

Viewpoint Natal Mercury 24 May 1991

Why peace is still sitting on the back-burner

IF YOU WERE an ANC political tactician, would you have played your cards very differently from the way they have been played of late?

Critics of the ANC have thundered against the recent confrontationalist style of the organisation — its ultimatums, its threats, its lack of compromise and its general air of bolshiness. But the Government's reaction has been remarkably muted, which may tell us quite a lot about the way in which the ANC's stridency is regarded in official circles.

To interpret what the ANC is up to from the outside may be presumptuous, but it does help to put an apparent crisis into perspective.

Present tactics stem from the shock which the ANC leadership received at its first consultative conference, held in Johannesburg last December, since the organisation was unbanned in February last year. The leadership suddenly had to come to terms with just how radical its grassroots support had become.

The moderate deals the leadership had struck with the Government in trying to get constitutional talks on the road were frowned on and the leadership realised then that if it wanted to be re-elected at the national congress in Durban in July, it would be essential to become more abrasive and assertive. The closer the congress got, the more necessary confrontation appeared to be.

The issue of violence, on

which the ANC decided to base its confrontation, was conveniently topical. It served an extra goal also, in that it sought to force the Government to side against Inkatha if it wanted to continue to deal with the ANC. As the ANC had failed to contain the militancy of Inkatha, it saw the chance of getting the Government to do its work for it.

For the sake of eventually getting negotiations started, President de Klerk has had to go far down the road to meet the ANC demands. To satisfy the ANC need to demonstrate to its followers that it could stand up to the Government and determine some of the agenda, the Government without too much fuss or quibbling allowed the organisation to take credit for having the single-sex hostel system phased out — although the Government had already accepted that this would be necessary.

Under pressure, it even used heavy persuasion to get the Zulu leaders to agree to banning the use of 'cultural weapons' in unrest areas.

That, by all logic, should have persuaded the ANC to resume negotiations with the Government and call off all its protests and mass action rallies that it had announced. But that has not happened, and for an obvious reason: the ANC needs to keep up its confrontation at least until it can hold its congress. If peace and harmony were to flourish before the congress elections, the ANC leadership would be

in for the chop.

So ANC information spokesman Pallo Jordan deliberately vacillated by saying the organisation 'could' consider reopening negotiations now that spears had been banned, but would not necessarily do so. Another ANC spokesman, Carl Niehaus, meanwhile found a new excuse for refusing to accept the 'no spears' deal Mr de Klerk had worked so hard to achieve. Mr Niehaus said the ban was limited only to unrest areas, and would not be effective in curbing violence.

It is clear from the way the ANC has handled the whole ultimatum issue, and also its refusal to attend Mr de Klerk's peace summit (on the flimsy pretext that it wasn't first consulted), that the last thing it wants just now is peace and harmony.

The tactic makes sense to a politician, even though it makes less sense to the public. A transparent game is being played in which the player knows his opponents can see what it is doing.

And the Government's reaction confirms this interpretation. Instead of going on the attack, disputing points raised by the ANC, harassing ANC plans for mass action, and generally trying to score points off the ANC, the Government is allowing the game to run its course.

The reason, finally, is that — in spite of the buffeting caused by ANC tactics — the progress that has been made towards negotiations has not been undone and the Govern-

Many political observers believe a split in the ANC is inevitable, but the timing for such a split should not be now, because the radicals would emerge on top at this stage and the chances of a reasonable political settlement for South Africa would be seriously damaged.

When a compromise constitutional plan emerges from full-scale negotiations (the ANC negotiating as one group), a majority coalition to support the compromise is likely to emerge at the same time. If radical elements then break away to form their own party, rejecting the compromises that will have to be made, there is less chance of the desired democratic new South Africa being blocked.

The present ANC tactics are by their nature infuriating, but the more philosophical view is that they serve a purpose and may actually produce a better result in the end than otherwise.

ment is happier to continue dealing with the present ANC leadership than to take its chances against a new and more radical leadership that might arise.

The alternative to ANC confrontation at present should be understood. If the ANC leadership, in a show of moderation and sweet reason, were to accept that the Government had tried to address its demands and that it could now call off its demands and protests, the organisation would be in grave danger of splitting into moderate and radical factions.

N/Mercury 24/5/91

Peace talks

THE LIST of organisations boycotting President de Klerk's Pretoria summit on violence this weekend is now so long that the efficacy of the conference must be in question. As Mr de Klerk won't want to look foolish, he presumably has good reasons for going ahead.

