

Better small steps than no steps at all

SUNDAY TIMES - 18 JUNE 1989

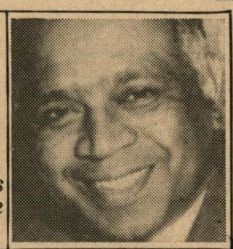
IT is perfectly understandable that the ANC — which was compelled by the actions of Malan, Verwoerd and Vorster to replace its non-violent character with the armed struggle — should propagate non-participation in instruments of peaceful, though piecemeal, reform.

Whatever the Nats may say, it is unarguable that the ANC, like the PAC, consists of South African patriots. It is equally true that, having adopted the path of armed liberation, they cannot view with equanimity other forms of political reform which they do not dominate.

It is true that there are only two ways available to bring about the desired political changes in SA — violent revolution or constitutional progress. It follows that unless the Government is to be forcibly overthrown and chaos and anarchy risked, the process of constitutional change must come via Parliament. Communist

Pat Poovalingam

DP MP in the House of Delegates, takes up the cudgels on behalf of participants in the tricameral Parliament



China reminds the world of the ferocity of which beleaguered oligarchists are capable.

And it cannot reasonably be denied that it is preferable to move even a little at a time towards the desired destination of full democracy in a rickety, put-together three-wheeler than to do nothing. Until, at any rate, a better vehicle can be found.

The tricameral Parliament is no great shakes. But it did have the great benefit of assisting white MPs to cross an important colour and racial hurdle. Even five years ago, it was unthinkable that brown MPs, some

very dark-skinned, would sit in the same parliamentary chamber and engage in direct debates with white NP as well as CP Members of Parliament. And for those whites to be obliged to listen to some harsh home truths told directly and bluntly by the darkies.

The whites not only had to take it, but seasoned political journalists have commented that it was this straight talking that so affected many Nats that the Government had to withdraw the Group Areas Amendment Bill.

Wolves

Toothless forsooth! Indeed this horrific Bill had in fact been passed by the all-white House of Assembly despite strenuous opposition from the PFP. But it was rejected by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates. Had the brown MPs not been in that Parliament, President P W Botha would have signed the Bill — and thousands of South Africans, now protected by a judicial pronouncement, would have been thrown to the wolves.

It is hardly likely that such a result would have been welcomed by those in the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress. So why then do

they oppose participation by the Democratic Party in the House of Delegates, while agreeing to support candidates for the white Assembly?

Why this seeming racial discrimination from two self-styled and racially structured "Indian" political organisations? (Incidentally, in cultural terms, I am Indian, but politically I am absolutely South African. Which is why, way back in 1954, I left an Indian political body and joined the non-racial Liberal Party. Which is why, once legal restraints were removed, several of us sought membership of the nonracial PFP, the major component of the DP.)

Why then the racial attitudes of the NIC and TIC? Well, they were the "Indian" components of the Congress Movement, in which the ANC was the leader. It would appear that they regard the "Indian" group in SA as their particular political market and they do not want anyone else having any part of that market.

In 1984 the NIC and TIC called for a total boycott. They succeeded partially, to the extent of keeping away many high-calibre persons from Parliament and the polls low. Are the two "Indian" congresses now afraid that, if better-quality candidates succeed this time on a higher percentage poll, it would reflect poorly on their claim to be "real representatives" of the "Indian" population?

The ANC indicated some while ago that it would support the DP, provided the DP sacrificed its brown members on the altar of cheap expediency. It would suit the ANC if the DP re-

mained a purely white organisation.

That endeavour did not find favour with the DP, which, both in its constitution and in its statement of principles, has declared unequivocally that it is non-racial in structure and content and works for a non-racial democracy, and that it will make use of all available instruments at all levels of government to propagate its ideals.

Only the very dishonest and the terribly cynical will want to jettison these noble aims for the sake of the conditional support of the UDF and its affiliates. The condition, or the implied threat, is that, if the DP does not stab its brown members in the back, then the promise of support will not materialise.

Morale

In fact, the three DP leaders made it perfectly clear that not only will the three seats held by the DP in the House of Delegates be defended, but the DP will field additional candidates.

Work has proceeded and, despite propaganda designed to dampen morale, there is tremendous enthusiasm for the DP and its non-racial ideals. Within only the past few weeks more than 1500 House of Delegates voters have signed up as DP members and organisational work is being strengthened.

