
solved to thwart any attempts to  
delay the election, Chief Buthelezi  
was looking more isolated than ever  
last night.

He received no help from the  
Commonwealth either. The head of  
the Commonwealth Observer  
Group for the elections, former Ja-  
maican prime minister Michael  
Maunley, declared at a press confer-  
ence yesterday that he saw no rea-  
son why the violence in Natal/-  
KwaZulu, mostly orchestrated by  
Inkatha supporters, should stop the  
elections from going ahead.

It was absolutely possible to  
hold elections that reflect the will of  
the majority of people, even under  
conditions of violence, he said.

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Marathon talks rescue foreign

Gary Younge in Johannesburg

HE Internatfonal mediation

process set up in a last-ditch attempt to break the impasse between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress appeared to have been rescued last night after nearly five hours of talks in Pretoria between negotlators representing the goveynment, the ANC and Inkatha.

The process had been thrown into disarray yesterday morn- ing when the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelez!, accused the ANC and the government of sahorage, -~

Chief Buthelezi sald the origi- nal terms of reference for medi- ation, agreed between Inkatha and the ANC, deliberatoly left out any mention of the election date so that its postponement could he discussed. But negotia- tors from the government and

S Josens  
+ ST, JOSEPH'S  
HOSPICE

MARE ÂST. LONDON E8 45A  
{Charity Ref, No. 231323}

Dear Anonymous Friends,  
You did not wish your gifts  
to be spoiled by human  
words of thanks, Thelr  
value gleams [n the untold  
relle] you slently provide.

We have honoured your  
trust, and always will,

\ Sister Superi%  
\ \_1"

I mediation effort in S Africa

the ANC amended them, adding a clause saying the ballot date of April 26-28 was not subject to mediation.

The amended document, presented by the ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, and the constitutional development minister, Roelf Meyer, read:  
"Although the IFP prefers that the [first democratic elections scheduled for 26 to 28 April, 1994 be postponed, the postponement of the election date is not part of the subject matter of the mediation process."

Chief Buthelezi said the new terms were not acceptable.  
"The ANC and the government are trying to make sure there is no chance of us discussing a new election date," he said.

Last night Mr Ramaphosa maintained that the election date was "sacrosanct" but said the negotiators had agreed in principle to divide the talks into two phases. The first would be for reaching a pre-negotiation agreement to discuss the terms of reference.

The second would be for an agreement on the implementation of the results of mediation.

"The seven-man international delegation, headed by the former Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and the former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, was set up on Tuesday to seek common ground between the rivals.

Lord Carrington and Mr Kissinger threw their weight behind the amendment,

\*I would not have agreed to undertake mediation on what Mr Mandela has called the day of freedom for South Africa," said Mr Kissinger. Mr Carrington said it would be inappropriate

ato for a group of seven foreigners to take a position on the election date. :

Natal poll teamX|

Chris McGreat in  
Ndwedweo, Natal

SEVEN young black men were sent to their deaths in the heart of an Inkatha war zone after being hired to distribute South African government leaflets encouraging people to vote in elections in a fortnight's time. ;

The victims, all in their teens and twenties, were tortured at a rural primary school in Natal before being hacked to death.

The headmaster, who is also the local Zulw chief, has been arrested with four other people.

The murders of even those engaged in non-party political promotion of South Africa's first multiracial elections came as opponents of the vote, led by the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, renewed their threats of a widening war,

One of three men who managed to escape said some of the victims, from Durban, were unaware of what they were distributing. An African National Congress belt was lying across one of the bodies, but it is not known if it was taken from it.

Andy Cox, who owns the firm distributing the leaflets for the country's ruling Transitional Executive Council (TEC), admitted he was not aware of the extent of the violence around Ndwedwe caused by an Inkatha purge of ANC sympathisers.

The distributors drove into Ndwedwe on Monday to hand out leaflets explaining South Africa's new constitution and voting procedures,

The leaflets are not party political and explain the rights of

hacked to death

those wishing to vote. They stress that, unlike the apartheid system, the new constitution offers equal protection for all.

But Thulane Ngcamu, aged 22, discovered that in Natal it offers no protection at all.

The minibus pulled up at the Tokomele school where the distributors went in search of the headmaster, Eliot Shangase. He turned out to be the local chief and Inkatha stalwart. .

Mr Shangase allegedly ordered the 11 into a classroom. A group of men carrying sjembok whips, knobkerrie clubs and panga knives then arrived.

