

S. A. GOVT & POLITICS — 1992

JUNE

Mandela again attacks De Klerk

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 1/6/72

304A

A two-hour visit to strife-torn Phola Park yesterday prompted Nelson Mandela to launch one of his strongest attacks on President de Klerk.

A visibly angry Mr Mandela told a press briefing: "I have said before that in Nazi Germany people were being killed not because they were a threat to the security of the State but simply because they were Jews.

"In our country, people are being killed not because they are a threat to security but simply because they are black."

Those wanting to verify his statement needed only to visit Phola Park, he said.

The ANC leader accused the media of failing to put the reality of the violence across to white South Africans.

He noted that the mainstream press was owned by whites who did not share blacks' life experiences and were also "not well aware of the kinds of deeds being permitted by the head of state, Mr de Klerk".

Outlining the issues which had led to the deterioration in his relationship with Mr de Klerk, he said the State President had the capacity to end the violence because he controlled a strong security force.

Mr de Klerk's decision to amend legislation prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons, however, had intensified the violence.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had pointed out that the violence emanated from the hostels. The State President had agreed a year ago to measures to curb violence in the hostels but had not acted on them.

Finally, the ANC had repea-

tedly presented police with evidence of innocent people's residences being attacked and occupied. Invariably, the SAP had said it would investigate but "nothing happened".

As Mr Mandela and his entourage were leaving Phola Park, gunmen opened fire on a police patrol.

"The police did not return fire and the attackers immediately disappeared among the shacks," police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Police are hunting the attackers in the camp, which is under virtual siege in what police say is an attempt to crack down on criminal elements.

In another development yesterday, Phola Park residents lifted razor wire placed around the camp at the weekend and moved it into the Palm Ridge/Eden Park Road, endangering the flow of traffic.

Pik Botha sworn in as FW leaves

By Carina le Grange

STAR 1/6/92
(3041)

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was last night sworn in as acting State President while President de Klerk is on his eight-day visit to Moscow, Japan and Singapore.

The brief ceremony, conducted by Judge President Eloff, took place at Jan Smuts Airport before the departure of Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike.

Mr de Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, arrives in Moscow today, where he will meet the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, on the first leg of the journey.

Mr de Klerk briefly addressed the invited witnesses, stressing the historic importance of his visit to three "first-ever" destinations for South African heads of state.

He said he was leaving South Africa at an eventful time but had full confidence that his negotiating team would keep the negotiations process on track.

"It is my hope that in the eight days while I am away, progress will be made, and that the warning lights of confrontation will be defused," he said.

Codesa in need of new goals

Star 11/6/92.

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DR ZACH de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party and a key negotiator at Codesa, fittingly described Codesa 2 as a "jimp squid". Others have been equally uncomplimentary. Yet Codesa 2's collapse was necessary to strip away the pretence and political gamesmanship to expose the hard truths. Simply stated: the wrong people have been doing the wrong thing for the wrong reasons at the wrong time. Something else needed to happen first.

This is not to question the intent or motives of the Codesa negotiators. They are all well intentioned. They are simply acting in movies from the past with plot lines that lock them in cul-de-sacs. They have contrasting visions of how the movie should end. No wonder Codesa 2 was discordant.

Three equally powerful forces are locked in mortal combat — majority rule redistribution, ethnic preservation, and First World

growth. Any one of these forces can bring the country to a standstill, producing Beirut conditions.

I therefore suggest that when Codesa 3 meets, it needs to think Cohesa — Convention for a Healthy South Africa.

The first topic should be how all South Africans, working together, can create abundance.

The second should deal with measures necessary to reverse quickly the downward spirals in the country: nutrition, education, housing, crime and corruption.

It is simply premature to debate conflicting political models until there is a better understanding of South Africa itself.

How does Cohesa differ from Codesa? First, all political, economic, religious, and social groupings, as well as ordinary South Africans, should be represented and active. Without the straight talk and salt-of-the-earth values of many conservative SA whites, Codesa was out of balance. Also,



Dr. Don Beek ... critical.



Keys ... competent.

the deep fears lurking behind the angry demands of the PAC, Azapo, the AWB and others should be respected and understood. Everybody needs assurances there will be a place for him in the new South Africa.

Second, new decision-making structures need to replace power

negotiation and political theatre. Protest demonstrations generate news copy and heated confrontations on "Agenda" help make political careers, but neither contributes to the design of a Healthy South Africa.

Many South Africans have, on the other hand, become world class in using powerful, sophisticated yet practical techniques of problem resolution, especially where issues are complex, billions of rands are at stake, and the quality of programmes matters.

The Value Engineering/Value Management methodology was first developed at General Electric in the late '50s and has been adapted by Barlow Rand executive John Hall, the innovative and resourceful facilitator of the National Peace Committee, who calls it "process engineering". Other South Africans have introduced it with great success.

A Healthy South Africa will have to be engineered. It cannot

be negotiated in the traditional adversarial sense. The current crop of politicians and community leaders will have to be trained in this new discipline and process.

Third, the process should start at local and community levels and bubble up to regional and national models. Local elections should be staggered to keep national issues and personalities from interfering in the initial and sensitive attempts at bringing together communities under non-racial management. It is premature and futile to attempt to formulate or impose a top-down model on the fragile and unsettled population.

National affairs should be managed by non-racial teams of competent visionaries who put South Africa first. The appointment of former Gencor executive Derek Keys to Finance is a good example of selecting competent people instead of party faithful.

Finally, all involved should recognise the hard truths about this country. People are at different

levels of development, just as in the global macrocosm. The future of the Third World is the Second World rather than the First. That critical mass will require an authoritarian conduit, especially for the kids in the townships. A redistributive system should be put in place, but one that sparks individual initiative instead of trapping minds in government welfare. Codesa 3 would then have created a much larger cake for all to share.

A Healthy South Africa can, integrate, into a constructive channel, all three forces that now threaten to tear it apart. Pre-reform political parties should consider disbanding since they are all tainted in some way. When the next South Africa has been engineered, the political activity that generates continual improvement will be appropriate once again. Everybody needs a fresh start. □

Dr Don Beek, director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, is a conflict resolution specialist.

New govt must be saved from itself

Stam 1/6/92.

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A GAG has been doing the rounds for years.

This fellow writes to a magazine agony aunt saying: "My father is serving a long prison sentence for rape and embezzlement. My mother runs a house of ill repute. My sister is a striptease dancer and drug addict who is married to a bouncer whose second cousin once voted for the Nationalists."

"I myself recently finished a stretch in a reformatory but I am now determined to go straight. I have met a very nice girl, a missionary, and we are serious... Should I tell her about my sister being married to the second cousin of a man who once voted for the Nationalists?"

It's a cruel and unfair gag, of course... its own form of thinly veiled bigotry.

But it is terrible to reflect today that if you told it to a youngster

he would probably shrug his shoulders and say: "So what?"

When a judge recommends that a huge government department be closed because its officials have been stealing in millions or billions, and when Foreign Affairs officials confess that they were duped of R1.6 million by a West African confidence trickster, the gag comes close to self-fulfilling prophecy.

And these latest shenanigans come a mere 13 years after the Information scandal (small change at only R57 million).

No wonder Cabinet Ministers are dropping like flies with exhaustion. What is still to come?

Perhaps it is all serving a mysterious purpose. As Codesa staggers toward putting together a new constitution, the outcomes of the old one (and I mean 1910, not 1983) are being paraded before us like a horror puppet show. We are at

least being shown, and in fine detail, what it is we *don't* need in the new South Africa.

We don't need a majoritarian Westminster system where one grouping has the means and incentive to entrench itself in power in perpetuity. What group, put in the position of the Afrikaner Nationalists in a plural society — under a system where you rule or are ruled — would have behaved any differently?

We don't need the exaggerated sovereignty of Parliament that goes with the Westminster system, allowing the executive to set up all kinds of smokecreens, subterfuges and secret dealings to rule in the dark. We need checks and balances, bills of rights, independent judges, ombudsmen, advocates-general, independent attorneys-general, auditors-general and a truly free press. It's no good saying: "Ah, but the

bad things happened under the Nats. A new government will be moral, we won't need all those things". Nobody has a monopoly on morality. Human nature is human nature. The difficulty the ANC seems to be currently having with its own bookkeeping is hardly encouraging.

Given the circumstances of 44 years' uninterrupted and unfettered power, what grouping could have come through it uncorroded?

A new government surely needs to be saved from itself, just as much as the nation needs to be saved from a new government.

We need the strongest entrenchments against bananism, the motivating principle of banana republics which reveals itself across a range of activities from the squandering of public money to the assassination of political opponents.

De Klerk sets off on Russia and Japan visit

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk left on a three-nation tour last night that will take in Russia, Japan and Singapore. There is little doubt he would rather have embarked on this latest trip against a more positive background of domestic events.

Violence — which emerged as a major obstacle to investment on De Klerk's visit to England, Ireland and Denmark last year — has escalated dramatically, Codesa negotiations are stalled and a wave of mass action is planned for next month.

To this is added the ANC's investment code, unveiled on Saturday, which provides for several curbs on foreign investors, with affirmative action high on the agenda.

That hardly amounts to a recipe for success with the cautious Japanese, who will want more solid signs of stability.

De Klerk starts work this morning with a two-hour meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Foreign Affairs sources stressed the visit was little more than "symbolic", holding potential rather than the prospect of immediate returns. "To Russia with love and little more," said one official.

Consideration is being given to a credit line for Russia.

Agreements on trade and scientific co-operation are in their final stages.

After a day in St Petersburg, the President will head for Japan on Wednesday — the real focus of his trip — for a four-day official working visit.

He will hold talks with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa.

SA established full diplomatic relations with Japan earlier this year. Foreign Affairs sources said the next step was normalising investment. Japan currently has very little direct investment.

De Klerk's goal would clearly be to "open the door to investment", but he might find his way blocked by the same problems he encountered in Europe.

The Japanese have burned their fingers in Africa and are only going to be willing to invest where they can be assured of a reasonable return.

A second target is direct air-links — necessary to attract Japanese tourists who prefer to fly direct.

There are two obstacles to SA tapping the lucrative Japanese tourist market — endemic violence, and the fact it is 43rd in line for landing rights at Tokyo's Narita airport. Landing at Osaka is being studied.

The final leg of the visit takes De Klerk to Singapore, where he will meet Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, and Singaporean strongman senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Singapore has been afforded a high priority by Foreign Affairs, although total trade totalled only R750m in 1990.

Air links have already been established and SA is keen to open up export markets for raw meat and food, with imports of finished goods in return.

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B/day 1/6/92
Political Staff

FW can show little cause for optimism

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk left yesterday on a three-nation tour that he would doubtless have liked to take place against a more positive background of events at home.

In his eight-day odyssey, which will take in Russia, Japan and Singapore, he will have little to show that encourages optimism.

Violence, a major obstacle to

investment, has increased alarmingly, negotiations at Co-desa have stalled and the country faces large-scale mass action next month.

Nor will investors be reassured by the investment code unveiled by the ANC at the weekend, which places affirmative action high on the agenda and provides for curbs on foreign investors.

Mr De Klerk — on the first

official visit to Russia, by a head of state since the collapse of the USSR — begins this morning with a two-hour meeting with President Boris Yeltsin.

Foreign Affairs sources stress that the visit is largely "symbolic".

A question of concern to both presidents is whether political reform is possible in tandem with the enormous

economic problems that their countries face.

During his four-day working visit to Japan, which starts on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk will have talks with the Prime Minister Mr Kiichi Miyazawa.

Mr De Klerk's goal will clearly be to "open the door to investment", but the Japanese have burnt their fingers in Africa and are only going to be willing to invest in a stable

environment where they can be assured of a reasonable return.

In Singapore Mr De Klerk will meet Prime Minister Mr Goh Chok Tong, President Wee Kim Wee, and Senior Minister Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

Air links have already been established with Singapore and South Africa is keen to open up export markets for raw meat and food, importing finished products in return.

ANC on State Presidency

3648 (H) CT 1/6/92
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has opted for a State President elected by a national assembly rather than by popular vote.

This decision resolves an issue specifically left open in the ANC's constitutional guidelines published two years ago.

The State President, who

would only be available for re-election once, would have both ceremonial and executive powers, according to the policy adopted by the ANC at its policy conference which ended yesterday.

The ANC favours a parliament consisting of a democratically-elected national assembly and a directly-elected senate, which

would be representative of regions.

The ANC proposes a proportional representation system, with national and regional lists.

The policy document implicitly rejects federalism, stating that parliament will determine what powers the regions should have.

Mandela again slams De Klerk

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ARCT 11/6/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela launched yet another attack on President De Klerk during a trip by the ANC president to Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand.

Mr Mandela said the government and security forces were responsible for the killing of about 14 000 blacks since 1984.

Mr Mandela said that Mr De Klerk did not care about the welfare of blacks and this was evident in that only five perpetrators of violence had been arrested.

He said the State President had "given certain political groups the capacity to kill".

Blacks were being killed on similar proportions to Jews who were killed by the nazis during World War 2, "simply because they are black".

Mr De Klerk underestimated blacks and regarded them as inferior, Mr Mandela said.

"It is clear that De Klerk is in

cahoots with the perpetrators of violence. He claims not to be aware of what is happening within the security forces. But I don't believe him. He is either unconcerned or he is incompetent as the head of state."

Mr Mandela added that the ANC wanted an interim government and needed the people's support. It was only through an interim government that a non-racial government capable of ruling South Africa was possible.

He also attacked the State President for allowing the carrying of dangerous weapons.

"These heavily armed men are given the room to kill our people with assegais, knobkerries and axes while being escorted by the police," Mr Mandela charged.

The media also got a tongue-lashing from the ANC for its "lack of general outrage in condemning the government and President De Klerk for perpetuating violence".

"The mainstream press has been silent for too long and that

is not good for the future. This is happening because the major newspapers are controlled by a few white individuals who have no idea what is happening in the black community," Mr Mandela said.

● Soon after Mr Mandela's visit police were fired at. Several rounds of AK 47 ammunition were found. Police did not return fire and no one was injured, a spokesman said.

The cheerful crowd, which had been ululating and singing, dispersed when the shots were fired.

The incident occurred as Mr Mandela and his entourage were leaving Phola Park to attend the ANC economic conference at Nasrec centre.

Police were hunting the attackers in the squatter camp, which is under virtual siege in what police say is an attempt to crack down on criminal elements.

Defence units linked to the ANC were operating in the area, police said.

ANC 'stands ready to govern country'

3044

REG-1/6/92

ESTHER WAUGH Political Staff

THE ANC under Mr Nelson Mandela was ready to govern the country, said the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at the end of its four-day policy conference.

Nearly 800 delegates yesterday adopted an 80-page policy document, which Mr Ramaphosa said did not contain "quick-fix solutions".

"The policies we have adopted here are the ones that equip the ANC and commit it to implement when it becomes the government of tomorrow," Mr Ramaphosa said.

The policy document is divided into 18 sections and deals with a new system of local government, an economic policy, health, welfare, education, housing, science and technology and international relations.

The policies focus on the economic and political empowerment of South

Africans and "would give shape to a truly democratic way of life".

He said universal suffrage was an empty shell without economic empowerment.

The policy document represented the culmination of almost a year's discussion in ANC branches, regions and departments.

"Not for us the fashioning of policies and blueprints in smoke-filled boardrooms and elite gatherings. The policies adopted by this conference are the voice of the people," Mr Ramaphosa said in his closing address to the conference.

"Those who survive on a hungry belly are denied the prospect of a job, live without shelter and with no prospect of a healthy life for themselves and their children will always find the right to vote deprived of much of its real content," he said.

A central thrust of the document is the economic policy, which not only focuses on the need for redistribu-

tion, but also emphasises a systematic programme of sustained growth.

The economic policy aims at creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy, which would eliminate poverty, democratise the economy and create productive employment.

To achieve these objectives the ANC proposes a two-pronged approach of a redistribution programme to meet the basic needs of all South Africans and to restructure the economy on the basis of comprehensive and sustainable development strategies.

It also envisages a "dynamic private sector employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced goods and services for all South Africans".

The State should be able to respond to the needs of the national economy in a flexible way.

"The primary question in this regard is not the legal form that the State involvement in economic activity might take at any point, but whether such actions will strengthen the ability of the economy to respond to the massive inequalities in the country, relieve the material hardship of the majority of the people and stimulate economic growth and competitiveness."

The ANC's proposed mixed economy could include nationalisation. Other options included a State share in companies and new public corporations or joint ventures.

Mr Mandela said the organisation's consideration of nationalisation was not unique and could be found in many economic policies of Western countries, including Germany.

Mr Ramaphosa emphasised a "more serious" approach to organisation and mobilisation within the ANC.

'Action' an ANC poll ploy

CARET. 1/6/92 (304A) ##

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC policy conference yesterday endorsed an "unprecedented" campaign of mass action from next month, designed not only to break the negotiation impasse but also to prepare the ground for a future election campaign.

The ANC's political mobilisation programme is to focus on what its negotiations commission report called "the regime's attempts at restructuring apartheid rule", and on government corruption and complicity in the activities of alleged death squads.

The programme includes a proposal for a new coalition of anti-apartheid groups to be established around these themes, and a conference of civic, union, political and business groups is being considered.

In criticising the government's record, the ANC intends presenting itself as an alternative, offering "democracy, justice and good government".

Armed with a host of new policy guidelines adopted at the conference, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC is ready to assume the responsibility of governing this country."

'Must expect turmoil'

In his closing address to the conference, Mr Ramaphosa accused the National Party of plunging the negotiating process into crisis.

If the government did not meet the ANC's demands for an interim government by the end of June and constituent assembly elections by the end of the year, a stayaway of longer duration than ever seen before could not be ruled out.

He pledged "rolling" mass action of various types which would revitalise the link between grassroots membership and the negotiations process.

Speaking to the media after the conference, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said that while he did not think negotiations had failed, the ANC would have to use its power to get the government's co-operation.

"If the government are not prepared to co-operate, they must be prepared for turmoil." The ANC

To page 2

● Seized land: ANC pledge a 'just' fee — Page 2



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Pick 6 Carryover

THERE were no Pick 6 winners at Milnerton on Saturday and the R162 042 pool will be carried forward to the Durbanville meeting on Wednesday. — PAGE 14

From page 1

was continuing talks with the government in an effort to break the deadlock, he said.

Questioned on fears that mass action would damage the economy, Mr Mandela said: "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

● President F W de Klerk yesterday said threats of mass action to force his government's hand towards an interim government would make no contribution to a negotiated settlement.

Mr De Klerk commented on the threats during a speech at Vereeniging during the unveiling of a memorial to Boer negotiators in the treaty that led to the Peace of Vereeniging on May 31, 1902.

He believed negotiations could succeed, but he could not ignore the partial failure of Codesa II and a hardening of attitudes displayed by some participants.

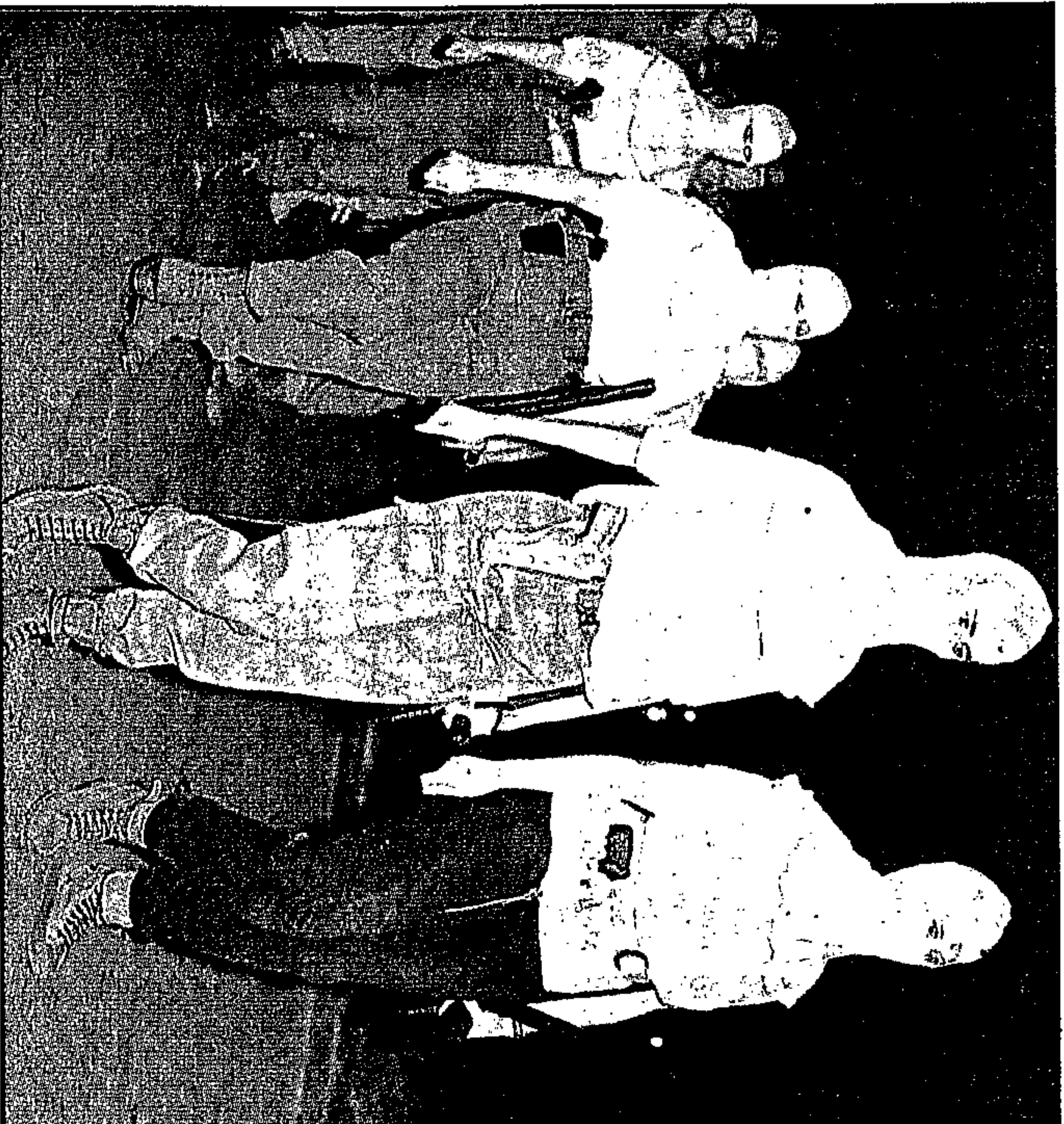
He added that major progress had been made at Codesa. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

CT 1/6/92

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Women members of the AWB during a parade before the start of the organisation's congress at the weekend.
Pic: TOM EDLEY

We'll go to war, warns AWB chief

Sowetan 11/6/92
THE AWB warned at the weekend that if the movement was banned by the Government, it would be viewed as an act of aggression and the organisation would react immediately.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche also warned that if the Government did not heed the claims of the Boers to govern themselves in their own country, it would be seen as a declaration of war.

These claims were rightful, he said.

"The AWB would have no choice but to answer to this (banning) declaration," he said at the end of the organisation's congress in Klerksdorp on Saturday.

It was billed as the AWB's world congress.

"If the Government wants war he (sic) will get it," Terre'Blanche said.

At the congress a motion was also passed

that the AWB would ask the Government as a matter of urgency to reconsider its position.

The deliberations of the congress itself were closed to the public and members of the Press venturing within earshot of the hall where the proceedings were taking place, were asked to move by members of the AWB's Ystergarde.

Asked whether the AWB would negotiate in order to attain its own territory, Terre'Blanche said his movement would negotiate with the leaders of nations but not with the leaders of "Communist-inspired movements".

"If we meet the ANC we will meet them over the barrel of a gun," he added.

He also said Codesa would yet become the centre of the bloodiest revolution Africa had ever seen. - *Sapa*.

FW off to sell SA to the East

304A
Sowetan
1/6/92.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is set to land at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport at 9am local time today to start his tour of Russia and the Far East with a two-hour meeting with President Boris Yeltsin.

The party of 50 South Africans, including Mrs Marike de Klerk, 16 Press people, officials, some officials' wives, and 14 security officers, left Jan Smuts Airport just on 8pm last night in a jet chartered from South African Airways.

De Klerk has 40 official engagements lined up in Russia, Japan and Singapore, plus a game of golf next Monday with Singapore's Prime Minister Mr Goh Chok

Tong.

In addition to being with De Klerk on most assignments, Mrs de Klerk has about 10 engagements to fulfil separately.

De Klerk's main political rival at home, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, has yet to visit Moscow since being released from prison.

While there are no plans for De Klerk to sign any official treaties, he flies off with one task standing out - to convince the Japanese business community that South Africa is a secure country to invest in. This makes his Thursday lunchtime address to the Tokyo business community the most important item on his eight-day tour. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

KLA
on

Church moves to end racial divide

AFTER 17 years of negotiations, the unification of the racially-divided Apostolic Faith Mission church appears to be close to realisation.

In a statement issued at the weekend, the AFM said it had accepted a declaration of intent to unify the white and black divisions of the church. *Sowetan 11/6/92*.

The declaration of intent stated that the AFM accepted the biblical principle of unity, rejected all discrimination, accepted the principle of a single structure, and accepted that membership be based on freedom of group worship. - *Sapa*.

FW hits out over mass action threats

ANC threats of mass action to force the Government's hand towards an interim government would not contribute to a negotiated settlement in South Africa, President FW de Klerk said yesterday. *Sowetan 11/6/92*.

De Klerk commented on the threats during a speech in Vereeniging during the unveiling of a memorial in honour of "Boer" negotiators in the treaty that led to the Peace of Vereeniging on May 31 1902.

He said he believed negotiations could succeed, but he could not ignore the partial failure of Codesa 2 and a hardening of attitudes shown by some participants. - *Sapa*.

DP attacks move to scrap mini-budget ^(304A)

Star 2/6/92
Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has been accused of undermining Parliament's traditional control over State spending by introducing legislation to scrap the annual Part Appropriation Act — or mini-budget.

The Government's aim is to replace the Act with a purely administrative mini-budget calculated on the basis of a standard formula — 45 percent of the previous year's total budget.

The mini-budget is needed to tide over the country's financing requirements from the start of the book year on April 1 until the main Budget is passed, usually in June. The legislation to scrap the Part Appropriation Act, which was debated

in Parliament yesterday, would mean Parliament losing the power to debate and reject the mini-budget.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew opposed the Bill because he said Parliament needed more and not less time to debate financial matters and call Government to account.

It was "rather extraordinary" that the Government was asking Parliament to relinquish its control over the Part Appropriation in a year of enormous over-expenditure.

The Conservative Party also opposed the Bill.

Minister of State Expenditure Amie Venter said the Bill would not remove Parliament's sole power to authorise expenditure from the Treasury.

Stoffel hits back at ANC

Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party has accused ANC president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa of using "provocative, violent and often racist rhetoric" as relations between the country's two main parties plunged further.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe flung the accusations in a statement last night attacking the ANC's planned campaign of mass action to pressure the Government into softening its negotiation position.

The campaign indicated a lack of confidence in the ANC's ability to negotiate and smacked of a "political inferiority complex".

It also placed a big question mark over the ANC's good faith.

The campaign would be very damaging to the economy, he warned.

He called on black workers to take note of the effects of the mass action campaign on job losses, lower pay, slower growth and a higher cost of living.

He called on black workers to take note that it was the ANC which was damaging the economy, both through mass action and



Stoffel van der Merwe ... ANC has inferiority complex.

their economic policies which well-known economists had described as the "kiss of death" for the South African economy.

This referred to the ANC policy conference's approval of an investment code which would place certain special conditions on foreign investment in SA.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew also criticised the proposed foreign investment code.

He said it reflected a continued lack of understanding of the operation of the market forces at play.

"A code of conduct for foreign investment can play a positive role in providing for a climate of investment certainty.

"However at a time of keen competition for inter-



Ken Andrew ... criticised foreign investment code.

national investment funds, it is unrealistic to imagine that one can stipulate numerous abnormal conditions without chasing away much desperately needed investment.

"We don't have to be beggars, but we cannot afford to be finicky choosers either."

The ANC's call for mass action was yesterday attacked by Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson as being "unwise, unreasonable and unhelpful", reports Derek Tommey.

He told a press conference in Johannesburg that he did not think it was the sensible way to set about matters.

He said there had been a stage when people could understand why others felt they needed to go that route when they did not have full rights and participation in the political process. But



Julian Ogilvie Thompson ... mass action unhelpful.

mass action now would be counter-productive.

It would not be good for getting the economy going and for encouraging foreigners to invest in SA.

Mr Ogilvie Thompson said he did not think mass action would advance the cause of the ANC.

But it would make life more difficult for companies and he suspected that many people would lose a lot of wages and earnings.

It might also force some companies to lay off staff.

He said if the mass action was effective, he suspected this would only be because of intimidation.

And in a way that was quite contrary to what people were trying to achieve in this country — free and open participation in political activity.

Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Goldstone attacks 'unfair' use of report

STH 2/16/12

The Goldstone Commission has criticised the Government for delaying publication of its interim report on political violence last week, and unfairly using selected extracts from it.

which has been caused by conflicting Government and ANC interpretations of his findings.

Much of the confusion was caused by the simultaneous publication last week of Mr Justice Goldstone's second interim report on political violence, and a separate press statement on only the Transvaal and Natal violence.

Mr Justice Goldstone submitted the interim report to President de Klerk on April 29, but the Government only released it last week.

The delayed interim report spreads the blame evenly among all parties to the violence, while the press statement clearly identified the ANC/IFP rivalry as the primary cause of violence.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, issued a statement yesterday in an attempt to clarify the confusion.

