

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

ANC snub

WE don't know what the African National Congress thinks it is doing.

First it called off the Natal peace rally at which Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy President, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, were to have made a joint appeal for peace.

Considering the awful bloodshed in Natal, one would have thought it was a most vital meeting if peace was to be brought to the killing fields around Pietermaritzburg.

But the ANC backed out.

Why?

Suggestions that Taylor's Halt, where the rally was to have been held, was an Inkatha stronghold do not provide an answer.

ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, was saying the rally was on only hours before it was cancelled.

Mr Mandela, it is true, is not popular among young ANC "Comrades" in Natal after his call for peace, the wall slogans being switched from Viva Mandela to Viva MK (the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe) and Viva Chris Hani (Umkhonto's chief of staff).

But we don't think Mr Mandela would have been in any danger from either Comrades or Inkatha supporters.

What might have happened is that with Inkatha reportedly getting the upper hand, the ANC feared it would be at a disadvantage if peace were to be declared now.

But that's not an excuse either for calling off the rally. The fighting should not be allowed to continue one day longer. Too many people have been killed, too many homes destroyed as it is.

Worse was to follow. The ANC announced that it had "suspended" the meeting with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, on April 11.

The excuse was the police action against demonstrators at Sebokeng, the ANC claiming more than 16 people were killed and 400 injured as a result of "unprovoked" action by the police.

If the ANC thinks Sebokeng is an excuse to call off the talks, then the government would have been acting correctly if, in view of the ANC's continuing commitment to the "armed struggle", it had not agreed to the talks, which had been requested by the ANC.

The government could also have called off the talks because of the carnage in Natal and the limpet mine attacks in various places, the most recent being the blasts in Venda at the weekend.

Furthermore, it is the ANC and its affiliates which, with their daily protest marches, are bringing about the clashes between demonstrators and the police.

If the protest marches were called off, trouble like that at Sebokeng, where the march was illegal, would not arise.

The decision to cancel the talks with Mr De Klerk was taken by the NEC "in consultation with the Interim Leadership Core".

Mr Mandela is obviously not the man who takes the decisions. In fact, he has made it clear on several occasions that he has to consult the NEC in Lusaka before he acts.

One gets more and more the impression that he is being used as a "front" because of his international reputation as the world's most famous ex-political prisoner, but the true power resides with the NEC exiles in Lusaka.

It is also clear that the moderates in the NEC are having to bow to the wishes of the hardliners, who, it is reported, have been warning the ANC's leadership that their "tame and accommodating" image would cause a breakaway of militant young Blacks, possibly to the Pan Africanist Congress.

Whatever the reasons, the ANC has snubbed the State President.

It has given the international community cause to doubt its sincerity in wanting to talk to the government.

And it has placed the government in the invidious position of having agreed to meet an ANC delegation, only to have the ANC back down after arrangements had progressed far, with both sides naming their delegations.

If the ANC wants the talks, it will have to establish its bona fides — and next time it must not play political games with such a delicate situation.

PRESIDENT de Klerk and the homeland leaders — Chief Buthelezi among them — were to embark this week on talks about next week's talks with the ANC which were to deal with the obstacles to talks about talks. Silly as it sounds, that's precisely where matters stood when the ANC balked.

The ANC's suspension of preliminary talks on April 11 was done on the flimsiest pretext: the Sebokeng shootings that claimed 14 lives (among the hundreds killed since February 2) on Monday. On Friday, the ANC was still willing to name its delegates; on Saturday it was back to armed struggle.

Time will disclose what happened between Friday and Saturday, but it smells of power struggle, as does the earlier cancellation of a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi at a rally to try to stop the slaughter in the war between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal.

Whether the ANC is uncertain of its strategy, or of its leadership, or of its own power base, it is plainly not yet ready for constructive negotiations, and it seems to be retreating again into the destructive clichés of "armed struggle" and mass mobilisation. It is letting slip the dogs of war.

Nelson Mandela himself is shrinking in stature by the day. His appeals for peace have been vain, his freedom of action has been circumscribed by the younger generation of leaders around him, and his own political stance has been vacillating and tentative. One day he wants to talk, the next day he wants to fight; one day he calls for peace, the next day for "armed struggle".

One line of reasonable speculation is that the Black Consciousness organisations (including the PAC), the militant unionists, and the township youngsters have found his commitment to peace far too tame; the ANC may fear being outflanked on its left, and made irrelevant, as it was in the Soweto rising of 1976. Therefore it is

Mandela shrinks, and *Business Day - 2 April 1990* the bliss of a new dawn begins to fade

KEN OWEN

making a show of ferocity.

Or it may simply be that Mandela is finding it more difficult than he expected to regain leadership, and is now trying to bolster his status within the organisation with cheap appeals to violent emotions. It may simply be that the ANC is no longer, in any meaningful sense, an organisation.

Whatever the reason, it has left President de Klerk holding the moral and political high ground, the first Nationalist leader to do so since 1948. Indeed, the State President has done more in two months to secure our future as South Africans than his party did in the preceding decades.

Obviously, there's a long way to go. The government, perhaps with an eye towards the elections due by 1994, has wanted to move fast, and wrap up an agreement with the black leaders within two or three years. Now it appears that the ANC is ready neither for negotiations nor for power. The complexities of dealing with confused and uncertain black leaders are daunting.

Besides, the communal violence, though not unexpected in communities whose political aspirations have been suppressed for decades, has been deeply distressing, and on a

scale to test everybody's courage. Many whites, including former liberals and Progs, and even some of the more intense "liberation groupies", have taken fright; Black Sash members turn to the army for help.

When events move with such speed, and create such turbulence, it is easy to overlook the gains that have been made. In fact, the progress of the past two months has exceeded every liberal's wildest dreams. The country has been turned from a course of certain disaster — President de Klerk's "80 Years' War" — and set on a new course that offers hope.

Apartheid, utterly failed, is being discarded; ahead lies the task, immense and exciting, of creating a new society. Shirley Williams, the motherly British politician who visited South Africa in January, seemed to smell change in the air even before President de Klerk's epochal speech on February 2, and she captured the excitement of creating a new, free, democratic society by quoting William Wordsworth's famous lines about the French Revolution:

"Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive,

"But to be young was very heaven."

While the slaughter continues in the townships, and while rival *impis* turn Natal into a killing field, and while Nelson Mandela risks destruction for the sake of his own power, bliss is perhaps not an easy word to use. But at least the long, dreary nightmare of apartheid has come to an end: the evasion of reality, the lies, the parrot-incantation of untruths, the petty viciousness, the indifference to suffering, the cruelty, the selfishness — the insanity.

It has been a psychotic time in our national life, so grotesque that small episodes linger in the mind more tenaciously than the memory of Sharpeville, or the shock of the Sophiatown removals, or the assassination of the principal author of all that evil, Hendrik Verwoerd.

In about 1957 or 1958 I asked the chairman of a group areas board how the Indian traders of Pretoria were expected to make a living if they were moved out of town to Laudium. He replied: "The time is past when Indians could dominate the retail trade." And in that reply I caught a glimpse of the truth: that apartheid

was a cynical camouflage for greed and envy.

A few months ago I trekked to Pretoria to plead for a visa for the son of a friend to visit his mother. The answer, concealed behind some evasive verbiage, was "No". The reason was an anonymous report, presumably compiled by the sort of malevolent degenerates who created the CCB, that had lain in the files for nearly a decade.