The most obvious is that refusal to attend a patently sincere peace conference is in itself an eloquent statement. Devious political stratagems, blame-casting, and disputes over spears are not good excuses for staying away when every day's delay costs more lives, jobs and lost opportunities. Mr de Klerk also hints at a less obvious reason: that certain 'follow-up actions and further processes' will ensue from the conference, and that those boycotting it for political reasons 'will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation'. Those who boycott the conference can hardly complain if they don't like the follow-up.

Sapa's Political Correspondent,
PIERRE CLAASSEN, on the by-election

The lesson of Ladybrand

N/ Mercury 24/5/91

EVEN impartial political analysts will grant the Conservative Party the right to claim that it has shown considerable growth and potential, if the swing reflected in the Ladybrand by-election result is extended nationally.

Few serious observers will however expect the result to cause a moment's hesitation in President de Klerk's difficult reform mission.

The result has, if it reflects anything, mirrored the Conservative Party's true potential — which miscarried somewhat in the 1989 general election — in rural South Africa.

In that sense it cannot have come as any uncomfortable surprise to the National Party planners. The party in fact expected defeat rather than victory in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Given the fact that conditions, in particular those surrounding the main thrust of government reform — negotiations with the ANC and black urban violence — are at their worst, the CP's gaining graph is all the more typically in line with by-election expectations.

Few parliamentary experts can doubt that the hooting and whistling for a general election will reach fever pitch in the House of Assembly opposition benches.

Nevertheless those same experts will expect President de Klerk to look coolly through such calls at a greater constituency he is already confident of having secured in urban South Africa where his only viable opponents, the Democratic Party, presently stand acknowledged allies.

Furthermore they know, even as the Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht knows only too well, that the Government will do its utmost to come to a constitutional settlement and decide the issue by referendum before the legal need for another general election arrives in 1993-94.

Meanwhile, the Ladybrand by-election result will merely underscore the deepening city-platteland divide along which traditional Afrikaner solidarity of the past three decades has split.

THE Conservative Party win and the result in every by-election since September 1989 show that the Government was out of touch with the deep-rooted apartheid policies of the majority of Afrikaners, says political analyst Willem Kleynhans.

The Government was 'living in a dream world' in respect of how many whites supported its reforms.

The swing of white Afrikaner support to the CP had become an avalanche since the NP started its reforms.

The result also signalled the eventual end of the 'white' NP. If the party was to continue to exist it would have to enlist the support of South Africa's Indian, coloured and black people, 'to replace the gaps left by Afrikaners.'

Whereas the pre-1948 Wakkerstroom by-election became the warning siren for General Smuts that the most dangerously powerful portion of his electorate, the platteland, had turned against him, Ladybrand merely confirms that the spent force of South African politics, the rural seats, is becoming the undisputed domain of the Conservative Party.

Urbanisation has changed the Afrikaner to the extent that it produced not only a F W de Klerk, a 'conservative' Doppe from Potchefstroom to lead its party, but an entire caucus of MPs to follow him.

Following him is the one thing they can mostly be counted on to keep doing when Mr de Klerk rejects demands for a general election. Many of them have already prepared themselves for being excluded from further participation in a post-constitution parliament anyway.

For those who still have political ambitions in the future, Mr de Klerk has some reassuring prospects to point to in an extended constituency, the most recent evidence of which is being provided from the defecting ranks of the coloured Labour Party itself.

Dr Treurnicht and his fellow MPs know that in a general election the party faces the promise of further gains — albeit mostly limited to rural areas — and that it will be able, quite correctly, to demand further elections after that on the basis that it can wrest yet more seats from the Government until it controls all of rural South Africa and a couple of conservative urban 'islands'. But these will not be enough to take over the government of South Africa.

Serious observers, and perhaps Dr Treurnicht himself in an honest moment, knows that the white electorate will not swing back to apartheid in sufficient numbers again, no matter what adjective is attached to freedom in order to re-invent the philosophy.

The Ladybrand result however does not come without some positive aspects for the Government.

It will probably be seen, and used, as a warning to the ANC and its allied movements not to disregard the State President's constituency in the manner of their dealings with him.

Politics does, after all, reflect the hopes and aspirations of the voters and there is a limit to their patience if these are repeatedly frustrated.

That is when the danger point is reached where the elected may feel their support slipping and that drastic measures need to be taken to regain it.

Ladybrand does not signal such a point but Maitland showed in March that the De Klerk lead may be tenuous and that it can only be retained with results that match the particular set of euphoric expectations he created on February 1, 1990, and the smiling confidence he has tried to maintain ever since.