Mr Ngcamu claimed a shopkeeper demanded to know if they were ANC supporters or comrades, :

The headmaster rang the bell, he said. The children went home, the headmaster left and the shopkeeper took over. They beat us and kicked me in the face and accused us of being comrades. We explained we are here to distribute the leaflets but they didn't listen.

Mr Ngcamu counted 18 people taking part in the beatings. His face is swollen and his back is still raw.

The torture continued for about two hours. The victims were then pushed outside and lashed together in pairs.

Mr Ngcamu escaped when the man he was tied to broke free. While his captors fired at the other man, Mr Ngcamu ran in the other direction. The others were tossed into a ravine, and hacked to death.

Only two others survived. The corpses were discovered late on Tuesday. One man is still missing.





AN uprising by Zulu monarchists and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party that would plunge Natal/KwaZulu into civil war looked a realistic and accurate prediction for the near future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said. :

Chief Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, said that he had little hope that talks with the African National Congress and the South African government would be mediated by Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, Lord Carrington, the former Foreign Secretary, and five other constitutional experts would succeed.

The difficulties facing Lord Carrington's mission became clear in preliminary talks yesterday when Chief Buthelezi demanded that the date for the elections, planned for April 27 and 28, should be put on the agenda. Inkatha is boycotting

the election. The ANC replied - that the question of postponement was never intended to be - part of the mediation and the date was cast in stone,

Chief Buthelezi said in an interview: "The level of distrust that exists between us and the ANC is simply too much to overcome. The ANC is in the hands of the South African Communist Party - which is intent on steamrolling and will not allow compromise of any kind." But Dr Kissinger said yesterday:

ELECTION

COUNTDOWN

"The election is an entirely South African matter and it would be inappropriate for foreigners to take a decision

on it... the date of the election must be settled between the parties,â\200\235

DPresident de Klerk agreed with Dr Kissinger last night, saying: â\200\234We don't think that the date should be part of the mediation process. . . , they [the mediators] came to South Africa on the basis of a request to mediate on constitutional issues and on issues of substance, but not on the process itself.â\200\235

Thousands of Zulus gathered at a stadium in Vryheid, northern Natal, yesterday before marching throughâ\204¢ the

-town in protest against the

election. Many were armed with spears and axes in defiance of emergency regula-

tions, but no attempt was

made to disarm them, The

Buthelesi calls on Carrington to mediate postponement of election -

FROM SAM KILLY IN ULUNDI AND MICHAEL HAMLYN IN PRETORIA

Transitional Executive Council (TEC) overseeing the move towards the elections announced yesterday that it was considering extending the voting period in Natal/KwaZulu and broadening emergency legislation to allow it to â\200\234commandeerâ\200\235 KwaZulu government property for use as polling stations, That was greeted with dismay by mem-

bers of the Independent Electoral Commission. â\200\234To attempt to run polls in a school that has been seized from the KwaZulu government would be a swift way of committing suicide,â\200\235 a commission official said yesterday.

In the Ndweni area, eight people employed by the TEC to distribute voter education pamphlets were killed, allegedly by Inkatha supporters, bringing the toll in the prov-

Since 10 19 yesterday and more

than 173 this month.

From SAM KiLey  
IN ESHOWE

NKOSA Dlodla, 16, was killed soon after he returned to visit his family following a year in hiding from members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. They were determined to kill him, and they succeeded. He was horribly mutilated.

The crime then put him on the Inkatha death list was his membership of the African National Congress (ANC).

The Very Rev John Salt, a British priest and Dean of Eshowe Cathedral near by, is also on the death list, with four other prominent white people in the town. None of them are members of the ANC. Their crime, it seems, is to have attended funerals for ANC dead. Mr Salt, a member of the Oratory of the God Shepherd Order, is forbidden by his bishops to belong to any political party.

RKompon /41 9%

"The only reason I can think of for being on the list is that I preached at an ANC funeral. I was in such a hurry to get to another one, I do not think I could have said very much," Mr Salt, originally from Stoke-on-Trent, said.

Most of the death lists allegedly issued by Inkatha supporters are handwritten and dumped on the streets in Natal/KwaZulu's ravaged townships. In Eshowe, a town of wide streets next to a forest reserve in sugar cane country, the last two lists have been written on a computer and printed. Those whose names appear on the pamphlets are certain they were produced by whites: Zulu names are misspelt; there are appeals to loyalty to "your" King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus, rather than "our" king; and Ida Garthrell, a drama teacher who angered Inkatha by supporting a campaign for a women's day in the

hit lists drawn up by whites

town, is referred to as "fat", which is a compliment to a Zulu woman.