There is no turning back. Those who hope that the leadership of the DP or its National Board will betray the ideals of the DP for a mess of dubious pottage or that they will tread the path of radicals will be sorely disappointed.

NO ONE ever thought it would be easy to end the political bloodshed in Maritzburg's townships.

Over the past three years, the region has gained the dubious distinction of becoming known overseas as one of the world's violent centres, surpassed only by battle-scarred places like Beirut and Belfast.

The death toll has averaged about 40 people a month so far this year (and that's down from last December, when more than 100 people were killed over the holiday period).

Last year's joint peace initiative by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is now lying in tatters.

Something has to be done desperately soon.

Six weeks ago, what looked like the beginnings of a bold and genuine move towards some sort of peace settlement began when leaders of Cosatu, the United Democratic Front, the banned African National Congress and Inkatha agreed they had to meet and decide on a strategy to end the conflict between their members.

Today that meeting is no closer to getting off the ground, wrecked by obstinance, one-upmanship and hidden agendas.

Threats

Even when it looked as though a fragile balance might be struck between the parties negotiating the fate of hundreds, probably thousands, of ordinary township people, a Minister of Law and Order clearly out of touch with the complexities of the Maritzburg violence put an end to the initiative with threats of using the "iron fist" of the police against the side he had decided was to blame for the death and destruction.

Mr Adriaan Vlok should know by now that the "iron fist" approach has only a limited effect in curbing the fighting in Maritzburg. He has used it before, trucking in police reinforcements and stepping up patrols, but as soon as the police presence eased slightly, the townships began to burn again.

Those who bungle while Natal bleeds

Shaun Harris

surveys the bitter fruits of the Maritzburg violence

Even worse, periods of increased police activity have often led to claims, at times from both the UDF/Cosatu affiliates and Inkatha members, that the official forces were biased towards and even helping one of the sides in the conflict.

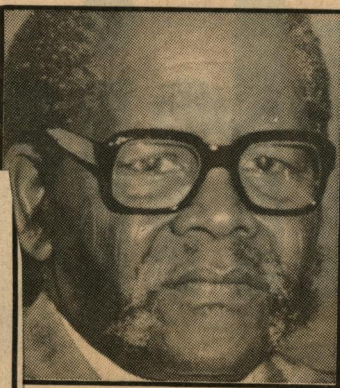
Rarely has what would certainly be the biggest deterrent to violence — the arrest and prosecution of known "warlords" and agitators — taken place.

Extra police trucks are rolling into Maritzburg again, and will probably force an uneasy semblance of peace for a while.

But the only way anything close to real peace is going to be achieved is for recognised leaders to sit down together and talk — and that won't happen until all the parties learn something about compromise and getting beyond petty political point-scoring.

A brief sequence of events leading up to the failed talks shows that personalities and party politics have to be pushed aside to end the violence.

The imaginative joint complaints adjudication board set up last year by Cosatu (and by implication the restricted UDF) and Inkatha worked for a while, but failed for the same reasons that legal action against perpetrators of violence failed — witnesses and



OLIVER TAMBO

complainants were murdered and nobody, not even the courts, could guarantee their safety.

With the end of the board, Cosatu and the UDF, with help from church leaders, drew up their own plans to try to end the violence.

At about the same time KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi discussed his plans for peace with Inkatha's central committee and they were laid on the table.

Clearly, there was a problem with two rival sets of peace proposals being advocated, but moves towards peace looked hopeful when leaders of the organisations agreed to meet.

The proposed meeting was given a significant boost when the external wing of the ANC, under Oliver Tambo, backed the meeting and



ADRIAAN VLOK

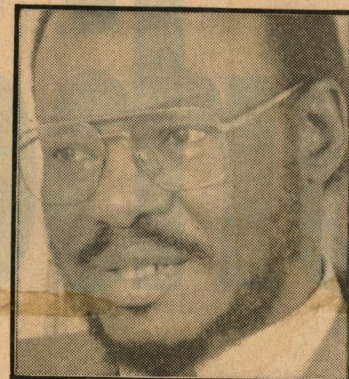
made its clearest commitment yet to ending the Maritzburg conflict, saying it would do all it could — within the limitations it was forced to work under — to help bring about peace in the region.

So far, so good, especially considering that Mr Vlok had recently launched a scathing attack on the UDF and Cosatu in Parliament, bluntly blaming them for the violence and promising to bring his "iron fist" down on members of the organisations in Maritzburg.