DR OSCAR DHLOMO looks at educational needs of the future

NATAL Mercury

24 May 1991

'Don't close white colleges'

WHILE we genuinely congratulate the Minister on his new admission policy to colleges of education, we are equally concerned about the practical implications of his so-called rationalisation policy.

In the same way as the Extension of University Education Act of the late 50s meant barring black students from studying at white universities and forcing them to enrol at the then newly established ethnic university colleges, we are concerned that the minister's rationalisation policy should not mean the closing down of well-equipped and well-staffed white colleges of education, under the pretext that student numbers at these colleges are dwindling.

I submit that the challenge of rationalisation should not entail closing down existing education facilities; on the contrary, rationalisation should mean utilising all available facilities to the benefit of all our students who aspire to be trained as teachers.

Needless to mention that this rationalisation, to be meaningful, must of necessity focus on the educational needs of the future.

The problems of post-apartheid South Africa are enormous and they will tax the ingenuity of all our citizens. This is even more so in the field of education.

Post-apartheid policy formation and implementation in education will have to provide our citizens with an education that will meet the criteria of good quality, relevance and cost-effectiveness.

This endeavour will fail if we lose sight of the fact that the teacher shall remain a cornerstone and gate-keeper of whatever educational innovation we embark upon. Similarly the endeavour will also fail if we

attempt to solve post-apartheid educational problems using present-day apartheid solutions.

It is reasonable to anticipate that post-apartheid educational planning will have to do away with the present fragmented control of education in South Africa.

This step would usher in a period of unified educational control and the disappearance of own affairs education departments in South Africa and the self-governing states. The Government has also committed itself, at least in principle, to the notion of unified control in education.

It is only once this re-arrangement of educational control has been debated and finalised that meaningful rationalisation would become a viable option.

Otherwise hasty rationalisation undertaken within the context of own affairs education planning might see us closing down schools and colleges and retrenching teachers today, only to re-open them and re-employ the retrenched teachers a few years later.

I hereby appeal to the Government and the minister concerned to declare a moratorium on the closing down of under-utilised white facilities, until rational negotiations begin.

In the interim, the Government should find a way of opening a discussion with relevant interest groups in the country on the best way of utilising available facilities to the benefit of all concerned.

● *Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, was addressing the recent diploma ceremony at the Edgewood College of Education in Pinetown.*

All mod, and not so mod cons for a State President

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KINGS HOUSE, the stately and historic residence overlooking Durban's Berea, was unveiled this week to reveal its magnificently renovated splendour.

Pressmen and publicity and cultural organisations were given an extensive tour of the pavilion-style mansion at the end of a two-year restoration project which cost at least R2 600 000.

Visitors said they were extremely impressed with the results of the painstaking renovation which had transformed the 'tired old lady to her present superb state'.

They also saw the elegant Presidential suite and study overlooking the city and Indian Ocean, tastefully redecorated, but retaining some early colonial features and an old Victorian bathtub.

Ms Gillian Bérning, 'chief tracer of the missing Kings House furniture', said all the important original furniture had now been returned, with the exception of some — which was 'ghastly'.

These vary from heavy Jacobean furniture to Cape Dutch and light Chinese pieces.

Although officials have indicated that members of the public will soon get the opportunity to see Kings House on organised visits, a formal 'usage' decision is only expected to be made by the State President at the end of August.

Mr Adam Kriel, regional representative of the Department of Public Works and Land

Affairs, said Mr de Klerk had been unable to re-arrange his busy work schedule to fit in an immediate opening ceremony.

'It is the prerogative of the State President to decide on the future use of Kings House, and members of the public are requested to await his decision.'

But 300 guests have been invited to a lavish garden party on May 31 hosted by the Administrator of Natal — the first official function at Kings House since the restoration.

Another 150 guests, including leading owners and trainers, are expected at an indoor function the following day at the Durban Festival of Racing launch.

Organisers have hinted that the Blue Train will make an appearance in Durban the same day 'in a very unusual position'.

Outlining the history of Kings House, Mr Kriel said the building was designed by architect Mr A E Dainton in 1903, and completed the following year.

Durban Town Council later gave the land and building to the Colonial Secretary of Natal to be used by him and his successors as a marine residence for the governors of the colony.

Famous guests have included Lord Gladstone, The Prince of Wales in 1925, Queen Elizabeth II — then Princess Elizabeth — Field Marshal Smuts, Lord Buxton, Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Earl of Athlone and the Earl of Clarendon.

The residence was extensively renovated before the Royal visit of King George VI in 1947 — one feature of which was a shocking pink bathroom.

Private architects John Frost and Richard Dobson said this 'royal flush' bathroom and other 'unsightly' additions had now been changed to reinstate the original architectural grandeur.