Two small acts of oppression, 33 years apart, and the same foul taste. Bliss it is indeed to imagine that the ANC will come soon to the negotiating table, and that those malevolent spies, those indifferent bureaucrats, that whole machinery of victimisation and malice, will be swept aside.

I am not among those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss, even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President de Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook.

By deciding to negotiate while he is still in a position of great strength, he has given white South Africans an opportunity to help shape an African future for ourselves and our children.

Apity that Nelson Mandela, a lesser man than he seemed in prison, has chosen instead to test white South Africa's strength by "armed struggle". Given the disparity of forces, it is a battle he cannot win in his lifetime, and he is likely to find instead that violence forecloses all options. As Natal demonstrates, it is easier to start a war than to stop.

Wordsworth, seduced by the bliss of revolutionary dawn just 200 years ago, was soon afterwards disillusioned by the reign of terror. Nelson Mandela, if he listens carefully to the pleas for soldiers — white soldiers — to return to the townships to protect the people, may hear in that plea the ominous footbeats of history. Madame Defarge still knits patiently at the foot of the guillotine.

Informal meeting does not replace ANC/Govt talks

Mandela accepts offer to meet FW

Natal Witness

2 April 1990

Inkatha leader 'enforcing combat training'

Witness Reporter

AN unofficial system of military conscription has allegedly been introduced by a prominent Inkatha leader, who forces unemployed men in his area older than 18 years to go for combat training.

During an exclusive interview at a secret venue, one of the "conscripted" youths, a teenager who was afraid to reveal his name, said the young men were forced to join Inkatha and then undergo training "because of the situation between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha".



Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Chief Minister of KwaZulu Mangosuthu Buthelezi address the media after they met to discuss the violence in the city's townships.

"(The leader) and his councillors want people in their area who can use riot weapons and other weapons," he said.

The young man, an Inkatha member living in the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg, said he and a number of other men were forced earlier this year to pay their own bus fares to the Matubatuba-based Zulu Battalion of the South African Defence Force.

There they were apparently told by SADF personnel that unless they were prepared to volunteer to be soldiers of the SADF — rather than of the Inkatha leader — they would not be accepted.

The young man was afraid to return home and he was then placed in huts with other trainees. He later ran away.

An independent source within the community, who also feared to be named, yesterday confirmed the reports, saying he had personal knowledge of another young man who was also forced to go for military training by the same Inkatha leader.

An SADF spokesman said this week that they would "under no circumstances" accept anyone of colour for training unless he volunteered.

The spokesman referred to the Defence Act, which stated that only white males between the ages of 17 and 55 may be conscripted.

"Your problem is not with us, it's with (the leader)," he said.

When approached for comment, the Inkatha leader refused to discuss the matter until the name of the young man interviewed by The Natal Witness was revealed.

The leader shouted: "Listen, that's nonsense! That's nonsense! That's nonsense! That's nonsense! What is this man's name? Give me his name, I want to charge him! Give me his name, I want to charge him! If he does not want to give me his name, don't ask me these things! That's nonsense. That's nonsense! And I'm sick and tired of the propaganda of the UDF! Thank you!" and put the phone down.

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Mandela, Sisulu visit city townships today

Fighting goes on as death toll put at 80

Witness Reporter

THE fighting in the Edendale Valley in which an estimated 80 people have died over the past week continued unabated over the weekend.

A report by the University of Natal's Centre for Adult Education estimates that more than 11 000 refugees have fled the fighting which has led to the destruction of at least 200 homes.

A co-ordinator for the Democratic Party's monitoring group, Mr Marcel Viljoen, said Mpophomeni came under attack from about 200 people from the kwaShifu area on Saturday morning. A civilian bakkie was forced off the road by police in Mpophomeni on Saturday and one of the occupants was shot and killed while another was seriously injured. Police claimed people had been firing from the back of the bakkie but residents claimed that the vehicle was transporting the wounded to the clinic.

According to the monitoring group three people were killed in Mpophomeni at the weekend and 35 others were treated for gunshot wounds.

Mr Viljoen said it was reported that a large group attacked Caluza at about 6.30 pm on Saturday evening but that calm had returned later that evening.

He said a gathering of hundreds of people had attacked Caluza shortly after noon yesterday and that Caluza residents had repulsed the attack. Mr Viljoen said the group attacked again shortly before 2 pm and again at about 6 pm after the South African Defence Force had withdrawn from the area.

Mr Viljoen said that in Imbali attacks continued throughout Saturday but that the area quietened down when the army was deployed shortly before 8 pm. Imbali was relatively quiet yesterday until 6 pm when the army was again deployed. No other details were available.

PORT ELIZABETH — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was prepared to meet President F.W. de Klerk to discuss the violence sweeping the country but would not lead a formal delegation in talks with the Government.

He indicated he would meet Mr de Klerk after a visit to Natal today and tomorrow, despite the suspension of talks scheduled for April 11 in protest at last week's police shootings in Sebokeng.

Mr Mandela said "depending on the response of police" the African National Congress and the Government could work out a new date.

Mr de Klerk will address the nation on the security situation today.

The announcement of informal talks was made after more than 300 000 people gathered in Port Elizabeth's Motherwell township for what is believed to be the biggest political meeting seen in South Africa.

Witness Reporters

A TOP African National Congress delegation, including its deputy president Nelson Mandela and executive member Walter Sisulu, will visit Pietermaritzburg today for discussions with residents of areas affected by the violence.

The visit comes in the wake of discussions in the city on Saturday by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Before the meeting the two men were flown over the townships in a police helicopter to get an aerial view of the troubled regions.

Mr Vlok afterwards guaranteed more men would be introduced into the townships. He said SADF members accused of taking sides were being withdrawn.

Mr Sisulu was also in the city at the weekend and had talks at the Edendale Ecumenical Centre with leaders and residents of a number of stricken areas.

His party included a senior prince of the Zulu Royal House, Chief Israel Mcwayizeni and Natal ANC official Harry Gwala.

The group also visited Caluza and Camperdown, where they held a public meeting.

Last night no details of Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu's visit could be revealed for security reasons. Mr Mandela undertook to make the visit following the ANC's decision to call off a rally in Taylor's Halt which was to have been held today.

Meanwhile, in another attempt to curb the violence, a top-level delegation of national and local church leaders will visit Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi this afternoon for discussions.

Included in the group are Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and general secretary of the South African Council of Churches Frank Chikane.

It is expected the delegation will meet Mr Mandela early next week. The church leaders have requested a similar meeting with Mr de Klerk and are waiting for a response.

At Saturday's press briefing, Mr Vlok denied that his meeting with Chief Buthelezi was one-sided.

He said he was not favouring Inkatha by talking with Chief Buthelezi, as he had met with the chief in his capacity as the Minister of KwaZulu Police.

Mr Vlok said he had not invited political parties to the talks, but this might come at a later stage.

Chief Buthelezi told the media he was aware of the police's concern for the lives of people.

• State President F.W. de Klerk will be addressing Parliament on the issue of the Pietermaritzburg violence today.

At the rally Mr Mandela complimented the President, saying he had come to terms with reality and was adopting a most welcome approach. However, actions of the police against peaceful protests were in direct conflict with public positions taken by the Government.