"The local police have refused to open a file on the death lists, despite the fact that there have been at least three attacks on people named. Gunmen recently attacked the township home of Zamokwakhe Mkhize, but he was in Durban, so the killers shot his teenage brothers and a

visting friend. Since the list appeared on March 30, 11 people have been killed and six wounded.

It had been difficult to tie Inkatha to the killings in Eshowe until last week, when a man caught hiding the body of a woman ANC supporter killed earlier was taken to the police. He has since allegedly confessed to being a member of a hit squad from the "Five Rand Battalion". This unit was set up and financed with donations of five rand (£1) from Inkatha supporters and trained in a remote area of KwaZulu.

â\200\224i g

ey By FRANCIS X. CLINES

| Special to The New York Times

'STELLENBOSCH, South Africa,

April 13 â\200\224 â\200\234Itâ\200\231s all right to be white!â\200\235â\200\231

the life style story proclaims breath-

lessly, accepting the approaching

electoral ascension of South Africaâ\200\231s

\ long-oppressed black majority with a  
touch of fatalistic glitz.

â\200\234A new attitude is taking root  
among the Pale Natives who make up  
18 percent of the population,â\200\235 says  
the article in Style, a magazine other-  
wise devoted to the usual glossy ob-  
jects of materialism and aerobic inti-  
mations of immortality. â\200\230â\200\230Suddenly  
after years of angst, guilt and intro-  
spection, itâ\200\231s O.K. to be who you are.  
Just one problem. Who are we?â\200\235â\200\231

It is a subject that would hardly  
have been tackled so simplistically  
by Nadine Gordimer, never mind Jo-  
seph Conrad. But it sets a pop sociolo-  
gy benchmark in the kaleidoscopic  
rush toward free elections by wonder-  
ing aloudâ\200\231 about the state of white  
conscience after all these decades of  
racist hegemony.

Consider Wilhelm Verwoerd, a  
white man who speaks before happy  
throngs of Nelson Mandela support-  
ers night after night with an appropri-

" ately apologetic look, invoking a new  
w age of integration. He is the shy but  
fervidly turned-about ' grandson of  
Hendrik Verwoerd, the stolid, infam-  
ous architect of apartheid, South  
. Africaâ\200\231s system of formalized rac-  
ism. :  
â\200\230Decisive Breakâ\200\231 Needed

On Tuesday night, a delighted Man-

dela crowd watched the lean, flaxen-haired Mr. Verwoerd, a 29-year-old-university professor, as the personification of diabolism undone.

The success of apartheid exceeded what we thought was possible, he told an overflow crowd of several thousand at the town hall, warning of racism's continuing political appeal in this month's election, almost three decades after the assassination of his grandfather. This election is more than a competition between parties. It's one in which we have to make a decisive break with the past.

The crowd beamed at Mr. Verwoerd, who began his radical journey in his university student years at the side of his wife, Melanie. She is an activist-sprite who exults even more openly in the shedding of her own white, middle-class prejudices. She, too, politics everywhere on behalf of Mr. Mandela and his African National Congress.

It was agonizing for two or three years, she said of the ostracism in a Verwoerd family that includes devo-

tees of white supremacist enclaves as the only antidote to a Mandela victory.

White conscience is always difficult to judge in this country, Mrs. Ver-

woerd warned. She said she found her own awakening secured when her husband . studied abroad and mailed her the banned transcripts of the trial leading to Mr. Mandela's 27 years of imprisonment for defying apartheid.

Two Countries in One

A lot of white people come up to us and say they appreciate the fact that some Afrikaners are standing up now, she said. But Mrs. Verwoerd speaks more of deeds, of assuring that her two young children attend integrated schools and venture early into this land's vast black exurbs of jerry-built hovels, some of the world's most shame-ridden slums, that she never visited until she was 20.

I just realized in the late 80's that ; basically South Africa was two countries and I only knew one of them, she said, echoing her husband's cele-

bration of the very first A.N.C. rally ever held here on the town hall stage, long a bulwark of white politics. It's good to see an audience in this hall which more accurately reflects the community outside," Mr. Verwoerd told the throng that materialized from campus and vineyard, factory and squatter shambles. Pierre-Jeanne Gerber presents a different facet of white consciousness as he campaigns for office over in the rival camp of the National Party led by F.W. de Klerk, the final white President of apartheid who is overseeing the attempt at democratic

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1994

Pierre-Jeanne Gerber, a candidate of the ruling National Party, has given who were evicted under apartheid laws, but he asserts, "I never did it out of guilt."

