

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# The accord

WE welcome the agreement between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party to outlaw violence, intimidation and political intolerance among their followers.

Considering that members of the two organisations have been involved in some terrible bloodletting in Natal and Reef townships, in which 5 000 people have been killed, the agreement reached is in the nature of a peace accord.

The parties "solemnly call upon our people, members of the ANC and IFP, as well as our allies, to cease all attacks on one another with immediate effect," they say in a declaration.

They were also called upon to promote the quest for peace in their communities, desist from vilification of either of their organisations and leaders, not to coerce or intimidate anyone in pursuit of their strategies or programmes, to use joint mechanisms to monitor all violations of the agreement, and to recommend appropriate action.

They also resolved to organise a joint tour of all violence-affected areas by the two leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Further top-level meetings would also be held from time to time as the need arose, the declaration said.

Whether, in fact, the feuding will end remains to be seen.

The ANC still wants to be the dominant force in Natal as well as in other parts of the country.

The Inkatha Freedom Party still wants to control its own territory and to be one of the main players in the negotiation of a new constitution.

Other differences remain.

The ANC wants a constituent assembly and an interim government, it believes in mass mobilisation and mass action, and it is not averse to intimidating people into accepting its dictates. Its ultimate objective is a socialist state.

Inkatha is against a constituent assembly and interim government, believes in non-violence, opposes stayaways, boycotts and other forms of mass protest, and favours capitalism.

If they can pursue their objectives and beliefs in a peaceful manner, tolerating differences, avoiding vilification of each other, and not trying to coerce or intimidate anyone, then it will be a tremendous boost for peaceful negotiation.

After all, since both are pledged to advance the cause of democracy, they should be able to test their policies democratically.

That means discussion, dialogue, debate, putting forward their viewpoint as would any political party or organisation seeking to promote its policies and principles.

Killing people, or intimidating them, or attacking and destroying their homes has nothing to do with democracy, but everything to do with trying to impose one's will by force and fear.

It would therefore be nice to think that the peace accord is going to be carried out in both the spirit and letter of the agreement.

However, while the ANC's aim of taking over the country remains, it is questionable whether its tactics will change.

Furthermore, it will be difficult to get its supporters on the ground to desist from violence and intimidation when they have been brought up to believe that they are valid methods.

Whether they, especially the comrades, will be as dedicated to peace as Mr Mandela claims to be is a moot point.

As for Inkatha, although its philosophy is one of non-violent change, its so-called warlords in Natal and the Zulu impis in Reef townships will have to be convinced that violence is not permissible and must end.

Implementing the agreement, certainly at grassroots level, will thus not be easy and it may take a very long time before peace is achieved.

Nevertheless, the Royal Hotel Minute between the ANC and Inkatha could be a great step forward on the road to peace and is welcomed as such.



# Herald-Sun

NEWS - PICTORIAL

## A meeting of unlike minds

*'Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out each other... Violence must cease.'*

Chief Buthelezi

**T**HE historic meeting this week between South Africa's two most powerful black leaders, the Inkatha party's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela has been a crucial milestone in the emancipation of black South Africa. This was the first time the two old rivals had met in 28 years. The immediate hope is that the talks will end the senseless killing of black by black in which an estimated 5000 lives have been lost.

Long term, there is a chance the Inkatha and the ANC can work together to share the power they demand should one day flow to black South Africans through constitutional reform. Without both chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela at the conference table, President de Klerk's reforms could have stalled.

There is a dramatic contrast between the aims and tactics of the two black rivals. Chief Buthelezi in a new book reveals his own "vision of the future" in which a multi-racial, capitalist, multi-party democracy provides "a government which governs by consensus and in such a way that all people of this country accept the way in which they are governed". Progress, he says, "depends on President de Klerk having the guts to go further than he ever thought he would have to go, and black politics having the guts to encourage him when he does go in the right direction".

One such example was President de Klerk's release from custody after 28 years of the convicted terrorist Nelson Mandela. But Mr Mandela refused to reciprocate by renouncing violence. The other day Mr Mandela threatened his party would seize power by force if agreement could not be reached on ending apartheid. What worries white South Africans is that the ANC has adopted a Marxist-Leninist doctrine, closely allied with the Stalinist South African Communist Party.

The Australian welcome to Mr Mandela suggested he represented the hopes and aspirations of ALL the blacks. But this is far from the truth: the ANC represents about 3.4 million Xhosa people, while the Inkatha has the support of a majority of the country's eight million Zulus.

If President de Klerk is to give blacks universal suffrage he must be able to convince the whites the country will not be reduced to anarchy through the bloody rivalry which has dogged transfer of power elsewhere on the African continent.



## 'Ill health' Mandela cancels protest trip

CAPE TOWN — Anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela, citing a health warning from his doctors, today cancelled plans to lead a protest march on the South African parliament on Friday.

An ANC spokeswoman said Mr Mandela, 72, cancelled his visit when doctors said they could not be responsible for his health if he made the trip.

"All the travelling is killing him. We are making an end of him," she said.

Mr Mandela was freed from jail in February last year after 27 years of a life sentence for fighting white

rule. He has travelled almost constantly since, often speaking two or three times a day.