There were no incidents of violence at the rally and Port Elizabeth police and ANC marshals co-operated to guide the huge volume of vehicle and pedestrian traffic to the sportsfield.

After the rally tens of thousands of toyi-toying supporters formed a five kilometre long human chain as they streamed back to other townships.

While Mr de Klerk desperately wants the violence to end the ANC believes that conditions that had made the armed struggle necessary are still in place.

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations. We cannot ask our people to stop their self-defence against apartheid violence," Mr Mandela told a rally in Bisho on Saturday.

The military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was ready to resume its armed struggle in the event of not reaching a political settlement with the government, according to ANC stalwart Mr Elias Motsoaledi.

Addressing a meeting in Alexandra, near Johannesburg, on Saturday Mr Motsoaledi said when the Government called for the suspension of hostilities, the ANC's military wing did not place its weapons very far away.

The next move on formal talks is expected to come from the ANC's National Executive Committee this week when it reviews its decision to suspend the formal talks.

In announcing his willingness to hold informal talks, Mr Mandela admitted yesterday that he was having differences with other ANC leaders.

However, he refused to discuss the differences publicly.

Mr Mandela hopes to meet with Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during his two day trip to the city, although he had been persuaded by Natal ANC officials to cancel a joint peace rally he had suggested with Chief Buthelezi for today.

• Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called on Mr de Klerk to appoint a commission of inquiry to probe last Monday's police shootings in Sebokeng. — Sapa.

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MANDELA TO SEE FW ON VIOLENCE

Citizen 2 April 1990

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday he would meet the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, informally this week to discuss violence raging across the country.

However, he would not lead an ANC delegation

in talks with the government, but was responding to an invitation from Mr De Klerk.

On Saturday the ANC announced the suspension of talks scheduled for April 11 in protest at police shootings in Sebokeng that left at least 11 dead (the ANC put the figure at more than 16).

In response Mr De

Klerk said the talks should not be suspended even if the police shootings were unjustified.

Meetings like the one scheduled for April 11 aimed to solve issues such as the police shootings, he said.

Mr Mandela did not specify when they would meet, but indicated it would be after his visit to

Natal.

He told a news conference he intended to fly to Durban today to visit people affected by the recent upsurge in violence.

"Depending on the response of police," the ANC and the government could work out a new date for formal talks. — Sapa-AP.

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2 April 1990

FW first realistic White SA leader, says Mandela

PORT ELIZABETH.

— The State President Mr FW de Klerk, was the first White SA leader to come to terms with reality, and was adopting a most welcome approach, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a mass rally in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The reality was SA was destined to become a non-racial and democratic country, he told the huge crowd estimated by re-

porters at more than 200 000 supporters (the police, however, put the total at 100 000).

On Saturday the ANC announced that talks with the government, scheduled for April 11 had been suspended in protest at the police shooting in Sebokeng last Monday, which left at least 11 people dead.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was deeply con-

cerned by the "wave of repression experienced by our people."

"The actions of the police against peaceful protest in various parts of the country are in direct conflict with the public positions being taken by the government."

"Our people in the townships and in the countryside are experiencing a reality no different from that experienced

under (former SA Prime-Ministers) Botha and Vorster."

Mr Mandela said reforms did not mean anything of the ordinary men and women in SA did not benefit from them in their daily lives

The leadership of the liberation movement could not ignore this violence, he said.

"The massacre of innocent protesters in the Vaal a few days ago is an act of brutality which must be condemned by all who have a genuine interest in our future."

He said after he had met the families of those killed, and spoken to the injured in their hospital beds, the ANC understood the bitterness of communities whose peaceful protests were met with live bullets.

Increasing repression could only increase the crisis facing the apartheid government, he said.

In a joint operation between Port Elizabeth police and ANC marshals, control points guided the huge volume of vehicle and pedestrian traffic to the venue.

As Mr Mandela mounted the stage a thunderous roar of approval went up amid a sea of clenched fists, as the crowd surged forward to catch a closer glimpse of their leader.

He urged local rugby unions to forge a new unity across racial barriers. "Let bygones be bygones," he said.

ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki announced the setting up of ANC regional offices in Port Elizabeth next week.

After the rally tens of thousands of toyi-toying supporters formed a 5 km-long human chain as they streamed back to neighbouring townships. No incidents were reported as the crowd dispersed to their homes.

Police maintained a discreet presence throughout the rally with a police helicopter periodically hovering overhead. — Sapa.

Not enough resources to take over mines

Nationalisation debate: common ground emerges

Sowetan - 27 April 1990

FOCUS

SOUTH Africans have plunged into a fierce debate about whether a post-apartheid government should nationalise the white-owned economy to raise the living standards of impoverished blacks.

The debate promises to be every bit as tough as impending negotiations on political reform.

The economic issue is seen as crucial by blacks and by the many whites who are more fearful of losing a privileged lifestyle than of ending formal racial segregation.

The argument may also determine whether Africa's most powerful economy, with its giant gold mining and industrial corporations, will fulfil a long-heralded destiny as the engine of economic growth for the sub-Saharan region.

Debate

Amid the fury of the debate, some common ground is emerging.

On one side are government and business leaders opposed to the policy of nationalising major industries advocated by the ANC.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis called nationalisation "theft". Attie du Plessis of the powerful Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut business lobby dubbed it "highly irresponsible".

Business leaders say plans to sink up to 19 new gold mines, many of them deep and therefore expensive, and six new platinum mines and expand chrome, granite and diamond mining over the next 20 years would be harmed if mining was nationalised.

"Of one thing you may be certain. There will be no deep-level gold mines in a nationalised industry," said Brian Gilbertson, head of the mining division of Gencor Ltd.

Michael Spicer, an executive

of the country's largest company, Anglo American Corporation, said social welfare for all South Africans was a legitimate long term aim.

"But as a practical system to be introduced short term it is pie in the sky. Housing education, jobs - there just aren't the resources," he said in an interview.

Blacks see increased government welfare as the only way out of grinding poverty affecting many of them. At least 35 percent of blacks are unemployed and up to a third live in informal settlements of tents and corrugated iron shacks with restricted access to running water and electricity.

Health care and education for blacks are confined largely to underfunded and overcrowded hospitals and schools.

On another side of the debate stand radical black youth, Africanist and Trotskyite groups demanding state ownership of the economy and redistribution to blacks of the 87 percent of South African land reserved for whites under apartheid.

Many blacks equate capitalism with apartheid, which they say provides business with cheap black labour and encourages harsh work practices outlawed in many Western countries.

Peter Mokaba, influential president of the anti-apartheid South African Youth Congress, believes the economy belongs to its overwhelmingly black workforce. He says it is strange to think of nationalisation as theft.

"Who are we stealing our own wealth from?" he asked.

On yet another side of the debate stand the ANC, its ally the Communist Party and a large number of trade unions. They demand greater state control of the economy but admit widespread government ownership of private companies would be unworkable.

Business leaders say a future government could not afford to pay adequate compensation for nationalising their companies, while a refusal to pay compensation would kill foreign investment

and discourage domestic investment.

Some unions and black leaders seem to have taken the point.

