

SUNDAY,

TRIBUNE CO

safety of Mr Mandela in this

| Inkatha stronghold. This is a

. | Great pity; such a rally could

have been a catalyst for  
Peace. â\200\230 %

The two leaders must find  
a suitable vantage as soon as  
possible to Stage 3 Joint  
Peace rally, to Persuade  
warring factions that political  
differences can be  
surmounted.

Further, the two leaders  
should, in concert, encourage  
Government to create

me of blood' :  
- chaos in Which law and : P  
- order has finally broken ground; -spots  
down in New parts of the A  
) disrupting the day. | While  
to-day lives of millions of oppressed  
people. ' A ;

Such lawlessness cannot | Of normal Society are: lack-  
be allowed to continue. | In, there is just the point in  
Enough is enough. The Gov. must know.  
Government knows it only, Only by  
President Fw is | na

, despite calls from  
all sides to halt the killing,  
peace rally at Taylor's

.râ\200\231sâ\200\224leng't ,

rchie

| @: You've criticised KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the path heâ\200\231s taken since his association with the African National Congress. Why?

A: Originally the impression he gave was that, the ANC having been banned, it was necessary that there be an organisation to function in the place of the ANC to defeat the National Party in establishing Bantu Authorities.

He was seen to be co-operating with the exiles in blocking the intentions of Dr Verwoerd.

Then he swung around to the idea that he was for negotiation and his attitude was it was better to nego-

tiate with the South African Government through the

constitutional machinery established by the Nats. The attitude of the ANC had always been that South Africa was one country and not divisible and therefore the question of separate races, separate education, separate facilities, was not acceptable.

He then came up with this line of opposition to armed resistance, sanctions and attacks on socialism. . In that way he is able to gain white support, but he ' talks about multi-party democracy when, in KwaZulu,

here is only one party. Itâ\200\231s a fully one-party state and any group that tries to establish itself politically is treated with violent hostility. That happened to an organisation called Umkhonto kaShaka.

When you come to look at the United Democratic Front, you find he accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC right from the time it was established and tried to encourage the state to take action against the UDF. Â¥

So now he has gone into this Joint Executive Authority, the Natal KwaZulu Indaba and negotiations with the central Government. In this way he presents himself as a very, very reasonable individual, but when you look at the way he operates you will find it is no different from the way in which Treurnicht would run the country.

ï-\201u vORY TRIBuN

1 APRIL. V2990

Theyâ\200\231re on a par. You'll have Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos and Afrikaners and those will form alliances on that ethnic basis. That is exactly his thinking. He'll talk about multi-party democracy in a unitary state and at the same time his whole philosophy is group-based.

There are also those aspects of his policy which make it clear coercion is inherent in his action. In the schools there is coercion to become members of Inkatha, in the rural areas before a person can plough land, receive an allotment, he must be a member of Inkatha. Chiefs have to be members of Inkatha and their followers have to be members of Inkatha.

Q: There seems, however, to have been a shift from the ANC side towards being more conciliatory towards Inkatha, towards recognising that Inkatha does have a constituency.

A: Well, without inferring a personal comparison, Hitler had a constituency, Stalin had a constituency. So when you talk about constituency, you are on a different terrain altogether.

But accepting Inkatha as a fact, we must come to terms with the reality of the situation. That does not admit the correctness of Inkatha policy, but recognises it exists and must be taken into account

Q: Do you think they can co-exist? There seems to be a feeling within the Mass Democratic Movement, particularly since the release of Mr Mandela, that Inkatha is losing ground in Natal, mainly in the urban areas â\200\224 that Inkatha can be kicked out or finished off.

A: To be brutally frank, I donâ\200\231t think anybody who knows anything about the reality of Inkatha can talk that language. i :

I cannot say it is impossible for people who are

â\200\230members of Inkatha to co-exist with people who are

S Loy

|



Q: will you make an approach to have proper discussions with the leadership on the Natal question?

A: No, I will leave it to them to ask me. I'm not going

; . to try to influence them; they must understand the people who have been involved in the changes over the years are better suited to interpret to them present conditions, than the ANC.

Q: Why?

A: The UDF has served a very

good purpose and I will not say it was ineffective, but it cannot replace the ANC and the ANC needs local people who can help the exiles re-adjust to local conditions and changes.

Q: Gwala expects the UDF to continue to exist alongside ANC. What is your response?

A: Well, I just don't understand ... the UDF's function is to help those who are unsure how best to bring about change. I must come in contact with that (local) body of thought and act. The UDF has

Q: You have often put your political head on a block in being willing to talk peace, willing to entertain different ideas and also your commitment to non-violence. I understand there are elements in the ANC who are upset with you because you have never spoken out in support of the armed struggle.

A: I have not spoken against it but

because I don't think it's correct. A . 4 Was not opposed to the demonstration of opposition - blowing up pylons, creating problems in the country - 'ax'ld SO on 224 but I never thought we could have an uprising like the Bambata Rebellion, taking into account the reality of the situation. The South African Army is a reality. Now talk about an armed struggle when Mozambique cannot challenge SA, when Zambia cannot challenge SA, to talk about armed struggle among people who are not armed does not make sense. It is to say: (a:ry :lt is t;sx)tssi':le by attacking police sta-

y depots to bring the country; i

doesn't seem sound reasoning. g s

Q: Why has there been reluctance to abandon the armed struggle now the ANC is unbanned?

A: There are still these security; i

y laws; if the SA Gov-

ernment repeals the Internal Security Act, they repeal the Public Safety Act\_ and so forth, then we are aware that we are now talking as people, we are not talking |

as armed people and unarmed people. You don't need these laws if you are going to govern, you only need these laws if you are going to misgovern. If there is a promise not to misgovern there is no need for any

armed revolt.

i

; ' That has come to an end in Clermont, not because the ~ are robbing other people, but then you see it is extend-

Q: But both sides expect the other to make the compromise. The Government says: 'The armed struggle has not been renounced, therefore we need these laws.'

A: But that is where negotiations come in. That is when people must start talking. As President De Klerk has said 'correctly' about releasing political prisoners: Well, this is a matter we can discuss; but the first thing that must take place is a discussion.

Q: What about the conditions for negotiations like the ending of the state of emergency? With the violence that erupted in Ciskei and other homelands it would be very hard for the Government under its own constituency to lift the emergency.

A: In Natal we have all these incidents, not in a homeland and despite the state of emergency. The emergency does not bring about any significant improvement; what we need is contact between people. Now we have tried to persuade Buthelezi, for instance, to come with us and talk so we can go to our areas and tell people there is no need to continue fighting.

Look at those homelands (where there's been violence) and you'll find the repression there has been very severe.

Q: You've expressed concern about coercion within the progressive movement before. What is your current perception, particularly with regard to the militancy of the youth?

A: Yes, you do have a problem of coercion, but it was the youth who were responsible for reducing Inkatha's influence in the areas we have been talking about and, as a result they have a standing in the community so that people listen to what the youth says and does. Among themselves there is a sort of discipline that then also applies to people who are not part of this

group. e ! g

Like the experience we had with drug traffickers.

drug traffickers wouldn't like to carry on, but because they realise they were going to be taking on more than they could hold. So in a sense, there people have been forced not to deal in drugs.

The same thing applies more or less to people who

ing itself to something different now, where people think that high rents are a form of robbery and landlords are finding themselves victims.

It's not the same. kind of coercion compared to a few years ago ... but it does tend towards the protection of people's interests rather than the invasion of people's rights.

Q: What problems do you have with the way ANC people have acted so far?

A: Well, one problem is they are excluding themselves from obtaining information from people who they ought to know are in contact with the situation.

Q: Are there others in Natal they should be taking to? : g

A: I can't think of anybody because the other senior people in the organisation are Indians who are not in touch with the people in the townships; or coloureds" who haven't got the foggiest idea of what is taking place outside their own areas.

Q: Why do you think you have been excluded' i this way?

A: I don't know! I would like to get the answer to that. They say they haven't, but the reality is they have. One time the Indians (in the MDM leadership) said I was senile (laughs).



THIS is the ANC statement  
calling off the April 11 meet-  
ing with the Government:  
â\200\234For the third time in as  
many weeks, the South Afri-  
can police and army have  
indulged in the unprovoked  
killing and maiming of defen-  
celess demonstrators. \*

â\200\234On 26th March, less than  
seven days after the 30th  
anniversary of the notorious  
Sharpeville massacre in 1960,  
unarmed demonstrators in  
Sebokeng, -engaged in a  
peaceful demonstration  
against the injustices of  
apartheid, were once again  
shot, resulting in the loss of  
more than 16 lives and injur-  
ies to an estimated 400

people. 5 .

â\200\234While the ANC and other  
formations of the democratic

- movement have made an  
explicit commitment to seek-  
ing a peaceful resolution of  
the South African conflict, no  
such undertaking has yet  
been made by the Pretoria  
regime.

â\200\234Under the present cir-  
cumstances, the National  
Executive Committee of the  
ANC, in consultation with the  
Interim Leadership Core in  
South Africa, considers it ill-  
advised to proceed with  
arrangements to â\200\230meet De  
Klerk and his colleagues on  
April 11, oo

states that the

â\200\234Effective -from this  
moment, all arrangements

' for this meeting stand sus-

pended. The NEC shall con-

' vene a special sitting to  
- review the situation within  
. five days. The South African  
~ Government was informed of  
' the decision on Friday,  
| March 30. :

â\200\234The ANC once again reit-

) ple of  
South Africa have the right to

assemble and demonstrate in

support 'of their just

\* demands. We claim this as an

" inalienable right, not as a

favour. conceded by the .

â\200\230regime at its discretion.â\200\235

{

A VICTIM, shot through both thighs,; LuÃ©ky Zuma,  
-,Martln and a young doctor who did not wish to be identified.

The catalyst for the renewed fighting

AS thÃ© violence in Pieter-

maritzburgâ\200\231s townships

continues to have a domino  
effect, spreading from the  
Edendale Valley to Imbali  
and Mpophomeni near  
. Howick, there is still spec-  
- ulation as to what sparked  
off this weekâ\200\231s fighting.

The most easily offered  
explanation is that it was a  
revenge attack after UDF  
Comrades stoned buses be-  
fore and after an Inkatha  
rally on Sunday.

Some observers say that

Inkatha impis hijacked  
several KwaZulu transport  
buses on Monday and  
moved into the UDF  
strong-holds, carrying out  
retaliatory attacks.

-However, a senior police  
officer who was in the  
Edendale area on Thurs-

day said that while this  
was certainly one possib-

lity, the conflict could also  
have started when a taxi  
carrying several Inkatha  
members was stopped and  
set alight at the George-

town intersection on Tues-  
day afternoon. {

" Two people are believed

to have died in the incident  
and at least eight others  
were injured.

â\200\234This is not retaliation,  
this is war man, full scale

war, just like Beirut,â\200\235 said 5

one young comrade on

â\200\230Wednesday, as he stood at  
a barricade on the Eden-

dale Road.

When asked how long  
he intended fighting he re-  
plied: â\200\234Until the end. One  
side has to win in the end

being treated by mission nurse Sister  
Picture: BARRY MARTENS

poses a puzzle

and we know we can beat  
the Thelewenis (Inkatha),â\200\235  
he said.

A senior police officer  
said what was emerging in  
the strife-torn township is  
that where previously there  
were open clashes between  
United Democratic Front  
and Inkatha supporters,  
selective killings were now  
taking place. %

â\200\234If a family member is  
killed by either UDF or  
Inkatha, his next of kin  
feel bound to avenge the  
deathâ\200\235, he said.

THE Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Rob Haswell, said it was necessary to deploy a major peacekeeping force in the Edendale Valley as a matter of urgency if peace is to be restored to the area.

Speaking after a tour of the valley on Friday morning, Mr Haswell said that because of the widespread nature of the violence, peace was not going to be readily achieved and a multi-pronged approach was needed to contain the violence.