Yesterday he held a day of gruelling talks in Durban to agree on a peace pact with arch-rival Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The march, which Mr Mandela was due to address, was timed to coincide with President F.W. de Klerk's opening address to parliament.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce major new apartheid reforms, including the abolition of residential apartheid.

— REUTER

*The Herald Sun*

31-1-91



# Black leaders pledge peace

*Herald - Sun 31.1.91*

DURBAN — A bear-hug between political rivals Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi ended eight hours of peace talks yesterday.

Now South Africans are hoping for a new era in the country's bloodied black townships.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Mandela's African National Congress and Mr Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party made a joint commitment to peace and vowed to bury past differences.

"We call on all of our people — as well as our allies — to cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect and to promote the quest for peace in our community," the parties said.

The truce should speed white President F.W. de Klerk's progress towards scrapping apartheid, making round-the-table talks with rival black groups more likely.

Officials attending the talks said the meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi, although producing few concrete results, would send an important message to the "young lions" of the town-

ships that the days of internecine violence are numbered.

"The leaders have got together," one delegate said. "Now it is the turn of the grassroots."

It was the first face-to-face encounter between the leaders of South Africa's biggest anti-apartheid movements for three decades.

Top of their agenda was the bitter feuding for political supremacy, which has cost more than 4000 lives in the past five years.

Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi agreed for the first time to make a joint approach to ending the violence, touring strife-torn townships together and collecting money to rebuild ravaged settlements.

The two leaders would not be drawn after the meeting about the glaring political differences which separate their organisations, preferring to concentrate on the personal rapport they had forged.

Mr Buthelezi said the mood of the meeting and the two leaders' body language were the most important indicators of the new unity.

In the long-running feud,

the ANC accuses Inkatha of siding with white-led security forces to bring carnage to the townships, an allegation both Inkatha and the Government deny.

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

— REUTER

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# End fighting, black leaders urge

By correspondents in Durban

*The Australian 31-1-91*

SOUTH African black leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi put their political rivalry on hold yesterday and ordered their warring supporters to stop fighting and work together to end apartheid.

The men met for the first time in almost 30 years, and called for a ceasefire in the tribal warfare between the two factions that has cost 6000 lives since 1986.

The promise of a historic breakthrough between Mr Mandela's African National Congress and Chief Buthelezi's Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, followed nine hours of talks between the two leaders in Durban early yesterday.

Durban, the Transvaal and home provinces, have been

hard hit by the warring between the ANC, of which Mr Mandela is deputy president, and Inkatha.

"We call on all people of the ANC and IFP ... to cease all attacks with immediate effect," Mr Mandela said, reading from a joint communique after the meeting.

Mr Mandela also called on "our members and supporters to desist from vilification of each other's organisations", referring to constant public and private sniping between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

There would also be "joint activities to eradicate the system of apartheid in the shortest possible time", he said without elaborating.

Both leaders also agreed to set up "joint mechanisms" to monitor moves to peace and

suggested an impartial peace-keeping force to oversee an end to the conflict.

The two leaders delivered lengthy speeches during the talks, both stressing the need for political tolerance and restraint. They said peace was vital to ensure the end of the apartheid system of racial segregation.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We are different kinds of organisations. History, however, demands that we turn our differences into advantages for South Africa ... We must get on with the job of living together."

Mr Mandela said the ANC accepted the rights of other political groups. "The ANC does not demand of the In-

Continued — Page 10



THE AGE, Thursday 31 January 1991

## WORLD NEWS

### S African black groups declare peace

By JOHN CARLIN,  
Durban, Wednesday

After years of slaughter, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leaders of the African National Congress and Inkatha, declared peace between their two organisations last night. Fighting between them has claimed more than 5000 lives since 1985.

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

The declaration, read out by Mr Mandela, further called on both groups not to use intimidation for political ends, and to desist from "vilifying" each other's organisations and leaders — this last in response to an impassioned plea in his opening address by Chief



The Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, and the ANC deputy president, Mr Mandela, share a joke after their historic summit.

Buthelezi, on whom ANC leaders have over the years heaped more loathing than any other South African figure, black or white.

To try to make the agreements binding, the two leaders, each of whom headed large delegations,

said that existing "joint mechanisms" — bodies consisting of ANC and Inkatha officials who have met regularly in recent months — would watch for any violations of the resolutions passed yesterday.

Further, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi agreed to venture together on tours of the areas that have suffered the brunt of the violence both in Natal province, Zululand, and in the Johannesburg townships, which were first hit by the war last year.

More "top level" meetings would take place as the need arose.

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

"That would be simplistic," he warned.

● Police in Pretoria used clubs and teargas yesterday, but failed to dislodge protesting farmers who paralysed traffic by blockading downtown streets with more than 1000 farm vehicles. Police said 120 people were arrested, but that there were no efforts to physically remove the demonstrators as nightfall came.

Farmers have been hard hit in this the second year of a domestic recession. President De Klerk and other Government officials have met with farm leaders but promised no new aid to them.

— Independent



# Buthelezi, Mandela order an end to violence

From Page 1

Inkatha Freedom Party complete agreement with our views," he said.

The two men were in good spirits and joked frequently with each other at a news conference held after the talks.

Whether their peace call will end the fighting remains in doubt. Both men have made individual pleas to halt the bloodshed.