Hitch

But there was a hitch. With two peace plans, neither the Cosatu/UDF alliance nor Inkatha wanted to be seen as the group being drawn into peace meetings. Clearly, if the plan worked, both parties wanted to claim credit for starting the process.

There was also the hidden agenda, the big prize here being ANC involvement. (Incidentally, many



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Maritzburg watchers believe it was this ANC involvement which prompted Mr Vlok to launch his attack on Cosatu and the UDF, both of which he called ANC creations. It would not do for the ANC to help bring about peace in Maritzburg when the police could not.)

Despite the real effect ANC calls for peace might have in the troubled region, for Cosatu and the UDF it would definitely be a political victory to involve the ANC.

While cross-border talks with the organisation are being condemned by the Government, it would boost the ANC's image to be included in a ground-level process such as the Maritzburg issue, showing that despite being banned and having to work from outside the country's borders, it could make its influence felt.

For Chief Buthelezi, the ANC card was as important, for different reasons. For several years, the KwaZulu leader has been trying to

hold a formal meeting with the organisation's external wing. Such a meeting would, symbolically at least, put Inkatha on an equal footing with the ANC as a leader in the liberation struggle.

Clearly, the Chief Minister smarts at accusations that Inkatha is, in his own words, the "leper" of the struggle. Recently he has been publicly reading a letter sent to him by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela which, besides showing that a good relationship still exists between the two men, also expresses the hope that good relations could be restored between the ANC in exile and Inkatha.

While the ANC and Inkatha remain poles apart in terms of ideology and the use of violence to overthrow the State, a meeting between the leaders of the two organisations would give Inkatha the sort of recognition and status it needs among the more radicalised sections of the black population.

With all parties agreeing that a

meeting should take place (initially between Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha, followed by one with the ANC) and a date even set for the first meeting, the question of the venue came up. This is when egos began to interfere and the squabbling became petty.

Chief Buthelezi wanted Cosatu and UDF leaders to come to the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi. They suggested a "more neutral" venue, such as Durban.

The venue was not resolved and the first date passed. Letters began to fly back and forth in an absurd play of one-upmanship.

Finally, something close to a compromise was reached last week, with Chief Buthelezi agreeing that some of his senior Ministers would meet their counterparts in Durban for "talks about the talks".

Although delayed, it looked as if the move towards peace was back on track.

That is, until the state of emergency IV and the entrance once again of the Minister of Law and Order. On Monday this week, additional restriction orders were served on one of the key players in the proposed talks, UDF Natal president Archie Gumede, confin-

ing him to his home in Durban between 8pm and 5am and barring him from taking part in UDF affairs, from addressing public meetings, talking to the media and helping prepare any material for publication.

Damage

Lawyers and members of church organisations involved in last year's joint peace initiative had a feeling of *deja vu*. Last time, restrictions on the UDF prevented the organisation from being party to the joint peace plan — this time a leading individual was restricted right out of the picture.

Naturally, Mr Vlok's actions were widely condemned. The generous interpretation was that he was just not aware of the importance of peace talks between leaders of the groups involved in the conflict. The sinister one was that somebody did not want peace in Maritzburg, at least not for the time being.

Mercifully, on Friday, the Government lifted the additional restrictions, but the damage had been done.

Once again, the "talks about peace talks" have been called off, with a vague date being suggested for some time next week. Of course, the talks are only the first step — there are still questions about how much control Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu have in Maritzburg townships and whether they can bring their members into line.

But talks will be the first step, and they are needed as soon as possible. But it seems they will take place only when leaders, including Mr Vlok, can learn something about diplomacy and compromise.

SUNDAY TIMES - 18 JUNE 1989

Parents set deadline for the re-opening of university

By SHARON CHETTY

PARENTS of students at the University of Durban-Westville have set a July 10 deadline for the campus to be re-opened.

This was the demand made at a public meeting of parents and students at the Puttandeen Theatre in Chatsworth, Durban, on Thursday evening.

The gathering of about 400 met to discuss the crisis at the university after academic activities were suspended two weeks ago during a stay-away from lectures by

students.

Students boycotted lectures in protest against the suspension of one student and the expulsion of another from the hostel.

The two hostel students are said to have been a part of a "defiance campaign" against rules which prevent students from having visitors overnight in their rooms.

Since March this year, students living at the university's four residences have been waging the defiance campaign.