"Our solutions lie neither in free market capitalism nor in centrally planned command economy socialism," wrote Alec Erwin, education officer of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo told the *London Financial Times*: "Foreign capital will remain crucial to development and guarantees of stability and security will be offered to ensure investors do not avoid South Africa."

Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, says the economy will continue to be based on private enterprise and any changes would be discussed thoroughly with business leaders.

A future government would find it hard to pay compensation if it decided to nationalise Anglo American, which controls up to a third of world gold production and has a market capitalisation of R29 billion.

A 51 percent stake would cost R14.9 billion, which is one and a half times total spending on defence and far exceeds the education budget.

Julian Ogilvie Thompson, Anglo's chairman designate, says

he is confident blacks can be persuaded against nationalisation.

An alternative foreseen by some economists is acquisition without compensation of up to 20 percent of some giant companies, giving government a strategic hold on the economy.

Development studies professor Pieter le Roux said another alternative would be indirect state control through fiscal, monetary and wage policies and trade union and government representation on company boards.

"Ownership of enterprises is...not as crucial as the need to ensure workers have a say in determining policies," said Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the country's largest labour organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Structures

Spicer said he suspected black leaders envisaged structures that would coerce business involvement in state projects rather than consultative forums that would merely make suggestions.

"But if it is the 'suggest' model, backed up by a belief in the profit motive with social responsibility, then we are starting to talk the same language," he said. - Sapa-Reuter



Plans to open 19 new mines hang in the balance.

Nationalisation debate:



South Africa

Natal witness - 2 April 1990

Poverty and violence

THE new wave of violence in the country could get worse in some areas before it fades away, and appeals for peace may prove ineffectual at this stage. Even after April 11, and even if the De Klerk Government and the ANC agree on a truce at that time, the violence may well continue. Much of the current violence is not politically organised or directed even if it is to some extent politically inspired. So if the ANC calls off the armed struggle on April 11, as we may rightly expect them to do, this may not immediately have much impact.

In spite of political overtones, much of the violence is endemic, rooted in poverty, and in a desperate battle to survive amid competition for scarce resources. Anyone who doubts this should visit the huge overcrowded rural and squatter areas of Natal outside Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and see for themselves.

In the new context of urbanisation, this is still in essence the same struggle over scarce resources of land and water which was fought between blacks in the Mfecane, beginning in Natal in the early nineteenth century and continuing between blacks and whites at the time of the

Great Trek.

In such situations violence often develops its own self-sustaining momentum at the local level. We may hope that this does not happen at Welkom on the Free State goldfields and at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle. The danger of escalation is great, particularly in Welkom, if white vigilantism, which the police have so far managed to keep in check, gets out of hand. Half-acknowledged fears of economic ousting by blacks in an overcrowded labour market compound white anxieties, adding psycho-pathological overtones. A nightmare scenario of violence and counter-violence, reprisal and counter-reprisal is by no means entirely unlikely in Welkom.

Whether blacks only or both blacks and whites are involved, the immediate problem in the country is violence, inextricably intertwined with poverty. This is why President de Klerk's creation of a R3 billion trust to combat poverty is an important symbolic gesture. But it is a symbolic gesture, at this stage, an indication of the government's priorities. No one imagines that the glaring inequities of South African life can be resolved by writing a R3 billion cheque.

"In spite of political overtones, much of the violence is endemic, rooted in poverty, and in a desperate battle to survive amid competition for scarce resources. Anyone who doubts this should visit the huge overcrowded rural and squatter areas of Natal outside Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and see for themselves."

It is chastening that Dr Motlana of Soweto, visiting the United States, should have rejected President de Klerk's gesture out of hand in emotional terms as "insultingly too little". Yet when it is considered that up to seventeen times more has been spent on the education of a white child, as he says, than on a black child, Dr Motlana's intensity can be understood. Anyone who has met him knows Dr Motlana to be the most

moderate and reasonable of men. I have no doubt that his attitude will be modified in due course when he has had talks with Mr Jan Steyn, who is to head the trust fund. Yet Dr Motlana's emotional reaction speaks volumes. It may be taken as indicating black feelings across the board.

What he said should help the white community to understand what lies behind the "nationalisation" debate, the thrust of which has been almost entirely misunderstood. As Wolfgang Thomas points out in a most perceptive contribution in the latest *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, the debate is not really about the state trying to take over Anglo-American, which the ANC and everybody else knows full well would be economic suicide. Anyone who has had in-depth discussions with the ANC will confirm this.

The debate is about practical methods to bring about concrete improvements for blacks as quickly as possible — within the broad framework of a market-oriented mixed economy, which has up till now been based mainly upon white ownership of capital. From the ANC's point of view, says economist Thomas, "nationalisation" is an understandable

Poverty and Violence

by Gerald Shaw

and powerful slogan which is calculated to bring the academic debate down to earth and to wake up business leaders. As he concludes, no one is suggesting that socio-economic transformation as an alternative to revolution will be easy or painless.

The merits of market-oriented rather than command economies have been demonstrated a million times over in theory and, latterly, in spectacular practice in Eastern Europe. The spate of editorials arguing the merits of economic freedom are flogging a dead horse. The urgent question, rather, is how to redress the glaring historical imbalance between black and white South Africa in ownership of land and capital and access to education and economic opportunity. The colonial era, with its unspoken assumptions of superiority and its entrenched discrimination on grounds of colour, has left an explosive legacy.

The answer is more likely to be found in practice than in theory, and in mobilising the best minds and hearts in the country to tackle poverty.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.

No talks

The unexpected withdrawal of the ANC from the planned talks with the Government, coming hard on the heels of the cancellation of the Mandela/Buthlezi peace rally, is disappointing news which has made world headlines. The reaction of the Government has been restrained. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has described the development as "regrettable"; the State President has remained conciliatory.

How valid is the reason given, the recent Sebokeng shootings, for the indefinite postponement of the talks? Some would see it a spurious pretext. But not those on the receiving end of the action. There is widespread anger in Sebokeng and it is understandable that the ANC should seek to look to its own constituency and reflect grassroots sentiments. It cannot afford to do otherwise. On the other hand, the commitment to the "armed struggle", whose targets include the police, does not leave it entirely blameless. If every incident of violence were to be turned into stumbling block by one or the other side, the chances of any talks getting off the ground would be remote. The fact remains that, whatever the difficulties along the road, negotiation remains the one hope of a brighter future for South Africa. The alternative is a wasteland. The Government has recognised this fundamental reality. It behoves it now to ensure that hope is not blighted by the actions of rogue elements within the security forces. The ANC, for its part, should recognise that its demands are meeting with greater receptiveness than at any time during the previous 78 years of its existence. That, surely, is a tide to be taken at the flood.

London

THE INDEPENDENT Monday 2 April 1990

Mandela changes tack

NELSON MANDELA, relenting somewhat on African National Congress decisions last week to call off planned meetings both with the South African government and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday he would personally hold talks with President de Klerk "in the very near future" and he hoped to meet Chief Buthelezi today or tomorrow.

Mr Mandela had announced on Saturday that "talks about talks", due to have taken place on 11 April, had been suspended because of the police "massacre" of black protesters in the township of Sebokeng, south of Johannesburg, last Monday.