Mr Haswell was part of a group of 20 people, including Archbishop

| Suneay TRIBUNE 1 APRIL 1990  
Call for 'major peacekeeping force to play a part in Edendale

Dennis Hurley, who made a fact-finding tour of the violence-torn area.

Business leaders in Natal have expressed their deepest concern about the violence in the Edendale Valley and are expected to meet this weekend to decide how best to respond to the plight of those employees who have been affected.

The president of the South African Chamber of Business, Brian Kurz, said that following a meeting of members in Johannesburg on Friday, it was resolved that immediate approaches be made to Minister

of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok.

Senior businessmen in Natal are seriously concerned with the situation and we will be discussing it further this weekend to see how we can best respond to it, Mr Kurz said.

He said that while it was impossible to estimate the effect the violence has had on the city's business sector, it could also have adverse international impact as the violence was given prominent coverage overseas.

Mr Haswell said they visited Ashdown, where several houses had been gutted on Wednesday as well as the

Ty, T

Thuthuka Hall in Georgetown, which has become a refugee centre for: thousands of people, mainly women and children.

On returning to Edendale, the party was notified of attacks that had occurred in Imbali and Mr Haswell said it was an "mortifying experience" to arrive at a house that was attacked less than two hours earlier.

He and other DP members met with MEC in charge of local government, Peter Miller yesterday morning and appealed for assistance to accommodate those people who have lost their homes in the violence.

Democratic Party Pietermaritzburg North MP, Mr Mike Tarr, who arrived in the city yesterday afternoon, called on all people in the conflict who don't live there to "get out" and said both sides should behave in a manner "consistent with peace".

Following the start of the violence in Edendale, KwaZulu Transport suspended its service to the area and few taxis were in operation as drivers feared entering the townships.

Absenteeism at city businesses was high over the past three days and many factories in the Imbali and Edendale areas closed early.

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The Mail on Sunday, April 1, 1950~ â\200\224

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ANC halts talks in prote

THE African WNational Con-  
gress scrapped peace talks  
with the South African gov-  
ermment yesterday after  
police opened fire on demon-  
strators in a black fownship.

ANC deputy president Nekson  
Mandels said negotiations were  
unacceptable while blacks were  
being â\200\230massacredâ\200\231.

Up to 17 people were killed in  
the shooolings in Sebokerng, sovth  
of Jehanneshurg on Monday.

Hundreds more suffered birdshot  
wounds during the profest against

[ Mail oo Sunday Reporter |

|

high rents and poor municCipal  
services. Talks were due to begin  
on April 11 as the first step  
towards megotiations between Ihe  
minority government and the  
black nationalist movement, legal-  
ised last month after 30 years.

But they were suspended indefi-  
nitely â\200\234as a profest against fthe  
killings,â\200\235 said Ahmed Kathrada, an  
ANC leader.

The decision, which follows a  
week of rising violence in black

areas across South Africa, sirikes  
a blow against Souih Africaâ\200\231s  
moves towards intermal peace, an  
ond to apartbeid and acceptance  
by the infernational community.

Shootings

Meanwhile, there wers reporis  
last night that Mr Mandela had  
said he would address the Tory

Pariy Conference at Bournemouth,  
if invited. Â¢

He apparently added he would  
like to see Mrs Thatcher during  
his London visit Later this month

Earlier, he indicated That the

st over killings

ANC had to respond to the shoot-  
ings when he visited injured vic-  
tims in Sebokeng hospital.

President F.W. De Klerk told a  
National Party youth meeting in  
the Transvaal town of Hlabos-  
pruit yesterday that he regretted  
the loss of life in Sebokeng. An  
investigation has been ordered.

But he said even if there were  
grounds for criticising the police,  
he could not agree that they  
should stand in the way of discus-  
sions, especially if they could  
contribute to the avoidance of  
such incidents in the future.

FIGHTING IN'

IN a bid i'tain ts rassroots support in the  
towns he â\200\230African: National Congress  
â\200\231 ommltment to the â\200\234armed

,â\200\230called off its planned meeting  
ent on April 11, 1 -  
e dodr: to talks remains open na conciliatory  
1 Party. Youth Congress at Na-  
day, President FW de Klerk said: â\200\234I  
. told Mr {1 ) Mandela that | my door remains open  
and he is welcome to meet with me.  
- He said that in hlsspeech on Monday he might give  
. the details, whole history' and interactions, which  
would have resulted in discussion on April 11.  
â\200\234The Governmet remains committed to talks with  
all those working for peaceful solutions.â\200\235  
The ANC's shock move came close on the heels of

ot e able toâ\200\231aye

lts decision on Friday to.abandon a joint peace meet-

ing with Inkatha leader.and KwaZulu Chief Minister,

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at Taylors Halt near  
] Pxetermautzburg tomorrow.

These decisions have raised fea' that the 'ANC may  
tâ\200\230any fresh:outbreak of violence  
and that it isâ\200\231 cut n tself.,o io of a possnble solution te

i . peace. mNatal.};?J" AR S ek 3  
" Explaining the declslon to: postpone the April 11

meeting with the Government, the ANC said yester-

~day: â\200\234For the third time in as many â\200\230weeks the-police â\204¢

and army have indulged  
in the unprovoked killing  
and maiming of defence-  
less demonstrators. -  
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234On March 26, less  
than seven days after the  
30th anniversary of the  
notorious Sharpeville  
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armed demonstrators in  
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SUanv TRIRUNE

ke :  
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against the injustices of  
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again shot, resulting in  
the loss of more than 16

lives and injuries to an |

estimated 400 people.

While the African National Congress and other formations of the democratic movement have made an explicit commitment to seeking a peaceful resolution of the conflict, no such undertaking has yet been made by the Pretoria regime.

Not agree

Under the present circumstances, the National Executive Committee of

the African National

Congress, in consultation with the Interim Leadership Core (ILC) in South Africa, considers it ill-advised to proceed with arrangements to meet De Klerk and his colleagues on April 11.

Mr De Klerk said he could not agree with the ANC that police action at Sebokeng should stand in the way of the April 11 discussions.

He said the April 11 meeting would contribute to an avoidance of the Sebokeng shooting in the future.

- He said he had not seen the full ANC statement

so he limited his remarks.

to the essentials, adding that on Monday he would react in greater detail.. He is still awaiting a full report on the shooting. -  
Let me say, obviously

the loss of life-is regret-

ted. It is always sad under - whatever circumstances. It is-always sad when people-lose-life:unâ

necessarily,â\200\235 he said.  
He did not want to  
argue the merits of the

| ANCâ\200\231s reasons but as-

suming there might be  
room for criticism of the  
police action, he could  
not agree that such criti-  
cism should stand in the

way of discussions. â\200\230

â\200\234Discussions can at-  
tribute to avoidance of  
similar incidents in the  
future,â\200\235 he said.

Mr De Klerk said the  
Government was deeply  
concerned about the  
widespread violence  
committed by people â\200\224  
many of whom were  
ANC supporters â\200\224 and  
this issue would have  
been raised on April 11.

He warned that if the  
violence continued the  
Government might be ob-  
liged to restore law and  
order.

During his speech he  
warned of the dangers of  
mishandling of all types  
of protests, including that  
from the right.

He reiterated his call  
for a new South Africa  
cutting across race and  
class, emphasising that  
Government had no in-  
tention of throwing free-  
dom and values over-  
board.

The aim was to get a  
respected democracy on  
all levels and a balance  
was needed.

He said there was a  
need to break out of the  
cycle of negativeness.

Mr De Klerk said  
South Africa could not be  
built on lawlessness.

â\200\234Some people say pro-  
test politics have played

a part in releasing pent-  
up emotions and some  
say it is an expression  
that we are returning to  
political normality.

\*â\200\234This might be true but  
unbridled protest politics  
do a lot of harm.â\200\235

He said there was a  
need for reconciliation  
and goodwill.

ANC deputy president  
Nelson Mandela, address-  
ing more than 100 000  
people in Bisho, Ciskei,  
said: â\200\234There is no free po-  
litical activity in the face |  
of violence against the !  
people and their demo- !  
cratic formations. We  
cannot ask our people to  
stop their self-defence  
against apartheid vio-  
lence. i

â\200\234I spoke to President  
De Klerk and told him  
the National Executive  
Committee had instruct-  
ed me to tell him that the  
meeting had been su-  
spended due to the killing  
of our people in Sebo-  
keng.â\200\235

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

He said the only way to  
advocate peace was to  
create a suitable climate  
for negotiations, meet the  
demands of the Harare  
Declaration, and end  
state violence against  
peaceful protest.

Speaking to the Press  
after touring violence-hit  
townships with Law and  
Order Minister Adriaan  
Vlok yesterday, Chief Bu-  
thelezi responded to the  
ANC'â\200\231s decision: â\200\234They  
(the ANC) wrecked it. I

did not.â\200\235

.

SUNQGA\200\230S TR BuNE  
I APRIL 199

talk

N Rehoboth UDI just one

of Nujoma's headaches

\* NAMIBIAA\200\231s fledglin, govern:

ment this week settled down  
to the day-to-day dynamics

of ruling the country a\200\224 after  
lâ\200\230ndependencgâ\200\234

the euphoria of  
celebrations. ! :

Also; President Sam  
Nujoma and his Swapo-domi-  
nated Cabinet learnt within  
the first few a\200\230days that  
accountability and criticism

are part of the perils of run-  
| ning a government. ' | i

Already it had to face a

| number of problems, such as:

Â® Questions on the pres-  
ence of 850 Kenyan troo,  
which formed part of the

Untag contingent, but will be  
staying on at the Govern-

three months.,. |

: fi o  
..~ Â®Strong criticism from a  
supporting newspaper  
because.

a\200\234hijackedâ\200\235 the coming ay 1  
a\200\230Workersâ\200\231 Day. celebrations  
by including unions and

| employer organisations. a\200\230

Â® Criticism for its failure

independence aY. .  
. Â® A mini-revolt from the  
Baster. community at Reho-

the new Namibian flag and

mentâ\200\231s expense for the next -  
it allegedly "

to honour Swapo war heroes ' |  
| with a medal parade during

both, which refused to raise

. By PETER KENNY  
/. Windhoek

threatened its own UDL  
A scathing attack from  
the opposition DTA benches  
in the new Parliament  
because a Zambian citizen  
acted as master of ceremonies during the celebrations.  
Mr Katuutire Kaura wanted  
- ed to know from Prime Minister Hage Geingob if it had  
not. been  
suitable Namibian.

On the first working day of  
Namibia's Parliament, the  
DTA's Andrew Matjila asked  
Defence Minister Peter Mueshange if he was aware a

. Namibian Defence Force  
' could only be established by  
an Act of parliament.  
And he wanted to know on  
what constitutional grounds  
the armed forces of a foreign  
country (Kenya). had been  
- granted permission to stay in  
| g;mbia without parliamentary approval.  
i an's first week of independence saw the withdrawal of  
the bulk of the Untag task-  
force of soldiers, policemen  
and civilian personnel, leaving behind or going with  
. broken hearts.  
A UN members said hundreds of Namibian romances

SR 224

ible to find a

were sparked off in the year  
they spent in the country, and  
many a tear was shed this  
week to the sound of distant  
jet engines.

Speaking at his first Press  
conference since independence, Mr Nujoma praised  
President FW de Klerk as a

man of integrity, wishing him every success.

Hoisted

President Nujoma warned the leader of the tiny mixed-race Baster tribe, Kaptein Hans Diergaardt, that his attempts at secession were futile and illegal.

He appealed to Mr Diergaardt to accept Namibia's constitution, embracing a unitary state, and not to try and hive off his people.

Two days before independence, Mr Diergaardt and his supporters hoisted the flag of the Rehoboth Gebiet, declaring their own independence in an area they settled before either the Germans or South Africans colonised Namibia.

Rehoboth consists of about 14000 square kilometres of savannah ranchland covering an area roughly the size of Wales or Israel,

and is situated about 90km

from Windhoek.

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

ANC LEADERS are said to be anxious to test

their standing as representatives of the coun-

try's main black political organisation before negotiations for a new constitution get under

way.