During the boycott of lectures, a group of students stopped others from writing their

examinations. This disruption led to the suspension of academic activities.

At the meeting convened by the Chatsworth Co-ordinating Council for health, welfare and education, it was decided that a parents' committee be formed to work with members of staff and the SRC to resolve the crisis on the campus.

A call was also made for the two hostel students, B A Masemola and N L Radebe, to be reinstated in the hostel.

Professor Jairam Reddy, a member of the Combined Staff Association, said a change

had to be made to the residence rules.

"We can no longer impose rules on students. We must negotiate them together, observe and bring to book offences jointly," he said.

SRC president Kovin Naidoo said students were opposed to the students' expulsions from the hostel since all students were engaged in the defiance campaign.

Mr S Rambharos of the Aryan Benevolent Home Council said parents needed to work closely with each other to have a say in the workings of the university.

Congress should contest elections

THE sojourn in "Mother India" by extra-parliamentary groups (including among them the NIC, TIC) now having become a fait accompli, I should like to make a few observations.

Coupled with the poignant and strong recom-

mendations made to the Indian Prime Minister by the South African delegation, and Saira Essa's satire in the form of the James Commission, one cannot help but exclaim "savas! sabash! good job! etc.

But the supreme irony of it all is the coming tricam elections when so many non-entities will be elected to represent the Indians of this country. Note represent. Can you conceive of anything more ludicrous? What a farce.

Worthy

What is perhaps the remedy? I firmly believe that worthy leaders from the NIC, TIC and other luminaries from a broad spectrum of extra

parliamentary groupings must make themselves available to serve and lead their people. — R MUNISAMY, Newholme.

☐ I WOULD like to set the records straight with regards to the erroneous letter sent by "Parent" in the Extra of May 28.

Bedding

I am a senior teacher at Richards Bay Secondary School.

I am not aware of any accommodation offered to us at R125 per month.

I live 25km away from Richards Bay and pay R200 a month for two rooms which I share with two of my school-going children.

And at no time did the

● The Sunday Times Extra welcomes letters from readers. We prefer to use the writer's name but pseudonyms are acceptable in most cases. A day telephone number MUST be given. No letter will be considered without it.

teachers ask children for beds or bedding. I am quite aware that nobody forced me to apply for this post at Richards Bay. Why is it that neither land nor homes are available in this area? Surely this is a unique situation.

— SENIOR TEACHER, Richards Bay Secondary.

☐ THE campaign slogan of potential candidates in the forthcoming tricam elections is: "Vote the right candidate to stamp out corruption".

To eradicate corruption one requires public interests to be placed above self-interest.

Ideology

Racially segregated institutions, by their very nature are self-interest institutions. They serve the interests of the ruling class (whites) and the self-interest of participants. Participation has become highly lucrative.

If a political ideology and its politics are unjust how can corruption be eradicated without first changing the ideology to a just and equitable one? — A S MUNDEEKASEN, Jacobs.

ONE really has to be living on the campus to appreciate the marked cultural differences between the African and Asian students.

It is not that one group is better than another, although perhaps some in both groups feel a certain superiority.

In our dorm the Zulu and Xhosa women would often object to the hot Indian fare. At some times there were efforts to offer two different meals. But it never worked out well.

When I went in for dinner, I would sometimes sit with the black girls and sometimes with the Indian girls. Two white women students would usually eat together but sometimes with the Indians. The only problem of sitting with the blacks is that they would, understandably, suddenly shift to Zulu or Xhosa to make a point.

A Zulu student would start to tell a joke and then realise it wasn't funny in English, so she would finish it in Zulu. I found it hard to pick up Zulu during such a relatively short visit.

Naked

One marked cultural difference in our dormitory was the attitude towards nudity. I'm quite used to showering in the nude with other women. One often would see a black girl walking down the hall to the shower with nothing on or, perhaps, with a towel wrapped around her waist.

Not so with most Indian students. The mother and sisters might not have seen her naked since she was about nine years old. So Indian women could be quite shy. Sometimes they wore a slip into the shower or tried to use the facilities when no one else was around.

THU Le spent three months at the University of Durban-Westville last year. She left Viet Nam at the age of 12 and endured traumatic days and nights in a small open boat on the China Sea. She and her family eventually made their way to California. At UD-W she worked in the department of Biochemistry.