Great care had been taken to preserve original materials and tiling, although specialised craftsmen had to be found to lay the embossed ceiling wallpaper and to reproduce materials no longer available, including ornate roof tiles.

Mr Santie Boonzaier, chief interior decorator, said she had been charged with transforming the 'hard, unfriendly and almost austere home into something liveable' and had tried to achieve a quiet, understated elegance.

'This is not the ultimate. But I think we've done the best with the money available'.

The downstairs drawing-room is particularly impressive, with local and imported fabrics used for the furnishings and curtaining. Window frames and picture rails have been scraped down to reveal the original teak.

Mr Percy Larkan, chairman of the Natal Association of Historical Societies, praised the project highly and said he hoped that the public would soon get a chance to visit the 'unbelievably beautiful' home.

In the pictures: Top: the main bedroom and the drawing room in the presidential suite. Right: the main entrance hall and part of the sweeping verandah that surrounds Kings House

FOCUS

FORUM *Mercury*Chief impresses
+ US student ✓

SIR — Recently I had a most memorable experience — I was afforded the privilege of a private meeting with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. I am a 21-year-old American who is studying political science at the University of Natal, Durban, for this present semester only. At the end of June I will return to my home state of California to complete my final year of university studies. I then plan to attend a graduate school of diplomacy, with an ultimate goal of foreign service.

For quite some time I have been a careful observer of South African politics. After four months here I have certainly picked up a great deal of information from a variety of sources. However, I must say that this increased information has only tended to foster more questions than answers.

Having read much by and about Dr Buthelezi I was quite impressed with his proposed solutions. Thus I wrote requesting to meet with him. I was further impressed with the kindness and humility of spirit which prompted him to grant my request, and give of his valuable time to a young political aspirant such as myself. I found him to be warm, friendly, very open, and sincere. He made me feel very much at ease, and was quite gracious and respectful of my viewpoints.

I am neither presumptuous nor naive enough to think that I have the solutions to the immensely complex issues facing South Africa. However, I do believe that I have enough of a grasp of the situation to know that you in South Africa are most blessed to have such a man as Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a leader of the black people.

Though he is specifically a leader of the black people I believe that he, in a real sense, represents all South Africans. His goals and hopes for South Africa clearly show concern for the people of all races. He does not seek the elevation of one race over another or, worse yet, the eradication of any ethnic group from the political scene.

Rather, he advocates a co-operative venture, resulting in productivity and a decent lifestyle for all. He is wise and realistic enough not to expect these changes to take place overnight. Neither does he expect these goals to be accomplished by physical force, but rather at the table of reconciliation and negotiation. He clearly has the good sense to know that only when all sides win, does any one really win!

Chief Buthelezi and his concepts and methods are not as well known in the United States as I would wish. You can be assured, however, that when I return I will do my small part to tell my fellow Americans (not all of whom, by the way, are supportive of the ways of the ANC or of sanctions) that there is another voice, another way!

ALEX TOUNGER

ANC's stand may pave the way for true peace

THE African National Congress' decision to suspend constitutional talks with the government had political observers staring back into the abyss this week, but the movement's stand could have opened the way for a more solid, negotiated peace.

The statement from the extended National Executive Committee contained demands, forwarded originally by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, that the ANC wants to take to a church-convened all-party conference on violence.

These include a code of conduct for all political parties; a code of conduct for the security forces; agreement on the powers and functions of a standing commission on violence; and a comprehensive approach to reconstruction of violence-ravaged communities.

These demands, while not replacing those contained in the ultimatum to the government on violence, take ANC policy much further towards seeking practical remedies to the violence.

The ANC has threatened mass action and a general strike to press the government into meeting the demands on violence, including a total ban on the carrying of all lethal weapons, better policing and the sacking of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

Dissatisfaction was expressed at the NEC meeting at the statement by President FW de Klerk that police would continue to maintain law and order with impartiality. It was issued after De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were said to have reached broad consensus in their talks of the previous week.

After hours of debate, the NEC insisted that the seven demands contained in

The African National Congress' suspension of constitutional talks and its insistence on a church-convened conference on violence offer the hope for a negotiated peace.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

the ultimatum remained and rejected the whittling down of them to the issue of the carrying of spears. It also rejected a compromise plan that this week's conference be hosted jointly by the ANC, Inkatha and government.

Instead, it stood by a decision taken at a tripartite meeting between the ANC, the South African Communist Party

and Cosatu the previous weekend that the peace conference had to be convened by religious bodies, which are impartial forces in the conflict.