Western diplomats say the ANC's deputy president,

Mr Nelson Mandela, has raised this possibility in dis-

cussions with foreign governments.,

The ANC fears the Government may â\200\230â\200\234packâ\200\231â\200\235 the negotiating line-up with black moderate groups whose opinion, it will insist, must be heard in talks about creating a new social and political order.

The ANC also has qualms about black radical elements

slipping beyond the reach of its influence, as has been seen in much of the violence now sweeping black communities.

Some internal ANC leaders have admitted privately that they are poorly placed to control some racial black forces.

Clear

In behind-the-scenes discussions, the Government has indicated that it is not averse, in principle, to the ANC's idea.

As early as last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made it clear the Government would like to deal with groups representing a clear division of black opinion and raised the possibility of pre-negotiation black elections.

The ANC, however, is unwilling to accept ethnically based elections.

Concern about

who will be there

Some diplomats close to both sides preparing for the forthcoming pre-negotiation meeting believe this will be discussed at the talks,

The questions of who will be at the negotiating table eventually and the degree to which opinions will be weighed is of critical importance to both sides.

Once the practical pre-conditions for talks have

been met such as the state of emergency, the release of prisoners and commitments to peace the actual make-up of the table will be the

core issue of the talks about the talks.

President F W de Klerk is

ointedly meeting homeland  
eaders and other nominally  
moderate figures on Thurs-  
day. Yesterday, the ANC an-  
nounced the postponement of  
its talks â\200\224 originally sched-  
uled for April 11.

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE, APRIL 1, 1990

- SUNDAY FOCUS

It is widely believed, first, that the violence in Natal is the result of political rivalry between

Inkatha and the African National Congress and, second, that settlement of the

differences between these organisations is the major obstacle to peace. And yet this

week's carnage in Edendale is the worst

TP

Mandela's agreement to meet Buthelezi at his home next month. Why has the violence continued even escalated despite Mandela's call for peace at King's Park, and despite similar calls from Buthelezi?

DOUG HINDSON (Deputy Director, Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville) and MIKE MORRIS

violence

P

he causes of the violence are more complex and more

deeply seated than political differences. Political agreement can be only the first step towards lasting peace. The conflict has three main dimensions: rivalry between major political organisations, violence between local political groupings, and social divisions within and between black residential communities. Solutions to these require:

1. Agreement amongst the major political organisations to replace violence with open, democratic forms of political rivalry;

2. Community mobilisation to dismantle power structures which

encourage violence and  
to replace them with  
democratic local -  
government structures;

Â® A far-reaching  
programme of urban  
reconstruction to reduce  
social divisions and  
expand material welfare.

The need for  
agreement on the  
terms of political  
rivalry

Politically inspired  
conflict is indeed a  
major source of the vio-  
lence, and a political  
settlement is essential to  
launch the peace  
process. The  
de-escalation of violence  
in some areas after  
Mandela's rally was  
confirmation of this. But  
political contestation and  
conflict cannot be  
avoided in the process of

constructing a new

outbreak of violence yet a\200\224 took place within

days of a major breakthrough in the  
relationship between the two parties:

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Should pe eÃ©xpressed  
;l;x;ough open democratie

ums, not  
combat, sl iy

To ensure lon

g-term  
welfare and stability the  
under'lymg social ang  
material cayses and con-  
text of violence must be  
tackled. But this is jm.  
a\200\230Possible while politica]  
conflict ruleg everyday

life and tears conm .

ties apart. The imf < L

ate causes of political  
violence must be dealt  
with first and this can be  
done only if the major  
parties come together.

Why much more  
~ than political

settlement

is needed

The factors that sustain  
violence go far deeper  
than political affiliation,  
Researchers have found  
that the ordinary Inkatha  
or UDF/ANC Supporter  
often knows little of the

. political organisations

with which he or she  
identifies. The terms  
UDF, ANC, Comrade or  
Amabutho Simply  
become labels with  
which to distinguish the  
enemy. '

Integration of local . .

power structures into the  
larger political organisa-  
tions is in many cases  
limited. Neither side can  
exert full control over  
the warlords, vigilantes  
and comrades in the  
shanty towns and town-

ships. It is not simply a

question of the generals  
on both sides ordering a  
cease-fire,

Violence is perpetrated-

is carrying

ed by relatively well or-

ganised localised power  
structures amongst the

youth and adults. The  
warlords in the shanty  
towns enforce strict  
military discipline.  
Families supply  
conscripts for impis.  
Strict control is  
exercised over all  
community resources:  
shack sites, shops, liquor

sale, water supplies. A  
hierarchy of warlords,

; lieutenants and area

headmen is supported by  
rents, levies and tributes  
paid by residents who in  
return receive  
protection. ;

In the formal  
townships youths have  
formed civic defence  
organisations receiving  
levies from residents.  
These structures act as  
armed units in times of  
conflict

(Research Fellow, Centre for Social and  
Development Studies, University of Natal) put  
forward their views. :

â\200\230â\200\230eommunities.

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' Th

.Â©omrades vary froin  
politically disciplired

Ccommunity defence ang  
Security Organisations tq  
outright crimina] gangs;  
fronl\_ comrades to cop, .  
tsotsis to tsotsis, :  
Vested interests jn the -  
violence ang conflict  
lgave been Created op  
bptp sides of the politica]

can be broug  
under contro]

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â\200\230Mandela may address.

Tory conference

â\200\224â\200\224

MR NELSON MANDELA,  
deputy leader of the African  
National Congress, has offered  
to attend the Conservative  
party conference in Bourne.  
He has also expressed a wish  
to see Mrs Thatcher during his  
visit to London later this  
month, and has said that he is  
trying to overcome objections  
to a meeting among the ANC's  
National Executive in Lusaka,  
Mr Mandela's remarks, in an

by David Wastell  
Political Correspondent

exclusive interview with Nich- .

olas Bethell, Conservative  
Euro-MP for London North-  
West â\200\224 published in today's  
Sunday Telegraph = suggest

he realises that he might be.

accused of interfering in Brit-  
ish politics because he has  
already met Mr Kinooch, the  
Labour leader, and has  
accepted an invitation to this  
year's Labour conference,

â\200\234If the Conservative party  
invite me to their conference, I  
will go,â\200\235 he told Lord Bethell  
last week in a meeting at the  
new ANC headquarters in  
Johannesburg, adding: \*'I do  
not support the Conservative  
party or the Labour party.â\200\235

Senior Conservative Central  
Office sources said yesterday  
that Mr Mandela â\200\234would be  
very welcome' at Bourne-  
mouth and his suggestion will  
be referred to the partyâ\200\231s

National Union, which is in charge of conference arrangements and would consider whether to issue an invitation.

Mr Mandela's comments on his visit to Britain in two weeks' time, when he is due to

ANC quits

IN A decision that has caused widespread shock, Nelson Mandela yesterday announced the withdrawal of the African National Congress from talks with the South African government on a new constitution. The ANC has also pulled out of peace talks with Zulu Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the Inkatha-ANC fighting ravaging the townships of Natal. - :Mandela said at a rally in Bisho, capital of the Ciskei home-

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address an anti-apartheid rally at Wembley stadium at which Mr Kinnock is to be a guest, indicate disagreement within the ANC over their approach to Mrs Thatcher. The ANC's official position remains that his visit would not be the occasion to take up her open invitation to Downing Street,

Mr Mandela emphasised that any meeting with the Prime Minister would need approval from the ANC National Executive, many of whom have been upset by Mrs Thatcher's unilateral abandonment of some of Britain's measures against the South African government,

The struggle must go on:  
The Mandela interview P18

"We are working on it,â\200\235 he

said. "Our London representative, Mr Mandy Msinang, is in touch with the Foreign Office."

Lord Bethell, the first British Conservative to have a substantive discussion with Mr Mandela since his release from prison, said; "I left me in no doubt that he personally wanted to see Mrs Thatcher and that a decision would depend on persuading his colleagues that he should do so when he comes this month."

But last night Mr Msinang said the ANC continued to regard the Wembley rally,

by Fred Bridgland

#### JOHANNESBURG

Monday, yesterday he had told South African President F W de Klerk that the action of South African police in Sebokeng township last Monday was "a situation we could not tolerate." At least 11 people were shot by police,

Mandela said he had been instructed by the ANC's execu-

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which will be televised worldwide, as an international event which happens to be in Tondon. As a result, he said, Mr Mandela was not making

an official visit to Britain.

Although he would contact Mr Mandela tomorrow to clarify his remarks, Mr Msinang added: "I am guided by what has been discussed so far and I do not foresee any change to that position."

But he was enthusiastic about the prospect that Mr Mandela might attend the Tory conference, "That would be absolutely useful," he said.

Mr Mandels expressed admiration for Mrs Thatcher in his talks with Lord Bethell: â\200\230] deeply appreciate the role she has played in the relaxation of international tension.

â\200\234I have always said that this is the woman [ would like to persuade to come over and be our friend. Apart from the fundamental differences we have, she is a person [ regard as dependable,â\200\235â\200\235

But he reaffirmed his belief in sanctions as a means of persuading the South African government to grant political and economic rights to the black majority, and said Mrs Thatcher had created â\200\234â\200\230great difficultiesâ\200\235 for him with his National Executive, who held strong views on the subject.

â\200\234I am trying to sort the problem out. If [ do not see her on April 16, [ would certainly plan to see her when [ am in Britain in October.â\200\235

constitution talks

tive in Zambia to tell de Klerk the ANC had suspended the April 11 talks because â\200\234if the [ government talks about negotiations on the one hand and [ murders our people on the [i other, that we cannot accept,â\200\235

The ANC may be using the [ shonings as an excuse to withdraw from talks over which it ; 15 divided and unprepared,

Meanwhile, in Parliament tomorrow, President de Klerk may declare martial law,

or the ANC. Others are impelled by dynamics which are likely to continue even after a regional peace settlement is attained.

To break their power, the peace initiative will have to be followed by a process of dismantling the structures of the warlords and youth gangs. They will have to be replaced with democratic local government structures

containing new and acceptable policing agencies.

Apartheid and socio-economic conditions

The violence has flared up in the context of the collapse of apartheid controls, not their enforcement. The conflict results from the attempts to reform

apartheid.

New social divisions have begun to emerge within the black population based on differences in employment opportunities, income and access to the benefit of city life. The old racial divisions of apartheid have been overlaid by increasing class differentiation within the black urban residential areas.

Labelling the conflict 'black-on-black' is not helpful. It deflects attention from the income and wealth differences within the black residential areas which are at the root of the violence.

In the first upsurge of violence in 1985 the main targets were Indian and African traders, councillors and the visibly better off. Since then the antagonism has been recast as a fight

between communities that differ in terms of their access to resources: housing, water, services. It has become a conflict between townships and squatter camps; between the poor and the impoverished.

State reform and violence

The crux of the problem is that recent Government policy has fostered social and economic divisions within the African urban community without abandoning racial residential segregation. This has proved an explosive combination. The orderly urbanisation strategy replacing the pass laws encouraged residential differentiation: new suburbs for the middle classes, privately owned township housing for the more affluent workers and ordered shack settlement for the remainder. A small emerging black middle class and a privileged group of workers have benefited materially. Most of the working class and the unemployed and

marginalised gained little. They have been the main victims of the deepening social antagonisms in the urban peripheries where the conflict has been between the poor and the very poor.

Social differentiation itself is not the cause of instability. It is the manner in which it has occurred. Wealth and income distinctions have emerged in a context where the living conditions of the vast majority of blacks are deteriorating. Those whose position has improved â\200\224 even marginally â\200\224 are believed to be benefiting

at the expense of the  
rest.

What is needed

is a new approach  
to urban  
reconstruction

Neither the old apartheid  
township model nor the  
new shanty towns can  
provide a long-term solu-  
tion. A new programme  
must be implemented  
within the framework of  
one city and local  
government for all.

What is needed is a  
massive housing  
programme which  
harnesses the resources  
of state, industry and  
local communities. This  
has to be linked to a  
coherent policy  
programme designed to |  
meet basic needs in the  
areas of health,  
education, recreation  
and welfare.

