

1 APRIL 1990 Stop the killing

AS the tidal wave of violence threatens to engulf Natal, more than 300 people have died in March alone and more people have suffered from gunshot wounds in the past two months than the number of wounded generated by the entire border war over 17 years.

This puts into some perspective the civil war that has affected virtually every family in the townships of Natal where brother and brother are pitted against brother and where innocent families have suffered the loss of one or more of their loved ones.

It is a time of bloody chaos in which law and order has finally broken down in many parts of the province, disrupting the day-to-day lives of millions of ordinary people.

Such lawlessness cannot be allowed to continue. Enough is enough. The Government knows it and State President FW de Klerk is expected tomorrow to announce steps to curb the violence. Black leaders know it, but they seem helpless, unable to stem the bloody destruction, despite calls from all sides to halt the killing.

A peace rally at Taylor's Halt, near Pietermaritzburg, that was to have been addressed by both Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been called off because of fears for the

safety of Mr Mandela in this Inkatha stronghold. This is a great pity; such a rally could have been a catalyst for peace.

The two leaders must find a suitable venue as soon as possible to stage a joint peace rally, to persuade warring factions that political differences can be surmounted.

Further, the two leaders should, in concert, encourage the Government to create a special force of peace-keeping troops, numerically adequate and accepted as neutral, to undertake the short-term task of restoring and maintaining law and order in trouble-spots.

While people are dying in the streets and in the villages, while the very basics of normal society are lacking, there is little point in politicking.

Only by taking extraordinary security measures can the current anarchy be ended; and only when peace has been restored will it be possible to implement the many programmes needed to upgrade living standards and thus deal with the root causes of the problems in so many Natal towns and villages.

The killing, the brigandage, the violence and the intimidation, simply must be stopped — and soon.

1

THEY say Archibald Jacob Gumede is one of the 'Old Guard' of anti-apartheid activists. Indeed, when it comes to political credentials, the 76-year-old United Democratic Front co-president has few equals.

Gumede's father Josiah was a founder of the ANC, was president from 1927-30, and Gumede himself joined in 1942.

Twice charged — and acquitted — on treason, oft detained and banned, Gumede however draws on a deep well of Christian commitment, quenching any bitterness men of lesser faith might feel.

His moderation has often set him at odds with hotter political heads, like his commitment to non-violence, his 1987 suggestion that the UDF

take part in the tri-cameral elections and his willingness to negotiate with Inkatha over the Natal violence.

Archie, as he is known to policemen and activists alike, is not afraid to speak his mind. Here he gives SAM SOLE his views on Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the armed struggle. He sounds a note of realism above the frequently uncritical adulation that has greeted his recently released contemporaries — and has some harsh words for more militant Natal colleagues.

He is now being crowded out, some say, by those who do not have peace as high on the agenda as he. There has been talk of a cabal forcing the old man aside. It won't be a walk-over.

Arm's-length

Archie

SUNDAY TRIBUNE
1 APRIL 1990

Q: You've criticised KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the path he's taken since his association with the African National Congress. Why?

A: Originally the impression he gave was that, the ANC having been banned, it was necessary that there be an organisation to function in the place of the ANC to defeat the National Party in establishing Bantu Authorities.

He was seen to be co-operating with the exiles in blocking the intentions of Dr Verwoerd.

Then he swung around to the idea that he was for negotiation and his attitude was it was better to negotiate with the South African Government through the constitutional machinery established by the Nats. The attitude of the ANC had always been that South Africa was one country and not divisible and therefore the question of separate races, separate education, separate facilities, was not acceptable.

He then came up with this line of opposition to armed resistance, sanctions and attacks on socialism. In that way he is able to gain white support, but he talks about multi-party democracy when, in KwaZulu, there is only one party. It's a fully one-party state and any group that tries to establish itself politically is treated with violent hostility. That happened to an organisation called Umkhonto kaShaka.

When you come to look at the United Democratic Front, you find he accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC right from the time it was established and tried to encourage the state to take action against the UDF.

So now he has gone into this Joint Executive Authority, the Natal KwaZulu Indaba and negotiations with the central Government. In this way he presents himself as a very, very reasonable individual, but when you look at the way he operates you will find it is no different from the way in which Treurnicht would run the country.

They're on a par. You'll have Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos and Afrikaners and those will form alliances on that ethnic basis. That is exactly his thinking. He'll talk about multi-party democracy in a unitary state and at the same time his whole philosophy is group-based.

There are also those aspects of his policy which make it clear coercion is inherent in his action. In the schools there is coercion to become members of Inkatha, in the rural areas before a person can plough land, receive an allotment, he must be a member of Inkatha. Chiefs have to be members of Inkatha and their followers have to be members of Inkatha.

Q: There seems, however, to have been a shift from the ANC side towards being more conciliatory towards Inkatha, towards recognising that Inkatha does have a constituency.

A: Well, without inferring a personal comparison, Hitler had a constituency, Stalin had a constituency. So when you talk about constituency, you are on a different terrain altogether.

But accepting Inkatha as a fact, we must come to terms with the reality of the situation. That does not admit the correctness of Inkatha policy, but recognises it exists and must be taken into account.

Q: Do you think they can co-exist? There seems to be a feeling within the Mass Democratic Movement, particularly since the release of Mr Mandela, that Inkatha is losing ground in Natal, mainly in the urban areas — that Inkatha can be kicked out or finished off.

A: To be brutally frank, I don't think anybody who knows anything about the reality of Inkatha can talk that language.

I cannot say it is impossible for people who are members of Inkatha to co-exist with people who are

TO PG2



VETERAN activist Archie Gumede with his grand-daughter Ntombenhle.

not. When last did you hear of any violence taking place at Lamontville, or Umlazi proper, or Clermont? There are Inkatha people living in all these areas, but the people there have decided for whatever reason not to engage in violent conflicts and it is not because Inkatha has been kicked out.

That type of language means there can never be peace on earth as long as there are people who don't hold the same opinion. And I don't go along with that.

Q: How strong are the voices of those who want to fight rather than co-exist?

A: They are strong in patches. And it is only by proper education and organisation of people who think like that, that we can get over this thing. My problem is that I'm sitting at this desk and instead I'd very much like to be involved with the people in the front line of this conflict and be able to understand that to think of wreaking their revenge on all who call themselves Inkatha, cannot lead to a satisfactory end.

Q: It sounds as if you are frustrated, as if you have been sidelined from within the MDM.

A: I was optimistic that I would be able to get the co-operation of the senior members (of the ANC); that they would understand, but events have not assisted in bringing that about. Soon after they came here, they

went to Lusaka and so forth. I thought then when they got in touch with people in Lusaka they would come back and find out how are we going to handle this situation in Natal.

People like Sisulu seem to know more about what is taking place in Natal than I do, although they have been very far from Natal.

Q: So you haven't had a chance to brief them?

A: No, but for one thing I didn't think they were acclimatised sufficiently to really benefit from any advice I gave them.

Q: What do you mean?

A: They were fresh from prison and I have been in prison and I know what prison does to you. When you get out you are, well, lost. So many things have changed, especially when people have been away for over 20 years.

I mean, you go to Hillbrow. You find a different place altogether to what you found in 1957 — not just the traffic or the roads. It's a different environment.

They have to be acclimatised before they will be able to absorb the differences. Even Mandela who goes to Europe. I am sure he is so thoroughly confused by all the things he has found that unless he gives himself time to really get down and assimilate all the facts, he'd be a superman to absorb them.

Q: Will you make an approach to have proper discussions with the leadership on the Natal question?

A: No, I will leave it to them to ask me. I'm not going to try to influence them; they must understand that the people who have been involved in the changes over the years are better suited to interpret to them present conditions, than the ANC.

Q: Why?

A: The UDF has served a very good purpose and I will not say it was ineffective, but it cannot replace the ANC and the ANC needs local people who can help the exiles re-adjust to local conditions and changes.

Q: Harry Gwala expects the UDF to continue to exist alongside ANC. What is your response?

A: Well, I just don't understand... the UDF can help those who are unsure how best to bring about changes, to remain in contact with that (local) body of thought, but the ANC must come in and act. The UDF has served its purpose.

Q: You have often put your political head on a block in being willing to talk peace, willing to entertain different ideas and also your commitment to non-violence. I understand there are elements in the ANC who are upset with you because you have never spoken out in support of the armed struggle.

A: I have not spoken against it but I never speak for it because I don't think it's correct.

I was not opposed to the demonstration of opposition — blowing up pylons, creating problems in industry and so on — but I never thought we could have an uprising like the Bambata Rebellion, taking into account the reality of the situation. The South African Army is a reality. Now talk about an armed struggle when Mozambique can't challenge SA, when Zambia can't challenge SA, to talk about armed struggle among people who are not armed does not make sense to me. To say it is possible by attacking police stations and army depots to bring the country to its knees doesn't seem sound reasoning.

Q: Why has there been reluctance to abandon the armed struggle now the ANC is unbanned?

A: There are still these security laws; if the SA Government repeals the Internal Security Act, they repeal the Public Safety Act and so forth, then we are aware that we are now talking as people, we are not talking

Q: But both sides expect the other to make the compromise. The Government says: "The armed struggle has not been renounced, therefore we need these laws."

A: But that is where negotiations come in. That is when people must start talking. As President De Klerk has said — correctly — about releasing political prisoners: Well, this is a matter we can discuss; but the first thing that must take place is a discussion.

Q: What about the conditions for negotiations — like the ending of the state of emergency? With the violence that erupted in Ciskei and other homelands it would be very hard for the Government — under its own constituency — to lift the emergency.

A: In Natal we have all these incidents, not in a homeland and despite the state of emergency. The emergency does not bring about any significant improvement; what we need is contact between people. Now we have tried to persuade Buthelezi, for instance, to come with us and talk so we can go to our areas and tell people there is no need to continue fighting.

Look at those homelands (where there's been violence) and you'll find the repression there has been very severe.

Q: You've expressed concern about coercion within the progressive movement before. What is your current perception, particularly with regard to the militancy of the youth?

A: Yes, you do have a problem of coercion, but it was the youth who were responsible for reducing Inkatha's influence in the areas we have been talking about and, as a result they have a standing in the community so that people listen to what the youth says and does. Among themselves there is a sort of discipline that then also applies to people who are not part of this group.

Like the experience we had with drug traffickers. That has come to an end in Clermont, not because the drug traffickers wouldn't like to carry on, but because they realise they were going to be taking on more than they could hold. So in a sense, there people have been forced not to deal in drugs.

The same thing applies more or less to people who are robbing other people, but then you see it is extending itself to something different now, where people think that high rents are a form of robbery and landlords are finding themselves victims.

It's not the same kind of coercion compared to a few years ago... but it does tend towards the protection of people's interests rather than the invasion of people's rights.

Q: What problems do you have with the way ANC people have acted so far?

A: Well, one problem is they are excluding themselves from obtaining information from people who they ought to know are in contact with the situation.

Q: Are there others in Natal they should be taking to?

A: I can't think of anybody because the other senior people in the organisation are Indians who are not in touch with the people in the townships; or coloureds who haven't got the foggiest idea of what is taking place outside their own areas.

Q: Why do you think you have been excluded in this way?

A: I don't know! I would like to get the answer to that. They say they haven't, but the reality is they have. One time the Indians (in the MDM leadership) said I was senile (laughs).

**'The ANC knows
I am in contact
with the Natal
situation. But
it still keeps
away from me'**

as armed people and unarmed people. You don't need these laws if you are going to govern, you only need these laws if you are going to misgovern. If there is a promise not to misgovern there is no need for any armed revolt.

Q: What finally needs to be done to bring the situation in Natal under control?

A: Already they have spoken about Mandela and Buthelezi meeting. If that is done one can confidently approach various groups involved in the violence to stop it. I had the very stiff task of convincing people that to bring an end to the violence it was necessary to talk to Buthelezi.

Q: So the leadership must meet?

A: Yes. The other day I addressed a meeting at Tongaat and the only question I was asked was: "Mandela says we should throw away our weapons, but we are still being attacked. What must we do now?"

Q: Would there also be any purpose in your meeting Buthelezi?

