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Townships bow to 'Operation Iron Fist'

BLACKS in Soweto and East Rand townships ignored a call to defy the first night of the Operation Iron Fist curfew imposed by the government in areas afflicted by the factional killings of the past two months.

The South African police turned out in large numbers to enforce the 9pm to 4am curfew in seven areas of the Reef, but said almost no one was on the streets and no arrests were made during the first few hours.

The South African Youth Congress had called on young people to defy the regulations, saying they had no moral obligation to obey the curfew or other Iron Fist measures, which were intended not to end the violence but to clamp down on the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements. The ANC national executive planned an emergency meeting at Nelson Mandela's house in Soweto last night to consider what action might be taken.

Some township residents did arm themselves and gathered in groups to defend their homes against any organised attacks. Contravention of the curfew carries an immediate 12-hour police

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

detention and a possible six-month prison sentence or 1,000 Rand (£200) fine.

The police chief, Major-General Herman Stadler, called the order confining people to their homes a "non-aggressive measure aimed at protecting defenceless,

law-abiding residents and to ensure they sleep in peace". The ANC took the opposite view, describing the curfew as barbaric and saying it would provide a cover for vigilantes and "agents of darkness", a reference to the death squad-style attacks that have taken place at night, sometimes with the help of whites.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions said blacks had no option but to patrol the streets and defend themselves against "unprovoked and orchestrated attacks". The United Democratic Front (UDF) said it would consider defying the curfew if it was not withdrawn immediately.

"At most this measure militates against the creation of a climate conducive to free political activity and tempers with the civil liberties of residents in the affected areas." The UDF said the present calm in the townships would not last unless the underlying causes of the violence were addressed. These include abolition of the hostel system, the arrest and prosecution of Inkatha warlords and the weeding out of elements in the security forces intent on destroying the negotiation process.

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - President FW de Klerk on a visit here said yesterday that he was willing to accept the idea of one man, one vote for South Africa if a new system contained firm guarantees for the rights of minority groups.

"Every South African must have the vote and ... that includes the possibility, the probability, that that vote would be brought out on one common voters roll," he said.

But South Africa remains a racist state despite the facade of change, said a leading black congressman, Ronald Dhlomo. "South Africa is no less an apartheid regime. This is no time to talk about lifting of sanctions."

Jean Rook



London
THE FIRST LADY
OF FLEET STREET

Winnie is a loser



SINISTER . . . Winnie Mandela at her court appearance

AFTER 27 years as a shining black hero-martyr, with the loving world clamouring for his release, can gaunt, grey, 72-year-old Nelson Mandela survive his so-called freedom in the crushing arms of such a wife as Winnie?

The woman is a greedy, manipulative, shrieking shrew. And, as he watches her in the broad daylight of his liberation, you can see in his wary, if besotted eyes, that Mandela sees it.

The prideful, jealous, indecisive old man himself isn't blameless.

Obsession

In eight weeks of tribal warfare in which 800 have died, and 2,000 have been injured, Mandela must know that his obsession with being the only Big Black Man in South Africa has made such a bloody mess of it that those who prayed, sobbed, and mounted hysterical rock concerts for his release, must wonder why they bothered.

But 27 years alone in jail with his bitter thoughts can excusably cloud any man's clear-thinking judgement.

There is no excuse for the openly bloody-minded Madam Mandela with her fist clenching at power, and her busy body strutting around in battledress or brass-buttoned navy copies of

Maggie Thatcher's Party conference suits.

Winnie is indeed the black side of the man-martyr in the white BMW his wife treasures, like the mansion she built in otherwise shanty Soweto.

Winnie is a very simple, if sinister tribal soul.

She wants to be head woman and innocent heads will roll — and it's rumoured already have — if the self-styled Mother of the People doesn't get her way.

If the Mandelas had the funds she'd love, Winnie would be the poor man's Imelda Marcos at the drop of a tiara.

Her husband must know that suspectedly wicked Winnie, who won't be shut up even if they jail her on kidnap and assault counts, could be the political death of him.

And you can see it in his haggard and hag-ridden face.



HAG-RIDDEN: Mandela

kwe-ANC nabeNkatha

UDR M.G. Buthelezi.

UDR Nelson Mandela.