The ANC has kept the lines of communication open over the issue of violence. But it is unlikely to accept De Klerk's conditional banning of traditional weapons only in "unrest areas" — won after much pleading with Inkatha leaders, including the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Ulundi this week.

The ANC also decided to boycott De Klerk's peace summit, setting in motion a spate of cancellations which included the South African Council of Churches, homeland governments and

the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, and politically dividing the country on pre-February 2 1990 lines.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said, however, that the movement would not quit all talks with the government. The ANC would continue to participate in joint working groups on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, Nzo said.

And the ANC's decision to pull out of constitutional talks will only have a possible delaying effect because, as Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, actual constitutional negotiations between the government and the ANC have not started yet. Constitutional negotiations are, in any event, unlikely to get far while violence continues to rage on the ground.

Viljoen said the ANC's decision not to participate in the peace conference was unjustifiable and that its planned mass action would only aggravate violence by leading to further confrontation and conflict.

Inkatha 'provokes' on weapons issue

By EDDIE KOCH

Weekly Mail May 24 '91.

INKATHA is being "provocative" by urging thousands of Zulus to carry sticks, spears and shields to a mass rally at the First National Bank stadium near Soweto on Sunday despite a government ban on these weapons in unrest areas.

African National Congress representative Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha's move was a deliberate attempt to frustrate this week's official ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and warned that it could spread sectarian violence into peaceful areas.

The complaint comes along with research conducted by academics which shows that Inkatha members are reported in the press as making more extensive use of AK-47 rifles and other firearms than supporters of the ANC in the current violence.

kwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Robert Nzimela confirmed that people attending Sunday's meeting would be carrying spears and sticks as part of their "traditional attire". And Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos said this would not be a breach of the new ban because the stadium was not in an "unrest area".

"That is why we are calling for a countrywide ban on the carrying of all weapons except on commemorative days," said Mamoepa. "There are many places that are not unrest areas and the quickest way to allow them to become places of bloodshed is to allow the carrying of weapons there."

Vos said the rally was not an Inkatha meeting but an *imbizo* at which King Goodwill Zwelithini would deliver a special message to the Zulu people.

The carrying of spears and other dangerous weapons in places design-

ated as unrest areas on the Witwatersrand was officially banned this week after President FW de Klerk and Zwelithini reached some agreement on the issue.

The South African Institute of Race Relations welcomed the decision to ban spears in proclaimed unrest areas but said the move needed to be supplemented with agreements from other organisations about weapons.

"There is no reason to believe that spears are used in more than a relatively small proportion of violent in-

cidents," said SAIRR director John Kane-Berman.

"Research by the institute into political violence in the first four months of this year reveals that all sharp-edged weapons — including knives, pangas and axes — account for only 18 percent of weapons used in political conflict."

But the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) reported this week that research figures showed Inkatha members have been responsible for acts of violence 10 times more than ANC members.

Case said its research project, conducted by Dr David Everatt, found Inkatha was responsible for 66 percent of violent incidents reported in the media over the last nine months. Members of the ANC, by contrast, were attributed with six percent of the aggressive acts. The Case figures confirm the SAIRR assertion that spears account for a relatively small number of fatalities.

Inkatha representative Peter Auf der Heyde said cultural weapons were "a symbol of resistance against oppression" and a "necessary form of protection" against ANC campaigns against Inkatha supporters.



King Goodwill Zwelithini

Hostel dwellers 'abducted five from train'

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban
MAXWELL ZWEZWE knows from experience that you don't mess with the business end of a spear, traditional or otherwise.

He and four other men were allegedly abducted off a train at spear point by a large crowd of armed men at the week-end — Zwezwe escaped but the fate of the others is a mystery.

Going home from overtime shift on Sunday evening Zwezwe found hundreds of hostel dwellers in the kwaMashu-bound train and heard from their conversation that they were returning from a rally called to launch the South African Hostel Dwellers' Association (SAHDA).

"They were wearing head bands and Inkatha T-shirts. They carried all kinds of weapons including spears, hammers and home-made guns."

Some of them noticed him and began to "point him out".

"They claimed that my friends and I were members of the African National Congress and that we want to chase them out of the hostels."

Zwezwe's friend sitting nearby re-

alised trouble was brewing and put his nose deeper into his James Hadley Chase thriller.

By the time the train stopped at Duff's Road, the stop nearest the kwaMashu hostels, the crowd had found five victims.

Preddeed with spears, Zwezwe was told to get off the train. When he protested he was asked whether he wanted to die.

On the platform the abductors conferred about what to do with their "catch".