Mr Justice Goldstone said that the commission was concerned by the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives who for some weeks had been in possession of all the information before it was made public.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, issued a statement yesterday in an attempt to clarify the confusion.

"This led to unfortunate confusion. That could not have happened if all interested parties, and particularly all signatories to the National Peace Accord, had been placed in possession of the commission's report before Government and police spokesmen made public comment on it."

The commission recommended that steps be taken to avoid a repetition.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee responded last night by explaining that the report had been held back to allow Government departments time to study its recommendations.

He said the report had "certain far-reaching implications for departments and the taxpayer."

which had to be studied. Mr Coetsee said he agreed that all signatories to the National Peace Accord should receive all relevant reports at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Human Rights Commission yesterday apologised to the Goldstone Commission for its earlier criticism of the report, saying it had commented "on the basis of a Government press release."

Slovo wants media to sit in on talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Codesa proceedings could be opened to public scrutiny when a decision is taken on June 15 on allowing the press access to management committee meetings.

All Codesa meetings, except for plenary sessions, have been behind closed doors. *STAR 2/6/92*

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo yesterday proposed that a rotating pool of journalists be allowed to sit in on meetings of the management committee.

It is understood the Inkatha Freedom Party was opposed to the proposal, while Government representatives wanted to discuss it with their principals.

Mr Slovo first mooted the idea last month at Codesa 2 when he proposed that the press be allowed in to Codesa proceedings. They would then be able "to see the Government delegates' faces when it was proposed that the words 'democratically elected' be added before the word Senate".

He said last night that "monumental ignorance and confusion" existed among the public about Codesa.

The Diamant by-election is far more important than it looks, writes

Donald Simpson

Testing time for 'brown

Star 2/6/92

WHILE Codesa wrangles over the shape of a transitional government for South Africa, the old political system continues to tick away quietly. This means it will soon be time for another by-election.

After Potchefstroom, the contest for the Diamant seat in the House of Representatives might sound like small potatoes, but it will be an important indicator of the likely future tactics of the ANC and the NP in "coloured" areas.

Diamant is Kimberley's "coloured" township. It is a constituency of at least 35 000 voters, making it larger than any white Cape seat. As the June 24 by-election approaches, the ANC and NP have key choices to make in this area — Diamant abuts and even overlaps with major black townships.

turnout and a loss of credibility for the tricameral system.

If they adopt this tactic again next month, however, they will ensure that the NP wins the seat.

A win for President de Klerk's party would cast doubt on whether the ANC can win any significant support among the existing tricameral electorate of more than 5 million — a psychological blow in the run up to the first-ever "one man, one vote" poll expected in late 1993.

The ANC faces a ticklish problem. It must on principle continue to condemn race-based elections, and certainly would not field a candidate of its own. But the ANC does have a convenient surrogate in the Labour Party, whose leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has been completely alienated by the NP to the extent that President de Klerk called him an "anti-white political extortionist" in Parliament recently.

The most likely ANC strategy, then, is to condemn the by-election but still hope that Labour defeats the "brown Nat" candidate.

If the Labour Party wins, the ANC can claim that it would have won the same votes had it participated.

By contrast, if the NP wins then the Labour Party could face collapse — and the ANC would lose a useful ally at Codesa, while handing coloured voters on a plate to the NP. The ANC therefore has to carefully weigh up the question of the extent to which it should become involved — even in a behind-the-scenes role.

The ANC will be comforted by the fact that Diamant is a very dangerous seat for the NP to fight. It has boasted the second highest vote for a winning candidate (both Labour) in any of the 80 House of Representatives constituencies. With 17 Labour seats unopposed in 1989 and an average turnout of 17.7 percent, calculations are extremely risky.

However, the seat was held from 1969 to 1980 by Sonny Leon for the Labour Party in the Coloured Representative Council, and Labour deputy leader, Miley Richards has close family ties there.

Able candidate John Scholtz could hold the seat for Labour and fend off the NP's Howard Isaacs — who was not the party's first choice. If Labour does hang on, this would constitute a significant setback for the NP. It could even endanger the NP's control of the House of Representatives, where it holds only three more seats than Labour — with eight Independents — and its MPs are performing poorly against the more experienced and tougher Labour team.

A major election issue is an alleged financial scandal in the North West Cape concerning the House of Representatives. The previous Labour MP resigned in disgrace — but only after defecting to the NP. It is therefore unclear which of the two parties will get the blame.

On a "swing" calculation, giving all non-Labour votes in 1989 to the NP, Labour can hold Diamant if it loses 51 of the 80 seats, and has only 39 percent of the votes in a general election for the House.

On a "swing" calculation, giving all non-Labour votes in 1989 to the NP, Labour can hold Diamant if it loses 51 of the 80 seats, and has only 39 percent of the votes in a general election for the House.

House of Assembly terms, it is a fairly safe seat for Labour and its loss would be the equivalent of the defeat of the Conservative Party in the referendum.

In 1989 Diamant, despite the close proximity of black townships, had a 31 percent turnout — the 13th highest turnout of any Representatives constituency contested.

By-elections normally draw fewer votes than general elections but in the super-charged atmosphere of political life in South Africa now, with President de Klerk making a direct bid for coloured support, a lot is riding on the outcome. If the ANC play it cool, a record turnout of voters is assured.

Even if the NP loses narrowly, this would indicate that the party would probably win a majority of coloured voters nationally. But if Labour wins convincingly, then the prospects for a role for itself in a future dispensation look good. The voters of Diamant will be telling South Africa where, in political terms, they think their best

hopes for the future lie. Many are grateful to Mr de Klerk for his reforms, and his defeat of the right wing in the referendum.

However, despite the ever-increasing criticism one hears in the Cape of the ANC, many voters might decide that it is a safer bet to back Labour and try to influence the ANC from within a Hendrickse-led coalition. After all, Mr Hendrickse demonstrated that only he could challenge the might of the P W Botha government between 1987 and 1989. The ANC is benefitting to an extent from what he did inside parliament then.

If Labour is badly defeated in Kimberley, some Labour MPs are likely to move directly to the ANC and sit as Independents. These include the sons and son-in-law of Hendrickse — they are passionate in their dislike of the NP. The LP would be close to finished, and politics likely to polarise between black and non-black, ANC and non-ANC, privileged and otherwise — and the new South Africa will look a lot less stable than its proponents now claim. □

Nats

'ANC is ready to take the reins'

Sowetan 2/6/92 304A
Sowetan Correspondent
THE ANC, under the leadership of Mr Nelson Mandela, was ready to govern the country.

This was said by the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at the end of its four-day policy conference in Johannesburg.

Almost 800 delegates on Sunday adopted an 80-page policy document which Ramaphosa said did not contain "quick fix solutions".

"The policies we have adopted here are the ones that equip the ANC and commit it to implement when it becomes the government of tomorrow", said Ramaphosa.

The policy document is divided into 18 areas and includes a new system of local government, an economic policy, health, welfare, education, housing, science and technology and international relations.

The policies focus on the economic and political empowerment of South Africans and "would give shape to a truly democratic way of life".

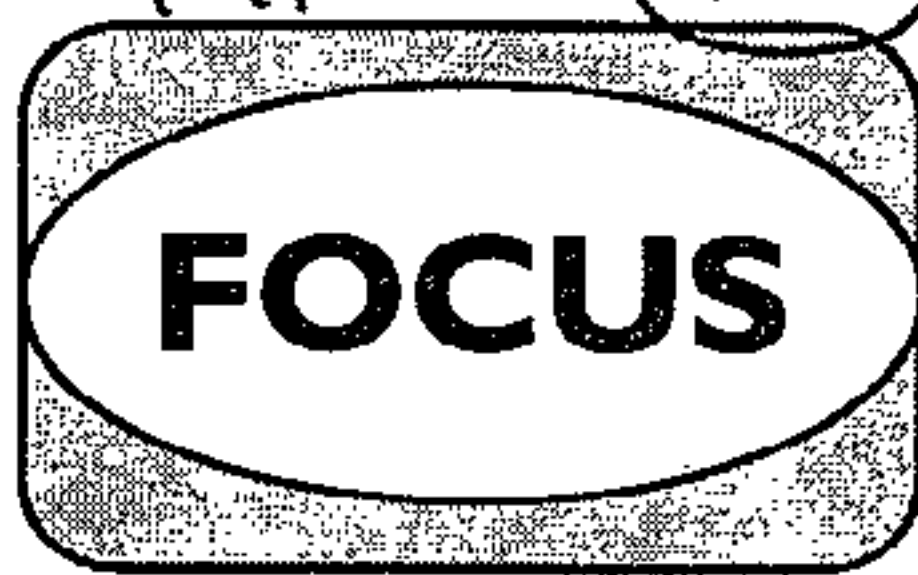
He said universal suffrage was an empty shell without economic empowerment.

The policy document represents the culmination of almost a year's discussion in ANC branches, regions and departments.

"Not for us the fashioning of policies and blueprints in smoke-filled boardrooms and elite gatherings.

"The policies adopted by this conference are the voice of the people," Ramaphosa said in his closing address to the conference.

"Those who survive on a hungry belly, are denied the prospect of a job, live without shelter and with no prospect of a healthy life for themselves and their children will always find the right to vote de-



prived of much of its real content," he said.

A central thrust of the document is the economic policy which not only focuses on the need for redistribution but also emphasises a systematic programme of sustained growth.

The economic policy aims at creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy which would eliminate poverty, democratise the economy and create productive employment opportunities.

In order to achieve these objectives, the ANC proposes a two-pronged approach of a redistribution programme to meet the basic needs of all South Africans and to restructure the economy on the basis of comprehensive and sustainable development strategies.

Document

It also envisages a "dynamic private sector employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced goods and services for all South Africans".

The document said the State should be able to respond to the needs of the national economy in a flexible way.

"The primary question in this regard is not the legal form that the State involvement in economic activity might take at any point, but whether such actions will strengthen the ability of the economy to respond to the massive inequalities in the country, relieve



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ... we are ready to rule.

the material hardship of the majority of the people and stimulate economic growth and competitiveness."

Against this background, the ANC visualised that its proposed mixed economy could include nationalisation.

Other options included purchasing a shareholding in companies, establishing new public corporations or joint ventures with the private sector.

Mandela pointed out at the Press conference after the four-day conference which ended on Sunday that the organisation's consideration of nationalisation was not a unique position and this aspect

could be found in many economic policies of western countries, including Germany.

Ramaphosa strongly stressed a "more serious" approach to organisation and mobilisation by the ANC.

"The strengthening of our organisation is something that needs to go beyond the election phase itself. We must prepare for government. But the ANC also must prepare itself to survive as an organisation after elections," he said.

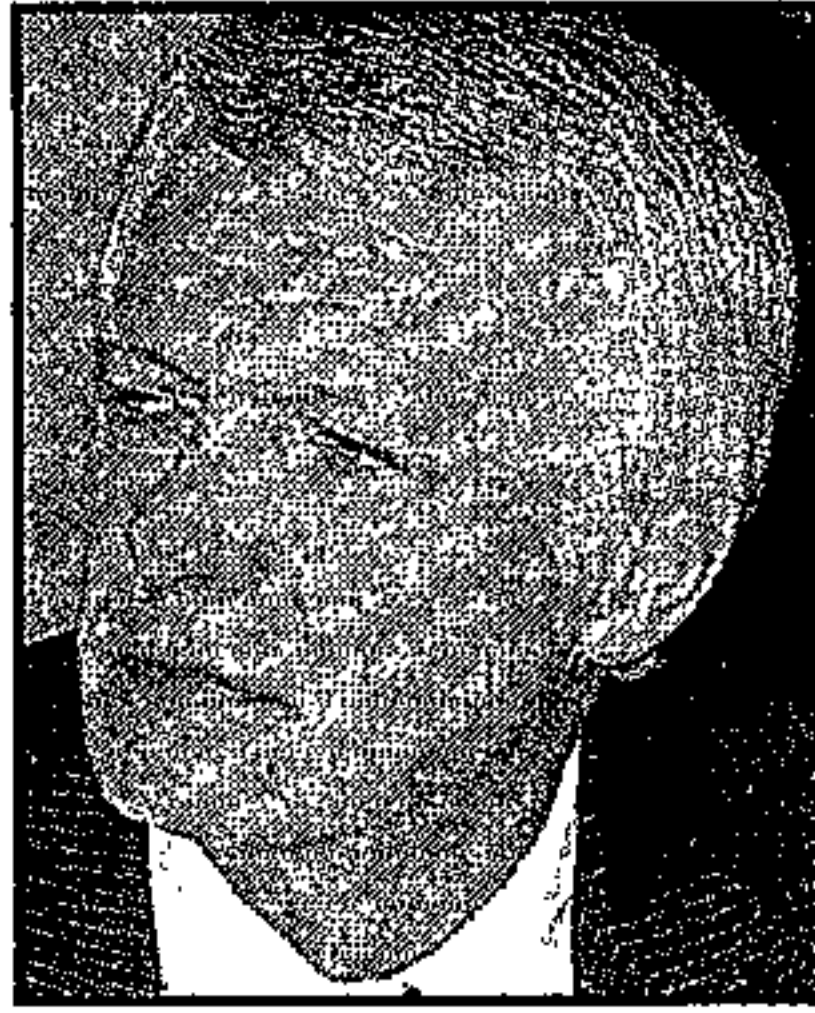
Ramaphosa said the ANC needed to translate the adopted policies into building blocks which would turn the ANC into an organisation that could win elections.

Van Eck faces suspension 304A

CAPE TOWN — The independent member of Parliament for Claremont, Jan van Eck, faces suspension from Parliament for the rest of the current session following a motion of censure to be introduced in a snap debate in Parliament today.

The Speaker's special permission for a debate to censure Mr van Eck for his allegations that former State President P W Botha's regime sanctioned the assassination of more than 1 000 activists was granted late yesterday evening.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok will introduce a 30-minute snap debate in terms of the Adjournment Rule to suspend Mr van Eck for the remainder of the parliamentary session at the end of proceedings today. It is understood the Con-



Jan van Eck . . . allegations about assassinations.

STAT 216/92

servative Party will back the National Party and, therefore, ensure an overwhelming majority in favour of suspending Mr van Eck.

NP Chief Whip Keppies Niemann confirmed yesterday that special permission

from the Speaker had been obtained.

Permission had been granted and a formal motion would be introduced in a snap debate by the leader of the House, Mr Vlok, this afternoon.

The 30-minute debate will allow the NP 16 minutes with the remaining 14 divided proportionately between the opposition parties.

Spokesmen for the NP, in setting out the party's position, said Mr van Eck was not being confronted in order to limit his parliamentary privilege in any way.

However, Boy Geldenhuys (Brentwood) had asked him last week to state whether he had proof of his allegations regarding the assassinations and offered him time until the weekend to produce the evidence. — Sapa.

The perestroika train

306A
By Martin Challenor
and John MacLennan

MOSCOW — South African consumer goods are set to hit the deprived Russian market after an agreement between President de Klerk and President Boris Yeltsin yesterday that Pretoria give Moscow a R100 million revolving credit line.

This tangible result from the State visit came as a surprise as officials had predicted it would be of only symbolic importance.

Russia will import goods such as clothing, toiletries and food products at bargain prices compared with what Russians have to pay for them from EC countries. And South Africa gains another export market.

On top of this, Mr Yeltsin accepted an invitation from Mr de Klerk to visit South Africa.

Underlying the agreement is the knowledge that South Africa could deliver some consumer goods faster and more cheaply than others.

Expanded

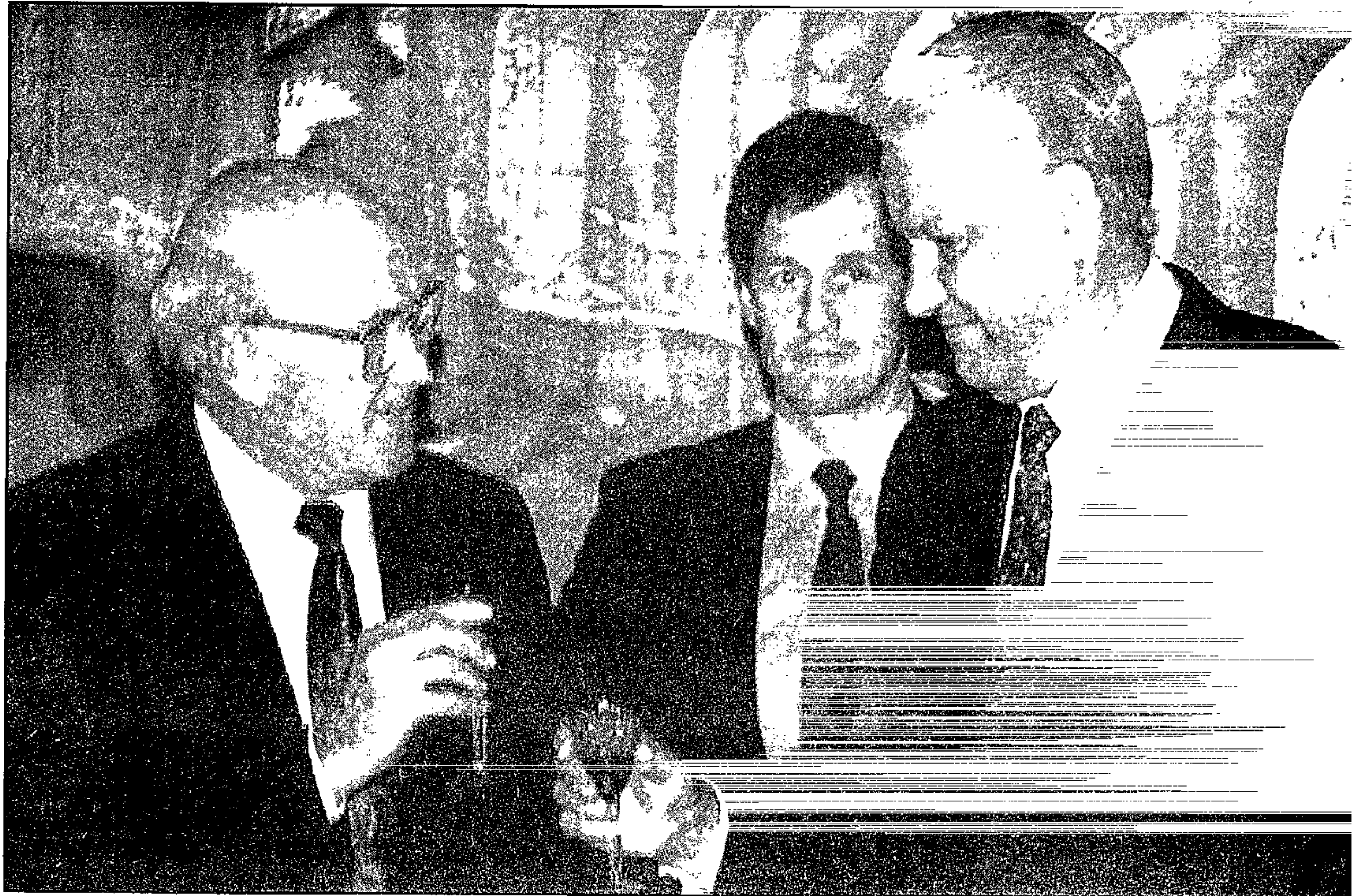
At present, Russian trade with South Africa is small: Africa counts for just 2 per cent of Russian trade.

Announcing the offer of revolving credits at a press conference, Mr de Klerk also said the two countries would shortly enter formal trade and aviation agreements.

He acknowledged that R100 million was not a very big amount, "but we regard this as a starting point". It could be expanded upon as trade evolved.

At a state function last night, he said South Africa was a natural gateway to the markets of southern Africa.

"Now that communism



Cheers . . . F W de Klerk and Boris Yeltsin drink a toast during a dinner in the Kremlin last night.

Picture: AFP

and apartheid are out of the way, our countries can play a new and constructive role, both in the regional and global contexts."

Questions from Russian newsmen at the press conference showed that Mr Yeltsin had expected being asked to help South Africa back into the United Nations. Mr de Klerk acknowledged

that the issue was raised, but said: "We did not pay much attention to it."

He said one aspect of South Africa's full return to the world community would be to take up its place in the UN. However, it was not a top priority.

"The priority is to get our economy growing, to get foreign investment, normalise

our economic relations with the rest of the world and internally reach an accord on which we can base the long-term co-operation of all our people."

Mr de Klerk said his visit was historical. "It is visible proof that communism is dead, otherwise I would not have come to Russia — I would not have been invited.

"There is an acceptance here, in this important country, (of) the irreversibility of the process in South Africa, an acceptance that we have turned our back on apartheid and we will not go back to apartheid."

This was "encouragement for the process of change and constitutional negotiation in our country".

Mr de Klerk was questioned about negotiations at Codesa and the role of the South African Communist Party, but not about political violence in South Africa.

The presidential party flew to St Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) early yesterday where Mr de Klerk met the mayor, Vjacheslav Sherbakov.

Codesa groups to continue work

Govt shrugs off mass action threat

304A
B1 Day
2/6/92.

GOVERNMENT yesterday shrugged off ANC threats of mass action as Codesa delegates met to initiate a process which would finalise Codesa agreements and convert them into proposed legislation.

Three separate committees dealing with interim government, levelling the political playing field and the reincorporation of the TBVC states will meet next Monday to tie up loose ends in these areas and to "proceed with the work of drafting agreements in the form of proposed legislation".

These committees replace the five working groups. One, which dealt with time frames and implementation, had been scrapped. The working groups had largely reached consensus before Codesa II last month.

However, the outstanding agreement on a constitution-making body that dogged working group 2 and the last Codesa plenary and which has been referred to the management committee, has not yet been discussed. It will be dealt with by the committee in two weeks' time.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday appeared unfazed by threats of mass action emanating from the ANC's policy conference which decided to employ mass action on an unprecedented scale to accelerate negotiations.

Meyer said government was eager to get the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) off the ground as soon as possible.

He said that while time was running out to legislate a TEC during the current session of Parliament, a second session — probably in October — was still possible.

PATRICK BULGER

He did not see the need for mass action and questioned what influence the ANC's alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — had over ANC negotiators. He warned that if negotiations were disrupted it would not be the responsibility of government. He said it was clear from the ANC conference that the organisation was trying to build a constituency and solve internal problems. He said time frames had to be part of a negotiated settlement.

Meyer said bilateral discussions between government and the ANC would take place once the respective parties had worked out their positions in future talks.

However, the task of deciding on the fate of SA's remaining political prisoners has been taken from the ambit of government-ANC talks. The committee completing the work of working group 1 will form a task group "for purposes of identifying and compiling a list of political prisoners".

In a further attempt to speed up negotiations the SACP yesterday formally proposed that management committee sessions be held before a selected pool of journalists. Chairman Joe Slovo said Codesa was perceived in public as a "mysterious cabal". He said more effective public scrutiny was necessary.

He said the matter would be raised at the next management committee meeting.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said at a news briefing yesterday the issue of time frames had not yet been addressed, nor had a scheduled date for Codesa III.

Van Eck faces suspension from parliament



Mr Jan van Eck

Political Staff

ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck today faces suspension from parliament for the rest of the session in a motion of censure over his allegations of government complicity in the assassination of activists under former President P W Botha.

The Leader of the House, Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adrian Vlok, will introduce a motion today that Mr Van Eck "offended the house in that he abused his privilege of freedom of speech" when he alleged that Mr Botha had ad-

mitted that he, through Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, had been responsible for the assassination of more than 1 000 activists.

The motion recommends that Mr Van Eck be "suspended from service of the House and excluded from the precincts of parliament for the remainder of the session".

The motion stems from a challenge to Mr Van Eck by National Party MP for Brentwood and the party's chief defence spokesman Dr Boy Gel-

denhuys to say, by the weekend, whether he had proof of his allegations.

Mr Van Eck has refused to reveal his sources.

NP spokesmen said that in the light of this, they believed Mr Van Eck had misused his privileged protection to disseminate unsubstantiated and damaging claims.

An unrepentant Mr Van Eck, who described the motion as a "panic reaction", said today: "Killing the messenger will not stop the demands of the people

of South Africa to know exactly who ordered the killings".

"If I am suspended, I will use my time very effectively in attempting to uncover to an even greater extent the role of the government and security forces in the killings and violence over the past eight years," Mr Van Eck said.

Today's 30-minute snap debate starts at 6pm.

The Speaker's special permission for a debate to censure Mr Van Eck was granted last night.

Govt clampdown on drug trade

CAPE TOWN ^{B10am 2/6/92} — Government introduced tough new regulations yesterday to combat the drug trade, including the right to confiscate property acquired through trafficking.

The aim of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Bill, tabled in Parliament, is to bring SA's drug laws into line with the UN convention against illicit traffic in narcotics and psychotropic substances.

According to the Justice Department memorandum, the Bill has been introduced to counter the expanding national and international dimensions of drug trafficking.

Apart from the harsh confiscation of property clause — which says all property that dealers have acquired through trafficking can be confiscated by the state — the Bill also increases the state's powers to combat

BILLY PADDOCK
drug trafficking by increasing the number of drug-related crimes.

If the Bill is passed it will become a crime to:

- ☐ Manufacture or supply a scheduled substance, knowing or suspecting that it is to be used in or for the unlawful manufacture of a drug;
- ☐ Acquire property knowing that it is the proceeds of a defined crime; and
- ☐ Convert property knowing it is the proceeds of a defined crime.

The Bill makes it an obligation for the owner, occupier or manager of any place of entertainment to report to the police if they believe any person on the premises is in possession of or is dealing in drugs.

Failure to comply will become an offence.

Likewise, provision is made to

compel financial institutions to report to the police property purchases suspected of having a direct link to crime.

The central feature of the Bill is the wide powers it gives the state to confiscate from drug traffickers the entire proceeds of their trafficking retrospective to the passage of the Bill.

The memorandum states that the aim is to remove the incentive for people to become involved in drug trafficking by removing the proceeds and making the continued practice unattractive.

The Bill also contains mechanisms to improve co-operation with foreign authorities in an endeavour to combat drug trafficking.

The state will be able to confiscate property in SA of drug traffickers found guilty in foreign courts.

DP, CP slam bid to scrap Part Appropriation Act

CAPE TOWN ^{B10am 2/6/92} — The DP and CP yesterday strongly objected to the proposed abolition of the Part Appropriation Act — saying that the step would undermine parliamentary control of government expenditure.

It would also reduce the time spent on debating vital financial, economic and other topical issues, they said.

The Part Appropriation Act governs state expenditure on current services from April 1 until about June when the main Budget is implemented.

In introducing the Part Appropriation Acts Abolition Bill, State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter said its motivation was to streamline the budgetary process by obtaining a standing authorisation from Parliament for interim expenditure on the basis of the previous year's approved budget.

A limit of 45% calculated on the previous year's parliamentary authorisation for expenditure during the first four months of the following financial year was proposed and thereafter 10% per month, calculated on the previous year's authorisations of already approved services.

Venter said it appeared that expenditure in the first four months would total about 35% of the previous year's total budget.

"The nature and limited analytical worth of information which is includ-

ed in the part appropriation does not provide a basis for any in-depth parliamentary debate over economic policy and control of state expenditure," Venter said, adding it therefore appeared to be a waste of time and effort.

DP MP Ken Andrews said the proposed abolition of the Part Appropriation Act was another nail in the coffin of parliamentary accountability and democracy. At a time when greater control over government spending was required, a measure was being proposed which would leave government expenditure unchecked for a long time.

The DP objected to the magnitude of spending which the bill made possible and said the legislation was pernicious and extremely dangerous.

"The government can spend 45% of this year's budget amount in the first four months of next year — a spending increase of 12%. It can also spend a further 10% per month thereafter and we could end up with a situation in which the government only summons Parliament in January or February 1994, omitting the whole of 1993, having spent almost the total permissible budget amount for that financial year without having any parliamentary approval at all," DP MP Douglas Gibson said.

Tough move on guns proposed

CAPE TOWN ^{B10am 2/6/92} — In a further attempt to crack down on weapons used in crime and political violence, government yesterday tabled a new Bill increasing penalties for illegal possession of semi-automatic guns and rifles to a maximum of 25 years.

The Arms and Ammunition Acts Amendment Bill excludes semi-automatic guns and semi-automatic rifles from the definition of "arms" and these may only be possessed once a special permit has been granted.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel proposes in the Bill that any rifle capable of firing repeatedly should be forbidden to civilians.

Police adviser Leon Kellerman said that an existing ban on sub-machineguns would be extended to civilian models of the AK-47 and the R1 and R5 rifles.

He said these weapons played the greatest role in crime and political violence in SA.

The penalty for owning a non-automatic AK-47 would rise from a fine of R12 000 to a prison sentence of between five and 25 years. The five-year minimum would be introduced as an amendment to the Bill next week.

A police spokesman said 1.2-million South Africans legally owned 3.3-million firearms, but declined to release details of how many were owned by whites and how many by blacks.

POLITICS



President F W de Klerk and his wife Marika toured Moscow's Red Square yesterday after talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin. Behind them is the famed St Basil Cathedral. Picture: AP

ANC angered at govt's 'contempt' for Codesa

CAPE TOWN — The ANC yesterday expressed "outrage" at government moves to push legislation through Parliament on issues under negotiation at Codesa.

Government had revealed its "utter contempt" for the negotiating process by discussing unilateral amendments to electoral procedures in the Referendum Bill and the Electoral Bill, the ANC said.

Instead of helping to resolve the Codesa deadlock, this could only lead to greater suspicion of the NP's true intentions. The ANC called for government to withdraw the Bills, and for other Codesa parties to refuse to ally themselves with government's attempt to "unilaterally determine procedures for the transition".

In Parliament yesterday, independent MP Jannie Momborg said he and his colleagues formerly in the DP had persuaded the Home Affairs standing committee to defer the draft referendum legislation until Codesa's decision, but the committee had now accepted the Bill.