ETHEKWINI.-UNDunakulu waKwaZulu no-
nguMongameli weNkatha Freedom Party,
uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ngesonto ele-
dlule uthe uyasithakasela isinqumo sesi-
Gungu sikazwelonke se-ANC sokubonana
naye wadalula nokuthi isimemo esivela
ePhinini lomholi we-ANC, uDr. Nelson Ma-
ndela kanye nakozakwabo be-ANC, usitho-
le ngolwesiHlanu mhla kaSeptember 21.

UDr Buthelezi usho
lokhu esitatimendeni sa-
khe emuva kokuba
i-ANC ibenomhlangano
ophuthumaayo eGoli
ngesonto eledlule lapho
inqume khona ukuba
ibize umhlangano om-
khulu wabobonke abaho-
li basezabelweni, phaka-
thi kwabo okukhona na-
ye uDr Buthelezi nge-
nhloso yokufuna icebo
lokuqeda udlame kuba-
njiswene emhlanganweni
ozobangomhlaka Octo-
ber 5.

Kukholakala ukuthi
ukubonana kukaDr Bu-
thelezi noDr Mandela
kungase kushintshe so-
nke isimo sodlame olu-
bhebhethaka ezindaweni
ezahlukene kuleli, ika-
khulu eNatal naseNtasi-
fali, kuphethe ngokuba
ludambe noma luphele.

Abantu abaningi
eSouth Africa nakwama-
nye amazwe bakholwa
wukuthi ukungahlangani
kwalababaholi yikhona
okuyimbangela yokuba
kubebhethake udlame
phakathi kwabalandeli
be-ANC nabeNkatha
Freedom Party, okuyiwo-
na maqembu anabala-
ndeli abaningi kakhulu
eSouth Africa.

Abantu abaningi ezi-
ndaweni ezahlukene ba-
kuthakasele kakhulu
ukuzwa ukuthi uDr Bu-
thelezi noDr Mandela
bazobonana khona ma-
duze-nje bathi ukuba ba-
bonana esanda kuphuma
ejele uDr Mandela nga-
be ayizange ibekhona le-
mbedumehlwana yodia-

me lwaseNtilasifali lapho
sekufe khona abantu
abaningi.

Kodwa uDr Buthelezi
uthe uzokuya kulomhla-
ngano njengoMongame-
li weNkatha Freedom
Party hhayi njengomholi
wesabelo.

Kwenzeka lokhu-nje,
ikhokhasi yoMkhandlu
Oshaya imiThetho Kwa-
Zulu ithe uyakuhlaba ka-
khulu ulubhebhethaka
kodlame yathi ngeke uze
ubekhona umbuso
ntando yeningi uma lu-
ngaqedwa loludlame.

Ikhokhasi ibuye yasi-
shayela ihlombe isinq-
umo sokubonana kwezi-
khulu ze-ANC nezeNka-
tha ngomhlaka Septem-
ber 19.

Ibuye yezwakalalisa
ukuwathakasela amazwi
obungani ashiwo nguDr
Mandela ngoDr Buthele-
zi yathi kufanele uDr
Buthelezi aqhubeke no-
kuzama ukubonana noDr
Mandela.

Abaholi bezabelo
abalindeleke ukuba ba-
bekhona kulomhlangano
ngoMnuz. Nelson Ramo-
dike waseLebowa, James
Mahlangu waKwaNdebe-
le, Enos Mabuza waKa-
Ngwane, Hudson Ntsan-
wisi waseGazankulu no-
Kenneth Mopeli wase-
Qwaqwa.

Bobabili uDr Buthe-
lezi noDr Mandela bathe
bangabangane abakhulu,
ngangokuthi uDr Ma-
ndela uze washo nokuthi
uDr Buthelezi wabanesa-
ndla esikhulu ekukhulu-
lweni kwakhe ejele.

Esitatimendeni sakhe,
uDr Buthelezi uthe use-
mtshelile uDr Mandela
ukuthi usazothintana ne-
Nkatha Freedom Party
kanye nekhokhasi yo-
Mkhandlu Oshaya imi-
Thetho KwaZulu wathi
ngexa yalokhu akuba-
ngalula ukunquma usuku
azobonana ngalo ne-
ANC.