Zwezwe seized a moment when their eyes were off him, ran across the tracks and disappeared into the night.

An hour's brisk walk later, ears straining for sounds that he was followed, Zwezwe arrived home.

Meanwhile, his Chase-fan friend had alerted the Zwezwe family and unrest monitors who urged the police to search the hostels for the abducted men.

The four forced off the train have still not been traced. Zwezwe fears the worst, saying they were carrying no arms while their abductors were

carrying all the weapons they had taken to the rally.

As a Zulu, what does he think about the carrying of spears? "I am against it. They say people put mud on the tip and if it hits you you will die."

He fears his life is in danger, but must continue catching the train home.

Now he has decided to ensure he leaves before dark, and that he has a thriller to read for protection.

Earlier last Sunday, people attending the rally launching the SAHDA protested against the ANC's call for the scrapping of single-sex hostels. People at the meeting, many heavily armed, also affirmed the right to carry "traditional weapons".

SAHDA general secretary Bongani Hlongwa said there were over 50 000 hostel residents, most of them in Natal and some in the Transvaal.

The meeting agreed to send a delegation to Pretoria to discuss with the government their demands that the hostels should not be phased out and that cultural weapons should not be banned.

Weekly Mail May 24 1991

Pik invites ANC man to violence summit

Citizen Reporter

FOREIGN Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, publicly invited the ANC's Mr Pambel Maduna to attend today's peace conference in Pretoria and to reiterate his feelings on violence as they were expressed in a political debate in Potchefstroom.

"It is not too late for you to come to the conference tomorrow (today) in Pretoria," Mr Botha told Mr Maduna to loud applause from the packed auditorium at the Potchefstroom University, when he, Mr Maduna and Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse were debating South Africa's international position in the future.

He said the message could be carried over to ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, that the ANC "would contribute substantially towards the creation of peace in this country" if it were to attend.

Mr Botha referred to suspicions of a "secret agenda" on the part of the ANC, saying this point needed clarification. He, for his part, was willing to declare on behalf of the government that the "withdrawal of apartheid (was) irreversible and final".

South Africa had "crossed the threshold and was on the way back to international acceptance" and the momentum of

this country's return to international politics was "already too strong for any party to try to stop it".

Mr Botha said it was not in the interests of South Africa for any large, responsible political party to adopt views "the rest of the world will laugh at".

"It is absolutely essential that Africa wakes up. The hour is late and we cannot afford squabbling and ideological differences any longer.

Citing figures which put the combined gross national product of 40 sub-Saharan states at 130 million dollars, in comparison to South Africa's gross national product of 120 million dollars, Mr Botha said Africa was known as "the plague continent" and it was crucial that the economic problems of southern Africa in particular be addressed.

For this purpose, the idea of a grouping of 11 southern African states — with South Africa as one — was being mooted and it was his dream that State President De Klerk would attend a meeting of the states with Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at his side.

Mr Maduna, who is a member of the Joint Steering Committee, said it was not the object of the ANC to destroy Inka-

tha and it would be foolhardy to believe the ANC alone could create a new, democratic South Africa.

All parties needed to be involved in the process, which even needed dr (Andries) Treurnicht's party.

Mr Maduna said the mass media had created the perception that the violence was solely "Black on Black" or between Black groups, but the violence expressed itself in the farmers who allegedly attacked the squatters at Ventersdorp earlier this month.

The violence was a product of political intolerance as well as the conditions of change, but the "hour has come" and South Africans would have to decide whether to seek out and try to destroy one another or to use their energies and capacities to "join hands and join forces".

All people "except the lunatic fringe on the left and right" accepted that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it.

"We are all going into the new South Africa, although some will have to be dragged kicking and screaming into it."

Mr Hendrickse said he believed the new South Africa was materialising since there was a "renewal of spirit" among people.

ANC is talking its way out of politics: Malan

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC was running the risk of putting itself outside of the political process unless it put its house in order, said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Afrikaner Club in Bloemfontein.

Gen Malan said the ANC was running the risk of "talking and threatening" its way out of the political process through utterances such as those by the chief of staff of its armed wing, Mr Chris Hani.

He referred to a recent report quoting Mr Hani as saying that the ANC was going ahead with the formation of its so-called defence units — and that neither the police nor the Defence Force would be able to destroy them.

At the very least, this was arrogant and pro-

vocative and showed no evidence of a serious search for order and stability.

Unfortunately, it appeared that Mr Hani's words had struck a chord, particularly among militant Black youths.

These elements were giving the ANC serious problems with discipline.

This sort of tactic, combined with protest actions such as boycotts and stayaways, had caused serious doubts to arise about whether the ANC had any real understanding of the heart of the democratic process.