This week Professor Jairam Reddy, a member of the Combined Staff Association at UD-W, referred to her written account on her stay at the university during a speech at a public meeting in Chatsworth, Durban. The meeting was called to discuss the closure of UD-W.

Prof Reddy said Thu Le had "perceptively analysed" the situation at UD-W. Here are extracts from her account. It was first published in Varsity Voice, a UD-W publication.

One cannot deny that an undercurrent of tension exists between the black and brown students. It reflects a long standing hostility in their respective communities.

The so-called Durban riots of 1949 when the Zulus went on a rampage against the Indians, hacking them with machets and burning their stores, is still vivid in the minds of the parents, as are lesser outbreaks of recent origin.

On the other hand, among students one does not particularly note the

division between Hindus and Muslims.

Tension between Zulus and Xhosa reflect the movement of the latter into Durban seeking employment, and also the fact that many Zulus support Buthelezi's Inkatha, and many Xhosa back the more radical United Democratic Front.

Cultural

With the opening of the varsity (to non-Indian students) came both good things and bad things. The

more militant and politically active black students brought with them their visions and beliefs, which helped to arouse the Indian students into being politically involved and conscious of the unfairness and inequalities in the South African society.

Unfortunately, the student's involvement resulted in many unhappy incidents including boycotts, violent confrontations with the police, and indefinite detentions of student leaders.

The majority of students

got along admirably, but for a few, university was literally a major cultural shock, which they found hard to overcome.

Racial and political tensions were everywhere: in the student residences, in the classrooms, and at social functions.

Inferior

During my stay, a student from one political group was killed by another student from a different political organisation at a sporting event.

It probably started out as a drunken brawl, but it soon picked up political significance and exploded into a campus-wide riot.

For many black students, college is probably the most trying period of their lives.

Even for those who managed to pass the nationwide college entrance test, their English is still broken and their science



JAIRAM REDDY
Addressed meeting

knowledge is way below average due to the lack of practical experience and inferior teaching facilities in high school.

Thrown into a completely new environment and being taught in a foreign language with foreign accents, it is inevitable that they struggle. Yet, they are given no compensating help.

Therefore, the majority of the very few who made it to college ended up flunk-

ing out or repeating several classes. Their lack of monetary resources to finance their college education, the increasing student fees, and the constant student boycotts and riots only worsen the situation.

What is the cause behind all this? The answer lies in the oppressive apartheid system and its obnoxious Bantu Education Act. Designed to keep education segregated, the Act set up separate schools for different racial groups.

English

Another problem is that the schools the Zulu girls came from are quite inadequate compared with the Indians, and even more so when compared with the white schools. This means that the standard of English suffers. Vocabulary was often quite good but the grammar weak.

Of course, it takes an American a little while to

sort out the different ways English is spoken. I understand the words as used by Africans, but they often have a special vocabulary that takes learning. It also takes some time and careful listening to follow Indians and also Afrikaans accents.

My shining memory is of the co-operative way so many black and brown students worked together, as friends, to bring about a non-racial democracy.

KFC puts the positive side

WHILE the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation Limited (KFC) is not the body responsible for policing wage-incentive abuses, our mission is to improve the quality of life of the people of KwaZulu and their interests are obviously our main concern.

The KFC attempts, wherever possible, to use its influence, even in areas where it may not be directly involved, to promote the interests of the people of KwaZulu. We wish therefore to add our voice to those who deplore malpractices of the type revealed in your first article under the general headline 'Out of Pocket' (Sunday Tribune, June 11).

It is to be hoped that your feature, by drawing the public's attention thereto, will contribute towards the eradication of such abuses where they occur and convince employers of the necessity of paying a decent, living wage.

It was, however, sad to note that the two articles concentrated almost exclusively on the negative aspects of the industrial decentralisation initiative, leaving readers with the impression that exploitation and abuses are general practice and that there have been no positive benefits.

We would not like it thought that the exploitation of workers at industrial estates in KwaZulu is the general rule or even a widespread phenomenon or — for that matter — that the situation at these estates is an exception to the rest of the country.

Many leading South African companies have operations or branches at the industrial estates in KwaZulu and approximately 48 percent of companies on these estates are listed on the JSE, or are connected with listed companies. We feel that the article is an unfair reflection, not

18 JUNE 1989
20 000 PEOPLE ARE
EMPLOYED AT ISITHEBE

LETTERS

Write to: The Editor, Sunday
Tribune, Box 1491, Durban 4000

only on these major employers, but also on the many smaller companies with active social consciences.