South Africa's Whites at Crossroads

Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of the architect of apartheid, campaigning for the African National Congress.

A Verwoerd invokes a new age of integration.

transition in the elections April 27 and  
8

"It's rubbish to call our party racist," insists Mr. Gerber, a 31-year-old real-estate tyro and candidate for regional parliament who is startling the party rank and file here in the western Cape by tracking and restoring onetime "colored" owners of some of his marginal properties. They were forced off decades ago because of their mixed racial backgrounds. He has transferred two deeds thus far and is tracking owners of half a dozen other modest plots that were expropriated as race laws herded non-

whites off to designated ghettos.

The interesting thing about Mr. Gerber's budding avocation is his in-

Photographs by Ozier Muhammed/The New York Times  
on land back to mixed-race owners

sistence that white conscience has little to do with it. "I never did it out of guilt," he asserted, describing a new breed of young National Party pragmatists interested in "kick-starting" social improvement and prosperity and expunging the old "stupid laws."

He remembers one "stupid law" of land confiscation that overtook a friendly nonwhite family in a mixed-neighborhood where he spent his boyhood. "One day their house was empty and I never saw them again" all because of some law, he said.

That is as strongly as Mr. Gerber goes into the moral implications of white history. The bits of property restoration may be simply shrewd politics for him in the current tidal shift of South African society. But he says land, not a white man's need for justification, is his compass.

"Land never really belongs to a person; the person belongs to the land," he explained. "And I can imagine how someone felt, losing his land simply because of some stupid law." He said his grandfather lost his farm under an unfair bankruptcy law that seared his family history.

"Land is stability," Mr. Gerber said. He said that property transfers and fast prefab block construction might be a good start in restoring "the" of the nonwhite majority to the

- land.

"Just get them going in something

that's not a tin shack," he said. Mr.

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times  
PHOLA PARK, South Africa, April  
13 Frustrated by the large number  
of partisan strongholds where rival



candidates dare not campaign, the trustees of South Africaâ\200\231s first all-race elections came up with a novel idea: gather candidates from various parties in a mini-van, take them into hostile areas with a military escort, and let them speak.

Voila! Mobile democracy! Â°

Today the destination was Phola Park, a hard-case squatter camp east of Johannesburg that is a well-armed colony of African National Congress supporters. What the engineers - of electoral fair play encountered here was an apparent political ambush by the A.N.C, and a reminder that for many South Africans democracy is still a one-party affair.

â\200\234The level of intolerance is ridiculous,â\200\235 lamented Xolani Gumede, a young black man who was among the terrified candidates chased from Phola Park, unscathed but denied his chance to explain why he supports the National Party of President F. W. de Klerk. â\200\234Democracyâ\200\231s all -about speaking and having the right not to listen.â\200\235

#### Intolerance for All

It is a theme that haunts the campaign for the elections that take place in two weeks, and scarcely a party has been entirely invulnerable.

In the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu, Zulu loyalists who oppose the elections send armed occupiers to preempt stadiums where the African National Congress has organized rallies. In the Eastern Cape, any candidate who does not represent the A.N.C. or its militant offshoot, the Pan Africanist Congress, is at risk. In right-wing bastions across the central prairie, the A.N.C. has had offices bombed.

In Cape Town today, a candidate for the Democratic Party was driven from a university campus today, despite the ardent pleas of a popular A.N.C. leader to let him speak.

â\200\234You are creating a new form of oppression and fascism in South Africa,â\200\235 shouted Tony Leon, the routed candidate for the Democrats, who have long been the voice of suburban liberalism.

#### 8 Campaign Workers Slain

Often South Africans are killed for suspected heresies. Last night in Natal eight young political innocents hired to distribute Government literature about the new constitution were set upon by Zulu nationalists and

slain.

those overseeing the elections, are prepared to forgive a measure of intolerance. Judge Johann Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, which will ultimately

Most South Africans, including

rule on whether the outcome is substantially free and fair, is fond of pointing out that the phrase includes three relative terms.

But many politicians find the intolerance alarming, especially when it comes from the likely next Government, the African National Congress."

I understand the anger, but where does it stop? asked Sâbonga Sibiya, another National Party candidate. Will we be angry for the next 10 years? Is the next Government going to run this country on emotion?

Phola Park was the toughest test the Independent Electoral Commission has faced since it began what it calls Operation Access last month,

\* and the first to end in such a fiasco.