It appeared that, through its actions, the ANC was trying to force the government to accede to its demands.

At the same time, ordinary residents of Black townships were being subjected to tremendous pressure and intimidation.

In the past year, a third of all Blacks living in urban areas had been forced to participate in consumer boycotts or stayaway actions.

Gen Malan said the current violence and unrest was "disturbing and unacceptable".

Not only was it breaking down public confidence and keeping investors away, but it raised questions about the intentions of certain people — namely the ANC, which had "not lifted a finger to do anything about the situation".

A "lot of noise" had been made about dangerous weapons like axes, pangas and knives, but these types of weapons accounted for only 18 percent of the deaths presently occurring, while more than 50 percent were being caused by guns and explosives, with the majority of guns being AK-47s.

"The ANC is demanding that certain weapons be banned, but the question is, what is it doing about the weapons it has put into the hands of belligerent and emotional people over the years?"

The ANC had failed to reveal its weapons caches. It was clear that the ANC was busy with duplicity. On the one hand, it was paying lip service to peace; on the other, it was failing to meet its obligations and putting the blame on the government.

Hani is held

FROM PAGE 1

night after a sit-down protest in the road.

Among those arrested was Mr Tony Yengeni, who was involved in the marathon terrorism trial with Ms Jenny Schreiner and several others. They were later indemnified.

Reuters photographer Mr Mike Hutchins was also arrested.

A second group of supporters who came toyi-toying down Bureau Street danced straight into the arms of a police cordon and were also arrested and taken away. Police issued a warning that all onlookers should leave the area. — Sapa.

(2)
Citizen May 24 1991

Hani held in demo

CAPE TOWN. — The Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, was arrested in front of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town yesterday.

The African National Congress was holding an illegal picket in front of Parliament to demand the release of all political prisoners, especially those on hunger strike.

Mr Hani addressed a small crowd of about 50 placard-waving ANC supporters and said the ANC realised State President De Klerk was under tremendous pressure, but that the people were bitter and wanted their freedom — they wanted a negotiated settlement.

The demonstrators had moved across Spin Street after gathering on Church Square and

marched towards Parliament. They were surrounded by police and led to waiting police vehicles, from where they were taken to Caledon Square.

The divisional commissioner, Gen Flip Fourie, was also at the scene.

All 50 protesters were arrested.

They were later released on their own recognisances and will be given the option of paying a R50 admission of guilt fine, as was done with the 19 protesters who were arrested in Main Road, Rondebosch, on Wednesday.

TO PAGE 2

Citizen 24 May 1991 (1)

Squatter camps scene of some horrific clashes

DURBAN'S squatter settlements — thought to house as many as 2-million people — have been the scene of horrific clashes between settled squatters and new arrivals.

The burning shacks and death tolls attest to the competition between groups of people for limited resources — space, water, building materials

and the few jobs available close to home.

Three reasons lie behind Durban's reputation as a centre where squatting has proliferated.

They are the city's coastal position, which allows for settlement in a semi-circle around the city, the absence of influx control when it was in force in other parts of the country and the poverty of the hinterland.

Today, the Durban Functional Region is faced with a housing shortage of up to 320 000 units and will need up to 460 000 in the coming decade, a Tongaat-Hulett Group Planning Forum report says.

It says 54% of Indians, 60% of coloureds, 13% of whites and 90% of blacks cannot afford to contribute to housing or would need a subsidy.

The report identifies a number of factors constraining attempts to address the housing problem.

They are fragmented decision making, high unemployment, financial constraints, restrictions on the release of pension and provident funds for low-cost housing, the focus on high-income housing construction, inappropriate planning and lack of land.

Problem

There are plans for services boards — joint Natal and KwaZulu structures — to provide bulk services and develop infrastructure.

Part of the problem hampering housing development is the multiplicity of regulating authorities, says Natal University's town and regional planning department senior lecturer Michael Maughan-Brown.

"The policy of separate development, the tricameral system and the devolution of power from first to second or provincial tier of government has created an assortment of controlling authorities: the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the various municipalities, the province, the Department of Development

Aid, the House of Assembly and its counterparts in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives," Maughan-Brown says.

He says there are several issues and courses of action which should be explored.

They are: a clear state housing policy, clear decisions on housing subsidies, a move away from one plot one house thinking which gives rise to low density urban sprawl and a realisation on the part of architects and planners of the social and political realities on the ground.

Imbalances

Tongaat building supply company MD Errol Rutherford says the building industry is running at 40% capacity and the Independent Development Trust's release of its funds would finance low-cost housing and enable thousands of jobs to be created.