A: If Mandela should meet him on his own, then he is just wasting his time. If he goes without me it would just show me he doesn't understand what we are talking about; that the responsibilities he has, he does not understand. I don't say I have a monopoly of understanding, but there is nobody who is as much in contact with this situation as I am.

Tutu to SUNDAY meet with Tribune Buthelezi

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu will join other church leaders in a visit to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi tomorrow.

The archbishop returned from meetings in Nairobi yesterday, having cancelled a trip to the United States as a result of the violence in Natal, and was scheduled to preach at churches in Sebokeng and Evaton in the troubled Vaal Triangle.

Later today, he plans to visit people injured in the shootings this week.

Reason SUNDAY TRIBUNE talks 1 APRIL 1990 are off

THIS is the ANC statement calling off the April 11 meeting with the Government:

"For the third time in as many weeks, the South African police and army have indulged in the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless demonstrators.

"On 26th March, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of more than 16 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"While the ANC and other formations of the democratic movement have made an explicit commitment to seeking a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict, no such undertaking has yet been made by the Pretoria regime.

"Under the present circumstances, the National Executive Committee of the ANC, in consultation with the Interim Leadership Core in South Africa, considers it ill-advised to proceed with arrangements to meet De Klerk and his colleagues on April 11.

"Effective from this moment, all arrangements for this meeting stand suspended. The NEC shall convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days. The South African Government was informed of the decision on Friday, March 30.

"The ANC once again reiterates that the people of South Africa have the right to assemble and demonstrate in support of their just demands. We claim this as an inalienable right, not as a favour conceded by the regime at its discretion."



A VICTIM, shot through both thighs, Lucky Zuma, being treated by mission nurse Sister Martin and a young doctor who did not wish to be identified. Picture: BARRY MARTENS

The catalyst for the renewed fighting poses a puzzle

AS the violence in Pietermaritzburg's townships continues to have a domino effect, spreading from the Edendale Valley to Imbali and Mpophomeni near Howick, there is still speculation as to what sparked off this week's fighting.

The most easily offered explanation is that it was a revenge attack after UDF Comrades stoned buses before and after an Inkatha rally on Sunday.

Some observers say that

Inkatha impis hijacked several KwaZulu transport buses on Monday and moved into the UDF strong-holds, carrying out retaliatory attacks.

However, a senior police officer who was in the Edendale area on Thursday said that while this was certainly one possibility, the conflict could also have started when a taxi carrying several Inkatha members was stopped and set alight at the George-

town intersection on Tuesday afternoon.

Two people are believed to have died in the incident and at least eight others were injured.

"This is not retaliation, this is war man, full scale war, just like Beirut," said one young comrade on Wednesday, as he stood at a barricade on the Edendale Road.

When asked how long he intended fighting he replied: "Until the end. One side has to win in the end

and we know we can beat the Thelewenis (Inkatha)," he said.

A senior police officer said what was emerging in the strife-torn township is that where previously there were open clashes between United Democratic Front and Inkatha supporters, selective killings were now taking place.

"If a family member is killed by either UDF or Inkatha, his next of kin feel bound to avenge the death", he said.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 1 APRIL 1990

Call for major peacekeeping force to play a part in Edendale

THE Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Rob Haswell, said it was necessary to deploy a major peacekeeping force in the Edendale Valley as a matter of urgency if peace is to be restored to the area.

Speaking after a tour of the valley on Friday morning, Mr Haswell said that because of the widespread nature of the violence, peace was not going to be readily achieved and a "multi-pronged approach" was needed to contain the violence.

Mr Haswell was part of a group of 20 people, including Archbishop

Dennis Hurley, who made a fact-finding tour of the violence-torn area.

Business leaders in Natal have expressed their "deepest concern" about the violence in the Edendale Valley and are expected to meet this weekend to decide how best to respond to the plight of those employees who have been affected.

The president of the South African Chamber of Business, Brian Kurz, said that following a meeting of members in Johannesburg on Friday, it was resolved that "immediate" approaches be made to Minister

of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok.

"Senior businessmen in Natal are seriously concerned with the situation and we will be discussing it further this weekend to see how we can best respond to it," Mr Kurz said.

He said that while it was impossible to estimate the effect the violence has had on the city's business sector, it could also have adverse international impact as the violence was given prominent coverage overseas.

Mr Haswell said they visited Ashdown, where several houses had been gutted on Wednesday as well as the

Thuthuka Hall in Georgetown, which has become a refugee centre for thousands of people, mainly women and children.

On returning to Edendale, the party was notified of attacks that had occurred in Imbali and Mr Haswell said it was an "mortifying experience" to arrive at a house that was attacked less than two hours earlier.

He and other DP members met with MEC in charge of local government, Peter Miller yesterday morning and appealed for assistance to accommodate those people who have lost their homes in the violence.

Democratic Party Pietermaritzburg North MP, Mr Mike Tarr, who arrived in the city yesterday afternoon, called on all people in the conflict who don't live there to "get out" and said both sides should behave in a manner "consistent with peace".

Following the start of the violence in Edendale, KwaZulu Transport suspended its service to the area and few taxis were in operation as drivers feared entering the townships.

Absenteeism at city businesses was high over the past three days and many factories in the Imbali and Edendale areas closed early.

The Mail on Sunday, April 1, 1990

- London

ANC halts talks in protest over killings

THE African National Congress scrapped peace talks with the South African government yesterday after police opened fire on demonstrators in a black township.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said negotiations were unacceptable while blacks were being 'massacred'.

Up to 17 people were killed in the shootings in Sebokeng, south of Johannesburg on Monday.

Hundreds more suffered birdshot wounds during the protest against

Mail on Sunday Reporter

high rents and poor municipal services. Talks were due to begin on April 11 as the first step towards negotiations between the minority government and the black nationalist movement, legalised last month after 30 years.

But they were suspended indefinitely 'as a protest against the killings,' said Ahmed Kathrada, an ANC leader.

The decision, which follows a week of rising violence in black

areas across South Africa, strikes a blow against South Africa's moves towards internal peace, an end to apartheid and acceptance by the international community.

Shootings

Meanwhile, there were reports last night that Mr Mandela had said he would address the Tory Party Conference at Bournemouth, if invited.

He apparently added he would like to see Mrs Thatcher during his London visit later this month.

Earlier, he indicated that the

ANC had to respond to the shootings when he visited injured victims in Sebokeng hospital.

President F.W. De Klerk told a National Party youth meeting in the Transvaal town of Naboomspruit yesterday that he regretted the loss of life in Sebokeng. An investigation has been ordered.

But he said even if there were grounds for criticising the police, he could not agree that they should stand in the way of discussions, especially if they could contribute to the avoidance of such incidents in the future.

PREMIER COMES OUT FIGHTING IN THE TORY LEADERSHIP DEBATE

NO

Embattled ANC pulls out of the talks



Mandela

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

11/04/90

Page 1

so he limited his remarks to the essentials, adding that on Monday he would react in greater detail. He is still awaiting a full report on the shooting.

"Let me say, obviously the loss of life is regretted. It is always sad under whatever circumstances. It is always sad when people lose life un-

necessarily," he said.

He did not want to argue the merits of the ANC's reasons but assuming there might be room for criticism of the police action, he could not agree that such criticism should stand in the way of discussions.

"Discussions can attribute to avoidance of similar incidents in the future," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the Government was deeply concerned about the widespread violence committed by people — many of whom were ANC supporters — and this issue would have been raised on April 11.

He warned that if the violence continued the Government might be obliged to restore law and order.

During his speech he warned of the dangers of mishandling of all types of protests, including that from the right.

He reiterated his call for a new South Africa cutting across race and class, emphasising that Government had no intention of throwing freedom and values overboard.

The aim was to get a respected democracy on all levels and a balance was needed.

He said there was a need to break out of the cycle of negativity.

YES

Conciliatory FW says the door's still open



De Klerk

**John MacLennan, Sam Sole
and Sarah Sussens**

IN a bid to retain its grassroots support in the townships, the African National Congress has restated its commitment to the "armed struggle" and turned its back on immediate talks with the Government.

Yesterday, the ANC called off its planned meeting with the Government on April 11.

But the door to talks remains open. In a conciliatory speech to the National Party Youth Congress at Na-boomspruit yesterday, President FW de Klerk said: "I told Mr (Nelson) Mandela that my door remains open and he is welcome to meet with me.

He said that in his speech on Monday he might give the details, whole history and interactions, which would have resulted in discussion on April 11.

"The Government remains committed to talks with all those working for peaceful solutions."

The ANC's shock move came close on the heels of

its decision on Friday to abandon a joint peace meeting with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at Taylor's Halt near Pietermaritzburg tomorrow.

These decisions have raised fears that the ANC may not be able to avert any fresh outbreak of violence and that it is cutting itself out of a possible solution to peace in Natal.

Explaining the decision to postpone the April 11 meeting with the Government, the ANC said yesterday: "For the third time in as many weeks the police and army have indulged in the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless demonstrators.

"On March 26, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a

peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of more than 16 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"While the African National Congress and other formations of the democratic movement have made an explicit commitment to seeking a peaceful resolution of the conflict, no such undertaking has yet been made by the Pretoria regime.

Not agree

"Under the present circumstances, the National Executive Committee of

the African National Congress, in consultation with the Interim Leadership Core (ILC) in South Africa, considers it ill-advised to proceed with arrangements to meet De Klerk and his colleagues on April 11."

Mr De Klerk said he could not agree with the ANC that police action at Sebokeng should stand in the way of the April 11 discussions.

He said the April 11 meeting would contribute to an avoidance of the Sebokeng shooting in the future.

He said he had not seen the full ANC statement

Mr De Klerk said South Africa could not be built on lawlessness.

"Some people say protest politics have played

a part in releasing pent-up emotions and some say it is an expression that we are returning to political normality.

"This might be true but unbridled protest politics do a lot of harm."

He said there was a need for reconciliation and goodwill.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, addressing more than 100 000 people in Bisho, Ciskei, said: "There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations. We cannot ask our people to stop their self-defence against apartheid violence.

"I spoke to President De Klerk and told him the National Executive Committee had instructed me to tell him that the meeting had been suspended due to the killing of our people in Sebokeng."

It was premature to end or suspend the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said.

He said the only way to advocate peace was to create a suitable climate for negotiations, meet the demands of the Harare Declaration, and end state violence against peaceful protest.

Speaking to the Press after touring violence-hit townships with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday, Chief Buthelezi responded to the ANC's decision: "They (the ANC) wrecked it. I did not."

ANC talks table

fears

SUNDAY TRIBUNE
1 APRIL 1990

Rehoboth UDI just one of Nujoma's headaches

By PETER KENNY
Windhoek

NAMIBIA's fledgling government this week settled down to the day-to-day dynamics of ruling the country — after the euphoria of independence celebrations.

Also, President Sam Nujoma and his Swapo-dominated Cabinet learnt within the first few days that accountability and criticism are part of the perils of running a government.

Already it had to face a number of problems, such as:

- Questions on the presence of 850 Kenyan troops which formed part of the Untag contingent, but will be staying on at the Government's expense for the next three months.

Revolt

- Strong criticism from a supporting newspaper because it allegedly "hijacked" the coming May 1 Workers' Day celebrations by including unions and employer organisations.

- Criticism for its failure to honour Swapo war heroes with a medal parade during independence day.

- A mini-revolt from the Baster community at Rehoboth, which refused to raise the new Namibian flag and

threatened its own UDI.

- A scathing attack from the opposition DTA benches in the new Parliament because a Zambian citizen acted as master of ceremonies during the celebrations.

Mr Katutire Kaura wanted to know from Prime Minister Hage Geingob if it had not been possible to find a suitable Namibian.

On the first working day of Namibia's Parliament, the DTA's Andrew Matjila asked Defence Minister Peter Muesihange if he was aware a Namibian Defence Force could only be established by an Act of parliament.

And he wanted to know on what constitutional grounds the armed forces of a foreign country (Kenya) had been granted permission to stay in Namibia without parliamentary approval.

The first week of independence saw the withdrawal of the bulk of the Untag task-force of soldiers, policemen and civilian personnel, leaving behind — or going — with broken hearts.