Asked if a one-day meeting could resolve years of conflict, they expressed hope tempered by caution.

Mr Mandela said: "We can only hope that it will result in a breakthrough."

Chief Buthelezi added: "We are doing everything in our power ... to ensure the violence ends in the soonest possible time."

The ANC and Inkatha wanted "a reconstruction and development which must be above party affiliations", Chief Buthelezi said.

About 3000 blacks died in faction fighting last year - the worst year on record - most of their deaths were linked to the ANC-Inkatha feud.

If the fighting continues it will cast doubt on the ability of the leaders to control their followers.

Fighting has already hampered efforts by the President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, to launch black-white talks on ending apartheid and negotiating a new Constitution that will extend political rights to the black majority.

Government officials said last night that Mr De Klerk was delighted and relieved with the peace pact.

An official of the militantly anti-apartheid Pan Africanist Congress - which has accused Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi of being too accommodat- ing of Pretoria - said "any peace efforts must be good".

Mr Mandela and Chief



Mr Mandela

Buthelezi said their parties would try to monitor conditions in troubled areas, but gave no details on how or where this would be done.

They said they would jointly tour the battle sites but gave no dates or locations.

The ANC and Inkatha, South Africa's two most powerful black political movements, also agreed not to criticise each other in public statements.

The meeting marked the first time Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had met since

## 'Joint activities'

Mr Mandela was arrested in 1962. Mr Mandela was freed in February last year after spending 27 years in prison for sabotage and plotting to overthrow the white-led government.

Their talks were prompted in part by pressure from across the political spectrum, but also followed statements from both men that they were willing to discuss peace when the time was right.

Chief Buthelezi was once an ANC member, but when the

previously outlawed ANC organised mass protests and launched a guerilla campaign to end white-minority rule, he took more moderate positions during the 1970s.

Inkatha has urged non-violent resistance to apartheid. Chief Buthelezi became leader of the Zulu homeland. Many black activists have accused him of collaborating with the Government because he participates in the homeland system, which consists of reserves for the different tribes.

The ANC has accused Inkatha of fuelling the conflict to increase its power base. ANC officials believe Chief Buthelezi has been using force to stake a claim as a significant black leader before substantive power-sharing talks begin between blacks and the Pretoria Government.

While Inkatha claims a membership of about two million and the ANC officially has fewer than 300,000 members, public opinion polls show the ANC has the greatest popularity of any anti-apartheid group among blacks.

The ANC has also charged Inkatha is too conservative and that Chief Buthelezi is too close to the Government, citing his rejection of world trade sanctions designed to punish apartheid rule, scorn for the ANC's socialist policies, and close ties to government officials.

Chief Buthelezi has rejected charges he is fomenting violence or stalling the fight against apartheid, alleging in turn that the ANC has no tolerance for any form of alternative black opposition and would like to see Inkatha followers absorbed into ANC ranks.

The ANC and Inkatha are also split by tribal divisions stretching back centuries.

AFP, UPI, AP

## Police use clubs to quell farm protest

PRETORIA: Police used clubs and tear gas yesterday to subdue more than 5000 South African farmers who staged an angry demonstration to protest against the impact of high interest rates and planned land ownership reform.

Many farmers oppose political reforms set in motion by the President, Mr De Klerk, and are worried about possible changes in land ownership laws.

Whites control the country's most productive agricultural land and blacks are restricted to farm ownership on reserves where much of the soil is poor.

Farmers have been hard hit in this the second year of a domestic recession. Mr De Klerk and other government officials have met farm leaders but promised no new aid to them.

Mr De Klerk has promised farmers they will not be forced off their land but many say they do not trust him and support the Conservative Party.

The police action in Pretoria failed to dislodge the farmers who paralysed traffic by blockading city streets with more than 1000 farm vehicles.

Police also briefly declared the city centre an unrest area - an action usually reserved for demonstrations in black townships.

When the protesters refused orders to disperse, scuffles broke out and police resorted to tear gas and clubs. Some demonstrators tried to overturn police cars before being taken into custody.

Thousands of people were unable to go to work because of the congestion and traffic was backed up several kilometres outside the city.

At least 120 people were arrested during the day.

AP



# Herald-Sun

NEWS - PICTORIAL

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Long term, there is a chance the Inkatha and the ANC can work together to share the power they demand should one day flow to black South Africans through constitutional reform. Without both chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela at the conference table, President de Klerk's reforms could have stalled.

There is a dramatic contrast between the aims and tactics of the two black rivals. Chief Buthelezi in a new book reveals his own "vision of the future" in which a multi-racial, capitalist, multi-party democracy provides "a government which governs by consensus and in such a way that all people of this country accept the way in which they are governed". Progress, he says, "depends on President de Klerk having the guts to go further than he ever thought he would have to go, and black politics having the guts to encourage him when he does go in the right direction".

One such example was President de Klerk's release from custody after 28 years of the convicted terrorist Nelson Mandela. But Mr Mandela refused to reciprocate by renouncing violence. The other day Mr Mandela threatened his party would seize power by force if agreement could not be reached on ending apartheid. What worries white South Africans is that the ANC has adopted a Marxist-Leninist doctrine, closely allied with the Stalinist South African Communist Party.