How are we to provide  
urban resources? The  
current debate which  
counterposes the market  
and state is a cul-de-sac.  
Private enterprise  
responding purely to  
market signals and  
profit considerations can  
only meet the needs of a  
small fraction of the  
population. The state has  
to play a major  
financial, planning and  
technical role. Our  
energies should be put  
into working out the  
appropriate  
combinations and forms  
of state and private initiative in urban  
reconstruction.

INSIDER

NELSON MANDELA: Halted press

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HE A

By LESIELE VELI-â\201â\200\230Ekr L a joint rally with Inkathaasa| Sur rise | isthere were â\200\234room for criticismâ\200\235 of the KRIGE, DRIES VAN HEERDEN symbolic \_gesture to halt the | Â© surpres : lice action. ;

and RYAN CRESSWELL \_slaughter in Natal. ~ However, President De Klerk â\200\224 . \* 'The whole point of the April 11 talks | "The Ag(s) moves have ca ide- | thoui-â\202 (Ã©learly ct;e%tfaalle â\200\224 remained :;â\200\231:;gs 1;3â\200\230;; mgoiâ\200\230Ã© le:â\200\230Ã©e g;:::;e and

â\200\231 : .sread'ma.Lastni conciliatory yesterday: 1 s ng. HIBRER Jor talherro start dplomats. were e ady indicating | \_ The, 4068 {0, olations remained ~ The President s2l borrow of n . - 2 n, he to andela on the teie- ) - Af;g&i-â\202c@ process in South %:::rmmmi-â\201dg}.?u%â\200\231}i expect strong ; one after the ANC leader had called to teractionsâ\200\235 between the Government a were dashed in a or envoy said the excuse given al his organisation out of the historic | and the. ANC â\200\234that would have led to the dramatic telephone call â\204¢ th the Sebokeng shootings â\200\224 Iks that were scheduled for April 11. dxs:â\200\230cli-â\201s;::fsi-â\201ciem s st lags bk i ! Mr Mandela gaye 55 his reason the the Government has been willing and

from Mr was â\200\234transparentâ\200\235. Nelson Mandela The real reason for scupsex:ing the Eolice lande'Â© ot protesters in Sebo- | aple at all times to 2 B Â¥ he Taues disagree-

to President De Ki i i erk at talks, he said, was tension an eng on Monday. : \*hat confront t 2 countryâ\200\235 ) , Was ) 2 + his ry,â\200\235 he added. Tuynhuys. . ment in the ANC's leadership ranks. His fateful call came as 2 total sur He repeated a warning \hat the GOV-

Hours earlier, the ANC had also oy gi,v'zgy:hl;lst of the ixlitlga:efeh:atg by O ot y = ffl welgt mEâ\200\224â\200\224 e e ko8 vt e at 1 it o that â\200\230he dg:i not agree with the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\230 reasons for putting off the talks â\200\224 even

AN

Pâ\200\224â\200\224

OFrom Page 1

sources said the sudden cancellation of the April 11 meeting was â\200\234totally unexpectedâ\200\235 and â\200\234jp complete contrast with eve thing that has been discuss with ANC representativesâ\200\235,

the arrange-

y Frida  
meeting had

ments for the  
reached such an advanced stage that the ANC had already communicated nhames

L of its ll-mahn negotiating

team to Tuyn uys.

Sources said â\200\234the sudden cancellation was ap indication of tension within ANC ranks about the composition of the delegation and provided confirmation of suspicions that the movement was not yet ready to commit jtself to negotiations. X

The Sunday Times has learnt the names of the men who were chosen to face Mr De Klerk and his nine-man team across table in the historic encounter.

An most important feature of the ANC team was the extent to which it was dominated by internal leaders of the â\200\234Rivonia generationâ\200\235 â\200\224 Mr Mandela, former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisuly and another se tuagenarian, Mr

top three spots in order of precedence,

Mr Alfred Nzo, until a  
ETâ\200\224 -y

Clcalls off

\* external wi

Govan Mbeki, They filled the -

month ago the most senior ANC leader in the absence of the movement's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, occupied the fourth spot.

The team consisted only five members of the ANC's g â\200\224 Mr Nzo, the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, SA Communist Part

Joe Slovo, the chief of staff of the miuta? wing, Mr Chris Hani and the chief legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

The remaining members were to have been Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the president of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, ' its chairman, and another Rivonia trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Agreed

The delegation would have been supported by a â\200\234technical teamâ\200\235 consisting of a number of Lusaka-based members of the National Executive, :

Sources said that talksâ\200\231 with an ANC advance team, led by its chief of security, Mr Jacob Zuma, reached a stage where final arrangements had been fully agreed upon.

The talks would have cen-

tered on â\200\234obstacles to negoti-

ationsâ\200\235 including the state of eâ emergency, the position of

secretary-general, Mr.

- hope that

ANC members conditions for ANC exiles and the movementâ\200\231s continued commitment to the armed struggle.

The ANC is likely to face a

ood of international anger for stalling the talks.

A senior Western diplomat said the organisation would

face strong international  
Pressure to fall back into  
line, .

still in jail,

He predicted that not even  
the ANC's backers in Moscow  
and elsewhere in Eastern  
Europe would support its  
move, .

Diplomats did not, how-  
ever, believe the ANC meant  
the talks to be called off per-  
manently.

Co-leader of the Demo-  
cratic Party, Dr Zach de  
Beer, said it was his heartfelt  
the ANC would  
think again,

While the shooting at  
Sebokeng was a deplorable  
episode, it can be no excuse  
for breaking off talks.

Mr Wynand Malan, - -

another DP leader, said: .  
though setbacks were to be  
expected, the reason ad-  
vanced by the ANC does not  
warrant the cancellation,  
After a flying visit to  
battle-weary Maritzburg  
yesterday, the president of  
Nkatha, Chief Buthelezi,

blamed the ANC for wreck-

the return of

talks

ing the joint Eeace rally that  
had been scheduled for to-  
morrow.,

The Chief Minister of Kwa-  
zulu and Law and Order Min-  
ister Mr Adriaan Vlok were  
flown over the stricken areas  
around the Natal capital in a  
SAP helicopter.

Afterwards they met for  
in-depth discussions about  
the violence that has turned  
the Natal  
killing field.

Chief Buthelezi said he had  
been prepared to meet Mr  
Mandela at the joint rally at  
Taylor's Halt.

They wrecked it, I did

not,â\200\235 he said.

Priority

L

ANC spokseman saiq on

Friday that the rally was  
off â\200\234because the at-

mosphere was not yet idealâ\200\235,

Mr Vlok said said although  
police were understaffed,  
they were doing everything  
possible to control the situa-  
ion,

More security in the -

Maritzburg area was now â\200\234a  
very high priorityâ\200\235.

He also called on opposing  
communities in Natal to stop  
the violence and â\200\234have a  
change of heartâ\200\235.

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Midlands into a

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ake â\200\230co-responsibilityâ\200\231 for security-

David Breier \ 7 \ I

THE African National Congress wants members of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to enter South Africa with weapons in order to guard ANC leaders during the negotiation process.

Sources close to the ANC said this week the issue of security for ANC leaders, including MK commanders such as Joe Modise and Chris Hani, had become one of paramount importance as the movement prepared to shift its headquarters from Lusaka to Johannesburg.

MK believes it must have â\200\234co-responsibilityâ\200\235 for the security of political leaders during the negotiation process, sources disclosed,

It would be impossible for MK soldiers to guard ANC leaders unless they were able to carry firearms, the sources said. :

But the spectre of MK soldiers entering South Africa openly bearing firearms after fighting a guerrilla war for 30 years is problematic for the Government.

A Government security spokesman said the issue would have to be negotiated when the ANC leadership met the Government to discuss obstacles to negotiation.- Â\$ R

He said the police would provide adequate security for ANC leaders taking part in the talks. -

This week the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, indicated the Government would provide indemnity from prosecution for ANC members taking part in the talks.

\* It is understood that this would also imply that the Government would take responsibility for their safety while they were in South Africa. .

The ANC delegation to meet the Government is likely to be led by ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela who is based internally. Together with other-members of the ANCâ\200\231s internal leadership, he has been guarded by ANC bodyguards.

But the feeling in the ANC is that this informal

arrangement should be strengthened by the presence of official MK soldiers with proper arms when the external leadership arrives.

The ANC is concerned at the level of violence in South Africa and that attacks on its leadership could come from any direction.

The ANC does not believe the safety of its leaders can be guaranteed by the police, source said.

This week President FW de Klerk was asked in Cape Town about the consequences if anything happened to himself or Mr Mandela, )

Mr De Klerk replied that nobody was indispensable. He said there was good backup leadership in the Government and the ANC also appeared to have a number of prominent leaders.

He said the future should not depend on individuals but on ideas and principles, - 5

THE worst ni  
[ or South ans has come  
true. Clouds of smoke billowing  
from burnt-out cars hang over  
townships. Bodies are lying in the  
streets â\200\224 killed by anarchistic  
rioters or shot by nervous police-  
men who f for their lives  
amid mob violence.

Râ\200\231light-wing whigl:m (t):ganise  
themselves into vigi gangs  
and roam the streets in search of  
black &asser\_s-by on whom they can  
vent their anger and frustration.

Blacks retaliate by stoning the  
first car they see. Organised  
marches intended to express legiti-  
mate grievances degenerate into  
orgies of wanton violence and loot-

ing. ;

slâ\200\230erse official statements docu-  
ment the incidents almost matter  
of factly: 20 dead in one night in the  
Katlehong taxi war; nine killed and  
180 injured on March 12 near Wit-  
bank; seven more near Potchef-  
stroom three days later; at least 23  
in violg:t clashĩ-\201n es this week.ttaBurnks-,  
ings, shootings, panga attaci  
getrol bombs, shotguns, rubber

ullets, tear

3 Fiatide Lo ol 1065 wher the

townships were ruled â\200\224 in the infa-

mous words of Mrs Winnie Man-  
dela â\200\224 the power of match-  
boxes and tyres. Eventually the  
Government was forced to send  
the troops in to enforce a state of  
emergency with strong-arm  
tactics.

ANhC leaders dfeliver ringin  
speeches calling for an  
calm. They are politel medto,  
then flatly ignored. Politicians and  
senior policemen criss-cross the  
country administering sticking  
plaster at the scenes of violence.

Questions

In the minds of ordinary whites

the questions pile up:

O%Vho controls tge masses â\200\224  
indeed can they be controlled? -

@ Why the violence now, at a time when the first real prospect of blacks attaining full political rights is nearing reality\201?

Â® Is this what the New South Africa is all about?

@ Shouldnâ\200\231t whites take their own measures to protect families and property?

@ Are we plummeting into another Beirut where warlords establish their own fiefdoms and dispense with anyone who dares to threaten their turf? i

What should be noted is that both the Government and its main protagonist â\200\224 the ANC â\200\224 have vested | interests in ending the spiral of violence. In fact, it is highly likely that the first meeting between the two parties on April 11 will reflect mutual concern about deteriorat-

in% security.  
have little doubt that the ANC leadership in Lusaka has genuinely

opted for a negotiated-solution-to- -

South Africaâ\200\231s political problems.  
In a recent interview, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani â\200\224 supposedly the most militant hardliner in the ANC â\200\224 told me frankly:

â\200\234We have always said the armed struggle is but a strategy to force

tmare of most

can only  
ledd 't0

anarchy

Dries van  
Heerden  
fior-2 o e Bl

asks if the ANC has  
control of the mobs

the Government to the negotiating table. Now that this is about to happen we wi,lâ\200\231l pursue that road to

the veri end. :

Which raises the next question â\200\224

the question that everybodf is almost afraid to whisper. Can it be that the ANC does not have control over the masses in the townships?

Mr Mandela calls for knives and g:gas to be thrown into the sea. followers proceed to plunge them into the backs of their opponents. Mr Sisulu asks children to return to schools. They proceed to rampage throxi~\201h the streets. Does the C have control? Perhaps the answer is both yes and

no.