UN members said hundreds of Namibian romances

were sparked off in the year they spent in the country, and many a tear was shed this week to the sound of distant jet engines.

Speaking at his first Press conference since independence, Mr Nujoma praised President FW de Klerk as a man of integrity, wishing him every success.

Hoisted

President Nujoma warned the leader of the tiny mixed-race Baster tribe, Kaptein Hans Diergaardt, that his attempts at secession were futile and illegal.

He appealed to Mr Diergaardt to accept Namibia's constitution, embracing a unitary state, and not to try and hive off his people.

Two days before independence, Mr Diergaardt and his supporters hoisted the flag of the Rehoboth Gebiet, declaring their own independence in an area they settled before either the Germans or South Africans colonised Namibia.

- Rehoboth consists of about 14 000 square kilometres of savannah ranchland covering an area roughly the size of Wales or Israel, and is situated about 90km from Windhoek.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

ANC LEADERS are said to be anxious to test their standing as representatives of the country's main black political organisation before negotiations for a new constitution get under way.

Western diplomats say the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has raised this possibility in discussions with foreign governments.

The ANC fears the Government may "pack" the negotiating line-up with black moderate groups whose opinion, it will insist, must be heard in talks about creating a new social and political order.

The ANC also has qualms about black radical elements slipping beyond the reach of its influence, as has been seen in much of the violence now sweeping black communities.

Some internal ANC leaders have admitted privately that they are poorly placed to control some radical black forces.

Clear

In behind-the-scenes discussions, the Government has indicated that it is not averse, in principle, to the ANC's idea.

As early as last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made it clear the Government would like to deal with groups representing a clear division of black opinion — and raised the possibility of pre-negotiation black elections.

The ANC, however, is unwilling to accept ethnically based elections.

Concern about who'll be there

Some diplomats close to both sides preparing for the forthcoming pre-negotiation meeting believe this will be discussed at the talks.

The questions of who will be at the negotiating table eventually — and the degree to which opinions will be weighed — is of critical importance to both sides.

Once the practical pre-conditions for talks have been met — such as the state of emergency, the release of prisoners and commitments to peace — the actual make-up of the table will be the core issue of "talks about talks".

President FW de Klerk is pointedly meeting homeland leaders and other nominally moderate figures on Thursday. Yesterday, the ANC announced the postponement of its talks — originally scheduled for April 11.

SUNDAY FOCUS

Why
the

violence is carrying on...

It is widely believed, first, that the violence in Natal is the result of political rivalry between Inkatha and the African National Congress and, second, that settlement of the differences between these organisations is the major obstacle to peace. And yet this week's carnage in Edendale — the worst outbreak of violence yet — took place within days of a major breakthrough in the relationship between the two parties:

Mandela's agreement to meet Buthelezi at his home next month. Why has the violence continued — even escalated — despite Mandela's call for peace at King's Park, and despite similar calls from Buthelezi? DOUG HINDSON (Deputy Director, Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville) and MIKE MORRIS (Research Fellow, Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal) put forward their views.

The causes of the violence are more complex and more deeply seated than political differences.

Political agreement can be only the first step towards lasting peace.

The conflict has three main dimensions: rivalry between major political organisations, violence between local political groupings, and social divisions within and between black residential communities.

Solutions to these require:

- Agreement amongst the major political organisations to replace violence with open, democratic forms of political rivalry;
- Community mobilisation to dismantle power structures which

encourage violence and to replace them with democratic local government structures;

- A far-reaching programme of urban reconstruction to reduce social divisions and expand material welfare.

The need for agreement on the terms of political rivalry

Politically inspired conflict is indeed a major source of the violence, and a political settlement is essential to launch the peace process. The de-escalation of violence in some areas after Mandela's rally was confirmation of this. But political contestation and conflict cannot be avoided in the process of constructing a new

society. What does not follow is that political rivalry need be violent. Political differences should be expressed through open democratic forums, not armed combat.

To ensure long-term welfare and stability the underlying social and material causes and context of violence must be tackled. But this is impossible while political conflict rules everyday

life and tears come apart. The immediate causes of political violence must be dealt with first and this can be done only if the major parties come together.

Why much more than political settlement is needed

The factors that sustain violence go far deeper than political affiliation. Researchers have found that the ordinary Inkatha or UDF/ANC supporter often knows little of the political organisations with which he or she identifies. The terms UDF, ANC, Comrade or Amabutho simply become labels with which to distinguish the enemy.

Integration of local power structures into the larger political organisations is in many cases limited. Neither side can exert full control over the warlords, vigilantes and comrades in the shanty towns and townships. It is not simply a question of the generals on both sides ordering a cease-fire.

Violence is perpetrated

ed by relatively well organised localised power structures amongst the youth and adults. The warlords in the shanty towns enforce strict military discipline. Families supply conscripts for impis. Strict control is exercised over all community resources: shack sites, shops, liquor sale, water supplies. A hierarchy of warlords, lieutenants and area headmen is supported by rents, levies and tributes paid by residents who in return receive protection.

In the formal townships youths have formed civic defence organisations receiving levies from residents. These structures act as armed units in times of conflict with

neighbouring squatter communities. The comrades vary from politically disciplined

community defence and security organisations to outright criminal gangs; from comrades to com-tsotsis to tsotsis.

Vested interests in the violence and conflict have been created on both sides of the political divide. Attempts to dismantle these structures will be strongly resisted. Only the most politically informed and integrated can be brought rapidly under control by Inkatha

Mandela may address Tory conference

MR NELSON MANDELA, deputy leader of the African National Congress, has offered to attend the Conservative party conference in Bournemouth this autumn if invited.

He has also expressed a wish to see Mrs Thatcher during his visit to London later this month, and has said that he is trying to overcome objections to a meeting among the ANC's National Executive in Lusaka.

Mr Mandela's remarks, in an exclusive interview with Nicholas Bethell, Conservative Euro-MP for London North-West — published in today's *Sunday Telegraph* — suggest he realises that he might be accused of interfering in British politics because he has already met Mr Kinnock, the Labour leader, and has accepted an invitation to this year's Labour conference.

"If the Conservative party invite me to their conference, I will go," he told Lord Bethell last week in a meeting at the new ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, adding: "I do not support the Conservative party or the Labour party."

Senior Conservative Central Office sources said yesterday that Mr Mandela "would be very welcome" at Bournemouth and his suggestion will be referred to the party's National Union, which is in charge of conference arrangements and would consider whether to issue an invitation.

Mr Mandela's comments on his visit to Britain in two weeks' time, when he is due to

by David Wastell
Political Correspondent

address an anti-apartheid rally at Wembley stadium at which Mr Kinnock is to be a guest, indicate disagreement within the ANC over their approach to Mrs Thatcher. The ANC's official position remains that his visit would not be the occasion to take up her open invitation to Downing Street.

Mr Mandela emphasised that any meeting with the Prime Minister would need approval from the ANC National Executive, many of whom have been upset by Mrs Thatcher's unilateral abandonment of some of Britain's measures against the South African government.

**The struggle must go on:
The Mandela interview P18**

"We are working on it," he said. "Our London representative, Mr Mandy Msinang, is in touch with the Foreign Office."

Lord Bethell, the first British Conservative to have a substantive discussion with Mr Mandela since his release from prison, said: "He left me in no doubt that he personally wanted to see Mrs Thatcher and that a decision would depend on persuading his colleagues that he should do so when he comes this month."

But last night Mr Msinang said the ANC continued to regard the Wembley rally,

which will be televised worldwide, as "an international event which happens to be in London". As a result, he said, Mr Mandela was not making an official visit to Britain.

Although he would contact Mr Mandela tomorrow to clarify his remarks, Mr Msinang added: "I am guided by what has been discussed so far and I do not foresee any change to that position."

But he was enthusiastic about the prospect that Mr Mandela might attend the Tory conference. "That would be absolutely useful," he said.

Mr Mandela expressed admiration for Mrs Thatcher in his talks with Lord Bethell: "I deeply appreciate the role she has played in the relaxation of international tension."

"I have always said that this is the woman I would like to persuade to come over and be our friend. Apart from the fundamental differences we have, she is a person I regard as dependable."

But he reaffirmed his belief in sanctions as a means of persuading the South African government to grant political and economic rights to the black majority, and said Mrs Thatcher had created "great difficulties" for him with his National Executive, who held strong views on the subject.

"I am trying to sort the problem out. If I do not see her on April 16, I would certainly plan to see her when I am in Britain in October."

ANC quits constitution talks

IN A decision that has caused widespread shock, Nelson Mandela yesterday announced the withdrawal of the African National Congress from talks with the South African government on a new constitution.

The ANC has also pulled out of peace talks with Zulu Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the Inkatha-ANC fighting ravaging the townships of Natal.

Mandela said at a rally in Bisho, capital of the Ciskei home-

by Fred Bridgland
JOHANNESBURG

land, yesterday he had told South African President F W de Klerk that the action of South African police in Sebokeng township last Monday was "a situation we could not tolerate." At least 11 people were shot by police.

Mandela said he had been instructed by the ANC's execu-

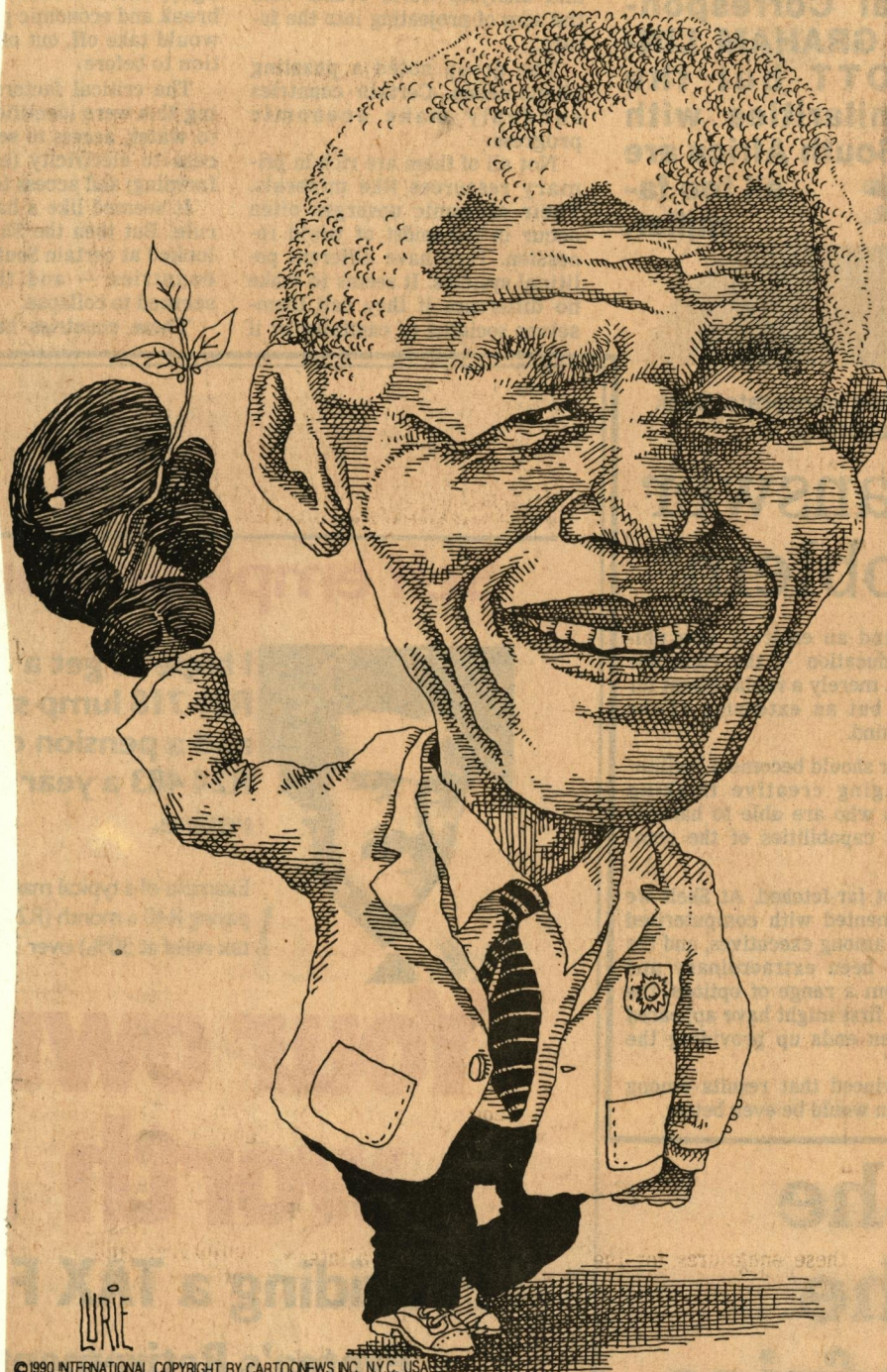
tive in Zambia to tell de Klerk the ANC had suspended the April 11 talks because "if the government talks about negotiations on the one hand and murders our people on the other, that we cannot accept."

