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Something dramatic has happened within the African National Congress. This week's historic accord between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC would not have been possible unless this was so. Its ability to co-sign the far-reaching declaration with the IFP represents a sea change that is as fundamental as that which came over the National Party when State President F W de Klerk delivered his historic address to Parliament on February 2 last year.

Since October 1979 - the date of the last top-level meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, as it was then - few people within the National Executive Committee of the ANC have not engaged in the most vile vilification of Inkatha and its President, Dr M G Buthelezi.

Many were at yesterday's peace conference. These included Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani - who once called for the assassination of Inkatha leaders - Joe Slovo and John Nkadimeng. "Mzala", described by the ANC itself as its greatest intellectual, published a book in the name of ANC in which he denigrated Dr Buthelezi in grotesque fashion and suggested that he was a fraud.

Yet yesterday the ANC came to meet Inkatha and Dr Mandela himself publicly spoke of Prince Buthelezi when referring to the IFP's President. .

What brought about this change? History will, in time, provide the full answer. The change itself is so dramatic that it would be unwise to believe that all the violence and misery that went with it will now disappear like the morning mist.

What is indisputable though is that Inkatha remains where it has always stood - on the centre stage of South African politics. No amount of violence, intimidation or pressure has driven it off course before. The ANC's decision to come to Durban demonstrates acceptance of the fact that no amount of coercion will do so now.

Re-printed below are excerpts of the addresses delivered by Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mandela.] :

STATEMENT

. There are some things
one just does not do in

- normalised political rela-

- tionships. Both Inkatha
Freedom Party and the
ANC must work towards
a defined statement of
what is totally unaccepta-
ble in dealing with each
other. Killing is just not
on. Character assassina-

- tion is just not on. Vast
distortions and lies about
each other are just not
on.

Perhaps we can establish
a joint Code of Conduct
Commission which will
look at what Parties in a
South African democra-

ASSEMBLY -

There will not be a Cons-
tituent Assembly in
South Africa. There will
not be a Constituent As-

- sembly followed by an in-
terim government. Tho-
se things are not achieva-
ble in South Africa. The
ANC's commitment to
achieve them is a com-
mitment to fight South
African realities and it
can only lead to disaster
for us all.

The ANC mass action
programme politically is
taking constitution-
making to street corners
and to locate the process
of constitutional deve-
lopment in the politics of
violent confrontation.

The ANC's attempt to

claim political goals and

' then to mobilise mass ac-
tion to support them, is
using anarchistic. appro-
aches because the threat
is being made that all
South Africa must bow
to the demands or else...

I want that there is a gra-
ve and dangerous situa-
tion in which any moves

to force South Africans
to leap into constitutional
darkness and any at-
tempt to force South
Africans to leap into

~ constitutional unknowns
will have disastrous con-
sequences.

The constituent assembly
leading to transitional
government route must
be likened to pushing
. South Africa out on to a

great ocean which is
charterless and filled
with unknowns. We

* must know what kind of

constitution we are he-
ading towards before we
even begin moving in its
direction.

There should now NOwe
fighting about who s
going to introduce what
constitution. There
should be negotiation
about the kind of consti-
tution that we need.
There should be negotia-
tion about how we are
going to proceed towards
adopting a new constitu-
tion. The ANC is leaving
no room for negotiation.
It says there shall be a
Constituent Assembly. It
says there shall be an in-
terim government and it
says there shall be mass

~action to back up these

demands. It says in ef-

| fact that there shall be

political conflict - and
even political violence -
and perhaps even a re-
sorting to the armed
struggle - unless these

things are accepted.

L.

Demanding a Consti-
tuent Assembly is leap-
frogging over this vital
step. Backing the de-

mand with street-corner
action is seeking the
good of the ANC as a
political Party and not
seeking what is good for
the State. That is my
viewpoint. That is the
IFP's viewpoint. Right
or wrong, it is our view-
point. The ANC must
talk to us about it.

I have called for begin-

- nings to be made in re-

paration of wrongs from
the past from all sides
and I have said just suffi-
cient to point out that it
is not only the past that
divides us. I have poin-
ted out that in today's
politics, today's political
actions could well
amount to alienating for-
ces which prohibit the
normalisation of political

" relationships.

However we define our
difficulties and however
we define our positions,
we must end up today sa-
ying violence must stop.
We must end up today
committing ourselves to
joint ventures in action
against violence. We
must end up today banis-
hing forever the politics
of intimidation which le-
ads to violence. ,

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. DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHEIEISAID

" LETTER

in\2021 Å© letter to me dated
' the 3rd February 1989,

imakeanearrmtappeal
! to the ANC to recognise

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We need today an ho-
*â\200\234nest} 'unequivocal state-

Tt is my hor ic kind of politics | - ment by the ANC that
- It is my hope that we will tic Situation can and can- ; the Deputy-President of | gâ\200
\230:f,,â\200\230;in\201 in doing these | . Inkatha Freedom Party is
| g come together and share oo S AN ! the ANC, Dr Mandela l ings to South Africa is a legit
imate political or-
L RTTEN Toin meg e | il Oy | SpmsemhAtal | Vi i e own
I3 to'work for final vicc To B : G feac Ty (B IER.LODCRC Ry ~5 sid el in
| :â\200\230 tory for the people in the in a resolution worded in ,,,,ti}â\200\230;;etâ\200
\230;â\200\231.est 96' r:â\200\230 | lised political relati rightand be

Â¢ struggle for liberation,

. and fully and finally and
forever understand that
killing for political pur-

- poses must cease.

It is my hope that todayâ\200\231s
meeting will lead to
strong, concerted, sustai-
- ned action against vio-
lence in every form and

one or another manner,

both withdraw in princi--

ple from any past state-
ments which amounted
to killing talk and which
were truly derogatory in
a mean way, and set up
some task force to ex-
tract these statements
from documents and

compile-a list of political

rtâ\200\231lion'â\200\235of the cordial rela-

tions which existed bet-
| ween you and O.R., and
. between the two organi-
' sations in the seventies."

Let me spell them out so
that we can seek norma-
lity in our relationships
| across genuinely held dif-
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- hips with other Parties. !

. need to talk about altÃ@r-

' native-approaches to the
politics of negotiation
and alternative appro-
aches to generating a.
new constitution out of

constituency politics. We |

have already in fact ente-
red the first post-

"% The ANC and- Inkatha' |

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outh African political

â\200\230spectrum and will
Ã@nÂ»nrightfully be there in. its

~own right at

the negotia-

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We must deal with the
notion that because In-
katha Freedom Party will
not be there standing

. behind Dr. Mandela and

f The cost of th : ok tanding in the shadow
to the elimination of the taboo-type statements. f ?iâ\200\231lÃ@ 9 â\200\230i:n 5 mcglcrafi
Ã@u:g- apartheid phase of South | . 'f)â\200\230f,the g lN it will be
olitics of intimidatiO{l. e of the parting of | f iety. Our commitment African politics. Ap
art- hirÃ@ i o "tionwto .
t the people be free in ciety. O ANC

the ways in 1979 is enor-

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to democracy should per-

heid is doomed and all

ANC. The ANC must

their sovereignty to deci- mous.â\200\235 We are morally i that is left is to finally icly
â\200\230state that Inkat-
de the whoâ\200\231s who of bound now to undo da- | ;E;treu:ret gif?:ri;rÃ@;stgl;_t dismemb
er it and throw g:tâ\200\231al:illlybe at the negotia-
South Africaâ\200\231s political mage, : f 2 its parts away. We need

leadership. Let the pe-
ople be free in their so-

ween us. -

" I would like in tÃ@lking

to talk about how we are
going to move from this

~ ting table in its own right

and that it does not re-

: Inkatha there in its
vereignty to appoint go- about differences to issug first post-apartheid pha- | %;varnd rig
ht as a Party stan-
vernments of their choice a warning. The more the se of South African poli- | *
' and to remove them

v di i overn-
tics to a next phase which | dmgtbehmd the Gover
still has to be defined | * ment = 33 :
and in which we put the | g I o S R
different viewpoints of i+ Twill seek comm

, ANC pursues objectives
which just cannot be
+ achieved, and the more it

whenever they so desire.

"The people are entitled

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| . g W de Klefk,
, "~ ,to hold their opinions. t ggâ\200\230a!::? (:?hgxl':?:rliltls- different Parties to t
he ?;;â\200\230{1â\200\230?i~\202f}oi~\201a1 Party and
f '=: 'I'hey_ are entitled to dif- inability to achieve them, test among ti~\201e Râ\200
\234bhâ\200\230*;i 1 & the Government, where-
i : ferl\..vl_thf,a%]"x-other about . the more bedeviled the <y 5_ :a ver that common cause
is i
politicsâ\200\231i, The separate i, Telationship between In-, # justified. 1 will seek oonE
| existence of the ANC _katha'and the ANC will ' mon cause with the ANC
and Inkatha Freedom become. Let me cite ;- wherever that common
P arty is a product of the . Some of the differences Cduse is justified. Inkatha
peopleâ\200\231s will W; each which fall into this cate- % has a political mind of its
poust legitimately; e BTNl ek i 'own and it will choose
peia el e e v bes o e

| issues being fought,,*

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DR NELSON MANDELA SAID:

If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be

no victors or losers as

between the ANC and Inkatha. Only our people must be the victors. And the only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by carnage among blacks.

The eyes of the world are on us. The majority of the people in this ravaged province and other parts of the country certainly wish us success. The angels of death and destruction - the defenders of white minority rule - will the opposite. We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure. We must deliver.

For me personally, this is a particularly important moment. As you know, this is not my first visit to the province of Natal. We have come and gone.

We have urged an end to this inter-communal strife. But more often than not, we have talked at each other rather than with each other with the leadership of Inkatha in particular. Today we can at last exchange views on an issue which is literally a matter of life and death for so many of our pe-

ople.

AARSRRIRA

Belated as it might be, I

wish in particular personally to thank Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for your contribution in helping secure my release and that of the other leaders of our movement. The messages of support and comfort during our long years of incarceration did not go unnoticed.

It is ironic that a meeting

between organisations of
the oppressed should re-

quire such a special effort to accomplish. Be that as it may, it is certainly a tragedy that the land of Kings Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo should drown in the self-inflicted blood-letting of its own sons and daughters.

EFIRRAT AR

If there was any leaf to take from the past, it is how to perpetuate that which brought the ANC and Inkatha together many years ago; and how to eradicate that which rent us asunder in recent times. The motivation for the close relationship that Inkatha and the ANC once enjoyed was our common declared opposition to apartheid. Surely that motivation still remains!

That this was the case then, does not subtract from the reality that we are different and still differ on certain issues, both

as individuals and organisations. Uniformity, good as it might appear on the surface, can in

fact be a sign of malediction.

But it is worse still, if differences degenerate into self-affliction among the oppressed - to, so to speak, cut off our noses in order to spite our faces. In the end we shall only have ourselves to blame.

We have no choice but to co-exist-even if it were simply as South Africans. This means that we have to inculcate among our-

selves and the rest of so-

ciety the culture of tolerance and peaceful political engagement.