No, because the ANC itself has never claimed to represent the whole of the black community.

Symbolic

In fact when the debate on the armed struggle raged inside the movement one of the strongest arguments in favour of a cessation of hostilities was the main problem â\200\224 that there were â\200\234too many bombs exploding which are not oursâ\200\235. From rival political organisations, from the warlords of the black gangs and from agents provocateurs.

But in spite of the present fluidity in black politics the"ANC still remains the most potent organisational and symbolic force.

Its official views on the teeming violence has been exemplary. Senior leaders took great personal and political risks by coming out strongly against the mindless violence practised in certain areas. Only last month UDF leader, â\200\234Terorâ\200\235 Lekota went public in supporting action by the authorities to ensure marches took place in an orderly and peaceful manner.

â\200\230have also shown

â\200\230My impression is that there is even a serious rethink going on at present in ANC circles about the wisdom of the state of emergency.

Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s political moves integrity in this regard. For the Government the emergency is no longer an instrument to ensure political domination. More and more people are coming to realise it may still be in

place purely for law and order pur- |

poses.  
â\200\234. President De Klerkâ\200\231s dilemma is that he is saddled with a legacy from his predecessor in which millions earmarked for security were wasted on sinister projects, spying on political opponents and engaging in the sort of murky activities that are now being revealed before the Harms Commission. At the same time the ordinary policemen on the beat, who should

investigating ordinary criminal | activity, were overlooked as far as salary and perks were concerned â\200\224 so much so they are now leaving the force at a rate of almost 20 a week.

Small wonder there is a lack of respect for law and order in most black communities. Crimes like burglaries, rape and assault are reported but seldom investigated because of a lack of manpower.

Solution

opened and a the courts because the offices of the attorney-generals are similarly grossly understaffed.

After suffering one or two of these experiences one can hardly blame a citizen for seeking redress in less conventional ways when next he is aggrieved. .. What will hopefully from the Governmentâ\200\231s meeting with the ANC is an agreement on ground rules to combat lawlessness and violence. :

The police should be given the necessary power in terms of authority, manpower and equipment to enforce law and order. And if present legislation is not enough, perhaps the state of emergency should be extended.

If present manpower is not adequate, alternative measures should be investigated â\200\224 if need be returning members of Umkhonto from exile could be deployed in the townships to combat crime.

" Criminals, looters and perpetrators of violence should be arrested, charged and brought before open courts. Allegations of police

excesses should be investigated thoroughly and, where it can be proved that individuals have overstepped their authority, they should be punished. \*

.But, in the final instance, a new political order that enjoys legitimacy among the vast majority of the population should be negotiated without delay. Security force action can at most be a temporary

emerge

measure to solve ad hoc problems. \*  
The root causes remain political

and can only be removed when all South Africans enjoy equal political rights.

! be at :

Some diplomats close to both sides preparing for the forthcoming pre-negotiation meeting believe this will be discussed at the talks.

The tensions of who will negotiating table eventually and the to which opinions will be weighed is of critical importance to both sides.

practical pre-

conditions for talks have

| been met such as the state  
| of emergency, the release of

{prisoners and commitments -  
since the actual make-

| up of the table will be the

| col [  
And even when a dossier is | talked about

policeman is as- |  
related to the case, it rarely reaches |

President F W de Klerk is

day. Yes, the ANC announced the postponement of

planned for April 11. » j

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22 sSuNnDAy TIMES, April 1 1990

| PERSP,  
Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

| J  
dance

FOR an organisation that There is no substitute for human  
claims a commitment to the encounter to lessen suspicion and  
principle that South Africans to build confidence between par-  
should talk â\200\224 rather than shoot â\200\224 tjes, In the early stages of any  
their way out of trouble, the ANC process to defuse adversarial rela.  
dis&lays a remarkable reticence ionships, this is one of the %â\200\230rima-  
to talk to anybody outside its own ly purposes of talking (vide Nami-  
cirv(Ã@lctein i b bia-Angola). ;  
ithin the space of 24 ours it ANC illi  
cancelled two critically im rtant 'I'F:yï¬\201gg Eï¬\202ï¬\202ï¬\201ï¬\201% 'f) (: ' %3'  
;â\200\230;â\200\230\_Lkiâ\200\230sâ\200\230;% - agâ\200\230gï¬\201g"&genf :glt%? the Cape o  
n April 11 tends to con-  
: firm reports that this or anisation  
ending the slaughter in Natal, the has notgzt got its polic %ucks ina

other was intended to eliminate ; : by .  
obstacles in the wa of substantive zgv;vÃ@:glaâ\200\230,gdli¬\202temal VB ons remain

negotiations with t e Government, Jae  
; The decision to pull out could  
uch evasiveness does not o itk Rave been takengightly, for Mr  
: Mandela and his followers must be

ustice; that endorses aware they.will pay a high  
he Churchillian dictum that jav. ohp atienally, where. op

iaaw i favour of a prom  
jaw is better than war-war, Â@= outs y, in fa  
That is a pity, for it is very easy .- Start to negotiations.  
for any of tl?e pfayerÂ\$ in the Soutï¬\201 At home, too, there will be con-  
African drama â\200\224 and-there are cern that subsidiary problems (no  
others besides the ANC â\200\224 to find matter how vahdâ\200\230) have taken pre-  
reasons not to talk. -.cedence; that eet are being  
It is doubtful whether conditions dr agi%eâ\200\230i in dealing with such over-  
for negotiations will ever be per- archingly vital issues as restorin  
fect for any of the parties. Excuses order in Natalâ\200\231s killing fields an  
â\200\224 many oiy them not invalid â\200\224 are beginning the search for democ-  
not hard to find. e racy. g \  
But the test of statesmanship, This is not a contest, but for the  
surely, is to seek reasons to talk â\200\224 moment proponents of talk like  
even if it is only as a pipe-â\200\230ogenerâ\200\231 President De Klerk and Chief  
to demonstrate commitment and Buthelezi indubitably hold the in-  
to find out whether all the obsta- tiative. So, it seems â\200\224  
cles in the way of negotiations are ' i  
truly as big as they may seem  
from afar, S

hild had ~ were called to  
near Third area,

but when the

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et shooting. They  
around the corner into the

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0 â\200\224 The Sunday Age -

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Sy Atlene Getz, 2" T  
Cspe Town, Saturday - -

Â® â\200\234ia

A joint rally by rival black leaders in  
Natal â\200\224 widely seen as 2 crucial step

0 ending the violence in the strife-  
torn province â\200\224 was calie off yester-

gay by black nationalist )-sder Nelson  
-African National 7 :ogress also  
. announced today it was â\200\234suspending

| planned talks with the South African

' Government next month to protest

' against police shootings in Sebokeng  
township, 70 kilometres south of here. ~

-

pulls out of joint peace rally with Zulu chief

- - . 2 s A2 \_-vv.r,â\200\230(;  
>â\200\231 The decision was taken by the  
ANC's policy-making national execu-  
tive committee in Lusaka, Zambia, in  
~onsultation with ANC internal lead-  
ers, spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said.  
Mr Mandela, deputy president of  
the ANC, was scheduled to share a  
platform with Zulu leader Mangosuthu  
ButheiezlNin a bid to stop the fighting

between supporters of the pro-ANC

UDF and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. However, the meeting was cancelled last night because the ANC felt the atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal. -

Mr Mandela will instead spend two

foolish

days on a fact-finding mission to the area. An astounded Chief Buthelezi said he hoped he and Mr Mandela would eventually be able to go on their life-saving crusade to Pietermaritzburg. / TP BRAA

People are dying because black leaders are not getting together to do something about the fighting. People are going to die while they (the ANC-JUDF leaders) delay, he said. - .

At least 45 people were shot or

' stabbed to death, hundreds were in-

jured and thousands had their homes torched in clashes between Inkatha

St L o800  
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UDF A mm j

were allegedly stoned . last  
day. . TR ek 2 s ks  
t Police expect the death count to rise further as they find more bodies in the bushes. Meanwhile, relief workers are to accommodate thousands of homeless who sought refuge in nearby churches and schools, where teachers had to stop classes. Other victims are still sheltering in their houses, afraid to switch lights on at night in case they attract marauding gangs. -

! The battles in the Edendale valley

. were the fiercest yet in the three-year-old Zulu war, which has claimed more

-on Monday. .

P12 - A paradise littered with

P ,13 Japanese aid, environi

than 2800 lives in the province. This fighting together with other nationwide clashes that left at least another 28 dead this week in the worst outbreak of violence since the 1984 riots

â\200\224 could jeopardise President F. W.de

Klerk's efforts to begin negotiations

between the country's five million  
whites and 27 million blacks. Â©.

In, addition \_to\_the Natal violence,

police â\200\230killed 11 people â\200\230marching to -

protest high rents in the Vaal  
Triangle black township of Sebokeng

In the Orange Free State mining

.

town of Welkom, white far-right vigi-  
Jantes have turned the downtown area  
into a no-go zone for blacks at night.  
â\200\234lt is not only in Natal that the vio-

- Jence has reached unacceptable pro-

portions,â\200\235 Mr de Klerk said here  
yesterday. . . .

The \$4-year-old president added  
that continued â\200\234lawlessnessâ\200\235 would  
hamper.the lifting of the 46-month-old  
state of emergency. .

-â\200\234While it remains widespread, we  
as a cannot responsibly  
relinquish the additional powers "  
(the emergency) gives us,â\200\235 he said.



coming a threat to stability and the Government would use force to restore order. He said a growing wave of violence and demonstrations was getting out of hand. Chief Buthelezi reacted with shock to the cancellation of a

TI0rS.

. meeting 'Mr Mandela personally\201  
-arranged. â\200\234People are going to dig

\_cancels peace rally  
le \_Fnnsliny e |  
95 Zulu Warriors â\200\230

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sh

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while they delay,â\200\235 he said. Al

The two leaders have made  
pcrsnalâ\200\230pleas for an end to the

~ violence that has killed nearly 4

people in six weeks. Mr Mande  
last month called for the warri  
Zulus to â\200\234throw your weapons into  
the seaâ\200\235 and told a crowd of  
100,000 he looked forward  
sharing a platform with Chi?

"armed â\200\230with guns; - spears, knives:' " Buthelezi.. . .

The ANC statement did not

. elaborate on specific reasons foâ\200\234

cancelling the-rally. - -  
President de Klerk said he would

. make a statement to parliament

{omorrow on measures to stop the  
violence, but gave no details.  
The president starts talks next

month to begin the process ofâ\200\235

ending White-minority rule and  
sharing political power with  
blacks. His speech appeared aimed  
at radical black groups who oppose  
a negotiated settlement and call for  
violence against the Government.