In a speech yesterday at a rally of 200,000 people — the biggest since his release from prison — in the township of Motherwell, outside Port Elizabeth, he said: "As soon as the government takes effective measures to stop police brutalities, we will examine the whole question and approach the

From John Carlin in Port Elizabeth

government for another date." After the rally he said that when he telephoned Mr de Klerk on Friday to inform him that the meeting was off, Mr de Klerk responded by inviting him to hold discussions on the problems.

"I will meet him in the very near future," Mr Mandela said, refusing to specify when. But, he added, he would make "some suggestions" to Mr de Klerk regarding measures to control police violence which would satisfy the ANC sufficiently to warrant resuming the negotiating process.

"The police," he said, "must handle demonstrations with blacks in the same way that they handle demonstrations with whites." Noting that no white demonstrator had ever been shot by the police, he added: "If the police killed one white man, the whole of white South Africa would scream

at the top of their voices. If seven whites were killed, as happened in Sebokeng, there would be an uprising and the government would fall."

He refused to accept criticism by those who say the Sebokeng deaths did not justify calling off the talks and was emphatic that there was no other reason why the ANC had pulled out.

Mr Mandela said he hoped to meet the Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, during a visit, due to start today, to Natal province, where there was savage fighting last week between Inkatha members and ANC supporters.

A joint "peace rally" was due to have taken place today but the ANC called it off on Friday evening, having judged that the atmosphere — with more than 50 people having been killed in the past week in the Pietermaritzburg area

— was not ripe for such an encounter. Chief Buthelezi fiercely condemned the ANC move and warned that more would die as a consequence. It had been understood — clearly by Chief Buthelezi, too — that no talks would be held between the two men.

But yesterday Mr Mandela told reporters: "I do hope I will be able to meet Mr Buthelezi during my two days in Natal." One issue that appears to agitate Chief Buthelezi at least as much as the violence, is negotiations with the government and the fear that the ANC may seek to undercut his legitimacy as a representative black leader. Mr Mandela said he was in favour of an election, or referendum, among black people to decide who should be represented at negotiations with the government when the constitutional future of the country is debated. "We're not going to allow the government to pick and choose who should take part."

His knife cuts, but it doesn't separate parties

PORT ELIZABETH — Nelson Mandela, in remarks likely to fluster the sensibilities of the British left, said yesterday that he drew no distinction between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party and that if he were invited to attend this year's Conservative Party conference he would go, writes John Carlin.

He did soften the blow, however, by dismissing reports that he planned to visit Margaret

Thatcher during his visit to London for a concert in his honour at Wembley Stadium on 16 April.

In a news conference after a huge rally, he said: "I have, of course, indicated that inasmuch as I have accepted an invitation from the Labour Party to attend a conference, if I get an invitation from the Conservative Party I will respond in the same way."

And then came the knife in the stomach for so many of those who

have campaigned fiercely against Mrs Thatcher's policy towards South Africa. "I draw no distinction between the two organisations. It is for the British people to decide who should govern their country. As far as I am concerned, I'll respond to any invitation from any political party in Britain."

The Prime Minister's joy on learning this will be dampened no doubt by the news that, at a time when she could sorely use the

public relations boost of a visit by Mr Mandela to Downing Street, he has no intention of obliging.

"We have indicated to the Foreign Office that the question of my attending the concert on 16 April must be treated as different from the question of meeting Mrs Thatcher and the British government... I do not propose to see anybody, just to address the meeting" by which Mr Mandela meant the Wembley audience.

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London

ANC splits are blamed for axe on Cape talks

By Peter Taylor in Johannesburg

THE CREDIBILITY and authority of the African National Congress is fading fast following its weekend decision to postpone talks with the South African government "indefinitely". The two sides were due to meet in Cape Town on April 11, with the ANC team being led by Mr Nelson Mandela, its deputy president.

The pretext for the postponement — the deaths of more than 10 people when police opened fire on a demonstration in Sebokeng, south of Johannesburg, last week — is widely disbelieved.

It is thought in diplomatic and political circles that the ANC leadership is deeply divided over its negotiating strategy and who should speak for the movement.

A senior Western diplomat described the ANC's withdrawal as "transparent", and predicted that the organisation would face a barrage of international pressure to open the long-awaited dialogue.

However, Mr Mandela defended the ANC decision yesterday and appealed to white people to condemn police shootings of black demonstrators.

"Whites here have become used to police shootings of black demonstrators," he told more than 200,000 people in Motherwell township, outside Port Elizabeth, at one of his biggest rallies since being freed from prison.

Mr Mandela said that, "depending on the response of the police", the ANC and the government could work out a new date for talks. He said the ANC respected President de Klerk's sincerity, but found the police actions towards protesters a contradiction to Pretoria's pleas for peaceful negotiation.

In a statement issued in Lusaka, the ANC said it would review the suspension of talks via a special session of its national executive committee this week.

Mr Mandela's telephone call to Mr de Klerk calling off the talks was described by government sources as "totally unexpected". Both sides had named their delegations and agreed that the talks should focus on "obstacles to negotiations".

In practical terms, that means conditions for ending the armed struggle and the

exiles and the freeing of jailed ANC members.

One point of friction in the ANC is believed to be the privileged position afforded to "elder statesmen", such as Mr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki. Hardliners say that an over-conciliatory approach could result in young militants breaking away, possibly to join the Pan-Africanist Congress.

ANC sources say the organisation has insisted that members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must be allowed to act as armed bodyguards for any delegation visiting South Africa. The government regards this as a further deliberate obstacle to talks.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce measures in parliament today aimed at quelling black violence — especially in Natal, where more than 70 people died last week in fighting between supporters of the ANC and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

The ANC has already called off a planned joint rally, which was to have been addressed by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Mr de Klerk told a National party youth rally at the weekend that the government would use "the full weight of the state" to eradicate the violence.

He said that even if there was "room for criticism" of the police action in Sebokeng, it did not justify the abandonment of talks.

The Sebokeng victims died when police opened fire with birdshot on a crowd of several thousand demanding lower rents and better education. Police said the marchers were advancing on them with iron bars and knives. The ANC says the police were in no danger.

Thirteen people were killed in a pre-dawn accident yesterday when a car ran into a group of ANC supporters on their way to hear Mr Mandela's

Monday April 2 1990

ANC calls off peace talks with De Klerk

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's peace process was thrown into confusion at the weekend when the African National Congress unexpectedly aborted historic talks with the government, scheduled for April 11.

Nelson Mandela told the President, F. W. de Klerk, of the decision in a telephone call on Saturday morning. An ANC statement later said the talks had been called off in response to last week's police shootings in the black township of Sebokeng, in which at least 11 people were killed and 450 injured.

Mr Mandela yesterday told a rally outside the black township of Motherwell, near Port Elizabeth: "As soon as the government takes effective measures to stop police brutalities, we will approach the government for another date."

He told journalists that he would meet Mr De Klerk informally soon to discuss the ANC's position.

"We want a guarantee that the government would exercise effective control of the police force, that they would handle black demonstrators the same way as they handle white demonstrators," he said.

Thirteen people were killed on their way to the rally when a car ploughed into them. Another 12 people were injured, including the driver, who was badly beaten by the crowd.

It is widely believed that the ANC's decision to call off the talks with Pretoria was motivated by tactical considerations, and that Sebokeng was an excuse. The shooting took place last Monday, but by late in the week there was no indication that the ANC was considering such action.