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31/1/91

THE NATAL

# MERCURY

## WORKING FOR PEACE

THE HISTORIC meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban on Tuesday is marked by an impressive level of statesmanship on both sides that could change the troubled course of South African politics.

What is particularly significant is that the deputy president of the ANC and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party have gone far beyond ritual denunciations of violence and have openly embraced a commitment to peace.

It could be the first step towards integrating the country's two most powerful black political organisations into a positive process of all-party constitutional negotiations within the framework of civilised democratic norms.

Obviously deep differences remain, but one senses a firm mutual acceptance at the top, born perhaps of combat fatigue and a sense of the futility and shame of it all, that the terrible violence that has cost so many lives and caused so much suffering can never solve anything. What remains of apartheid can be eradicated peacefully in a climate of tolerant political activity.

That is not to say that handshakes and warm em-

braces, even on high-profile joint tours by leaders, will magically end six years of communal violence. But Tuesday's rapprochement could signal the beginning of the end as positive efforts to promote reconciliation — such as that in strife-torn Nxamalala near Pietermaritzburg on Tuesday — take effect.

Neither side is blameless and both will have to work hard to promote peace among their followers. It will not be easy. The ANC will have to acknowledge that the mere suspension of violence is not enough. It is simply no longer an option. Nor can it continue to brand Inkatha as collaborators, sell-outs and 'part of the system'. Inkatha, for its part, will have to demonstrate that peace talk is not a smokescreen behind which war plots are hatched and executed.

There is no place for that sort of thinking if former enemies and rivals — black and white — are, as Mr Mandela put it, 'to reach the prosperous South Africa to which we all aspire'.

All who choose to sit at the negotiating table are now part of the system — a new post-apartheid system in the making. Violence will produce no victors. So, as Dr Buthelezi says, 'we must get on with the job of living together.'



# Rivals' peace may be hard to enforce

## SOUTH AFRICA

ARLENE GETZ  
HERALD CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN, Wednesday: The black nationalist Mr Nelson Mandela and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ended a 28-year separation yesterday with a hug, a handshake, and a peace accord aimed at easing friction between their warring supporters.

The rival black leaders spent almost seven hours in Durban's Royal Hotel hammering out an agreement to end hostilities and aid black communities stricken by five years of fighting between Mr Mandela's African National Congress and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

"[We] solemnly call upon people, members of the ANC and IFP as well as our allies, to cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect," the pair said in a joint statement after the talks.

In another significant development, the ANC also reached a temporary truce with its opponents in the radical Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Officials from the two organisations held their first joint press march will take place, warned that

PAC members would not be allowed to fly their colours at the ANC-organised event.

The apparent rapprochement between the country's three main extra-parliamentary political groups has raised hopes of facilitating the start of all-party negotiations for a new constitution.

Although the ANC/PAC co-operation may prove short-lived, the successful talks are being described as a watershed by local commentators.

The two leaders — whose friendship during Mr Mandela's 27-year imprisonment soured immediately after his release last year — emerged smiling from yesterday's discussions.

Seated alongside each other for a evening press conference, Mr Mandela respectfully referred to "Prince Buthelezi" and the pair occasionally consulted each other as they answered journalists' questions.

"There was no acrimony whatsoever," Mr Mandela said. conference to announce that PAC members would march alongside ANC supporters in nationwide protests and strikes against the opening of the white-dominated Parliament on Friday.

However, an ANC official in Cape Town, where the main

He and Chief Buthelezi said they had agreed to organise a joint tour of all the areas affected by the violence which has left more than 5,000 dead in Transvaal and Natal provinces since the mid-1980s.

They also agreed to set up "crisis contact points" to monitor violations of the agreement and establish combined trust funds for reconstruction programs in areas destroyed by violence.

In addition, the agreement called upon supporters to "promote the quest for peace in their communities"; end the "vilification" of opposing political leaders; and avoid coercive or intimidatory tactics in pursuit of their aims.

Other differences, such as Inkatha's opposition to the ANC's calls for mass protest action against the Government, were not mentioned in the declaration.

"Naturally we cannot be expected to just agree on the issues we have been divided on," Mr Mandela said. "What is important is there has been a breakthrough."

However, both leaders admit they face a difficult task in enforcing the agreement at township level.

Previous pleas for peace from separate platforms went unheeded by fighting factions last year, and several incidents of violence — including the burning of 25 homes and the wounding of two people in a gun battle — were recorded in Natal province the night before the peace talks.

Some of the wider political problems facing the country were also highlighted yesterday when right-wing white farmers crippled central Pretoria by parking trucks and tractors on roads to the capital.

The farmers, who eventually drove off this morning after running battles with police, were protesting against agricultural policies that include proposals to sell farm land to blacks.



Together after 28 years ... Mr Mandela (left) and Chief Buthelezi greet delegates at the meeting.

Picture by AP



Health warning

# Mandela will not lead CT march

ing from his doctors yesterday cancelled plans to lead a protest march on the South African Parliament tomorrow.

CAPE TOWN. ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, citing health warnings,

ANC spokeswoman Thary Mathala, said 72-year-old Mr Mandela cancelled his visit to Cape Town when doctors warned they could not accept responsibility

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## Won't lead march

FROM PAGE 1

for his health if he made the trip.