AP



Â» - ByCHRISTOPHER S. WREN  
Spectal 0 The New York Times

ulu Ty angosuthu Ga = o : :  
 Buthelezj, relly in Natal province. | !t is possible that the Natal leader-â\200\224â\200  
 \224 -  
 -Natal 18 the scene of ferocioys battles | ship does not want Mx-: Mandela to enr}and order  
 in an unprejudiced way.â\200\235  
 between members of Inkatha, the Zuly glaaâ\200\230}:ah C&leg Bu;lâ\200\230l"e;en :ï¬\202}}m  
 :fe a:not;q :

litical and cultural organization, and | bla ppe m a )  
xppâ\200\23loners of the United Democratic | point. The two leaders have differed Baa Ended  
on Mandels Book

Front who are also Zulus. The United | Over the direction that the struggle! JOHANNESBURG, March 30 (AR) [ Democratic Front is a domestic ally of | 2galnst apartheid should take. Chief y the African National Congress, which | Buthelezi opposes the use of economic ls led by Mr. Mandela. sanctions and guerrilla struggle as The decision to cancel the meeting | Weapons against the white vern-|, means that the warfare, which has leg | ment while Mr. Mandela, as a loyal 0 more than 2,500 deaths since it | member of the African National Con- r's bOOK, 15 started nearly five years ago, ;s likely ( 8rÃss, supports both tactics, . Ã: gg Lg&" lmr \xvezh o continue. In the last few days, at Etals pa Pted political rheto-| - least 6 le have been klllleg and It is also erly that Mr. Mandela WAS rieâ\200\235 in South Aâ\200\230i-\202ca. mâ\200\230mard banned i peop: advised that he could not halt the fight- the 48 more than 200 houses have been de- ing for now and that an appearance| Â¢ book three years agaâ\200\231 Mr. Mandela | : stroyed bâ\200\230lln Natal, mostly around Pleter- with Chie! Buthelezi might harm hi :,as m Ohl:s Frec?l'el'l i-\202ul:r g ygah{; b ma r : . o in m A On the surface, the battles represent fâ\200\231:,â\200\230;â\200\234gâ\200\234mâ\200\230â

\200\224fgm"mgâ\200\230eg m dag:em â\200\230and sabotage campaign of the African :  
2 political struggle over the nature of a ment and the African National Cop. | N2tional Cong  
ress. S  
post-apartheid South Africa. But the gressinCapeTown\_onApdi il - W ;  
: Buthelezi and Mandela Talk W ' ' â\200\230  
. e Tbezmuleadersaidbehadbamed e  
The decision that three leaders of the United Demo- (|  
' strife in |Harry wala s ayrchlo Gumede,  
arry Gwa a  
means vised Mr. Mandeala to postpone the  
  
, 1 1 meeting. The United Democratic Front  
N atal pI' ovince ls . ovr;?gd as a domesi-â\201cmsurrogaxerfor  
  
s : ATRY the African National Congress until the  
llkely to continue. congrerss was legalized ggy President  
â\200\230 F. W de Klerk on Feb. 2.

: Chief Buthelezi said he had spoken  
fighting ls mostly spurred by baser mo- by telephone with Mr. Mandela, who  
tives, including territorial cantrol, re- | od him that a delegation led by Mr,  
venge and crimpality. Gwala visited Mr. Mandela In Soweto  
. â\200\230We Must Unite Nowâ\200\231 to ask him to put off the meeting.

night, was an- | â\200\234They argued that people were oo  
muuï-â\201Ã@;nuï-â\202isgaay M{ghuu;elananda%hlef tense and that fighting was continuing  
Buthelezi would meet at Taylor's Drift, | and tha therefore a meeting should not  
a community in Natal, to urge their re- | be - held,â\200\235 Chief Buthelezi reported  
spective supporters to stop the fight- faâ\200\234elâ\200\230 his conversation with Mr. Man  
de-  
in

g R  
\*This is no time for people with polit- | â\200\234This astounded me because as far  
ical ditferences to stand ag ceremony,â\200\235(as | am concerned, the meeting Dr,  
Mr, Mandela said. â\200\234â\200\230We must unite now Mandela and I would have addressed  
in aur commitment to end the violence | jointly would have been held precisely  
in Natal and work out a strategy we are because the le are fighting and  
all united behind publicly.â\200\235 dying,â\200\235 Chiet Buthelezi said in a state-  
But tonight, a statement issued by | ment.

the African National Congress's new Risks at Rally Site  
office here said the movement's â\200\234in-  
. serim leadership care had concluded | â\200\234What 15 the use of ammping [   
ap-

that the â\200\234â\200\230atmosphere is not yet ideal 10p the killing after it has alr  
for a joint rally in Natalâ\200\235 between Mr. ;e(:i-â\201,d?nheâ\200\230;sw, : wy

Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. But it Mr. Mandela's decision not take part  
sald Mr. Mandela would go ahead with | i 11 rally came as a surprise fven

plans to visit areas in Natal affected by|the concern here about the black-on-the tightening next week. black violence in Natal and elsewhere

Thousands of Villagers Flee Stlfe | in South Africa. \_ ]

The statement said arrangements President de Klerk said- today in were being made for another meeting Cape Town that if the violence continued between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthe in Natal or elsewhere, "The Government would be obliged to use the force it has at its disposal to restore law and order, but it did not indicate when that government would be obliged to use the might happen. The two leaders have | full weight of its power to restore law

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\_,Mandeia\_  
has high

praise for  
Thatcher

by David Hughes  
Chief Political  
Correspondent

â\200\230| NELSON MANDELA has  
spoken of his respect for Mar-  
garet Thatcher, saying that he  
thought she would be â\200\234the  
very first person [ would seeâ\204¢  
on release from prison.

The deputy leader of the  
African National Congress  
says he is confident that he  
could â\200\234makc a dealâ\200\235 with the  
prime ministerâ\200\235 â\200\234\*because of  
her strength of will, because of  
her honesty, because of her  
opposition to apartheidâ\204¢.

He has offered to attend the  
Tory party conference in  
Bournemouth in October to  
show that he is not â\200\234â\200\230choosing  
sidesâ\204¢. He has already agreed  
to attend the Labour con-  
ference in Brighton.

Mandela's remarkably  
warm tribute to Thatcher ap-  
pears in an interview in The  
Sunday Telegraph. He says  
that Thatcher has â\200\234created  
difficulticsâ\200\235 for him with the  
ANC leadership whose feel-  
ings he has to respect.

â\200\234And they have got definite  
feelings on the question of the  
unilateral action of Mrs  
Thatcher.

i \*'She has spoilt my plans  
/ he ) AN c{uy | because I did feel that when I  
i + | catne out I would be able to  
S i | sce Mrs Thatcher, she would  
/ FYyte 1 2 â\200\230| be the very first person 1  
i | would see. I respect her, you  
know, very much.â\200\235 -

/ r7 Q - | Mandcla says he regrets

17 British actions over Pretoria  
butl adds: â\200\2341 would like her to  
L (( - | bÂ¢ an ally rather than an en-  
0 A arN Â¢my. I would like us to remove  
the strained-relations between

; ourselves and Mrs Thatcher.  
â\200\234She is a person | regard as

dependable, I would do every-  
thing to get her on our side,â\200\235

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\_â\200\224K/Iandel\_:  
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Thatcher

by David Hthol  
Chief Political

Correspondent

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the strained relations between  
ourselves and Mrs â\200\230Thatcher,

\*â\200\234She is a person I regard as  
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FROM M&R INTL, GOV RELS, - 9.199Â¢ 722

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IEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL.s.u,'yDAv, APRIL 1, 19%

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UnÃ@g;standixlg de \_Kk\_i\_â\200\230}'&:\_ Party Man With a Tw

Â¥y JOHN F, BURNS i 34, Â© â\200\230Dislogus s God's Styk? .  
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SPCCIM (0 The Now Yourk Times While Mr. da Klerk makes lurle pu  
CAPE TOWN, March 31 = Before lie show of hig [Rlth, his thinkmn,

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F.W. de Kierk was chosen 10 Jucceed & e b political matters hag apparently geexl  
P.W. Botha as President, he was asked Dy 5 3 pewertully influencey b, Do  
l@ would be the Mikhail] S Girhachey v o lenching, EapeCinlly (huse uken rm  
of South Africa, & loyal party man who g Po i e ) 1| the New Testament. Meeting with Atri.  
OVOrturns muechthat the party once R â\204¢ y Kaner church ministers N January,  
held inviolable. Mr, do Kiexk had & . i R e ) Mr. de Klerk traced his hopes for ne.  
Quick reply: â\200\234The only thing Gorba. = 2 iati Â¢k leaders  
chev and Lhave in common is thig! " he gy < Â¥ â\200\230 need for believers lo  
suid, slapping the top of hisg head. Q : econciliation. Accord-  
Three years latsr, there is more than R 4 INg to theRev. Pister W. Bingle, Mr. de  
baldness l gy port comparisong be- % Kierk'z Cape Town mInisier, the Preggs.  
[tween the two faaders, Like President i PR dent Put lt simply, â\200\234Dialogue ls God's  
ilOarbachey, President dc Kierk has o i style,â\200\235" he said,  
ifreed men Previously vilified as tyaj. it : Thai bellef in breaching differences  
tors, declareq Past policies bankrupt : through discussion appexrs o huve  
and begun & process af ehange that has 3 g~ converged with 2 polinician's caution lo  
foutraged PGriy conyorvativep, ~ erevade Mr. dy \$gpl. thay for now ay

Al50 ke Mr. Gurbachev, whe has B8 ! : oast, it is better not to draw blueprints  
ENOWN il ul W ) Kerontin iefleavs : vl b uen politival aystcm b wll] of-  
N NiB recwnt sChiong iy Lil.huamn, Mr, LeMplic negotiate.

de Klerk has fcfplcxed supporters ang : i, e Offieials Â¢loss to Mr. de Kierk SRy  
upponents alike, who wonder where he AR (8lt Prs the President will be fexible about

paicin, = 10 O RTB O 0l g, Rlerks of seemed se G g recariiondl Party  
While the Bouth African leager has South Africa, His friends as well ber, When it won a bit  
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saldl hee edieves in an â\200\234equal yote " for as hie adversaries are unsure of election  
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bll\_acllcsa:\nsd whlllels :nsd:la slyclelm rh:r how far he will compromige in Admr,mg Tntr:  
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\\231 c:u;er this month, Gerrir van N. Viljo-  
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A urrent pronounce- scparale volers' rolls,  
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a8t of mind and an inslinet to reach sounded 23 (hough (he Government  
Whiic Nclson Mandela ang Other l] ot for new solutions. might accept Mr. Mandela's demand  
| black leadors Mve gaid that Mr, de Mr. de Klerk's assnciates say those for a single voter  
s' rg)| that Is btind l  
Klerk's vision appear 5 to t0 Ã©ncompass \$raits ure allied to a profound raligioys . i  
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Alricant who favor !ur.mndxlng pollti he leaders of the Nationa Party be. Daps n conjunctio  
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cal change say they believe thar the fore Mr. de Klerk beiunged 10 the matn from other mino  
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i Calvinist body that lem such powerful Â€ducauion rights, -  
T â\\200\\224â\\200\\224 theological beckmq 10 apartheid thart il  
bocame known as "'the Nationa) Party  
al prayer.â\\200\\235 Mr. ds Klerk {3 a member )  
of the smull Dupper church, a 19th-cen- |  
tury breakawsy thst insigted on the  
separation of chureh ang BIRTA, A |Â°  
party for that TeRsOn, avolded sance.  
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RELS,

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A few years ago, not many In the Ng.)  
tional Party would have bet on Mr. de  
Rlork leading the par(y W change. As g  
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Na Vlastr, Baticlant Ohilsee

Bul the story s recounted these days  
to show that Mr, de Kierk, then leade,  
of the National Party In Trunsvau)  
Province, way % canny politician,  
uwnre that to have any chance of lead-  
{ng South Aftica away fro  
ho would firgt have lo consolidate his  
Positivn with the powerful congervagive  
wmïr\202nf the Natjons| Pary.

â\200\234"He realized that yoy 8Âçt nowhere il

U don't have g following, that you

ave to be able to take the people with  
gou," sald Ebbe Dommissse, editor of

le RBurger, Â» Cape Town NÂ¥Wpaper  
Wwith close links lo the Government,

MeÃ©re recently, the setba ks for Com-

4. 9.1930 viz4

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

The Presidentâ\200\231s

|â\200\230.hl lirehy ;rluiufu an  
thc acparation of  
~cÂçchurch and state,

-  
POIt and military (raining on the Soviet  
Unian and iz Faxtarn Rurnpman allimg  
BUL accoraing to g senlor Cabinet  
Mmimster, there wasy another lesson Mr,  
Bluiatdesinmy â\200\230m-'mamn"nndâ\200\234wnee

Allracs oo et b

. s o  
molitical system indetinjtely, X i

Facing the Hard-Lingry

The lesson was onc Mr, do Klark toak  
0 & meeting In December with the  
country's op 500 police commanders,  
Jaany of whom were skeptical of moves  
w dismantie apartheid. Mr. Å&Å¢ Klark  
offered a grim picture of the alternp.  
tive 10 a settlement with blacks. â\200\234Even  
i the bivod Muws snkls desp in pur  
BIneers and Your or five milijon paopla  
have been sno dead,â\200\235 he gaid, "  
problem will be just ag great as before  
We bogan shooting.â\204¢

munism in Eagtern Europe is said to  
heve ' profound effect on My, de  
Kl 'S thinking The Pregident ae.  
knowledged a5 much in  
Parliament on Fep, 2, when he an.  
nounced the lagaltzation nf tha African  
Nauonal Congress and the South Af.  
| rican Communis( Party, among ather  
anti-apartheld groups.