Against this background, the Planning Forum came to the conclusion that the spatial structure of the Durban region was characterised by striking imbalances, which included:

- A variation in population density from eight people a hectare in white areas of Pinetown to more than 300 in the informal settlement area of Lindelani;

- The poor, who live on the periphery of the region, have inadequate and expensive transport while those in the townships and suburbs had good transport services;

- Informal settlements are characterised by an absence of physical and social infrastructure;

- The coastal topography, which is characterised by deep valleys and broken terrain, is a constraint on development.

The forum says the two greatest challenges facing the Durban region are "to bring residential areas closer together through reducing the inequalities between formal and informal settlements and to release enough land for low-cost housing".

24/5/91
B/Dan

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Friday May 24 1991

Natal
Mercury FORUMChief impresses
US student

SIR — Recently I had a most memorable experience — I was afforded the privilege of a private meeting with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. I am a 21-year-old American who is studying political science at the University of Natal, Durban, for this present semester only. At the end of June I will return to my home state of California to complete my final year of university studies. I then plan to attend a graduate school of diplomacy, with an ultimate goal of foreign service.

For quite some time I have been a careful observer of South African politics. After four months here I have certainly picked up a great deal of information from a variety of sources. However, I must say that this increased information has only tended to foster more questions than answers.

Having read much by and about Dr Buthelezi I was quite impressed with his proposed solutions. Thus I wrote requesting to meet with him. I was further impressed with the kindness and humility of spirit which prompted him to grant my request, and give of his valuable time to a young political aspirant such as myself. I found him to be warm, friendly, very open, and sincere. He made me feel very much at ease, and was quite gracious and respectful of my viewpoints.

I am neither presumptuous nor naïve enough to think that I have the solutions to the immensely complex issues facing South Africa. However, I do believe that I have enough of a grasp of the situation to know that you in South Africa are most blessed to have such a man as Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a leader of the black people.

Though he is specifically a leader of the black people I believe that he, in a real sense, represents all South Africans. His goals and hopes for South Africa clearly show concern for the people of all races. He does not seek the elevation of one race over another or, worse yet, the eradication of any ethnic group from the political scene.

Rather, he advocates a co-operative venture, resulting in productivity and a decent lifestyle for all. He is wise and realistic enough not to expect these changes to take place overnight. Neither does he expect these goals to be accomplished by physical force, but rather at the table of reconciliation and negotiation. He clearly has the good sense to know that only when all sides win, does any one really win!

Chief Buthelezi and his concepts and methods are not as well known in the United States as I would wish. You can be assured, however, that when I return I will do my small part to tell my fellow Americans (not all of whom, by the way, are supportive of the ways of the ANC or of sanctions) that there is another voice, another way!

ALEX TOUNGER

FW criticises ANC at summit

By Kaizer Nyatumba and
Esmare van der Merwe

President de Klerk's peace conference began in Pretoria merely a forerunner to a representative peace summit sponsored by churches.

Boycotted by the extra-parliamentary Left, main players at the two-day conference are the Government and Inkatha.

While about 200 delegates began their meeting at the CSIR in Pretoria, the South African Council of Churches was continuing efforts to stage a conference at which all the major protagonists would be represented.

Opening the multi-party "Conference on Violence and Intimidation", President de Klerk criticised the ANC and all those parties which refused to attend the two-day summit, saying they had chosen to "play political games" while people were dying in the country.

He said some of the groups

which had stayed away from the conference could make a major contribution towards finding a solution to the violence.

In a clear reference to the ANC, President de Klerk said it was ironic that organisations not attending the conference included "organisations which constantly attack the Government for not taking actions and criticise it when it acts".

Message

Violence and intimidation, said Mr de Klerk, were "the biggest single stumbling block" on the way to building a new and prosperous South Africa.

He said it was because the Government felt more was needed to deal with the violence than the actions and initiatives it had taken so far that the multi-party peace summit was convened. The Government wanted to listen and not do all the talking.

In the final analysis this

conference, if it is to succeed, must send a message to all South Africans and the international community

for in South Africa to work for an end to violence and reconciliation, and that this will be done through maintaining the rule of law.

Hopes that most political players might attend an "alternative" peace summit hosted by church leaders were fuelled last night when Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerit Viljoen hinted that the present talks would not necessarily be the last word on violence.

Meanwhile, it remains to be seen who will attend the churches' peace summit.

While the ANC has openly expressed support for such a move, other extra-parliamentary parties said they would decide on whether to attend only after having been consulted by the religious leaders.

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