He noted that it excluded the millions of people in the TBVC territories. The DP also opposed the Referendums Amendment Bill yesterday, because it had not followed the negotiation process. DP MP Hennie Bester said it questioned government's good faith at negotiations.

Goldstone hits out at handling of his report

WILSON ZWANE
and BILLY PADDOCK

JUDGE Richard Goldstone yesterday slammed the way in which government had handled the release of his commission's second interim report, saying this had led to confusion. (304A)

The judge said in a statement his commission was concerned about the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives, who had been in possession of all the information for some weeks.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, however, last night stood by government's handling of the issue. B10ay 2/6/92.

Goldstone's report was submitted to President F W de Klerk on April 29, but a news statement on the report was released only last week. Other Goldstone reports have all been released within two days of being submitted to De Klerk.

Goldstone said yesterday government's handling of the issue led to an "unfortunate" confusion, which could have been avoided, had all interested parties — particularly the signatories to the national peace accord — been given the report before "government and police spokesmen made public comment on it".

Reacting to the statement, Coetsee said that he agreed all signatories to the national peace accord should be recipients of all relevant reports "at the earliest possible opportunity".

He also said that the second interim report by the Goldstone commission had certain far-reaching implications for departments and the taxpayer and as such the departments concerned had to be allowed an opportunity to study the recommendations.

The DP yesterday criticised the mutual recriminations of government and the ANC over the Goldstone findings.

In a statement DP Deputy Law and Order spokesman Lester Fuchs said the DP was concerned that the two parties "have once again resorted to opportunism and gestures designed to appease their respective constituencies rather than mak-

□ To Page 2

Goldstone B10ay 2/6/92.

ing an honest attempt at finding solutions to SA's most nagging problem — the ongoing political violence". (304A)

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the "mischievous" way in which government had handled the commission's report could have had serious consequences, such as denting Goldstone's reputation and impeding an important "instrument" of the national peace accord — the Goldstone commission.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) yesterday apologised to the Goldstone commission for having criticised its report saying it did so without knowing that government had "misrepresented and manipulated" the report.

Goldstone said his commission had not

exonerated elements in the security forces.

The commission had said action by the security forces alone could not meaningfully curb violence in Transvaal and Natal areas. The primary cause of the violence in these areas was the political rivalry between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Goldstone said violence could not abate until ANC and Inkatha leaders had taken appropriate steps to cause their supporters to abandon violence as a political weapon.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organisation would take stringent disciplinary measures against members who violated the organisation's code of conduct.

Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni said his organisation had proper control over its members.

● Comment: Page 10

□ From Page 1

Codesa sidestep angers ANC

Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday expressed its outrage at government moves to push legislation through Parliament on subjects that parties at Codesa were meant to be negotiating.

"In discussing unilateral amendments to electoral procedures in the Referendum Bill and the Electoral Bill, the South African government reveals its utter contempt for the negotiating process," the ANC said in a statement yesterday.

Instead of helping to resolve the deadlock in Codesa, this action could only lead "to greater suspicion of the true intentions of the National Party and the fuelling of further dissension".

Refuse

The ANC condemned this "provocative action" and called on the govt to withdraw the bills.

The ANC also called on the other parties participating in Codesa "to refuse to ally themselves with this attempt to unilaterally determine procedures for the transition".

In Parliament yesterday, the ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jan-nie Momberg, said he and his former colleagues in the Democratic Party had persuaded the Home Affairs standing committee dealing with the Referendum Bill to defer the draft legislation pending a decision from Codesa.

"Now suddenly this bill has been accepted."

Political Staff

MOSCOW — The SA flag flew proudly over the Kremlin yesterday and Moscow echoed to the sounds of Die Stem as President F W de Klerk arrived. *Biday 2/6/92*

He was met by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev at Sheremetyevo Airport and left immediately for the Kremlin where he was formally welcomed by President Boris Yeltsin.

The two leaders spoke for about 45 minutes before being joined by advisers for a further session which focused on political developments in SA and Russia and potential trade and other links between the two countries.

After the meeting De Klerk laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier

SA flag flutters above the Kremlin

in the Kremlin and then walked across Red Square. *304A*

There was no sign of opposition to the visit despite a document signed by four parliamentary deputies criticising the visit because ANC president Nelson Mandela had not yet been to Russia.

After lunch De Klerk visited other parts of the Kremlin before holding talks with Moscow mayor Gavril Popov.

Last night De Klerk and his wife Marike were guests at a banquet hosted by Yeltsin. Today the President and his party fly to St Petersburg before leaving for Japan and the second leg of his three-nation trip.

Codesa hope at year-end?

(304A) CT 2/6/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's chief negotiator at Codesa, Mr Roelf Meyer, last night held out the hope of Parliament reconvening towards the end of the year to ratify Codesa decisions.

Mr Meyer, who is Minister of Constitutional Development, said that the way negotiations were going now it was unlikely Parliament would ratify any Codesa decisions during this parliamentary session.

However, reconvening Parliament towards the end of the year was an option, he said.

His remarks came after the ANC's warning of mass action over the lack of progress at Codesa.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the National Party and the Conservative Party warned last night that the mass action campaign would cause major damage to the economy.

And NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the

ANC threats smacked of a "political inferiority complex" because of the ANC's "lack of confidence in their ability to negotiate".

As the war of words between the government and the ANC heated up yesterday, Dr Van der Merwe accused ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of resorting to "provocative, violent and often racist rhetoric".

The kind of action contemplated by the ANC would be "very damaging" to the economy.

'Don't buckle'

Dr Van der Merwe said: "Economists were looking for a revival of the economy in the second half of this year but the ANC's threats will have an immediate detrimental effect on the economy with the resultant negative prospects for black workers, the very constituency the ANC claims to represent."

He said the NP called on black workers "to take note of the effects of the ANC's intended strategy of mass action in terms of job loss, unemployment, lower pay,

slower economic growth and a higher cost of living".

The Conservative Party yesterday called on the government not to buckle to the mass action threats and instead initiate urgent legislation which would:

- Serve as an incentive for married women to work.

- Make overtime work non-taxable during times of emergency.

CP MP for Pretoria West Mr Joseph Chirole also called on the government to fire all strikers who participated in illegal industrial action "and to restructure the economy from that basis".

- Boycotts and stayaways are so entrenched they may well extend into a post-apartheid society — as may the practice of using coercion to ensure their success, a new SA Institute of Race Relations publication notes.

Sapa reports that the publication noted that the head of the ANC's department of political education, Mr Raymond Suttner, had stated mass mobilisation should not end when a democratically-elected government came to power.

ANC and DP oppose Bill on referendums

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

THE ANC and the Democratic Party joined forces to oppose the government's Referendums Amendment Bill as an inappropriately unilateral measure which should have been approved by Codesa.

The Bill, introduced by newly appointed Minister of Home Affairs Mr Louis Pienaar, will allow all South Africans over 18, who possess identity documents, to vote in referendums.

But, while Mr Pienaar described the measure as another step towards empowering black South Africans to take part in the democratic process, Independent MP Mr Jannie Momberg, quoting an ANC statement issued yesterday, said the Bill revealed "contempt for the negotiating process".

He said that instead of helping to break the deadlock at Codesa, this "can only lead to greater suspicion of the true intentions of the National Party, and fuel further dissension".

DP MP for Groote Schuur Ms Dene Smuts said it was "utterly inappropriate" for the tricameral parliament to amend referendum legislation while a new constitution was being negotiated.

Replying, Mr Pienaar said the Bill would be reconsidered if any substantial objections or improvements were proposed. (304A)

He said that when the joint parliamentary committee considered the Bill, it had invited submissions, but had received none from extra-parliamentary organisations. ARG 2/6/92

Viljoen returns to work

(304A)

ET 2/6/92
Political Correspondent

DR Gerrit Viljoen returned to work yesterday and assumed his new State Affairs portfolio — giving the lie to rumours that he would retire and not return to office.

The former Constitutional Development Minister, who rested for a month on doctor's orders to recover from exhaustion, declined to comment on the furore over corruption in the former Department of Development Aid which erupted in his absence.

However, government sources said yesterday Dr Viljoen would comment at some stage.

Govt 'ducking accountability'?

CF 2/6/92 (304A)
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic and Conservative parties yesterday accused the government of trying to duck accountability by curtailing the amount of time allocated for debates on corruption and financial mismanagement.

Speaking during the debate on the Part Appropriation Act Abolition Bill, DP finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said this year the

country had witnessed enormous overexpenditure, the largest proposed budget deficit in the country's history, and more mismanagement and corruption than ever before.

"In these circumstances, the government is asking Parliament to relinquish control over the Part Appropriation. I find this extraordinary."

Mr Andrew said more time, not

less, was needed to debate financial matters and call the government to account.

The CP's finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, said that if Parliament passed the bill it would mean less time to debate important issues such as the Pickard Report, which had unearthed serious corruption and abuse of public funds.

Sins of apartheid cannot be ignored

Southern

3/6/92.

364A

FOCUS

KADER ASMAL, in his inaugural lecture as professor of human rights at the University of the Western Cape, argues the past cannot simply be ignored, especially the criminal deeds committed in the name of apartheid. This is an extract of his address:

COMING to terms with the past is a difficult and, for some, a painful matter.

We will have to close the book on the past. But before we do it, we must not suppress it.

There has to be a recognition of the illegitimacy of the system which has operated.

There will be formal democratic change; the structures of Government and social institutions may accommodate themselves to such changes but the life force, assumptions and the "old ways" will not change overnight.

Second, the newly acquired veneer of democracy by the previous upholders of apartheid - with their fancy formulae for minority rights - enables political conservatives and neo-racists to anchor their undemocratic ideologies in white-washed national precedent.

We need a revival of moral conscience if we are to build from our diversity a common citizenship and national consciousness. Our country can only be healed if we reject the euphemisms for separation such as "maintaining norms and standards" and protecting "community values" and attempt to reach out in a way to enable common values and standards to develop.

Reaching out means seeking black athletes in the townships, understanding the legitimate expectations of a Cape Flats unem-

ployed youngster and the painful demand of a Namaqua farmer for the return of her land.

What we need is a time of debate and opening up. Through this we may enter what the Chileans call *reconvivencia*, a period of getting used to living with each other again.

Fourth, it is essential that we confront the roots of violence in our country if we are ever to eradicate its effects.

Violence

One type is the direct violence that kills immediately. The second is the structural violence that kills slowly, through exploitation and repression.

A human rights statement is concerned with both types of violence. And not only with the situation at present but also with the future and the past.

Fifth, there is the argument that comes from Gramsci. If the old order is dying and the new is not yet born, can there be reconciliation simply through an assertion that new structures and new arrangements will be set in place?

Is reconciliation between victim/survivor and the overlord possible on the basis of a Caliban and Prospero relationship, between master and servant?

Theologians focus on the need for confession and atonement in order to obtain forgiveness. This is a requirement which in South Africa should result in legal redress and compensation for prior wrongs.

The Confession of 1982, better known as the Belhar Confession, adopted by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission in October of that year, denied that there could be any moral or theological grounds on which to defend apartheid.

For lawyers, liberation and justice should be prerequisites for an effective agenda for human rights.

The sixth reason for accounting with the past is the necessity to avoid the revenge factor. We should not fall into the trap of making a whole community into a scapegoat for the policies of the past.

Conversely, imposing collective guilt on what the Czechs call the *nomenklatura*, the officials of the old regime, effectively translates into society's collective innocence.

This may be convenient for some but harmful to the ends to be achieved. We want the revival of a moral consciousness that will accept the need for a New Deal in our country, encompassing much more.

There is no place for revenge or purges in this.

Seventh, there is the catharsis argument which calls for an outlet of emotion, and through an act of purgation allows for change without violent disruption.

Catharsis cannot occur if there is an evasive or indifferent approach reflected in the sentiment that we all have much to forgive and be forgiven for.

The eighth reason is the truth and justice argument. It has been argued that the pursuit of those guilty of systematic abuse of human rights result in destabilising democracy.

In Chile, for example, one reason for setting up the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in 1990, soon after the dictator Pinochet stepped sideways, but not down, was to get to the truth behind

the thousands of "disappearances".

The Chilean president warned that it was necessary to balance the virtue of justice with the virtue of prudence.

The rationale for sacrificing justice for truth is the need to consolidate democracy, close the chapter on the past and avoid confrontation.

Even the Chilean courts got their courage back and allowed challenges to the amnesty law and the prosecution of senior military staff.

In South Africa, we have neither democracy to consolidate nor yet the truth.

Justice

In any event, the idea that one can in some way buy justice by paying money to those who were tortured - as is now happening in Argentina - is inadequate but may be necessary.

Neither stability, democracy nor justice is served by this kind of pay-off.

The stability of a democracy is not built by granting concessions to the military.

In any event, the exoneration of those guilty of crime perpetuates the culture of fear and intimidation that has prevailed in our country since 1948.

Time and again the apartheid state has bestowed immunities both prospective and retrospective, on police and military action, and in so doing has debased the coinage of the criminal law and encouraged state lawlessness. This can only create a precedent for future crimes.

Immunity, as the Argentinian democrats have learnt, encourages recidivism. It is a ghastly legacy to hand to a democratic South Africa.

Parliament banishes Van Eck

Political Staff *STAR*

CAPE TOWN *3/6/92* With the cry of "kangaroo court" ringing in their ears, National Party MPs last night banished African National Congress MP Jan van Eck from Parliament for the rest of the session.

The House of Assembly voted 80-56, after a lively debate punctuated by flare-ups, to suspend the member for Claremont for offending it "in that he abused his privilege of freedom of speech".

Both the Conservative and Democratic parties strenuously opposed the rare motion of censure, one of the gravest disciplinary measures MPs can impose on their peers.

Mr van Eck was punished for alleging in Parliament last week that former State President P.W. Botha had stated repeatedly he and his Government had, through

● To Page 3

Parliament banishes ANC's Jan van Eck

● From Page 1
Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, executed more than 1 000 black radicals. Quoting unnamed sources he has refused so far to identify, he charged further that Mr Botha had allegedly said the present Government was still doing this, and had threatened Mr Botha with a Nuremberg-style

trial if he did not stop supporting the right wing.

The motion was carried in spite of persistent attempts to thwart it by David Dalling, the former Democratic MP for Sandton who switched to the ANC last month.

Raising several points of order, Mr Dalling accused NP members of setting the scene for a

kangaroo court.

Mr van Eck chose to spend the two minutes allotted him to answer his critics in silence.

"I'll stand in silence ... as a mark of respect for thousands of South Africans on all sides who died in the apartheid war," he said.

The DP said it found the censure motion extraordinary at this jun-

ture in South Africa's constitutional history. Mr van Eck ought to produce his evidence or his sources — failure to do so would expose him as a mere propagandist.

Chris de Jager (CP, Bethal) also opposed the motion, proposing an amendment referring the matter to a House committee.

FW visits St Petersburg

STAR 3/6/92

(304A)

ST PETERSBURG — President FW de Klerk yesterday laid a wreath at St Petersburg's sombre and imposing memorial to more than a million victims of the World War 2 siege of Leningrad.

He arrived in the city yesterday morning on the second day of his visit to Russia, and was scheduled to fly on to Tokyo in the evening.

Earlier Mr de Klerk and his entourage were seen off from Moscow in grand style.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, his host at top-level talks and a state banquet in the Kremlin on Monday,

bade him an official farewell in the Kremlin Palace's St George's Hall.

At the airport, still decked out with South African and Russian flags, Mr de Klerk was accompanied by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev as he inspected a goose-stepping military detachment.

A military band played Die Stem and the Russian anthem before he boarded the SAA Magaliesberg for the trip to St Petersburg, where he was welcomed by the vice-mayor of the city, Vjacheslav Sherbakov.

At the Leningrad memorial he was escorted

by Russian military officers as soldiers, goose-stepping in slow time, laid a wreath for him.

On his way into the city along the broad and leafy Moscow Avenue Mr de Klerk's cavalcade of black limousines passed busy shoppers, queues for ice-cream and long queues for tobacco.

After a working lunch with Mr Sherbakov — at which trade and other links between the city and SA were probably discussed — Mr de Klerk and his wife Manike were scheduled to visit the Hermitage, the world's largest art museum. — Sapa.

DP and the future

Sowetan 3/6/92 (304A)
By MOKGADI PELA

THE Democratic Party believed in a liberal society in which the rights of individuals would be respected, a spokesman for the DP told *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners last night.

Mr Ken Andrew, DP's national chairman, said all South Africans would be guaranteed jobs, housing and freedom of association under

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

his party's rule.

He said the DP was disappointed at the slow pace of negotiations at Codesa, saying the process was preoccupied with point-scoring between the African National Congress

and the National Party.

Asked what the DP was doing to resolve the impasse at Codesa, he said the answer lay in negotiations.

"We will use every opportunity to persuade the ANC and NP to think about the people without homes, those who are starving and not concentrate on the glorification of their organisations.

"Politics is not about big cars and speeches, but ensuring that ordinary people have better lives," Andrew said.

Nakedi of Mankweng said the DP wanted what she called "moderate apartheid" because the party had never supported the black struggle.

Andrew said the accusation was unfair.

"If there is one party that has always believed in the rights of the individual, that's the DP," he said.

Inkatha takes joint blame for unrest

LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged yesterday that ANC-Inkatha rivalry was the cause of township violence, saying last week's Goldstone report contained nothing new.

"He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango," Buthelezi said.

Judge Richard Goldstone this week accused government of distorting his report. Government had highlighted a finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport en route to the US, Buthelezi urged ANC president Nelson Mandela to respond to a call he

made last weekend for them to "stand together" and address mass rallies in a bid to end township violence.

He said there had to date been no response from Mandela.

Buthelezi criticised the ANC for threatening mass action to force government concessions in negotiations, and urged Mandela to return to talks with president F W de Klerk. "I would urge them to be calm. The threat of mass action... is just going to tear the country apart."

Aides said Buthelezi, who flies to Los Angeles today, would give lectures for the SA Educational Foundation and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

State 'should take control of training'

Political Staff

THE state had to take control of and responsibility for industrial training because 20 years of experience had highlighted the inadequacies of its being left to market forces, two University of Cape Town researchers have concluded.

Businesses tended to train only for their immediate needs. It was clear that despite generous tax concessions for training, industry had not trained sufficient skilled workers, said researchers Shireen Mohamed and Zaid Kimmie.

Although it was still too early to assess the success of 1990 legislation, the 1981 Act had failed for a number of reasons.

Employment of apprentices remained contingent upon the business cycle "as employers were loath to invest money in training during periods of recession", and employers were reluctant to commit themselves to the lengthy contractual obligations which accompanied the employment of an apprentice.

Only 10% of SA's workforce was being trained in technical fields, while it was estimated that 75% should be trained to meet economic requirements.

The researchers said SA's industrial training strategy should aim to provide a skilled workforce to meet the requirements of economic development.

They found that an industrial training system "left to the mercies of market forces" performed inadequately. "Unless control and responsibility for training revert back to the state and become part of an overall centralised plan for long-term economic development" the problems could not be addressed, they said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Insurance laws to change

INVESTORS should be wary of investment opportunities offering high interest rates and attractive conditions, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said yesterday.

Replying to a second reading debate on the Financial Institutions Amendment Bill, Alant said legislation would be introduced next year to regulate the short- and long-term insurance industries. Current legislation on pension funds dated back to 1943 and was antiquated in many respects.

Prosecutions delayed

LESS than 10% of the prosecutions of conscripts who failed to report for national service or camps last year had been completed, Defence Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Replying to a question tabled in Parliament by Gen Bob Rogers (DP, Walmer), he said: "The prosecution action is an ongoing and time-consuming process. All cases of failure to report are investigated."

Afrikaner homeland poll

A QUARTER of black women believe an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa but two-thirds disagree, a survey has found.

The poll conducted by Research Surveys among 800 black women in the middle of April found 23% agreed an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa, 45% did not agree and 33% said they did not know.

REPORTS: Sapa, Political Staff

Mandela slated for 'war talk'

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites".

During a weekend visit to the Phola Park squatter camp Mandela said the ANC would do everything in its power to prevent black anger from spilling over into white areas, but could not guarantee this would not happen.

The row has been fuelled by NP-supporting newspapers, which have strongly portrayed Mandela's statement as a threat that whites would be targeted.

Treurnicht said Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt at intimidating whites to bow to ANC demands. "In effect it is a declaration of war on whites."

This was a facet of the ANC's strategy to take power and was a clear contravention of its signing of the national peace accord, he said. He said it was not yet too late for whites to tell the ANC it found its threat unacceptable and that an ANC government was totally unacceptable to Afrikaners.

He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

LP bid for poll pact with ANC

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has been approached to assist the Labour Party candidate in the forthcoming House of Representatives by-election in the Diamant constituency at Kimberley.

The by-election — which is the NP's first attempt to gain support among coloured voters — is seen in political circles as a test of whether the ANC-aligned LP or the NP has majority support among coloured voters.

However, the LP's efforts are being hampered by traditional ANC antipathy towards the tricameral Parliament. Its northern Cape region has already called for a boycott, a move which could see the NP's Howard Isaacs taking the seat.

A well-placed LP source said party leader Allan Hendrickse yesterday spoke to ANC president Nelson Mandela and to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to persuade the organisation not to oppose LP candidate John Scholtz's bid for election.

An ANC statement said yesterday that Ramaphosa had held talks with the LP and that the talks were "arranged to discuss the position of the ANC vis-a-vis the by-election."

"Ramaphosa said the matter was still being discussed with the ANC northern Cape region and no finality

had been reached," the statement said.

The top-level talks were held a day after LP officials met the ANC's local government spokesman Thozamile Botha and local civic representative Darkey Afrika in Kimberley on Monday. Both men apparently turned down the LP request for assistance.

The LP claims it is already being assisted by the local ANC-aligned civic organisation. But the ANC's northern Cape region was planning a boycott of the election and a mass rally to coincide with the June 24 poll, northern Cape ANC media officer Pakes Dikgetsi said.

LP organisers said the ANC had to realise that more than a Parliamentary seat was at stake.

One said the LP wanted the local ANC-aligned Kimberley Civic Organisation to help bring out voters, especially an estimated 8 000 in Galeshewe township where the civic holds sway.

He said the LP was strong among working class people which comprise about half the 24 000 eligible voters. However, the LP was concerned that traditional ANC hostility towards the tricameral Parliament would deter more sophisticated voters from going to the polls.

3/12/92 3/6/92

Mandela slated for 'war talk'

BILLY PADDOCK 30417

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He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

Mediation body meets

CAPE TOWN — The committee investigating implementation of the Short Process Courts and Mediation in Certain Civil Cases Act met for the first time in Cape Town yesterday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced.

The Act provides for mediation by an impartial party in a short process court or magistrate's court before judgment is given in certain civil actions.

The Act is intended to save costs and resolve matters quickly in a forum providing an alternative dispute resolution procedure.

The Minister will be empowered to appoint an independent, objective, impartial person — an advocate, attorney, law lecturer or retired magistrate — to act as a mediator or adjudicator in a short process court.

The committee — chaired by Justice Department Deputy-General JG Geyser — would advise the Minister on the establishment of the courts, managing pilot projects, drafting the rules of mediation process and setting up the courts. — Sapa.

No prospect of Myl Fancourt payouts 'y

CAPE TOWN — There were no prospects of investors in any of the Club Mykonos companies, Mykonos Weskus Beleggings, and Fancourt receiving interest payments yet, Masterbond's provisional curators said in an interim report submitted to the Cape Town Supreme Court this week.

The provisional liquidation of Marina Martinique would also mean a considerable delay before debenture and participation bond investors received a dividend. However, there was hope for capital payments to Silverhurst, Finanzhaus and Spectravest investors.

The report disclosed that about R155m of funds invested in Masterbond debenture bonds had been unallocated prior to the provisional liquidation of the group. Initially it was thought that R139m was unallocated, curators Willem Wilken, Arnold Galombik and Jozua Malherbe said.

They had obtained the advice of senior counsel on how to deal with the R155m in unallocated funds, accumulated in an undifferentiated account and lent to debtor companies without issuing debenture certificates to investors.

LINDA ENSOR

The debtor companies which received the R155m had been identified as Club Mykonos (R27m), Fancourt (R22m), Marina Martinique (R28,7m), Phindaland (R2m), Finanzhaus and Spectravest (R58,4m), Silverhurst (R13m) and others (R3,9m).

Senior counsel had advised that monies received by the debtor firms should be pooled and apportioned on a pro-rata basis to all unallocated investors as amounts were received.

The report disclosed that Club Mykonos share block owners' rights were in doubt as the validity of the unregistered lease on the land was open to dispute. Investors' rights depended on the validity of the unregistered 99-year lease.

A negotiated settlement was essential for Club Mykonos as there were a number of conflicting interests and claims, the curators said.

Club Mykonos Langébaan owed R79m to investors for funds borrowed, R49,6m to unsecured creditors and R70m in surety mortgage bonds.

"Unless there is a compromise between the secured investors, the purchasers of the time share and share

block unit of CML H protracte gard to th ties before tors will

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Church council plans joint rallies to end violence

THE SA Council of Churches will soon invite representatives of political parties, trade unions and homeland governments to attend joint rallies aimed at ending unrest.

Leaders of the organisations — with the exception of the ANC and Inkatha — yesterday attended a meeting of a committee which was appointed in April at a summit on violence convened by the SACC.

The committee comprises representatives of the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo, Cosatu, Nactu and two

WILSON ZWANE

homeland parties.

A source close to the council said the committee resolved to ask church leaders to invite black political organisations to joint rallies soon, probably next month.

The source said the committee had stressed that joint rallies should be aimed at promoting peace, not political differences. "The organisations are not precluded from holding their

own political rallies," the source said.

He said the committee also resolved to recommend the formation of a "multiparty commission" to visit hostels and squatter camps with a view to finding mechanisms to curb violence in these areas.

Although a date had not yet been finalised, church leaders would ask the organisations to reconvene later this month to discuss violence which continued to affect SA's townships, the source added.

Van Eck suspended from Parliament

CAPE TOWN — ANC MP Jan van Eck last night was censured and expelled from Parliament until February by a majority of 24 votes. *Blaum 3/6/92*

After leaving the House of Assembly with three fellow ANC members, Van Eck said he would have to review whether he took up his seat in Parliament and would devote all his attention to bringing "this Parliament to an end".

Despite calls by the DP and the CP that the truth of the allegations were vital to establishing whether Van Eck did abuse his privilege, the NP maintained that this was not the issue.

CP MP (Ermelo) Chris de Jager said the truth of Van Eck's allegations were all-important and suggested that a committee be set up to investigate the truth of the allegations.

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK

The NP, which is arguing on a point of principle at Codesa against majoritarian rule, took the opposite view and through its control of the House of Assembly pushed the motion of censure through.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, introducing the motion, said Van Eck had abused his Parliamentary privilege of freedom of speech. It did not matter whether the allegations were true or false but merely whether Van Eck had gone too far during his speech last week, he said.

Van Eck claimed in Parliament last week that sources in military intelligence and elsewhere had been in contact with him and alleged that former president P. W. Botha and his Cabinet were responsible for

☐ To Page 2

Van Eck

Blaum 3/6/92
the execution of more than 1 000 radicals.

The debate was constantly interrupted by Sandton ANC MP Dave Dalling on points of order that the motion was improperly before the H. use.

Van Eck chose to use his two minutes to stand in silence for the "thousands of South Africans on all sides who had died under

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

the apartheid system". He said he would not attempt to answer the sham allegations by other MPs against him.

Afterwards, he said the NP's use of its simple majority was personal victimisation and represented a serious inroad into the ability of Parliament to raise matters of public importance.

Mandela not to visit as ANC head

CT 3/6/92 (304A)

From PATRICK CULL

ST PETERSBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela will not be invited to Moscow as president of the ANC but as an international human rights figure.

This has emerged after Monday's meeting between President FW de Klerk and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

Sources close to the talks said Mr Yeltsin was anxious that Mr De Klerk should not be "uncomfortable" about the invitation to Mr Mandela to visit Moscow.

It has also emerged after the talks that both leaders expressed concern about potential communist influence — Mr De Klerk because of the SA Communist Party's hold over radical elements within the ANC and Presi-

dent Yeltsin because of the possible disruptive influence the party could have in his country.

Mr De Klerk wound up his two-day trip to Russia yesterday with a visit to St Petersburg. He spent most of yesterday sightseeing, with only one formal meeting — with St Petersburg vice-mayor Mr Vjacheslav Sherbatov.

He left at 7pm Russian time yesterday for Japan — where it is expected to be announced that an Export Import Bank of Japan delegation will visit SA later this year to assess loan possibilities to the Development Bank of SA.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Mr De Klerk will face calls in Tokyo from activists formally to scrap the "honorary white" status granted to Japanese.

Dutch minister positive about Codesa after visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Dutch Transport Minister Mrs J H R Maij-Weggen left for home after an eight-day trip saying she felt very positive about Codesa and the negotiation process.

"Everyone I met, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, said they were very positive about Codesa."

She also met, among others, her counterpart Mr Piet Welgemoed and Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys.

Her meeting with ANC officials showed the organisation wanted foreign investment soon, she said.

But she warned that future nationalisation would chase away would-be investors.

Asked about Codesa, Mr Mandela said he was optimistic and that the ANC had no choice but to negotiate.

"We can't stop this process, he told me," Mrs Maij-Weggen said.

APC 3/6/72
When she questioned him about criticisms of President De Klerk, he said that although he had great respect for the man, he had been forced to criticise him on personal points.

She said she sympathised with the ANC on their stand regarding the deadlocked Codesa issue of the constitution-making body, saying the ANC's compromised position of 70 percent consensus necessary to change a constitution was very reasonable.

"If the ANC comes to a compromise of 70 percent the white community should not ask too much. I support Mr Mandela on this view," she said.