Local newspapers reported yesterday that the organisation had already given Mr De Klerk the names of 11 senior ANC members who would be attending the talks. The government itself had announced a nine-man ministerial team.

It is assumed that factors behind the decision include fears within the ANC that it is in danger of losing its radical black supporters by being seen as too conciliatory towards the De Klerk administration. There may also be a sense that the ANC has been stampeded down the road to negotiations by Pretoria.

Although both arguments may have merit, the way the ANC is handling the peace process is potentially damaging to its cause. The decision to cancel the April 11 meeting — coming less than 24 hours after the ANC called off a joint peace rally in Natal which Mr Mandela was to have attended with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — contributes to the impression of an indecisive, and possibly divided, ANC. Mr De Klerk's image as a "man of peace", meanwhile, continues to grow.

Mr De Klerk responded to the cancellation in conciliatory terms. Speaking at a National Party youth congress on Saturday, he argued that, even if there was "room for criticism" of the police over Sebokeng, the point of talking was to bring an end to such violence. "I told Mr Mandela that my door remained open," he said.

There are still hopes that the meeting will be held later. The ANC's national executive in Lusaka said it would meet this week to discuss the issue.

● Mozambique's President, Joaquim Chissano, said yesterday he was ready to begin peace talks immediately with right-wing Renamo rebels, dropping his insistence on a formal ceasefire as a pre-condition.

Mandela's authority over followers falters

From Gavin Bell, Johannesburg

WHEN Mr Nelson Mandela was released from prison five weeks ago, the masses hailed him as a saviour, even though he made it clear that he had no magic formula to end the iniquities of apartheid.

Within weeks, the illusion of easy solutions has been shattered, and unrealistic expectations placed on him on both sides of South Africa's racial divide have been swept away by a maelstrom of violence and anxiety.

Amid the strife in black townships and tribal homelands, Mr Mandela's moral authority has begun to falter. On at least one occasion he has seriously misjudged the mood of his own followers and the African National Congress is confused and divided.

The problem is not Mr Mandela, an intelligent and reasonable man committed to a peaceful settlement of his country's racial dilemma. The problem is that he may have far less influence over the voteless black millions than anyone expected.

Since his release he has called repeatedly on black pupils to end a nationwide school boycott, and emphasized the importance of an educated population in creating a post-apartheid society. The day after he launched his appeal at a mass rally near Soweto, thousands of black teachers quit their classes and now more than 70,000 pupils are on the streets.

Last month, Mr Mandela instructed his supporters in Natal townships to throw their weapons into the sea. One week later, the area was in flames as they clashed with members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in the most widespread fighting so far in a conflict which has claimed 1,000 lives in two years.

In a misguided attempt to halt the carnage, Mr Mandela infuriated his followers in Natal by agreeing to address a joint rally for peace with Chief Buthelezi — in an Inkatha

stronghold. The event was called off after a delegation led by a veteran ANC leader, Mr Harry Gwala, informed him he had acted injudiciously by failing to consult the local population in advance.

In Edendale and Imbali, Natal communities supposedly under the sway of the ANC, its flag is conspicuously absent. Township dwellers wearing T-shirts bearing Mr Mandela's portrait are beaten by militant youths who believe he has reneged on the nationalist struggle by negotiating with the Government.

Cracks are appearing in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally cla-



Chief Buthelezi: Plan for rally with Mr Mandela

imed, and the mood is ugly and rebellious. The fissures are spreading to the ANC leadership, in danger of being outflanked by militant tendencies in the townships and undermined by similar factions within its own ranks.

The violence is attributed to a lost generation of youths, whose crude political views were forged by similar strife in the mid-1980s. Their allegiance to the mainstream of the ANC is doubtful, and the slogan "liberation before education" is gaining popularity.

Mr Robert Schrire, a political scientist at the University of Cape Town, says the influential role of black

nationalist organizations in the 1984-85 unrest is now lacking, and suggests that rioting sparked by anger and frustration at social and economic deprivation is slipping out of their control.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, an executive of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the main ANC surrogate, denies the strife has been orchestrated at national level, and says it is a case of local leaders taking advantage of the liberalized climate.

Remarkably, General Herman Stadler, the former chief of the security police, agrees. He attributes the strife to a variety of factors such as socio-economic deprivation, "freedom euphoria", conflict between ANC moderates and militants and common criminals exploiting the volatile situation. He believes the influence of Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders has been eroded by their calls for peace and that they will lose further support if they renounce the "armed struggle".

Certainly both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi seem to have failed the test of leadership presented by the conflict in Natal, where their peace overtures have generated more heat than light.

Last week *Business Day*, a respected English-language daily, summed up their dilemma. "If black leaders do not want the country to be ungovernable ... they will have to establish their authority over the violent communities they claim to represent."

But Mr John Hutchison, a property broker of liberal views, says: "The day they released Mandela I went out and celebrated. I really thought we were going to get rid of racism and work together for a sane society. Now I don't know what to think. It's all very worrying."

When Mr Mandela left prison, he said: There is no easy walk to freedom." He has quickly been proved correct.

The Times
2/4/90
London

COMMENT

Armed struggle?

THE intentions of the ANC in "suspending" its meeting with the government on April 11 and reverting to "armed struggle" are difficult to read, but the surrounding circumstances suggest more than a tactical bargaining ploy.

The following sequence tells its own story: on Monday, the police shot at marchers on the road from Sebokeng to Vereeniging, killing as many as 14 of them; on Tuesday, the extent of the death and injury was reasonably clear; on Tuesday night, Walter Sisulu, speaking on a BBC programme, blamed the killings on right-whites who wished to sabotage the negotiations; on Thursday, this newspaper was given the names of the ANC delegates for the April 11 meeting for publication the following day; on Friday, the names were given to the government; on Saturday, Nelson Mandela called off the talks.

This sequence makes it plain that the ANC is not being truthful when it attributes the suspension of talks to the Sebokeng violence. That pretext conceals the real motives.

The ANC remains, despite its unbanning, a shadowy organisation of uncertain stature and questionable authority, neither sure of its own constituency nor able to command the followers whom it claims. Where power lies nobody can confidently say, but there is evidence to suggest that the critical weight may lie not within the ANC itself but in the complex network of auton-

ous organisations that act under its banner. There was a time when the SA Communist Party was perceived to be steering the ANC; now it seems likely that the leaders of the UDF, or the MDM, or the major trade unions, are more influential.

Until the questions of leadership and authority within the ANC are clarified, it is optimistic to expect the organisation to act in a consistent and predictable fashion. Disputes between leaders and factions are bound to manifest themselves as violent shifts of direction. Negotiations will be difficult to pursue, and will demand infinite patience from President de Klerk and his team.

Much more ominous are the terms in which Mandela announced the suspension of talks. He reverted to the rhetoric of armed struggle, virtually urging his listeners to violence. Nobody should rush to the conclusion that the ANC has decided first to strengthen its bargaining position by mass action, designed to test the will of the government to use its security forces; but neither can that assumption be dismissed.

The government has stated its intention to govern — to maintain law and order — until negotiations are concluded and the various electoral tests are completed; if the ANC intends to challenge that position by, in effect, making the country ungovernable during the negotiating process, violence will prevail over all peaceful endeavour until one or other side is exhausted.