UDr Buthelezi uzofu-
na "ukuxoxa" ngokushe-
sha noDr Mandela ukuze
athole isiqiniseko sokuthi
iqinisele yini i-ANC emi-
zamweni yayo yokuzama
ukunciphisa udlame oku-
yophetha ngokuba kube-
khona ukuthula ngokuba
ihlangane nabaholi base-
zabelweni.

Uthe uma ethola uku-
thi i-ANC iqinisele uyo-
ya noma kanjani kulom-
hlangano kodwa uyoya
kuwo njengoMongameli
weNkatha Freedom
Party.

Maqondana nomhla-
ngano we-ANC neNka-
tha Freedom Party eThe-
kwini ngesonto eledlule
lapho kuzanywe khona
ukufuna ikhambi lokuqe-
da udlame, uDr Buthele-
zi uthe ukuthakasela ka-
khulu ukushintsha kwe-
ANC osekudale ukuba
kubekhona umhlangano
wokuthula phakathi kwe-
siGungu sikazwelonmke
se-ANC kanye nabaholi
abanohlolize beNkatha
Freedom Party. Uthe fu-
x Iphela ekhasini 3 x



LENA yingxenywe yabantu abebelinganiselwa ngaphezulu kuka 25 000
abebehambe umcimbi weLembe izolo ngeSonto eKing's Park Sta-
dium.

Okusha nge-ANC neNkatha

x Isuka ekhasini 1 x
thi uyazithakasela izi-
nyathelo zokuthula ese-
nziwe.

UDr Buthelezi uthe
lolushintsho lwezinhli-
ziyo ngasohlangothini lwe-
ANC luyisiqalo sokuda-
mba kwesimo okuyophe-
tha ngokuba yena noDr
Mandela bakhulume
ngezindaba ezisemqoka
wathi ngasosonke isikha-
thi uyamthanda futhi
uyamhlonipha uDr Ma-
ndela.

16/1/14

ILANGA LITHI . . .

Bakhuthazeni abeNkatha ne-ANC

UMHLANGANO obuyimfihlo wezikhulu eziphezulu zeNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), i-African National Congress (ANC) kanye nezeCosatu, ubukeka uyisinyathe-lo esiya khona endleleni efanele.

Nanxa singazi ukuthi kukhulunywe kwathiwani, phela siyakwemukela ukuba izingxoxo ziqale zibeyinguyazana ngoba kusazothatha isikhathi kukhishelwana izi-fuba bese kugcina kuvunyelwene uma konke kuhamba kahle. Imihlangano yalo-luhlobo ivama ukukhinyabezwa yimigo-qo okuthi zisuka nje bese kubekelwana yona. Nokho sethamba kakuzukwenzeka lokhu kulaba, ngoba umgomo wabo nesi-dingo sokuba basheshe bahlangane ba-thelelane amanzi sikhulu futhi sibaluleki-le nxa kucatshangwa ngokuqeda izinxu-shunxushu nokubukana ngeziqu zame-hlo kubalandeli balezizinhlangano kanye nakubaholi.

Thina esicela kwenziwe yibobonke abantu abathintekile nabangathintekile, ngukuba ikhuthazwe iNkatha ne-ANC ba-sondelane kakhulu kunakuqala babonisa-ne ukuze umphakathi ungalokhu uthelwa ngamachaphazelo adaleka ngokungezwa-ni kwalezizinhlangano. Futhi nezingxoxo ngekusasa elisha ngeke zikhinyabezeke uma lezizinhlangano ziphumelela ukubo-nisana. Okuzosisiza lezizinhlangano ngu-kuba bangabibikho abafihle induku em-qubeni, futhi nabalandeli bazo, ikakhulu be-ANC akade belokhu behlubela nhla-nye okwelanga lasebusika bebika imbiba nebuzi, sekufanele baqonde njengothi lomkhonto manje, uma befuna ukuxoxa neNkatha bakwenze lokhu ngokuzimise-la, futhi baqale ngokushanelisisa ngapha-kathi eqenjini labo ngoba basebaningi abantu kuyo i-ANC abanemibono ehlane-kezelwe ngeNkatha kanye nezwe laKwa-Zulu.

I-ANC kufanele futhi iyeke ukulokhu yesabisa uHulumeni obusayo ngokuthi yona uma ithanda ingakwenza ukuba izingxoxo ngekusasa zingaphumeleli. Makwaziwe ukuthi akusasini swa amahleza manje, i-ANC uma ike yaphuma ezingxoxweni, iNkatha nezinye izinhlangano nge-ke besayilinda sebeyoqhubeka, yona isale ngaphandle. Kakufuneki kuze kwenze-ke nakancane lokhu ngoba kakulethi izwe elinokuthula nelinesisekelo somno-tho osimamile.