Mr Mandela was optimistic that there would be an interim government within three months.

"He said he hoped he did not have to resort to mass action. He was positive and optimistic." — Sapa.

Van Eck is barred, but not silenced

304A
AAG 3/6/92

ANC MP says he will keep probing for truth about killings

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NATIONAL Party MPs laughed and jeered when censured ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck attempted to use his two-minute share of debating time as a period of silence to respect all those "who died on all sides in the apartheid war".

After less than a minute, the Speaker ordered him to resume his seat.

Mr Van Eck's unusual step, in part to protest against what he believed was inadequate speaking time to defend himself, came midway through a debate of often sharp exchanges, which ended with a vote of 80 to 56 in favour of suspending him from parliament until next year.

This followed Mr Van Eck's placing on record in a speech last week allegations that for-

mer President P W Botha had acknowledged that he, through Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, was responsible for the killing of more than 1 000 activists.

When Mr Van Eck was ordered to leave the chamber, his ANC colleagues joined him.

The Conservative and Democratic Parties joined the ANC in opposing the NP's motion of censure.

Leader of the House Mr Adriaan Vlok led the government attack and said the motion was not intended to rebut or judge Mr Van Eck's allegations, but to censure him for over-stepping the limits of privilege.

He said Mr Van Eck had been given a chance to show proof of his allegations, but had chosen not to.

The CP's Mr Chris de Jager, who proposed an alternative motion calling for an investiga-



Mr Van Eck

tion of the veracity of Mr Van Eck's allegations, said that if the claims were true, Mr Van Eck was justified in making them in parliament. That was the essence of the privilege of free speech.

If they were untrue, he would be guilty of contempt of parliament and parliament could then fine, suspend or even imprison him.

DP speaker Mr Roger Burrows said, in a speech read in his absence, that while the DP believed Mr Van Eck ought to produce "the evidence or the sources who made the allega-

tions", it did not believe Mr Van Eck had abused privilege.

"Nowhere in his speech does Mr Van Eck state that he believes these allegations are truthful. What he does is to place on parliamentary record certain allegations which are certainly similar to some which are current outside parliament," Mr Burrows said.

When Mr Van Eck's turn to speak came, he said: "I stand not even to attempt in these two minutes to reply to the sham allegations, but I will stand in silence as a mark of respect to the thousands of South Africans on all sides who died in the apartheid war."

● In a statement after the debate, Mr Van Eck said: "This action will in no way deter me from continuing my search for the truth behind allegations of State involvement in the thousands of political murders in South Africa since 1984."

TOKYO. — President De Klerk launched his visit to Japan with a pledge to complete his political reform in South Africa and in return received a promise of better relations from Tokyo's influential business community.

The South African party left St Petersburg last night for an eight-hour, 7 700km flight. Travelling east, the sun set for just a few minutes on the SAA Magaliesberg.

President De Klerk was met at Haneda Airport by Mr. Koji Kakizawa, the Parliamentary Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is the second highest-ranking Foreign Affairs official. The Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Michio Watanabe was ill.

A white-uniformed guard of honour from the Japanese self-defence agency was on parade. The South African flag flew at the busy airport but there was no playing of national anthems as the visit is an official working visit, which is only the second highest ranking foreign visit in Japan.

From the airport, President De Klerk went to a reception at the Imperial Hotel given by the Southern Africa Trade Association and the Springbok Club. About 300 Japanese business people who have trade links with South Africa were present.

'Problems mended'

President De Klerk was warmly received. He spoke for nine minutes off the cuff in English and there was no translation. He said South Africa and Japan had "mended all the problems that occurred in the past".

"The bridge has been completed and we are now formally fully entering normal relations with this great country."

President De Klerk thanked the business people "for standing by us" when it was not a popular position to be in.

"But more than anything, thank you for the faith you have shown in South Africa, because you knew all along, and you believed, that we would solve the problems which led to our isolation."

South Africa was moving towards a new constitution built on the cornerstone of justice to all, he said. Despite setbacks and delays over the next few months, "we are confident that we will succeed with that which we have started".

South Africa would play a very important role in Africa, and would be "the platform from which the development of many of our neighbouring countries will have to be launched".

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Staff

It's down to business

De Klerk wastes no time in bid to cement good relations: Thanks Japan for 'standing by us'

2049

11/15/92

By BARRY STREEK

AFTER a stormy debate in Parliament last night, the ANC MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, was suspended for alleging the government was responsible for the murder of thousands of anti-apartheid activists.

The National Party majority in the (white) House of Assembly rejected all moves to prevent his immediate suspension without formal hearing.

The NP MPs even dismissed by 80 votes to 56 a Conservative Party call for a select committee to investigate Mr Van Eck's statements.

The CP's MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, said Mr Van Eck should be given as much time as he liked to substantiate his claims or face the consequences.

The Democratic Party's Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, said his party found it extraordinary that at this juncture "the NP propose to use a sledgehammer against what is a mere mosquito".

But despite opposition protests, the NP majority in the Assembly voted for Mr Van Eck's immediate suspension.

Mr Van Eck's suspension, adopted after a snap debate interrupted by numerous points

of order, during which the ANC MP for Sandton, Mr David Dalling, suggested Parliament was being turned into "a kangaroo court", is unprecedented in South African history.

After he was ordered to leave Parliament, his four ANC colleagues walked out with him in solidarity.

Mr Van Eck commented: "The NP has made a total mockery of the freedom of speech in Parliament. This is an insult to the people of South Africa."

Mr De Jager said a select committee should be appointed but his proposal was outvoted.

● There never was any debate quite like this — Page 7

ANC MP is barred from Parliament

CT 3/6/92

(304A)

MY NAME
DID YOU KNOW

1239

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 3 JUNE 1992

Hansard

1240

main problem in regard to these portable and transportable toilets is not that the hole unfortunately constitutes a permanent fixture? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the reply to that is yes, as far as the toilet is concerned, and no, not as far as the placing is concerned.

Hwibi community: use of farm Tweespalk

*8. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether he has received a request on behalf of the Hwibi community for that community to make use of the farm Tweespalk, No 733LDR6, which was held in trust by the former South African Development Trust; if so,

(2) whether he intends allowing the Hwibi community to make use of the farm; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?



B692E

†The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(2) The farm Tweespalk is the property of the State which is, together with a number of other farms, being leased in terms of a written lease agreement to Gillemberg Farms. It is therefore under the present circumstances not possible to make the property available to the Hwibi community.

Cost of newspaper advertisements: Zevenfontein issue



*9. Mr P H DE LA REY asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:†

(1) (a) Which Department bears the cost of the newspaper advertisements by the Transvaal Provincial Administration on the Zevenfontein question, which appeared *inter alia* on 12 May 1992 in a certain newspaper, particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of this reply, (b) what has the total cost of these advertisements been to date and (c) what is the purpose of the advertisement in the above-mentioned newspaper;

1241

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 3 JUNE 1992

Hansard

1242

(2) whether the procedure followed in calculating such compensation is the same as that followed in corresponding cases outside the Defence Force structure; if not, (a) why not and (b) what procedure is followed in this regard?

B697E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Yes, provided the claim is accepted by the responsible Government Department.

(2) In so far as financial assistance is concerned two separate dispensations are applicable to National Servicemen depending on the circumstances:

— National Servicemen who are already either in the employ of the Public Service or another employer who is registered in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act (Act 30 of 1941) fall under the jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

— Other National Servicemen are covered by the Military Pensions Act (Act 84 of 1976).

(a) The basis of compensation in the categories differ in that the Workmen's Compensation Act was enacted to compensate persons who are already employed in the open labour market for disabilities sustained during their military service. Calculation of the benefits payable is based on earnings, degree of disability and the type of work performed. In contrast the Military Pensions Act provides for persons who have not as yet entered the open labour market or whose employers have not been registered in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act and who sustained injuries whilst rendering military service. In such cases compensation is based on educational qualifications and the degree of disability.

(b) — The Workmen's Compensation Act compels the employer to report accidents within 30 days of the incident for a decision and registration. In the case of a



public servant who is rendering his national service the incident is reported to the member's department who will in turn submit the case to the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner for further processing.

— With regard to the completion of the claim documentation of members who fall under the Military Pensions Act, the onus rests with the individual member but he is assisted by the SA Defence Force to submit his claim on the prescribed form to the Department of Finance.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Measures in cargo ships



*11. Adv J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Transport:†

(1) Whether his Department takes any measures to ensure that cargo ships sailing in South African territorial waters are not structurally so deteriorated that they may start leaking or even sink; if not, why not; if so, what measures;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B698E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) Yes, when cargo ships enter South African harbours and it is proved or suspected that international legislation is being transgressed, ship-surveyors of the Department undertake quality inspections.

(2) No. It is, however, customary to make a statement in specific circumstances when warranted.

Referendum: foreign heads of state approached by SA embassies



*12. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether there are any South African embassies which in any way, after receiving the

original, unaltered draft letter to which he referred in his reply to Question No 1 on 13 May 1992, approached foreign heads of state with the request that the South African Government be supported in the referendum of 17 March 1992; if so, (a) in what way were these heads of state approached and (b) what heads of state were so approached?

(344)

(85)

B704E

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

No. The letter, as I explained previously, was sent to missions for their information only. Furthermore I have sent a subsequent instruction informing missions that the final text, as amended by the State President, was on its way. All missions have confirmed that no Head of State was approached on the basis of the initial text.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Trust Feed case: call by General Bar Council

*13. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he will accede to the call by the General Bar Council of South Africa for a full, public investigation, presided over by a Supreme Court judge, into the allegations of a police cover-up in the Trust Feed case; if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B710E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) The possibility exists. Former Regional Court president, Mr Willem Krugel, has already been appointed to co-ordinate and analyse the evidence and to advise me in this matter. As soon as I receive the advice a decision will be made.

(2) No.

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

Directorate: Financial Assistance and Bank

*1. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

(1) Whether he envisages combining the functions of the Land Bank and the Directorate: Financial Assistance of his Department; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

(85)

B726E.INT

*The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, the question is whether it is being envisaged to combine the functions of the Land Bank and the Directorate: Financial Assistance. The reply to both questions, on which I will issue a statement, is no. In my opinion it is not possible or desirable to combine all the functions of the Directorate: Financial Assistance and the Agricultural Credit Board on the one hand and those of the Land Bank on the other. The reason for this is that the primary mandates and tasks of the two bodies differ fundamentally from each other.

Where certain functions such as the consolidation of debts and the financing of beginner farmers and the advancing of production credit overlap, the rationalisation thereof in order to vest it in the Land Bank is indeed being considered and promoted. In a nutshell this means that the Land Bank provides the capital for these financing functions in these cases, and the Agricultural Credit Board subsidizes the interest on these amounts based on merit and the appropriation by Parliament of funds.

These functions form a relatively small component of the activities of the Agricultural Credit Board and the Directorate: Financial Assistance, whereas it is a main function of the Land Bank, besides the financing of co-operatives and marketing boards. The other functions of the Directorate: Financial Assistance and the Agricultural Credit Board comprise areas that are not dealt with by the Land Bank at all, for example the

approval and control of soil conservation works and the payment of subsidies, the evaluation and allocation to farmers of state-owned agricultural land, the administration of various drought aid schemes for stock farmers and ostrich farmers, water and drilling projects, and the administration of aid schemes for flood damage.

absolutely essential that the new body should be subject to the Agricultural Credit Act, Act 28 of 1966.

Then there is also the approval and assistance with the erection and upgrading of housing for labourers, the administration of the land conversion scheme, as well as the facilitating of settlement agreements.

The Government needs an instrument in order to have particular functions, that cannot be performed by the private sector, available for the evaluation of emergency aid in particular.

The above-mentioned functions cannot be dealt with by the Land Bank, which is an independent body, on behalf of the Government. The Agricultural Credit Board and its functional arm, the Directorate of Financial Assistance, is therefore an instrument in the hands of the Minister of Agriculture to carry out specific instructions of the Government in respect of dealing with disasters, emergency aid and financial assistance in specific cases and circumstances. The funds for this come out of the State budget and are allocated annually according to the circumstances in prevailing agriculture at the time.

On the other hand the Land Bank operates under the provisions of a specific Act. In terms of this Act the Land Bank is empowered to raise funds on the open capital market at market-related interest rates in order to supplement its own limited funds and then to lend it to farmers and agricultural concerns at market-related interest rates.

The Land Bank also reports to the Minister of Finance on its activities. Various investigations have already been launched by the Commission for Administration, Dr Japie Jacobs and Mr van Zyl, in order to determine the viability of combining these functions of the two bodies. [Time expired.]

*Mr C E HERTZOG: Mr Chairman, in the first place I should like to apologise for the honour member for Lydenburg who cannot be here today owing to other important business.

If certain functions of the Agricultural Credit Board and the Land Bank can be combined it is

Apart from the disadvantage for the farmer, it is also disadvantageous to the other creditors, because they are prevented from taking any action if protection has been extended in terms of section 21.

With the present position, it has happened that the Land Bank comes in when the negotiations with other creditors is at an advanced stage, and takes the farmer's land and sells it, with the result that all negotiations collapse. As the Land Bank is not subject to the Agricultural Credit Act, it is also excluded when the creditors meet in order to settle. If the creditors should agree to a settlement, the Land Bank can come in at any stage and wreck the whole settlement and days of work.

At present the position is that the farmer no longer has a choice of going out in terms of section 28 if the settlement proposals are accepted at a meeting, but the Land Bank later acts against the farmer and wrecks the settlement. He is then simply sequestrated if enough assets have remained in the estate—once again to the detriment of the farmer and other creditors.

If such a step is taken it will cut out much unnecessary red tape for the farmer, especially when a farmer envisages buying land. At present the position is that the farmer must first apply to the Land Bank for assistance and only if he is refused assistance there, can he apply to the board for consideration there, while months are wasted. Such a combined body would also have better security. At present the board in many cases has lower bonds than first bonds at its disposal, whilst the bank has first bonds at its disposal. Farmers should under no circumstances be forced to pay higher interest rates, as are being paid at present. [Time expired.]

Mr M A TARR: Mr Chairman, the Department administers four types of schemes, all of which

Rebel MP ousted from Parliament

Sowetan 3/6/92

304A

A FORMER Democratic Party MP who recently joined the ANC, Mr Jan van Eck, was last night expelled from Parliament for "abusing his freedom of speech".

His expulsion followed a motion by former Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok who charged that Van Eck had abused his parliamentary privilege.

The motion stemmed from a statement Van Eck made in Parliament last week in which he said that people close to former State President PW Botha had alleged that "he and his Government, through military intelligence and the NIS, were responsible for the execution of large numbers - more than 1 000 - of black radicals, that the present Government is still doing this..."

The expulsion means Van Eck would only be allowed back in Parliament next year.

In response, Van Eck said the National Party had "made a mockery of Parliament".

He said the NP's use of a simple majority in the House of Assembly to have him

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

ousted was "nothing but personal victimisation".

"It should be noted that while requests for a special debate on the killing of the Cradock Four, in Parliament, was turned down, the rules of Parliament allow for a special debate regarding the allegations I made.

"The National Party is the last to point fingers at anyone if one merely looks at the cynical way in which they manipulated the reports of the Goldstone Commission and tried to 'prove' that the ANC and Inkatha were the guilty parties and not the security forces.

"It is ironical that the motion of censure is being moved by Minister AJ Vlok, the very person against whom as Minister of Law and Order, I unsuccessfully tried to move a motion of breach of privilege because of the fact that his replies to my questions virtually without exception contained untruths," Van Eck said.

The rebel MP who just can't keep quiet

INDEPENDENT MP for Claremont and ANC member Jan van Eck describes himself as "a softie".

"I am a sucker in many ways and, people say, for lost causes. When injustices are done to the defenceless, poor, blacks or the political underdog, I can't keep quiet," he told The Star yesterday.

In his forthright manner, Mr van Eck also describes himself as "probably naive" — a criticism his detractors regularly use to describe him.

He also says he trusts easily and is not a cynic. But as a former geography teacher he has an obsession about bullies.

He made headline news two months ago when he and four other Democratic Party MPs

left the party to join the ANC.

This week he again hit the headlines when he was suspended from Parliament for the rest of the session.

Mr van Eck said he realised he could be suspended when he told Parliament last week that former president P W Botha had repeatedly stated that he and his government had, through Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, killed at least 1 000 black activists.

But yesterday he said he had to accept his suspension.

"If you are an outspoken critic of government actions, you must accept that you are not their hero and they would do what they can to get rid of you." Although he says it was a dif-

ficult decision to join the ANC, leaving one political party to join another, is not a new experience for Mr van Eck.

"I had done it before, and it was therefore twice as hard."

He says joining the ANC was not "a thing I would choose to have done" and a more preferable situation would have been if the DP had formed an alliance with the ANC. In the end, his leaving the DP was not a matter of choice — "We were no longer wanted by the DP".

As a student at Stellenbosch University, he supported the

National Party but joined the Progressive Federal Party when he realised NP policies were biblically indefensible.

After being elected unopposed as PFP MP for Claremont in September 1986, he resigned 11 months later and then became an independent member of Parliament.

At the time of his resignation, he said: "The Claremont electorate is an enlightened one and I was elected on a very clear platform: real negotiations with the real representative leaders of the people and the building of alliances with extra-parliamen-

tary groups."

Before replacing former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as representative for Claremont, he was editor of the PFP Afrikaans mouthpiece, *Deurbraak*.

However, his election campaign saw him fighting a persistent crusade labelling him a draft dodger.

Mr van Eck was born in the Netherlands in 1943 and emigrated to South Africa when he was six years old. He obtained SA citizenship as a minor and was to confirm it when he turned 21.

In his third year of varsity studies he applied for military service exemption, which was refused and then let his SA citizenship lapse so that he could not be called up.

He subsequently took out SA citizenship which enabled him to enter public life as a Cape Town city councillor and member of the Provincial Council.

Mr van Eck became well known in the western Cape for his work with the PFP's Unrest Monitoring and Action Group. During the state of emergency he often used his parliamentary privilege to tell South Africans what was actually happening in the townships.

On his future, Mr van Eck is firm: he will continue as MP for Claremont.

He will continue to monitor security force activities and on an overseas trip later this month will try to create an awareness that the "situation in the country is still severe". □



Van Eck... vows to continue his lengthy struggle against injustice.

Moves on electoral procedures opposed

STAR 4/6/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(3047)

The ANC has condemned the Government's intention to amend electoral procedures, saying such subjects were "clearly the province of Codesa debates".

The ANC, which said it was outraged to learn of the proposed amendments, added that by discussing unilateral changes to the electoral procedures the Government revealed its "utter contempt for the negotiating process".

The organisation condemned the "provocative action" and called on Pretoria to withdraw proposed amendments to electoral and referendum Bills.

It also called on the other parties in Codesa to "refuse to ally themselves with this attempt to unilaterally determine transition procedures".

In another development, federal hopes of the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party received a boost with the formation of the Coalition for a Federal Democracy, whose aim is to encourage Codesa to think in terms of a federal framework of government.

The coalition, whose members are not affiliated to any political party or organisation, will publish research on federal proposals appropriate to South Africa. Political risk consultant Dr Wim Booyse was appointed provisional chairman.



FW de KLERK

FW hopeful over trade

TOKYO - South African President FW de Klerk emerged optimistic from an hour of "extremely constructive" talks on investment with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa yesterday.

"I am convinced that much good will emerge for South Africa from this discussion," said De Klerk in a statement issued through his Press officer.

De Klerk arrived in Tokyo yesterday morning on a three-day mission to lure Japanese capital to both South Africa and the Southern African region.

Japan is already South Africa's second-largest trading partner. *Sowetan 4/6/92*

South African participants in the meeting said Miyazawa had described De Klerk as "bold and courageous" in his moves towards constitutional reform, and had said all obstacles in the way of bilateral relations had been removed.

Now that this stage of political normalisation had been reached, the South Africans said, it was up to individual Japanese companies to decide what their position on investment should be.

"They are poised for takeoff," said one. "What precisely the trigger will be, one can speculate. It will be different things for different companies - their assessment of political stability in the country, the violence factor and all those things.

"The State President pushed hard and consistently for the Japanese now to look at South Africa as an investment area," he said. - *Sapa*.

* See Page 3

Momberg meeting disrupted

STAR 4/6/92

(3047)



A uniformed AWB heckler waves his finger at MP Jannie Momberg during his report-back meeting in Fish Hoek on Tuesday night, shortly before a teargas canister was let off. The audience, including many elderly people, rushed from the hall to escape the fumes. Yesterday the Democratic Party condemned the attack. The meeting was called by Mr Momberg to explain why he had joined the ANC.

The Tokyo

By John MacLennan
and Sapa

TOKYO — All barriers to Japanese investment in South Africa were removed after understandings reached between President de Klerk and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in Tokyo yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said: "It was an extraordinarily constructive conversation. I am convinced that much good for South Africa will flow from it."

Mr de Klerk arrived in Tokyo yesterday morning on a three-day mission to lure Japanese capital to both South Africa and the southern African region.

Japan is already SA's second-largest trading partner.

All now depends on how the traditionally conservative Japanese business community gauges South Africa's political stability and the safety of investment in the country.

Mr Miyazawa questioned Mr de Klerk closely on constitutional developments and praised him for taking a "bold and courageous" step. According to sources who attended the meeting, Mr Miyazawa said all doors had now been fully opened for a completely normalised relationship.

Mr de Klerk said that in addition to money-making possibilities in southern Africa, Japan had a moral duty not to walk away from Afri-

De Klerk cracks Japanese barriers



How about that? ... President de Klerk tries out Sony's 8 mm video camcorder during his visit to the electronics giant's Media World in central Tokyo yesterday. With him is Sony chairman Akio Morita.

Picture: Associated Press

ca. He said South Africa provided a jumping-off point to a potential southern African market of 100 million people. With proper technology and investment, he said, South Africa had the potential of becoming the Japan of the subcontinent.

He cited the example of the Pacific Rim countries which had all become economic successes following an injection of Japanese capital and know-how.

Sources said that after the talks, which they described as "surprisingly warm," the Japanese are poised for take-off.

They added there had long been a close partnership be-

tween the Japanese government and big business. According to the sources, Mr Miyazawa's official approval of the power-sharing vision sketched by Mr de Klerk "means that harmony reached at political level will definitely translate into investment, provided the corporations believe that the conditions are right to put their money down in South Africa".

Sources said Mr Miyazawa was impressed with the belief and conviction with which Mr de Klerk put his case, and said he was sure efforts at power-sharing would succeed. He termed the Codesa talks as nothing less than "miraculous".

The possibility of a direct air link between Jan Smuts and Tokyo's Narita Airport was also raised, but this idea ran into a practical problem.

Tokyo's airport is clogged with traffic and SAA's application is near the bottom of the list of 40 airlines which hope to cash in on the Japanese tourist trade.

Sources made it clear that the lack of progress on the proposed link was not because of political reasons.

Today Mr de Klerk continues with his super-sales job in meetings with politicians and important business groups and leaders.

After addressing a meeting of businessmen yesterday, he was warmly applauded. This was considered most unusual in a country where showing any emotion is almost a sin.

Firemen in planes put Polls and

Pik waves wand over Codesa 2

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government yesterday raised the possibility of soon breaking the negotiations impasse.

Acting State President Pik Botha disclosed that there had been behind-the-scenes discussions to rekindle the stalled talks process following Codesa 2's failure.

Sounding the first positive note amid widespread despondency and a war of words in the wake of Codesa 2, he described the talks as "efforts to clarify some of the more important points of differences which surfaced during Codesa 2".

It was his impression, he told a news conference, that the ANC was not reneging on agreements and understandings already reached.

His view contradicted recent

ANC utterances which said all deals so far reached were off.

"It is also my impression that it would be possible to continue to clarify what might be misunderstandings," Mr Botha said.

"It is my impression there might be room for progress, hopefully in the days ahead," he said.

On threats by the ANC and its allies to engage soon in mass action, he said the Government did not object to peaceful protest.

But it did not believe in violence, threats or mass action as a means to achieve political objectives.

If the ANC abandoned its armed struggle and took up mass action instead, it would be an unacceptable substitute. It would delay negotiations and could lead to violence and conflict.

It would also scare potential investors.

Mr Botha raised the prospect

of people of colour becoming the majority in the National Party.

It was possible, he said, that a person of colour could one day lead the NP.

"Yes, yes, for sure, because colour doesn't play a role any more and shouldn't."

The NP's purpose was to become a majority party, "and I think it's within our grasp".

Mr Botha said he would even go so far as to say the NP needed only 10 percent more support to have the backing of more than half of the electorate.

When the NP became the largest party it would not, in terms of the party's power-sharing constitutional proposals, gain 100 percent of the power.

"So far the assumption has been that we want to protect ourselves, because it was assumed we were in the minority," he said. This was an idea he wanted to dispel.

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DP and the future

304A

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Democratic Party believed in a liberal society in which the rights of individuals would be respected, a spokesman for the DP told *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show listeners on Tuesday night.

Mr Ken Andrew, DP's national chairman, said all South Africans would be guaranteed jobs, housing and freedom of association under his party's rule.

He said the DP was disappointed at the slow pace of negotiations at Codesa, saying the process was pre-occupied with point-scoring between the African National Congress and the National Party.

This attitude had to



changed, Andrew added.

Asked what the DP was doing to resolve the impasse at Codesa, he said the answer lay in negotiations.

"We will use every opportunity to persuade the ANC and NP to think about the people without homes, those who are starving and not concentrate on the glorification of their organisations."

Politics is not about big cars and speeches, but ensuring that ordinary people have better lives," Andrew said.

He told host Tim Modise that the DP would not let up until the current stalemate was broken.

Nakedi of Mankweng said the DP wanted what she called "moderate apartheid" because the party had never supported the black struggle.

Andrew said the accusation was unfair.

"If there is one party that has always believed in the rights of the individual, that's the DP. We have spoken out repeatedly against inhumanity," Andrew said.

Irony of FW's walk across Red Square

Sowetan 4/6/92.

204A

It was an ironic twist to the struggle for democracy in South Africa when State President FW de Klerk walked across Moscow's Red Square this week. Sowetan's Political Correspondent ISMAIL LAGARDIEN places the visit in a context:



THERE was something peculiar and ironic about State President FW de Klerk's stroll across Moscow's Red Square this week.

It was ironic in terms of the South African political context, where Moscow had, for many years been the locus of the support for the ANC and SACP, and where now, De Klerk, was Mother Russia's guest of honour.

But widening the perspective and taking in the great and indeed momentous shift in global politics coupled with the apparent death of ideology - as espoused by Western Democracies - it was more indicative of the emergence of the New World Order.

Overthrow

The New Right, represented mainly by America's President George Bush and Britain's Prime Minister John Major - and including, very much, their predecessors - have become the *de facto* leaders of this New World Order.

A little more than a decade ago, when there was still three worlds - First, Second and Third - and the First was lead by a group of leaders sympathetic to the overthrow of the apartheid government, and quite militant about it in certain areas, South Africa's Afrikaner rulers where not welcome anywhere in the world.

In fact, so closed off was the whole world to the South African government at the time, that the most memorable overseas visit of any National Party leader was that in 1976 of former prime Minister John Vorster, a known Nazi supporter in his youth, to Israel and the Yad Vashem Memorial for Adolf Hitler's victims.

However, since the rise of Reaganism and Thatcherism, and the subsequent collapse of the East Bloc umbilical cord for Left-wing guerilla movements fighting around the world to overthrow Rightist dictatorships, among which was the apartheid government, the leaders of the New World Order have forged closer links with the Afrikaner leaders.

Hence De Klerk's globetrotting, which is so similar to Bush's.

Amnesia

The Western leaders appear to have forgotten altogether who the ruling National Party is, and are suffering, too, a selective historic amnesia.

There is, at the same time, among the Western leaders, a willing suspension of disbelief. For one: just how many people, in numbers, and as a percentage, in South Africa actually voted for the NP in the last election?

But that, is apparently not an issue, not with the NP, who choses to call themselves "custodians of the peace process in South Africa" and of Codesa.

The NP and Government, represented separately at Codesa for

some obscure reason, but perhaps deservedly so because the ANC has its Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress (NIC/TIC) figleaf, has, in terms of the thinking of various people been trying to steer the convention into a political whirlpool where winners are winners and losers are winners too.

Government wants to wean democracy, and leave nothing for voters to actually vote for.

It wants to entrench a coalition of winners and losers in a new constitution for South Africa that actually verges closely on the legislation of conflict in any new order in this country.

Incompetent

If then, every political party - winners or losers, majority or minority - are guaranteed a place in Government by the constitution, the inalienable democratic right to remove from office, by the voters, any persons or party that have proven themselves to be incompetent, or unfit to rule, will be denied.

Everybody, good and bad, big and small, minority and majority, winners and losers, will, in terms of the constitution, then, be guaranteed a place in government.

This formula failed, with horrendous consequences, in Cyprus for instance, during the seventies.

But the leaders of the New World Order, De Klerk's hosts, will not, or cannot remember this.

One is not too sure if the ANC remembers this, but they're not telling. What is apparent, is that the ANC has, with mass action, pulled what is possibly the last remaining ace from its sleeve.

While De Klerk has been writing Part Two of Dale Carnegie's How to win friends and Influence People - The New World Order, the ANC and its leadership have fallen from favour in this realm.

One politician cynically pointed out recently that De Klerk will win more votes abroad than within South Africa, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will win more at home...

So between Codesa and the New World Order - it is the ruling National Party which is riding the crest of a wave.

It is, then perhaps on public protest in mass action that the ANC has pinned its last hopes to secure a peaceful settlement.

The universally acceptable principle of public protest could reassert the movement, as a force, within the country.

It could also, narrow the chasm that has been growing between the ANC leadership in Codesa - where everything is done in a very diplomatic and adult way - and it grass-roots supporters who have been in the firing line of raging and savage battles over the past couple of years.