The ANC may be using the shootings as an excuse to withdraw from talks over which it is divided and unprepared.

Meanwhile, in Parliament tomorrow, President de Klerk may declare martial law.

*The Sunday
Telegraph 1/4/90
London*

WHY THE VIOLENCE IS CARRYING ON ...



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or the ANC. Others are impelled by dynamics which are likely to continue even after a regional peace settlement is attained.

To break their power, the peace initiative will have to be followed by a process of dismantling the structures of the warlords and youth gangs. They will have to be replaced with democratic local government structures

containing new and acceptable policing agencies.

Apartheid and socio-economic conditions

The violence has flared up in the context of the collapse of apartheid controls, not their enforcement. The conflict results from the attempts to reform

apartheid.

New social divisions have begun to emerge within the black population based on differences in employment opportunities, income and access to the benefit of city life. The old racial divisions of apartheid have been overlaid by increasing class differentiation within the black urban residential areas.

Labelling the conflict "black-on-black" is not helpful. It deflects attention from the income and wealth differences within the black residential areas which are at the root of the violence.

In the first upsurge of violence in 1985 the main targets were Indian and African traders, councillors and the visibly better off. Since then the antagonism has been recast as a fight between communities that differ in terms of their access to resources: housing, water, services. It has become a conflict between townships and squatter camps; between the poor and the impoverished.

State reform and violence

The crux of the problem is that recent Government policy has fostered social and economic divisions within the African urban community without abandoning racial residential segregation. This has proved an explosive combination.

The orderly urbanisation strategy replacing the pass laws encouraged residential differentiation: new suburbs for the middle classes, privately owned township housing for the more affluent workers and ordered shack settlement for the remainder. A small emerging black middle class and a privileged group of workers have benefited materially.

Most of the working class and the unemployed and

marginalised gained little. They have been the main victims of the deepening social antagonisms in the urban peripheries where the conflict has been between the poor and the very poor.

Social differentiation itself is not the cause of instability. It is the manner in which it has occurred. Wealth and income distinctions have emerged in a context where the living conditions of the vast majority of blacks are deteriorating. Those whose position has improved — even marginally — are believed to be benefiting at the expense of the rest.

What is needed is a new approach to urban reconstruction

Neither the old apartheid township model nor the new shanty towns can provide a long-term solution. A new programme must be implemented within the framework of one city and local government for all.

What is needed is a massive housing programme which harnesses the resources of state, industry and local communities. This has to be linked to a coherent policy programme designed to meet basic needs in the areas of health, education, recreation and welfare.

How are we to provide urban resources? The current debate which counterposes the market and state is a cul-de-sac. Private enterprise responding purely to market signals and profit considerations can only meet the needs of a small fraction of the population. The state has to play a major financial, planning and technical role. Our energies should be put into working out the appropriate combinations and forms of state and private initiative in urban reconstruction.

INSIDER

SUNK



NELSON MANDELA: Halted talks

Mandela's 'talks
off' phone call
dismays envoys

SUNDAY TRIBUNE
BY

- 1 APRIL 1990

THE ANC!

By LESTER VENTER, BILL
KRIGE, DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and RYAN CRESSWELL

HOPES for talks to start the peace process in South Africa were dashed in a dramatic telephone call from Mr Nelson Mandela to President De Klerk at Tuynhuys.

Hours earlier, the ANC had also called off another peace initiative

— a joint rally with Inkatha as a symbolic gesture to halt the slaughter in Natal.

The ANC moves have caused widespread dismay. Last night Western diplomats were already indicating that Mr Mandela could expect strong international criticism.

A senior envoy said the excuse given by the ANC — the Sebokeng shootings — was "transparent".

The real reason for scuppering the talks, he said, was tension and disagreement in the ANC's leadership ranks.

Surprise

However, President De Klerk — though clearly crestfallen — remained conciliatory yesterday.

The door to negotiations remained open, he told Mr Mandela on the telephone after the ANC leader had called to pull his organisation out of the historic talks that were scheduled for April 11.

Mr Mandela gave as his reason the police shootings of protesters in Sebokeng on Monday.

His fateful call came as a total surprise to Tuynhuys — which had already been given a list of the ANC delegates.

Mr De Klerk told a National Party youth rally in Naboomspruit yesterday that he did not agree with the ANC's reasons for putting off the talks — even

if there were "room for criticism" of the police action.

The whole point of the April 11 talks would have been to end violence and events such as those in Sebokeng.

The President said he would give a full account in Parliament tomorrow of "interactions" between the Government and the ANC "that would have led to the discussions".

"It is sufficient to say at this stage that the Government has been willing and able at all times to address the issues that confront this country," he added.

He repeated a warning that the Government would soon use "the full weight of the State" if violence — from both the left and the right — did not abate.

Realities

Mr Mandela said yesterday that the talks had been suspended indefinitely because of the "massacre" at Sebokeng.

In a hard-line speech to a crowd of 60 000, shoehorned into the stadium at Bisho, capital of Ciskei, he said it was premature to suspend the armed struggle.

The only way the Government could be "an advocate of peace" was to fulfil the demands made by the ANC in the Harare Declaration.

Furthermore, peace was impossible while there was "violence against our campaigns of peaceful protest".

Declaring that "we stand at the threshold of liberation", Mr Mandela said he believed President De Klerk was sincere about negotiations, but "this should not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid".

He said: "I must now tell you that yesterday I spoke to President De Klerk and told him that the national executive of the ANC had instructed me to tell him that the meeting on April 11 has been suspended in protest against the killing of our people in Sebokeng."

Rally

"I told him that if the Government talks about negotiation on the one hand, and these massacres occur on the other, that we can never accept."

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations."

Mr Mandela made no reference to the cancellation of the planned peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but said the ANC supported wholeheartedly a campaign against violence in the strife-torn province.

Yesterday Government

□ To Page 2

ANC calls off talks

□ From Page 1

sources said the sudden cancellation of the April 11 meeting was "totally unexpected" and "in complete contrast with everything that has been discussed with ANC representatives".

By Friday the arrangements for the meeting had reached such an advanced stage that the ANC had already communicated names of its 11-man negotiating team to Tuynhuys.

Sources said the sudden cancellation was an indication of tension within ANC ranks about the composition of the delegation and provided confirmation of suspicions that the movement was not yet ready to commit itself to negotiations.

The Sunday Times has learnt the names of the men who were chosen to face Mr De Klerk and his nine-man team across table in the historic encounter.

An most important feature of the ANC team was the extent to which it was dominated by internal leaders of the "Rivonia generation" — Mr Mandela, former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and another septuagenarian, Mr Govan Mbeki. They filled the top three spots in order of precedence.

Mr Alfred Nzo, until a

month ago the most senior ANC leader in the absence of the movement's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, occupied the fourth spot.

The team contained only five members of the ANC's external wing — Mr Nzo, the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, SA Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, the chief of staff of the military wing, Mr Chris Hani and the chief legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

The remaining members were to have been Mrs Alberta Sisulu, the president of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, its chairman, and another Rivonia trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Agreed

The delegation would have been supported by a "technical team" consisting of a number of Lusaka-based members of the National Executive.

Sources said that talks with an ANC advance team, led by its chief of security, Mr Jacob Zuma, reached a stage where final arrangements had been fully agreed upon.

The talks would have centered on "obstacles to negotiations" including the state of emergency, the position of

ANC members still in jail, conditions for the return of ANC exiles and the movement's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

The ANC is likely to face a flood of international anger for stalling the talks.

A senior Western diplomat said the organisation would face strong international pressure to fall back into line.

He predicted that not even the ANC's backers in Moscow and elsewhere in Eastern Europe would support its move.

Diplomats did not, however, believe the ANC meant the talks to be called off permanently.

Co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said it was his heartfelt hope that the ANC would think again.

"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks."

Mr Wynand Malan, another DP leader, said: "Although setbacks were to be expected, the reason advanced by the ANC does not warrant the cancellation."

After a flying visit to battle-weary Maritzburg yesterday, the president of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi, blamed the ANC for wreck-

ing the joint peace rally that had been scheduled for tomorrow.

The Chief Minister of Kwa-zulu and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok were flown over the stricken areas around the Natal capital in a SAP helicopter.

Afterwards they met for in-depth discussions about the violence that has turned the Natal Midlands into a killing field.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been prepared to meet Mr Mandela at the joint rally at Taylor's Halt.

"They wrecked it, I did not," he said.

Priority

ANC spokesman said on Friday that the rally was called off "because the atmosphere was not yet ideal".

Mr Vlok said although police were understaffed, they were doing everything possible to control the situation.

More security in the Maritzburg area was now "a very high priority".

He also called on opposing communities in Natal to stop the violence and "have a change of heart".

MK wants to take 'co-responsibility' for security

COMRADES

SUNDAY TRIBUNE - 1 APRIL 1990

IN ARMS ROW

David Breier

THE African National Congress wants members of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to enter South Africa with weapons in order to guard ANC leaders during the negotiation process.

Sources close to the ANC said this week the issue of security for ANC leaders, including MK commanders such as Joe Modise and Chris Hani, had become one of paramount importance as the movement prepared to shift its headquarters from Lusaka to Johannesburg.

MK believes it must have "co-responsibility" for the security of political leaders during the negotiation process, sources disclosed.

It would be impossible for MK soldiers to guard ANC leaders unless they were able to carry firearms, the sources said.

But the spectre of MK soldiers entering South Africa openly bearing firearms after fighting a guerrilla war for 30 years is problematic for the Government.

A Government security spokesman said the issue would have to be negotiated when the ANC leadership met the Government to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

He said the police would provide adequate security for ANC leaders taking part in the talks.

This week the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, indicated the Government would provide indemnity from prosecution for ANC members taking part in the talks.

It is understood that this would also imply that the Government would take responsibility for their safety while they were in South Africa.

The ANC delegation to meet the Government is likely to be led by ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela who is based internally. Together with other members of the ANC's internal leadership, he has been guarded by ANC bodyguards.

But the feeling in the ANC is that this informal arrangement should be strengthened by the presence of official MK soldiers with proper arms when the external leadership arrives.

The ANC is concerned at the level of violence in South Africa and that attacks on its leadership could come from any direction.

The ANC does not believe the safety of its leaders can be guaranteed by the police, source said.

This week President FW de Klerk was asked in Cape Town about the consequences if anything happened to himself or Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk replied that nobody was indispensable. He said there was good backup leadership in the Government and the ANC also appeared to have a number of prominent leaders.

He said the future should not depend on individuals but on ideas and principles.

THE worst nightmare of most ordinary South Africans has come true. Clouds of smoke billowing from burnt-out cars hang over townships. Bodies are lying in the streets — killed by anarchistic rioters or shot by nervous policemen who feared for their lives amid mob violence.

Right-wing whites organise themselves into vigilante gangs and roam the streets in search of black passers-by on whom they can vent their anger and frustration.

Blacks retaliate by stoning the first car they see. Organised marches intended to express legitimate grievances degenerate into orgies of wanton violence and looting.

Terse official statements document the incidents almost matter of factly: 20 dead in one night in the Katlehong taxi war; nine killed and 180 injured on March 12 near Witbank; seven more near Potchefstroom three days later; at least 23 in violent clashes this week. Burnings, shootings, panga attacks, petrol bombs, shotguns, rubber bullets, tear gas...