Sibesihle futhi isimemezelo esiqhamu-ke ngempelasonto sokuthi kuzanywa

16/1/14

90 KUYA KU 6/10/1990
E AYISIPESHELI ASUKELA MHLAKA

PHONE: 3045036

NO. 1000, DORNBACH

Time now to get the smaller players around the table

B/day 26-9-90

MIKE ROBERTSON

VIOLENCE and the responses of various parties to it have all but put paid to prospects of real negotiations beginning by the year end.

Also delaying negotiations, ironically, is the very success achieved by negotiators in removing obstacles identified by the ANC.

In the brief period between August 6 and the onset of Reef violence, government spokesmen confidently predicted real negotiations would be under way by the year end. It is now seven weeks since the signing of the Pretoria Minute in which the ANC agreed to suspend armed action and there is still no sign of so-called "talks about talks" to explore matters such as participation and structuring of negotiations.

Violence on the scale witnessed on the Reef in past weeks would always have threatened what is a fragile negotiation process. Coming as it did at a time when neither of the parties to the Pretoria Minute had had an opportunity to sell to their respective constituencies compromises that were acceptable to negotiators, it has been especially disruptive. It is also not surprising that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela sees the hand of a "sinister third force".

Government and the ANC proved at Pretoria that leaders were able to negotiate with each other. There has since been little proof that the ANC has been able to sell what was agreed to its more radical elements. On the other hand, while government spokesmen deny it publicly, they admit in private that they do have a problem in getting elements of the security forces to accept the Pretoria Minute.

In addition, while neither side ever claimed that the Groote Schuur and Pretoria rounds were intended as anything more than talks to remove obstacles, the success achieved and the degree of trust built up, particularly between President F W de Klerk and Mandela, aroused suspicions of "exclusivity" or a "deal between the two main parties".

The DP's Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall complained of this as, in a rather more histrionic manner, did Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He complained about being ignored when, after the signing of the

Pretoria Minute, US President George Bush congratulated De Klerk and Mandela on their role in ending violence. The Inkatha leader went on to call for "pressure on the SA government to move away from the divisiveness which separate talks (are) resulting in".

Government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen has since pointed out that it has held as many if not more talks with Buthelezi, both directly and as part of larger delegations of homeland leaders, than with the ANC. This, however, does not detract from the fact that Buthelezi felt excluded.

Post-August 6 we had a situation of growing confidence in relations between government and the ANC and mistrust about this relationship on the part of other potential participants. Violence and the various parties' responses to it have resulted in mistrust all round.

Government erred badly in not reacting sooner to accusations of security force misconduct or partiality. The appointment of an "independent, highly respected" person to investigate these allegations would have been an appropriate response at the outset. It is only now being considered by De Klerk.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan's repeated attacks on the ANC and Mandela reflect a level of general annoyance in government.

It is argued by some in government that these attacks are intended

to address fears among more conservative elements in the army. If so they must then be seen in the same light as the provocative speeches of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, which are said to be aimed at placating more radical elements in the ANC. It was, after all, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer who pointed out, in reference to the utterances of Hani and Winnie Mandela, that controversial statements aimed at placating certain elements had the effect of antagonising almost everyone else.

Nelson Mandela has also done his bit to undermine trust built up in the run-up to and on August 6. Contradictions abound in almost every public

statement he makes. An example is the speech he made in Soweto on Sunday in which he again raised the threat of pulling out of negotiations, only to add that the ANC was forced in present circumstances to negotiate through thick and thin.

Underlying these remarks is again a concern to keep in check more radical elements in the movement by holding out the possibility of a return to the armed action. The reality, however, is that so-called armed struggle amounted to very little. In any case, the police uncovering of "Operation Vula" has all but smashed the ANC underground.

Mandela went on to talk of the so-called third force having gone underground for the benefit of De Klerk's visit to the US. At the same time he absolves De Klerk of any involvement with this so-called force, which he believes is sponsored by right-wing elements in the security forces who want to undermine negotiations. The explanation as to why this force should then go underground for De Klerk's benefit was not forthcoming.