Without suggesting for one moment that such malpractices as may have occurred are to be condoned or tolerated, I would like to highlight some recent developments and some of the more positive aspects of the industrial decentralisation initiative, which I believe your readers would want to know:

□ South Africa's present industrial base is totally inadequate for the purpose of generating acceptable levels of employment and the growth in productivity necessary to revitalise the country's flagging economy. Decentralisation incentives do provide a stimulus to industry, as well as much-needed jobs.

□ The Isithebe Industrial Estate, which forms the focus of the second article and which — as was rightly stated — was

only on these major employers, but also on the many smaller companies with active social consciences.

opment. Shack settlements, such as depicted in your article, are a sad reality of life, throughout the country.

The situation around Isithebe is largely the product of historic events and the KFC has, for years, attempted to obtain additional land for residential development.

In conclusion, we wish to emphasise our concern that the reports were based on information which is seriously out of date and which does not, therefore, in our view, present the public with a balanced or accurate representation.

Dr Marius Spies
Executive Director KFC
Letter shortened — Editor.

once considered too remote to be viable, currently provides employment to more than 20 000 black people.

□ It is not accurate to describe KwaZulu as a "legislative backwater" as regards labour relations.

□ Shortage of adequate housing for black people is a national problem, aggravated by lack of finance and the slowness of the authorities in making sufficient land available for devel-

Peacemakers from Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu meet to halt the carnage

TEN men of peace will shake hands in Durban sometime tomorrow. They will try to look casual, relaxed and confident. For the time being they will forget their rivalry and disagreements.

Their warm, friendly smiles will conceal the years of uneasy tension, political slogans, war chants and bitter recriminations that have cut a dismal chasm in the heart of communities suffering a common bondage.

Foremost in the minds of the Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu delegations will be the senseless atrocities committed under the banner of their organisations in Natal's townships. Nowadays it is rare for anyone to know who initiated an attack — or why. It just happens.

Like last week's gunning down of four men in a Shongweni shebeen. They were sipping their drinks when gunmen, part of a large crowd, burst in and fired aimlessly at patrons. When the hysterical screams for mercy had subsided four men lay dead as tiny rivulets of blood mixed with the spilled liquor on the floor.

"This is an animal's place. I curse the day I came here," a victim's relative cried.

Across the cool hills — at Mpumalanga — the next day, magistrate HT Gama hurriedly packed his family off to safer pastures. The previous night a large group of

INKATHA



Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo (top) and Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi.

people had arrived at his house threatening him. Minutes after they left, he heard shots.

The next day Mr Gama offered his condolences to the family of 25-year-old neighbour Norah Mdaweni who was killed by an unidentified gunman. Mr Gama echoed the sentiments of the men who have decided to meet tomorrow

NOW WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH!

That's the cry from refugees, children desperate for education, helpless parents — Natal's black community

By Quraish Patel

when he said: "I've had enough."

So too have the province's entire black community, the thousands of refugees who flee the armed groups baying for blood, the desperate pupils who long to fill the empty classrooms and

helpless mothers who watch while their children are swallowed by the violence.

Leading Inkatha's delegation, which includes Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi, is secretary-general Dr

Oscar Dhlomo. Calm, diplomatic and rational.

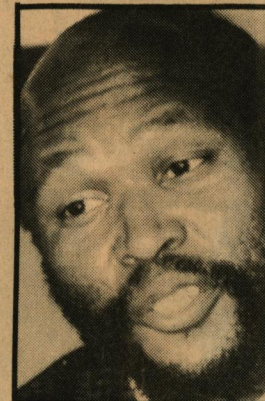
Facing him are the UDF's Murphy Morobe, Dr Diliza Mji and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, Alec Irwin and Sipho Ngcibashe: calm, diplomatic and rational.

Compromise

With these odds for peace in their favour the need to compromise appears deceptively easy.

As yet no one has the final solution to ending the violence. Prominent researchers investigating the depth of township conflicts continue to

UDF/COSATU



The UDF's Murphy Morobe (top) and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

stress the wide-ranging nature of the violence, existing outside of UDF/Inkatha clashes.

Prominent researcher Dr Mike Sutcliffe, acting head of the department of town and regional planning at the University of Natal, Durban, indicated the problems which face the peacemakers.