Blacks and whites 'linked politically'

26 April 1990

JOHANNESBURG — Black and white South Africans are inextricably linked economically and this could easily be converted into political interdependence, Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from West Germany, Mr Buthelezi said that while apartheid remained, the chances of an alliance between Inkatha and the National Party were remote.

"But as Dr (Oscar) Dhlomo (Inkatha Secretary General) said, I can't see why any party — not just Inkatha — should not talk in terms of alliances after the end of apartheid.

"I do believe there is hope. Strengthening my hope is that whites and blacks are interdependent economically ... This can easily be converted into political interdependence," said the KwaZulu Chief Minister.

Mr Buthelezi travelled to Bonn to attend the launch of his book South Africa My Vision, which is being published in German by Busse Seewald.

The Chief Minister said he understood that English, Portuguese and Spanish rights to the book had already been sold and it would also soon be available in this country. He had discussed translation into Zulu and other black languages — which he saw as particularly important — with the publisher, and this looked promising.

Asked what more could be done to end the violence in Natal, Mr Buthelezi called for an end to rhetoric by the leaders involved. "A rapport must be seen to exist between the different leaders."

A real chance for peace would come when all the people were responsible for the security forces, he said, in an apparent reference to the post-apartheid era.

SA Defence Force troops pumped into the stricken areas were doing a good job, however. Inkatha was satisfied with the impartiality of the 32 Battalion, who were undoubtedly responsible for the drop in fatalities in Natal violence, he said.

Mr Buthelezi welcomed the establishment of formal African National Congress structures in Natal in terms of his support for multi-party democracy.

The call for the closing down of the ANC office in Stanger had not come from the Inkatha leadership, he stressed, but from sugarcane workers who had apparently been harassed by young ANC "bully boys". — Sapa.



Chief BUTHELEZI

'NP, ANC will rule together'

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of the National Party and the ANC would sit together in one government in the near future, Democratic Party parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

This might sound improbable, but he believed it would prove essential, and that the country would one day see it.

Dr de Beer referred to the merger between the SA Party and the NP in 1933 and said "in the near future we will need something similar".

It would be absolutely necessary to have a government which would enjoy legitimacy.

"Now I am sure there are people who believe that a government composed of black people only could meet these criteria. In the short run, anyhow, I do not believe it."

Inkatha policy did not differ materially from the DP and the NP had now moved close enough to these ideas to make it possible for it to share benches with Inkatha.

"However an exclusive partnership between those organisations would be a dangerous move." — Sapa.

Govt asked to take 'drastic action to stop Natal violence'

Witness Reporter

THE Government has been urged by the president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce to take "drastic action" to stop the violence in Natal.

In his presidential address to the Chamber's annual meeting yesterday Mr Rudi Heine said far stronger steps were needed to stop the Natal violence.

Mr Heine said only the Government could put a permanent end to the violence and that the time had come for the authorities to take drastic steps against anyone involved in violent action.

"Let the Government show those who join in the mayhem that it means business," he said. "Let us re-establish law and order and respect for the law and

then seek out and severely punish those who are responsible for perpetrating the violence in the first place. And when we do seek them out let us ensure that they are brought before the courts immediately and the cases dealt with promptly."

Mr Heine said he was well aware that socio-economic upliftment was also needed in the affected areas, but said unless law and order was re-established, it would be impossible to begin addressing the questions of "social environment".

He said those who enforced stay-at-home orders were not only adversely affecting business productivity but were preventing workers from earning a living. Business would "fight back", which could simply mean closing down.

12 die in townships anarchy

Star 2 April 1990

By Craig Kotze

Anarchic violence claimed at least 12 lives in Maritzburg's war-torn Eden-dale valley townships and left 27 injured as last week's surge of blood-letting continued at the weekend.

Police reinforcements will now be sent to the area after a visit on Saturday by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok. He was accompanied by kwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Large numbers of white Defence Force troops could also be sent to the area. President de Klerk is expected to address Parliament on the issue today.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman today confirmed that talks would

be held between the departments of Defence and of Law and Order to co-ordinate strategies.

It is believed that a team is already looking at possible bases for the influx of troops and policemen.

A new police commander has been appointed to co-ordinate the new strategy. He is Brigadier Jaap Burger of Security Police headquarters.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce measures such as the creation of refugee zones in an attempt to separate Inkatha and UDF supporters.

The latest deaths push the official death toll for the past week to at least 50, Maritzburg police spokesman Major Piet Kitching said yesterday.

Natal's township mayhem also sparked a call by Natal and kwaZulu parliamentarians that the Edendale valley be declared a disaster area to speed up aid for an estimated 10 000 refugees.

The township violence at the weekend spilled over into a white area when a mob chanting "Viva Mandela" and armed with knives, pangas and knobkerries attacked the Thornville Hotel outside Maritzburg when they were refused permission to enter. Two people were injured, police said, and five arrested.

Maritzburg police reported two deaths in Table Mountain yesterday. Clashes between police and mobs took place in Dambuza, Imbali, Sweetwaters and Mpumuza.

A massive clash between Inkatha and UDF supporters erupted in Caluza yesterday.

Inkatha fighters swarmed over the hills from Sweetwaters and attacked Caluza, setting houses alight, said Democratic Party observers. "It's a fully-fledged battle," said a spokesman.

No reports of deaths had been received at the time of going to press.

Two people were killed and 24 were injured in Mpophomeni during a fight. Gunmen opened fire on a police strongpoint in the same area.

In another incident in Mpophomeni, a man was shot dead and another was injured in a mob attack, and police used R-1 rifles, birdshot and teargas to disperse fighting groups.

Major Kitching said the situation yesterday was still "extremely tense" with sporadic outbreaks of violence.

During his visit, Mr Vlok appealed for a change of heart: "Let us stop this violence. We have had enough — let us rather sit around the table and talk," he said.



Moving in ... Troops sit in their armoured vehicles in full combat gear as they enter Edendale black township yesterday to help stop the escalating violence that has claimed more than 40 lives since last Sunday. ● Picture by Reuters.

11 youths 'shot' outside court house

By Julianne du Toit

Eleven youths were allegedly shot and wounded by police using birdshot on Friday in the tiny northern Free State town of Koppies.

The shooting apparently happened at the magistrate's court where a singing group of about 20 people had gathered.

The ages of the wounded ranged between 16 and 18.

Ten of them were admitted to Kroonstad Hospital with birdshot wounds.

The mayor of Koppies, Mr Charl van der Merwe, said anyone would be outraged at the incident. He said both the crowd of people and the police had probably acted badly, but he did not know who had made the first move.

According to reports, police fired a shot into the air to warn the group to disperse but although the crowd scattered it regrouped.

The youths were apparently on their way to the courtrooms to see four friends who had been warned to appear over an incident of unrest some time ago.

Police are targets in weekend of unrest

Crime Reporter

One person was killed and at least 14 people were injured in a wave of unrest incidents in areas outside Natal at the weekend, police said.

Much of the violence was directed against policemen, municipal policemen and the homes of members of the security forces, according to the latest police unrest reports.

In another mob attack on a road, a black motorist was attacked near Wesselson, outside Ermelo. His car was stoned after he was robbed, but the victim was not injured.

Stabbed

Although attention has recently been focused mostly on fratricidal Natal violence, intense outbreaks of unrest have been occurring regularly in many other parts of the country, especially the Free State.