It is not just government and the ANC that by their actions or inaction have undermined prospects for real negotiations. Buthelezi, too, is far from blameless. He has pushed for a meeting with Mandela without ever spelling out why such a high-profile media event would achieve more than the patient, lower-level meetings which have recently resulted in the signing of peace accords in parts of strife-torn Natal.

Now that the ANC national executive committee has called for a meeting with all homeland leaders, he says he will attend only as leader of Inkatha.

At a Shaka day rally at the weekend Buthelezi talked of both Inkatha and KwaZulu being represented in negotiations. He is both KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader and talks with the ANC are part of broader negotiations. If he really believes a high-profile meeting between him and Mandela will contribute towards ending violence, why quibble?

16/1/11

Time now to get the smaller players around the table.

The other major black political organisation, the PAC, after tiptoeing tentatively towards talks with government, has now put off a decision to enable it to consult its membership. Given its past demand for government capitulation before negotiation, Viljoen is perhaps correct in interpreting this as a positive move. It is difficult, however, to take seriously an organisation whose leader Zeph Mothopeng talks as he did at the weekend of "delivering the last blow to overthrow white domination" and of the PAC winning and "taking power".

Confidence in negotiations has been severely shaken but De Klerk is right when he points out that despite the violence, more progress than could have been hoped for a year ago has been achieved.

Mandela still maintains that there will be peace only while the main political players — government and the ANC — talk to each other. That takes us back to August 6. Harsh experience has shown that this is not enough.

The political process has to be broadened and broadened quickly. If that means compromising on issues such as a constituent assembly it must be done. A sensible compromise being floated by some in government entails the basic principles of a new constitution being worked out in negotiations in which all parties with a proven constituency participate. Then only are elections held with those elected empowered to fill in the details.

Given that all major parties except the PAC and CP have committed themselves to a negotiated settlement, it would help too if leaders started considering the future of all South Africa rather than the interests of their supporters when engaging in public debate.

Throughout the violence, the government/ANC political offences and "armed action" working groups have continued not only to meet, but to agree on recommendations to be made to their principals.

This is a sign that while negotiations have suffered a setback, they are far from dead. The challenge now is to achieve the same results with all parties and not just the so-called main players.

Zulu leader says he trusts white regime

BY REMER TYSON
Free Press Africa Bureau

ULUNDI, South Africa — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela's chief rival for leadership among South African blacks, said Tuesday he trusts the present white-dominated government to pass legislation adopting a new constitution that will bring majority rule to South Africa.

Buthelezi's position clashes directly with that advocated by the African National Congress. His position also will be seen as support for the white government and most likely will spark more conflict between him and the ANC.

In the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC called for the election of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitution. But Buthelezi said President F.W. de Klerk should direct legislation defining the country's future.

"The U.S. accepted Mr. de Klerk as the legitimate head of the South African government. And I would expect, of course, he would legislate whatever is agreed on," Buthelezi told a Free Press reporter in an interview in Buthelezi's office in Ulundi. Buthelezi is chief minister of the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu; Ulundi is its capital.

Buthelezi rejected the Harare Declaration.

"The whites have imposed things on me and my people and on the rest of us for so long that I hate the idea of any people getting together as a clique and imposing something that was not authored by the people of South Africa. It was not authored by the people of South Africa."

The ANC contends that the present national government, which excludes participation by South Africa's black majority, should not enact legislation defining a new constitution.

Instead, the ANC demands that national elections based on one person, one vote be held to name members of a national assembly to write a new constitution.

Because whites make up only 15 percent of South Africa's population, such an election would mean a black majority would be elected to write the new constitution.

The white-dominated government headed by de Klerk insists that it remain in place during negotiations about a new constitution.

Buthelezi said the ANC has taken the position that it is a "government waiting in the wings," and will ignore the interests of other political parties, including black ones such as the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, of which Buthelezi is president.

The seven million Zulus make up the largest group of people in South Africa and account for about 25 percent of black South Africans.

On another issue, Buthelezi said he is undecided whether to attend a meeting of homeland leaders called by the ANC to discuss how to end violence in South Africa's black townships.

The ANC has said its deputy president Nelson Mandela would participate

Buthelezi said the ANC has taken the position that it is a "government waiting in the wings," and will ignore the interests of other parties.

in the meeting with Buthelezi, to be held Oct. 5.