In a survey of Durban residents' attitudes to the violence, Dr Sutcliffe said this week in his report, sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA: "Clearly the movement for peace has a variety of serious obstacles to overcome, the least of which is probably discussions between the respective leaderships of anti-apartheid organisations."

His survey "calls into question Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok's interpretation of events and the violence in Natal/KwaZulu".

"Residents of Durban do not appear to place

the blame for the violence so readily on the doorstep of Inkatha and Cosatu-UDF. Interestingly, only one person interviewed even mentioned the word 'communist' and none even suggested the violence was the work of the South African Communist Party.

"Also, only a handful of those interviewed blamed the violence on the African National Congress.

Results

"The survey indicates the extent to which the state of emergency restricts people's access to information. And, in spite of the restrictions, people still feel the Government is ultimately to 'blame' for the violence.

"To a much lesser extent Inkatha and organisations within the mass

democratic moment are singled out as responsible parties. A major group of respondents felt the security forces were involved in violence and that they could stop the violence."

Dr Sutcliffe's open-ended questions during his survey led to a disturbing conclusion: "The vast majority felt the violence would continue primarily because of the Government's inability and unwillingness to stop the violence."

The peace delegations are aware of the difficulties, especially those beyond their control. However, their primary objective is to work towards ending bloody internecine conflicts.

Simply calling on their supporters to lay down their arms and embrace their foes in friendship or drawing up loftily-phrased treaties do not address the deep-rooted — and sometimes groundless — fears and suspicions generated

over the years.

They will be looking to a sustained, practical programme which bears more lasting results. But that is still a long way off.

The delegations will find common ground when they table their commitment to peace. As they feel each other out, they know their meeting is really a prelude to the peace conference featuring Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and UDF-Cosatu leaders Archie Gumede and Elijay Barayi.

Venue

Perhaps the delegations will also seek to include ANC leader Oliver Tambo. If that happens the problem of a venue is overcome because the parties would then meet outside the country.

However, within the country the venue for a

peace conference is still the major obstacle. Chief Buthelezi has proposed Ulundi. UDF-Cosatu leaders prefer other centres. Stalemate.

Somehow, the representatives will work around the problem — each holding some ground to avoid complete surrender and then giving a little to show good faith. In the end they will be drawn to each other without losing their political identities.

Dr Mji and his UDF-Cosatu colleagues are influential leaders; Dr Dhlomo, equally, commands respect — he has already demonstrated his ability to strike a balance in the face of the fears of his foes and the aspirations of his supporters during Indaba discussions.

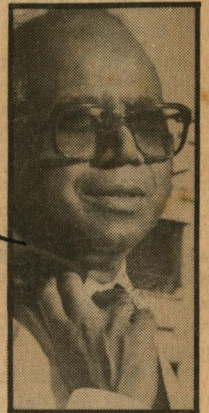
When these men shake hands before their talks, they could also clasp that unity which has been eluding political organisations seeking a better tomorrow.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, 18 JUNE 1989

Indian MPs organise 1 500 members in 21 Natal constituencies

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 18 JUNE 1989

HoD: REVOLT IN DP RANKS



□ Pat Poovalingam

THE Democratic Party faces a rebellion among its Indian members over the party's reluctance to put up more candidates for the House of Delegates.

By John MacLennan

This follows the disclosure this week that extra-parliamentary organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), were investigating the possibility of drawing the DP into a national coalition against the Government.

These organisations are against participation in the coloured and Indian houses and plan to persuade the DP to drop support for its three Indian MP's in the HoD.

The DP leadership has not been able to resolve its position on the issue. It is stated policy for the party to engage in talks with extra-parliamentary forces. At the same time it wants to support its Indian MPs. It also has to decide whether it will put up candidates against the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives, with which it has a working relationship.

This week it appeared that the DP's most senior Indian politician, Pat Poovalingam, was set on forcing a showdown on the issue.

He disclosed that he had received permission from the three DP leaders to enrol members and said 1 500 were now organised in 21 constituency committees in Natal.

A source said up to 14 candidates would be put up for election. This was in direct contrast with previously stated DP policy not to support more candidates in the HoD.

Mr Poovalingam warned that the UDF was trying to seduce the DP with talk of a coalition and that this could be a clever attempt to split the party on racial lines.

He said the so-called mass democratic movement "clearly wants to influence the leaders of

the DP to stab us (Indian MPs) in the back. But there is no turning back and we are going ahead. I am satisfied there will be more than three DP MP's in the HoD after the election".