In Phola Park, a militarized expanse of corrugated tin and pasteboard shacks that has weathered many sectarian wars, it is not just Mr. de Klerk's party that is unwelcome.

Mosotho Pelane, a 25-year-old high

ORANGE 7"  
FREE

STATE  
SOUTH X /  
AFRICA LESOTHO

The New York Times  
The squatter town of Phola Park, a militarized expanse of shacks, has seen much partisan strife.

their suits.

school teacher and candidate for the Pan Africanist Congress, said his organization has had six organizers killed in the squatter camp since last year, as the A.N.C. bosses consolidated their monopoly.

At least on that point we are

agreed with the National Party,â\200\235 Mr. Pelane said, although he conceded his organization has been accused of conquering similar fiefdoms. â\200\230It was a strategy that was used by liberation movements, to say that this is our stronghold, this is where weâ\200\231ll strategize, this is where weâ\200\231ll campaign, this is where weâ\200\231ll pile our stockpile of arms.â\200\235

The first sign of something amiss today came when the caravan of candidates, observers and reporters drew up at a makeshift military base

" actually vote for issues,â\200\235 Mr. Nmisa

Bad Day for South Africa Democracy:  
Mandelaâ\200\231s Group Chases Off Its Foes

to collect its army escort.

The National Party, the Democrats and the Pan Africanists were joined by two fledgling organizations, the Federal Party and the African Christian Democratic Party. But the African National Congress, which had promised to honor the venture with its presence, failed to show up.

â\200\234Why didnâ\200\231t the A.N.C. come?â\200\231â\200\231 Mr. Sibiya worried. â\200\230â\200\234They wonâ\200\231t even think of attacking us if the A.N.C. is here:\*

He sat in the back of the van with his companion, Mr. Gumede, two 23-year-old black men anxiously fingering the de Klerk buttons pinned to

Mr. Sibiya said he had been in the squatter camp just last night, but furtively, to visit a few secret supporters. â\200\234If you do any kind of canvassing openly, then your life is in danger, obviously,â\200\235â\200\235 he said.

William Nmisa, 42 years old and a veteran of the Democratic Party, dismissed the whole venture as a symbol at best, but more likely a â\200\234waste of time.â\200\235

â\200\234You go to a person once am/iÂ«Â»tc.all , him what you are selling,â\200\235 he said. | â\200\234Then you come back and find out if he is buying. What are you going to benefit if you canâ\200\231t go back?â\200\235â\200\231

Flanked by three armored behemoths, the convoy pulled into the muddy access lane of the squatter camp, and edged toward a clearing, where a restive crowd waited.

## Spontaneity on Cue

Suddenly, as if on cue, the crowd dispersed, chanting and shaking their fists, streaming past the mini-vans and the frightened candidates and the equally unnerved soldiers, and then moving across to an empty field for an African National Congress rally. Dozens of fresh placards appeared from nowhere as the crowd jeered the convoy on its way out. !

Although an A.N.C. spokesman, Vusi Kuneni, later insisted the episode was very spontaneous, the consensus of the organizers and candidates was that it had been planned.

It was not just spontaneous, scoffed Helen Suzman, a venerated - anti-apartheid parliamentarian who is now a member of the electoral commission. It's obvious, but it's difficult to prove.

On the trip home, the shaken candidates debated whether intolerance in South Africa was a product of apartheid, which tortured and imprisoned people for dissent, or liberation, which often entailed an authoritarian closing of ranks. :

I think by the next election South Africa will be matured enough to

said. This election is a liberation. election. The real election will be in . 1999. :

e =

Gerber is convinced that self-interest in the land will ignite unimaginable progress. For this task, he argues, the National Party has the management know-how. : :

Apartheid Was Darkness

The Verwoerds hardly agree in conscience with Mr. Gerber as all ,

three prepare for far different places  
in their land after election day. [

â\200\234Apartheid was darkness masquer- [/,

ading as the light,â\200\235 Mr. Verwoerd | (f

emphasized to the crowd, warning  
against creating a new politics devoid.  
of historyâ\200\231s full accounting.

His wife explained that only the  
pain and truth of history could pro  
vide the key to progress for all Sout|  
Africans, especially Afrikaners a  
they finally retreat from dominanc

to ponder whether it is, indeed, al 8

right to be white. :  
â\200\234History does show that Afrika  
ners can adapt,â\200\235 Mrs. Verwoerd said/ ||  
â\200\234And once they change, they really|  
tend to go the whole way.â\200\235 )

IT IS one of the peculiar features of the watershed election we are approaching that all the parties agree about what the country is burying (apartheid) but are at a complete loss when it comes to defining the de-

racialism) or spelling out how it could best be promoted. Nowhere else is the ideological confusion greater than in the Western Cape; it is little wonder that the campaign has become a sordid one which is of little credit to democratic politics.