"All the travelling is killing him. We are making an end of him," she said.

Mr Mandela was freed from prison in February last year, after 27 years in prison. He has travelled almost constantly since then, often speaking two or three times a day.

On Tuesday he held a day of grueling talks in Durban to agree on a peace pact with arch-rival Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Tomorrow's Cape Town march, which Mr Mandela was due to address, was timed to coincide with State President De Klerk's opening address to Parliament.

Mr De Klerk is expected to announce major new apartheid reforms, including the abolition of residential apartheid.

The ANC march, called to press demands for a constituent assembly to chart a course to majority rule, was to

have been a counterpoint to Mr De Klerk's expected concessions.

Mr Mandela's decision to cancel embarrassed local ANC officials, who had already begun hanging up thousands of posters advertising his participation.

"From our point of view, we so badly want him to come that we cannot accept it is certain he will not be here," Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's Cape Town publicity chief said.

Later, however, he said there was no longer any chance that Mr Mandela would keep his appointment, and that ANC veteran, Mr Walter Sisulu, who once shared Mr Mandela's cell in the Robben Island political prison, would head the protest instead.

Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Windhoek yesterday to lead an ANC delegation to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's annual consultative conference.

A spokesman for the ANC office said Mr

Mandela's delegation would include the ANC's director for international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and deputy director, Mr Stanley Mabizela.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress have been accorded full status by SADCC for the first time, having enjoyed observer status in previous years.

Mr Mandela is due to address the SADCC's annual consultative conference today. A media briefing has been scheduled for 1 pm at Windhoek Airport prior to his departure after the conference address. — Sapa-Reuter.



# ANC, PAC to take mass action tomorrow

Citizen Reporter and Sapa

MASS action will be taken by the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) over most of the country tomorrow to demand a constituent assembly and oppose the opening of the Parliament.

In Cape Town, there will be a march, led by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, through the city to Parliament followed by a mass rally at the Grand Parade.

In Pretoria there will be a march led by Mr Joe Slovo, ANC National Executive Committee member and general secretary of the South African Communist Party, and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the United Democratic Front, to the Union Buildings.

A rally will be held at the Jeralana Amphitheatre, Soweto, followed by a march to the Soweto Council Chamber. There will also be a rally in Tembisa.

In Durban the main march will be led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, head of social welfare for the ANC.

## Marches

Other marches, focused on local police stations, will take place in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Aliwal, Fort Alfred, Clarendon, Somerset East, Bedford, Middelburg, Nampour, Colesberg, Patens, Harkley, Graaf Reinet, Aberdeen, Jansenville, Kaniem, Vryburg, Teyateyanan, Nelspruit, Pietermaritzburg, Klerksdorp, and

Durban.

Rallies will be held in Paterson, Keaton-On-Sea, Alexandria, Hofmeyr, Cookhouse, Hanover and Humansdorp, Phalaborwa and Tzaneen.

The ANC's December Consultative Conference decided to embark upon a campaign of mass action to get the government to implement agreements reached at Groote Schuur and Pretoria, and to demand an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly.

Permission has been refused for marches in Empangeni, Welkom, six Northern Transvaal towns, and five towns in the Western Transvaal. This, an ANC spokesman said, was exposing the Government's lack of commitment to free political activity.

"The ANC will continue applying pressure on the Government to desist from stifling democratic expression," the organisation said in a statement.

The ANC said the campaign was being organised to demand an interim government and a constituent assembly and to pressure the Government to implement agreements reached during the historic talks at Groote Schuur and Pretoria.

## Blame

"We blame the Government for lack of progress in the talks. It has not abided by agreed schedules for the release of prisoners, and the return of exiles."

The Government had also unilaterally introduced clauses to agreements reached between it

and the ANC, such as "extraneous conditions" for the release of political prisoners — that the process was dependent on progress made in the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

*Handwritten note:*  
The ANC will continue applying pressure on the Government to desist from stifling democratic expression.



## COMMENT

## Early test

**T**OMORROW will bring the first test of the accord reached in Durban on Tuesday between the ANC and Inkatha. The ANC and its allies (including, on this occasion, the PAC) have decided to stage marches on Parliament and elsewhere, and have called for work stayaways in the PWV region — all in honour of “constituent assembly day”.

Yesterday Inkatha formally repeated its opposition to both the cause for which the ANC alliance is campaigning and the methods being used, especially the stayaway.

Inkatha's statement describes the ANC's strategy of mass action as “provocative, serving only to fan the flames of violence and intimidation” — a view similar to that of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and his senior policemen. The party demands that the ANC and PAC leadership issue a public statement guaranteeing that people wishing to go to work will not be prevented from doing so.

That demand is reasonable and merits repeating, although the ANC can justifiably argue it has already been met. The joint ANC-PAC announcement of the programme said, “It is the wish of both the national and regional leadership that the action be a disciplined one based on the principle of freedom of participation.” An earlier statement by the ANC's Witwatersrand office went into even greater detail on the need to adhere to this laudable principle.

The test, however, goes far be-

yond public proclamations of intent. As we argued before the Durban meeting, achieving peace requires more than a hug and a handshake. It requires political parties to instil in their followers an entirely new perspective on political struggle — tolerance of opposing views.