It reminds one of 1985 when the townships were ruled — in the infamous words of Mrs Winnie Mandela — by the power of matchboxes and tyres. Eventually the Government was forced to send the troops in to enforce a state of emergency with strong-arm tactics.

ANC leaders deliver ringing speeches calling for peace and calm. They are politely listened to, then flatly ignored. Politicians and senior policemen criss-cross the country administering sticking plaster at the scenes of violence.

Questions

In the minds of ordinary whites the questions pile up:

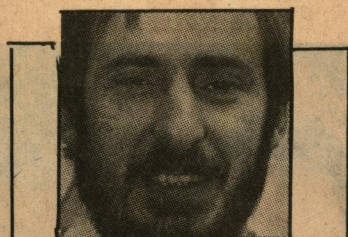
- Who controls the masses — indeed can they be controlled?
- Why the violence now, at a time when the first real prospect of blacks attaining full political rights is nearing reality?
- Is this what the New South Africa is all about?
- Shouldn't whites take their own measures to protect families and property?
- Are we plummeting into a another Beirut where warlords establish their own fiefdoms and dispense with anyone who dares to threaten their turf?

What should be noted is that both the Government and its main protagonist — the ANC — have vested interests in ending the spiral of violence. In fact, it is highly likely that the first meeting between the two parties on April 11 will reflect mutual concern about deteriorating security.

I have little doubt that the ANC leadership in Lusaka has genuinely opted for a negotiated solution to South Africa's political problems. In a recent interview, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani — supposedly the most militant hardliner in the ANC — told me frankly:

"We have always said the armed struggle is but a strategy to force

Violence can only lead to anarchy



Dries van Heerden

asks if the ANC has control of the mobs

the Government to the negotiating table. Now that this is about to happen we will pursue that road to the very end."

Which raises the next question — the question that everybody is almost afraid to whisper. Can it be that the ANC does not have control over the masses in the townships?

Mr Mandela calls for knives and pangas to be thrown into the sea. His followers proceed to plunge them into the backs of their opponents. Mr Sisulu asks children to return to schools. They proceed to rampage through the streets.

Does the ANC have control? Perhaps the answer is both yes and no.

No, because the ANC itself has never claimed to represent the whole of the black community.

Symbolic

In fact when the debate on the armed struggle raged inside the movement one of the strongest arguments in favour of a cessation of hostilities was the main problem — that there were "too many bombs exploding which are not ours". From rival political organisations, from the warlords of the black gangs and from agents provocateurs.

But in spite of the present fluidity in black politics the ANC still remains the most potent organisational and symbolic force.

Its official views on the teeming violence has been exemplary. Senior leaders took great personal and political risks by coming out strongly against the mindless violence practised in certain areas. Only last month UDF leader, "Terror" Lekota went public in supporting action by the authorities to ensure marches took place in an orderly and peaceful manner.

My impression is that there is even a serious rethink going on at present in ANC circles about the wisdom of the state of emergency.

Mr De Klerk's political moves have also shown his integrity in this regard. For the Government the emergency is no longer an instrument to ensure political domination. More and more people are coming to realise it may still be in place purely for law and order purposes.

President De Klerk's dilemma is that he is saddled with a legacy from his predecessor in which millions earmarked for security were wasted on sinister projects, spying on political opponents and engaging in the sort of murky activities that are now being revealed before the Harms Commission.

At the same time the ordinary policemen on the beat, who should be investigating ordinary criminal activity, were overlooked as far as salary and perks were concerned — so much so they are now leaving the force at a rate of almost 20 a week.

Small wonder there is a lack of respect for law and order in most black communities. Crimes like burglaries, rape and assault are reported but seldom investigated because of a lack of manpower.

Solution

And even when a dossier is opened and a policeman is assigned to the case, it rarely reaches the courts because the offices of the attorney-generals are similarly grossly understaffed.

After suffering one or two of these experiences one can hardly blame a citizen for seeking redress in less conventional ways when next he is aggrieved.

What will hopefully emerge from the Government's meeting with the ANC is an agreement on ground rules to combat lawlessness and violence.

The police should be given the necessary power in terms of authority, manpower and equipment to enforce law and order. And if present legislation is not enough, perhaps the state of emergency should be extended.

If present manpower is not adequate, alternative measures should be investigated — if need be returning members of Umkhonto from exile could be deployed in the townships to combat crime.

Criminals, looters and perpetrators of violence should be arrested, charged and brought before open courts. Allegations of police excesses should be investigated thoroughly and, where it can be proved that individuals have overstepped their authority, they should be punished.

But, in the final instance, a new political order that enjoys legitimacy among the vast majority of the population should be negotiated without delay. Security force action can at most be a temporary measure to solve ad hoc problems.

The root causes remain political and can only be removed when all South Africans enjoy equal political rights.

Concern about who'll be there

Some diplomats close to both sides preparing for the forthcoming pre-negotiation meeting believe this will be discussed at the talks.

The questions of who will be at the negotiating table eventually — and the degree to which opinions will be weighed — is of critical importance to both sides.

Once the practical preconditions for talks have been met — such as the state of emergency, the release of prisoners and commitments to peace — the actual make-up of the table will be the core issue of "talks about talks".

President F W de Klerk is pointedly meeting homeland leaders and other nominally moderate figures on Thursday. Yesterday, the ANC announced the postponement of its talks — originally scheduled for April 11.

PERSP

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Sadly, the ANC squanders a chance

FOR an organisation that claims a commitment to the principle that South Africans should talk — rather than shoot — their way out of trouble, the ANC displays a remarkable reticence to talk to anybody outside its own circle.

Within the space of 24 hours it cancelled two critically important talking engagements. One had the praiseworthy and urgent goal of ending the slaughter in Natal, the other was intended to eliminate obstacles in the way of substantive negotiations with the Government.

Such evasiveness does not conform with the image of an organisation that is anxious to seek peace and justice; that endorses the Churchillian dictum that jaw-jaw is better than war-war.

That is a pity, for it is very easy for any of the players in the South African drama — and there are others besides the ANC — to find reasons *not* to talk.

It is doubtful whether conditions for negotiations will ever be perfect for any of the parties. Excuses — many of them not invalid — are not hard to find.

But the test of statesmanship, surely, is to seek reasons *to* talk — even if it is only as a pipe-opener to demonstrate commitment and to find out whether all the obstacles in the way of negotiations are truly as big as they may seem from afar.

There is no substitute for human encounter to lessen suspicion and to build confidence between parties. In the early stages of any process to defuse adversarial relationships, this is one of the primary purposes of talking (*vide* Namibia-Angola).

The ANC's unwillingness to go to Taylor's Halt tomorrow or to the Cape on April 11 tends to confirm reports that this organisation has not yet got its policy ducks in a row; that internal divisions remain unresolved.

The decision to pull out could not have been taken lightly, for Mr Mandela and his followers must be aware they will pay a high price internationally, where opinion is outspokenly in favour of a prompt start to negotiations.

At home, too, there will be concern that subsidiary problems (no matter how valid) have taken precedence; that feet are being dragged in dealing with such over-archingly vital issues as restoring order in Natal's killing fields and beginning the search for democracy.

This is not a contest, but for the moment proponents of talk like President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi indubitably hold the initiative. So, it seems — sadly — do those within the ANC who refuse to acknowledge that the season of violence is over.

X
By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Four people — including a seven-year-old child — were killed and scores were injured when armed Zulus went on a rampage in Alexandra yesterday morning, the ANC has claimed.

But police said only one man was killed in a gun attack near the Madala hostel at 9 am.

In another attack at 5 pm, three people were wounded when gunmen attacked a taxi rank at the entrance to

the township.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa claimed that about 10 armed Zulus launched the attack from the hostel, shooting at people in yards and at children at the MC Weiler Lower Primary School in Second Avenue.

The child who was shot dead was a member of a choir visiting Alexandra from Lesotho. His guardian,

"Robert", said the child had been in a minibus near Third Avenue at about 9.30 am when the shooting started.

"They killed my one child and three of the others were injured. When we got out of the kombi further on, it was hijacked," Robert said.

Police had no record of the attack. Witwatersrand liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said: "Police

were called to a school in the area, but when they got there, nobody could say what was going on."

ANC PWV spokesman Floyd Mashele told a press conference in the township that, after the attack on the school, "the (attackers) then retreated back into the hostel and came back with reinforcements". He said they then ran down Third Avenue,

shooting randomly.

When The Star arrived in Third Avenue, a crowd had gathered near where a man who had been shot several times had collapsed.

The victim's friend, who asked to be named only as "Vusi", said that at about 10 am "these three Zulus came running down the street shooting. They ran around the corner into the

hostel," he said.

One man, who was pointed out to police by a crowd of people as one of the attackers, was arrested.

According to the ANC, yesterday's violence came after a landmine, allegedly planted by IFP members, was discovered outside a house last Friday.

● According to the Human Rights Commission, 50 people were killed and 378 injured in Alexandra in March. This figure does not include yesterday's deaths.

Picture: AFP

THE STAR 1/94/92
4 killed in Alex rampage — ANC

16/1/11

11/4/90

WORLD

P 12 ➔ A paradise littered w

P 13 ➔ Japanese aid, environ

SOUTH AFRICA

Mandela pulls out of joint peace rally with Zulu chief

By Arlene Getz,
Cape Town, Saturday

A joint rally by rival black leaders in Natal — widely seen as a crucial step to ending the violence in the strife-torn province — was called off yesterday by black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

The African National Congress also announced today it was suspending planned talks with the South African Government next month to protest against police shootings in Sebokeng township, 70 kilometres south of here.

The decision was taken by the ANC's policy-making national executive committee in Lusaka, Zambia, in consultation with ANC internal leaders, spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, was scheduled to share a platform with Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a bid to stop the fighting between supporters of the pro-ANC UDF and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. However, the meeting was cancelled last night because the ANC felt the "atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal".

Mr Mandela will instead spend two

days on a fact-finding mission to the area. An "astounded" Chief Buthelezi said he hoped he and Mr Mandela would eventually be able to go on their "life-saving crusade" to Pietermaritzburg.

"People are dying because black leaders are not getting together to do something about the fighting. People are going to die while they (the ANC/UDF leaders) delay," he said.

At least 45 people were shot or stabbed to death, hundreds were injured and thousands had their homes torched in clashes between Inkatha

and UDF supporters after Inkatha buses were allegedly stoned last Sunday.

Police expect the death count to rise further as they find more bodies in the bushes. Meanwhile, relief workers are trying to accommodate thousands of homeless who sought refuge in nearby churches and schools, where teachers had to stop classes. Other victims are still sheltering in their houses, afraid to switch lights on at night in case they attract marauding gangs.

The battles in the Edendale valley were the fiercest yet in the three-year-old Zulu war, which has claimed more

than 2800 lives in the province. This fighting — together with other nationwide clashes that left at least another 28 dead this week in the worst outbreak of violence since the 1984 riots — could jeopardise President F. W. de Klerk's efforts to begin negotiations between the country's five million whites and 27 million blacks.

In addition to the Natal violence, police killed 11 people marching to protest against high rents in the Vaal Triangle black township of Sebokeng on Monday.

In the Orange Free State mining

town of Welkom, white far-right vigilantes have turned the downtown area into a no-go zone for blacks at night. "It is not only in Natal that the violence has reached unacceptable proportions," Mr de Klerk said here yesterday.

The 54-year-old president added that continued "lawlessness" would hamper the lifting of the 46-month-old state of emergency.

"While it remains widespread, we as a government cannot responsibly relinquish the additional powers it (the emergency) gives us," he said.

ANC cancels peace rally as Zulu warriors clash

The Sunday Herald 1/4/90
(NIEZBURN)

From PATRICK LAURENCE,
Johannesburg

While Zulu war bands of up to 4000 men clashed in another day of violence in Natal province the African National Congress has cancelled a joint peace rally planned for tomorrow by its leader, Nelson Mandela, and Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

An ANC statement said the "internal leadership core", which met deputy president Mr Mandela on Friday, decided the "atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal."