KRR

We have learnt from the

commendable experience
of the past and the dark
era we are going through
that, even if we differ on
crucial questions, this

_ does not rule out contact

among our organisations
and members. Where we
have treated one another
as lepers, suspicion reigned
supreme. Rumours
and feelings of hatred
fed upon themselves to
aggravate the situation.

Therefore, whatever the

concrete outcome of our
meeting today, contact
among us must continue;
precisely to nurture areas
of agreement and seek
lasting solutions to areas
of conflict.

This requires an atmosphere
of free political activity
in which all people
can freely canvas their
positions within the rest
of society. The use of
force against other and
the denial of access to

public facilities, be it in

inter-communal strife or

by means of instruments
of the state, simple because
they hold differing
views, can only make the
views of the perpetrator

the more despicable.

Such free political activity
and the peace that
we seek require that all
the security forces of this
land act impartially and
in a way that promotes
peace.

We also firmly hold the
view that movements to
that new South Africa is
the business of all South
Africans. It should be
undertaken on the basis
of mass involvement and
broad consultation
among all interested organisations. Our propo-

sal for an All-Party Congress derives from this belief. So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution. Otherwise, the final product and the process itself will

lack popular support.

The ANC does not demand of the Inkatha Fre-

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peace prevail.

edom Party complete agreement with these our views. If we have to reach the prosperous South Africa to which we all aspire, we must let the culture of debate flower in full bloom. We must ensure that every South African, including those in the security forces, help to build a nation of which all of us can be proud. More immediately, we must rebuild and develop communities in a manner that removes the potential for violence and heals the wounds of conflict. -

P] :
This challenge faces us as we start our historic deliberations. In struggle, we have achieved the possibility of movement forward to a democratic future with a minimum of bloodshed.

Violence must end. Let

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" key Alrlea Subeomaltiee of the

US House of Hufres:znlllves a
move which could have an_irpor-
tant lmpact on Americanâ\200\231 polley
towards South Alrica,

Afviea Subcommilties chaltman
Howard Wolpe yneated his post
yesterday Lo take up the politic-
afilly more {mportant ehairman-
ship of the Reose Seience, Space
and Technology Commiltce.

More slgnificantly (o many
Africanists In Washington, how-
ever, |8 that the stafl director of
tho Subrommittee on Afviea,
Steve Welssman, and othor key
marnhers of the stafl appolnted by
Me Wolpe, will also be moving on.

The new chatrman of the Sub-
comimlites on Africa, Morvyn Dy-
mally, will appolnt his own stalf,

gton on an important d
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give the ANC more leverage

Mr Welssman, Hke Mr Wolpe, is
a respected Alviea export, Both
played key roles ln seiling the
Congressional and the overall US
agendas on the subject of Sontl
Alriea.

M Weishmon confivmed (his
week he would be lenving the
Afriea Subcommittee, Be sald hio
was consldering taking up.a posi-
tion with o universily.

Mr Welpé and BMr Welssman
were instrumental in persuading
the US Congress to impose sanc-
tions on South Africa in 1986,

More recently, they welcomed
the reforms of President de Klerk,
but remained skeptical that the
political process in South Africa
was truly irreversible,

Mr Wolpe is to remain an ordi-
nary member of the Subcommit-
tee on Africa, as the ranking Dem-
ocratic member.

According to Democratic Party
sources, the outgoing Africa Sub-
committee chairman has taken
the chairmanship of the Science,
Space and Technology Committee
because it gives him much more
clout within Congress and be-
cause of the prestige it gives him
within his own Congressional Dis-
trict of Michigan.

Mr Dymally's succession as
chairman of the Africa Subcom-
mittee is a major coup for the
Congressional Black Caucus,
which has long believed it should
control the important panel,

The 84-year-old California rep-
resentative (he was a Lieutenant-
Governor of California) is a senior
member of the Black Caucus,

Washington Africanists believe
the Black Caucus control of the

House Subcommittee on Africa
gives the African National Con-
gress a huge new advantage.

Although there are some promi-
nent Black Caucus members who
have demonstrated flexibility, the
body is firmly behind the AN,

Some analysts are concerned
that Mr Dymally's close links with
President Mobutu of Zaire will
put him at odds with other mem-
bers of the Black Caucus, and that
this could have an impact on his
approach to South Africa. In the
sense that he would not resist a
hard line towards Pretoria,

There is also some concern that
the new Africa Subcommittee pro-
fessional staff will take a long
time to settle in, and that they
may therefore be somewhat less

effecttve than Mr Weissman and
his colleagues, 3

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IN SOUTH. AF, !{CA_
WILL END RIVALRY

A BREAKTHROUGH ACCORD

Mandela and Zulu Chief Meet
- and Agree to Turn Energy {
to Fighting Apartheid , -

y By CHRISTOPHER S. WIEN4

Special to The New York Thâ\200\231ncs ;

DURBAN, South Afnca, Jan. 20 â\200\224
South Africaâ\200\231s two largest black politi-
cal movements agreed tonight to set
aside their differences and put an end
to a bitter rivalry that has mst thou~
sands of lives..

The accord between the African Na-

' tional Congress and rivai Inkatha

Freedom Party, a breakt:rough for
Jblack unity against apartheid, followed
the first meeting in nearly three dec-
ades between Nelson Mandela. the Con-
gressâ\200\231s deputy president, and:Chief
Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthe ezi, Inka-
thaâ\200\231s president.

"After months of procrastination and
recreation, the two leaders met to-
day with their executive committees in

s a luxury downtown hotel here ta dis-

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andel , left, with Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, head Of the cuss ending the factional violence.

,F'regglomâ\200\230 Party, after their first meeting in nearly 30 years. Appeal for Tolerance

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; leader also said that hg would work

with the Congress to end the violence but that he would not necessarily be an A.N.C. ally in all matters. -

The African. National Congress and Inkatha both say they actively oppose

- apartheid but they differ over the

strategies for eliminating it. Chief Buthelezi has criticized the Congressâ\200\231s reliance on. economic sanctions and

armed struggle against apartheid and.

he â\200\230advocates a market economy, opposing . nationalization measures espoused' by the Congress. The two organizations split in-1979 at a meeting of their leaders in London.

members to stop fighting, the Congress and Inkatha declared that both political organizations had the right to exist independently. They called for mutual tolerance and said coercion, intimidation and vilification by their supporters should stop. :

* They further pledged .0 monitor violations of the peace accord and'to see that the police act impait ally. And they announced that Mr. Mardela and Chief Buthelezi together would tour all areas affected by the violence.

â\200\234If we are to fulfill the true purpose

In addition to appealing toi their

of our get-together, there must be no |
victors or losers as between the A.N.C.
and Inkatha,â\200\235 Mr. Mandela said -this
morning. â\200\234Only our people must be the
victors, and the only losers should be
those whose racist. pqmzmmmed,
by carnage among blacks:* e 48

Recognition for Inkatha -

For the African National Congress
the meeting offered the opportunity to
eliminate a major obstacle to its at-
tempt to forge a united front against
white minority rule. For'Inkatha, it
amounted to recognition by the Con-
gress of its legitimacy as a kindred
anti-apartheid organization.

will have any effect on the negotiations
with the white minority Government of
President F. W. de Klerk over the fu-
ture of South Africa because Chief Bu-
thelezi has always said he is willing to

take part in such talks. The Inkatha

It is not clear whether the agreement |

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12 OVERSEAS NEWS

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THE peace agreement reached yesterday by South Africa's feuding black political leaders may bring a respite in murderous strife between their followers, but the seeds of conflict remain. -

The outcome of the long-awzited meeting between Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of

the African National Congress, |

and dlangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, showed that their power struggle would continue.

Simmering resentment. was apparent when the meeting began in 2 Durban hotel with superficial smiles and barely concealed soarls. Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi greeted one another like tong-lost brothers after an estrangement of 28 years.

In his opening address, the Zulu chief attacked ANC leaders for vilifying him, accused them of political blunders, and rejected out of hand their strategy for transferring power to the black majority.

Quoting comments by ANC officials, including Mrc Mandela, he reminded them that they had labelled him a puppet, a dog and a snake that must be hit on the head.

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From GAVIN BELL IN DURBAN

In addition to waging a personal vendetta against him, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC had blundered by resorting to armed struggle. Warning that such tactics would have disastrous consequences, he said: The ANC's attempt to claim political goals and then to

mobilise mass action to support them is an anarchistic approach. because the threat is being made that all South Africa must bow to the demands or else.â\200\235

In particular, he rejected ANC demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government as a militant disregard for South African realities. Chief Buthelezi said any prospect of the ANC and his party joining forces had been destroyed, possibly forever. The only alternative was to complement one another in striving for non-racial democracy.

The Zulu leader then spelled out his basic demand: â\200\234We need today an unequivocal statement by the ANC that Inkatha Freedom Party is a legitimate political organisation in its own right, and belongs in the South African political spectrum, and will rightfully be there in its own right at the negotiating table.â\200\235

peace deal belies bitter

Â¿ between
de la and Buthelezi

In contrast with Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s litany of suppressed rage, Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s opening remarks were a model of restraint â\200\224 but they contained a barb none the less.
**Among ourselves, we could point fingers and apportion blame in all directions,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234Perhaps that would satisfy an ego. But deflecting criticism, however justified we may be in doing so, would not help resolve the problem. We could climb the shelves and dust off old chapters to pontificate. But the carnage will not have come to an end

If there was any lesson to take from the past, he said, it should be how to perpetuate what had brought the two organisations together years ago. â\200\234We have no choice but to coexist. This means that we have to inculcate among ourselves and the rest of society the culture of tolerance and peaceful political engagement.â\200\235

The cordiality displayed at the final press conference indicated that some progress had been made in 10 hours of talks. But whether militants on both sides were prepared to follow their leaders along peaceful, if divergent, paths

remains 10 be seen,

United front: Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi
exchanging greetings at their first meeting for 28 years

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= NEWS â\200\224

Â¢Let us get on with the jobâ\200\231fdf liberatin'g"S;Africaâ\200\231 |

Inkatha,

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joint bid
for peace

By GAVIN BELL in
Johannesburg and agencies

SOUTH Africa's most pow-
erful black leaders were
meeting in Durban last night,
after months of political pos-
turing, in an attempt to end
the savage fighting between
their supporters that has cost
at least 5000 lives in the past
four years.

The deputy president of the
African National Congress,
Mr Nelson Mandels, and the
president of the Inkatha
Freedom Party, Chlef
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who
are meeting for the first time
in 28 years, both pledged to
strive for peace.

During their opening
speeches, Chief Buthelexi
and Mr Mandela each ac-
knowledgeed the right of the
other's organisation to exist
anÂ\$î called on their followers
to fnake peace.

â\200\234Violence must cease ...
let us get on with the job of
finally liberating South
Africa without thrashing out
at each other as we move for-
ward,â\200\235 Chief Buthelezl sald.

Mr Mandela said the two
organisations â\200\234had no choice
but to co-existâ\200\235.

â\200\234We have treated one an-
other as lepers, suspicion

reigned supreme,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Whatever the concrete outcome of our meeting today, contact among us must continue, precisely to nurture the areas of agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict.â\200\235

Later, Chief Buthelezi said, â\200\234the spirit is excellentâ\200\235 but warned against over-optimism.