He implied that the decline uf Sulin.  
181 Communiem in Eastern Europe had  
encouragod the Governmen: 10 move  
toward negotiations with groups like  
the Alrican Nationa) Congress that

Roelof P, Meyor, the Deputy Minjy-

ter for Conatitutional Affairs, sald that  
that realizativg fortified Mr. de Kierk  
in (he face pf the WA Of racial harg-

s speech to | liners

â\200\234The President hag come to the con-  
Clusion that we have ly do someth  
8bout our situation, that We Cannot go  
on with confliet indefinitely,â\200\235 Mr.  
Meyer said. ' "This meiny tint wy huve  
W Å\$u for political reconciiation, and  
thot we eannot wail for the support of  
all whites, because Å\$f we do, we will  
have lo wait yoars, indehinitely aven,  
and in the neantime we will loss the

have refied strungly for finuneigl sup.

rouniry.â\200\231



FROM

MER-INTLE . GOU,

RELS.

TQUQH momsures tb combat  
violence in South Africa's  
black townships and home-  
Junds were announced yester-  
day by Presldent F.W. de  
Klerk, who ulso warnsd that  
more people might be detuinud  
under the country's harsh  
security laws,

Azddreums a apeclal gi-\201m  
sitting ngnt ap  
Town, Mr %:rmri sulï-\202 more  
wwwpr bed alicady been sant

into warring towmhl&s in  
Nuwl, wleiv e vitau wou  
plo ars balisvod W havo died in

the last weak . In battles  
between #ual hlark fantinne  
Haatdly awwad fmn wa  
I evidonos vesterday whon My  
ot Dheacatasbnn; vy wh veol  
dent of the African Naflunw  
Congress (ANC), toured town-  
ships near thÃ© Natal provincial  
capital of Plotermaritzbury,  
but this did not stop opponents  
of the ANC firing Â« number of  
shots at his motoroad,  
Mr de Klerk also announced  
& conclliatory step aimed at  
the way for talks

lsgialation would be introducscd  
fur & partial amnesty for for-  
mer ANC guerrillas. Frovislons  
for & permanent amnesty may  
giso be introduced, He con:  
firmed ihat he would be meet:  
m&m Mandela on Thursday.  
r de Klerk told parilamcent  
there would be &8 â\200\234greater visi-  
ble eecuirity presanceâ\200\235 in other  
areas of the country as well,  
{nvelving roadblocks =and

Bv Blvila

gl ee o aswnan  
râ\200\230nivlâ\200\230n am Mlesle sarmrmnhipna  
Jronps and police had beell  
given orders to act â\200\234frmly and  
urpowefully withont delay to  
ring the {ncidence of unpsl  
and vielenoe throughout South  
Africa under control.â\200\235 he sald.

In the two months since Mr  
do Klerk annouticed tmportant

litical reforms inclus the  
agalising of the ANC, vivlence  
has intensified &harpl  
throughout the country, hard-  
ening white resistaoe to polit-  
jcal liberalisation.

Yesterday's messures will go  
some way to calming white  
fears, but may oxacerbate ten-  
sivus with the ANC, which last  
weekend a&)ost oned ity first  
ever form 5 with Govern-  
ment in protest at sscurly  
forea artinn.

In a Orst reretion last night

| De Klerk announces measures  
| to combat township violence

By Patli Walgmeir in Â¥ietermaritzourg

from the United Democratic  
Front (UDF), an ANC affiliate,  
the group's gouthern Transvaul  
branch said the meacures  
meant that the Government  
was moving away from crest-  
ing â\200\234a climate conducive to  
negotiations."â\200\235 g

Rewmnoval of 11â\200\23000?3 from the |  
n

townships has ng Dbeen  
gought by the ANC as & pres  
COnMUON W Wiy begliuiug ol  
gonatititutional tallke with U,

torla. However in Nalal, local  
AMC pupportory have bLuse  
almnat. unanimapa in calline  
for more tr)tluhcr â\200\230thunu fowear  
LrooDs e police are  
w aâ\200\230uâ\200\231gluad ln gavour of the

C's ODDODMRATS. (Ne 4uiu  
Tuarhn mavamenr\_haoded hy

Cluwul Magueuiliv Duthelxd,  
Mr de Kierk's warning that  
â\200\234syervone must understand  
(hat these decisions can I  
a ti8e In the number of peopls  
hold in detention,â\200\235 is Ukely to  
be regarded as ominous by  
anti.upurtheid activists. Pre-  
toria detained some 30,000 puo-  
le during {ts last crackdown,  
ween 1066 and 1968,  
However, the politlcal cli-  
mate has shifted radically  
sinee then and such large-scale  
detsntions seem untikely. ANC  
officlals concede privately that

they are concerned by the violence in black townships, and unable to contain it themselves, but the ability of South Africa's police force to control govt without opposition is doubtful.

two rival black factions,

Mandela and de Klerk to huddle

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would meet with President F.W. de Klerk to discuss fighting be-

At least 53 people were killed last week in violence

between rival black

other.

groups against each

government sources described the fighting

as the worst since the mid-1980s.

The South African Press Association said the two leaders would meet Thursday. Mandela had announced on Saturday that his withdrawing from formal talks with

. —

MANDELA

African National Congress was

with the government to protest police shootings of black demonstrators, he said.

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MANDELA-MEETING: African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said Monday he will meet South African President F.W. de Klerk Thursday. Also: De Klerk said there will be aerial patrols of all townships. He proposed amnesty for politically motivated criminal acts, and 10 NRTAI provinces, scene of fighting among blacks. In Natal, Mandela urged peace for an end to violence LARTB 17T DS Qeaq in 8 Week.

WORLD  
BRIEFS

De Klerk's Proposal

South African President F. W. de Klerk announced plans yesterday to crush

down on political violence while trying to draw the African National Congress into peace talks.

'We are deadly serious about building the new South Africa without bloodshed and without unrest,' De Klerk told the Cape

Town parliament, which excludes blacks.

De Klerk outlined proposals for road patrols and serious offences in black townships, where 400 people have been killed since February.

VIOLENCE has become a way  
of life in Natal's townships. In a  
climate of near anarchy, it is  
more and more difficult to dis-  
tinguish between the statistics

of common murder and assault, .

and the offensives and body  
counts of the township wars.  
There were high hopes this week  
that the leaders of South Africa's  
rival black ;f)opulist movements  
would meet face to face at the  
Maritzburg peace rally and call a  
symbolic truce with honour.

- However, they have hesitated on.

the precipice. The expectations  
that the fratricidal war might end  
at Taylor's Halt near Maritzburg

were dashed by the last-minute '  
Xli\ggdrawal from the talks by the |

There were scores of fatalities !

each day this week as the violence  
escalated again in Maritzburg's  
Edendale valley. The conflict had  
returned to its source, having  
inflamed black settlements from  
the midlands to the coast over the  
last three years.

Unique

Do the township warriors of  
Natal march to the beat of a differ-  
ent drum? Until now, the sheer  
intensity of this regional conflict  
has certainly made it seem unique.

Apart from occasional out-  
break(s) in other parts of South  
Africa Natal has been the isolated  
epicentre of sustained township

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unrest for the last three years.

\_.The death toll in the separate  
gi:Ã@xrl war approached the 3000

mark by the end of the first quarter of 1990. More than 300 people have

\_ died so far this month, with 70 fatalities in the Edendale area this

week alone..

Until the present resurgence of

{ }olitical conflict in other regions,

he national unrest.of the mid-1980s had subsided into distant memory. In President De Klerkâ\200\231s words, by early 1990 the season of violence appeared to be over. Even the warring factions in Natal hesitated as Mandela walked free, and the nation stood on the threshold of anew era. ;

\_ A mere two months later, for the first time, political violence is simultaneously on the boil in the townships of Natal, â\200\230Transvaal, Free State and the homelands.

\_There may be political strategies and processes at work which AT :

â\200\230 Vf? R

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T â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 1

editor of the University of Natalâ\200\231s Indicator SA, analyses the Natal conflict and explains how it relates to the violence nationwide S

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now link Natal more precisely with an unravelling chain -of national events. dentif;;iegs enough common features ma us to reconsider whether the Natal conflict really is a â\200\234separateâ\200\235 development. ; i  
The political climate in April 1990 closely resembles that of August 1984. A fickle national mood that swings from optimism to great pessimism has a direct

impact on Natal's politics.  
resident De  
reforms have heightened political expectations, legitimised  
extra-parliamentary organisations  
and opened up space for opposition  
activity. The limited reforms of

mid-1984 amid the political cam--

paigns for and against the tri-

cameral constitution produced a !

similar scenario of temporary  
instability.

.Inevitably, open conflict and vio-  
lence is accompanying a reform  
process which now allows free  
expression and mobilisation. The  
pent-up emotions of a nation in the  
making are being released. For the  
first time in decades, ANC support

| Inkatha rallies

Klerk's recent.

can be openly declared and ANC

Public meetings can be held. Un-

ed organisations cannot be ex-  
pected to reconstruct their con-  
stituencies, build a formal  
membership and impose party dis-  
cipline overnight. :

In volatile Natal, renewed vio-  
lence broke out in March in the  
aftermath of separate ANC and  
a.Sdrwsed by Man-  
dela and Buthelezi. The le ali.?  
ation of the ANC and Mandela's  
release have heightened the con-

flict between the jubilant com-

rades and the patriotic impis, fur-

- ther dividing popular loyalties

between the national symbols of

- the congress movement and the

land symbols of Inkatha.

ho

g i- the last two months, Man-

(g:ope's Bophuthatswana and Sebe's  
iskei have come under similar  
stress, as have Gazankulu,  
QwaQwa and Venda. These power  
struggles between pro- and anti--  
homeland groups extend well  
beyond the fragmented boundaries  
of KwaZulu. -

The conflict between the young lions and the homeland patriarchs is not unique to Natal. But in this region, the homeland state is underpinned by Inkatha, a black nationalist movement. Hence it is a

effort to mobilise both grassroots

resistance and its own security forces against opponents. This sustained rivalry on the ground is not found in other homelands.

Fateful

A national campaign to dismantle the homeland system was announced by the Mass Democratic Movement in December 1989.

The call for re-incorporation fur-

ther threatens Buthelezi's regional power base at a time when he has

admitted that Inkatha is losing

ground (and bleeding from new

JOLENT

qq Dī\201,.,\_.v.,.w.,mwm..i.,,â\200\234 i

woundsâ\200\235)â\200\230in rural as well as peri-urban areas (KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, March 14).

. The recent attempts to convene a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela to discuss the violence have initially stumbled on the choice of venue. Buthelezi inter-

reted the ANC's refusal to hold

talks in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, as â\200\234a political statementâ\200\235.

Tomorrow's planned peace rally at Taylor's Halt has been called off for similar reasons. When they do eventually come face to face, it will be a historic meeting. Stepping into the wilderness of Natal's complex politics, Mandela may well utter those fateful words: )

| Buthelezi, I presume ...