It said Mr Mandela would go to Natal tomorrow to visit the affected areas and arrangements were being made for a private meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

Supporters of the ANC and of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement have engaged in years of fighting for control of black townships in the province. The violence continued today as rival factions exchanged gunfire for a fourth straight day and thousands fled the

area. Police said 37 people had been killed and hundreds wounded this week.

They feared more widespread clashes in the rugged hill country near the city of Pietermaritzburg and said patrols trying to restore order were ambushed during the night, but no officers were seriously hurt. South African army troops were supporting police operations, they said.

War bands of 2000 to 4000 men armed with guns, spears, knives and clubs had been roaming the area, attacking and burning villages, residents said. Police said at least 250 homes had been burned.

White officials in Pietermaritzburg called on the Government to impose martial law on the area.

President F.W. de Klerk said today political violence was becoming a threat to stability and the Government would use force to restore order. He said a growing wave of violence and demonstrations was getting out of hand.

Chief Buthelezi reacted with shock to the cancellation of a

meeting Mr Mandela personally arranged. "People are going to die while they delay," he said.

The two leaders have made personal pleas for an end to the violence that has killed nearly 400 people in six weeks. Mr Mandela last month called for the warring Zulus to "throw your weapons into the sea" and told a crowd of 100,000 he looked forward to sharing a platform with Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC statement did not elaborate on specific reasons for cancelling the rally.

President de Klerk said he would make a statement to parliament tomorrow on measures to stop the violence, but gave no details.

The president starts talks next month to begin the process of ending white-minority rule and sharing political power with blacks. His speech appeared aimed at radical black groups who oppose a negotiated settlement and call for violence against the Government.

AP

Mandela, Pressed by Colleagues, Cancels Meeting With Zulu Chief

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, March 30 — Under pressure from colleagues in the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela today canceled plans to meet in public on Monday with the chief of South Africa's Zulu tribe. The meeting had been called to try to halt the warfare between black factions loyal to the two leaders.

Mr. Mandela was to appear with the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at a rally in Natal province. Natal is the scene of ferocious battles between members of Inkatha, the Zulu political and cultural organization, and supporters of the United Democratic Front who are also Zulus. The United Democratic Front is a domestic ally of the African National Congress, which is led by Mr. Mandela.

The decision to cancel the meeting means that the warfare, which has led to more than 2,500 deaths since it started nearly five years ago, is likely to continue. In the last few days, at least 36 people have been killed and more than 200 houses have been destroyed in Natal, mostly around Pietermaritzburg.

On the surface, the battles represent a political struggle over the nature of a post-apartheid South Africa. But the

not met since Mr. Mandela was released from prison on Feb. 11.

The statement gave no reasons for scuttling the rally, but there is especially deep bitterness between the United Democratic Front, a coalition of groups that support the African National Congress, and Inkatha in Natal province, and their feuding has sent thousands of villagers fleeing the area.

It is possible that the Natal leadership does not want Mr. Mandela to enhance Chief Buthelezi's image among blacks by appearing with him at this point. The two leaders have differed over the direction that the struggle against apartheid should take. Chief Buthelezi opposes the use of economic sanctions and guerrilla struggle as weapons against the white Government while Mr. Mandela, as a loyal member of the African National Congress, supports both tactics.

It is also likely that Mr. Mandela was advised that he could not halt the fighting for now and that an appearance with Chief Buthelezi might harm his political effectiveness in the days before a meeting between the Government and the African National Congress in Cape Town on April 11.

Buthelezi and Mandela Talk

The Zulu leader said he had learned that three leaders of the United Democratic Front in Natal, Archie Gumede, Harry Gwala and Diliza Mji, had advised Mr. Mandela to postpone the meeting. The United Democratic Front operated as a domestic surrogate for the African National Congress until the congress was legalized by President F. W. de Klerk on Feb. 2.

Chief Buthelezi said he had spoken by telephone with Mr. Mandela, who told him that a delegation led by Mr. Gwala visited Mr. Mandela in Soweto to ask him to put off the meeting.

"They argued that people were too tense and that fighting was continuing and that therefore a meeting should not be held," Chief Buthelezi reported after his conversation with Mr. Mandela.

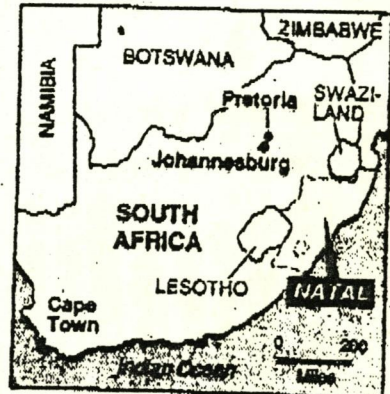
"This astounded me because as far as I am concerned, the meeting Dr. Mandela and I would have addressed jointly would have been held precisely because the people are fighting and dying," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement.

Risks at Rally Site

"What is the use of attempting to stop the killing after it has already happened?" he said.

Mr. Mandela's decision not to take part in the rally came as a surprise given the concern here about the black-on-black violence in Natal and elsewhere in South Africa.

President de Klerk said today in Cape Town that if the violence continued in Natal or elsewhere, "The Government would be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law



The New York Times/March 31, 1990

Natal province has been the site of battles between factions.

and order in an unprejudiced way."

Ban Ended on Mandela Book

JOHANNESBURG, March 30 (AP) — The Government censorship board today lifted its bans on Nelson Mandela's autobiography and the anti-apartheid movie "A Dry White Season." The Publication Appeals Board said the black anti-apartheid leader's book, "The Struggle Is My Life," now is "part of the accepted political rhetoric" in South Africa. The board banned the book three years ago. Mr. Mandela was released on Feb. 11 after 27 years in prison for his role in the bombing and sabotage campaign of the African National Congress.

The decision
means strife in
Natal province is
likely to continue.

fighting is mostly spurred by baser motives, including territorial control, revenge and criminality.

'We Must Unite Now'

Late Thursday night, it was announced that Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would meet at Taylor's Drift, a community in Natal, to urge their respective supporters to stop the fighting.

"This is no time for people with political differences to stand on ceremony," Mr. Mandela said. "We must unite now in our commitment to end the violence in Natal and work out a strategy we are all united behind publicly."

But tonight, a statement issued by the African National Congress's new office here said the movement's "interim leadership core" had concluded that the "atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal" between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. But it said Mr. Mandela would go ahead with plans to visit areas in Natal affected by the fighting next week.

Thousands of Villagers Flee Sift

The statement said arrangements were being made for another meeting between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, but it did not indicate when that might happen. The two leaders have

Mandela has high praise for Thatcher

by David Hughes
Chief Political
Correspondent

NELSON MANDELA has spoken of his respect for Margaret Thatcher, saying that he thought she would be "the very first person I would see" on release from prison.

The deputy leader of the African National Congress says he is confident that he could "make a deal" with the prime minister "because of her strength of will, because of her honesty, because of her opposition to apartheid".

He has offered to attend the Tory party conference in Bournemouth in October to show that he is not "choosing sides". He has already agreed to attend the Labour conference in Brighton.

Mandela's remarkably warm tribute to Thatcher appears in an interview in The Sunday Telegraph. He says that Thatcher has "created difficulties" for him with the ANC leadership whose feelings he has to respect.

"And they have got definite feelings on the question of the unilateral action of Mrs Thatcher.

"She has spoilt my plans because I did feel that when I came out I would be able to see Mrs Thatcher, she would be the very first person I would see. I respect her, you know, very much."

Mandela says he regrets British actions over Pretoria but adds: "I would like her to be an ally rather than an enemy. I would like us to remove the strained relations between ourselves and Mrs Thatcher.

"She is a person I regard as dependable. I would do everything to get her on our side."

Thin white line, page 19

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1/4/90

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Times
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NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, APRIL 1, 1990

Understanding de Klerk: Party Man With a Tw

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, March 31 — Before F. W. de Klerk was chosen to succeed P. W. Botha as President, he was asked if he would be the Mikhail S. Gorbachev of South Africa, a loyal party man who overturns much that the party once held inviolable. Mr. de Klerk had a quick reply: "The only thing Gorbachev and I have in common is this!" he said, slapping the top of his head.

Three years later, there is more than baldness to support comparisons between the two leaders. Like President Gorbachev, President de Klerk has freed men previously vilified as traitors, declared past policies bankrupt and begun a process of change that has outraged party conservatives.

Also like Mr. Gorbachev, who has shown some of the old Kremlin reflexes in his recent actions in Lithuania, Mr. de Klerk has perplexed supporters and opponents alike, who wonder where he will call a halt to the scrapping of old policies.

While the South African leader has said he believes in an "equal vote" for blacks and whites and a system that eliminates racial discrimination, he has been purposefully vague about the details of the "new South Africa" that the Government has said it wants in place within five years.

Pragmatic Cast of Mind

Mr. de Klerk's broad formula acknowledges that he considers apartheid a dead-end street and that majority rule in some form is inevitable. But Mr. de Klerk has left no doubt, either, that he will strive to protect what the five million whites here have built up in the 350 years since the first settlers arrived, including their property rights and their right to control their own residential communities and schools.

While Nelson Mandela and other black leaders have said that Mr. de Klerk's vision appears to encompass limitations on black political authority that they could not accept, many South Africans who favor far-reaching political change say they believe that the real hope for the future may lie not in



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa. His friends as well as his adversaries are unsure of how far he will compromise in talks on political and economic change.

Communism's fall in Europe changed the leader's thinking.

Mr. de Klerk's current pronouncements but in his probing, pragmatic cast of mind and an instinct to reach out for new solutions.

Mr. de Klerk's associates say those traits are allied to a profound religious commitment to ideals of justice that sets him apart from his predecessors.

The leaders of the National Party before Mr. de Klerk belonged to the main wing of the Dutch Reformed Church, a Calvinist body that lent such powerful theological backing to apartheid that it became known as "the National Party at prayer." Mr. de Klerk is a member of the small Doppe church, a 19th-century breakaway that insisted on the separation of church and state, and, partly for that reason, avoided sanctioning the official racial doctrines.

'Dialogue Is God's Style'

While Mr. de Klerk makes little public show of his faith, his thinking on political matters has apparently been powerfully influenced by Doppe teachings, especially those taken from the New Testament. Meeting with Afrikaner church ministers in January, Mr. de Klerk traced his hopes for negotiations with black leaders to Doppe tenets about the need for believers to seek justice and reconciliation. According to the Rev. Pieter W. Bingle, Mr. de Klerk's Cape Town minister, the President put it simply, "Dialogue is God's style," he said.

That belief in breaching differences through discussion appears to have converged with a politician's caution to persuade Mr. de Klerk that for now, at least, it is better not to draw blueprints of the new political system he will attempt to negotiate.

Officials close to Mr. de Klerk say the President will be flexible about matters that the National Party seemed set on as recently as September, when it won a bitterly contested election.

Among those matters, the officials said, is whether a new constitution should provide for separate, racially defined voters' rolls resulting in a Parliament composed of racial blocs, as the National Party suggested in its September campaign, or whether the protection for whites that Mr. de Klerk has demanded can be achieved in other ways.

Under pressure from the right-wing Conservative Party in Parliament

earlier this month, Gerrit van N. Viljoen, Minister for Constitutional Affairs, said the Government would hold out for separate voters' rolls.

But at other times Mr. Viljoen has sounded as though the Government might accept Mr. Mandela's demand for a single voters' roll that is blind to race in return for other mechanisms like voting procedures that would give white members of Parliament, perhaps in conjunction with members from other minority groups, an effective veto on issues like property and education rights.

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P. 3

A few years ago, not many in the National Party would have bet on Mr. de Klerk leading the party to change. As a member of President P. W. Botha's Cabinet for 11 years, and of B. J. Vorster's Administration before that, he sometimes sided with racial hard-liners.

Afrikaans-language newspapers recently identified Mr. de Klerk as one of two Cabinet ministers who went to President Botha in 1986 and demanded that the Foreign Minister, Roelof F. Botha, be ordered to rescind a prediction that South Africa might one day have a black president. The *Fransman*

De Klerk's Political Outlook

But the story is recounted these days to show that Mr. de Klerk, then leader of the National Party in Transvaal Province, was a canny politician, aware that to have any chance of leading South Africa away from apartheid he would first have to consolidate his position with the powerful conservative wing of the National Party.