â\200\234I don't think we should be

unrealistically optimistic because violence has become endemic,â\200\235 he said. Asked if he was hopeful of a positive outcome to the talks, Mr Mandela said: â\200\234That can wait for the outcome.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi was less cautious: â\200\234We are very hopeful, otherwise we wouldn't be here.â\200\235

said: â\200\234We go to our meeting? with Chief Buthelezi with the intention that there will be no winners or losers.

â\200\234We are not going to hurl accusations against Inkatha. We are going with an appeal to forget the past and concentrate on the future.â\200\235

In a similar vein, Chief Buthelezi told his followers he was attending the peace conference â\200\234in the hope of holding Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s hand and saying, â\200\230brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africansâ\200\231â\200\235

Whether a peace agreement can be reached is uncertain. Given the mutual suspicion and hostility between the organisations, fuelled by an incipient civil war in Natal and Transvaal, prospects for reconciliation are slight.

An accord may not restore peace but there will certainly be no peace without some kind of gesture by the warring factionsâ\200\231 leaders.

Expectations were high

that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi could provide the impetus to end almost daily

axe, gun and knife battles for

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi meet for the first time in 28 years â\200\224 AP picture

political supremacy between the two groups.

The talks will also boost plans by the South African President, Mr De Klerk, to scrap apartheid.

The reformist president wants the two main black organisations to be on good terms in order to accelerate post-apartheid constitutional negotiations which Pretoria has started with the ANC.

Inkatha and ANC leaders have played down prospects of a breakthrough at yesterday's talks but political analysts say the fact that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi can share the same room bodes well for some kind of truce.

The ANC has

carnage to the townships, an allegation denied by both Inkatha and the ANC.

Inkatha says ANC supporters are responsible for the violence because they do not tolerate the existence of a rival anti-apartheid organisation.

In Cape Town, the ANC warned its hardline rival, the Pan Africanist Congress, against against usurping an ANC protest march on Parliament on Friday.

ANC Western Cape spokesman, Mr Trevor Manucl, said PAC supporters were welcome to join the march, coinciding with the opening of

Parliament, to press demands for a non-racial and In-constit t bly to

katha of siding with white-

led security forces to bring

thrash out a new Constitution.

â\200\234In a situation where you've just started building a culture of political tolerance they do not have any automatic right to arrive at an event which we have painstakingly convened and expect to troop their colours,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Mandela may not arrive back in time to join the march but is scheduled to address the crowd from the steps of Cape Town city hall after marchers hand in a petition at the gates of Parliament.

The ANC has called a one-day strike and marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria on Friday to mark the campaign for a â\200\234people's parliamentâ\200\235.

The Times. Reuters, AFP

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T TR R TR e

cal movements agreed LoMight to set
aside their differences and put an end
10 & bitter rivalry thal has cost thou-
sands of lives,

The accord between the African Na-
tional Congress and rival Inkatha
Freedom Parly, a bLreakibrough for
black unity againet apartheid, followoed
the first meeting in nearly three dec-
ades between Nelson Mandela, the Cone
Rress's deputy president, and Chief
Mangosuthu Gaisha Buthelezi, Inka-
tha's president, .

After months of procrastination and |
recreation, the two leaders met (o-
dity with thelr eavvutive cutimiuees in
4 luxury downtown hotel here (o dis-
cuss ending the factional violence,

Appeal lor Tolerance

In addition o appealing lo their
members (o ctop fighting, the Conpenee
und Inkatha declared that bath politi-
cal organizations had the right to exist |
independently. They culled for mutual |
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â\200\234lyictors, and the only loscrs h-hvouerved
i {those whose racist policics arc &

by carnage among blacks. ' ' A -

, Nelson Mandela, left, with Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezl, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, after their first meeting in nearly 30 years.

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

*â\200\231DURBAN - Inkatha and the ANC last
% nl t agreed to cease all hosilities
â\200\230immediate effect and agreed to
Work together to eradicate apartheid.
The agreement followed a historic meet-

. ing between ANC deputy p
â\200\234 Mandelaâ\200\231 Inkatha leader
Buthelezi = their first in'28

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Hotel.
t declaration issuedâ\200\231 afterwards

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called on ANC'and Inkatha supporters to -

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t tour of all the areas that have been hit -

â\200\230violence which has clulmed more than -
.+ his release from prison.

â\200\2304000 lives in five
! â\200\234Further

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â\200\230..Delmtlonl from the two parties held,' :
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vâ\200\230f fic in Durbanâ\200\231s Smith Street to & halt,

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TIM COHEN il

Mandela and Buthelezi embraced each
other warmly when they met in the hotel
yesterday morning.

After introductory speeches by the two
leaders, a 20-man ANC delegation joined :
the 67-man Inkatha' team for the
behind closed doors.
" Placard-bearing Inkatha supporters
gathered outside to shout slogans under the
- watchful eye of soldiers and police. During
the first tea break at 11am Buthelezi led,
the hotel to greet the crowd, bringing them in

The crowd then dispersed peacefully

- A large part of Buthelezi's opening address !
was devoted to answering the
remarks made about himself ;
katha by ANC members in the past. ' He
speech was also peppered with criticism of
ANC policy.

Mandela made a markedly more conciliatory
speech. He thanked Buthelezi and the
Inkatha leadership for helping to secure

Mandela said many thousands had died
in inter-communal violence, the blame
- for which could be put at the door of the
apartheid regime.

Page

katha outburst
paves way for
peace agreement

[T IS a measure of the importance the
African National Congress attaches to
ending the long-running war with
Inkatha that yesterday's meeting of the
two organisations' leaders not only
fasted as long as it did - nine and a half
hours - but that it ended in smiles and
not in disaster,

!tis an indication too of how deep
the old friendship between Nelson
Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi
runs.

For Chief Buthelezi's opening ad-
dress to the assembled delegates yester-
day morning was a study in provocation.
Against the background of thousands
of lives lost in the past five years and a
history of violence between the
two organisations, the Inkatha presi-
dent's opening address designed to
reopen old wounds with a verbal
blast against the ANC's leadership.

Rather paradoxically calling on both
organisations to leave the past to the
past, he proceeded to issue a detailed
list of testaments in the last 10 years
when, as he put it, "I was slammed, mar-
tined, sworn at, humiliated and when
attempts were made to castrate me po-
litically",

Giving precise dates, he gave quote
after quote by ANC officials who had
violated his name. On
1 August last year, for example, Mr
Mandela had said: "We cannot meet a
man who wants to see the blood of
black people."

The chief then went on to remind the
ANC's deputy president of the exact
wording of statements denigrating his
name in the Natal Daily News on 16
June last year, in a press conference in
Rome, and in an interview in Time Mag-

azine,

John Carlin in Durban

considers how friendshi
salvaged the talks between
Nelson Mandela and Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Then it was the turn of the ANC's
secretary-general, Alfred Nzo. that he re-

minded of his sins, starting with a long quotation from 2 statement he put out on 20 August 1985 accusing the Inkatha leader of "able to treachery",

Six full pages of a 16-page speech were dedicated to recollecting the imprecations uttered against him. Each time in quotation marks and with exact dates. by the likes of Joe Slova. Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki. all of whom are ANC's national executive.

Then the Zulu chief addressed Himself to John Nkadimeng. a more obscure member of the ANC delegation. "I ask that he quietly tells the world that he was wrong in calling me a snake that must be hit on the head . . . on 21 November 1986 . . . that is killing talk. Killing talk must cease,

"Character assassination must cease. Killing must cease, but it will not cease if these things do not cease. This, I believe, is the very crux of what we as leaders of the two organisations are gathered here about."

Mr Mandela. who met Chief Buthelezi at university in the 1940s and remained close friends with him in the 1950s, evidently chose to interpret this stormy release of energy much as an indulgent husband might hear out a fond-resentful wife, The marriage simply cannot be allowed to break down, The

cost of the ANC delegation failing to hold racks yesterday morning would have been. for certain, a renewed intensity of carnage in the townships.

And the ANC's restraint paid off. For once the chief had purged himself. his equilibrium was restored and the way was set for rational discussion and a peace agreement. the main threat against which will come from the long accumulation of resentment among black victims of the Inkatha-ANC violence.

While the tentative process of peacemaking among blacks was taking place in Durban yesterday, South Africans witnessed the unusual spectacle of violence among whites, when an estimated 5000 right-wing white farmers aroused city traffic to a standstill in Pretoria.

They were protesting against plans to give blacks a bigger share of farmland and against an alleged lack of government support for farmers.

After a judge ordered the demonstrators to end their protest, police used

tear-gas and baton-charged the farmers, before announcing that they were making a mass arrest. An estimated 200 farmers were detained.

Police charged after a leader of the demonstrators, a former wrestler and legendary right-wing political figure, Manie Maritz, just ignored orders to get his people out of the way, a police spokesman said.

"It was incredible . . . white policeman with batons hitting white farmers and then arresting them," said one witness, an office worker in Pretoria, the heartland of white right-wing conservatism.

Leading article, page 20

7

Nelson Mandela

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Mandela greets Mandela

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HHLIHANI

Nxamalala community leaders

Vusi Khumalo (left) and Albert Madlala shake hands after a peace agree-

ment was reached between the two rival groups at the city's riot unit headquarters yesterday afternoon.

The 18 representatives agreed to put an end to the unrest which has plagued their area since 1987.

Warring Nxamalala
factions sign peace p

by MARK MISSELHORN

- DELEGATIONS from the two warring factions in Nxamalala yesterday signed a peace pact to end conflict of more than four years which had seen hundreds of people killed or rendered homeless.

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The violence, which has been among the worst unrest in Natal, has severely disrupted transport services and caused the closure of schools since June last year.

Four people have been arrested for arson following the burning of 25 houses at Nxamalala on Monday evening, police

spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram

said last night. He confirmed there were two casualties who were rushed to Eden-

dale Hospital for treatment,

About 19 community representatives met on Monday and yesterday at the headquarters of the city's riot unit in Oribi Road.

Yesterday afternoon the leaders of the

opposing parties from the Mthogotho and

Nedi areas signed a peace agreement and called on all those who have fled the area to return.

Both groups pledged their support for the assistant chief and Induna of Nxamalala, Hammond Dladla, irrespective of their political affiliations.

They also agreed that two community representatives, Vusi Khumalo and Albert Madlala from the Nedi and Mthogotho

areas respectively, would be responsible.

- for maintaining the peace. :
| Dladla said he believed the youth in the area could be controlled by the community leaders and the ongoing stoning and hijacking of buses, intimidation of teachers and restriction of individuals' movements, finally could be ended. ;

The area manager for KwaZulu Transport (KZT), Jim Scott, said an urgent meeting had taken place between the community representatives, the KZT management and representatives of the KZT drivers late yesterday afternoon after the signing of the pact. 2 :

With the undertaking of the community to put an end to the violence, management feels that we should restore the bus service, he said.

| However he said that a meeting of KZT bus drivers would take place this morning at 10am to ensure that all the drivers agreed to resume the service. ;

If all goes well we should have a full service to Nxamalala by the afternoon, he said.

Although community representatives were also dispatched to the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture's office in Edendale to discuss the return of teachers and principals to the three schools in the area, the DEC could not be reached for comment.