Asked whether he would like to be first black president of South Africa, Buthelezi replied: "It is not on my agenda at all. I've never thought of it."

Buthelezi said he would support Mandela for the first black president if he is the most popular candidate, but expected the same treatment from Mandela.

"If Mr. Mandela is elected by the people of South Africa as their president, I will support him," said Buthelezi. "If the unexpected from some peoples' point of view happens and the people want me instead of him, then he should also be prepared to support me. He should not try to squash me."

De Klerk: Need for sanctions will fade

AP and UPI

WASHINGTON — Saying he "can look America in the eye," South African President F.W. de Klerk vowed Tuesday that the racial reforms now under way in his country will eliminate the rationale for U.S. economic sanctions.

"The time will come when automatically there will be compliance and sanctions will fall away," said de Klerk, speaking at a press luncheon as he neared the end of his official visit. "I can look America in the eye and say, 'We are no longer divided.' Apartheid is not an issue any longer."

Members of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee were invited to meet with de Klerk on Tuesday afternoon, but Rep. George Crockett, D-Mich., made a point of skipping the meeting, said his chief aide Joan Willoughby.

"He believes that now is not the time to congratulate the South Africans," Willoughby said. "There's a lot of work to be done."

However, Rep. Howard Wolpe, D-Mich., who chairs the committee's Africa subcommittee, spent about an hour and a half in two meetings with the South African president.

A persistent critic of the apartheid regime, Wolpe said that members of Congress showed de Klerk "respect for the courage he has exhibited" in changing South African policy. But Wolpe said he and others also warned de Klerk that his government needed to address reports that its police and military forces have provoked or exacerbated recent violence among black factions.

Wolpe said he and colleagues also asked for reassurances "that when de Klerk talks about democracy, he really means the same thing most Americans mean by democracy." He said de Klerk seemed to raise options such as the white minority giving itself a permanent veto power.

In his speech, de Klerk reiterated that South Africa is embarked on an irreversible course away from white supremacist rule. Anne Griffin, legislative director for TransAfrica, the group that led the fight for sanctions, said de Klerk's sincerity would remain in

doubt until he launches a "direct attack on the legislative foundation of apartheid." Patricia Edmunds of the Free Press Washington staff contributed to this report.

Zulu leader expects current South Africa government to end apartheid, Page 3A.



Turmoil in the townships: 'Mr Mandela calls repeatedly for "discipline", but no one heeds him'

Visions of apocalypse beyond the power vacuum

Unless the ANC adopts a more co-operative attitude, only anarchy or repression can fill the void in the South African townships, argues PETER TAYLOR in Johannesburg

AFTER the bloody events of recent weeks there are few people here — including those whites whose thoughts do not usually stray beyond the 19th hole — who have not at least pondered apocalyptic possibilities. We are not quite at the stage where armoured police Casspirs roar through the townships blaring Ride of the Valkyries through loudspeakers, but there is a definite air of manic uncertainty. Psychologists report that, instead of unburdening the usual domestic or work problems, patients can talk of nothing but the arbitrary wave of violence. It is a kind of communal trauma, affecting black and white alike.

Although the carnage has subsided for the moment, it is to this atmosphere that President F. W. de Klerk returns after his trip to the White House. It is time to take stock. By all accounts Mr de Klerk has achieved a "diplomatic triumph" in Washington and President Bush is convinced of South Africa's "irreversible change". Although there must be several thousand murderers and accomplices to murder at large in the townships — a grim statistic — the security force presence appears to have damped mob violence.

Whether the curfews introduced earlier this week will work is another matter: there is a perfectly reasonable argument that it will merely shift mayhem to the white suburbs. Jumping from a high building, of course, is one form of "irreversible change".

Still, Mr de Klerk richly deserves his American success. Since his February 2 speech unbanning the ANC, he has played his cards as shrewdly as anyone could. His predecessor, P. W. Botha, was a reactive politician who made concessions largely as a last resort. Some of the Botha "reforms" — the abandonment of influx control, the scrapping of the Immorality Act — were only a belated recognition of established practice. He ditched unworkable regulations, but he was not innovative. Mr de Klerk seized the initiative, and moved towards negotiations with a speed which bemused both the African National Congress and his white political opponents. In

the argot of the political commentators, "momentum" became the key word.