"He realized that you get nowhere if you don't have a following, that you have to be able to take the people with you," said Ebbe Dommisse, editor of *Die Burger*, a Cape Town newspaper with close links to the Government.

More recently, the setbacks for Communism in Eastern Europe is said to have a profound effect on Mr. de Klerk's thinking. The President acknowledged as much in his speech to Parliament on Feb. 2, when he announced the legalization of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, among other anti-apartheid groups.

He implied that the decline of Stalinist Communism in Eastern Europe had encouraged the Government to move toward negotiations with groups like the African National Congress that have relied strongly for financial sup-

The President's church insists on the separation of church and state.

port and military training on the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies. But according to a senior Cabinet minister, there was another lesson Mr. de Klerk learned from the experience: "We cannot sustain an unpopular political system indefinitely."

Racing the Hard-Liners

The lesson was one Mr. de Klerk took to a meeting in December with the country's top 500 police commanders, many of whom were skeptical of moves to dismantle apartheid. Mr. de Klerk offered a grim picture of the alternative to a settlement with blacks. "Even if the blood flows ankle deep in our streets and four or five million people have been shot dead," he said, "the problem will be just as great as before we began shooting."

Roelof P. Meyer, the Deputy Minister for Constitutional Affairs, said that that realization fortified Mr. de Klerk in the face of the wrath of racial hard-liners.

"The President has come to the conclusion that we have to do something about our situation, that we cannot go on with conflict indefinitely," Mr. Meyer said. "This means that we have to go for political reconciliation, and that we cannot wait for the support of all whites, because if we do, we will have to wait years, indefinitely even, and in the meantime we will lose the country."

De Klerk announces measures to combat township violence

By Patti Waldmeir in Pietermaritzburg

TOUGH measures to combat violence in South Africa's black townships and homelands were announced yesterday by President F.W. de Klerk, who also warned that more people might be detained under the country's harsh security laws.

Addressing a special joint sitting of parliament in Cape Town, Mr de Klerk said more troops had already been sent into warring townships in Natal, which many claim to people are believed to have died in the last week in battles between rival black factions.

Hardly a week ago, when Mr de Klerk, deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC), toured townships near the Natal provincial capital of Pietermaritzburg, but this did not stop opponents of the ANC firing a number of shots at his motorcade.

Mr de Klerk also announced a conciliatory step aimed at smoothing the way for talks with the ANC when he said legislation would be introduced for a partial amnesty for former ANC guerrillas. Provisions for a permanent amnesty may also be introduced. He confirmed that he would be meeting Mr Mandela on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk told parliament there would be a "greater visible security presence" in other areas of the country as well, involving roadblocks and



De Klerk toughens measures

patrols in black townships. Troops and police had been given orders to act "firmly and purposefully without delay to bring the incidence of unrest and violence throughout South Africa under control," he said.

In the two months since Mr de Klerk announced important political reforms including the legalising of the ANC, violence has intensified sharply throughout the country, hardening white resistance to political liberalisation.

Yesterday's measures will go some way to calming white fears, but may exacerbate tensions with the ANC, which last weekend postponed its first ever formal talks with Government in protest at security force action.

In a first reaction last night

from the United Democratic Front (UDF), an ANC affiliate, the group's southern Transvaal branch said the measures meant that the Government was moving away from creating "a climate conducive to negotiations."

Removal of troops from the townships has long been sought by the ANC as a precondition to the beginning of constitutional talks with Pretoria. However in Natal, local ANC supporters have been almost unanimous in calling for more rather than fewer troops as the local police are seen as biased in favour of the ANC's opponents, the Zulu Inkatha movement headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthe.

Mr de Klerk's warning that "everyone must understand that these decisions can lead to a rise in the number of people held in detention," is likely to be regarded as ominous by anti-apartheid activists. Pretoria detained some 30,000 people during its last crackdown, between 1986 and 1988.

However, the political climate has shifted radically since then and such large-scale detentions seem unlikely. ANC officials concede privately that they are concerned by the violence in black townships, and unable to contain it themselves, but the ability of South Africa's police force to control protests without excessive force is doubtful.

MANDELA-MEETING: African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said Monday he'll meet South African President F.W. de Klerk Thursday. Also: De Klerk said there will be aerial patrols of all townships. He proposed amnesty for politically motivated criminal acts, and sent more troops to Natal province, scene of fighting among blacks. In Natal, Mandela appealed for an end to violence that's left 55 dead in a week.

Mandela and de Klerk to huddle

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would meet with President F.W. de Klerk to discuss fighting between rival black factions.

At least 53 people were killed last week in violence pitting rival black groups against each other. Government sources described the fighting as the worst since the mid-1980s.

The South African Press Association said the two leaders would meet Thursday. Mandela had announced on Saturday that his African National Congress was withdrawing from formal talks with the government to protest police shootings of black demonstrators.



MANDELA

WORLD BRIEFS

De Klerk's Proposal

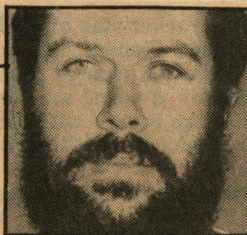
South African President F.W. de Klerk announced plans yesterday to crack down on political violence while trying to draw the African National Congress into peace talks.

"We are deadly serious about building the new South Africa without brutality and without unrest," De Klerk told the Cape Town parliament, which excludes blacks.

De Klerk outlined proposals for road patrols and aerial observation in black townships, where 400 people have been killed in political fighting since February.

OUR VIOLENT LAND

SUNDAY TIMES 11 APRIL 1990



Graham Howe

editor of the University of Natal's Indicator SA, analyses the Natal conflict and explains how it relates to the violence nationwide

VIOLENCE has become a way of life in Natal's townships. In a climate of near anarchy, it is more and more difficult to distinguish between the statistics of common murder and assault, and the offensives and body counts of the township wars.

There were high hopes this week that the leaders of South Africa's rival black populist movements would meet face to face at the Maritzburg peace rally and call a symbolic truce with honour.

However, they have hesitated on the precipice. The expectations that the fratricidal war might end at Taylor's Halt near Maritzburg were dashed by the last-minute withdrawal from the talks by the ANC.

There were scores of fatalities each day this week as the violence escalated again in Maritzburg's Edendale valley. The conflict had returned to its source, having inflamed black settlements from the midlands to the coast over the last three years.

Unique

Do the township warriors of Natal march to the beat of a different drum? Until now, the sheer intensity of this regional conflict has certainly made it seem unique.

Apart from occasional outbreaks in other parts of South Africa, Natal has been the isolated epicentre of sustained township

unrest for the last three years.

The death toll in the separate civil war approached the 3 000 mark by the end of the first quarter of 1990. More than 300 people have died so far this month, with 70 fatalities in the Edendale area this week alone.

Until the present resurgence of political conflict in other regions, the national unrest of the mid-1980s had subsided into distant memory. In President De Klerk's words, by early 1990 the season of violence appeared to be over. Even the warring factions in Natal hesitated as Mandela walked free, and the nation stood on the threshold of a new era.

A mere two months later, for the first time, political violence is simultaneously on the boil in the townships of Natal, Transvaal, Free State and the homelands.

There may be political strategies and processes at work which

now link Natal more precisely with an unravelling chain of national events. Identifying enough common features may lead us to reconsider whether the Natal conflict really is a "separate" development.

The political climate in April 1990 closely resembles that of August 1984. A fickle national mood that swings from optimism to great pessimism has a direct impact on Natal's politics.

President De Klerk's recent reforms have heightened black political expectations, legitimised extra-parliamentary organisations and opened up space for opposition activity. The limited reforms of mid-1984 amid the political campaigns for and against the tricameral constitution produced a similar scenario of temporary instability.

Inevitably, open conflict and violence is accompanying a reform process which now allows free expression and mobilisation. The pent-up emotions of a nation in the making are being released. For the first time in decades, ANC support

can be openly declared and ANC public meetings can be held. Unbanned organisations cannot be expected to reconstruct their constituencies, build a formal membership and impose party discipline overnight.

In volatile Natal, renewed violence broke out in March in the aftermath of separate ANC and Inkatha rallies addressed by Mandela and Buthelezi. The legalisation of the ANC and Mandela's release have heightened the con-

flict between the jubilant comrades and the patriotic impis, further dividing popular loyalties between the national symbols of the congress movement and the homeland symbols of Inkatha.

In the last two months, Mangope's Bophuthatswana and Sebe's Ciskei have come under similar stress, as have Gazankulu, QwaQwa and Venda. These power struggles between pro- and anti-homeland groups extend well beyond the fragmented boundaries of KwaZulu.

The conflict between "the young lions" and the homeland patriarchs is not unique to Natal. But in this region, the homeland state is underpinned by Inkatha, a black populist movement. Hence it is able to mobilise both grassroots resistance and its own security forces against opponents. This sustained rivalry on the ground is not found in other homelands.

Fateful

A national campaign to dismantle the homeland system was announced by the Mass Democratic Movement in December 1989. The call for re-incorporation further threatens Buthelezi's regional power base at a time when he has admitted that Inkatha is losing ground ("bleeding from new

wounds") in rural as well as peri-urban areas (KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, March 14).

The recent attempts to convene a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela to discuss the violence have initially stumbled on the choice of venue. Buthelezi interpreted the ANC's refusal to hold talks in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, as "a political statement".

Tomorrow's planned peace rally at Taylor's Halt has been called off for similar reasons. When they do eventually come face to face, it will be a historic meeting. Stepping into the wilderness of Natal's complex politics, Mandela may well utter those fateful words: "Dr Buthelezi, I presume ..."

At national level, the emphasis placed by political leaders on negotiations appears to be obscuring community-based challenges and needs. Protest politics are again focused on local grievances, such as inadequate township facilities, high rents, council and home-



ANARCHY RULES... a dazed community gathers at Edendale's 'valley of death' in Natal

land corruption, inferior schooling, unemployment and security actions.

This checklist should sound familiar. Recent events in Sebokeng hark back to the Vaal Triangle conflict of September 1984. There is a similar resonance about the catalysts for conflict in Natal/KwaZulu.

Negotiated settlements reached at leadership level may not resolve protest issues such as:

- Educational grievances in the DET and KwaZulu schools;

- Public servant pledges of allegiance to KwaZulu;
- Rental/housing allocations under black town councils;
- KwaZulu Transport bus services;
- Accusations of biased law enforcement (especially by KwaZulu police).

Take away the epithet "KwaZulu" (police, state, transport, etc), and one finds the same material causes of township conflict that have emerged throughout the whole of South Africa.

The alleged corruption of black local authorities has made councillors (and municipal policemen) the principal targets of violence. Similarly in Natal, a witness appearing before the inquiry into the violence reportedly complained that "you have to bribe a councillor with a fridge or a TV set, only after that can you get a house".

Even the internecine clashes between followers of different political factions — in this case, Inkatha and the UDF — are not unique to the province. During

March this year, Azapo and UDF supporters clashed in Bekkersdal, leaving three dead. Earlier, in January, Africanists and UDF supporters clashed in Uitenhage, leaving double-figure fatalities.

Part of the problem is that violence has become almost part of everyday life in Natal's townships. In a climate approaching anarchy, the distinctions between common murder and assault and politically motivated actions are becoming increasingly blurred.

Often the motivation and the methods of the protagonists are identical. The amabutho (Inkatha vigilantes), warlords (shackland leaders) and "comtsotsis" (dissident comrades) run protection rackets in their private fiefdoms and undertake looting sprees into rival territories.

Attrition

Those victimised pay monthly "insurance" of between R10 and R200 to avoid having their homes burned down. The victims' political affiliations, if indeed they have any, are insignificant in many cases.

Political organisations appear to exert little control or discipline over factions or grassroots followers, who pay nominal homage to them or claim affiliation. Temporary truces or calls for peace from national leaders fall on deaf ears.

Natal townships contain the same ingredients for conflict as do many other underdeveloped areas in South Africa. The ongoing war of attrition could be the shape of South Africa's future if national talks and socio-economic reconstruction get underway too late.