Given its importance for the new South Africa soon to be born, it is astonishing that the origins and evolution of the term non-racialism in South Africa have not been properly researched. It probably dates back to the early 1940s when academics abroad began to lead the assault on the racial doctrines of Nazi Germany and the segregationist systems of the American South and South Africa.

Neutral term

A seminal publication in the campaign against racism was Ashley Montagu's *The Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* which first appeared in 1942. The book

offered two fundamentally important insights. First, the idea that certain races are inherently superior is quite fallacious.

\cious and the term race  
litself is so nebulous that

sirable alternative (non- -

?(@/\Z /7\/)4/1,{/3 [% . /7( 7#â\200\230

partheld may be dead but  
racial fears are flourishing

By

Pattern of Politics

HERMANN

GILIOMEE

it is useless to all except  
bigots.

This point has now  
been accepted by all the  
parties in South Africa  
except the far Right.  
More controversial, how-  
ever, is Montagueâ\200\231s  
second point: that the  
term â\200\230â\200\234raceâ\200\235 should be  
replaced by â\200\230â\200\230ethnic  
groupâ\200\235. Not only did he  
believe that differences  
between ethnic groups  
were greater than those  
between races but he  
also thought that ethnic  
group was a neutral term  
which could help people  
to understand differ-  
ences in a heteroge-  
neous society.

Montague could not  
foresee that politicians  
would exploit terms  
such as ethnic group,  
community and culture  
to achieve the same divi-  
sive effects as race once  
did. To counter this,  
liberal and resistance  
organisations intro-  
duced the term non-ra-  
cialism to stress the  
common humanity of all  
South Africans and to  
protest against using a  
sense of ethnicity or  
community for the pur-  
poses of divide and rule.

But even among the  
non-racialists, deep divi-

T â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

sions continue to exist.  
The purists such as the  
Liberal Party of Alan Pa-  
ton and the Non-Euro-  
ean Unity Movement  
â\200\231gecried any attempt to  
organise people on the  
basis of their ethnic or  
communal affiliation in  
the belief that this  
would jeopardise the  
only legitimate alterna-  
tive: non-racial majority  
rule based on adult suf-  
frage.

By contrast, the Pro-  
gressive Party, founded  
in 1959, took a pragmatic  
line. Its intellectual  
founding father, Donald  
Molteno, wrote in 1959  
that the problems of a  
plural society cannot be  
met by â\200\234simply adopting  
unchecked majority rule  
on the basis of adult suf-  
frage â\200\224 in other words  
by pretending that such  
problems do not exist, or  
that â\200\230non-racialâ\200\231 or â\200\230non-  
communal democracyâ\200\231  
will dispose of themâ\200\235.  
He went on to argue that  
a democracy can only  
come about here by re-  
cognising â\200\230â\200\234the stubborn  
fact of race and other  
communal differencesâ\200\235  
and by securing â\200\230â\200\234inter-  
racial and inter-commu-  
nal co-operationâ\200\235.

Ambivalent

The ANC has re-  
mained ambivalent in its  
position. On one hand it  
has persistently used  
race and ethnicity as a  
basis of political organi-  
sation. Until the second  
half of the 1980s the ANC  
proper was reserved for  
Africans and almost all



non-Africans wishing to

join the ANC-led alliance were consigned to the South African Communist Party or, in the case of Indians, to one of the two Indian Congresses. Mr Mandela has insisted that in a region such as the Western Cape the ANC's leadership should reflect the particular population ratio.

On the other hand the ANC has been purist non-racial in the political goal that it posits for society. It wants to scrap

the present enforced

power-sharing after five years and replace it with what Mr Mandela has called an 'ordinary democracy' in which minority parties will get no guaranteed representation in the Cabinet.

By contrast the ANC rejects non-racial individualism in its economic policies. It wants affirmative action for disadvantaged ethnic

Advertising

groups. This policy cannot be implemented without some kind of ethnic classification and it leaves open the question whether Africans as the most disadvantaged group will not be the greatest beneficiaries, opening the way for new forms of discrimination.