The issue was discussed by the DP national board executive on Friday, which declined to say what decision had been reached.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said discussions were "not yet complete".

Nagoor Bissetty reports that while the DP leadership was busy discussing the issue, its MPs in the HoD were going ahead with plans to contest seats in the September poll.

Mahmoud Rajab, the DP's MP for Springfield, said yesterday: "We are busy screening candidates and hope to announce nominations soon."

De Klerk looks for a friend in Thatcher

F.W. de Klerk, the leader of South Africa's ruling National party, is due to meet Margaret Thatcher in London this week on a European tour which will take him also to West Germany, Italy and Portugal. At each stop, Mr de Klerk, who is expected to become president after elections in September, will meet government leaders conscious that they are giving him an electoral boost merely by being seen with him.

The British visit is seen here as by far the most important in fulfilling the aims of the tour, which are to stop South Africans thinking of their country as isolated in the world, enhance Mr de Klerk's personal standing and explore strategies for a political solution of apartheid.

No world leader is viewed with more regard by white South Africans than Mrs

South Africa's likely new president is seeking an electoral boost by visiting Britain. Downing Street will want a *quid pro quo* for endorsing him, writes John Carlin in Johannesburg.

Thatcher and none has taken a more active interest in the South African question. But she expects something in return for the favour of this Friday's talks in London. High on the agenda will be Nelson Mandela's release; great expectations have been generated that it will finally happen soon after Mr de Klerk takes power. Mrs Thatcher is also expected to seek firm commitments on the release of other political prisoners, on lifting the three-year-old State of Emergency and on negotiations with representative black leaders. She wants to see, in

short, that he means to take significant strides towards the post-apartheid era.

Fears were being expressed yesterday in the South African press, however, that Mr de Klerk's tour might prove in retrospect to be as meaningless as P.W. Botha's visit to London and other European capitals in May 1984. Mr Botha employed the same urgent reformist rhetoric that Mr de Klerk is using now. But since then tens of thousands of blacks have been in and out of detention and more than 30 political organisations have been banned, eloquently demonstrat-

ing the government's inability to rule without coercion. Mr de Klerk has a much easier, more reasonable manner than the stormy Mr Botha, but for all his recent promises of "dramatic change" he has failed to spell out his intentions unambiguously, hampered as he is by the need to appease voters to the right and left of his party. As the *Sunday Star* said yesterday: "When Mr de Klerk meets Mrs Thatcher, which Mr de Klerk will speak? In recent weeks he has behaved like a schizophrenic. He is the reluctant reformer as well as the new Nationalist who wants a totally changed South Africa with a new constitution. He speaks of ending white domination but also of own affairs [government divided along racial lines] and the importance of racial groups."

A19



Mandela: in comfortable isolation

Lonely life for Mandela

by Peter Godwin
Johannesburg

CLOSE friends of Nelson Mandela have revealed rare details of his comfortable life behind bars, his loneliness and the deference shown him by his white warders.

Mandela lives in a gilded cage, according to the evidence of Amina and Yusuf Cachalia, veteran anti-apartheid activists who visited the jailed leader of the African National Congress in his prison near Cape Town.

Mandela, who is in effective solitary isolation, admitted to the couple that he was lonely in "his" comfortable prison quarters. But they said that despite his 26 years in prison, he showed no trace of bitterness.

According to the Cachalias, Mandela lives in a house in the warders' compound. The house stands in a pleasant, well-kept garden, with a swimming pool and barbecue area. Inside he has a small gym with an exercise bicycle and weights, and a consulting room where he is examined daily by a doctor.

He has a television, is allowed to read newspapers and listen to the radio, including shortwave broadcasts. He has begun writing what may become a book.

The couple, Mandela's closest friends, said he had received no indication to support speculation that the government was considering freeing him after elections due in September. "Leopards," he said, "do not change their spots."

The Cachalias said Mandela met them dressed in a double-breasted suit and tie. They were served a lunch of salmon, asparagus salad and lamb by his personal white warder, officer Swart, who treated him with great respect.

Another warder, Warrant Officer Gregory, told the Cachalias proudly: "I've been with Mr Mandela since the island days," a reference to Mandela's original imprisonment on Robben Island 25 years ago for his part in a violent ANC campaign.

Sunday Times
18/6/89 - London

The Independent
19/6/89 - London