Although the leaders may come to the negotiation table, the brigands may well find the spoils of war more profitable, and the fragmented constituencies may find their material struggles more pressing than distant gratification from abstract political ideals.

A FORMER National Party strongman who broke up opposition party meetings as a youth emerged this week as the "Godfather" behind Welkom's white vigilantes.

He is eccentric and wealthy Goldfields businessman Piet Bezuidenhout, owner of 32 farms and a number of motor businesses in the northern Orange Free State boom town.

His wealth is exemplified by his gold rings, neck chain and bracelet.

The Sunday Star interviewed Mr Bezuidenhout, 63, who admitted: "I am the founder and the father of Blanke Veiligheid (BV)."

He denied they were vigilantes and said they took action only when the police were not available.

In a town where racial tensions have reached almost fever pitch, the group's heavily-armed members patrol the streets and conduct random searches of blacks.

Assaults

The group is alleged to have been behind a number of assaults of black union members and to have helped crush a consumer boycott by removing "intimidators" from shops when summoned by local shopowners.

"We only work at night. We begin at seven and we end at seven," Mr Bezuidenhout said.

His son, Jan, a burly moustachioed man, is a main force behind the movement. He refused to be interviewed or photographed.

The group is organised and well-equipped.

It has three aeroplanes at its disposal for surveillance of neighbouring black townships, its members are armed with pistols, members wear khaki uniforms with a lion insignia, it has its own "radio station" to call members out at short notice and it has

Ex-NP SUNDAY muscle TRIBUNE plays 7 APRIL 1990 leading role in violence

four bakkies to patrol the streets.

It claims a membership of 3 000.

The official leader is 43-year-old Welkom panelbeater Hennie Muller who said the group was formed on March 6 in response to a protest march planned for three days later.

"David Naude (the group's chief adviser) got a few whites together and we spoke about this march. We thought spontaneously that we would like to stop this march because they intended to march through white neighbourhoods.

"We were only 60 at the start — not gangsters but prominent businessmen, lawyers and doctors, people in Welkom who are fed up with the lawlessness.

"The police have got instructions from Minister (of Law and Order Adriaan) Vlok that even if violence breaks out at marches they must put their guns away and smile at these people — you can't stop violence with a smile."

Mr Naude: "On the march there were supposed to be 575 teachers with a letter to the education department. We believed there were 3 000 in the centre of the township Thabong. If they could have given the assurance there were only 575 we would have marched with them. But

6 000 blacks stopped in uniform waving ANC flags. We told the police it was out of control. Then the order came to arrest us."

"We would like a meeting with Buthelezi (Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi) because we can join forces with him. We have the same intentions — to restore law and order," Mr Muller said.

"If there is any situation that needs attention like a gathering we have people who can be phoned. Last Sunday night we got 400 people together in 11 minutes.

In Welkom now it is strange to see a black man on the streets after hours.

"If we see a black man we stop him and ask him what he's doing. If he has no reason to be there and he's trying to be funny we take him back to the township."

He said the group had a network of black informers.

Subversive

"We are just like a neighbourhood watch but in a bigger way."

Mr Muller said that the 90 complaints of disturbing the peace that were being registered each night had dropped to zero since the formation of the group.

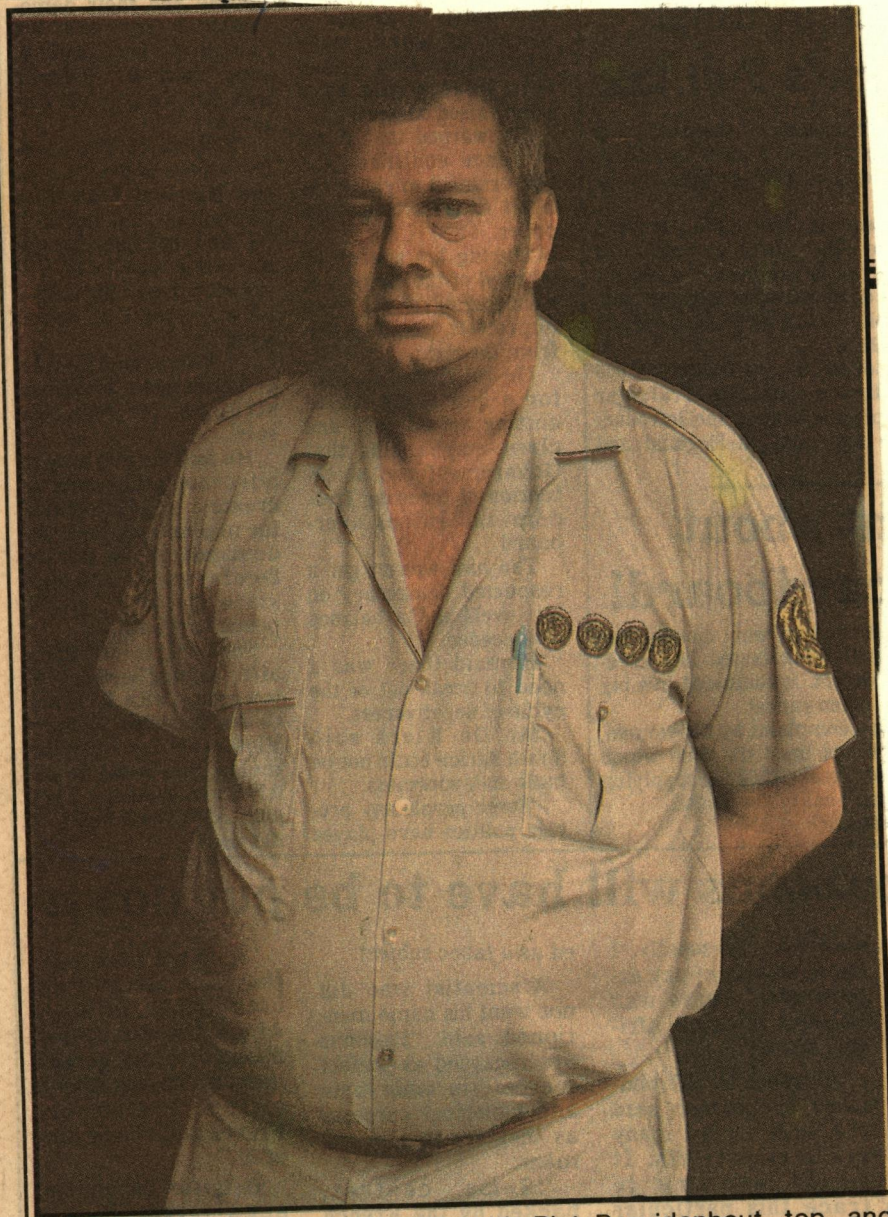
Mr Vlok has called the movement a "subversive alternative structure" and said it is "unacceptable".

Black union members are armed with wooden machine guns while many white men carry revolvers strapped to their sides.

One rightwinger said: "If those blacks get out of control there will be a bloodbath here."

For a town that carries the motto "Golden Future", the prospects of peaceful co-existence between its people did not appear guilt-edged this week.

EX-NP MUSCLE PLAYS LEADING ROLE IN VIOLENCE



THE 'Godfather' of Blanke Veiligheid, Piet Bezuidenhout, top, and panelbeater Hennie Muller, the movement's official leader.

Now for the politics of co-operation

Sunday Times 1 APRIL 1990

THE most remarkable thing about this momentous time in history is also the most intangible: the world has simply changed its mood.

And for South Africans, estranged from the community of nations for more than three decades, it is no less than thrilling to find themselves part of this new attitude.

The events are well known. On the world stage dictators have been deposed, the Wall has fallen, communism is strangling itself and the Iron Curtain has parted. In sum, the Cold War has plain thawed away.

Here, South Africa's rulers decided to chuck apartheid into the dustbin, free Mandela, legitimise the ANC, and invited it home to help plan a new society.

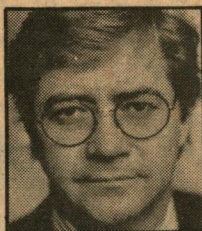
This week South Africans got an insight into what, in practice, all this is amounting to.

Parliamentary opposition in the form of the Democratic Party ditched a tradition as long as memory and supported the Government's national Budget.

The ANC's unofficial ambassador and arch Government critic, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, called on the liberation movement to renounce the armed struggle.

In sum, the politics of confrontation has begun turning itself into the politics of co-operation.

South Africans are turning from an era where they saw themselves in stark terms of black and white, right and wrong, for and against —



Lester Venter

says that the Democratic Party's break with tradition in not opposing the Budget has introduced a new style of politics

to an era of more authentic democratic flux.

True, it is not yet time to go shopping for political wedding bands. Conflict is the stuff of democracies, and so much more so for democracies in the making.

Yet the rightful place for that conflict is debating chambers, public forums and negotiating tables. Argument is the tool and a society cherished and upheld by its citizens is the purpose.

South Africa has taken its biggest steps this century towards that ideal.

Violence

True, there is one glaring exception in the violence that has followed these steps and is currently tearing apart so many black communities.

At this stage the Government is not allowing the violence to put it off its course, and is sensibly reading it as an inevitable and transitory phase in the "pressure release" effect of reform. Further, the Government is reading it as mainly endemic to the communities affected, without the revolutionary, anti-Government focus of previous upheavals of the same sort.

In the mainstream of political developments, however, the Democratic Party staked a place in the process with the strategy it announced this week and called "convergence".

The word is cumbersome and so is the concept. Through it the party aims to focus light and understanding on the intellectual beacons of democracy and urge, push and beckon all parties to meet at them.

But if it refines its political actions to clear, brave and concrete stances as it did on the Budget, the DP should perform a valuable service to present history and help make the

journey into the future an easier and quicker one.

Explaining his stand, Mr Harry Schwarz, the DP's finance spokesman, said the Budget represented a change of direction in its view of the sort of economy the SA of the future would need.

If the Government did something that he could imagine himself doing in the same circumstances, Mr Schwarz said, he had "no moral or logical reason for opposing it".

This is a politically courageous break from the ideological rigidities of the past and illustrates in practice Mr Schwarz's point that, in as much as a situation new to all the country's political participants is developing, issues and events will arise that go beyond established party lines.

It is well to remember, too, that the Government is not alone in the political process. It has decided to strike out in new directions. And when it does, South Africans will be looking for reasonable interpretations of the Government's actions.

Doing this will, once again, fall outside the conventional party political priority of vote-gathering. But the Government is taking just that risk — indeed it started paying the price in last year's election — and the ANC will be faced with the same challenge in the give-and-take of negotiations.

Boundaries

In the end the DP will serve itself well by placing country before party.

This emergent dynamic in the politics of co-operation illustrated by the DP and manifested to a lesser but equally significant degree by Archbishop Tutu brings with it another element without which the new society cannot be made.

It is the ditching of the "all-or-nothing" approach.

The old order of SA politics with its harsh divisions made this approach not only inevitable, but convenient. Just as the US can no longer dismiss the Soviet Union as "the evil empire", so can no South African party any longer simply write others out of its ideological terrain.

The boundaries round the moral camps of the past have fallen. It is no longer possible to draw a line round the Government and dismiss it as the apostle of apartheid and an instrument of racial privilege.

By the same measure the DP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other parties and figures can no longer simply define themselves as being anti-apartheid — and, by extension, against the Government.

Daunting

The ANC can no longer count on the world's support merely because it is standing on what has up to now been universally accepted as the moral high ground.

This week in Washington, some of the ANC's most ardent Capitol Hill supporters let it be known the organisation would have to lay down its arms if it wanted to retain that support.

The issue now facing all the parties in the process is as clear and simple as it must be daunting to them: to justify their role in the re-making of SA they have got to have something actual to contribute.

What's more, they need to be seen to be doing it.

The Government has read those signals and has started making its contribution. So has the DP, and so have Archbishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi.

The Conservative Party, by offering nothing but the broken dreams of the past, is not doing so — and it probably won't either. So the speed at which the past is receding is the speed at which the CP is authoring its own irrelevancy.

When, if ever, the historic first formal meeting between the ANC and the Government takes place, the ANC will have its first major opportunity to start showing what it can contribute.

South Africans will not be alone in watching to see what it is. Washington, Whitehall and Moscow will be watching, too.