At national level, the emphasis placed by political leaders on negotiations appears to be obscure-

ing community-based challenges and needs. Protest ; again focused on the::aw gllgvafn:gieï\201,

inadequate to -

B . uncil and home-

lpolitics aref

ANARCHY RULES .. .adaz

land corruption, inferior schooling,  
unemployment and security  
actions.  
This checklist should sound  
familiar, Recent events in Sebo-  
. keng hark back to the Vaal Trian-  
â\200\230gle conflict of September 1984.  
here is a similar resonance about  
the catalysts for conflict in  
Natal/KwaZulu. : ;  
Negotiated settlements reached  
- at leadership level may not resolve  
protest issues such as:  
Â® Educational grievances in the  
DET and KwaZulu schools;

ed communit

B

@ Public servant pledges of alle-  
giance to KwaZulu;

Â® Rental/housing allocations  
under black town councils;

Â® KwaZulu Transport bus ser-  
vices; \*

@Â® Accusations of biased law  
enforcement (especially by Kwa-  
Zulu police). '

Take away the epithet â\200\234Kwa-  
Zuluâ\200\235 (police, state, transport, etc),  
and one finds the same material  
causes of township conflict that  
have emerged throughout the  
whole of South Africa.

Y gathers at Edendaleâ\200\231s â\200\230valley of deathâ\200\231 in Natal

The alleged corruption of black  
local authorities has made council-  
lors (and municipal policemen) the

rincipal targets of violence. Simi-  
rarly n Natal, a witness appearing  
before the inquiry into the violence  
reportedly complained that ,â\200\230xou  
have to bribe a councillor with a  
fridge or a TV set, only after that  
can you get a houseâ\200\235.

Even the internecine clashes  
between followers of different

olitical factions â\200\224 in this case,  
nkatha and the UDF â\200\224 are not  
unique to the province. During

March this year, Azapo and UDF  
supporters clashed in Bekkersdal,  
leaving three dead. Earlier, in Jan-  
uary, Africanists and UDF sup-  
porters clashed in Uitenhage, leav-  
lnq)double-figure fatalities.

art of the problem is that violence has become almost part of

' everyday life in Natal's townships.

In a climate approaching

the distinctions between common murder and assault and politically motivated actions are increasingly blurred.

Often the motivation and the methods of the protagonists are identical. The amabutho (Inkatha vigilantes), warlords (shackland leaders) and 'comrades' (dissident comrades) run protection rackets in their private fiefdoms and undertake looting sprees into rival territories.

Attrition

Those victimised pay monthly 'insurance' of between R10 and R200 to avoid having their homes burned down. The victims' political affiliations, if indeed they have any, are insignificant in many cases

Political organisations are unable to exert little control or discipline over factions or grassroots followers, who nominal homage to them or claim affiliation. Temporary truces or calls for peace from national leaders fall on ears. - Natal townships contain the same ingredients for conflict as do many other underdeveloped areas in South Africa. The ongoing war of attrition could be the of South Africa's future if national talks and socio-economic reconstruction get underway too late. Although: the leaders may come to the negotiation table, the brigands may well find the spoils of war more profitable, and the fragmented constituencies may find their material struggles more pressing than distant gratification

from abstract political ideals. \*

A FORMER National Party strongman who broke up opposition party meetings as a youth emerged this week as the â\200\234Godfatherâ\200\235 behind Welkomâ\200\231s white vigilantes.

He is eccentric and wealthy Goldfields businessman Piet Bezuidenhout, owner of 32 farms and a number of motor businesses in the northern Orange Free State boom town.

His wealth is exemplified by his gold rings, neck chain and bracelet.

The Sunday Star interviewed Mr Bezuidenhout, 63, who admitted: â\200\234I am the founder and the father of Blanke Veiligheid (BV).â\200\235 He denied they were vigilantes and said they took action only when the police were not available.

In a town where racial tensions have reached almost fever pitch, the groupâ\200\231s heavily-armed members patrol the streets and conduct random searches of blacks.

#### Assaults

The group is alleged to have been behind a number of assaults of black union members and to have helped crush a consumer boycott by removing â\200\234intimidatorsâ\200\235 from shops when summoned by local shopowners.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234We only work at night. We begin at seven and we end at seven,â\200\235 Mr Bezuidenhout said.

His son, Jan, a burly moustachioed man, is a main force behind the movement. He refused to be interviewed or photographed.

- The group is organised and well-equipped.

It has three aeroplanes  
at its disposal for surveil-  
lance of neighbouring  
black townships, its  
members are armed with  
pistols, members wear  
khaki uniforms with a  
lion insignia, it has its  
own â\200\234radio stationâ\200\235 to

call members out at

short notice and it has

x-NP \*  
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muscle  
TfrBuNL';

avs  
Pp& % J9%0  
leading  
role in  
violence

four bakkies to patrol the  
streets.

It claims a member-  
ship of 3 000.

The official leader is  
43-year-old Welkom pan-  
elbeater Hennie Muller  
who said the group was  
formed on March 6 in re-  
sponse to a protest.  
march planned for three  
days later.

â\200\234David Naude (the  
groupâ\200\231s chief adviser) got  
a few whites together  
and we spoke about this  
march. We thought spon-  
taneously that we would  
like to stop this march  
because they intended to  
march through white  
neighbourhoods.

â\200\234We were only 60 at  
the start â\200\224 not gangsters  
but prominent business-  
men, lawyers and doc-  
tors, people in Welkom  
who are fed up with the  
lawlessness.

â\200\234The police have got  
instructions from Minis-  
ter (of Law and Order  
Adriaan) Vlok that even  
if violence breaks out at  
marches they must put  
their guns away and

smile at these people â\200\224  
you canâ\200\231t stop violence  
with a smile.â\200\235

Mr Naude: â\200\234On the  
march there were sup-  
posed to be 575 teachers  
with a letter to the edu-  
cation department. We  
believed there were 3 000  
in the centre of the town-  
ship Thabong. If they  
could have given the as-  
surance there were only  
575 we would have

marched with them. But

6000 blacks stopped in  
uniform waving ANC  
flags. We told the police  
it was out of control.  
Then the order came to "  
arrest us.â\200\235

â\200\234We would like a meet-  
ing with Buthelezi (Kwa- |  
Zulu Chief Minister Man-  
gosuthu Buthelezi) be-  
cause we can join forces |  
with him. We have the  
same intentions â\200\224 to re-

store law and order,â\200\235 Mr

Muller said. i

â\200\234If there is any situa-  
tion that needs attention  
like a gathering we have  
people who can be  
phoned. Last Sunday  
night we got 400 people  
together in 11 minutes.

In Welkom now it is  
strange to see a black  
man on the streets after  
hours.

â\200\234If we see a black man |  
we stop him and ask him  
what heâ\200\231s doing. If he has  
no reason to be there and  
heâ\200\231s trying to be funny  
we take him back to the  
township.â\200\235

He said the group had -  
a network of black in-  
' formers.

Subversive

â\200\234We are just like a  
neighbourhood watch but  
in a bigger way.â\200\235

Mr Muller said that the

90 complaints of disturbing the peace that were being registered each night had dropped to zero since the formation of the group.

Mr Vlok has called the movement a "subversive alternative structure" and said it is "unacceptable".

Black union members are armed with wooden machine guns while many white men carry

revolvers strapped to '

their sides.

- One rightwinger said:

" "If those blacks get out of

control there will be a bloodbath here."

For a town that carries the motto "Golden Future", the prospects of peaceful co-existence between its people did not

appear gilt-edged this

week.

5

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Âfx- NP MuscLe PuAy s Lending  
Rote )N UVotence

et Bezuidenhout, top,  
mentâ\200\231s official leader.

THE â\200\230Godfatherâ\200\231 of Blanke Veiligheid, Pi  
panelbeater Hennie Muller, the move

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Now for the pol  
of

THE most remarkable thing  
about this momentous time in  
history is also the most intangi-  
ble: the world has simply  
â\200\230changed its mood. \_  
And for South Africans, estranged  
from the community of nations for  
more than three decades, it is no less  
than thrilling to find themselves  
part of this new attitude.  
The events are wellknown. On the  
world stage dictators have been de-  
- posed, the Wall has fallen, commu-  
  
nism is strangling itself and the Iron .

Curtain has parted. In sum, the Cold  
War has plain thawed away. :  
Here, South Africaâ\200\231s rulers decid-  
ed to chuck apartheid into the dust-  
bin, free Mandela, legitimise the  
ANC, and invited it home to help  
plan a new society.  
This week South Africans got an  
-insight into what, in practice, all this  
is amounting to. g  
Parliament opposition in the  
foi of the ocratic Party  
S ot euma (el U GRSy  
ory and su e Governmentâ\200\231s  
national g:ï-\202loget. , ;  
The ANC'â\200\231s unofficial ambassador  
and arch Government ï-\202c, Arch-  
ed on the

- bishop Desmond Tutu,  
  
liberation movement to renounce  
  
the armed strilâ\200\230gï-\202e.  
tics of confronta-

In sum, the  
tion has begun itself into the  
  
politics of co-operation.

South Africans are turning from  
  
an era where they saw themselves  
in stark terms of black and white,  
right and wrong, for and against â\200\224

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Times

| 'lesier Venter  
R W R TR

says that the Democratic Partyâ\200\231s break  
with tradition in not opposing the Budget  
has introduced a new style of politics

to an era of more autl)Ã@ntic demo-  
cratic flux.  
True, it is not yet time to go sh

: for political wedding b: 4  
- is?t(lâ\200\231le stuff of demgcracies,,

and so much more so for democra-  
cies in the making.

Yet the rightful place for that con-  
flict is debating chambers, public  
forums and negotiating tables. Ar-  
gument is the tool and a society  
cherished and upheld by its citizens  
is the purpose.

South Africa has taken its mg&e:: i

steps this century towards  
deal.

i  
Violence

True, there is one glaring excep-  
tion in the violence that has followed  
â\200\230these steps and is currently tearing  
apart so many black communities..

At this stage the Government is  
not allowing the violence to put it off  
its course, and is sensibly reading it  
as an inevitable and transito  
: haseintheâ\200\234%â\200\230resâ\200\234\_grereleaseâ\200\235 -

ect of reform. er, the Govern-  
ment is reading it as mainly endem-  
ic to the communities affected,  
without the revolutionary, anti-Gov-  
ernment focus of previous upheav-  
als of the same sort.

In the mainstream of political de-  
-velo ts, however, the Demo-  
cratic P staked a place in the  
process with the stra it an-  
nounced this week and called â\200\234con-  
vergenceâ\200\235.

- The word is cumbersome and so is  
the concept. Through it the par?  
â\204¢ aims to focus light and understand-  
ing on the intellectual beacons of  
democracy and urge, push and beck-



Arch%?shOp Tutu brings with it another element without which the new society cannot be made.

It is the ditching of the â\200\234all-or-nothingâ\200\235 approach.

1 Aeg

itics

tiof"

The old order of SA politics with its harsh divisions made this approach not only inevitable, but convenient. Just as the US can no longer

dismiss the Soviet Union as â\200\234the evil

Sanky iy Mmee feugl: et any er others out of iâ\200\230t):fdeologlclgly terrain.

The boundaries round the moral

camps of the past have fallen. It is

ble to draw a line

ernment and dismiss

it as the apostle of a d and an instrument of racial privilege.

By the same measure the DP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other parties and can no longer simply define ves as being anti-a] eid â\200\224 and, by extension, a; the Government.

Daunting

The ANC can no longer count on the worldâ\200\231s support merely because it is standing on what has up to now, beenalu:iigv:rsally accepted as the mor ground.

This week in some of the ANCâ\200\231s most ardent Capitol Hill sn;gmâ\200\230ters let it be known the or-F tion would have to lay down

ts arr;'s if it wanted to retain that su|

issue now facing all the partiesinthe{)rocessisasclearand simple as it must be daunting to them: to justify their role in the re-making of SA they have got to have something actual to contribute.

Whatâ\200\231s more, they need to be seen to be doing it.

The Government has read those signals and has started making its contribution. So has the DP, and so have Archbishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi. !

The Conservative Party, by offering nothing but the broken dreams of the past, is not doing so â\200\224 and it probably won't either. So the speed at which the past is receding is the S at which the CP is authoring its own irrelevancy.

When, if ever, the historic first formal meeting between the ANC and the place, the ANC will have its first major opportunity to start showing what it can contribute. iy

South Africans will not be alone in watching to see what it is. Washing- |  
ton, Whitehall and Moscow will watching, too. :

vernment takes