In this light, Inkatha's (and Vlok's) statement that mass protest, *a priori*, equals violence falls outside the spirit of democratic politics. However, a burden of proof falls on the ANC and its allies. They must ensure that not a single worker on his way to town is forcibly stopped — be it by a threatening “comrade”, a street barricade, or the failure of public transport to run because the managers or drivers fear the consequences of operating. The ANC is obliged to instil discipline in protesters before they act.

Similarly, Inkatha will have to bear the blame for any attacks on protesters by its members. Retraint is also needed from the authorities.

The meeting between ANC and Inkatha leaders was long in coming, and thousands died before it happened. The worst thing would be for the accord to break down within days, with another round of recrimination and violence set off by clashes over marches and stayaways.

A new spirit of tolerance was evidenced in Durban on Tuesday. Determination and leadership will be required on both sides if that spirit is to be reinforced in Cape Town and on the Witwatersrand tomorrow.



NEW NATION

JAN. 31, 1991

# Apartheid's end will bring peace

**T**HE much-heralded meeting between the executives of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has raised expectations that peace may be at hand.

Of course, those within the establishment place great faith in the forthcoming meeting, that it will stop the violence.

Unfortunately, experience has made the majority of South Africans realise that, unless the paymaster of apartheid violence is removed, the violence is unlikely to abate.

The expectations for the meeting therefore become a hope that the two political organisations will commit themselves to free, democratic political expression, organisation and action against apartheid.

The ANC and IFP are a study in contrasts. For example, the ANC is undoubtedly the vanguard of the liberation movement. The IFP, on the other hand, is at best a democratic political party and at worst an enforcer of apartheid.

Ironically, the IFP is presently trying to convince the international community, without success, that it is also a liberation movement.

However, until it begins to struggle against apartheid and sheds itself of the shackles where

**By Muzi Tshabalala**  
*Political analyst*

Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi is both the head of a police force and the head of a political party, few will be convinced that the IFP is serious about being a liberation movement.

The ANC has ably carried out the honourable struggle of such stalwarts as Chief Albert Luthuli, who called more than three decades ago for sanctions to be imposed and for the oppressed to take up arms against the apartheid regime.

## CLEAR SUPPORT

The ANC is a mass-based organisation with clear support throughout Natal, able at five days notice to organise a rally for president Oliver Tambo which was far larger than any rally ever called by Inkatha.

IFP claims huge membership support but is unable to organise substantial mass support.

For example, even using the drawcard of King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi is unable to draw crowds much in excess of 10 000 people.

The ANC has struggled against the apartheid regime primarily through mass action. Yet, while IFP leaders espouse and threaten to use the power of the people to effect change, they have not done so. Instead, from the Soweto struggles of 1976 until now, the IFP has actively campaigned against all major national mass actions.

ANC members and leaders who have been jailed under apartheid legislation have in almost all the cases been struggling against the apartheid regime. Yet, one finds no evidence of IFP members being convicted for struggles against apartheid.

Instead, many leaders of the IFP have in fact been convicted of crimes, including murder, against other anti-apartheid activists. And, instead of such IFP leaders being expelled from their party, upon leaving jail, they continue to threaten and struggle against the liberation movement.

Witness here the actions of Ntwe Mafole, who was convicted for attacking the house of Cosatu official Thami Mohlomi and, after his release from jail, immediately

"warns" the ANC of dire consequences if they pursue their policy of mass action.

Such contrasts could continue ad infinitum. It is clear, though, that only through a national election will we be able to see which political organisation has the confidence of the people of South Africa.

How, then, do the respective organisations find common ground in the short term? Clearly, the first step is for the organisations to meet and try to evaluate what went wrong in the events leading up to and after the split in 1979, including an analysis of all aspects of the 1979 meeting itself.

The second step will be particularly for those with egocentric tendencies to divorce their personal ambitions and feelings from the need for a political (read organisational) resolution of the differences between the parties.

The third step is for the IFP to distance itself from any repressive actions of the kwaZulu government in particular and the apartheid government in general.

The final step is for both parties to commit themselves to a programme of action aimed at ridding ourselves of the apartheid regime and creating a non-racial, unitary, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.



16/1/11

## Botha and Mandela ring the changes

Daily News Reporter

A PERSON obviously feels a little flattered when Pik Botha phones during the day and Nelson Mandela seven times.

This happened to a Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, housewife, Mrs Pat Marais. And until she realised what was causing the problem, she had "had enough" of receiving calls for the Department of Foreign Affairs on her private phone.

She thought there was a problem with the telephone lines but it turns out that she has the same number, less

the last digit, of the Department's number in Pretoria. When people dial 021 as the prefix instead of 012, she gets the calls.

This week, Mrs Marais said, Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy leader of the African National Congress, and Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, attempted to get through to the Union Buildings but dialled the Cape Town prefix by mistake. She politely told them to try again, which they did. Again they made the same error.

Mr Mandela, she said, attempted to call at least seven times.

16/01/91  
D. News



# The Star

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## The right stuff

**A**S THE political debate moves steadily closer towards the nuts and bolts of negotiation, a Bill of Rights becomes a matter of growing importance. Thus the working document just issued by the ANC's constitutional committee is a timely contribution to the debate. The ANC's outline is a valuable guide to the ideas which the organisation will bring to the table.