Â The DEC have set a deadline of next

- week after which the three schools will be

unconditionally closed for the year.

|

VIOLENCE must end and
-] peace * pxeval, " i Nelson
Mandela said when he ad-
dressed delegates to the Dur-
ban peace talks with Inkarhn
yesterday.

In his opening remarks he
stressed the need for an atmo-
sphere of free political activity in
which *â\200\230all people can freely can-
vas their positions within the rest
of societyâ\200\235â\200\235.

â\200\234The efforts of our people
have brought about 2 situation in
which apartheid can be eradicated
| by peaceful means.â\200\235

It will be ironic {2t 2 meeting be-
tween â\200\234â\200\234organisations of the op-
pressedâ\200\235 â\200\230should require such an
effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it
would benefit the cause of peace
if it spent its time at the meeting
pointing fingers to identify those
responsible for the carnage which
had left many thousands dead.

â\200\234If we are to reach the true
purpose of our get-together, there
must be no victors and no losers
between ANC and In'earnsâ\204ç

The meeting started late.

Mandela thanked Buthelezi
and the leadership of Lakatha for
their contribution iâ\200\231 helping to
secure his release and. that of other
leaders of the ANC.

Comfort

Messages of support and com-
fort in their long years of -
carceration did not go unnoticed.

_ â\200\234For = was - this meeting
represents the culmination of our
persistent efforts to bring an end
to the confrontation which has
plagued our two organisations and
our people,â\200\235â\200\235 Mandela said.

â\200\234Our ultimate praise is
reserved for the masses in the pro-
vince of Natal and other parts of
the country whose yearnings for
peace is the driving force of our
deliberations today.â\200\235â\200\235"

= *â\200\234*The eyes of the world are on
us. The majority of the people in

parts of the country certainly wish
us success.

â\200\234The smgel of dx.â\200\230.th and
destrucrion, the defenders of white
minerity Tule, will (W.mf) the op-
msne-â\200\235

Whatever the outcome of the
meeting, Mbondels . aslÃ@ed that
â\200\234â\200\234contact zmong us most continue
toâ\200\231 :nurture - agreement. and seek

this raviged province :md other -

- prevail,â\200\235â\200\235 he said. -

The deputy president of the African National Congress,

ILet peace

Mr

Nelson Mandela, and the president Â¢f the Inkaths Freedom

Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressed assembled

delegates shortly after the 10am startof talks at the Royal
Hotal in Durban yesterday.

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi
~has issued a strong call for

peace and an end to. politicat

intimidation, but has wamed . &

aas

against
tivesâ\200\231* from the ANC."

These included the demand for
a consititnent assembly #nd the
ANCâ\200\231s programme of miss ac-
tion.

Buthelezi said hc hoped that
yestcrday s meeting would lead 10

â\200\230*srong, sustained action agamst

* violenee in every formâ\204¢.

NELSON MANDELA

lasting solutions to areas of con-
flictâ\200\231". :

Every South African, including
the security forces, should help
- build 2 nation aï¬\202 could be prond Â¢
of,

**The memprs wÂ© dmde our
people along ethnic lines, to tum
their rich variety nto a dagger
with. which to pierce their hearts,
must be made lo fail.â\200\235â\200\235

The grim and infamous era of apartheid was coming to an end.,

In the final analysis we are justified to lay the blame (for intercommunal violence) at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of squalor and degradation among our people,

We are certainly right to assert that the removal of this system is a basic precondition for an end to violence in our country," he said.

Mandela referred only briefly to the ANC's call for an all-party conference. He said the movement's view was that the new South Africa was the business of all South Africans.

Our proposal for an all-party

derives from this belief, So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution.

co

Otherwise the final product of

end the process itself will lack

popular support. -
**Violence must end. Let peace

T2 G e RS

**Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's

. who of South Africa's political

leadership ... The separation existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product of the people's will,

We each exist legitimately.

We each have a right to exist. Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other & we move forward,

Violence

* I repeat, violence must cease and when Dr Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse

it again today.â\200\235â\200\235.

â\200\230However, referring to mass =c-
tion and the demand for 2 con-
sultative assembly, Buthelezi said:
â\200\234â\200\234The more the ANC pursues ob-
jectives .which just cannot be
achieved, and the more it then
tends to blame Inkatha and others
for its inability to achieve them,

the more bedevilled the rela- -
tionship between Inkathas and the.

ANC will becomeâ\200\231.

The Inkatha president said a
consultative assembly followed by
an interim government was not

- achievable because this was simp-

ly â\200\234â\200\230a commitment to in- \201give South
African realities and that was only
lead to disaster for all*â\200\231.

To demand -2 constituent as-
sembly now was to push South
Africa "omongo aggression
which is characterless and in- \201llui
with unknowns,

~ - =â\200\234We-must know what is

impossible objec~ -

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
constitution we are heading
towards before we even begin
moving in the directionâ\204â\200\235

Of the- ANC's mass action
campaign, he said: â\200\234The ANC's
attempt to claim political goals
and then to mobilise mass action
-to support them, is using anar-
chistic approaches because the
threat is being made that all South
Africa must bow to the demands
otherwise.â\200\235â\200\235

Referring to another aspect
which he considered had
hampered and would continue to
hinder peace, the fiery Inkatha
leader detailed a series of aggres-
sive ANC statements â\200\234since the

fateful October 1979 meeting.

~ **Mr John Nkadimeng is pres-
ent here today. ;

*I ask that he quietly tells the
world that he was wrong... In an
ANC broadcast on the 21 Novem-
ber 1986 on Radio Freedom from
Addis Ababa, Mr Joka
Nkadimeng, speaking for- the
ANC said: â\200\234The onus is on the

people of South Africa to
neutralise Gatsha, the snake which
is poisoning the people of South {
Africa.!:needsmbelmnv.hc-
hca Å» ey #

Nomg his opposition to such
statements, Buthelesi yeturped in
summaryWBAtltwassomdely
hoped the two delegations had
come to Durban 10 agree on:

â\200\234*However we define our dif-
ficulties and however we define
our posmons, we must epd gp
today saying violence mnst stop,

â\200\234We must end up today com-
mumg ousalves to joint ventures
In action against violence. We
must â\200\230eÃ©nd up today banishng
forever the politics of Å\$ mmmmd:mon
which leads to violence.

Although the prospects of the
IFP and the ANC of ever coming
together had bÃ©en destroyed, pos-
sxâ\200\230b\y forever, the two organisa-
tions were now morelly bomd. to
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Talks a matter of life

and death:

By STEPHEN TAYLOR,
Cape Town, Tuesday

Talks between South Africa's two key black leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, began yesterday with a gesture of reconciliation to end the enmity between their organisations and the factional and tribal warfare in the black townships.

Mr Mandela, heading a delegation of the African National Congress, shook hands with Chief Buthelezi and greeted the delegates of his rival's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The talks carry the hopes of millions of township dwellers caught up in the clashes that have claimed more than 1000 lives in six months.

Mr Mandela said the world would be watching its progress, as would so many South Africans for whom it was literally, a matter of life and death. Only the angel of death, the defenders of white minority rule, hoped it would fail, he said.

There should be no question of apportioning blame for the months it had taken to arrange the meeting, Mr Mandela said.

Chief Buthelezi picked out the issues which separated the two organisations. He criticised the ANC's mass campaign for the

Mandela

election of a constituent assembly to preside over the transition to a post-apartheid society. The campaign will be launched on Friday.

He said that apartheid was already doomed. All that is left is to finally dismember it and throw its parts away. The interested

parties had to move to a phase in which different political views could be put to the public.

â\200\234Demanding a constituent assembly is leap-frogging over this vital step. Backing the demand with street-corner action is seeking the good of the ANC as a political party, and not seeking what is good for the state. Right or wrong, _that is our viewpoint. The ANC must talk to us about itâ\200\235, Chief Buthelezi said.

Hundreds of Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s supporters were gathered outside the hotel. They held up banners honoring â\200\230Madibaâ\200\231 â\200\224 a name of praise for Mr Mandela â\200\224 and â\200\230Shangeâ\200\231 for Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC delegates said they were cautiously optimistic. The ANC had previously resisted Chief Butheleziâ\200\231's demands that he meet Mr Mandela on equal terms, as a legitimate political leader, rather

__than as a tribal representative of the Zulu people.

Inkatha is mainly Zulu-based, but Chief Buthelezi has said that it is open to all races.

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FROM 5.G3. MARZULLO

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INTEROFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

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With Buthelezi
To Urge Peace

By Juk DAVIDSON
Staff Reporter of Tik WaALLSTREET JOURNAL

DURBAN, South Africaâ\200\224Black leaders
Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Duthelazi
called on their supporters to end the fight-
ing between their followers that has killed
more than 4,000 people dead in the past
five years.

After the long-awaited meeting between
the African National Congressâ\200\231s Mr. Man-
-delâ and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr.
Buthelezi, the two political rivals issued a
joint statement calling for peace.

â\200\234The primary purpose of the meeting
was to explore ways and means to bring

~about the final cessation.. of the violence,"

:â\200\230said Mr. Mandela, reading the state-
ment,

The two pledged â\200\234to develop practical

steps' to end the violence between the or-

ganizations. They promised to â\200\234monitor

(4)

â\200\2305

. aH violations of the agreement and recom-

mend appropriate action." The details of
how the agreement will be implemented
will be worked out through further discus-
sion, Mr. Mandela added,

Messrs. Mandela and Buthelezi, who
have avoided meeting each other in the
year since Mr. Mandela was released from
prison, were cordial with each other, even

oking during their news conference despite great differences in the tone of their opening statements.

Mr. Mandela's opening remarks were conciliatory. "Right at the outset we want to make one thing crystal clear," he said, "We have not come here to apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation. Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time in this meeting pointing fingers to lay blame for the violence, Mr. Mandela went on to thank Mr. Buthelezi, belated as it might be, for his efforts to win, Mr. Mandela's release from prison."

In contrast, Mr. Buthelezi's opening statement was confrontational. He lashed out at ANC leaders, including Mr. Mandela, for their past criticism of him. "What has caused the violence are these violent action campaigns which have been carried on from the highest echelons of the ANC to the very lowest," he said.

In numerous comments since the ANC and Inkatha became antagonistic in 1979, ANC leaders have portrayed Mr. Buthelezi as a tool of South Africa's white government. Mr. Buthelezi is chief minister of the homeland set aside for Zulus by the central government, "the creation of homelands for South African blacks is one of the basic elements of the government's apartheid policies. While Inkatha is almost entirely a Zulu movement, many leaders of the ANC are from the Xhosa community."

Inkatha always called for non-violent opposition to apartheid, while the ANC endorsed armed struggle, Mr. Buthelezi's ad-

vocacy of capitalism also won wide attention inside and outside South Africa among

those suspicious of the ANC because of its endorsement of elements of state socialism :

This was the first meeting between Mr. Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi since Mr. Mandela was arrested and imprisoned : in 1963

It remains to be seen whether the joint call for peace will be respected. Each of

them had issued earlier individual appeals for an end to killing without result, Mr.

Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi said that they would jointly visit sites of clashes, but gave no dates for these trips,

Both men expressed caution about their ability to stop the violence, which has decimated black communities in areas around

Durban and Johannesburg. Nelther man is
80 "simplistic to believe this {8 some sort

_of maglc wand," Mr. Buthelezl said,

e vgâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

v i L] " -

~ by CARMEL RICKARD
Durban Bureau . -

AFTER historic talks lasting more than
nine hours, Inkatha Freedom Party and
African National Congress .delegates

emerged last night with a major new initia-
tive for peace in trouble-torn areas of Natal
and the Transvaal.â\200\235 ;

The talks, held in Durban under the
leadership of Nelson Mandela and Mango-
suthu Buthelezi, could also have far-reach-
ing implications for national negotiations,
paving the way for future co-operation be-
tween the two parties on key issues includ-
ing an all-party conference.

Speaking at the end of the talks last
night, the two leaders outlined their propo-
sals to help end the conflict in the region,
. but warned many difficulties lay ahead.

They issued a â\200\234solemn callâ\200\235 to all the
members of both organisations and their
allies to stop all attacks on one another at
once and to end mutual violence and
intimidation. - -

They are to monitor jointly all violations
of the agreement â\200\234and recommend appro-
priate actionâ\200\235, and, in a highly significant
step, the two leaders have committed them-
selves to a joint tour of all affected areas.

| - This is seen as necessary to give their sup-
| porters- concrete evidence of - political

--tolerance at work.-A-mechanism-has.also. -

Lk been created to call further top-level meet-
| 'ings as they are needed. i

! Interm of the joint agreement, both par-
* ties will ensure public facilities may be
used by anyone regardless of political
affiliation. They both urged pupils to re-
turn to school and said steps would be
taken to ensure no one was excluded from
- school because of political affiliation. .

The parties: are committed to..a pro-
gramme . of reconstruction and develop-
| ment to reduce the potential for violence,
but said help should be available to all re-
;- gardless of political affiliation.} T304 30

p-- A sub-committee will - work-on.a code of:
| conduct outlining acceptable:political:be-â\200\231
i haviour which should apply to members of
| both groups'and to the security forces. . :
Commenting on the discussions, Inkatha

national chairman
" jointly chaired: the: falks -with*the .ANC's!
Alfred Nzo, said Lhei had more ihan.oome~
- upto the best he had opedfor. S â\200\234f3
~He said-an exce. hadh
~and he was Fexine fulâ\200\231 about:
progxgâ\200\230ss which coul't 'now ade towa
peac e MRS} Jgi~\202
â\200\234The :r%e, Mer, clearly still points of:
[dxï~\201â\200\230erence.ft'xâ\200\230he.;.two lenders~

go .' â\200\2341""lâ\200\231/ IY B en

Frank. Mdlalose, who! ith

eenmad erx mnccessml*the

eï~\202ectedâ\200\230 p

i ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi
greet each other before the day-long talks in Durban yesterday.

illn the backgrounÃ© 1sJFP national chai;nan Frank Mdlalose, who cnalrod the meeting togeth
er with the ANC s Alffed NIO
uestions which' proi:edâ\200\235.these problems,;-

â\200\230and instead stressed the agreements which

â\200\234had been achieved.â\200\235 %

<} Observers-at the talks aid afterwards

that'the most.difficult tasks'=: â\200\234sellingâ\200\235 theâ\200\231:.

*planto the membership ofiboth groups and
thenimplementing the decisions â\200\224 still lay

#ahead-and would be-fhe true test.of how

had been. Â¥z

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n opposl ome of theÃ©irimembers::

,,mo the talks, but added:that those who had**

â\200\230ttended fully backedithe â\200\230inee They:
?,so admltted dliï~\202â\200\230erenceï~\201n:it:d% on.: 4

LK 3

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nurnbe â\200\234of mues one of these, it isâ\200\231
undersiood was the role of the KwaZulu

. Police â\200\224 but said such differences were to .
be expected i~\201â\200\230om two leparate Organlsa:â\200\231,,â\200\231

tions.:'+* e

At the start of the meeting, â\200\230Mandela

spoke first, telling dalezatesâ\200\234the cause of
peace would not bÃ©Berved by â\200\234pointing fin-

- gersâ\200\235. Neither the ANC nor Inkatha should -

e victof.orJoser,
Only' ou;r' eoplÃ©
. Ina-conciliatory 8
"thelezi and Inkatha
&m released Q'OMJ' "

e

lt be an
eoch, he thanked Bu-

LR ,\um

or their efforts tohav â\200\230

Picture by MARK WING

He urged that a â\200\234culture oftolerance and %
peaceful political engagementâ\200\235 should bez
established and said. even where;rthere
were differences on crucial questions, Â«
tact should be maintained. i i &

= In his speech Buthelezi 1 sted e J m |
of â\200\234vilificationâ\200\235 of himself

a constituent assemblyâ\200\230 and an lnte
â\200\234not achieva

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, INDEPENDENT

40 CITY ROAD, LONDON EC1Y 2DB (telephone 071-253-1222; general fax 071-956+1435)

~An embrace to

SINCE the intense drama of Nelson Mandela's release last February and President F W de Klerk's dismantling of apartheid, the impression has grown that Mr Mandela and the African National Congress (of which he is deputy president) incarnate the hopes of all non-white South Africans. Reality is less romantic, as the death of almost 6,000 black South Africans in the past four years proves, i The violence between adherents of the ANC and of the Zulu-based Inkatha movement led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi started in the early Eighties, when the United Democratic Front was set up to represent the exiled ANC in the Zulu stronghold of Natal; and became serious in 1987. It appeared to be exacerbated by Mr Mandela's release. Both sides were guilty. But it is hard to avoid the deduction that Inkatha was using knives and guns to remind the government that it must not be marginalised, A public meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi was clearly required to dampen down the warfare between their supporters, and to symbolise Mr Mandela's recognition that the Zulu leader, 100, was a player on the South African stage. Chief

Buthelezi, who had consistently called for Mr Mandela's release from prison, was anxious - for such an encounter. But first, Mr Mandela objected to the venue proposed by Inkatha; then Chief Buthelezi took exception to the inclusion of some homeland leaders in the talks.

Yesterday, 11 long and bloody months after Mr Mandela's release, they met at last, for eight hours. It was one of those occasions that are more important for what they symbolise than for what is achieved. The two

ended bloodshed

leaders embraced, and jointly urged their supporters to end the violence and vilification. For all the apparent success of the meeting, it will not of itself be enough to end the cycle of revenge. If the two organisations really want the bloodshed to stop, they will, as Mr Mandela recognised yesterday, have to maintain contact with each other and restrain their more hot-headed followers.

It will not be easy. Mr Mandela is under intense pressure within his own divided organisation. Chief Buthelezi can seem paranoid. But he has good reason to fear that the ANC wants to marginalise him and the constituency of mainly rural Natal Zulus that Inkatha represents. To do so might be politically convenient for the ANC, but any victory would be short-lived. The Zulus are too formidable a force to be ignored at the negotiating table. President de Klerk knows the dan-

- gers. He has been talking to Chief Buthelezi

and other political leaders across the ideological spectrum. But only his meetings with Mr Mandela attract public interest.

What South Africa requires is a constitutional settlement that permits all parties to pursue their political goals in a legal and non-violent manner. There is no need for brotherly love between old enemies, But there is little hope of a satisfactory agreement if the black majority is riven by a form of civil war, Such slaughter and much of it has been of a particularly revolting ruthlessness is bound to delay the constitution that Mr de Klerk hopes to introduce, while also reinforcing white prejudices. The sooner actual negotiations begin, the sooner all parties will feel able to use words rather than violence to make their point,

Jwĩ-\\201vn, WIERCyRY

. 7 and lasting solutions

MR MANDELA said:

- â\\200\\230Allow me, on behalf of
the national executive
committee of the ANC,
and indeed our entire
membership, to express
my profound gratitude
to all gathered here for
â\\200\\230this historic encounter
between our two organi-
â\\200\\230sations. e P

â\\200\\230Our ultimate praise
should indeed be re-
served for the masses in
the province of Natal
and other parts of the
country whose yearning
for peace is the driving
force of our delibera-
tions today.

â\\200\\230Right at the outset
we want to make one
thing crystal clear. We
have not come here to
apportion blame for the
fact that it has taken so
long before we managed
to sit around a table of
peace and reconciliat-
don, - '
â\\200\\230Nor do we think it

would benefit the cause

â\\200\\234of peace if we spent time
in this meeting pointing
fingers to identify those
_responsible for the terri-
â\\200\\230ble carnage which has
left so many thousands

of our people dead and

- â\\200\\234If we are to fulfil the
true purpose of our get-
together, there must be
no victors or losers as
between the ANC and
| Inkatha. .~

â\\200\\230Only our people must
be the victors. And the
only losers should be
â\\200\\230those whose racist poli-
cies are served by car-
nage among blacks.

| â\\200\\234There can be no sal-
| vation to our belea-
i| guered country but the
realisation by all and
sundry that we are one
people â\\200\\224 black and
~white â\\200\\224 cast in a mould
that can be different,

but one interdependent
- people all the same,

irrespective of the politi-

cal and ideological
creed that each one of
us might hold dear. .

â\200\230Thanks to the untir-
ing efforts of the people,
the grim and infamous
era of apartheid is com-
ing to an end.

â\200\230If there was any leaf
to take from the past, it
is how to perpetuate

that which brought the .

ANC and Inkatha to-

â\200\230gether many years ago,

and how to eradicate
that which rent us asun-
der in recent times.

â\200\230The motivation for
the close relationship
that Inkatha and the
ANC once enjoyed was
our common declared
opposition to apartheid.
Surely that motivation
still remains!

â\200\230We have no choice
but to co-exist â\200\224 even if

it were simply as South

Africans. This means
that we have to incul-

.cate among ourselves

and the rest of society
the culture of tolerance
and peaceful political
engagement.

â\200\230We have learned from
the commendable ex-
periences of the past
and the dark era we are

going through that,i

even if we differ on

20 1AV

crucial questions, this
does not rule out con-
tact among our. organi-

sations and members.

â\200\230Therefore, whatever the concrete outcome of our meeting today, contact among us must continue, precisely to nurture areas of agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict.

â\200\230The ANC believes that the efforts of our people have brought

about a situation in

which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means.

â\200\230This requires an atmosphere of free political activity in which all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society. : 2

â\200\230The use of force against others and the denial of access to public facilities, be it in inter-communal strife or by means of instruments of the State, simply because they hold

ering views, can only make the views of the perpetrator the more despicable.

â\200\230Such free political activity and the peace that we seek require that all

bl S f

the security forces of this land act impartially and in a way that promotes peace. i

â\200\230We also firmly hold the view that movement

~ to that new South Africa |

is the business of all South Africans. _

â\200\230Our proposal for an' |

~ all-party congress de-

rives from this belief. So do our calls for an impartial supervisory

m as well as an
elected body to draft a
new constitution.

â\200\230Otherwise, the final
product and the process
itself will lack popular
support. The ANC does
not demand of the IFP
complete agreement
with these our views.

â\200\230If we have to reach
the prosperous South
Africa to which we all
aspire, we must let the

culture of debate flower
" in full bloom. !

â\200\230We must ensure that
every South African, in-
cluding those in the se-
curity forces, help to-
build a nation of which
all of us can be proud.