According to police:

In King William's Town in the Eastern Cape, a policeman, stabbed in the stomach while trying to arrest a suspect, was shot dead one of his attackers. A mob gathered at the scene and

stoned police, who used teargas to disperse the crowd.

Eleven people were later arrested after police were again stoned by a mob which erected barricades. They were dispersed with birdshot, teargas and rubber bullets.

Three people were injured in Bophelong near Vanderbijlpark after a mob hurled petrol bombs at a police station and police retaliated with shotgun fire.

Another three men were wounded and two policemen were injured after a mob stoned a municipal policeman in Lephoi near Bethulie in the Free State.

A policeman's house was damaged during the stone-throwing and shotgun fire was used to disperse the mob, wounding three men.

In the western Transvaal township of Khutsong, youths hijacked a front-end loader and forced the driver to demolish three houses, including two policemen's homes.

In Selobela near Carolina, a man was shot and wounded by police using birdshot after a mob threw stones.

Police give reassurance to motorists

Crime Reporter

Natal's township wars will not be a danger to the thousands of Transvaalers expected to stream to the coast next week for the Easter holidays, police said.

Natal police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Charl du Toit said yesterday police would maintain their usual activity on the main routes to the coast as had been done in the past.

"We do not foresee a security problem for motorists travelling to the coast for the holidays," said Colonel du Toit.

"None of the main highways go through or near any townships so we do not foresee problems and will have only our usual measures in place.

"Of course, no one can guarantee that an incident or incidents will not take place," said Colonel du Toit.

Many Transvaalers are concerned about possible dangers on the way to Durban and other holiday centres after widespread violence erupted in Natal townships last week.

The Star

Get back on the road to peace

THE ANC'S cancelling of talks with the Government is a setback for all South Africans. But it must be seen first of all as a setback for the ANC. Its decision to withdraw from talks about removing obstacles to talks will bolster the impression that it is divided and weak. The explanation that the ANC will not talk because of apparent further unjust violence by the police may be emotionally appealing to the masses, but it will not wash in terms of ordinary logic. The best place to remove the obstacle it complains of is in direct discussion with the Minister concerned and the Government. The ANC's need to show strength, and the pressure on it to consider the views of its militant wing, may be politically understandable. It has, however, surrendered more of the moral high ground which anti-apartheid forces used to monopolise.

For the Government, the ANC's decision to pull out of the discussions scheduled for April 11 is also a setback. President de Klerk gains some status by reacting with under-

standing of the ANC's problems. But the postponement of the pre-negotiation process is a setback to his Government's plans for changing the South African political climate. It also weakens his position in his own political environment.

But most of all, the ANC's pull-out is a setback for all the people of this country who want peaceful transition. Only the maintenance of the momentum courageously created by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela early this year can bring the two sides closer together. Any faltering does not merely postpone the negotiating process, it takes it two steps backwards.

As this newspaper suggested after the Sebokeng tragedy last week, the Government should provide an immediate and impartial inquiry into the incidents and police actions which, understandably, are causing the ANC so much anger. At the same time, we suggest that the ANC should look beyond the tactics of playing on emotions and show the strength to return to the talking process.

Strong organisations needed - Mandela

ANC, MDM *back* plan on homelands

Sowetan - 2 April 1990

THE ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement supported the holding of referendums on the dismantling of homelands.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said this at a mass rally at Bisho in the Ciskei at the weekend.

He told tens of thousands of people it was the rejection of the homeland system and desire to be re-incorporated into SA that had removed the "corrupt and repressive organs of apartheid in the Transkei and Ciskei."

This popular support had to be translated into strong organisation at all levels.

"Without strong organisation ... disciplined struggle is impossible," he said.

It was more urgent than ever to build strong civic, youth, women and teacher organisations.

Those people who were part of homeland structures but were attempting to break away must be encouraged and welcomed into the ranks of the ANC, he said.

Struggle

On negotiations, Mandela said conditions that made necessary the ANC's armed struggle were still in place.

He said as far as negotiations were concerned the ANC had noted President de Klerk's sincerity.

"We say this must not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid. We are duty bound to the struggle and to the people to identify the obstacles to peace."

He said state violence continued in many parts of the country, "...in

Sebokeng, Venda, Ikageng where seven activists have been brutally murdered by apartheid forces."

These conditions did not create a climate conducive to negotiations, Mandela said.

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations. We cannot ask our people to stop their self-defence against apartheid violence."

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

The only way to advocate peace in SA was to create a suitable climate for negotiations, meet the demands of the Harare declaration and end state violence against peaceful protest.

The ANC was committed to peace, he stressed.

He called on the government to demonstrate its commitment to peace by meeting the ANC's "reasonable demands".

"We must put an end to apartheid - it is fast plunging our country into chaos and waste." - Sapa

FW expected to move strongly against violence

Star 2 April 1990

Mandela faces tough test on Natal visit

Mr Nelson Mandela, facing one of his toughest tasks since being released from jail, visits Natal today to try to end a vicious war between rival black groups.

Mr Mandela also has to get his African Nationalist Congress back on the path towards negotiations with Pretoria after it cancelled next week's preliminary talks, ostensibly because police opened fire on black demonstrators at Sebokeng last Monday.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk prepared to deliver a major speech to Parliament, spelling out the Government's strategy and giving the official view on the ANC's decision to call off the April 11 meeting.

Another related development is that the SA Council of Churches is to seek urgent meetings with the ANC and the Government in a bid to save the talks.

An SACC delegation, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was meeting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today in Ulundi to discuss the violence in Natal.

It is widely believed that in his speech today, Mr de Klerk will announce that large troop reinforcements are to be sent to quell the heavy faction war in Natal.

However, Defence Ministry sources could not confirm this.

Government sources also believe that Mr de Klerk will unveil a two-pronged strategy to contain the violence, balancing security measures with positive steps to upgrade physical conditions in the worst-hit areas, especially in Natal.

The ANC decision on Friday to call off the historic exploratory talks with the Government has been greeted with shock and dismay in political circles.

NP and Government sources said the talks might have had a calming effect on the violence.

However, they were optimistic that the talks would take place soon — especially after Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement yesterday that he would see Mr de Klerk alone to discuss the countrywide violence.

Huge crowd

Mr Mandela, speaking at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth to a huge crowd, estimated by ANC sources as 500 000, indicated that he was having differ-

ences with other ANC leaders but said he would not discuss that publicly.

He praised Mr de Klerk as the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality and said the President was adopting "a most welcome" approach.

Mr Mandela visits the Natal trouble spots today and is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi.

Most political observers in Cape Town believe the real reason for the ANC calling off the talks is disunity, confusion and lack of preparation in the ANC ranks about negotiations.

The ANC's explanation for the decision to postpone the meeting — the police action at Sebokeng — has been dismissed by most political and diplomatic observers as a transparent excuse.

Security sources believe the reason is that the ANC is rapidly losing the support of township youths to the PAC and fears that it will lose even more if it begins talking to the Government.

The postponement appears to have damaged the ANC's international credibility and its commitment to negotiations has now been questioned.

By contrast South Africa is likely to score heavily, boosting its image as the player more dedicated to negotiations.

The ANC executive committee will meet this week to discuss the matter.

— Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP.