

Latvian Police Hoot Republic's Leaders During Long Meeting

RIGA, Latvia — Hundreds of pro-Kremlin Latvian police officers jeered the republic's president on Monday, reflecting deep division in local law enforcement ranks over independence.

The 500-800 Latvian police officers — mostly ethnic Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians — jammed a four-hour meeting with the Baltic republic's leaders, including their boss, Latvian Interior Minister Alois Vaznis, as well as President Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis.

The police whistled and hooted when Vaznis said he had tried to depoliticize the police force, which is part of the Interior Ministry. They called for his resignation.



Mandela, Rival To Hold Peace Summit

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, South Africa's most important black political leaders, meet today in a long-awaited summit aimed at easing a bitter rivalry that has cost thousands of lives.

The meeting in Durban will be the first between the two in nearly 30 years. It has been hailed as an overdue gesture that could help cool the fires raging in the country's black townships.

More than 5,000 blacks have died in fighting since 1986 between supporters of Mandela's African National Congress and backers of Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Three-to-one discrepancy is partly due to formula for peace meeting

ANC outnumbered by Inkatha at talks

DAIRY NEWS

24/01/91

Daily News Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress delegates will be outnumbered more than three to one by Inkatha representatives when the two organisations meet here today in a bid to end their violent enmity.

The 20-member ANC delegation, headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, will face a 67-member team from Inkatha, led by its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi since Mr Mandela's release from jail nearly a year ago, a year which has seen a marked escalation in the bloody conflict between the two organisations.

The discrepancy in numbers is, in part, a consequence of the formula for the peace talks. This was worked out at a meeting between the ANC's national executive committee and Inkatha's central committee.

The ANC's national executive committee has about 40 members. Inkatha's central committee has 120 members. Thus each side is represented by about half of its executive members.

The ANC delegation includes the chairmen of its three Natal regions — Jacob Zuma, who is considered to be a "dove", Harry Gwala, who is viewed as a "hawk", and Willus Mchunu. All three men have an intimate knowledge of the violence that has claimed at least 4 000 lives since mid-1987.

The Inkatha team includes several chiefs, who, like the ANC's regional chairmen in Natal, have seen the violence at ground level all too often.

One of the reasons for the large Inkatha delegation is to ensure that whatever agreement emerges from the meeting seeps down to grassroots level as quickly as possible. In the rural areas of KwaZulu, tribal chiefs are in the best position to convey it to the people.

The meeting will, it is understood, be co-chaired by Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, and Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha.

No formal agenda has been released but the talks will focus on the violence and ways of ending it. If they go well, the need for black unity may figure prominently.

**Peace hopes
high: Page 17**

16/1/11

PEACE HOPES HIGH AS LEADERS MEET

A. News
29/01/91

THE climate for reconciliation in Natal is ripe for the picking with a steady decline of unrest-related deaths since August last year — and this bodes well for today's meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two charismatic leaders of South Africa's biggest black political parties, long-standing political rivals, meet for the first time today after 28 years and hopes are high that peace and reconciliation between them will bring a complete end to the bloodshed which has claimed more than 4 000 lives in Natal.

Political analysts believe today's meeting is crucial to the future of South Africa, and have pointed out that the current political climate in the strife-torn province is ready for this meeting, receptive and optimistic. Hopes for peace among ordinary folk are high.

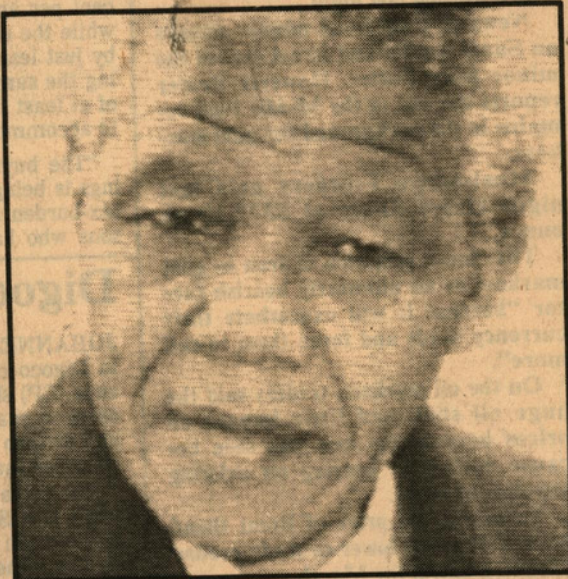
International attention is focused on Durban today as South Africa's two most important and charismatic black leaders — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — meet after

28 years in an attempt to halt the internecine violence which has left more than 5 000 South Africans dead during the past three years.

The Daily News Political Reporter **NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN** reports.



DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
leader of Inkatha



MR NELSON MANDELA
leader of the ANC

People are tired of the violence and intimidation which has marred their lives since early 1987. There is a growing awareness among communities of the need for political tolerance; an increasing realisation that

the new South Africa will not materialise until the bloodshed ends.

Democratic Party unrest monitoring group figures show that in the Natal coastal region alone, deaths dropped dramatically from a

staggering 120 in March last year to 45 in December.

According to the co-ordinator of the DP's unrest monitoring group, Mr Roy Ainslie, there are several reasons for the reduction in violence.

"The presence of the security forces in affected areas and their responses in times of conflict has undoubtedly been a factor in the decline in violence over the last few months," he told The Daily News.

"However, that said, it must also be emphasised that the security forces need to move beyond their current policy of merely containing the violence, to developing more effective strategies in eradicating the violence.

"They have the resources to deal effectively with several sources of the violence (for example, warlords and political tsotsis such as the amaSinyoras) which they are not employing, either for political reasons or lack of training, or a combination of both."

Mr Ainslie said the local peace agreements in the province had also played an important part in reducing the bloodshed in the province. Local communities had

often taken the initiative, albeit in sometimes unorthodox ways, in isolating violent elements within communities and solving problems.

"While the Lower Umfolosi Peace Accord is the only formal peace agreement arrived at in the region, there have been various peace meetings in other parts," Mr Ainslie said.

"These discussions have undoubtedly contributed to a decrease in the violence.

"There is also a genuine desire from ANC supporters and Inkatha supporters for an end to the violence. The prospect for peace in Natal will be greatly influenced not only by the tone set by Mandela and Buthelezi when they meet, but also whether a programme of action results from the meeting which can translate the desire for peace into practical ways of achieving it."

Mr Ainslie said another reason for the decrease in violence had much to do with the consolidation of organisational support in certain areas.

Many of the areas affected by the violence had been consolidated

under the control of either Inkatha or the ANC, and as supporters of the opposing group fled the area, were expelled or neutralised, incidents of conflict were reduced.

"Many of the incidents still taking place now are 'cross-border' hit-and-run attacks which result in fewer fatalities."

Mr Ainslie expressed serious doubts about the role of the KwaZulu Police in the violence and described them as "possibly the single most serious threat to peace in the region".

"Reports received by unrest monitoring groups indicate that they are playing an increasingly active role in attacking communities and individuals sympathetic to the ANC and its progressive allies, in spite of several supreme court interdicts restraining them."

The role of the KZP is likely to be high on the agenda at today's talks, as Dr Buthelezi serves also as the KwaZulu Minister of Police.

The one problem which both sides, as well as political analysts, are aware of is that the public at large is nurturing dangerously high expectations of "miraculous peace"; that people could be expecting dramatic results from what could just be the first of many meetings between the two leaders and their organisations.

These expectations, if not fulfilled, could lead to a situation where people at grassroots level lose all hope and begin to vent their frustrations through the only option they know — violence.

The price of failure is high. When talks in June 1989 led to a peace plan being worked out by high-profile officials from Inkatha and the Co-satu/UDF alliance, death figures in Natal dropped dramatically to nine deaths in June and 25 in July.

But when the talks collapsed in August, death figures rose again to 95 that month.

However, whatever the final outcome of today's talks, the first move towards political tolerance and multi-party negotiations will have been made.

World Report

A ZULU STATESMAN PREPARES TO TALK PEACE TO UNITE SOUTH AFRICA

Hail to the Chief



**JEAN
ROOK**

reports from
KwaZulu, Bantu Territory

TODAY, after futile months of firing memos and mutual insults while hundreds of their people have perished in daily bloodbaths, South Africa's two most potent black leaders, the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will, at too long last, meet.

The future of the Promised Land of New South Africa depends on these ebony idols of their volatile followers seeing eye to jealous eye.

Or as shocked, weary whites here sum up the recent, unexpected bloody black civil wars in the townships: "We've freed Mandela, now what do we have to do to stop the buggers murdering one another?"

Yesterday, in his eyrie in the wild, wet, steaming hills of KwaZulu, the great black hawk Buthelezi — in this first, astoundingly-candid talk with a British newspaper — told me his innermost feelings about the black massacres in which 1,000 people have died in the year since Mandela's release from jail.

"It is tragic that, when all the things blacks have struggled for so long are coming into being, we are fighting one another instead of doing what we should be doing — helping, not hampering, President de Klerk towards his dream of a New South Africa," he said.

"I've been saying, and praying, for 20 years that apartheid must die but I've always warned that the kick of a dying animal can be the most dangerous.

"It's crazy, it makes no sense and it's a tragedy for South Africa that, now that we have our hands on what we have waited for so long, we are doing the kicking and tearing one another apart.

"As a black leader, I am ashamed that we are proving to the white world that, while we talk of the true democracy we long for, we black politi-

cians too often indulge in vilification and character assassination which must inevitably lead to more violence."

DESPITE his dark-red designer specs and sharp-cut lounge suit, this tall leader of seven million Zulus looks as potentially warlike as when he played the part of his great grandfather, Zulu King Cetshwayo, in the smash-hit movie Zulu.

"That was a great film — except that you won. I preferred Zulu Dawn when we won," His Excellency flashed ivory teeth worthy of conservation. "I showed the videos to my grandchildren. They loved them but got terribly excited

and upset until we explained that the Zulus weren't really being shot."

More seriously, now that Zulus and ANC members are shooting, stabbing and clubbing one another to death, how damning, in the light of the present tension, is the warrior heritage of this nation which, a century ago, saw off 1,000 crack British troops in a single morning at Isandlwana — before a handful of Brits won a record 11 VCs by holding Rorke's Drift for 48 hours against 4,500 Zulus?

Is Nelson Mandela cashing in on the historic quote from a white-faced British look-out: "They're coming, sir, as thick as grass and as black as hell"?

Buthelezi said: "You can be sure the ANC is making the most of our 'cultural weapons'.

"But if Zulu children carry sticks almost from birth to show off their manhood, they haven't, until these latest troubles, used them to damage anybody," added the leader whose bodyguards — in leopard-skin headbands and rattling with beads, spears and clubs — sweep a path with their 6ft-cowhide shields

before his automatic BMW at Inkatha rallies.

"All that's mere tradition. Your Queen's Guardsmen carry ornamental swords but don't use them to slice people's heads off."

BUT he stressed: "That doesn't mean I don't worry about young Zulu thugs — and of course we have them, what nation doesn't have its

violent teenage hotheads? In fact, I may have to consider restricting the carrying of traditional weapons.

"Our youngsters must realise that the days have long gone when you could fight for your rights with spears and shields.

"But it's Mandela, not I, who talks of the on-going power struggle. In the same breath as he calls for an end to violence between blacks and whites, he tells 50,000 supporters at a rally, 'We've no option but to continue the armed struggle'."

An educated, far-thinking moderate, Buthelezi has been accused by ANC militants of licking the white man's foot to get a step ahead in what they see as the battle to become South Africa's Big Black Boss. He smiled, without irritation:

"You mean I'm the white man's lackey? I don't mind the title if it ends in the power sharing I've been calling for, over and over, for 20 years. I've never chopped or changed.

"South Africa can succeed only if we work side by side with the whites.

"There must be no ANC or Zulu dreams of a black government-in-waiting, ready to jump into the driving seat when apartheid is finally dead.

"We have to forget talk about goodies and baddies.

"The wonder of South Africa has always been her economy, even if it is being battered at the moment.

"That strong economy has been achieved by white initiative and technology, with black labour. Whites need blacks and blacks need whites in the New South Africa and, when we're all free people, that should lead to stronger inter-dependence."

Buthelezi has been dubbed by the whites as 'the black man who talks most sense and logic, if only he wouldn't rattle on so fast on TV you can't keep up with half he says'. ("They're right, even my wife complains

she can't cope with the rate I talk," he grimaced).

Does he never lose faith, or his nerve, at the prospect of the increasing civil black war, which he warned me "may get worse before it gets better"?

HE SAID simply: "I lose sleep over it. I get down in the dumps and very frustrated that this infighting among us is crazy.

"It makes no sense. And I'm not so jubilant as the rest of the world about my meeting with Mandela," added the man who hasn't seen his boyhood friend for 30 years even after helping to free him from jail.

"It's not a one-to-one — enough for me. We're both turning up with huge commitments which will slow everything down. I'd rather have argued it out with him alone, man to man.

"But, as a teenager, however depressed I got about apartheid, I never lost faith in a South Africa where blacks and whites would eventually share in the power and the profits.

"We're so near achieving what we once thought of as an almost impossible miracle. We can't let it go now."



RIVAL: Mandela

‘We’re so near to achieving almost a miracle, we can’t let it all go now’

MODEL LEADER . . . Buthelezi has great hopes for his people Picture: STEVE WOOD

Azapo against ANC call for interim govt

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has vowed to oppose the collapse of the South African Government but does not support the ANC's call for an interim government. Azapo publicity secretary, Mr Stimuli Moodley, said yesterday.

He said instead, Azapo had called for a consultative conference which it said that an all-party conference was nothing but a disguised national conference.

Such a consultative conference would be held after discussions with other liberation movements, Mr Moodley said.

SACP, Cosatu, ANC endorse Congress

THE idea of a congress of all organisations as a forum for an exchange of views in the process of advancing towards a post-apartheid constitution was on Sunday endorsed at a meeting of the national executives of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

The alliance further resolved that the objectives and character of such a Congress should involve broad consultations throughout the democratic movement.

In a statement yesterday, the joint executive said the meeting emphasised that an all-party congress would not be a substitute for a constituent assembly and that it could only assume such functions if it were reconstructed in a non-racial election on the basis of a one-person-one-vote.

The executive expressed their full support for this week's meeting between the ANC and Inkatha.

Azapo's president, Mr Fumekile Nkomo, said that Azapo, a Black consciousness movement, had rejected the ANC's proposal and demanded mass protests against the government to speed up the collapse of the "regime".

"Azapo had decided to escalate and accelerate the struggle for liberation by using mass stayaways, labour strikes and marches to expose the bankruptcy of the Nationalist regime and further weaken its capacity to govern," Mr Nefolovhodwe said.

He said Azapo would not sit at a negotiating table with the government and refused to commit his organisation to such a meeting until issues such as land distribution were put on the agenda.

Mr Nefolovhodwe, however, confirmed Azapo would consult and communicate with all community organisations and parties concerned so they would be able to participate in the planning and decision making of action campaigns.

NEWS 29/01/91

Mandela in Durban to meet Buthelezi

ANC deputy president Nelson arrived in Durban yesterday to meet an Inkatha delegation led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mandela will be accompanied by 19 ANC national executive committee members. Today's meeting will be chaired by ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalosi.

Last night the two parties were still trying to finalise the meeting's agenda. *B. Day*

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B. Day Seeking peace 29/01/91

TODAY's meeting between delegations headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has had expectations imposed on it which are far greater than can be met.

The gathering promises to become the focus of media hype equivalent to any event since the release of Mandela nearly a year ago. When appearances matter less, low-key diplomacy could achieve more fundamental progress and avoid obvious dangers. In this case however, the high profile is unavoidable — the symbolism of the two leaders shaking hands after their first meeting in 30 years is a crucial part of the reconciliation process.