It is against this background that one can assess the raging controversy in the Western Cape about political parties exploiting racism. First there is the ANC's charge that it is the NP's racist campaign that has enabled it to secure majority support among coloured people. In fact the February 1994 MPD poll found 66% of coloured people sup-

porting the NP â\200\224 a figure exactly the same as that of a poll taken in February 1992, well be-

fore the NP started campaigning.

Second, there is the charge that the NP in particular is playing on racial and ethnic prejudices in its advertisements. Here I think the NP stands guilty as charged Its infamous comic book and its advertisement of the white girl who thinks of her rapist enJoymg the right to vote is as dirty as politics can get.

Third there is the ANC accusation that the NP is using scare tactics to chase the coloureds into its kraal. Clearly the NP is guilty of exploiting coloured fears about housing under a black government to attract voters, but what else was Mr Franklin Sonn, one of the ANCâ\200\231s chief spokesmen, doing when he said: â\200\234We must not make the same mistake as the brown community in Namibia. When they asked for houses Nujoma asked: for who did they vote?â\200\235 Mr Sonn went on

to say that it would be .

very difitiic it fomr coloured leaders to ask for help from an ANC government if the community did not support that movement in the election.

The ANC has good reason to be indignant about some aspects of the NPâ\200\231s propaganda in the Western Cape but it should remember that scare tactics can only succeed in a climate of fear and insecurity. When Mr Ramaphosa, the ANCâ\200\231s Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, talks about having Mr De Klerk sweep floors in a new Cabinet and washing the

NP down a toilet, he is  
awakening all the fears  
of minorities which can  
be mobilised with devas-  
tating effect.

The first victim will be  
the cherished ideal of  
non-racialism.

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Top Klan member backs volkstaat

PRETORIA. â\200\224 Former US Congressional candidate and senior Klu Klux Klan member Mr David Duke has expressed support for the creation of a white volkstaat, saying Afrikaners may have to return to the tactics of their forefathers to secure their freedom.

Ultra-conservative Mr Duke told a media conference here yesterday whltes should resist the disaster of an African

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t know what course they should take. Time is late.

â\200\234South Africans must resist what is going on. It is their choice how.â\200\235

Mr Duke said people should prevent government efforts to destroy Squth Africa with godless Marxist communism.

He was speaking at Berea Club, backed by two men in army browns who had shown up to provide protection.

Mr Duke is in South Africa on a fact-

finding tour and to help ensure whitesâ\200\231 survival.

He said whites should arrange alternatives for themselves if political events in the new South Africa led to poverty and genocide, as had happened elsewhere in Africa.

â\200\234There is no guarantee things will work out,â\200\235 Mr Duke said.

â\200\234People have a right to govern their own affairs. There is a right for a volkstaat.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa

National Congress government.  
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â\200\231 A SQUATTERSâ\200\231 association  
| â\200\224 headed by Crossroads  
strongman Mr Jeffrey  
Nongwe â\200\224 was given R500 000  
by a waste removal company  
employed by the bankrupt  
iKapa Town Council, a com-  
| mission of inquiry heard yes-  
terday.  
Testifying before the commis-  
sion yesterday, Mr Nongwe said  
he did not know of the payment,  
but asked the commission to re-  
instate SA Biotech, as it had ren-  
dered â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234important positive  
changeâ\200\235 in the townships and  
. â\200\234for the first time our areas be-  
. came clean and fit for human ha-  
| bitationâ\200\235.

The cheque, now in the com-  
missionâ\200\231s possession, is dated  
August 2, 1993 and is marked as a  
donation from SA Biotech to the  
Western Cape United Squattersâ\200\231  
Association (Wecusa), of which

Inqu

Squatters  
plead for  
SEIVICES

Mr Nongwe is chairmap. 3  
A report by a commission-ap-

. pointed investigator revealed

that almost R11 million had been  
payed by iKapa to SA Biotech  
over four years, although the  
council could have removed  
refuse itself for only R4 million.  
The Cape Town City Council re-  
cently disclosed that iKapaâ\200\231s  
shortfall at the end of December  
1993 was R59 million and would  
be R72,9 million in the next fi-

nancial year.

With the collapse of iKapa, ser-  
iry told of  
RS00 000 â\200\230giftâ\200\231

vices in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu  
and New Crossroads have been  
paralysed, leaving residents to  
face flooding and mounting  
health risks as winter ap-  
proaches.

Mr Nongwe claimed that SA  
Biotech had never made cash  
contributions to Wecusa, but had  
supported squatters with food  
and blankets.

These handouts had dried up  
since the company ceased oper-  
ating in the townships.