Frustration

Besides, it could also, channel the frustration of perceived political impotence the movement has on the ground, and which has been manifested in violence flare-ups around the country.

One thing is certain though, there appears to be very little concern for the aspirations of little black children in decrepid black townships in the New World Order.

When the ANC suspended the armed struggle and entered into negotiations with government, It became inevitable that the process would at some point become irreversible.

There is perhaps no greater indication of just how, exactly, irreversible the process has indeed become, than De Klerk's walk across Red Square.

SA's negotiations cannot be allowed to falter ^(206A) Parsons

DURBAN — SA could not afford to allow Codesa to falter, as public and business confidence hinged on the perception there was movement in the talks, SA Chamber of Commerce director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday.

Addressing the Natal Chamber of Industries in Durban, Parsons said the political players at Codesa should be encouraged to continue negotiating as there was "no alternative" to it.

It had to be acknowledged that a relationship of mutual trust between the main political players remained an indispensable precondition for stability and economic growth in SA.

"Ideally the stability of any 'new' SA should rest on the loyalty and obedience of the people rather than on the state to force people to behave in certain ways.

"When attempts are made by means of such administrative structures to achieve certain political ends which do not square with the norms by which the people are governed, the maintenance of the system not only costs a great deal, but its stability is shallow."

Turning to economics, Parsons said a single factor that could also contribute to stability was to widen and deepen the stake which people had in society — a stake which they would then be prepared to uphold and defend.

"Those who have nothing to lose — from a political, economic and social point of view — can only contribute to negative and destructive actions."

He urged businessmen to pursue balanced, constructive and investor-friendly policies. "We must conduct the debate on the premise that we need the world more than it needs us.

"I hope that major political parties like the ANC will show a greater awareness of this reality in their economic policies."

"Poverty in SA is so severe that redistribution policies, which alone will be inadequate to counter it, must be supported by policies designed to place the economy on a higher growth path."

The redressing of past inequalities had to be reconciled with the reality of ensuring sustained economic growth, said Parsons. — Sapa.

Japanese trade on hold despite visit

PATRICK CULL

TOKYO — SA entered a new phase of normalised relations with Japan after yesterday's meeting between President F W de Klerk and Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa. 8/10/91 4/6/92

However, despite the positive approach, the bottom line was that investment remained on hold — at least for the present.

SA sources took a bullish approach last night at a special briefing, but could not escape the fact that ultimately the decision rested with businessmen, and the determining factor was the situation in SA.

There was little doubt as to the importance De Klerk accorded his visit. He addressed a lunchtime meeting yesterday, spelling out government's position.

Although there were rough times ahead — particularly in the next few months — he was confident about the outcome, he said.

A Foreign Affairs source said last night that trade was "poised for a takeoff". SA was the gateway to Africa.

However, there was nothing in the bag, and it appeared that De Klerk would return home politically triumphant, but with little to show economically.

Sapa reported that De Klerk and his wife Marike would visit Spain this month as personal guests of King Juan Carlos.

A spokesman for his office said the date of the visit would not be made known yet.

De Klerk would have also discussions with the Spanish Prime Minister.

● See Page 4

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday

NEWS IN BRIEF

ANC hits at suspension

BY SUSPENDING MP Jan van Eck for refusing to disclose the source of his allegations against former president P W Botha, government had treated democracy with contempt, the ANC said yesterday. (3041) (416)

Van Eck, who with four other DP MPs joined the ANC last month, said last week in Parliament that Botha was aware of more than a thousand political assassinations. (110) (416) (92)

The ANC said Van Eck's suspension appeared to be a smoke-screen to divert attention from the heart of the problem that he had raised. (110) (416) (92)

Codesa accords on track ^(306A) govt

Bl Day 4/6/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The deadlock in Codesa negotiations had not been broken, but the ANC had still stuck to agreements reached before the impasse and preparations were being made for their implementation, government's top negotiators said yesterday.

Chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Acting President Pik Botha were both cautiously optimistic yesterday.

They told a briefing that progress was still being made, with the parties holding bilateral talks.

Meyer said two steering committees and a technical committee had been directed by the Codesa management committee to start refining the agreements reached in the working groups that were not deadlocked.

They had been told to prepare for their implementation.

Working group 2, dealing with the constitution-making body, had also decided to defer a report to the management committee for another week to allow parties to consult each other, and hopefully resolve their differences.

Meyer said the working group was attempting to identify points of difference so as to focus attention on their solutions.

He said progress was being made.

Botha said it was his impression that the ANC was not reneging on agreements reached so far.

It was possible, he said, to clarify

some misunderstandings and make progress in days ahead.

However, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma pointed out later that the ANC had said it would go back to its supporters for a renewed mandate.

He said it had at no stage decided to withdraw from Codesa or from direct bilateral talks.

Macozoma denied that any plans were being made to implement initial agreements, such as the first phase of interim government.

"I am not aware of any substantive issues being discussed at the moment," he said.

Referring to the ANC's planned mass action campaign, Botha said government did not object as long as protests were peaceful.

But if the ANC was replacing armed struggle with mass action, it was merely a shift in strategy which could result in intimidation and further delay negotiations, he said.

Botha warned that mass action could lead to violence and intimidation which would scare off investors.

It could also have a negative effect on economic growth and was not conducive to creating a climate for negotiations, he said.

Botha also claimed that the NP's insistence on protection of minority rights and strong devolution to regions in a federal structure was not intended to entrench white privilege.

NP will be the majority party ^{364A} Pik

CAPE TOWN — The NP was on the brink of becoming the majority political party in SA and could have a black leader in the future, Acting President Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a weekly Codesa briefing, he said the NP was now an open party in which colour played no part. It was logical that it could have a black leader in future.

Botha, who is also the leader of the Transvaal NP, said:

"It is our purpose to become the majority party and I believe we need

only another 10% to add to the 10% we have already gained, and then we approach the 50%-plus situation.

"When we are the majority party we will have to share power with the minority parties," he said.

"There is an assumption that we want to protect ourselves (constitutionally) and this perception I want to clear up," he said.

The country could not be governed for the foreseeable future on a Westminster system, which was no way to reduce violence. — Sapa.

Keys sets up three Cabinet committees

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys yesterday announced that three Cabinet working committees had been set up to enhance co-ordination of government responsibilities.

Speaking in his first debate as finance minister, Keys said the committees would cover social welfare, constitutional and administrative and economic matters.

Members of the economic committee were Ministers of the following: State Expenditure, Agriculture, Regional and Land Affairs, National Education, Environment, Transport, Post and Telecommunications,

BILLY PADDOCK

Administration and Tourism.

He said the economic committee was supplemented by two further bodies. One was the Minister's Committee for Economic Co-ordination which met once a month. It had a similar membership to the working committee with the added membership of Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals, special adviser to the finance minister Japie Jacobs and Finance Department official Jan Dreyer.

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PLEASE
ATTACH
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R1 500 perk for wives and officials on tour

APR 19 1992 BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Officials and their wives accompanying President F W de Klerk's tour of Japan can each claim a clothing allowance of up to R1 500 in addition to subsistence and travel allowances.

Commission for Administration spokesman Corrie Smit yesterday confirmed this on inquiry and said this was in terms of the official rules and regulations.

At least 20 officials were accompanying De Klerk, and four of them besides De Klerk had their wives with them.

Last week De Klerk's director-general Jannie Roux said regulations allowed officials to take their wives with them on one of every four foreign trips.

But Smit said the regulations stated that this only happened in "certain exceptional cases, for instance, when the official represents a minister at an occasion where circumstances or custom would have required the minister's wife to accompany him officially".

Smit said that at present personnel on official overseas trips were compensated for "additional clothing they might need as a result of climatic conditions" to a maximum of R1 584. Lesser amounts might be granted depending on the nature and duration of the visit. A state visit received the highest grant.

"Similar clothing grants may be paid to the wife of an official, should she accompany him on an official visit," Smit said.

Smit said that all public servants on official trips had their actual travelling expenses paid. Apart from this officials and their wives also qualified for subsistence and travel allowances.

"His reasonable actual expense on hotel accommodation may be compensated. A special daily allowance (the amount of which differs according to country) is paid to compensate for the cost of meals and incidental expenses," he said.

Smit said that from August 1 1992 clothing grants would be withdrawn.

'Other DP MPs see future with ANC'

SEVERAL DP MPs believed their future lay with the ANC, independent Sandton MP Dave Dalling told a critical, but small meeting of Sandton businessmen yesterday. *Monday 4/6/92*.

About 120 members of the Sandton Chamber of Business (SCB) attended the meeting last night during which several people called for Dalling's resignation and a by-election to test his support.

Dalling refused to resign, saying he felt more representative of Sandton as an ANC member than as a DP member.

There were 28 000 white voters in the Sandton area but there were also 28 000 black people, 2 000 Indians and 3 000

ADRIAN HADLAND

coloureds. (304A) *[initials]*

He said he had been uncomfortable for some time within the DP which had been "taken in tow" by the NP during the March referendum. The DP was unable to make any decisions and was wracked with tension and animosity.

Dalling suggested there were also DP MPs who thought a formal alliance with the NP was necessary while others wanted the party to go it alone.

He told the businessmen he was confident an ANC government would not nationalise companies.

Revolutionaries delay change, says De Klerk

(304A) B/Daw 4/6/92
TOKYO — People who were "clinging to the concept of revolution" were delaying the process of change in SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

His remarks come at a time when his relationship with ANC President Nelson Mandela appears to have hit a crisis point.

Addressing the SA Trade Association and Springbok Club in Tokyo, the President said things were "extremely dynamic" in SA, but while he was confident of success, there would be setbacks and delays in the next few months because not all parties had "broken with the past".

But, he added, the inevitability of change was accepted by the majority which was committed to "peaceful change through peaceful negotiations".

De Klerk criticised Mandela at a news conference on board his SAA 747 jet early yesterday morning, saying that he wished Mandela would take co-responsibility for ending the violence.

It was, he said, a pity that Mandela failed to do this.

The political approach Mandela was adopting had no credibility in anyone's eyes, he said.

De Klerk also addressed the issue in his talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, telling him that there was a problem be-

PATRICK CULL

tween government and the ANC, specifically over the organisation's refusal to become a political party and its unwillingness to abide by the Pretoria Minute and D F Malan Accord.

The ANC, he told the Russian president, was "out of step with bringing about a democratic solution".

De Klerk said the real problem was the strong radical element within the ANC which was allied to the SA Communist Party.

He said radicals were now busy delaying the process and organising mass demonstrations and strikes.

In reply to Yeltsin's inquiry on where Mandela stood, De Klerk said that while he was a moderate and he had brought the ANC to the negotiating table, "lately he was not resisting pressure from radicals and had given in to this faction".

"He has become abusive and arrogant and has attacked me in recent statements abroad," De Klerk said.

While warning of difficult months ahead for SA, the President said the strategy was to keep negotiations going and that radical action would not be taken.

However, he said, law and order in the country would be tightened.

searching the coast. The yacht could be much further north than the area covered by the

They had scanned up to 50 nautical miles out to sea and as far south as Kommetjie.

danha or Cape Town," Mr Williams said.

FW's hard-sell mission in Japan

MARTIN CHALLENGER and JOHN MacLENNAN in Tokyo

PRESIDENT De Klerk went on a major "trade with South Africa" drive in his vital lunch with 23 of Japan's top business and industrial leaders today.

The meeting with the Keidanren Kaikan — Japan's federation of economic organisations — was billed as the most important item on his Japanese agenda.

"We need loans and investment, not on the basis of handouts, but on the basis of South Africa being a sound economic and financial proposition," he said.

Japanese government sources said Prime Minister Mr Kiichi Miyazawa agreed at the dinner to co-operate in promoting economic development in Southern Africa.

Mr Miyazawa also agreed to consider South Africa's request on air links and an investment protection accord to promote Japanese investment.

At present South Africa's trade with Japan amounts to less than one percent of Japan's total foreign trade, while 6.29 percent of South Africa's exports go to Japan.

Reporting on political negotiations at the Convention for a



Mr De Klerk with Japanese prime minister Mr Kiichi Miyazawa.

Democratic South Africa, Mr De Klerk told potential Japanese investors:

"My government and I will not settle for anything less than a constitution which will guarantee stability and the maintenance of the political and economic standards which have proved themselves in the rest of the democratic world."

This was his way of assuring them that the National Party would not allow a communist government intent on nationalisa-

tion or the seizure of foreign investments to come to power.

"By engaging itself constructively in the economic development of South Africa, the international community will not only assist us greatly in our determination to achieve a better future for all our people, but also contribute to the success of the whole Southern African region."

"With Japanese investment and South African expertise in technologies and methods best suited to African conditions, the substantial and untapped resources of the whole continent may be developed to our mutual benefit," Mr De Klerk said.

He listed as South Africa's advantages:

- An excellent infrastructure with modern road, rail and telecommunication networks;
- Cheap and abundant electric power;
- An internal market with the potential for rapid and sustained growth;
- Experienced managers and sophisticated banking and retail sectors;
- A steadily improving education level. He noted that education expenditure, at over 20 percent of the national budget, was among the highest in the world.

PHOTO BY GUY A. LORETT

PHOTO BY GUY A. LORETT

PHOTO BY GUY A. LORETT

Business people get tough with Dalling

An angry reception for ANC MP in Sandton

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The formerly popular Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling was last night given a rough, rude reception by the Sandton business community during his first visit to the constituency following his defection from the Democratic Party to the ANC.

In parliament now as Sandton's MP on an independent ticket, Mr Dalling was invited by the Sandton Chamber of Business (SCB) to answer questions from the business community.

They ended up demanding his head — or at the very least his resignation.

Mr Dalling, alone, had to answer heckling businessmen and women on a whole range of

ANC policies and activities (including alleged prison camps) — as well as address questions on the country's general ills.

An unbusinesslike Mr Dalling began by trying to explain to the very businesslike SCB members how he came to join the ANC. The answer seemed to lie somewhere in a report he had written many years ago after attending the funeral of Alexandra "comrades".

To growing impatience from his audience, Mr Dalling read the full text of *Reflections of a White Man At-*

tending a Black Funeral.

It was when he stated that since the ANC's armed struggle was suspended early in 1991, no "official" acts of violence had been perpetrated by the ANC, that the first vehement and aggressive interjection came: "Rubbish!"

Soon afterwards, shouts came for him to "cut it short" — and SCB chairman Mr George de Pontes had to step in to call the meeting to order. At this stage several men and women walked out.

Unperturbed, Mr Dalling continued with his address.

Constant challenges from the floor continued throughout his speech and during answers to questions — mostly about political issues such as ethnicity and the ANC's military wing Umkontho we Sizwe.

At one stage during question

time the chairman had to order the audience to ask questions not involving weapons and arms.

Mr Dalling was branded a "fraud and a cheat", shouted at because he had "switched sides", and aggressively called upon to "go to the polls on an ANC ticket".

He was told by one businessman to resign as MP since he now represented "the people who don't pay tax" and no longer the businessmen "who do pay tax".

To this call, black members of the audience said after the meeting they were "shocked" at the ignorance displayed by businessmen who thought blacks did not pay tax.

ANC spokesman Mr Steve Tshwete said in this regard: "There is a lot of work to be done here."



Mr Dave Dalling

Govt wives get four pay

Political Staff
GOVERNMENT officials and their wives on President F W de Klerk's tour of Japan can claim a clothing allowance of up to R1 500 each as well as a subsistence and travel allowance.

Commission for administration spokesman Mr Corrie Smit yesterday said this was in terms of the official rules and regulations.

At least 20 officials were accompanying Mr De Klerk. Four of them — besides Mr De Klerk —

are accompanied by their wives.

Last week Mr De Klerk's director-general Mr Jannie Roux said it was official regulations that officials could take their wives with them on one out of every four foreign trips.

But Mr Smit said the regulations stated that this only happened in "certain exceptional cases".

"For instance, when the official represents a minister at an occasion where circumstances or cus-

tom would have required the minister's wife to accompany him officially."

Mr Smit said that at present personnel on official overseas trips were compensated for "additional clothing they might need as a result of climatic conditions" to a maximum of R1 584.

"Similar clothing grants may be paid to the wife of an official, should she accompany him on an official visit," Mr Smit said.

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Van Eck suspension — NP slated again

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

304A

ARL 4/6/92

CRITICISM of the government over its suspension of ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck continued yesterday with accusations that the National Party was guilty of "gross abuse" of the principle of freedom of speech.

Describing Mr Van Eck's suspension as a "slap in the face for democracy", Democratic Party deputy-spokesman on law and order Mr Lester Fuchs said: "Parliament was simply not in a proper position to judge Mr Van Eck because the truth or otherwise of his allegations have as yet not been established."

Mr Van Eck was suspended from parliament for the rest of the session on Tuesday after the House of Assembly voted 80-56 in favour of a National Party motion censuring him over allegations he placed on the public record about state complicity in the killing of activists during former President P W Botha's term of office.

Mr Fuchs, echoing the Conservative Party's argument during the debate, said yesterday: "The DP believes that a parliamentary select committee should have been appointed to take evidence and thereafter decide on appropriate action."



Mr Lester Fuchs

DP aims for 10 percent of vote

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has specified a 10 percent share of the national vote as a realistic aim in South Africa's first non-racial post-apartheid election.

The party believes this could be "significant" in the formation of a new government.

The DP would aim to achieve considerably higher percentages in key metropolitan regions such as the Western Cape, where much of its traditional support lies.

This emerged at a constituency report-back meeting in Constantia last night at which MP Mr Roger Hulley disclosed that a recent informal poll of voters in the area showed overwhelming support for a strong, centrist and independent DP.

ARG 4/6/92
A tally of 71,6 percent favouring this option was reflected in letters he had received in response to an open letter he published in a suburban newspaper inviting comments.

He had offered constituents five options — that the DP should join the ANC (1,4 percent favoured this option), join the NP (7 percent), align with the ANC (2 percent), align with the NP (18,2 percent) or remain an independent party.

While acknowledging that the survey was not conducted scientifically, Mr Hulley told the meeting it showed overwhelming support for an independent centrist party.

He said: "I have long held the view that the DP's role lies in

expanding the centre of South African politics.

"The true position of a liberal party with liberal democratic and economic principles lies in the centre between the forces of socialism on the one hand, and, in this country, the forces of right-wing ethnic nationalism on the other.

"To those who doubt the future viability of the DP in this centrist role, I say think again.

"After a process of intensive strategy deliberations we have targeted a 10 percent share of the total national vote as our party's realistic aim at the first general election.

"We consider it unlikely that any single party will gain more than 50 percent at that first election."

'Progress' in talks

3049

CT 4/6/92

Political Staff

THE deadlock in Codesa negotiations had not been broken but the ANC was still sticking to agreements reached before the impasse and preparations were being made for their implementation, the government's top negotiators said yesterday.

Chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Acting State President Pik Botha yesterday said at a briefing that progress was still being made with the parties holding bilateral talks.

Mr Botha claimed the NP's aim at insisting on protection of minority rights and strong devolution to regions in a federal structure was not to entrench white privilege. He also said there could be a black leader of the NP.

Mr Meyer said the government and the ANC were looking at identifying points of differences and if we can identify these we can focus our attention on finding solutions.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma later said the ANC had said it would go back to its supporters for a renewed mandate and they had at no stage decided to withdraw from Codesa or from direct bilateral talks.

He denied any plans were being made to implement initial agreements such as the first phase of interim government. "I am not aware of any substantive issues being discussed at the moment and will not go for implementation of phase one until phase two has been agreed," he said.

Mr Botha said the NP would be a majority party if it gained another 10% of black support.

He said that when the NP became the "major party" it would have to share power with minority parties.

FW warns on living in past

Political Staff

TOKYO. — People who were "clinging to the concept of revolution" were delaying the process of change in South Africa, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing the South African Trade Association and Springbok Club here, Mr De Klerk said things were "extremely dynamic" in South Africa, but while he was "confident we will succeed" there would be setbacks and delays in the next few months because not all parties had "broken with the past".

He also hit out at Mr Nelson Mandela at a press conference yesterday saying he wished the ANC leader would take co-responsibility for ending the violence.

Dave Dalling fends off calls for him to resign

JOHANNESBURG. — A public meeting addressed by the ANC-aligned independent MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, last night was marked by calls for his resignation, insults and interjections.

Mr Dalling fended off calls for his resignation by saying he was more representative of his constituency since joining the ANC than ever before, because many black people lived in the Sandton constituency and neighbouring Alexandra.

Responding to calls to resign and fight a by-election, Mr Dalling said Parliament was nearly at its end because Codesa had become the focal point.

Referring to the deadlock at Codesa, Mr Dalling said this was due to the National Party and Inkatha clinging to

"artificially built-in structures designed to ensure minority government" rather than risk taking their chances in a democracy.

He also expressed his endorsement of the ANC's threat to use mass action to break the stalemate at Codesa. — Sapa

Voters assure DP's future

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, said last night both he and his voters were strongly committed to the DP as an independent party competing with other parties on the political scene.

Last year, Mr Hulley caused a stir when he suggested that the DP form a working alliance with the National Party on specific issues.

However, Mr Hulley said last night the overwhelming majority of respondents to an invitation to write to him about the future of the DP had supported its continuation.

Ousting MP 'contemptible'

CT 4/6/92

(3049)

BY suspending MP Mr Jan van Eck for refusing to reveal the source of his allegations against former state president Mr P W Botha, the government had treated democracy with contempt, the ANC said yesterday.

Mr Van Eck said last week in Parliament that Mr Botha was aware of over a thousand political assassinations.

It was ironic that Mr Van Eck's suspension was initiated by former Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, who had been frequently criticised by the ANC, the statement said.

"The suspension of Mr Van Eck appears to be victimisation and a smoke-

screen to divert attention from the heart of the problem — that elements of the security forces, on instruction from the highest authorities, eliminated political opponents."

Meanwhile Mr Van Eck told a trade union rally in the Claremont Civic Centre yesterday that workers must attain the same rights to vote as their employers. Urgent steps had to be taken to protect farmworkers, he said.

Also at the rally ANC spokesman Mr Tony Yengeni said the ANC's programme of mass action for democracy would continue even if the deadlock at Codesa was broken. — Sapa

Bid to revive Codesa

THE Government yesterday said it was trying to break the impasse in negotiations. 4/6/92

Acting State President Pik Botha disclosed that there had been behind the scenes talks to rekindle Codesa following the failure of its second plenary session.

Sounding the first positive note amid widespread despondency and a war of words, he described the talks as "efforts to clarify some of the more important points of differences which surfaced during Codesa 2".

He told a news conference it was his impression that the ANC was not reneging on agreements already reached.

But this contradicted recent ANC utterances that all deals so far were off.

"It is my impression there might be room for progress hopefully in the days ahead," Botha said.

On threats by the ANC and its allies to engage in mass action, he said the government did not object to peaceful protest. But it did not believe in violence, threats or mass action.

He said substituting mass action for the armed struggle would not be acceptable.

These would delay negotiations, lead to violence and scare potential investors.

Botha said a black could one day lead the NP. "Yes, yes, for sure, because colour doesn't play a role anymore and shouldn't."

The NP's purpose was to become a majority party "and I think it's within our grasp".

When the NP became the largest party it would not, in terms of the party's power-sharing constitutional proposals, gain 100 percent of the power.

"So far the assumption has been that we want to protect ourselves because it was assumed we were in the minority," he said. This was an idea he wanted to dispel, he said.

HEAD


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Roll of 50
1 Ply Sheet

Prima
Corned Meat

34
300

SAVE 50



Bokomo Ru
Buttermilk &
Muesli

Old Spice Du
Containing A
Deodorant 6

FATHER

W/E Mail [w/ Mail] 5/16-11/16/92 3044

ASHIFT has taken place in the field of cultural politics. Once the debate, not coincidentally in the darkest days of repression, turned on the issue of art's specific relation to political and ideological goals. Now the issue has broadened, and the view is on the future.

The African National Congress' *Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa*, adopted at the organisation's special congress last weekend, commits the ANC to the promotion of the arts, which it sees as "vital to the well-being of South Africa" and a way of cultivating "a sense of national identity and pride" and "a potentially unifying force".

"A single national department to promote arts and culture should be created," says the document. It also foresees the setting up of "public-funded, non-sectarian artistic and cultural institutions" with a strong role in education and development.

Should there be a ministry of culture and what exactly should it do? How should state sponsorship of the arts operate — and what are the dangers?

That some relationship must exist between the arts and the state is not really questioned by those who debate the point. The focus is rather on how the state can best assist the arts to grow. This is based on the assumption that the arts are somehow disadvantaged and must be helped to do their job in society. The key word, in fact, is money.

Private enterprise has done and is doing much in the way of arts sponsorship. The very notion of sponsorship implies that help is needed in areas where ordinary market forces fail. Governments all over the world give money to cultural enterprises that would not otherwise sur-

The ANC's recent policy guidelines suggest a strong role for the state in the promotion of the arts. If South Africa is to get a ministry of culture, how should it operate and what are the dangers?

SHAUN DE WAAL ponders some of the issues

vive. England gladly supports its National Theatre, and the Brecht Theatre was a show-piece of the old East Berlin. The Australian government got that country's film industry on its feet before market forces took over.

But is it possible to assume that state sponsorship of the arts will really be "neutral"?

A recent debate convened by the Congress of South African Writers took as its theme "Artists: Which Party Would You Vote For?" Representatives of the main political parties were invited to give their views on how the state should assist the arts. There was one thing they all more or less agreed on: that the state should provide maximum funding while meddling as little as possible.

The National Party's Sheila Camerer (who said she "enjoys getting involved in the practice of art as an amateur portrait painter") put it this way: "The NP's attitude to the arts can be summed up as art for art's sake with little or optimally no interference by government, but practised in accordance with the norms of society of the day."

"The state is morally obliged to nurture the arts," said Geoff Klass of the Democratic Party, "which, in turn, must be free to criticise the institutions of government without being obligated in any way."

The ANC's Wally Serole said: "Both civil society and government have a role to play in cultural development."

This, of course, is the ideal. For the moment, it is all fine talk — the reality of state involvement in the arts may be considerably different. Reassurances of no interference from the state are likely to be taken with a pinch of salt until there is a very clear position on censorship. Unfortunately, few are prepared to accept the principle of *no censorship at all* as a basic demand. And what government will really be able to resist meddling? It is in the nature of government to interfere.

We know how the NP government's censor-

"ANC cultural policy aims to redress the imbalances inherent in our society, in terms of race, class and gender. In particular our rich and diverse artistic traditions in the fine arts, literature and music must be nurtured and promoted, as must alternative and under-represented traditions."

—ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa

ship machine tangled together ideas of state security and the "norms of the day" to control culture in a way that was advantageous to it. Censorship is the dark side of state sponsorship of the arts, and for as long as it claims to protect society from moral decay or whatever they want to call it, the state will be able to protect itself most efficiently.

At the same time, state involvement in the arts can lead to a condition just as stultifying if arts bodies become mini-bureaucracies.

Another thing hampers the short-term realisation of the ideal of generous hands-off state sponsorship. As the Inkatha Freedom Party's Suzanne Vos repeatedly reminded the audience at the debate, large amounts of money are not going to be available for the arts in the foreseeable future. That is no doubt true, but large amounts have already been spent — the State Theatre, the Johannesburg Civic Theatre and so on — and these structures will have to be put to use in some way.

Yet there is an understandable suspicion

among artists, commentators and audiences that any variety of ministry of culture would actually be detrimental to the arts rather than helpful.

One must recall the way the German Nazi state denounced modern art and set up its own programme of pure, Aryan *Kunst*, thus revealing its aesthetic sense to be cretinous. And how the Soviet state, especially under Stalin, tried to turn the arts into a purely ideological vehicle, producing only insipid grandiosity. Closer to home, we can see the way the NP government manipulated the arts into a framework for Afrikaner cultural nationalism.

The state, say some, will never be able to resist trying to shape the arts to its ends. However subtly it does it, the state has an ideological agenda. Under apartheid, an ersatz multi-culturalism served the purposes of the dominant party. Perhaps the opposing notion of "people's culture" could be as dangerous even if implemented by a non-racial government.

Because there is taxpayers' money involved, state sponsorship will always be controversial. The United States' National Endowment for the Arts was a hot issue earlier in this election year. Its head, John Frohnmayer, was eventually sacked by George Bush after a protracted outcry over the sponsorship of art that offended conservative middle-class values.

In France, however, Jack Lang's ministry of culture has received acclaim. Maybe it's just that the French are more sophisticated than the Americans, but they certainly don't bow to a "moral majority". Lang has cleverly boosted the arts through developing infrastructures like festivals of different kinds instead of just handing out money to artists, though he does some of that too. The chic, urbane Lang, in fact, has managed to become the ideal minister of culture, a man who in himself represents something of French culture.

If there is to be a ministry of culture, we must make sure we get a Jack Lang and not a Joseph Goebbels.

Which raises the other point that the party representatives at the Cosaw debate more or less agreed on. Unless cultural workers (for lack of a better term) organise themselves into effective pressure groups, any future state policy on the arts will be marred from the start.

But is such common purpose in the nature of artists?

Not the Waldorfs!

IN a recent report on the Splashy Fen folk festival (*Weekly Mail*, May 8 - 14), it was erroneously reported that a member of the Waldorf String Band had fallen drunkenly off the stage. This was a case of mistaken identity. *The Weekly Mail* unservedly apologises to the Waldorf String Band and the individual concerned.

Rightists in fighting talk

LONDON - The ultra-right London-based Western Goals Institute ("devoted to protecting the Western way of life") is moving in on South Africa's political chaos.

It is offering what it claims is "a major programme of self-defence training".