Over the past few days, in their public appearances, both Buthelezi and Mandela have demonstrated that this is the way they would like the meeting to end. But then they have to ensure that reconciliation is accepted, and observed, by their respective followers. The bitterness between ANC and Inkatha supporting groups which has developed over the past seven years has split communities from southern Natal to the far East Rand. It cannot be eliminated by a single cordial meeting in Durban, and requires only a spark to reignite it.

Even assuming the most favourable possible outcome today, it will still take much more painstaking work by political leaders and organisers to achieve South Africa's version of peaceful co-existence.

A

All hopes pinned on peace meeting

N/W/News

29/1/91

by CARMEL RICKARD
Durban Bureau

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday for watershed talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party which get under way this morning, and expressed his hope that the two organisations would find a way to end the conflict in Natal and elsewhere.

This hope was echoed yesterday by parties across the political spectrum.

Both Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be accompanied by delegations of senior officials from their respective organisations, but all eyes will be on the two leaders who have not met in almost 30 years.

The two sides are warning against public expectations that the talks will act "like a magic wand" to halt the fighting.

However, the meeting appears to be the "last best hope" of breaking the deadlock which has developed between the ANC and the IFP.

Failure would be a serious setback for national negotiations as well as for the security and economic stability of Natal and other parts of the country.

If the discussions should break down it is also likely the death rate would rise sharply as has happened when previous talks failed to get off the ground.

Asked his expectations of today's meeting, Mandela said: "We are coming here with the hope that it is going to be possible for us to agree on measures to take in order to end the violence, and so that peace should prevail among our people in this province and elsewhere. We have the hope that our comrades in the Inkatha Freedom Party are coming in the same spirit."

He was also questioned about the likelihood of further meetings after today's talks, and commented: "If we did not believe that this meeting will lead to further developments, we would not have been here."

Commenting on Buthelezi's remarks at the weekend that he was looking forward to holding Mandela by the hand and calling him "brother", Mandela said: "I am looking forward also to shaking hands with him because that is necessary to end the carnage which has been raging in this country for the last seven years."

However, he was adamant that this alone would not stop the killings: "We have never been so naive as to think that the mere shaking of hands will

bring about the end of violence. We have come here to exchange views as to how the violence might be ended, not merely to shake hands."

In his last public comment before the talks, Buthelezi said he was going to the meeting "with a determined mind and a committed soul to produce a normalised IFP/ANC relationship".

"I am going there in the hope of peace. I am going there to ring the bells of victory, of peace against war and revolution."

An ANC spokesman said last night that the two leaders had agreed on a broad agenda for the meeting.

It is understood that the imbalance in the size of the two delegations — the IFP will be fielding 67 people compared with the ANC team of 20 — has been resolved, defusing a possible source of tension at the talks.

Asked about the discrepancy, Mandela said as far as he knew "the delegations that will take part in the discussions will be equal", confirming earlier indications that not all the IFP delegates would actively participate in the talks.

Shortly before leaving Ulundi for the talks in Durban, the national chairman of the IFP, Frank Mdlalose said he was happy that at long last the meeting was coming off.

"It is a good starting point, that we are meeting and sharing ideas to see where we can eliminate problems and frictions. We are not wanting to establish one organisation. We accept we are two separate organisations, but that we should work out a way to end the tension and violence. I hope that during the meeting we will address the issue of violence and that we will be able to take certain other steps following these talks," he said.



ANC leader Nelson Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday for the meeting today between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. He said he was "looking forward to shaking hands" with Mangosuthu Buthelezi but warned against inflated hopes of resolving the violence in Natal.

16/1/11

Hani will be on the spot — Basie Smit

CITIZEN 29/01/91

By Tony Stirling

THE government is expected to put pressure on Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to answer questions at next week's meeting of the joint working group on suspension of the armed struggle over the ANC's "Operation Prickly Pear".

The Chief of the Security Police, Lieutenant General Basie Smit, told political correspondents in a briefing at the weekend that details of the operation had been un-

covered after the arrest of three men recently, including a foreign-trained ANC terrorist.

According to Gen Smit the objects of "Operation Prickly Pear" included elimination of members of the police force, the waging of an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana and the provision of military training to cadres inside South Africa.

He also revealed that a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and a number of AK-47 rifles had been seized by the police and said that investigations into "Operation Prickly Pear" were continuing and that more arrests could be expected.

Informed government sources said that because aspects of what Gen Smit had revealed appeared to conflict with suspension of the armed struggle in terms of paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute, cogent questions would be put to the ANC and Mr Hani in particular at next week's meeting of the joint working group.

Mr Hani is the leader of the ANC delegation in the working group, while the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, heads the government team.

Cause for particular concern was the fact that although "Operation Prickly Pear" was smaller in size to "Operation Vula" which the police exposed during investigations last year, some of the objects, included the internal training of cadres.

"What the government is anxious to ascertain in the light of the ANC's claim that it has suspended the armed struggle, is who in the ANC is now responsible for giving trained cadres instructions to infiltrate South Africa," the sources said.

The sources said that as Mr Hani was chief of staff

of Umkhonto, a position of basic operational control of missions by MK formerly occupied by the SA Communist Party general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, he could expect to be the main target of questions.

They said Gen Smit's disclosure that "Operation Prickly Pear" was designed to target Bophuthatswana for armed struggle was also likely to raise friction because of the peace moves going on between the ANC and the Bophuthatswana Government.

The sources said that there could be no question of amnesty relating to three men arrested in connection with the investigation because their ac-

tivities had arisen well after the deadline of last October for persons to qualify for consideration of amnesty in regard to so-called political crimes on merit.