Over 50 township residents  
were bussed to the commission in  
Woodstock yesterday, where they  
murmured support for Mr  
Nongweâ\200\231s appeal for the resump-  
tion of services.

Mr Nongwe urged the commis-  
sion to see for themselves â\200\234how  
filthy the area has become and  
how the rats and mice run  
aroundâ\200\235.

The inquiry continues today.

Gâ\200\231stone probes

Eskom deals

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224  
The Goldstone Commis-  
sion announced it would  
hold a public inquiry to-  
morrow into illegal pur-  
chases or attempted pur-  
chases of arms from the  
electricity supplier Es-  
kom.

The inquiry follows  
revelations by Eskom  
that a staff member had  
tried to sell arms to a  
dealer who intended  
passing them on to Kwa-  
Zulu. â\200\224 Sapa :

Ultimatum to  
Natal strikers

DURBAN. â\200\224 The Natal

Provincial Administration yesterday ordered striking ambulance workers to return to work by tomorrow or face dismissal.

Up to 90% of Ambulance and Medical Services employees are striking over wages, saying their pay is far lower than in other provinces.

The NPA warned strikers they could also lose

accrued benefits. 200224

Sapa

"Mangope bid:  
| Verdict stalled

Bop murder 200230not political200231

| MMABATHO. 200224 Judgment in an application by former Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope challenging his ousting was reserved by200231 the Supreme Court here.

Mr Justice Robert Comrie said he would need until next week to decide whether Mr Mangope200231s replacement by the joint administration | was unconstitutional. 200224  
Sapa

'AWB Killings:  
6th man guilty

JOHANNES e A

AN American musician murdered and robbed at his home in Bophuthatswana had returned to South Africa from a holiday in the United States in December 200234reluctantly and apprehensive200235 about the elections, his parents said last night.

The US embassy in Pretoria said yesterday criminal and not

political motives probably lay behind the attack on Mr Eric

Birnbaum, 38, who was bludgeoned to death on March 25.

Mr Birnbaum's credit card and wallet were stolen. Three men have been arrested.

In an interview Friday, his mother Mr Birnbaum said he was

Economists welcomed

ANC's R3bn

Africa a lot and made a lot of

friends during the three years he had been in the country playing a French horn for the Botswana Chamber Orchestra.

His body was returned home



## Mandela rules out delay in South African election

By Chris Erasmus  
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa  
â\200\224 Nelson Mandela ruled out  
any delay in South Africaâ\200\231s  
first all-race elections despite  
another plea Wednesday  
from his principal political ri-  
val, Inkatha Freedom Party  
chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

â\200\234I've not heard

eign minister Lord Carring-  
ton, were set to embark  
Wednesday on breaking the  
deadlock between Mandela,  
de Klerk and Buthelezi and  
Zulu King Goodwill Zweleth-  
ini, whose tribe is the coun-

tryâ\200\231s largest group.

Inkatha backed up Buthe-  
lezi's demand with a new  
warning of violence. â\200\234Unless

this constitution is

anything to con-  
vince me that we  
should consider  
changing the  
date,â\200\235 said Man-  
dela, the African  
National Congress  
leader and presi-  
dential front-run-  
ner, after Buthe-  
lezi demanded  
mediators post-  
pone the vote.  
Without saying  
he would call off his boycott,  
Buthelezi says the delay is  
necessary for his Zulu-domi-  
nated party to compete equal-  
ly with the ANC, President

F.W. de Klerkâ\200\231s National Par-  
ty and 25 other parties in vot-

ing April 26-28.  
Butheleziâ\200\231s demand throws  
the mediation into disarray.  
Mediators, led by former sec-  
retary of State Henry Kissin-  
ger and former British for-

BUTHELEZI: Has  
vowed a boycott .

corrected, there

â\200\230can be no peace,â\200\235  
reads an Inkatha  
statement.

In KwaZulu,  
seven people were  
killed as they  
handed out voter  
education materi-  
al. Six people were  
arrested.

\* Professor David  
Welsh, a political  
scientist at the Uni-  
versity of Cape Town, worries  
about the stalemate. â\200\234If there  
is no political resolution ...  
then itâ\200\231s back to the trenches,  
perhaps literally, for Buthe-  
lezi and his supporters.

â\200\234Where Buthelezi goes  
from here is anyoneâ\200\231s guess,â\200\235  
Welsh says. â\200\234After his mam-  
moth miscalculation in miss-  
ing the election boat, his time  
and options are rapidly run-  
ning out.â\200\235 S

Reuters