The organisation, whose president is rightwing diehard Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, purports to have developed its programme, including "expert instruction in unarmed combat, firearms use and basic survival training" in response to Mr Nelson Mandela's recent "threat" to whites in the Republic.

Institute chairman Mr Andrew Smith said here: "Mandela has made it clear that the ANC intends to bomb and shoot its way to power. Our aim is to ensure that law-abiding white people are able to defend themselves, their lives, their families and their property against terrorist onslaught."

Govt blasted over travelling wives

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

STAN 5/6/92

The Government has come under fire for allowing wives of officials to travel to Japan and Russia with President de Klerk — and paying officials and wives a clothing allowance of up to R1 500 each.

DP spokesman on State ad-

ministration Roger Burrows reacted yesterday to the news that four of the approximately 20 officials in the tour party — apart from Mr de Klerk — have taken their wives with them.

And a Commission for Administration official has been reported as saying that all the officials and their wives can

claim a clothing allowance.

(3047)

The official said that according to the civil service regulations, officials on overseas trips were compensated for additional clothing they might need.

Mr Burrows said the news would not be welcomed by South Africa's hard-pressed taxpayers.

Majority Rule - Or Power Sharing?

Guardian/W (in w/mail) 5/6-11/6/92 (306A)
JOHANNESBURG, — South Africa's negotiations on a new, post-apartheid constitution are discouragingly deadlocked, and over an issue that seems on the face of it to be too trivial to warrant such a crisis: a dispute over the size of the majority that will be required for approval of the new constitution. Even at the start of the bargaining, the difference between the African National Congress and the government of President Frederick W. de Klerk on this issue was small: a matter of just 25 votes in an elected Constituent Assembly of 300.

After days of haggling it had narrowed to a 5 percent difference over the majority that would be needed for agreement on regional (or state's) rights, and to a government demand that the negotiators agree in advance that the future constitution should have a Senate with powers equal to the House of Representatives — something the ANC refused to accept.

There they stuck, a hairbreadth apart but with mounting obduracy on both sides that is now hardening into serious hostility and could start to unravel the whole negotiating process.

Why so much drama over so little? "Juvenile brinkmanship" was how one exasperated delegate at the all-party convention described it. But there is much more to the conflict than that.

To begin with, what is happening at the convention — known by its acronym of Codesa — is more than just the negotiation of a new national constitution. It is also the negotiation of a peace agreement between the government and the ANC, similar to what a settlement between the Israeli government and the PLO would be. This introduces an additional element of pride and honor and the saving of face, when to give too much is to appear to concede that the other side really won the war.

This limits flexibility and sets barriers to concession. The principal negotiators on the government and ANC sides know there are highly emotional audiences out there watching to see who has won the day and ready to pounce on their leaders if they feel they have conceded too much.

As Hamlet said, people will find quarrel in a straw when honor's at the stake. But then again, there is more than a straw involved here. Small though the differences over these percentages appear, they in fact go to the heart of the divergence between the ANC and the white government over what kind of country the new South Africa should be.

The ANC wants majority rule. It is prepared to have an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting the basic human rights of minorities: things such as language, cultural and religious rights, free speech and free

By Allister Sparks

political expression. But it insists that the majority party must have the right to form the government — or, as Nelson Mandela puts it, "normal democracy as the world knows it."

De Klerk and his National Party, on the other hand, have made it clear they are opposed to majority rule, which they call a "winner takes all" system. They want what they call "power-sharing," a system of compulsory coalition government that would give minority parties (such as the National Party will likely be after the country's first one-person-one-vote elections) a share in government almost regardless of how small they are, as well as a power of veto over all legislation exercised through a specially constituted Senate. The ANC calls

where it knew it would be the biggest party and the National Party and its allies would be cut down to size.

After months of negotiation a compromise was reached. The National Party accepted that the constitution had to be drafted by a body of unquestioned legitimacy, meaning an elected Constituent Assembly. The ANC, for its part, agreed that Codesa should negotiate the interim constitution, which will be in place while the Constituent Assembly is sitting, and that it should also lay down some broad principles for the final constitution — principles which will be binding on the Constituent Assembly.

Ever since then, the ANC has had an abiding suspicion that the government, with its long record of duplicity, is trying to trap it into a situation where it gets into a "power-sharing" interim constitution and never gets out again. The ANC has in fact indicated its willingness to have this interim constitution provide for a "government of national unity," in other words one in which all the Codesa parties form a coalition and have to govern by consensus. And that is, of course, exactly what the government would like as a final constitution.

Thus the ANC is demanding a strict limit on such an arrangement: a period of about six months during which the final constitution is drafted. The government would like to have it permanently — or at least for a drawn-out "interim" period of about 10 years.

This is why the dispute over a relatively tiny percentage managed to stall the whole convention. The ANC and its allies became convinced that the government, which is monitoring opinion polls closely, was trying to get an unattainably high majority for agreement on the constitution so that progress could be blocked and the country locked into an "indefinite interim constitution."

When the government indicated its willingness to abandon this position in return for a commitment to having in the final constitution a powerful Senate of undefined structure — the very kernel of its "power-sharing" plan — the fear of a trap grew, and the ANC dug in its heels.

Since then attitudes on both sides have hardened, and mutual mistrust has deepened, with the ANC threatening to pull out of the peace accord it signed with the government and other parties last September and take its freedom struggle back to the streets with a campaign of "mass action."

It seems clear that South Africa will be unable to move forward meaningfully in its transition to democracy until this basic issue is resolved: Is the country to have majority rule or not?



F. W. de Klerk

this a "loser keeps all" system.

This fundamental difference has lurked in the background without being directly confronted ever since the negotiations began last December. The talks have skated around it while progress on other issues has been made, but every now and then they brush against it and then there is a spat. That is what happened at Codesa earlier last month.

To achieve its "power-sharing" constitution, the National Party initially wanted the constitution to be drafted by Codesa, where its own position as the governing party is strong and it has the support of a number of old tribal "homeland" parties formed under the apartheid system that will almost certainly be wiped out in a one-person-one-vote election. The ANC, on the other hand, wanted the constitution to be drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly,

The Washington Post

Mandela Warns Of Attacks On Whites

MR NELSON MANDELA called President Frederik W. de Klerk a criminal on Sunday and compared his government to Hitler's Germany as the political climate in South Africa worsened.

The unusually harsh attack came at the end of a policy-making meeting of the African National Congress at which the anti-apartheid organization took a militant new approach to its dealings with the white-minority government. The ANC threatened a campaign of strikes and demonstrations aimed at crippling the

country unless the government takes new steps to end violence and backs down on demands for special constitutional protections for whites. The organization blamed state security forces for the ongoing violence in black townships, which has claimed thousands of lives in recent years.

"In Nazi Germany people were being killed not because they were a threat to the state but simply because they were Jews," Mandela said at a news conference following the ANC meeting. "In our country people are being

killed not because they are a threat to the state but simply because they are black."

The ANC leader said that the violence was occurring because de Klerk "has given the capacity to certain groups to kill innocent people." That assertion contradicted a report last week by a judicial commission. It said that the ANC and its chief black rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, were mostly to blame for the violence and mostly responsible for stopping it. Earlier in the day, Mandela visited a black

squatter camp at Phola Park, about 30 miles south of Johannesburg, where residents have accused police of attacking residents and where security forces are maintaining a heavy presence, and said that township violence could spread to white areas if President de Klerk failed to stop it. "People are getting very angry." The ANC would discourage attacks on whites but might be powerless to stop them. The only way to end the violence was to set up a non-racial interim government which would control the security forces, he said.

Pragmatic de Klerk offers Russia credits

THE South African president, F. W. de Klerk this week, promised

Russia a \$50 million credit as the two governments celebrated the defeat of communism and the start of a new relationship of profit and pragmatism.

Mr de Klerk was in triumphalist mood at the Kremlin, as well he might now that Moscow has abandoned sanctions before an interim government is in power in Pretoria. They are to sign a trade agreement soon.

Mr de Klerk said he had nothing against Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, coming to Moscow. "I hope an effort will be made to impress on him the fallacy of basing an economy on Marxism. I hope he will see that with his own eyes."

He hoped the ANC would revise its views, "even more than it has already, and get in step with the rest of the world and give up concepts such as nationalisation".

Mr de Klerk made little effort to conceal the fact that he represents only a minority. In his banquet speech he referred to the "warmth and friendship between our peoples". He added that "South African

culture had helped to bring better understanding, by which, it transpired, he meant that "Afrikaans literature has been translated into Russian".

He stood firm on his government's refusal to consider any concessions in the constitutional deadlock over the blocking mechanism it wants. The government wants 25 per cent of the members of a constituent assembly to be able to veto proposals.

'Mr de Klerk was more generous than much of the Russian press in acknowledging the Soviet Communist Party's role in aiding the South African Communist Party and the ANC during the apartheid period. 'It was a lifeline,' he declared.'

als. "I expect my party will get more than 25 per cent of the vote," he said.

"We're not talking about a white minority wanting a veto. We're in step with the rest of the world in seeking a balanced entrenchment of the rights of all minorities."

The paper gave three columns to an article by Mr Pilyatskin on the

eve of the visit. Using snippets from telegrams sent by the Comintern to the South African Communist Party in the 1930s, he argued that the party had always been a tool of the Kremlin.

In fact, the cables he published revealed the opposite. They showed that the South African Communist Party was split into factions for several years, and that Moscow's efforts to stop them were fruitless.

Part of the party's leadership rejected Moscow's call for the setting up of an "independent native republic", arguing instead that the white working class must not be ignored.

Mr Pilyatskin claimed that the cables "unmask many of the myths of Soviet propaganda", namely that the Soviet party never tried to ex-

port revolution. Historians of Stalinism know that was not the case.

Mr Pilyatskin — without a shred of evidence — hinted that South African Communist Party leaders who came to Moscow in the name of "the revolutionary struggle against apartheid" received generous presents. He says they were just a handful of people, financed by the Soviet Union, "who wanted to seize power and set up a communist dictatorship".

Even the rightwing press in South Africa these days would hardly publish such unsupported claims. Chris Hani, the general secretary of the SACP commented in Johannesburg: "The secret strategy to which Izvestiya refers was in fact published in full here in South Africa in 1931 by our party newspaper Unsebenzi."

With its present policy towards Pretoria, Russia risked destroying the goodwill its former rulers had built up among Africans over the century, Mr Hani said.

The ANC has criticised Russia's decision to invite Mr de Klerk to Moscow. They say Moscow should have waited until there was a majority government in South Africa.

Take charge, FW, say world jurists

W/maid s/b-11/6/92

SOUTH AFRICA'S political violence could be checked within three to six months if the government had the political will and if President FW de Klerk took personal charge of law and order.

This is the finding of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), in a 25-page report released this week, based on their recent two-week visit to South Africa. Jurists from the United Kingdom, Sweden, Senegal, Zimbabwe and Ghana met scores of politicians, lawyers, judges, academics, ministers and township dwellers countrywide.

Recommending that the country's law enforcement agencies should be monitored by at least 100 European, Commonwealth, United States and African observers, based in Johannesburg and with branches in all major centres, the ICJ also called for the South African Police to be restructured with civilian administrators at all levels.

As presently constituted, the SAP was "unlike-ly ever to gain the confidence of ordinary people", in part because of its record of enforcing "apartheid laws which had no moral content".

Pointing to the Trust Feed judgment, which "proved conclusively that violence is being pro-

If the government had the will, there is a way to end the violence, say international jurists who visited South

Africa. By ARTHUR GAVSHON

voked by some elements in the security forces", the ICJ warned that unless the army and police were controlled "it will not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person, one-vote basis in much of South Africa today".

Law and order in Natal and large parts of the Transvaal had broken down and "are being torn apart by terrible strife", the jurists said. "The police do not protect the people and people do not trust the police and misconduct is rife."

The report is heavily critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party, charging that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had contributed to violence by his failure to curb the excesses of his followers.

It also accuses the police of collaborating with Inkatha in murders and attacks on African National Congress supporters. The Trust Feed case represented "the tip of the iceberg", it said. The jurists said the one big question the group



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Failed to control 'warlords'

encountered wherever it went was whether the government was truly committed to ending the violence.

"For many years responsible people have been calling for a ban on weapons at all political rallies and marches. No ban has been imposed. Why?"

"For 18 months people have been slaughtered on commuter trains. We have seen the government can stop this by searching people at stations. They have not done so. Why not?"

"President de Klerk must surely realise that

there will be no winners if the violence is not brought under control."

Turning to the IFP leader, the ICJ says Buthelezi "carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence between his supporters and those of the ANC".

Because he had failed to control Inkatha "warlords", ANC retaliation had become inevitable. Harry Gwala, the ANC's Midlands chairman, is quoted in the report as saying: "People hit back ... they carry the war to those who started it. If people are angry they will kill anyone. The acts are acts of desperation."

The explosion of violence in the Transvaal in 1990, centred on the hostels, coincided with Inkatha moves to extend its influence outside Natal, the commission said.

Citing positive developments, the jurists said: "The country's lawyers and judges had displayed courage and impartiality in dealing with evidence presented to them by honest police officers. Captain Frank Dutton and Warrant Officer Wilson Magadla are cited for exposing the cover-up of the Trust Feed massacre."

● The Goldstone Commission had been effective in defusing violent situations, despite the size of its task and the intimidation of witnesses.

Codesa deadlock boosts opposition

By Mondli Makanya
ORGANISATIONS of the far left are almost gleeful over the failure of Codesa II — and are even more determined to stay away from the negotiation process.

The breakdown in constitutional talks has also given a filip to moves to establish a front of anti-Codesa organisations, spearheaded by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Both the PAC and Azapo remain adamant that they will not join Codesa, will not negotiate before a constituent assembly is in place and will only hold preliminary talks with the government at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman.

Leadership elements within the PAC who have favoured Codesa participation — arguing that the movement does not have the capacity to derail it — have been severely weakened by the

Codesa deadlock.

"Codesa II was a lame duck. It would be ridiculous to go there because it is now clear to everybody that Codesa is about the re-entrenchment of apartheid rule," says PAC information secretary Barney Desai.

This weekend Azapo's National Council will hold a crucial conference to plan a campaign to pressurise the government for a constituent assembly.

The first step in this, says Azapo's Don Nkadimeng, will be a convening of a Patriotic Front (PF) of organisations operating outside Codesa, spearheaded by Azapo and the PAC. A summit between the black consciousness movement and the government is also on the agenda.

However Azapo seems more enthusiastic than the PAC about this "alternative PF". The PAC appears more interested in resuscitating its still-

born PF alliance with the ANC.

The Africanist movement has made several overtures towards the ANC, the last one being two weeks before Codesa II. But the ANC has not shown a reciprocal interest in reconvening the PF.

Explains ANC national executive member Joe Ebrahim: "If we call a second PF summit, we must be clear what we want to talk about and what we want to achieve. They will come with an anti-Codesa attitude and then will just end up fighting about Codesa. There's no sense in that."

There is also bitterness at the ANC's apparent wish to go the mass action route on its own.

Comments Desai: "We will only support the mass action campaign if the demand is for a constituent assembly. But if it's based around the ANC's demands in Codesa then we see no reason to support it."



Barney Desai ... Codesa a 'lame duck'

Going for the centre 304A

With the NP weighed down by its shady past and the ANC wallowing in radicalism, the DP is moving fast to occupy what it sees as a significant space in the middle ground of politics. The party's national council has agreed to a new strategy aimed at transforming the DP into a "major electoral force and a key player in the interim and ultimate parliament of the new SA," says national council chairman David Gant.

Cynics will argue that the ambitious plan has little chance of success, and that the DP

cont →

faces annihilation in a proportional representation election in which only two groups are likely to survive: the ANC and the NP, with various smaller allies on either side.

However, the DP may offer a comfortable home for an increasing number of liberal-orientated whites disenchanted with President F W de Klerk's inability to deal effectively with mounting allegations of corruption by officials and assassinations by security forces — and for many blacks seeking options to ANC radicalism.

The plan is partly in response to the sidelining suffered by the DP during the recent referendum campaign, in which it had no choice but to support the NP line and was consequently sucked into what was widely perceived as an alliance with government. But recent events, including the Department of Development Aid scandal and allegations of SADF involvement in the murders of UDF leader Mathew Goniwe and others in the eastern Cape, jolted many DP supporters and underscored the belief of the party leadership that the DP still has a significant role to play.

The strategy, adopted unanimously by the national council, is detailed in a report from a committee chaired by Gardens MP Ken Andrew. Gant says the recent defection of five MPs to the ANC means the DP caucus is now free of MPs whose loyalty lay elsewhere and no members of either the national council or the caucus have "any inclination to join the increasingly suspect NP."

The new strategy includes a membership and multimillion-rand fund-raising drive and a campaign to make voters aware that there is an alternative to the ANC and NP. The DP considers its survival and growth as indispensable in the search for a truly effective multiparty democracy.

"On the basis of its consistent opposition to apartheid, violence and socialism; on the basis of the pro-active plans it has now announced; and on the basis of its workable and pragmatic plans for the reconstruction of SA's distorted society, it will ensure its own organic growth and a programme of bringing together all those who are truly committed to its values and objectives," says Gant.

The Andrew committee report says dramatic developments in SA and internationally provide the opportunity for the DP to embark on the third phase of its strategic development. This will be centred on growth. (The first phase was the fight against racism and the second was bridge-building during the transition.)

The report says there is a real danger that the democratic values for which the DP stands will be destroyed in the battle between "two hostile political blocs (the ANC and the NP) competing for power." It adds: "It is therefore now essential that the DP emphasises its distinctive profile and actively promotes the values and interests it represents."

The mission of the DP will be to convince the majority of people that a multiparty democracy and a "social market" economy must form the basis of the new SA. Its

objective will be to ensure that the country is governed according to liberal democratic principles — by becoming the government, or by being part of government, or by helping to bring about a realignment of political parties. ■

Now you see it, now you don't — the democratic vanishing trick

Guardian (w/in w/mail) 5/6-11/6/92

304A

MIRACLES, it might be said, are not susceptible to analysis: So when President F W de Klerk underwent his transformation on some, as yet uncharted, road to Damascus back in 1990, one could only take his word for it and see where it took South Africa.

The more recent developments in this regard recall the story of a miracle told to me by a magician of a colleague in the sorcery business who went on a tour of India. The piece de resistance of his act was to make a motor car vanish on stage. One night, in a show in a small town, one of the two giant mirrors which conveyed the car into the ether jammed and only half the vehicle vanished. The audience was at first bemused and then gave a standing ovation; tired of seeing things vanish, they were happy to receive the disappearance of half a thing as a true miracle.

The story is not intended to be Delphic, it is brought to mind by the paraphernalia of miracles, magic and sleight of hand which is coming, increasingly, to characterise the marvel of right-mindedness which the world associates with the de Klerk presidency.

The distinctive feature of magic and miracles is perhaps the wedge they drive into reality—creating two actualities, the co-existence of which is implausible and yet self-evident. Which is a fair enough way of describing South Africa at the moment.

One such reality is the extraordinary breakthrough which the Pretoria government and the white establishment have made on both the diplomatic and trade front: President de Klerk this week winging his way between Russia, Japan and Singapore, where he is being eagerly welcomed as an honoured guest (admittedly some Russian MPs are whinging, but that is seemingly over the technicality that Nelson Mandela should have made the visit first). Sanctions are such a dead letter that even Sweden — long the most committed sponsor of the anti-apartheid struggle — is on the brink of a full resumption of trade. In Africa itself where sensitivity to apartheid has always been at its extreme South African business penetration is such that M-Net, the Johannesburg-based television syndicate, is

competing with the likes of CNN and the BBC in a scramble for rights to broadcast to the continent

The other reality should be a trade-off for all this—international respectability in return for democracy, peace non-racialism in South Africa itself. But this being in the way of miraculous magic the reality is somewhat different. Where democracy is concerned, the negotiating process has broken down over the flat and far from democratic demand by de Klerk's Nationalists that they be given a minority veto on government.

Peace has never seemed as far away as now, the political killings are running at an average of about 12 a day and the government's attitude towards the climate of violence is reflected in its continued failure to act over allegations that the head of military intelligence is a brutal murderer and that the

**By David Beresford
in Johannesburg**

head of the police forensic services is a mass poisoner.

As for the pursuit of non-racism, the following is an extract from an amendment to the Defence Act, tabled in Parliament recently: " 'White person' means a person who in appearance is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person; or is generally accepted as a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person, but does not include any person who for the purposes of this classification under the repealed Population Registration Act, 1950, freely and voluntarily admits that he is by descent a Black, or a coloured person unless it is proved that the admission is not based on fact."

Most of these apparent contradictions in reality are explained away by the government as transitional, a term which hides a multitude of sins against what the international community might characterise as basic civil rights. A minority veto is an interim arrangement, to reassure whites during the transition to democracy. Proposals to make the security forces more answerable to the majority population they so routinely

abuse are on the cards but in the interim they must not be criticised too loudly for fear they will be demoralised. And as for the charge of legislative racism; well, transition takes time and in the interim someone has to rule, somehow — even if it is a fundamentally racist parliament.

To some extent these arguments might have been seen as acceptable, not out of credulity but because after centuries of minority oppression the hope of liberation is such as to make delay in the name of transition acceptable. But on the admission of the government's own officials, the hope of the de Klerk administration is to lock the country for a decade, if not longer, into a transitional constitution, which — as interim compromises already being urged by Pretoria would suggest — would fall far short of a democratic ideal.

The ANC's response to all this has been one of uncertainty, which they have tried to end with a four day national policy culminating last weekend with an attempted show of decisiveness in the form of (yet another) ultimatum to the government. "There are those who will tremble as the ANC departs from this conference stronger," declared the organisation's general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, in his closing speech at the weekend. In the circumstances it seemed just another articulation of disjointed reality.

There is an argument, much used by ANC officials, that there is a dynamic in South African society which will force the government into a settlement acceptable to the majority of the population. "The government is in a crisis so deep that it has no choice but to settle," was how their chief negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa, put it in the immediate aftermath of the breakdown of talks at Codesa.

But that is a perception the government may not share. On present evidence it seems quite happy with only half a miracle, seemingly in the expectation that it will still be enough to have its international audience on their feet, cheering.

**Mandela warns of attacks
on whites, page 17**

Slabbert raps politicians over the knuckles

By MOKGADI PELA

ANY transitional process must be preceded by peace and stability, noted academic and former politician Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert told *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Van Zyl Slabbert told host Tim Modise that the parties at Codesa were pre-occupied with grabbing power than finding each other.

He said the question of armies should be seriously looked into if peace was to be attained.

"You can't expect ordinary people to make peace on the ground while the politicians are busy making inflammatory remarks," he added.

Van Zyl Slabbert accused Codesa participants of negotiating above the heads of the people.

"I myself don't know what's happening at Codesa except from what I read in the newspapers.

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Sowetan 5/6/92

"These politicians sit and talk for hours on end without ordinary people noticing any visible progress," he said.

Regarding the proposed mass action by the ANC, Van Zyl Slabbert said the demonstrations would largely depend on the response of the Government and its security forces.

"If they allow mass action to go on it, can bear the desired fruit. If they don't, you can have loss of lives and a downward slide of the economy," he said.

He pointed out that mass action delivered the intended results in Poland under the leadership of Lech Walesa who took over from the Jaruleski regime.

We'll resist ANC disruption — FW

STAR 5/6/92

(304A)

Political Staff and Sapa

TOKYO — President de Klerk yesterday warned a gathering of top Japanese businessmen that the ANC planned to wring concessions in constitutional negotiations through mass action — but he pledged that the Government would not compromise on its bottom-line principles.

He told the Federation of Economic Organisations, the Keidanren Kaikan, that the ANC's second goal of disruption was aimed at "papering over the cracks and their internal tensions because of fundamental differences of opinion and policy within their ranks".

"I would like to give you the assurance that while we are prepared on the basis of give and take to make compromises, on certain fundamental principles there can be no compromise.

"One of them is the effective protection of investments and of basic economic rights such as private property ownership, which must be elevated above

arbitrary action by any future government."

This is seen as a clear guarantee that Japanese investments would be safe.

Mr de Klerk added that the ANC was increasingly criticised by people at grassroots level who were worried about their jobs in difficult times and "who are irritated by the excesses of the radical element of the ANC".

"Thus even mass action itself can have a beneficial result, and that is greater realism among the masses."

South Africa would definitely become the "Japan of Africa", Mr de Klerk said. But before it did, "we need the big role-players of the international community to do in South Africa what Japan did in Korea".

Japanese businessmen faced a choice. They could upgrade their trade and increase exports to South Africa and possibly in the short term they could again become South Africa's major trading partner. "But that is business as usual," Mr de Klerk said. "The alternative is that the Japanese private sector becomes fully involved through investment, joint ventures and technological involvement with-

in South Africa, and becomes part of this new era. That choice, I think, is now on the agenda".

Yesterday was the second day of Mr de Klerk's three-day visit to Japan, and was filled with a punishing schedule of appointments.

In the morning he met Transport Minister Keiwa Okuda, International Trade and Industry Minister Kozo Watanabe and the chief secretary of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

At the end of the day Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike went window-shopping through Tokyo's upmarket Ginza shopping district.

Japan is the most expensive city in the world and the De Klerks did not reach for their wallets, although they were clearly impressed with the lavish window displays.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am overcome by all the people, impressed by the progress, impressed by how well dressed the people are and the tidiness of the streets. But I am not so impressed by their air." (Tokyo has chronic air pollution.)

Asked if he planned to buy anything, Mr de Klerk said: "No, a State President's salary does not allow for that here."

CP, Labour Party hit at govt

(304A)
BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The CP and the Labour Party yesterday joined hands in opposing the approval of the State President's budget, but sharply attacked it from different ends of the political spectrum.

The DP, while strongly criticising President F W de Klerk and his government for the abysmal state of the economy and the rise in crime and violence, chose not to oppose the budget. *8/10/92*

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said government's current "arrogance and belligerence" was also hampering the negotiation process.

However, the DP did not oppose the vote because it did not believe this was the correct Parliamentary procedure.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said government's freeing of revolutionaries and the creation of a revolutionary climate had made SA dangerous to live in and unattractive to investors.

He said the reform process was retrogressive and in conflict with the modern trend of nations wanting to govern themselves. De Klerk's ideal of power sharing

was "an unworkable illusion", he said.

Labour Party MP (Northern Cape) Desmond Lockey said the proof of corruption and allegations of state-initiated murders meant it was impossible for government to continue governing.

The only honourable thing for it to do was to resign and make way for an interim government to bridge the existing one with that of a new SA.

He said Codesa II had only failed because the NP was politically retarded and did not want to accept democracy.

Responding to the attacks, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said De Klerk's purposeful initiatives had enabled SA to withstand the revolutionary onslaught and guaranteed its re-entry into the international community. This had given the country new hope for the future.

The reality of the rich diversity of languages, culture and religions could now manifest itself spontaneously rather than being legally enforced as before, he said.

'Bid to kill messenger,' says Van Eck

By GLYNIS UNDERHILL

THE ANC MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who was barred from Parliament for his starting allegations about the killing of activists during the reign of Mr P W Botha, said this week that his suspension was an attempt to "murder the messenger".

Vowing to continue with his exposés, Mr Van Eck said that the barring "made a mockery of Parliament". He declined a Cape Times request to interview the source. "Obviously it would be better for me to make known my source and allow him to make a grand entrance. But he is paranoid about being revealed and I must grant him his wish," he said.

Mr Van Eck, who plans to step up his campaign to expose those responsible for the "thousands of political murders" since 1984, was listening to the soothing strains of Beethoven at his home in Kentworth yesterday.

He intends placing advertisements and posters around the country to try to persuade the security forces "to spill the beans".

"We must clean the slate and we should not rest until the country has been purged of evil," he said.

Mr Van Eck described as "ironic" the fact that the motion of censure in Parliament was introduced by former Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

"He was the man in charge of the security forces in the very period I was talking about in Parliament," he said.

Chronicles of wasted time

FM 5/6/92

304A

POWER, PRIDE AND PREJUDICE: THE YEARS OF AFRIKANER NATIONALIST RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA by Henry Kenney (Jonathan Ball, 397pp, R89,95).

Hendrik Verwoerd, subject of an outstanding biography by the author of this book, embodied the power, pride and prejudice of our Nationalist years. In parliament Verwoerd lectured rather than debated. Kenney testifies to "his superlative skill in dressing up courses of action, indefensible by old-fashioned criteria of justice, as really designed in the best interests of the victims."

Thus, in presenting to parliament his scheme of Bantu education, one that he said "... amounted to cutting blacks off from the culture of the West, which had become a universal culture," Verwoerd argued that this was alien to them.

He brushed aside C W de Kiewiet's finding that the leading theme of SA history "is the growth of a new society in which white and black are bound together in the closest dependence upon each other."

Verwoerd excelled at perverting existing institutions to suit his purposes: thus the official labour bureaux which had been established to help place blacks in jobs now served to restrict their employment opportunities.

Of the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Bill, Kenney says: "Had he been less humourless and less obsessed with a sense of destiny, Verwoerd might have been suspected of having had his tongue in his cheek when he decided on so odd a choice of words. The measure had



D.F. Malan



J.G. Strydom

nothing to do with abolishing passes; they were simply renamed and became reference books." These were the passes that Luthulu, Sobukwe and others burned in 1960.

In his perverse way Verwoerd was right in identifying a "moral issue": if, but only if, a world of their own was rebuilt for and by blacks in SA, could that of whites be secure. But he obstinately refused to see that this black world could not be one of separation, inequality and denial of opportunity.

Nor could it be one in which whites, by virtue of having reached a "higher" state of development, retained their supremacy over blacks.

The United Party opposition in parliament challenged only the total separation of the

racism, not white supremacy. For more than a decade white politics had to do with one question: how far could deviation from Verwoerd's position be justified in terms of ordinary common sense? The deeper issue was taboo.