No further arrests have been made in connection with the matter into which investigations are continuing.

ANC spokesman, Mr Saki Macozoma was yesterday quoted as denying knowledge of "Operation Prickly Pear", and said the ANC was abiding by the agreements reached in the Pretoria Minute and would adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle.

He said he regarded Gen Smit's allegations as "sensational".

THE Star 29 Tuesday 1991
January

Pat Mkhize, a lawyer and mediator, comments on how education could

end violence

Schools must teach conciliation

TODAY'S meeting between the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, gives hope that the violence that has caused so much loss of life, and which is affecting the economic strength of our country, will be curbed.

The meeting in itself will not produce magical results like stopping fighting, but will surely set the tone that people may fight over an idea without becoming enemies.

It will contribute towards a healthier way of looking at conflicts so that people involved in a face-to-face discussion tend to

concentrate on the problem rather than attacking people as in the case of communication through the media.

It should, however, be remembered that the two leaders are not the actual movers of violence although they may be politically accountable for the acts of their various supporters.

As I ponder all possible solutions to violence, I feel that education about various methods of resolving conflict is essential.

It is heartbreaking to hear people calling upon others to resolve their disputes in a peaceful manner when they themselves have not even the slightest skill in dispute resolution.



Pat Mkhize . . . Mandela-Buthelezi meeting will make for a healthier way of looking at conflicts.

There is not a single educational institution in South Africa that includes in its syllabus conflict-related subjects or courses.

There is not a single university in South Africa which has a centre on conflict, negotiation and mediation which makes available theoretical and practical facilities to its students and interested members of the community.

If courses such as mediation, negotiation, facilitation, conciliation, mini-trial, hybrid alternative dispute resolution, alternative dispute procedures and others were on offer, those taking such courses would be of great value to their communities.

The universities of the Witwatersrand or of Zululand, for example, admit students from various regions of South Africa.

Such students would spread their negotiating or mediating expertise to the whole of South Africa after completing their studies.

Knowledge and training in conflict resolution would enable us to resolve not only political conflict and labour, environmental and

civil cases; it would also enable us to resolve family conflicts, such as marital problems, child abuse and misunderstanding between neighbours. Skills in conflict resolution would enable us to assist people in conflict to resolve their differences before their relationship became permanently impaired.

Almost all black law schools offer purely legal courses to their law students. The structure of such syllabi conditions students to "thinking like lawyers", thus denying them other ways of looking at matters.

Legal education in general methodically constrains students not to immerse themselves in

their clients' lives, but rather to attend to only that which is "legally" relevant in a situation, to ignore what other people may be doing in response to the problem, and effectively persuades students to think of themselves as the pre-eminent problem-solvers.

I suggest that for us not to be ashamed by our much talked-about new South Africa, we will have to start now educating and re-educating ourselves about ways to resolve conflicts without hatred, bloodshed and misery.

Processes like negotiation and mediation are not of recent origin; they were used long ago by our traditional societies, and they were successfully used. □

NP: Inkatha, ANC meeting can aid talks

C11/26/91 29/01/91

By Brian Stuart
and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — Today's meeting between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) could help "expedite the negotiation process," said the executive of the National Party's Federal Council yesterday.

Other parties in Parliament also looked forward to some accord at today's meeting. Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity and chairman of the Minis-

ters' Council of the House of Delegates, wished the ANC and Inkatha leaders well, "as they carry the burden of responsibility to ensure a peaceful future."

The NP's Federal Council said it viewed today's talks as a "meeting between two important political players."

"A positive outcome of this meeting will greatly contribute to expediting the process of negotiation," said the NP.

"In the belief that significant progress towards a peaceful and prosperous

new South Africa can only be made through continued dialogue and negotiation, the National Party would like to meet Inkatha and the ANC, together with other political parties, as soon as possible around the negotiation table.

"Violence and intimidation, which is now becoming deeply ingrained, must be eradicated from the political life of our country, or else it will be farcical to claim that we are working for democracy in South Africa," said Dr Reddy.

The Pan Africanist Congress welcomed the talks to be held today between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, said Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's secretary for information, in Cape Town yesterday.

"The PAC can only pray and hope that this tragic chapter will draw to a close. There must be peace amongst Africans if we are to usher in a new democratic order for Azania."

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and senior members of the ANC arrived in Durban yesterday for today's meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In an apparent toning down of the ANC's earlier inflexible stand to a face-to-face meeting between the leadership of both organisations, Mr Mandela said he was confident that today's talks would pave the way for further meetings between the ANC and the IFP.

He made it clear that the ANC had come to exchange views with the IFP in an attempt to end violence.

16/1/14

16/1/91

Govt warns ANC about 'defence units'

MECURS 29/01/91

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Law and Order Ministry has warned that armed ANC defence units will not be tolerated if they break the law in any way.

'There are laws which say the police do the policing,' said spokesman Capt Craig Kotze. 'There is, for example, no way the police will allow unlicensed firearms to be used,' he said.

ANC youth league chairman Peter Mokaba said at the weekend that the units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed.

Capt Kotze said that if the ANC planned to arm the units with AK-47 rifles 'you can be sure they will be removed'.

He also asked what the units planned to do with the criminals they apprehended. Mr Mokaba said they would not be handed over to the police.

'What happens to these people,' said Captain Kotze, 'is there no accountability to the law?'

'We welcome community involvement, but within the framework of the law. We cannot have private armies,' he said.