On the face of it the draft deals with all the things a Bill of Rights should contain. There are provisions for personal rights, political rights — a multiparty democracy is envisaged — freedom of speech, assembly and information; rights of association, religion, language, and culture and social, educational, economic and welfare rights.

It has sections on workers' rights (ie those of trade unions), gender rights (outlawing discrimination on grounds of sex) and even on protecting the rights of the disabled, children and the environment.

Most important, the draft stipulates that the Bill of Rights must become an integral part of the new constitution, and that its observance be promoted through a constitutional court, a human rights commission and an ombudsman to whom the public can bring complaints of abuse of power.

One initial criticism is that the document spells out rights in too much detail. Questions such as minimum wages and affirmative action (to favour victims of past discrimination) are controversial. A major role in implementing such matters is assigned to the State, which in most societies tends to become a major infringer of individual rights.

Individual rights will be strongly stressed in the draft Bill of Rights which is shortly to be presented by the SA Law Commission. These will be vital, especially in view of the abandonment of the "group rights" concept. The two drafts, and no doubt others yet to be presented, will have to become the basis of a democratic compromise between differing philosophies.

## ANC plans for education well received

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Proposals on education by the ANC yesterday received a favourable reception from Minister of Education and of Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

He called for negotiations on a new system and the avoidance of disruptions in the meantime.

Dr van der Merwe stressed that the Government was not reacting to ANC proposals in a confrontational way as these had also not been couched in such a style.

Government policy was that all differentiation along racial lines in education must be removed.

Dr van der Merwe explained that he was reacting to the ANC memorandum as President de Klerk would have only limited time to refer to education in his speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

Referring to the ANC call for the laying of a foundation for one education department, he said this process had already started with the Department of National Education serving as the controlling body for all other education bodies.

Salaries and working conditions in all these departments had been brought on par and there were no longer discrimination based on colour.

Another request, for a special education fund to deal with backlogs, had already been addressed and he hoped more could



Dr Stoffel van der Merwe ... calling for a new system.

be done.

Last year R750 million had been set aside for this purpose, black education had received R675 million, coloured education R60 million and Indian education R15 million.

Some of the R2 billion which had been set aside for the Independent Development Trust would also be used for this.

From 1988-89 to 1990-91 Government spending on black education had increased by 34 percent.

As far as participation by the community in the education system was concerned, he had since the middle of last year been trying to get black organisations to do so.

Dr van der Merwe said he was confident that problems with the supply of text books could be ironed out.

As far as school buildings were concerned, priority would be given to allocating buildings no longer being used by one race group to another.



# Govt move <sup>STAR</sup> to let MK <sup>31 JANUARY</sup> fighters <sup>1991</sup> return

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government is believed to have agreed to allow military-trained exiles to return to South Africa in an important concession which may be announced by President FW de Klerk when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

Informed sources said the decision by the Government this week was aimed at providing impetus for the stalled negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC).

They said, as a result, large groups of exiles were expected to start returning next week.

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC have been bogged down for six months largely because the Government has refused to allow military-trained exiles to return until the ANC has given up the military capability of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The Government's move will mean that exiles who have received military training but have not committed any offences will qualify for indemnity from arrest and prosecution.

So far the Government has only been prepared to indemnify exiles who have left the country without passports or through illegal exit points.

The new concession will remove a large obstacle to negotiations which the Government apparently hopes will provide the impetus to move onto the next stage of talks — a multiparty conference to decide on the nature of the forum for negotiating a new constitution.

It is not clear whether President de Klerk will make the announcement tomorrow, or whether it will be the surprise many senior National Party members are expecting him to produce.

● Avoiding anticlimax trap



# Let kids study

**Parents in  
plea over  
tomorrow's  
'mass action'**

*SOWETAN*  
*31 JANUARY*  
*1991*



GORDON SIBIYA

**POLITICAL** organisations last night joined concerned parents in calls to keep schoolchildren out of protest marches and other "mass action" campaigns.

In a joint statement yesterday, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions and the PAC said the participation of schoolchildren should be limited to tomorrow - the day when Parliament reopens.

"We call upon the participation of schoolchildren to be limited. In this regard, if children intend staying away from school it must only be for February 1 and not go beyond that day," the organisations said.

However, the ANC justified its call for children to take part in protest actions tomorrow by

By IKE MOTSAPI

saying that the demand for a constituent assembly affected everybody, including schoolchildren.

"The call for a constituent assembly is a very serious one in that the drawing of a new constitution is going to affect everybody.

"Secondly, we do not want to divide students by saying that some can join the marches while others cannot," said Miss Barbara Hogan, an official of the ANC's regional office.

But angry parents and some political groups yesterday criticised black political organisations who involved pupils in the action.

Dr Gordon Sibiya, of the Science and Engineering Academy of South Africa, said he was disappointed by the call for the protest

● To Page 2



# The challenge facing De Klerk

SOWETAN 31 JANUARY 1991

STATE President F W de Klerk opens Parliament tomorrow. A year ago almost to the day he astonished much of the nation with his historic speech which unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and de-restricted a host of other organisations.