Verwoerd's name has been linked with Tomlinson's report on the black reserves that were to become Bantustans. Kenney shows that in fact Verwoerd would have been happier if this report, which had been commissioned by his predecessor as Minister of Native Affairs, had never seen the light of day.

Tomlinson genuinely tried to show what rehabilitation of the reserves would cost if they were to offer a livelihood to the black population. But Verwoerd had no intention of asking parliament to vote this colossal amount of money to the fulfilment of his purposes.

It was no part of Verwoerd's original purpose to transform the reserves into so-called



H.F. Verwoerd



B.J. Vorster

independent states; he had a sudden change of mind on this issue. Within a year of Verwoerd's death his successor was confronted with the truth: total separation of races was not viable. One of the first cracks in the granite was made by rugby, when Vorster accepted that Maoris could tour with the All Blacks. By 1969, the uncompromising Verwoerdiens within the NP forced Vorster to expel them, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party came into being.

However, at no time did Vorster show any recognition of the need to break with the grand apartheid of Verwoerd. He relied instead on heavy-handed repression by the security forces coupled with attempts to sell apartheid abroad, more especially in the US.

Kenney says of his rule that it was, in retrospect, an organisational and administrative nightmare. This surfaced in the Info scandal — which at least served to exclude Connie Mulder from succession to the premiership. For what then seemed the better, the fallout from Info ensured P W Botha's succession.

By the time Botha came to power the growth of the economy, which had marked Vorster's early years of office, had tailed off. But Botha, who had promised clean administration, did nothing to cut his coat according to his cloth.

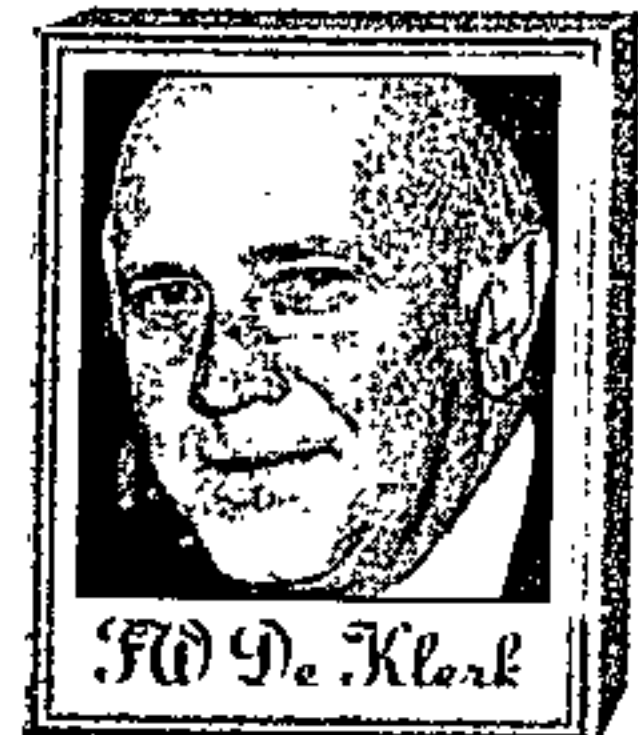
Instead, he yielded to the illusion of a total

onslaught on SA. This not only implied vast security expenditure which damaged the economy far more than the mounting campaign for sanctions against us; it also involved destabilisation activities in neighbouring territories.

But if the policies of Verwoerd were exuberantly wrong, let no-one underestimate



P.W. Botha



F.W. de Klerk

how difficult it was for them to be soberly right. Kenney quotes in this context American sociologist William Graham Sumner: "It is not possible to experiment with a society and just drop the experiment whenever we choose. The experiment enters into the life of the society and can never be got out again."

In other words, the experiment confers unexpected economic dividends to individuals and groups who become dependent on the political arrangement; he who tries to revoke these will need great resolution and courage. At the same time, long persistence in error inculcates in those who have suffered discrimination and denial of advantage not only a radical impatience for change, but exaggerated expectations of the unearned benefits this will bring: two formidable obstacles to crossing that seemingly inconsiderable river, the Rubicon.

But eventually the crisis imperatively demands action, and so "F.W. de Klerk emerged as the Nationalist leader who would finally have to dismantle White supremacy. He was an unlikely choice as a man of destiny, but from unpromising origins he has travelled a long way. De Klerk embarked on a course that would take him even further from his beginnings and into a future that was overpowering in its uncertainty."

Radford Jordan

BUYING BOOKS

Prices sometimes fluctuate because of exchange rates.

Some books reviewed may not be readily available. If you have difficulty obtaining a title from a bookshop, we suggest you contact the publisher. The telephone number for the book reviewed this week: (011) 792-2213.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, June 5 1992

5

NEWS IN BRIEF

DP rejects information budget

THE main aim of the SA Communication Services (SACS) was to abuse taxpayers' hard earned money to promote the NP, and the DP objected to the 24% increase in its budget, DP media spokesman Peter Soal said yesterday. *Blom 5/6/92*

In his speech read by Roger Burrows (DP, Pine-town) he said that SACS (formerly the Bureau for Information) budget increasing by almost R10m to R51,5m was unjustifiable.

De Jager is an unlikely democrat

W/Mail 5/6-11/6/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

30LH7

CHRIS DE JAGER, the Conservative Party MP for Bethal and a reported member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), is not a liberal and he believes passionately in the "justice" of the white minority rule over most of South Africa.

But De Jager, an advocate by training and an enthusiastic devotee of rightwing causes, took the National Party majority in the House of Assembly apart when it summarily decided this week to suspend the African National Congress MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck, on the grounds that he had refused to disclose his sources of his claims that ex-president PW Botha and the cabinet knew about the assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

De Jager, his CP colleagues, Democratic Party and ANC MPs and, privately, many NP MPs were incensed at the NP tactics of using classic majoritarianism strategies — a half-hour debate, a two-minute allocation to Van Eck to defend himself and a simple majority vote at the end of it — to oust the ANC MP from parliament.

Van Eck asked MPs to observe the silence, instead of attempting to reply "to the sham allegation made against me for the two minutes I am allowed".

This proved to much for Chris Fisser (NP, Rissik) who protested that a speaker could not use his speaking time to stand in silence. It was then that the unlikely democrat, De Jager, tried to raise his point of order.

When he first spoke, De Jager suggested there was only one manner to determine whether Van Eck had spoken the truth.

"Whatever we do, a person in this place has the right of freedom of speech.

"If we what he said is the truth, whatever he said, or whether he insulted me, or the honourable members on the other side, he is entitled to say it, if it is the truth.

"If is not the truth, we must establish this and demand evidence from him, because nobody is entitled to declare untruths under the mantle of parliament."

The CP therefore suggested the appointment of a select committee so that Van Eck could present his side of the case, "not for two minutes, not five minutes, but for hours if he needs it, so that it can be calmly assessed whether he told the truth or whether he told lies. If he told lies, he must take the consequences. He then not only deserves to be suspended, he can have a fine and even a jail sentence imposed on him.

"This House is sitting tonight as judges. Clauses three and four of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament lay down that we are sitting as judges. Let us behave as judges and act accordingly, and not sit and shout and attack people for reasons that are not being discussed.

"Let us conduct ourselves as it has been laid down for a parliament to act when it applies disciplinary measures," De Jager pleaded, to no avail.

The DP's Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) said Van Eck did not abuse the privilege of freedom of speech in parliament and should not be suspended.

The DP had studied previous instances and the last time such a matter had come before the House of Commons was in 1882. It had been altered and the House of Commons no longer used the procedure.

"The DP finds it extraordinary that at this juncture of our constitutional and political history the NP proposes to use a sledgehammer against what is a mere mosquito," Soal said.

But the NP majority in the white House was not to be persuaded. Despite the fact that Van Eck's original claim had been made in a joint committee of parliament, representing all three houses, he was suspended by the white house. National Party members of the House of Representatives, for instance, could not, and did not, participate in the debate or voting.

It was an extraordinary performance and assessment of strategy. Democracy, in the circumstances, is a long-off dream.

What is even more extraordinary is that NP MPs freely admit, in private of course, that they thoroughly misjudged the situation. As one put it graphically: "We comprehensively cocked it up."

The crucial question outstanding is whether the NP leadership has courage and political common sense to realise this and rectify its error, which far from crucifying Van Eck, has served to vindicate him and make him look like the good guy in the whole debacle.



Peter Soal

CABINET ACCOUNTABILITY

Why the buck never stops

FM 5/6/92

304A



President F W de Klerk has been angered by suggestions — not least by the *FM* — that he has not done enough to address corruption in government. He seems genuinely bewildered at the ferocity of the criticism. Perhaps this is because he and his colleagues do not understand the ultimate thrust of the attack. It is not that the crooks in government service should be caught and charged (though they should); it is that nobody has been made *politically* accountable.

"The principle of popular government is that the supreme power resides in the people," noted that great Victorian political journalist Walter Bagehot. Yet everyone knows that millions of people cannot govern; in a democracy they elect people to rule on their behalf. Some of these representatives, in turn, are selected by the leader of the majority party to manage the daily business of government.

These Cabinet Ministers have a dual responsibility: to the man who appointed them, and to the people who elected them. They also enjoy enormous power and social status, and are given considerable material privileges. Collectively, they have the advantage of conducting their meetings in private — and, as individuals, are allowed the luxury of dissent in Cabinet until agreement on policy is reached.

Bagehot tells a story from Lord Melbourne's time: the delicate issue before Cabinet one day was whether a fixed duty should be imposed on corn. Lord Melbourne put his back to the door and said: "Now is it to lower the price of corn or isn't it? It is not much matter which we say, but

mind, we must all say the *same*." This neatly illustrates the principle of collective Cabinet responsibility.

The subtle catch to all this, of course, is the principle of *individual* responsibility. Like the prospect of being hanged in the morning, it should concentrate the mind wonderfully.

Of course no Cabinet Minister can know every detail of what is happening in the departments entrusted to him. A broad working familiarity is the most that can be expected.

But that is the Minister's problem. If supreme power is to reside in the people, someone must be held accountable when there is criminal activity in State departments; the only possible candidate is the Minister concerned. If he is not held responsible, then government has been removed from the control of the voters and democracy is meaningless.

It is generally accepted that constitutional guru Gerrit Viljoen is a man of integrity. It is also assumed that he had no idea of what worms were crawling in the Department of Development Aid (and in black education) when he was the Minister responsible. The same probably applies to other Ministers, in various portfolios that have become notorious over the years.

But these Ministers were still *politically* responsible. They clearly do not understand this, otherwise they would have resigned long ago. And De Klerk evidently does not understand it either, or he would have demanded their heads.

It is a pity that the new administration will have had such a poor example of how to conduct government by Cabinet. ■

Talks go on as mass action looms

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC are continuing to meet in bilateral talks to resolve the constitutional dispute left by Codesa II even as the ANC and its allies prepare for unprecedented mass action aimed at the same goal.

Negotiators from both sides met earlier this week, an ANC source confirmed. A government spokesman said the government would neither confirm nor deny whether talks took place. The ANC source said the talks were

aimed at resolving the dispute that arose at Codesa II on a constitution-making body.

In spite of optimism from both sides that the dispute could be resolved, a campaign for mass action was proceeding.

The ANC, insisting that negotiations and mass action were not inconsistent, was still making preparations for mass action to strengthen its call for an interim government and an agreement on elections for a constitution-making body, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday. He said a campaign committee was studying what action

would be taken, but no decisions had been taken yet.

3044 CT 5/6/92

He said the ANC had not set specific deadlines for its mass action campaign. Its alliance partner Cosatu has given the government until the end of June to prepare the ground for the establishment of an interim government or face unprecedented mass action. Cosatu's campaign was agreed to by the ANC and the SA Communist Party before Codesa II and the ANC policy conference last weekend.

FW's sense of humour wins over Japanese

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

TOKYO — President F W de Klerk is making a great impression in Japan, and South Africa is lucky to have him as head of state — that's the official view of the Japanese government.

This praise was provided by Hisao Yamaguchi, a senior director in Tokyo's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yamaguchi, who has sat in on every meeting De Klerk has had in Japan, said: "He is making a great and good impression. He is leaving a very positive impression of South Africa and himself as a person. He is sincere and eloquent."

"We Japanese do not like somebody always preaching their dogma with fist waving, bashing, always criticising, with no ear to different opinions. That does not really appeal to us."

Yamaguchi said that for Japanese people, the ability to make jokes "is really a great thing". It left the impression of dealing with a person with an open mind.

Yamaguchi said the Japanese found De Klerk "not self-important". He was "ready even to ridicule himself".

When people were self-important and tried to convince others of this, Japanese people "shy away from them". "We despise them and do not think they are sophisticated."

President de Klerk's ability to indulge in a bit of gentle leg-pulling left Japanese feeling they were dealing with a man of great internal ability, spiritually and mentally, he added.

● See report Page 3

amiliar? An all-powerful president finally succumbs to pressure from within and without his country, agreeing to hold democratic elections.

He has realised that unless he makes a radical change, internal instability might become uncontrollable and external investment will not be forthcoming.

He will not step down in the interim but will allow other parties to register and organise.

The first step towards a new dispensation is negotiation and the election of a constitution-making body. The deliberations of this body will lead to a national referendum and elections for a new government and political system.

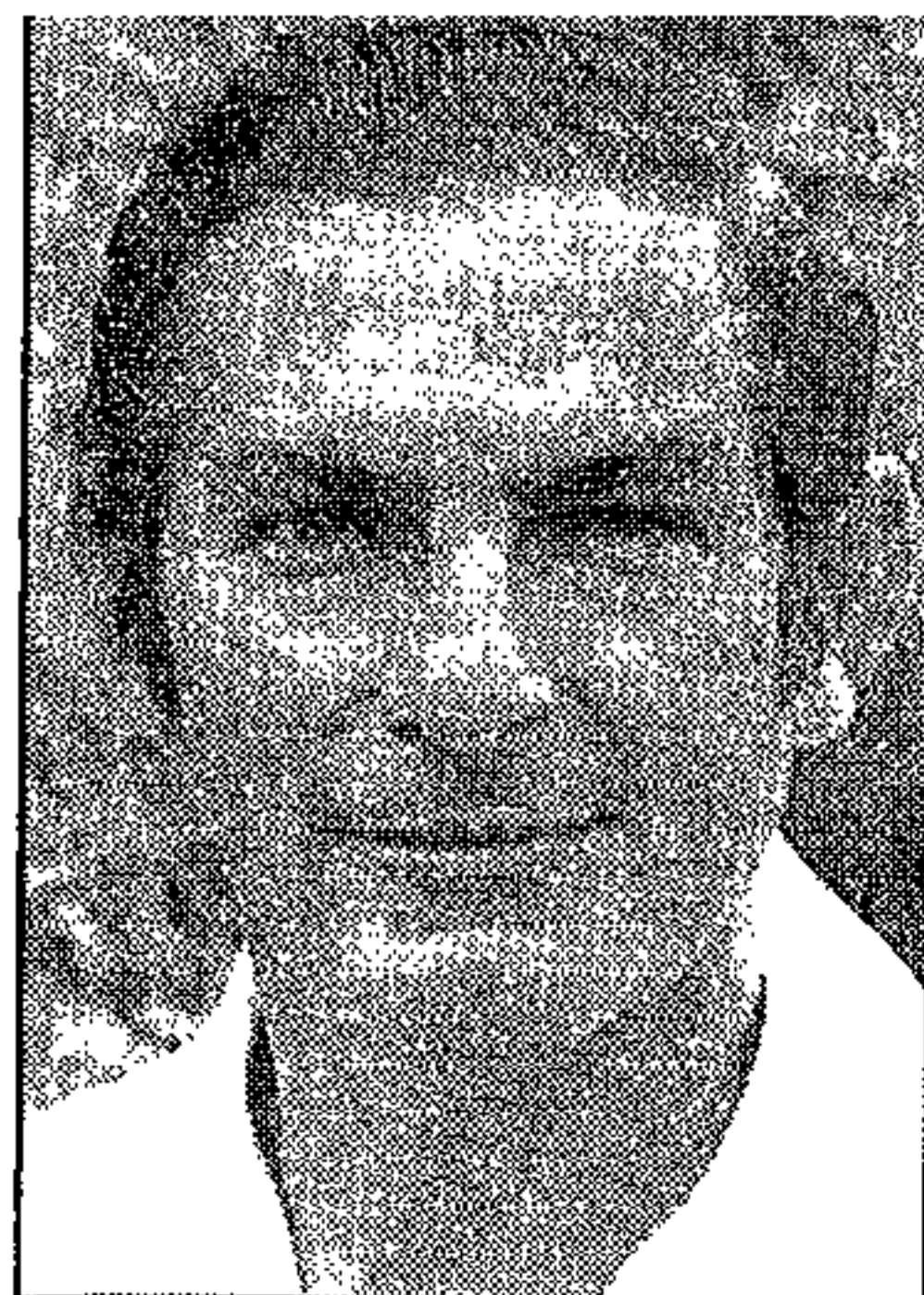
But there are problems. Who should control the process? How long should it take? Will the elections be free and fair? Will he relinquish power if he loses? Meanwhile there are furious debates about control of the media and security forces and use of public funds. Opposition parties want international involvement, the president baulks. And so on.

Parochialism

All of this is taking place in a country in honour of which the term "paradise" should have been coined — Seychelles.

A mere four-hour flight from Jan Smuts Airport, a process with remarkable parallels to our own is unfolding.

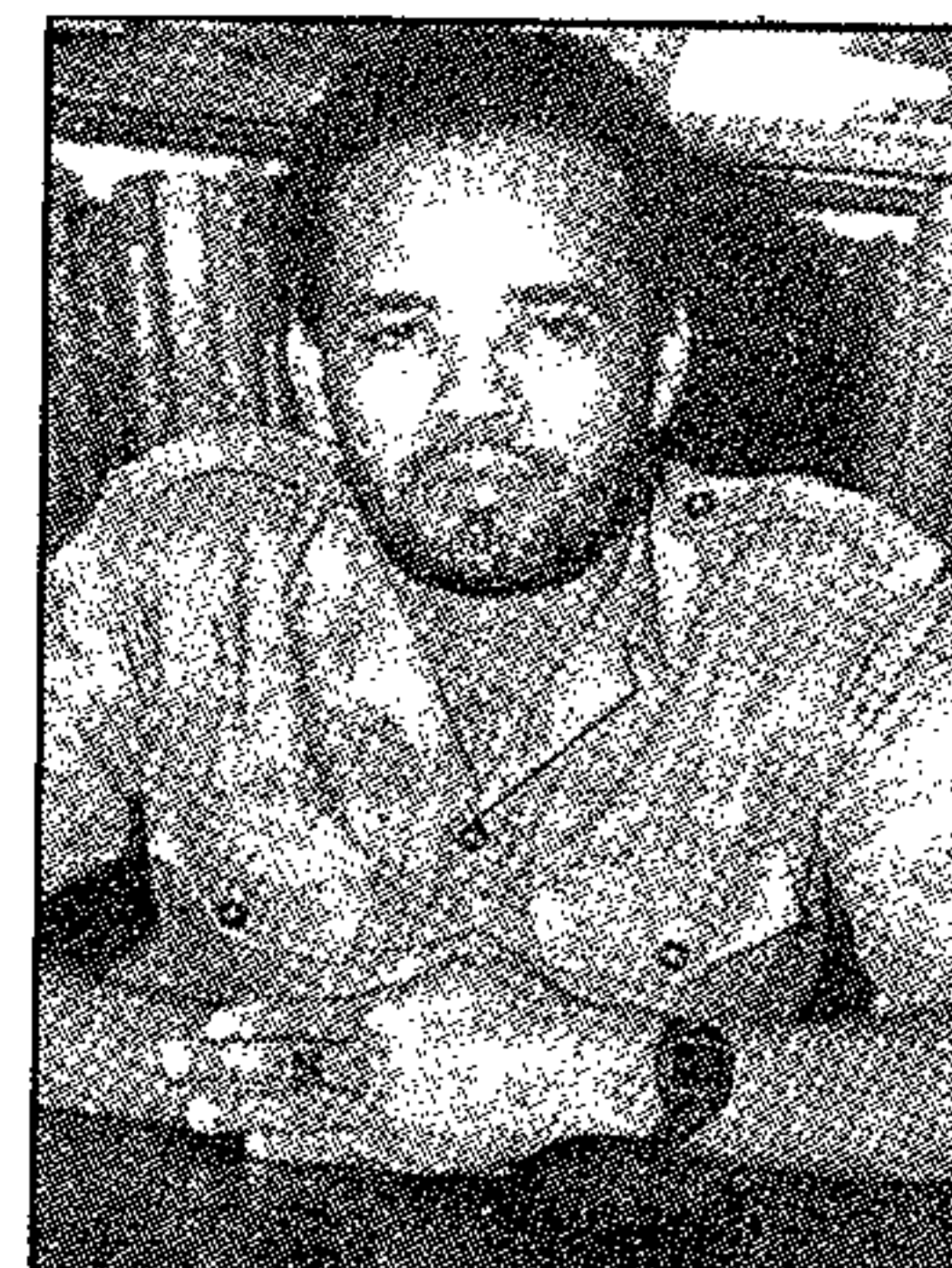
Navel-contemplation has long been a national occupation in South Africa, with events north of the Limpopo impinging about as much as weather fluctuations in the Antarctic. This parochi-



ALBERT RENE: The ideologue who overthrew Mancham.



MANCHAM: The playboy set to return without an agenda.



OGILVY BERLOUIS: Taking the fight to Rene.

SA might learn from Seychelles

STAR 6/6/92

THE islands' move to multiparty politics bears striking similarities to our own situation. SHAUN JOHNSON of the Argus Africa News Service takes a look at the main players and the intrigue unfolding in the Seychelles saga.

alism has been more pronounced since Codesa started up. But the drama about to be played out in a clutch of heart-stoppingly beautiful, nearby islands has practical and principled implications for what is to come here.

We can learn from what happens in Seychelles in the next few weeks. It is a racing certainty that once Seychelles has faced its great change, ties with South Africa will grow.

Seychelles, known to South Africans as a sometime cruise stop-over, target of mercenary buffoonery and a rumoured sanctions-busting conduit, is set to become much more a part of our lives.

However, these are not the only reasons for interest in the island imbroglio. The Seychelles story is so intriguing and exotic that it sounds at times like an implausible film script.

After 15 years of one-party rule under President Albert Rene, the 50 000 Seychellois voters will be confronted at the polls next month by no

fewer than eight party-political choices.

Understandably, much of the world's attention has focused on the return of "playboy president" Sir James Mancham, who was overthrown by Rene — then his prime minister — on June 8 1977.

Seychelles was granted its independence from Britain only a year before, led by Mancham. He became an icon for dreamers around the world, preaching fun above all else.

He said his ideal was to have a young boy playing a guitar under every palm tree, and developed a reputation for womanising.

Mancham was overthrown by Rene while attending a Commonwealth conference. How-

ever, the popularity of Rene, an ideologue who preached a brand of socialism and self-sufficiency, waned as he developed a reputation for suppression of dissenting views, economic ineptitude and overly personalised rule.

Pressure, in particular from the Roman Catholic church, began to grow. But it was the tide of multipartyism sweeping the African continent that eventually forced the change: Rene was told, at last year's Commonwealth summit in Harare, that he had to catch up with history or face life friendless.

His faltering steps toward reintroducing democracy have led to Mancham's curiously brief return, the emergence of other opposition

candidates — and the prospect of a fascinating contest next month.

Mancham, now a British citizen with considerable business interests in Europe, has appeared remarkably indecisive in the run-up to the first round of elections. He spent only two weeks in Seychelles in April, and hinted that he was not entirely enthusiastic about returning to island politics.

His party has yet to issue a formal manifesto.

Rene, his old foe, has exploited this to the full, and seems confident he can once more outwit Mancham.

But as politics seizes the islands as never before, fresh challengers to Rene are emerging.

Among the most interesting is Ogilvy Berlouis, Mancham's minister of defence until September 1986. Berlouis — who, unlike Mancham, never went into exile — has formed the Seychelles Liberal Party, espousing policies very much in tune with the mood of the multipartyism which has seen to the downfall of Zambia's Kenneth

Kaunda and others.

It is Berlouis rather than Mancham who is taking the fight to Rene, using new-found opportunities such as broadcasts on state television to say things to the president which no one has dared mention since 1977. Berlouis has lambasted Rene for corruption and promised a liberalised, prosperous Seychelles.

Berlouis' party is making most of the running in challenging Rene's supervision of the transition process: the referee-and-player debate is being aired in Seychelles with as much vehemence as in South Africa.

Violence, too, is an issue in the Seychelles saga. Opposition politicians fear Rene will provoke clashes in order to declare a state of emergency and call off elections.

Pushing

Observers say the incumbent president's position will be untenable if he loses the first round of elections, and he might be tempted at the last minute not to take the chance.

Consequently, opposition parties — competing but united in their wish to end Rene's rule — are pushing for Commonwealth involvement, especially at election time.

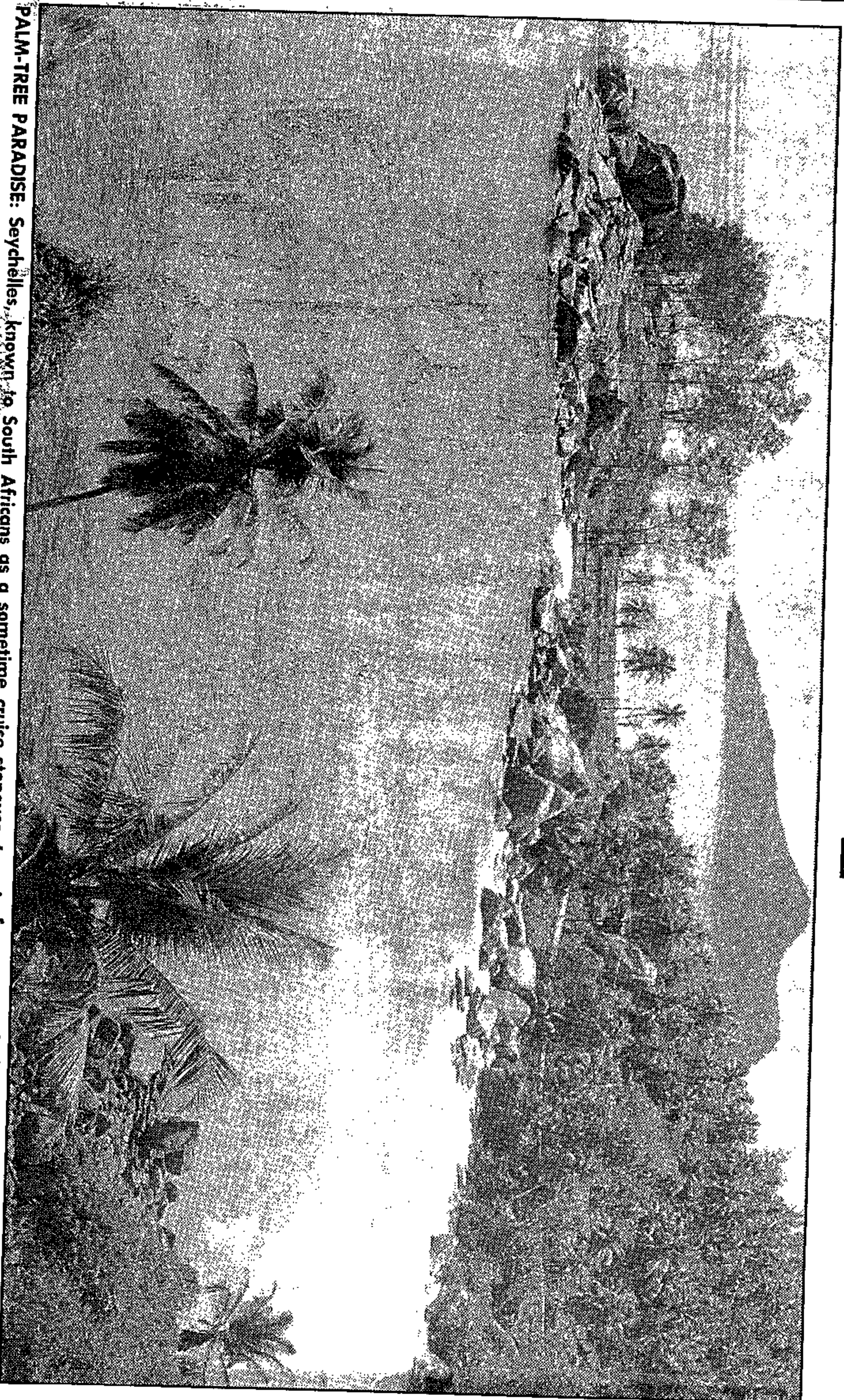
In July, as the ANC deadline arrives in South Africa for the installation of interim rule, Seychellois will be electing a constitutional commission. The man who has ruled for so long and accepted change so reluctantly will be fighting for his political life.

The fraught, uncertain battle for democracy will be a picture-postcard example for South Africa: a parallel in paradise.

STAR 6/6/92

SOCA

Parallels in paradise



PALM-TREE PARADISE: Seychelles, known to South Africans as a sometime cruise stopover, target of mercenary buffoonery and a rumoured sanctions-busting conduit, is set to become much more a part of our lives.

S (304A)
lling out

Hear our cry, Tutu urges whites

LINDA GALLOWAY
Staff Reporter

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu has made an emotional and angry plea to white South Africans to hear the cry of blacks and recognise them "as human beings, not animals".

The Archbishop, Cape Town's mayor Mr. Frank van der Velde, ANC leader Dr. Allan Boesak and a delegation of about 120 clergy and anti-apartheid activists, marched from St. George's Cathedral to parliament yesterday to present a petition after a service for the people who died at Boipatong last week.

The petition was accepted by police Captain J. C. Van der Merwe.