Mr Mokaba said the scheme would not contravene the terms of the Pretoria Minute: 'We understand (it) as suspending the offensive on our part, not the defensive.'

● Capt Kotze also warned that police would act against protesting farmers who planned to jam the streets of Pretoria with hundreds of vehicles early today 'if they break the law'.

LONDON

THE TIMES TUESDAY JANUARY 29 1991

Mandela and Buthelezi vow to strive for peace

From GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

AFTER months of political posturing, South Africa's most powerful black leaders meet today in an attempt to end savage fighting between their supporters which has cost at least 5,000 lives in the past four years.

Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the African National Congress, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who are meeting face-to-face for the first time in 30 years, both pledged at separate weekend rallies to strive for peace.

Mr Mandela said in the Transvaal: "We go to our meeting with Chief Buthelezi with the intention that there will be no winners or losers. We are not going to hurl accusations against Inkatha ... we are going with an appeal to forget the past and concentrate on the future."

In a similar vein, Chief Buthelezi told his followers in Natal that he was attending the peace conference "in the hope of holding Dr Mandela's hand and saying, 'Brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans.' He said that he was determined to resume normal relations with the ANC.

Each side is sending a formidable array of leaders to the talks in Durban, which are

expected to last two or three days. The ANC delegation comprises 20 senior officials, while Inkatha, apparently intent on making political capital from the meeting, has assembled 70 delegates.

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

An accord may not restore peace, but there will certainly be no peace without some kind of gesture by the leaders of the two warring factions.

Independent researchers report a decline in fighting between Zulus loyal to Inkatha and Xhosa-speaking township residents, who in general support the ANC, but say that this is largely because the organisations have consolidated areas under their control. Roy Ainslie, a monitor based in Durban, is predicting fewer than 40 deaths in Natal this month, compared with more than 100 in the same period last year. However, he gave a warning that the decline in deaths "does not mean that all is well in the region. On the contrary, incidents and tension levels are still intolerably high".

Tears, hugs as Mandela, Buthelezi meet

Own Correspondent 29/1/91 Star

DURBAN — In an emotional moment for which they had waited 28 years, and which brought tears to their eyes, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi shook hands and hugged each other in the corridor of a Durban Hotel this morning.

"Hello, my brother," Dr Buthelezi said.

The moment was electric and was recorded by a contingent of 150 print and electronic media journalists who had gathered at the Royal Hotel early this morning.

Minutes before, Mr Mandela had arrived in a white Mercedes Benz at the back entrance of the hotel in ironically named Ulundi Street (Ulundi is the KwaZulu capital) and had made his way through a crowd of on-lookers and journalists to the first floor meeting room.

He did not answer the barrage of questions which were flung at him from the waiting journalists, including teams from Germany, the UK, the US, Sweden, and Canada.

Outside the hotel a group of about 100 youths toyed up Smith Street under the watchful eye of a large



Historic greeting . . . the ANC's Nelson Mandela shakes hands with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

police contingent. The demonstration appeared to be supportive of the meeting. Banners proclaimed "In-

katha means Freedom for the People" and "Buthelezi/Mandela — we support Black Peace and Unity."

Both Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi and members of their delegations were dressed in subdued, formal suits with each delegation member identified by a small, discreet lapel badge.

After their emotional meeting the two leaders moved into the conference room and posed for photographs.

The conference room had a long centre table with two large chairs at its head for the two leaders and 40 seats facing each other for the other delegates. There were no party colours or any organisation's insignia in the chandeliered room. Another subsidiary table along the side of the room was set up for an additional 40-odd Inkatha delegates attending the meeting.

"We are very hopeful otherwise we would not be here," was the only comment Dr Buthelezi made before the meeting. Mr Mandela nodded in agreement.

There were several white members in the delegations, including Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party and Walter Felgate, the first white member of Inkatha and one of its advisers.

The man who 'spoke to God'

STAR 29 JANUARY 1991

CHARLES Sebe, the former head of the Ciskei security forces, was gunned down yesterday by members of the army he himself created.

His death followed that of his co-conspirator, Colonel Mangwane Guzana, who was shot dead on Sunday after the two were implicated in a failed coup attempt against the ruling military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Lieutenant-General Sebe's life ran the gamut, from high farce to genuine tragedy.

In many ways he epitomised the greed, corruption and internecine feuding that seemed to have become endemic in the independent homelands over the past decade.

The youngest of five brothers, Xhanti Charles Sebe was born in the village of Bellstone near King William's Town in 1934.

Although he was at one stage expelled from school for being troublesome, Charles decided early on to seek a career in the security services.

After joining the South African Police in 1957, he spent much of the 1960s helping anti-terrorism investigations directed against the newly formed armed wings of the ANC and PAC.

In 1973 he was drafted by the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), and given intelligence training after which he was assigned to keep tabs on Steve Biko and the increasingly influential Black Consciousness Movement.



Once so powerful . . . Charles Sebe, at the height of his power, was a feared man.

These early activities led Charles Sebe to distrust and reject the prevailing black liberation philosophies.

He used to recount with bitterness how Steve Biko had once mocked him for equating Black Consciousness with Separate Development.

At the same time those experiences gave him a deep and fundamental abhorrence of communism which he resolved to weed out and destroy.

"I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens," he once said.

However, it was not until his eldest brother, Lennox, became Chief Minister of the Ciskei in the late 1970s that Charles Sebe was able to put his philosophies into practice.

Heavily involved in preparing the homeland for "independence", he used his BOSS experience to good effect, quickly putting together a se-

cret service that became involved in thwarting all "subversive" groups deemed hostile to the Sebes' plans.

After independence in 1981, the two brothers built on these activities and soon pushed a new security bill through the National Assembly that made Charles Sebe Commander-General of Ciskei's police force, army and intelligence services.

Under the new legislation, he became the single most powerful figure in the homeland with the authority to summarily detain people without trial, censor the press at the slightest whim and even prohibit any song, slogan or salute deemed unsavoury.

This was the pinnacle of Charles Sebe's career and he

Charles Sebe's life and death were filled with ironies. MARK SUZMAN reports.

applied himself vigorously to his new tasks.

Brimming with confidence and energy, he used to regale interviewers with stories of his physical prowess, describing how he once leapt from a speeding car to shoot down two ANC assailants.

He even claimed to have run a marathon in 2 hours — some eight minutes faster than the world record.

He was so keen to prevent any dissemination of subversive ideas that any poetry or

drama published in the Ciskei had to be read and cleared by him first to ensure that no hidden messages made their way to the general populace.

"We can't let them brainwash our people. If you don't monitor them, you find them contaminated," he used to assert.

This carefully created edifice of power, however, was to prove ephemeral, and it came crashing down in July 1983 when, after what was rumoured to be an attempted coup, Charles Sebe was stripped of his authority and arrested by his brother.

Lennox Sebe took over as head of the security forces and, after keeping his brother in detention for six months, put him on trial in 1984.

To PG 2

THE MAN WHO
SPOKE TO GOD
FROM PRISON

He was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years' jail.

In a strange twist to the trial, Charles, after being stripped of his assets by the State, was forced to appeal to the human-rights group Amnesty International for legal aid to pay for his defence.

Only two years later, however, he escaped from prison after a commando of white men stormed the jail and staged a bizarre, Hollywood-style rescue.

That was apparently organized by Lennox Sebe's long-time foe, Kaizer Matanzima of the Transkei.

Once safely ensconced in the Transkei, the authoritarian former general underwent a miraculous conversion to democratic values and began to speak out about his deep revulsion at "the atrocities, dictatorship and corruption" of his brother's rule.

However, Charles Sebe's immediate plans were foiled. In the midst of his plotting with Transkeian government for Lennox's overthrow and the creation of a united "kwaXhosa" homeland, Major-General Bantu Holomisa ousted Chief Matanzima in a coup in January 1988.

Foiled by this unexpected occurrence, Charles Sebe moved to Durban and tried to set up another coup attempt on his own in 1989, which was apparently called off because he wasn't sure of army loyalty.

However, he persisted, and when Lennox Sebe was finally ousted by Brigadier Gqoza in March last year, it was widely rumoured that Charles Sebe had a hand in his brother's fall from power.

Nevertheless, Charles Sebe was tarnished by his earlier involvement in Ciskeian government and was denied a direct say in the new administration, run by many of his former subordinates.

Clearly frustrated by his isolation, on Sunday Charles Sebe launched a last, desperate and ultimately fatal bid to recapture the power and authority he once held.

In doing so, he wrote the final chapter to a chequered life that was, in its own way, warped by apartheid.

"God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa," he once declared.

It seems however, that God saw fit to end Charles Sebe's life with his great task unfinished. □

Africans must lead the way

SONETAN 29 JANUARY 1991

THE main tasks facing the economy are to restructure it so as to benefit the greatest number of people and organisations possible.

However, South Africa's human and material potential has been barely scratched. Indeed, South Africa is really an underdeveloped country. A forward looking and developmental outlook is required.

The redistribution issue is really backward looking; putting the stress on the already baked but relatively meagre bread, as it were.

Constructive plans, sound practical approaches, are required for effective transformation and sustained development.

The task which awaits us - to effect social changes and accelerate the economy - is a heavy one. But it can be achieved within the market economy, still the ideal framework and route for revolutionising underdeveloped economies.

Naive

Only the naive or ignorant would expect that some measure of public intervention and involvement would be ruled out.

Yet experience has shown that social democratic or welfare-oriented economies characterise modern capitalism. But it is important that the state busies itself with the economy to supplement and not supplant the efforts of the private sector.

The revamping of South Africa's market economy is necessary and inevitable to extend and deepen the quality of skills and enterprise of the Africans in particular. This could happen at low levels.

For the workers, higher and varied skills are needed. General social upliftment must also accompany the process, making cultural and psychological changes inevitable.

Other radical actions are needed. Industrial relations must

FOCUS



MESH SUMA, formerly Meshack Mabogoane, a journalist who is now establishing the Federal Democratic Movement, puts the case for African nationalism being the moving force in establishing the "new South Africa's" economy.

be significantly overhauled. The racial question is central. In South Africa, in addition to the normal antagonistic relationships between workers and employers, each group also views the other as belonging to another race.

A variant of this exists in the white and Indian-led (or dominated) "non racial" labour unions. Non-racialism is a nice phraseology but racial feelings are concrete and go deep. The African worker refers to both the white employer and non-African unionists as "them."

Africans become grateful and dependent, remaining the eternally incapable underdogs, it seems. Whether as producers or earners, aliens must lead them.

Psychologically, however unconscious, Africans do suffer alienation.

No wonder that most of the long industrialised workers in Africa still have secretary generals and real administrators of their labour federations who are non-African. Talk of backsliding, emasculation and selling the national soul!

The industrial relations system needs urgent surgery. In-house co-operatives or workers' syndicates should be encouraged and formed; employee share ownership schemes must be extended.

Commitment to, and identification with the job, are sure to ensue.

Workers

Labour unions must be led entirely by African workers. The right and duty of national self determination is unarguable. Democracy should take place. Unions should be of workers, by workers and for workers and not the petty bourgeoisie and alien leadership which controls them now. This will enhance their ability to do things for themselves, part of liberating Africans psychologically.

Unions should be instruments of community development and economic empowerment while contributing to real African nation building.

Still, the greatest need is to unlock the spirit of enterprise amongst the Africans.

Collectively more elaborate and well determined collective frameworks and means are required. The entrepreneurial upliftment of Afrikaners, for example, can serve as a model. National trusts and special measures from the State were started by them and for them.

The state certainly played a major role in these developments either through legislated and supported co-operatives or contracts awarded favourably to Afrikaner businesses. This is how Volkskas and Afrikaner insurance com-

panies became giants.

Similar networks and measures are, for Africans, either lacking or really inadequate. A statutorily-established black economic framework of voluntary and obligatory contributions (shares and levies) to community, workers and national trust funds is imperative.

Persuasion will be needed to ensure that black local councils and schools, for example, insure themselves or bank with African financial institutions. Favourable contracts to African enterprises and businesses are required.

Trust funds could be used for massive purchases of shares in existing major corporations.

Joint ventures with existing major corporations will be inevitable. However, as time moves Africans should gain the upper hand in technical, managerial and directorial positions.

The special promotion and protection of black enterprises are a must.

But all this will come to little without the primary ingredient: The national will and the spirit of self determination.

Demands

This demands commitment to nationalism as the driving force. Racial solidarity and going it alone as much as possible, genuine self help and upliftment are its essential ingredients.

Above all it calls for the removal of the virus of dependency - now disguised as "need for expertise", or "non-racialism" meaning complete and everlasting reliance on white and Indian leadership. Africans must be led and directed by Africans themselves.

If there are lessons to be learnt from the rest of Africa and "non-racial" bodies here, it is simply that reliance on non-African expertise is fatal. In contrast, the success of the old and new industrialised countries or societies depended on the national will and spirit, the real bootstraps that pull people up.



EVERYBODY
HAS TO LISTEN
TO THE LEADERS'
APPEAL FOR
PEACE ...

- AGENDA**
- ① VIOLENCE IN BEKKERSDAL
 - ② VIOLENCE EVERYWHERE
IN SOUTH AFRICA
 - ③
 - ④
 - ⑤

DISCUSS
THE
AGENDA
WITH
THE
MAYOR

Mandela and Buthelezi to meet

SOUTH AFRICA

ARLENE GETZ
HERALD CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN, Monday: After 11 months of rhetoric and stonewalling, the black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are finally about to meet face-to-face to discuss the chronic violence in South Africa's black townships.

The crucial peace talks between the two most important figures in black politics begin tomorrow in the eastern port city of Durban.

Both leaders will be accompanied by high-powered delegations as they seek ways to stop the bloodshed that has killed thousands of supporters of Mr Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in the past five years.

"The writing is on the wall for those who do not want to settle their differences in a peaceful manner," Mr Mandela told ANC sympathisers at a rally in the Transvaal town of Zeerust at the weekend.

"We don't want blacks to spill the blood of blacks, no matter who was responsible in the beginning."

Chief Buthelezi also adopted a less strident tone towards the ANC at an Inkatha youth meeting on Saturday, saying he was going to the talks "in the hope of holding Mr Mandela's hand and saying: 'Brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans.'"

The Zulu leader added that he was seeing Mr Mandela "with a determined mind and a committed soul" because reconciliation in South Africa was impossible without reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC.

The outcome of tomorrow's meeting will play a vital role in determining the pace of negotiations towards a post-apartheid Constitution.

Although Chief Buthelezi's power base is confined largely to Natal province, the scale of the recent violence has demonstrated that Inkatha cannot be excluded from a national settlement and will have to play a role in the all-party conference suggested by the South African Government and the ANC.

However, officials from both parties have warned against unrealistic expectations for the Durban talks.

Bitterness surrounding the months of political manoeuvring by the two black leaders — friends and allies during Mr Mandela's 27-year imprisonment but political adversaries since his release last February — will not be easily eradicated.

Previous meetings were cancelled at the last minute as the ANC accused Chief Buthelezi of using violence to broaden his constituency and enhance his status by forcing a meeting with Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi, in turn, accused the ANC of trying to crush its black opposition and establish itself as the only real alternative to the ruling National Party.



ROCCO FAZZARI

Tomorrow's talks are in danger of coming too little too late, with both leaders risking political credibility if their supporters fail to heed any peace agreement that may emerge.

This is a particular problem for the ANC, which because it was banned for many years lacks the organisational infrastructure established by Inkatha when it was virtually the only black political group allowed to operate without harassment from Pretoria.

● Three operatives of the ANC, one foreign-trained, were arrested a week ago while on an

ANC mission code-named "Operation Prickly Pear" to eliminate policemen, the Security Police chief, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, said today.

He told a media briefing that a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and AK-47 assault rifles, had been seized.

The ANC said later it was unaware of the police claims, knew nothing about Operation Prickly Pair and could not even confirm whether the unnamed operatives were in fact ANC members.