Mr de Klerk is still very much the dominant figure in white politics. There is no question that the National party has lost support to the Right-wing Conservatives, but there is no prospect of another "whites only" election which could bring about a Conservative government. Dr Andries Treurnicht's prescriptions for a white homeland seem more dotty by the day. As for the liberal Democratic party, they look like a bunch of powerless dreamers. If it was not actually very sad, it would be comic to observe their realisation that the ANC might not, after all, be a bastion of free speech, fair play and plural democracy.

Mr de Klerk has certainly made mistakes, but he has been able to limit the damage. Having promised Nelson Mandela that the government had a plan to restore peace in the townships, it was not smart to allow the police to announce it prematurely, and to call it Operation Iron Fist. The earlier fuss about a communist "red plot" within the ANC now also seems a trifle excessive. The government's clumsy reaction might have been labelled Operation Ham Fist. And misjudgments are still being made. Mr Chris Hani, leader of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, may be a thorough Left-wing nuisance, but it makes no sense to withdraw his indemnity. Mr Hani is less of a threat in the negotiating process than he is rabble-rousing in combat fatigues in Transkei.

What is crystal clear, however, is that the government and the ANC, even before the "negotiating process" begins, have very few shared perspectives. When the government announced an amnesty for firearms handed in before October 1, the ANC immediately denounced it for "crim-

inalising the possession of weapons". The "armed struggle", which has never amounted to anything more than a few random bombings and tawdry township killings, is in the process of being woven into a liberation myth. Yet the ANC — although it may precipitate a bloodbath — cannot wage a war of liberation.

The government, and Mr de Klerk, are attempting something unique: the surrender, through negotiation, of their own legitimacy. There are no sides over by a patrician, ex-colonial power; no United Nations troops and observers to hold the line while a fledgling democracy takes shape. If the ANC will neither share *de facto* responsibility with the government, nor admit to the government's right to govern in the interim, it is difficult to see how anything but anarchy or repression can fill the vacuum.

EVEN if the ANC's intentions were more conciliatory — and there are some hardline Marxists in the hierarchy who have no serious commitment to a negotiated constitution — there are grave doubts about whether Mr Mandela and the other "moderates" can impose leadership on their township supporters. It suited the ANC to claim to be the driving force behind the township rebellions of the 1980s, but they actually had their own grass-roots dynamic, unfettered and unguided by anything decided by the elites in Lusaka. Mr Mandela calls repeatedly for "discipline", but no one heeds him.

Before the bloodshed began in August, there was much debate about what form negotiations might take, about "round tables" and "square tables". The government's aim is for a round table, with a wide range of political groups represented. The ANC envisages a square

table, with almost all black groups lined up behind the ANC on one side, and the government and a much-weakened Inkatha movement on the other. Such speculations now seem remote.

The latest talk is of "Track Two Diplomacy", of an informal negotiating forum consisting of middle-rank representatives of various groups. Such people would not have the authority to take decisions, but, it is argued, they might be more flexible and creative in finding solutions. It would buy time.

As Professor Hermann Giliomee, head of political studies at Cape Town University says: "From a government point of view, it would be far better to negotiate ultimately with a movement which has organised itself properly, which has some consensus on the level of both leaders and followers about ways to restore peace in South Africa, and has the ability to make deals stick."

Whether the government resorts to "track two" or not, it is a small miracle that the negotiations are still capable of running anywhere. After 12 people were killed when police opened fire on a demonstration at Sebokeng in March, the ANC pulled out of the first round of talks. Under great pressure — not least from Western diplomats, who have told the ANC that negotiations are "Africa's last chance" — there is still agreement to keep the process alive.

If one result of Mr de Klerk's Washington visit is that the International Monetary Fund makes sorely-needed loans available, then something will have been achieved. But the options for a suddenly caring international community are negligible. Disinvestment and sanctions have already done their work: companies that have left will not return, and the ocean of unemployed (and unemployable) continues to swell. Mr de Klerk cannot be helped much by good wishes hollered from over the horizon. He needs a negotiating partner.

Byron wrote that he wanted to be the "Owner of Africa" so that slavery could be swept away, and he could gaze upon "the first dance of their Freedom". Mr de Klerk is ready and waiting, but he has discovered that it takes two to tango.