â\200\230More immediately, we
must rebuild and devel-
op communities in a
manner that removes
the potential for vio-
lence and heals the
wounds of conflict.

â\200\234This challenge faces
us as we start our histor-
ic deliberations. In|
struggle, we have ach-
ieved the possibility of
movement forward to a
democratic future with
a minimum of blood-
shed. Today we are
ï-\201led upon to cement

S

â\200\230If we do play our role
as a catalyst to this pro-
cess we shall have ac-
%omplished our mission.

o all intents and pur-
pose we cannot afford to
fail. Violence must end.

Let peace prevailâ\200\231.

=T Um\wmwm â\200\230Mwmt\i-â\201\F !

for _waitamna_ M

Ã@_oa._,i 953_.5_:25

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224

A C and PAC have
joine nmnoau noM a
countrywide campa

on Friday to highlight
| their demand for a con-
stituent,assembly. .,

e

1 â\200\234Constituent â\200\234Assem-
â\200\230bly 'Dayâ\200\231, co-inciding
with the opening .of Par-
liament in Cape Town
â\200\230was officially declare
yesterday at a joint
ANC/PAC Press confer-
.ence in Johannesburg.

.. 'The venture has come
â\200\234about after meetings be-
tween the two rival
organisations, and the
realisation of the need
for â\200\230a common front in
the national demand for
â\200\230the constituent assem-
Dyt ooy s s
7''Inâ\200\231the Transvaal, re-
jonal ANC and PAC
eaders had decided to
call a workersâ\200\231 stay-
away, supported by the
trade union federations
â\200\230Cosatu and Nactu, and a
school boycott. !
"An ANC u%.o_nÂ»mgms
emphasised that pupils |
' should only stay away |
from classes on F1 day.:

Â\$ e Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s
â\200\230Organisation (Azapo) â\200\230in
principleâ\200\231 supported the
campaign, said the

- ANCspokesman.: : :

%

PR, ST R SETIWS M I T 7

Peace accord

YESTERDAYâ\200\231S peace agreement between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party has profound implications.

It holds promise of a return to values of normal human decency in black communities which have been torn apart and brutalised by politically inspired violence.

It establishes the principle of multi-party participation in constitutional negotiations. The countryâ\200\231s future will not be decided between the ANC and the National Party but between all - the countryâ\200\231s political groups. This in turn puts the programme of constitutional negotiation back on track. :
â\200\234And as soon as relative peace returns and the process of negotiation begins, South Africa will once again begin to look an attractive enough investment opportunity to bring in the

overseas capital with which the economy can never grow to match the countryâ\200\231s enormous social needs,

However, there is no place for euphoria. Fine-sounding statements of intent have to be implemented on the ground. The difficulties should not be minimised. Local feuds have flourished within the wider political conflict and revenge is a

powerful motive, Criminality

as become a potent factor. Each side undoubtedly has hardline elements who would rather the struggle continued,

The ANC and Inkatha will have to be seen to be acting in concertâ

Its psychological impact, but the machinery to monitor and stifle violence has to be constructed as a matter of urgency.

No more vigilantes

ARMED African National Congress
defence units would be
as unwelcome, intimidating

as armed

and unacceptable
Afrikaner

commandos of the
Weerstandsbeweging.
' The only people entitled to

organise themselves under
arms are the Police and the

army. The police are subject

to discipline and the law of the

land. They are shaking off a
reputation for being the en-
forcers of racist ideology. The

Defence Force, to the extent
that they interact with civil so-

ciety, are there as auxilia
the police and are also subject
to discipline and the law.

the anxieties of the ANC
about Security in the troubled

: townships are understandable,

There is no reason why com-
munities should not organise
collective security. But they
simply cannot be allowed to
arm themselves. Township self-
defence organisations should

rather integrate their activities

with those of the police. And
the police should provide
the protection requested.

s L e ieory

P1

~ By Dominic Mitchell

IN AN historic joint
statement late last
night, ANC deputy
pre: nt Nelson
Mandela and Inkatha
leader Mangosuthu
Buthelezi called on
their members and
allies to cease all at-

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Let pea

fï¬\201â\200\231ï¬\201â\200\231z

Violence must end,
message from indaba

tacks against one \

another with imme-
diate effectâ\200\231.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s epic meet-
: was the culmination
of months of political
manoeuvring and ac-
cording to political ob-
servers worldwide, was
the most significant
event in South African

olitics since the State

residentâ\200\231s February 2
speech last year.

At a Press conference
last night at the end of
the 10-hour meeting, Mr
Mandela said there was
a strong possibility that

an all-party congress in-
volving all organisations
with proven member-
ship, including Inkatha,
would â\200\230most likelyâ\200\231 go
ahead.

â\200\234Although a number of
â\200\230serious differencesâ\200\231

emerged during the.

talks, it was clear that the two organisations while remaining separate and distinct are committed to burying the hatchet.

The most significant difference between the organisations was their attitudes towards a constituent assembly

In a morning speech, Dr Buthelezi said a constituent assembly and an interim government as called for by the ANC are not achievable in South Africa

However, later in the evening he said Inkatha

would keep an open

mind on the issues and

if the ANC could per-

suade him that the concepts were workable, Inkatha would change its attitudes.

Reading part of the joint statement, Mr Mandela said both sets of delegates were appalled at the tragic violence which has decimated many of our communities over the years.

The parties agreed to cease insulting and vilifying one another and P to stop coercion and intimidation in pursuit of

organisational strate-

gies and programmes. Mr Mandela and Dr

Buthelezi also agreed to

make a joint tour of all

regions affected by the

violence, both in Natal and the Transvaal.

According to Dr Buthelezi, the emphasis of the talks was to no ill relations between the two organisations in pursuit of the aim of eradicating

apartheid and establish-
ing a united, non-racial
and democratic South
Africaâ\200\231.
Reading

tainment of peace
an effective peace-kee
ing role b,
forces,

rican Government must

'bepaid

- jointly administe:

e securi AY

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ac'cegt its responsibil-
ities in this regardâ\200\231.

-The two o isations
agreed to institute a re-
construction and eco- .
nomic development pro-
amme to reduce the
evels of violence.
Priority attention is to
refugees and
laced persons with-
â\200\230partisan consider-
atlons
Resources for recon-

struction work will be

made available to a
trustfundwhichisgobe ,
red.: &

A code of conduct:_
â\200\230which will not imp!
ne atively on the righ
dividuals and politi-
cal groupsâ\200\231 will be draft-
ed and adhered to by
the organisations and
â\200\230all the security forcesâ\200\231.
At the Press confer-
ence, Mr Mandela re-
ferred to the president of

- Inkatha as â\200\230Prince'

Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231,
paying an unheardâ\200\224of
protocol compliment ;

from the' ! Inhis nlsxg i
oint statement, Dr. Mr Man 1 pâ\200\230g;;e
uthelezi said â\200\230the at- Wwas no po int in â\200\230a P

also t{onmg blame !â\200\230or tlxer
requires the existence of

so many thousands of.â\200\230
our people dead atï-\201h
wounded

@ See also Page 8

THE president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and a delegation from the IFP met the deputy president of the African National Congress and his team for crucial peace talks in Durban yesterday. Here is a précis of the speeches of the two politicians by Natal Mercury political reporter PATRICK LEEMAN

q

INATAL MERECH RN

Seekin

' DR BUTHELEZI said:

It is my hope that the meeting would be a coming together of the ANC and the

hibited, or perhaps even prohibited, the normalisation of relations between the two as two actors of significance in today's political arena.

It is my hope that the separateness of the two organisations and the differences that exist between them with regard to policy and strategies and tactics can be made complementary in an overriding,

dominating, demanding commitment to South Africa and to the pursuit of the good of the State as being more important than the good of the party.

We are different kinds of organisations. :

. History, however, demands that we turn our differences into advantages for South Africa.

The ANC will not disappear. It has returned home to South Africa to stay.

The IFP will stay. It thinks to stay. We must get on with

job of living together.

It is my hope that today's meeting will

lead to strong, concerted, sustained action against violence in every form and

to the elimination of the politics of intimidation.

The IFP president then referred to the abortive meeting between his organisation and the ANC in London in 1979.

- we can look back and say I was wrong in

what I said about the armed struggle,

so what I did about it, a make or break

e

- day. It will not win any day.
 . â\200\234To slam me now because I refused to
~indulge in a failing tactic in the past just
~does not make sense. -
â\200\230It seems to me that we can agree to
;}Jditiagree on that without vilifying each
- other.
~ Dr Buthelezi quoted examples of what
| he regarded as â\200\230vilificationâ\200\231 of himself.

IFP to identify problem areas which in-

- â\200\230Perhaps now, with hindsight wisdom, -
) â\200\234Iâ\200\230Iâ\200\231fe' armed struggle has not won the

â\200\230T am not quoting these things in any
spirit of confrontation but as examples of
how impossible it is going to be to
achieve peace and to stop the violence as
long as these utterances dominate the
rhetoric of ANC spokesmen.

â\200\230Fortunately, Inkatha and I have criti-
cised ANC policies and tactics and strat-
egies constructively.

â\200\230I challenge anyone to mention one sin-
gle expletive that we in the IFP have
ever hurled at the leadership or member-

' ship of the ANC-SACP-UDF-Cosatu all-
iance.

â\200\230If we really want to defuse the violence
which has so shamed all of us, let us start
by eliminating all this killing talk.

â\200\230We need today an honest, unequivocal
statement by the ANC that the IFP is a
legitimate political organisation in its
own right and belongs in the South Afri-
can political spectrum and will rightfully

be there in its own right at the negotiat- ;
ing table.

â\200\230I will seek common cause with Mr F W
de Klerk, the National Party and the
Government wherever that common
cause is justified.

â\200\230I will seek common cause with the
ANC wherever that common cause is

common causes

justified.

â\200\230Inkatha has a political mind of its own
and it will choose allies on the basis of
the issues being fought.

â\200\230Both the IFP and the ANC must work towards a defined statement of what is totally unacceptable in dealing with one another.

â\200\230Killing is just not on. Character assassination is just not on. Vast distortions and lies about each other are just not on.

â\200\230Perhaps we can establish a joint Code of Conduct Commission which will look at what parties in a South African democratic situation can and cannot do.

â\200\230Had we joined forces in 1979 the terrible destitution of the people would not have been aggravated by violently destroyed and disrupted communities.

â\200\230The cost of the parting of the ways in 1979 is enormous. We are morally bound â\200\230now to undo damage.

â\200\230I would like in talking about differences to issue a warning. The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the ' relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become.

â\200\230Let me cite some of the differences which fall into this category. There will not be a constituent assembly in South Africa followed by an interim government. :

â\200\230Those things are not achievable in South Africa.

â\200\230The constituent assembly leading to transitional government route must be likened to pushing South Africa out on to a great ocean which is chartless and filled with unknowns.

â\200\230We must know what kind of constitution we are heading towards before we even begin moving in its direction.

â\200\230The ANC and Inkatha need to talk about alternative approaches to the politics of negotiation and alternative approaches to generating a new constitution out of constituency politics.â\200\231 D

ALL. SMILES after years of slaughter, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leaders of the African National Congress and Inkatha, declared peace last night between their two organisations. Fighting between them has claimed more than 5,000 lives since 1985,

At the end of a historic meeting after their first since Mr Mandela's release from jail in South Africa the two most powerful black political leaders proclaimed a breakthrough and issued a joint declaration saying: "We the leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party are appalled at the tragic violence which has decimated our communities . . . call upon all our people, members of the ANC and the IFP, as well as our allies, to cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect,"

The declaration, read out by Mr Mandela, further called upon

both groups not to use intimidation

Mandela and Buthelezi say ANC and Inkatha at

From John Carlin
in Durban

tion for political ends and to desist from vilifying each other's organisations and leaders ~ this

- last in response (on an impassioned

plea in his opening address by Chief Buthelezi, on whom ANC leaders have heaped more loathing than any other South African figure, black or white,

In an attempt to make the agreements binding, the two leaders, each of whom headed large delegations, said existing joint mechanisms "consisting of ANC and Inkatha officials who have met regularly in recent months would monitor any violations of the resolutions passed

yesterday.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi agreed to venture together on tours of the areas which

have suffered the brunt of the violence. Hence, both in Natal province,

Zulu country, and in the Johannesburg townships which were first hit by the war last year, ;

More meetings would take place as the need arose. :

In a press conference punctuated by loud laughter from both delegations in response to jokes from Mr Mandela, the two leaders were quick to emphasise that deep political differences still existed between their organisations in particular in matters of strategy, where the ANC adopts a far more confrontational approach towards the white government. .

Chief Buthelezi, who earlier in the day had said that the value of the meeting was predominately symbolic, said last night that no one should expect the agreement to work like a magic wand.

That would be simplistic, he warned.

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Leading article, page 20

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MaS_S bid for
constituent
Uat 30]1]4 -

assembl'ï-\202y~ '

By EsmareÃ©
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC and PAC have
joined forces for a cam-
paign on Friday to high-
light their demand for a
constituent assembly.

â\200\234Constituent Assembly
Dayâ\200\235, coinciding with the
opening of Parliament in
Cape Town, was officially
announced yesterday at a
joint ANC/PAC press confer-
ence in Johannesburg.

The venture has come
about after consultations be-
tween the national leader-
ship of the two organisations
and the realisation of the
need for â\200\234a common front in
the national demand for the
constituent assemblyâ\200\235.

Stayaway

PAC West Rand chairman
Ntsundeni Madzunya and
ANC PWV-region executive.
member Mohammed Valli
Moosa said mass marches
and rallies would be held
countrywide.

The â\200\230march on Parliament
would be led by ANC deputy
{ president Nelson Mandela.

In the Transvaal, regional
leaders had decided to call a
workersâ\200\231 stayaway â\200\224 sup-
â\200\230ported by trade union feder-
ations Cosatu and Nactu â\200\224
and a school boycott.

Health workers would be
expected to report at work.

Mr Valli Moosa said stu-
dents should stay away from
classes only on Friday, ad-
ding that the organisations

wanted to discourage an on-going school stayaway.

Azapo in principle supported the campaign, and the support of other organisations such as churches would also be sought.

The Transvaal campaign would kick off tomorrow with a placard demonstration in Hillbrow between 5 and 6.30 pm.

Rallies and marches, for which permission had been sought or would be sought, would be held in several towns including Tembisa, Vosloorus, Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Kagiso.

Top ANC and PAC leaders would take part.

An ANC spokesman said that even if permission were refused, supporters would go ahead with marches in towns throughout the Conservative Party-dominated eastern Transvaal on Friday.

A police spokesman has warned that the police would take steps against any attempt to stage an illegal march. Major Pine Pienaar said permission had so far been granted only by Nelspruit local authorities.

Groblersdal had turned down the application and decisions were pending in Middelburg, Witbank, Bethal, Ermelo, Secunda and Leslie.

The ANC's southern Free State region has also organised a mass protest march.

Mr Valli Moosa said that if permission were refused, the leaders would have to consider their position. However, the mood of the people was that the campaign should proceed.

A constituent assembly was not a demand backed by one political group, but a people's demand, he said.

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Poor spow

Civar â\2027A â\200\23030/5\'

' WE deplore the Dutch' Governmentâ\200\231s decision

\ to postpone the visit here next month of
Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign
Minister Hans van den Broek.

They were due to visit South Africa at the invi-
tation of State President De Klerk, but the
ANC started a campaign to stop them com-
ing here.

The ANC complained that it hadnâ\200\231t been con-
sulted, though why it should have been is not
clear, since this was a matter between gov-
ernments and the ANC had no right to ex-
pect the visit should be cleared with it first.

There was also a suggestion that the visit was
premature and should not take place until an
interim government had been installed.

The idea was also fostered that the visit would
strengthen the governmentâ\200\231s hand in the Co-
desa talks by giving Pretoria more credibility
than it deserved.

So alarmed was the ANC at the prospect of a
visit by the Dutch leaders that ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela phoned Mr Van den
Broek personally to urge him not to come
here.

The ANC also let it be known that Mr Mande-
la would not meet the two Ministers if they
did go ahead with their visit.

Since the Netherlands has been a staunch sup-
porter of the ANC for decades, Mr Mande-
laâ\200\231s decision was a calculated snub.

The proposed visit also caused an uproar in
the Netherlands, with the Anti-Apartheid
Movement, other anti-Pretoria organisations
and the usual crowd of vociferous Leftists
screaming to high heaven that the visit must
not take place.

At first it seemed that Mr Lubbers and his Foreign Minister were going to go ahead with the visit, despite the ANC's objections.

But though the Christian Democrats were in favour, their junior partners in the government, the Socialists, were not.

Hence the postponement.

A Dutch Government source says the government hopes to reschedule the visit in the near future, adding: 'The only precondition is that all parties in South Africa want to talk with us.'

Since the ANC doesn't want to talk with them at this point, we can't see how the visit can take place in the near future.

We fault the Dutch Government for capitulating to the ANC's threats.

The ANC is still not the government of this country, even though it acts as if it is.

The Netherlands is a major country, not a banana republic, and can decide what it wants to do without any 'liberation' organisation like the ANC pressuring it not to. -

By postponing the visit, the Dutch Government has allowed the ANC to dictate its relations with another country,

It has also humiliated Mr De Klerk.

As for the ANC, it cannot seem to understand that it is no longer fighting a 'liberation' war, but is now in a political battle which requires different rules.

We do not know what the ANC is afraid of.

The Dutch Ministers would have learnt at first-hand what is going on in this country.

Since the Dutch are sympathetic to the ANC cause, the Ministers would have taken particular note of what the ANC had to say.

Having the Dutch visitors here would not have made any difference to the Codesa talks, the government's role or the ANC's position.

We have said it often enough, and we say it again:

The ANC must stop being spoilers.

With the country changing so rapidly, there is no reason 'if there ever was', which we doubt 'to question the sincerity of Mr De Klerk as a reformer par excellence.

It should stop putting a spoke in Mr De Klerk's wheel at every opportunity. :
If it is so confident about achieving power, it

should stop harming the country with sanctions and let it get back to some semblance of

prosperity. ;

It's a poor show, indeed, when a major player in this period of transition to a new South Africa puts its own petty political agenda ahead of the interests of the people. WeToRNIY FTeRas: 204¢ e emmeme 224 200 224

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THE ANC envisages a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local struc-

tures, and no special dispensation

3 ~ The ANC insists this would nei-
Its key com-; nents and charac-

for minority groups

teristics could

A unitary state, that is a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government:
the executive, legislature and judiciary. I

A president, who would be head of the executive and head of state.
It is undecided as to whether the

resident should be elected directly

y the public and consequently vested with greater executive powers or elected by and answerable to Parliament. A Cabinet would be headed by a prime minister, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

Two Houses of Parliament. The first a national assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons will have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary legislative power

10y

would be vested in this House.

The second House would be a senate, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional representation. though not ethnic representation.

ther be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor will it represent ethnic or so-called community interest. The senate, as the guardian of the

constitution\200\235 would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts, and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the national assembly, but not to veto it.

Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years, and conducted by secret ballot. An independent electoral commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media

The use of proportional representation means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats. Despite the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A constitutional court, appointed

THE ANC VISION 5=

ol
by the president possible the

recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land. The constitution would only be amended if two-thirds of the national assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum. The constitution would be supreme.

Positions in organs of local and regional government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

Regions would not be devised as means of perpetuating privilege, ethnic or regional divisions along territorial zones, but would be based upon the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances.

Central government would control external relations, defence and security, general economic, fiscal and tax policy, national Policy

frameworks and resources for social upliftment and the removal of historical imbalances in society. Regional and local authorities powers would be clearly circumscribed.

A Bill of rights would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. :

â\200\224 â\200\234 The
ANC and Inkatha have ,
joined in a call on all
_their supporters:;â\200\231an
- members to cease al
attacks on eHCH
â\200\230It was also agf
; nearly sEvE

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â\200\234"Both â\200\230erâ\200\230g'ltzili-:sa"i-\201ohs had

i iven an undertaking to |

rb violence among their
"members and had com-
+ mitted themselves to pol- /
itical tolerance and free- ;
dom of political activity.
â\200\234Both can exist as pol-
mcal parues wlth their

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} ownâ\200\231 pohcles and pro-
Âç grammes,â\200\235 his statement
read.

Both.;

zâ\200\230m..;

parties had

ll agreejl to the free use of

liberations yesterday thatâ\200\231 |
the . ANC' deputy# presiÂç
-dent,. Mr Nelson' Mande-â\200\231
_la;: and. the President-of

facilities and urged the re-
â\200\230turh . of pupils to their
| schools arid learning.

No matter - what was
agreed between them,
they believed effective

d . the Inkatha Freedom Party peacekeeping forces were

;| required, and reminded

-2 "_.â\200\230r_; e B &
FROM PAGE 1

public meeting at a time
and venue to be decided
upon.

- It was also agreed to
call on their followers to
- desist in the vilification of
the two organisations and
their leaders.

Two' statements setting

. out their agreed position

.on violence and the right

. to political freedom of in-

{

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48

. African National Congress Vice-president NELSON MANDELA shakes
â\200\230_hands with Inkatha Freedom Party Chief leader MANGOSUTHU BU-
THELEZI when Inkatha and the ANC met in Durban yesterday.

dividuals and groups were

. read out at a media con-

ference. N

~ 'Mr Mandela, ad-

~ dressing the KwaZulu

â\200\234and TFP leader as Prince

Buthelezi, said the two

movements were appalled

by the violence which had
decimated their.. com-

_munities over the years. -

They had come to a sol-
emn agreement to call on

â\200\234all our people, members

of the ANC and the Inka-â\200\231

tha ' Freedom Party, as
well as pur allies. tq- cease

iall attacks on each other ;
wnh immediate effectâ\200\235.

- /Chiefâ\200\231 Buthelezi read a
niore detailed statement

â\200\230on . the consultations
themselves and the in-
| tended mode of unple-
. mentation.

The meeting had been
keÃ©only' aware of the im:
portance of the talks and
| of international expecta-
tions that ways-be found
to bring about a cessat: on

of violence, he said.:

It had been agreed that
the . decisions

~should penneate â\200\230t0] the
the government to meet

: i its responslblrhues in this
" regard.