Last year's speech also heralded a new era of reconciliation and redevelopment which during the past 12 months has had a fair share of hiccups, setbacks and obstacles...

When De Klerk ascends the podium tomorrow morning, he will try his best to try to repeat the impact of last year's speech.

He is expected to make further similarly historic announcements - the most significant of which might be the abolition or relaxation later this year of the Group Areas Act, which forces people to live apart on the basis of their skin colour alone.

## Standards

As far as the Act is concerned, measures to allow local authorities to maintain existing standards but on a non-racial basis, are expected to accompany the likely repeal.

With regard to local authorities, indications from Parliamentary sources are that President De Klerk will try to restructure this vital area of local government.

Sources refer to De Klerk's speech late last year where he said that interim steps and negotiation initiatives were needed for the speedy institution of local management for all towns and cities.

He pointed out in the speech, delivered at a graduation ceremony at Stellenbosch University where he received an honorary doctorate, that the necessity to end fragmentation in local government on a racial basis had already been accepted.

The strategy by radicals to destroy existing structures at local

**State President F W de Klerk is expected to make major historic announcements when he ascends the podium in Parliament tomorrow, the most important of which will be the abolition or relaxation of the Group Areas Act, Ismail Lagardien, Sowetan Political Correspondent, reports from Cape Town.**

level must be stopped, he said.

He also said at the time that considerable progress had been made with the planning of a new system guided by the concept of "one city, one tax base".

"The question is not if this must happen but how," De Klerk said.

De Klerk has also indicated that he would like to "get on" with the negotiation process this year, and an announcement is expected in this regard.

## Speedy

He told the Stellenbosch audience that 1991 would see great expectations in terms of the speed and discipline of the negotiation process. The methods and criteria for negotiations will also be laid down and should include:

- \* Inclusivity - representation for all political parties with proven support,

- \* A definition of the base on which decision-making during the negotiation process would take place,

- \* Agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the process of government.

## Challenge

De Klerk is on record as saying that the Government and the National Party are ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of the "new South Africa."

He said that the first challenge was to establish a broad consensus on the foundations of freedom, justice and stability.

The Government remains opposed to the idea of a constituent

this in his opening address tomorrow.

While there was no major achievement or breakthrough during last week's working group meeting between the Government and the ANC, both sides seem positive and full of hope that this will be the decisive year in the building of the new South Africa.

There are still question marks over the question of the return of exiles and the ANC's commitment to mass action.

The ANC has said continuously that mass action is a democratic right and that it would continue to allow it - even if it came to power.

The Government, in turn, says that "undemocratic" means of coercion are used when it comes to mass action.

De Klerk might announce a Cabinet shake-up to enable certain senior Cabinet ministers, such as Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, to join in the negotiation process while others continue running the country.

Extra-parliamentary groupings have, however, expressed their concern over the perception that the Government plans to be "a player and a referee" in the negotiation process.

## Vagueness

Observers believe De Klerk could address this issue in his opening speech tomorrow.

One source said that while mediation of the talks has been discussed informally, no firm decision has been taken at this stage.

And, while De Klerk has often been vague and almost non-committal with regard to alliances, he has continually referred to his becoming part of the majority in the new South Africa.

By sunset tomorrow, however, South Africans will know.

## FOCUS



President F W de Klerk

assembly and an interim government.

But it has indicated its approval and interest in the ANC's proposal for an all-party congress. De Klerk is expected to deal with



NY Times Jan 30/91

# South African Black Rivals Reach Accord to End Factional Strife

Continued From Page A1

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

The African National Congress and Inkatha both say they actively oppose apartheid but they differ over the strategies for eliminating it. Chief Buthelezi has criticized the Congress's reliance on economic sanctions and armed struggle against apartheid and he advocates a market economy, opposing nationalization measures espoused by the Congress. The two organizations split in 1979 at a meeting of their leaders in London.

## Death Toll in Violence

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

The fighting has involved victims of poverty and discrimination on both sides. Mr. Mandela today said the blame for violence must ultimately be laid "at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of such squalor and degradation among our people."

It was uncertain how quickly sup-

## Mandela and Buthelezi pledge to work to end the killing.

porters would honor the call to end the violence, which has been perpetuated by revenge, criminality and competition for turf. A similar appeal by Mr. Mandela 11 months ago in Durban was widely ignored. Chief Buthelezi, who has made similar appeals, said it was simplistic to think the violence could be ended at a stroke.

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

## 'Breakthrough' Is Claimed

"Naturally, you cannot expect that we would be able to reach agreement on all the issues that kept us divided," Mr. Mandela said. But, he added, "in this discussion, we have reached a breakthrough."

Mr. Mandela, who was freed from prison Feb. 11, consented in March to appear with Chief Buthelezi at a peace rally in Natal but backed out. For months thereafter, Mr. Mandela dodged any potential encounter with Chief Buthelezi.

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

though it did not happen for more than three months.

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

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

"Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time in this meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded," Mr. Mandela said. He went on to thank Chief Buthelezi for having worked for his release from prison.

## Buthelezi Attacks Rivals

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

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

Chief Buthelezi emphasized that differences still divided Inkatha and the Congress. He said Inkatha opposed the Congress's call for the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new

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

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

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

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

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