Both believed it was es-
isential to introduce a pro-
gramme of reconstruction
and development, par-

. ticularly - with. respect_to
' the. Transvaal hostels

where preference should
be given to refugees and
: displaced persons.

Chief Buthelezi said a
Â¢ high level of contact
" would be maintained be-

" tween the two parties
w{ through joint structures
involving local leadership
and grass-roots struc-
tures.

Committees- would be
established to implement
local agreements and to
ensure all were aware of
â\200\230the agreement rcached
yesterday.,

There would also be es-
tablished co-operation in
implementing non-parti-
san = development pro-
grammes in areas dev-
astated by violence and a
code of â\200\230conduct estab-
lished based on principles
not impeding the rights of
individuals and political
groups.

" Mr Mandelas â\200\230state-
ment also called on sup-
porters and followers of

| the two organi\$ations not
to coerce or- intimidate
anyone in pursuit of theu'
. Strategies.â\200\231

They had resolved to
hold joint addresses in vi-
olence-affected areas for
. which; concrete . ;arrange:-.
ments would be made~ by-

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f".he.â\200\235 " appropriateâ\200\231sâ\200\231.joint.

& StfuÃ©ï¬\202xfef - Sdpak oo

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{ grass roots level: ;and: â\200\230that

3 : channels- of - oommumca-
tions be set up to iamhtate

this.

***" ago in Natal province between mem-

' r-â\200\230acuonal fngming began. five. years

" bers of Inkatha and supporters of the United Democratic Front, a surrogate for the then-banned African National Congress. By local estimates, 4,000 people have been killed in Natal in the last few years. Another 1,000 died since the hostilities erupted around Johannesburg last July, though the two organizations today said the death toll had been much higher.

The fighting hasâ\200\231 gulved vlcums of | | poverty and discriminationâ\200\235 on both sides. â\200\230Mr. Mandela today said the, blame for violence must ultimately be, laid â\200\234â\200\234at the door of the apartheid re-| gime which has created conditions of[

i

+ . such squalor and degradation among |

ourpeople.â\200\235
It was uncertain how quickly sup-

J MandÃ©la' and

| Mr. Mandela said. But, he added, â\200\234in

' breakthrough.â\200\235

.appear with Chief Buthelezi at a peace

â\200\230Buthelezi pledge =
to work to end v
the kllhng ok oy

porters would honor the call to end the violence, which has been perpetuated by revenge, criminality- and competition for turf. A similar appeal by Mr. Mandela 11 months ago in Durban was

widely ignored. Chief Buthelezi, who has made similar appeals, said it was simplistic to think the violence could be ended at a stroke.

At a news conference after the meeting, Mr. Mandela acknowledged that considerable differences separated the Congress and Inkatha.

Is Claimed

Naturally, you cannot expect that we would be able to reach agreement on all the issues that kept us divided,

this discussion, we have reached a

Mr. Mandela, who was freed from prison Feb. 11, consented in March to

rally in: Natal but backed out. For months thereafter, - Mr. Mandela dodged any potential encounter with Chief Buthelezi.

After violence around Johannesburg rose, the Congress resolved to meet with Inkatha and announced on Oct. 22 that a meeting would take place,

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Town

though it did not happen 0 three months. It is so that

For all their past: My Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, knew each other back through the 1950s, displayed mutual cordiality today. They embraced warmly outside the Royal Hotel and smiled broadly as they walked into the conference room..

, Right at the outset we want to make one thing crystal clear, Mr, Mandela said in an opening speech We have not come here to apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation.

Nor do we think that it would bene:

fit the cause of peace if we spent our time in this meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded," Mr. Mandela said. He went on to thank Chief Buthelezi for having worked for his release from prison.

Buthelezi Attacks Rivals

Chief Buthelezi, in his speech, catalogued the affronts that he accused the Congress of having directed against him personally, which he said lay at the root of the violence.

"We all know that the reason why we have not met with the Deputy President of the A.N.C., Dr. Mandela, is because some people in the A.N.C. think this would amount to him contaminating himself with me."

Chief Buthelezi emphasized that differences still divided Inkatha and the

Congress. He said Inkatha opposed the

Congress's call for 'the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new Jirga'

o 1994

for [non-racial constitution] and for an interim Government to oversee the nation's transition to majority rule.

Mr.,
who

"The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is published daily.

3 additional mailing offices.

. Such a position, Chief Buthelezi said would leave no room for negotiation and could lead to new violence,

Chief Buthelezi earlier described his vision of the two organizations future relationship.:

"I will seek common cause with Mr. F. W. de Klerk, the National Party and the Government wherever that common cause is justified," the Inkatha leader said. "I will seek common cause with the A.N.C. wherever that common cause is justified. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought." TR

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â\200\234We call on all people of the
ANC and IFP ... to cease all
attacks with immediate effect,â\200\235
said a joint statement.

Asked if a one-day meeting
could resolve years of conflict,
Mandela said

â\200\224 Edited by Wayne Beissert

~ Survey "

he longed-for talks between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party â\200\224 and especially between the leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mang-?sutfhu Buthelezi â\200\224 have begun at as ; ' ,

'As Mandela said this week, serious violence has prevailed for the last seven years. Everyone knows, however, that 1990 was the worst year of ail. The iust-released annual

survey of the South African Insti-

tute of Race Relations shows that

1990 was a year in which â\200\234unprece-
dented liberalisationâ\200\235 was accom-

panied by â\200\234unprecedented political
violenceâ\200\235, arising primarily - from
heightened expectations on the left

â\200\230and increased fear on the right. This

tension was fuelled on both sides by

belligerent rhetoric, by . mass
- demonstrations, and by anger at
real or .perceive police
partisanship. During the year, when
_talks were slow to start or seen to
fail, violence became regarded as
the best and quickest way to solve.

-an, problem, from political dissat-

isfaction to unemployment, from

industrial dispute to inadequate
housing, from poor schooling to

etty rivalry. Intimidation was an
important factor in promoting vio-
lence, especially in black schools
and through coercion of black jour-

-nalists. Violence sprang, also, from

the _remaining large, race-based dis-

parities in Government spending on

â\200\230social services, including educa-
_ tion, health care and pensions. And

of course, there was the wild card

violence of criminals, battenning on
this cause or that for their own ends,
or just killinifor fun. The only posi-
tive note in the SAIRR catalo eis
the improved attitude in black

towns towards the presence of the
SADF, but even this must surely be
more indicative of the desperation
of those towns than of good fellow-
ship.

Excellent news is that a group of
companies from the private sector
has banded together, agreeing in
principle to make at least R500 mil-
lion available for socio-economic
development: that shows faith in the
future. But the best news of all will
be that of success for the Durban
talks between the ANC and the IFP.

_@20 WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1991

SOUTH AFRICA: 2 Rivals Reach Accord

Continued from A1
jprison a year ago.

k' The 'ANC-Inkatha rivalry has touched off a continuous cycle of vevenge attacks that have left 4,000 black people dead in Natal â\200\230Province since 1986. In recent months, the factional violence spread to Johannesburg-area townships, where 1,000 have been Kkilled and tens of thousands burned out of their homes since August.

' South Africans hope that the â\200\230new pact, which includes plans for a joint tour of strife-torn regions by Mandela and Buthelezi, at least will begin to ease the bloodshed that â\200\230has become a major obstacle to â\200\230peaceful negotiations between the white-minority government and â\200\230the black majority over the coun- â\200\230tryâ\200\231s future.

.But both the ANC and Inkatha are expected to face some diffi- â\200\230culty in selling the peace accord to their rank-and-file members, many of whom have lost relatives 4n the attacks. Mandela admitted last year that his supporters â\200\234al- most throttled meâ\200\235 when he sug- 'gested that he meet Buthelezi. He, ~said Tuesday that the meeting had â\200\234the full support of the ANC mem- â\200\230bership.â\200\235 ' . â\200\234We are both part of the anti- ~apartheid movement in this coun- ,try,â\200\235 Mandela said. â\200\234That is the " " thing that has motivated us.â\200\235

Mandela, the ANCâ\200\231s 72-year-old deputy president, opened the sum- mit by extending the olive branch to Buthelezi and his 67-person delegation, asking that the two

sides not dwell on their past differ- - _ences. ;

â\200\234Among ourselves, we could point fingers and apportion blame in all direction,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234We could climb the shelves and dust off old chapters to pontificate. But the carnage will not have come to an

end.â\200\235

Mandela also blamed white dom- ination for attempting to divide

black South Africans along ethnic lines, â\200\234to turn our rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts.â\200\235

In his speech, however, Buthelezi dwelt extensively on the past, telling the 20-member ANC delegation that the violence between their supporters had been caused by an ANC â\200\234vilification campaignâ\200\235 against Buthelezi. â\200\230

The Zulu leader cited newspaper and television interviews dating back as far as 12 years to support his contention that ANC leaders, including Mandela and others in

â\200\230the room, had tried â\200\234to castrate me politically.â\200\235

At one point, Buthelezi demanded that John Nkadimeng, an ANC

delegate, â\200\234tell the world that he . was wrong in calling me a snake

that must be hit on the head.â\200\235 When Buthelezi concluded his

remarks, Mandela rose and pre-

empted any remarks from his colleagues, saying that the ANC would respond at a later date, according to those present during the closed-door session.

Buthelezi later defended his harsh tone, telling reporters that in African culture â\200\234men donâ\200\231t skirt issues if they want to settle them. My approach is: You go right to the

-marrow and solve them.â\200\235

Buthelezi and Mandela said that, while their organizations still differ sharply on many matters, their talks were cordial. The two men greeted each other with a hug as the meeting began and talked at length during breaks for lunch and dinner.

The joint ANC-Inkatha declaration appeared to address some of Butheleziâ\200\231s concerns by calling on members of both groups â\200\234to desist

~ from vilification of either of our organizations or leaders.â\200\235

It also called on its supporters

not to coerce or intimidate anyone in pursuit of their strategies and programs an apparent reference to previous ANC claims that the recent spate of violence near Jo-

hannesburg was triggered by an

Inkatha membership drive.

Buthelezi said that the ANC also, - had met his primary request that

it recognize Inkatha as a legitimate political organization that deserves - its own place at the negotiating table for a new South African constitution.

Buthelezi and Mandela have been friends since the 1940s when both were members of the ANC. For years, the Inkatha leader had called on the government to re-

lease Mandela from jail.

ut during the mid-1970s, while Mandela was in prison, Buthelezi broke with the ANC over its strategy of guerrilla war and sanc-

tions against Pretoria. Buthelezi

formed Inkatha, a Zulu-based organization, and angered many - ANC leaders by accepting the white government's offer to be head of a self-governing homeland for Zulus.

Inkatha now says that it has 1.8 million members, about a fourth of the country's Zulu population. The ANC, with 300,000 paid members but broad support in South Africa's townships, considers itself a multi-racial organization. Its first leader was a Zulu, but members of a smaller ethnic group, the Xhosas, like Mandela, have played a leading role in the congress for nearly three decades.

The fighting in Natal has been among Zulus, who constitute the largest black ethnic group in South Africa. But in Johannesburg-area townships it has generally pitted:

-Zulus against blacks from other - ethnic groups.