At the service, the Archbishop appealed to whites "to stand up and say this (the Boipatong killings) cannot be done in your name".

Archbishop Tutu challenged President De Klerk to meet

which he would call on South Africa to withdraw, or be suspended, from the Barcelona Olympics.

He demanded those responsible for the massacre be brought to justice, an international peace monitoring force be deployed and multi-party control of the security forces be instituted.

"Those who choose to insulate themselves from the suffering and grief caused by this horrific slaughter must realise they cannot have a Boipatong and Barcelona," he said.

"I hope somehow it will sink into the consciousness of whites that we are human beings, not animals. We are human beings who have feelings, who cry when our children die.

"Please, can you hear our crying for you to recognise that God has given us a land large enough for all of us? We want to share it with you."

The South African government was not the government of black people, and he would denounce President De Klerk "to the world" as a man of no integrity if he did not meet the demands, he said.

"Can you really keep quiet any longer? How much more must still happen before whites say we are ready now? How many more billions must disappear and nobody is accountable?"

6/6/92

(304A)

The critical 24 hour

De Klerk hurries home as the ANC consider pu



Political Correspondents
ESTHER WAUGH and **PETER FABRICIUS** chart the background to a day which is crucial to the future of the whole Codesa process

THE immediate future of negotiations is to be determined within the next 24 hours as the ANC leadership meets today in an emergency national executive meeting to discuss its continued participation in constitutional negotiations.

Meanwhile President de Klerk has curtailed a four-day visit to Spain is hurrying back for a cabinet meeting tomorrow where the Government will discuss a response to latest crisis in negotiations.

Since the announcement on Sunday by ANC leader Nelson Mandela of the suspension of bilateral talks with the Government, increasing calls have been made urging the ANC not to break off constitutional talks.



6/6/92

304A

The ANC national working committee met yesterday in preparation for today's NEC meeting, where the organisation will discuss its options in the wake of the suspension of bilateral talks.

Some senior ANC members said it was not a question of whether the organisation could withdraw from Codesa but how this would be done.

One source said the options included suspending Codesa talks or withdrawing from the negotiation process, but NC spokesman Gill Marcus could not comment on the alternatives open to the organisation, saying that was the reason for an emergency meeting being called.

The Cosatu executive committee also meets today to discuss the deepening crisis in negotiations.

DIPLOMATS were briefed in Pretoria yesterday by senior police officers on their version of events in the Boipatong last week — the massacre which led to the ANC suspending the bilateral talks which were to have taken place today.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night said the Government levelled negotiations were only course that would see peace and progress for the South African.

At Codesa 2 an agreement on a transitional government was reached within our reach. History

HURT: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, centre, with Cape Town's Anglican Dean, the Very Reverend Colin Jones, on his right, walking to parliament to hand over a petition. Cape Town Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde is in the background.

would not forgive us if we were to allow this opportunity for a peaceful settlement to slip away at this crucial stage," he said.

Mr Meyer noted that Mr Mandela suspended bilateral talks because he could no longer explain to his followers why he continued to talk to a government "which is murdering his people".

There were only two conclusions the Government could draw from Mr Mandela's statement: "Either he genuinely believes his accusation to be true or he is strategically using the Boipatong tragedy as an excuse to break off negotiations and to sweep up support for the ANC's campaign of mass action, with the intention of making the country ungovernable and of pursuing the unconstitutional seizure of power".

Mr Meyer said if Mr Mandela believed the accusations, it was essential that the ANC and the Government should meet as soon as possible to discuss and investigate the facts in a responsible way.

"Through such discussions we might remove the obstacles which currently stand in the way of the resumption of constitutional negotiations," he said.

Mr Meyer identified some of the obstacles as the escalating violence, inflammatory statements and unsubstantiated

ed accusations, and the consequences of the ANC's mass action campaign.

"If, on the other hand, Mr Mandela is exploiting the Boipatong tragedy to promote mass action with the purpose of forcing the government and other parties into submission, a meeting is even more urgent and essential."

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit said negotiations between the Government and the ANC would eventually continue whatever happened in the short term.

DR DELPORT was reacting to the news that the ANC yesterday asked five Codesa sub-committees to postpone their work until after today's NEC meeting. The groups agreed to the request.

He said that the latest move would slow down the process and stressed that whatever happened "can only be an interlude".

"We must not deviate from our commitment to negotiations. The ANC knows it and we know it that in the long term there is no alternative."

Dr Delpoit said that the Government would continue with negotiations with whom-ever was ready to talk. Asked

if this meant they would continue without the ANC, he said it would be unwise to speculate because the ANC knew that in the end it could not avoid negotiations.

Dr Delpoit said that as far as he was concerned the important meeting of the Codesa Management Committee on June 29 was still on.

Meanwhile the ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan during the transition. It said the report was based on information "from sources within government circles and the ANC's Intelligence Department".

The report, due to appear in the July issue of the ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye, said the plan was titled "Operation Thunderstorm" and "Operation Springbok".

The ANC said the final aim of the strategy was to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition with, at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok is complex but, simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation

Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake. It is meant to wreak havoc in order to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok," the ANC said.

A senior official of the ANC Intelligence Department said in Mayibuye that the plan involved weakening the ANC so that it was eventually forced into a constitutional coalition.

"At the heart of the plan is the NP goal to be the main partner in a future government, controlling all levers of power — particularly the army, police and intelligence.

"The process of change, according to NP calculations, should be controlled, contained and regulated by the government. This is with the understanding that the status quo, with limited adjustments, would remain intact and protected," the publication said.

THE ANC said Operation Thunderstorm was designed to weaken the organisation physically through violence and create a climate of uncertainty.

The organisation said Operation Thunderstorm was left in the hands of the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI), Mayibuye said.

In another development Lieutenant-General Johan Swart, head of the Internal Stability Unit, told the diplomats that police yesterday detained seven residents of KwaMadala hostel in connection with the Boipatong massacre under the Unrest regulations.

Police later confirmed that two were subsequently released. The others were being held under regulations aimed at preventing suspects from committing violence and for whom arrests could follow.

General Swart said the findings of the police investigation would be referred to the Goldstone Commission into violence and intimidation.

The briefing took place in the face of growing impatience by the international community at the failure of authorities to solve incidents of violence allegedly involving attacks by hostel dwellers on township residents.

Mr Temba Khoza, IFP Transvaal executive member, said yesterday if the ANC did not want to attend Codesa, "let them go to hell".

Mr Khoza criticised the ANC for blaming the Boipatong massacre on his organisation when the investigation had not been completed.

Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

4305

26/9/9

A FEDERAL system of government now seems to be on the cards. And the new South Africa over which it will rule will have a political and geographic profile vastly different from the present one.

Despite dogged opposition from the African National Congress (ANC) and some of its allies, federalism is winning the day, according to constitutional experts.

This appears to be one issue on which the ANC may have to settle for a compromise solution if it is not to lose face — and favour — among some of its friends in South Africa and abroad.

The real issue is power, say the experts. The ANC — whether it admits it or not — seems to be going for centralised power rather than for a system of decentralised power, which would give more autonomy to regional governments.

As one academic lawyer puts it: "They (the ANC) seem to prefer another long hammer from Pretoria to knock every region into shape."

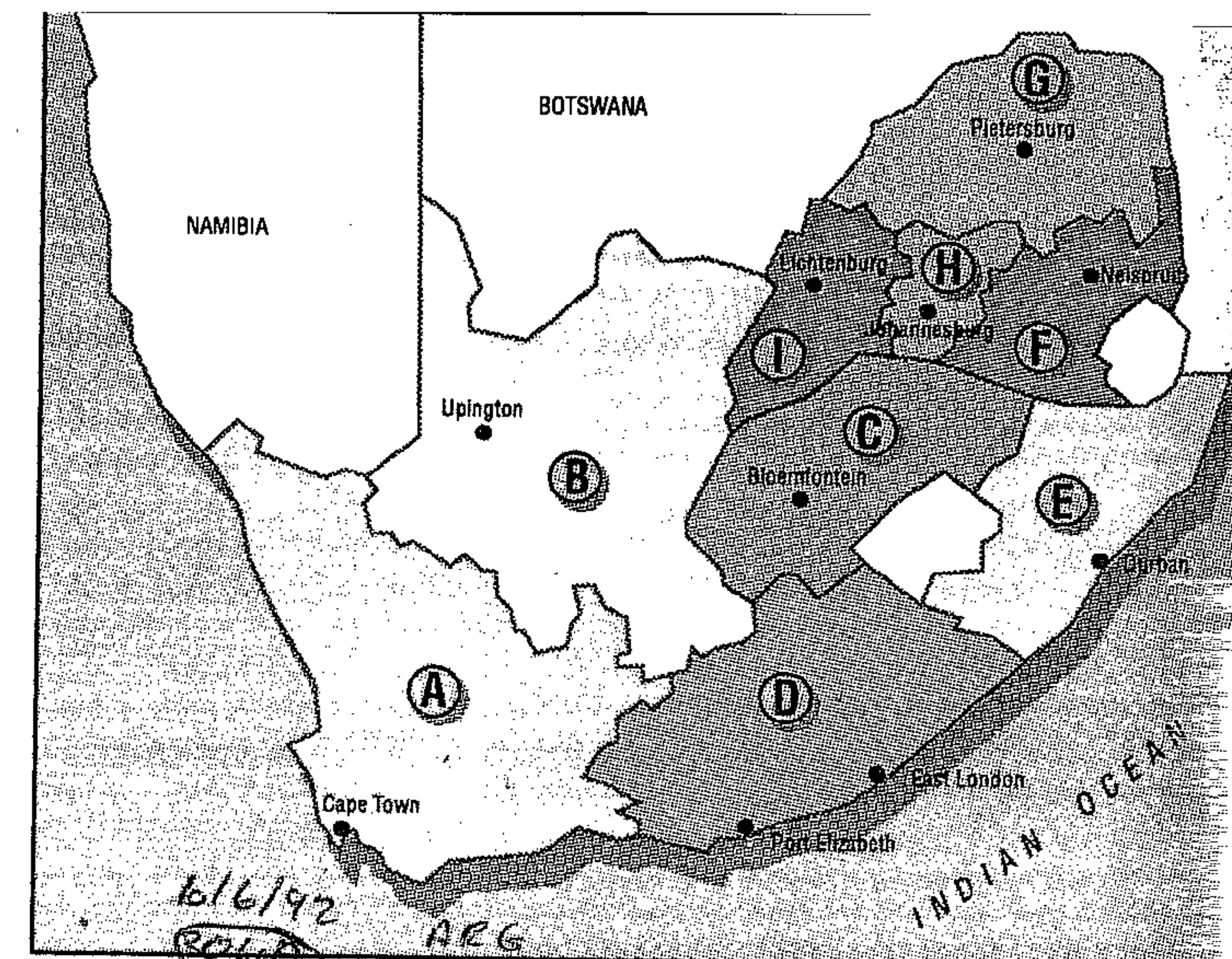
It is argued that centralised power, wielded by a winner-takes-all government, could easily be used to undermine democracy and could lead to corruption and abuses of power. And the ANC's threats of mass action if it does not get its way through negotiation politics hardly promotes the credibility of its claim to stand for democratic government.

Support for a federal system of government has been growing. Opinion-makers across a wide spectrum have backed the idea. A range of academic specialists have recommended it. A majority of the negotiators in Codesa appear to favour federalism.

Strong support for a federal system has come also from the head of a delegation from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Nigerian foreign minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

During the delegation's recent visit to South Africa, he said a federal system would be best for South Africa. It would allow everybody in the country to choose for themselves, and "South Africa's diversity would become its strength and its uniting force."

The government's and the NP's stand on federalism was restated this week by Mr Pik Botha. Speaking as acting



- A** Western Cape
- B** Northern Cape and the districts of Ganyesa, Kudumane and Taung in Bophuthatswana
- C** Orange Free State, Qwaqwa, as well as the Thaba'Nchu district of Bophuthatswana
- D** Eastern Cape/Border, Ciskei and Southern Transkei
- E** Natal, Kwazulu and Northern Transkei
- F** Eastern Transvaal, Kangwane and part of the Simdlangentsha district of Kwazulu
- G** Northern Transvaal, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda
- H** PWV area, Moutse, Kwandebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele 1 districts of Bophuthatswana
- I** Western Transvaal and the rest of Bophuthatswana, (Molopo, Ditsobotla, Lehurutshe, Madikwe, Mankwe, Bafokeng)

☐ **THE PLAN:** This is the basic plan which provides the building blocks for a new South Africa.

state president, he said the government's aim was a "federal democracy".

The government regards a federal system — with power-sharing — as the most suitable model to meet the needs and aspirations of all South Africans — "it is a constitutional model which takes government to the people."

The Democratic Party envisages a federal system with eight to 12 states, a two-chamber parliament, and a rigid constitution. The DP argues that "the people must

govern" and that federalism enables more people to participate.

Federalism distributes power, is a defence against tyranny, and accommodates pluralism, says the DP.

A magazine survey has shown that most of the homeland leaders support the idea of a federal system with strong regional structures.

Prominent academic authorities on constitutional law and politics — both inside and outside South Africa — have recommended a federal

system of government for this country.

One of them, American political specialist and author Professor Donald L Horowitz, says in a recent book entitled *A Democratic South Africa?* that a federal system with a president directly elected by the whole population could prevent racial and ethnic exclusivity in a future South Africa.

Political scientist Professor Pierre du Toit, of the University of Stellenbosch, believes the federal idea is

Shape of thin

as to come?

30449

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winning and South Africa would eventually settle for such a system of government.

"The ANC, with its opposition to a federation, seems to be virtually the odd man out in Codesa. There is clearly a comfortable majority favouring a federal system."

This assessment is confirmed by South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman who has noted that 11 of the 19 delegations in Codesa are in favour of federalism.

However, although it has been agreed that the future South Africa would be based on regionalism, one of the key issues that split Codesa was that of the division of power between the regions and the centre.

There is no quick fix, says Mr Kane-Berman. The hitherto insoluble clash seems to have been between those who felt the powers of the majority government would be too limited, too hedged in with checks and balances, and those who feared "the tyranny of the majority".

The ANC, in fact, has pushed for strong central government. In the words of an ANC constitutional policy-maker Mr Zola Skweyiya: "We reject federalism and decentralisation as a strategy to retain privilege."

Yet one of South Africa's top constitutional lawyers, Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa, said there was much good sense in the idea of a South African federation — "not to divide and rule, but to give full form to regional autonomy."

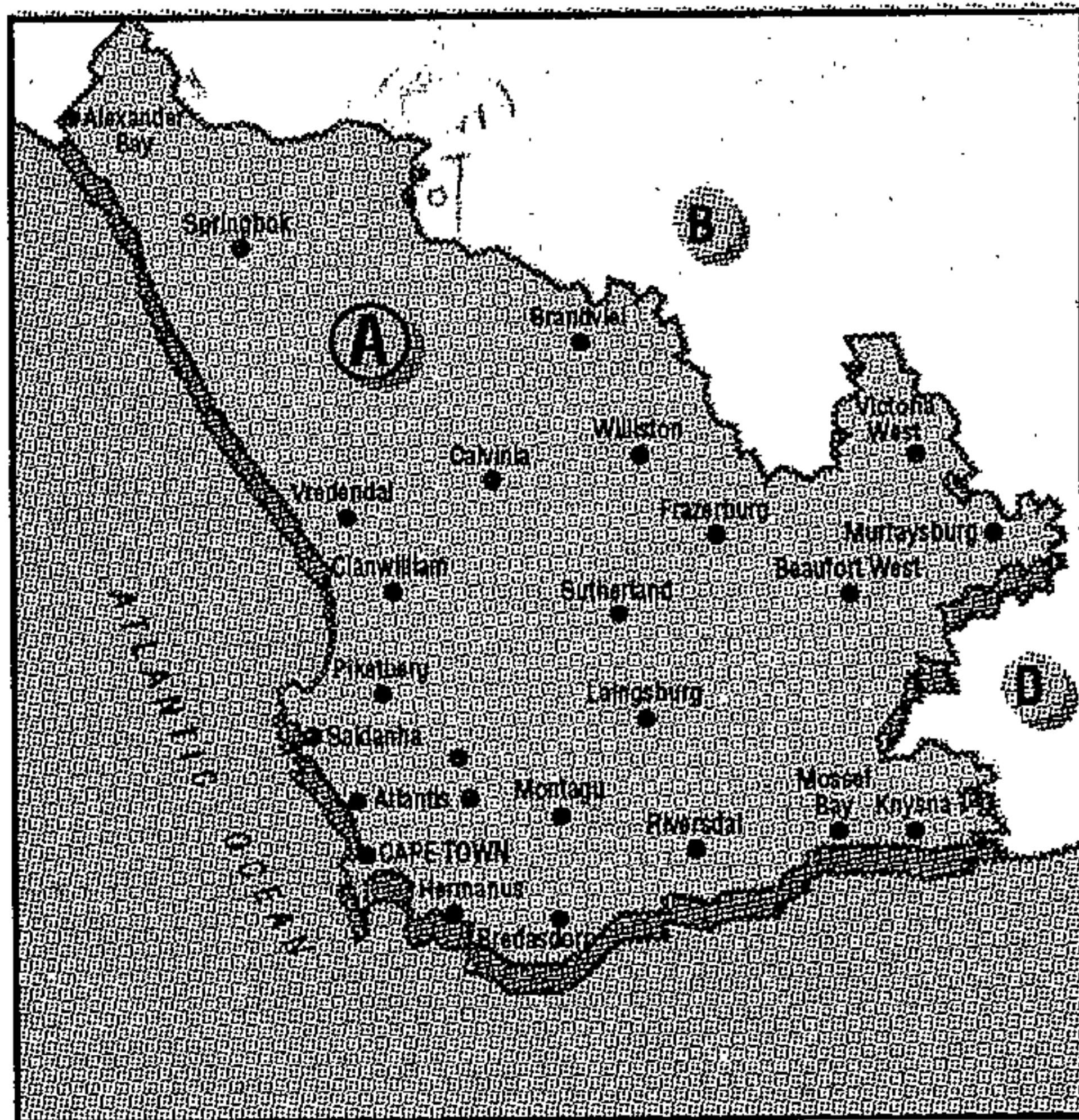
In the classical concept of federation, he said, there would no place for racial separation and even less room for racial domination.

What would a South African federation look like? One thing seems certain: The map of the new South Africa would be very different from the present republic with its four provinces and adjoining black "homelands".

A basic blueprint, dividing South Africa (including the homelands) into nine economic development regions, is already in existence. Prepared by experts, it has been published by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) as a basis for future planning.

This is the plan on which the constitution for a federal "new South Africa" is most likely to be built. In fact, key elements of the economic blueprint are already includ-

A majority at Codesa favours federal system



Map: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

□ **WESTERN CAPE:** The boundaries of the Western Cape.

ed in the constitutional proposals of the main political groupings, notably the NP, the ANC and the DP.

A big advantage of the DBSA blueprint is that it gets away from race and ethnicity as a yardstick in planning. Instead, it makes economic development the guideline. By doing this it breaks out of the straightjacket of failed "grand apartheid" thinking.

It is expected, therefore, that the proposed economic development regions could at least form a starting point for drawing the political map of the new South Africa.

The NP's constitutional plan closely follows the economic development plan with its nine regions.

The ANC has added another region, making a total of ten regions by including an extra one in the eastern Cape — a region comprising the Ciskei and Transkei. However, an important difference in the ANC's plan, as interpreted by analysts, is that it does not want to be a federal system and, therefore, its regions would not have full autonomy and would continue to be dominated by a central

government. Pretoria — if it is to remain the capital city — would be likely to call the tune for all the ANC's regions.

The DP's plan provides for eight to 12 regions in a federation, but is less clear when it comes to proposing boundaries for individual regions.

The basic economic blueprint, therefore, is but the beginning. In the ensuing bargaining process at the negotiating table, the initial building blocks could be swapped for others, parts of existing regions could be exchanged or enlarged or reduced; boundaries could be redrawn.

In Bophuthatswana and the Western Transvaal, for example, an initiative already has been launched to seek — by negotiation in Codesa — an extension of the proposed Region J (in the economic blueprint) to include parts of the northern Cape. This plan may even link up, in some way or another, with the concept of an Afrikaner homeland as envisaged by Professor Carel Boshoff.

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3040

Momberg: Mistake to identify DP members

(304A) CT 6/6/92

SIMON'S TOWN MP Mr Jannie Momberg said in a statement yesterday it had been a mistake for him to identify the 12 DP caucus members who he claimed had a "special bond" with the ANC.

Meanwhile, the ANC said yesterday it was planning to take mass action next week to focus attention on the "unjustified kangaroo-court style expulsion" from Parliament of ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck.

Mr Momberg's apology came after he said at a meeting in Fish Hoek this week that the 12 MPs had held a series of meetings about a "new position" for the DP in the political spectrum since March 1991.

The group comprised himself, Mr Van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Rob Haswell, Mr Pierre Cronje — now all ANC members — as well as the late Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr Eddie Trent, Mr Kobus Jordaan, Mr Wessel Nel, Mr Geoff Engel and Mr Andre de Wet.

He said: "With hindsight, I believe it was a mistake to mention them by name without prior consultation or their consent."

He said that at the time of the



ALL ANC . . . ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Alan Boesak (right) greets Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg yesterday. With them are (left) Mr Reggie September and Mr Jan van Eck.

group's meetings all the DP members were "nothing but loyal members of the DP concerned about the future of their country".

ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak yesterday said the organisation was outraged at Mr Van Eck's expulsion from Parliament, which it

regarded as a "travesty of justice".

"The NP has shed the last bit of credibility by this action. We are outraged in the manner in which the expulsion took place," he said.

The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement has sent a message to the ANC expressing its outrage.

US conference gets ANC snub

304.8
APR 6/6/92

Federal system for SA mooted

HUGH ROBERTON

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The ANC has failed to send a delegate to one of the biggest conferences on South Africa organised in the United States — after accepting an invitation and assuring organisers that a top Codesa negotiator would take part.

His failure to arrive was seen by some as a deliberate snub, but ANC officials were unable to say why he was absent.

According to conference sources, the ANC representative was Mr Valli Moosa, — an influential member of the ANC's Codesa team. But no apology or explanation was offered for his failure to show up. The ANC was the only major group from South Africa which was not represented.

Even Azapo, which has misgivings about the Codesa negotiations, sent a delegate. Among others present were the chief National Party negotiator in Codesa, Mr Tertius Delpert; the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin; two members of the South African Community Party's central committee and members of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The conference was attended by more than 150 South Africans and Americans — academics, judges, economists, lawyers and constitutional experts. It was aimed at examining the American constitutional experience and its relevance to South Africa's search for a new constitution.

It was organised by the American University, a distinguished Washington institution. The sponsors were the University of the North at Turfloop, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Justice and Peace, and the International Human Rights Law Group.

Speculation at the conference was that the ANC wished to indicate its dislike of the federal concept being pressed for in Codesa. But a polite refusal to attend would have sufficed to make such a point. Instead, conference sources say, they were led to believe right up to the last minute that Mr Moosa was on his way and had inexplicably been delayed.

In the meanwhile, US sources confirmed today that 11 members of the ANC constitution-drafting committee had accepted a US government invitation to study the federal structure of the US constitution.

Mr Moosa apparently is not among the 11.

The day Vlok asked rebel MP for some help

TED MAGILL
Weekend Argus Reporter

FORMER Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok once asked suspended MP Jan van Eck to draft Mr Vlok's response to questions Mr Van Eck had asked him in parliament — and then read the statement in parliament as his own.

Mr Vlok read Mr Van Eck's "reply" when he was forced to withdraw statements he had made in parliament in response to Mr Van Eck's questions.

He had suggested that Mr Van Eck's presence in Khayelitsha in November 1990 — which resulted in his arrest — might have provoked violence in the township.

His statements were stated by the Democratic Party, to which Mr Van Eck then belonged, as "unmannerly and abusive".

Mr Van Eck, now an ANC member, told Weekend Argus how this extraordinary incident took place.

"I had three one-hour meet-

ings with Mr Vlok, who was obviously trying to pacify us, without losing too much face himself," said Mr Van Eck.

"He refused to remove the claims that I was addressing a growing crowd" and after I rejected two drafts of his retraction, he said: 'Jan, you take the questions home and work out an answer you can live with — then I'll see if my men can live with it'.

"I then wrote a truthful reply. A senior police official in-

terrupted a DP caucus meeting later to ask me to check the draft. R29 6/6/92

In retracting, Mr Vlok said his statement (that Mr Van Eck was arrested for addressing a growing crowd of 100 people), was "based on the subjective opinion of the officer in charge". He also said that if his answer to parliament (on February 12, 1991) had left the impression that Mr Van Eck was involved in or responsible for a stone throwing, "it is not correct".

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Bonny Bird fights for single-sex farm hostel

VUSI KAMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

BONNY Bird Farms in the Strand has denied it is a breach of contract to ask workers to move into single-sex hostels where they would not be allowed to stay with their families.

Lawyers for Human Rights, who represent the workers, maintained that the employees' contract included fully subsidised accommodation at Lwandle Hostel near the Strand, where they could live with their families.

The company had stated that the workers would not be allowed to move with their families into Temperance Farm near Gordon's Bay, where they had been supposed to live since Monday.

The company said the women and children would be arrested for trespassing if they joined their husbands at the farm.

Lawyers for Human Rights claimed that the company management said the workers' wives and children would introduce diseases to the farm.

Bonny Bird Farms decided to halt the move, pending negotiations between the company and LHR, held throughout the past week.

More meetings will be held next week.

Mr John Maldune of Bonny Bird said yesterday the matter had been "resolved".

He refused to comment on the LHR statement.

The lawyers, acting on behalf of the Farmworkers' Support Committee, who represent the workers, had threatened legal action if the company went ahead with the removal of workers to Temperance Farm against their will.

"The provision of family unit accommodation at the Lwandle Hostel is a benefit of the employment contract," a spokesman for the LHR said.

The employees' contract included "fully subsidised accommodation at Lwandle Hostel, together with paid transport to and from (Temperance Farm) on daily basis".

Two guilty of widow's murder

DURBAN. — A couple who broke into the home of a widowed Pinetown woman and stabbed her 39 times before ransacking her home, have been found guilty in the Durban Supreme Court of murder.

Mrs Violet West was found murdered in her Padfield Park home on March 28.

The court yesterday found Nokuthula Gumede and Madoda Mchunu planned the robbery and went to Mrs West's home with the intention of "eliminating" her.

Mr Justice Broome will pass sentence on Monday. — Sapa.

PARLIAMENT

Dalling opposes anti-demo bill

THE Democratic Party and the ANC-aligned independents rejected the Gatherings and Demonstrations in or near the Union Buildings Bill yesterday, saying it was an infringement of the right to protest peacefully.

In the second reading debate on the Bill, Mr Dave Dalling (Ind, Sandton) said the Union Buildings were a perfect place for people to bring their problems to the attention of the government.

Freedom of association was a right as long as the gathering was a peaceful one and the Bill infringed on this right.

The legislation gave the state blanket control at the Union Buildings.

Legislation on protests was piecemeal and confusing and it should be encompassed in one act.

Mr Douglas Gibson (DP, Yeoville) said no previous demonstrations at the Union Buildings had posed a threat to a head of state.

Deputy Minister of Justice Mr Danie Schutte said the Bill was not an imposition on freedom of speech or assembly. He said the area around the Union Buildings affected by the Bill was small.

"The Union Buildings is the office of the State President, the highest authority of the country. The same considerations that apply to the legislators of the land (parliament) should apply to him."

Public protest was not affected by the Bill. — Sapa

Body reports on land use

THE Advisory Commission on Land Allocation has identified undeveloped state-owned land for agriculture and residential use on which it will soon make recommendations, according to its report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The seven-member commission, chaired by Mr Justice T H van Reenen, was appointed in terms of the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Act last year.

Seven applications for restitution of land were received by the commission. All are under investigation.

These include a request for restoration by a Ladysmith community in respect of Roosboom farm and an application from the Doornkop, Botshabelo and Malapong Committee for restitution of the farm Doornkop 246 JS in Middelburg, Transvaal.

Farm labour debated

LABOUR relations pioneered the breakthrough to negotiations in South Africa, Minister of Manpower Mr Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Replying to debate on the second reading of the Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Bill, he said the government would not allow a wedge to be driven between itself and the farming community.

In the debate on the Bill, Mr Willem Botha (CP, Uitenhage) said labour relations between employee and employer in agriculture were healthy. The farmer had always taken good care of his workers without being obliged to do so by law.

Mr Robin Carlisle (DP, Wynberg) said: "The Bill is largely fair to farming employers. They have little cause for complaint." — Sapa.

New measure for A-Gs

MINISTER of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday, introducing the second reading debate on the Attorney-General Bill, that at present attorneys-general did not function completely outside the executive authority.

It had, however, been the convention that the Minister of Justice did not interfere with their decisions.

The Bill provided for the appointment by the State President of people with at least 10 years' legal experience from outside the civil service as attorneys-general. And, it provided that AGs could be discharged only by a decision of Parliament. — Sapa.

Apartheid not dead yet, warns The Economist

GARNER THOMSON

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

(304A)

FRAG 6/6/92

LONDON. — Apartheid is not dead yet, and there is a growing danger that an opportunity to kill it cleanly will slip away.

This is the opinion of The Economist whose report this week on South Africa's deadlocked peace negotiations goes on to warn that while "classic apartheid" is unlikely to be revived, there is a danger of a slip away from the "last rites" on apartheid — the formal transfer of political power and the turning of South Africa into a proper democracy.

The magazine reports that only details separate President F W de Klerk and African National Congress President Nelson Mandela. But "at some point details gang up into something substantive".

Mr Mandela wants an early interim government, while Mr De Klerk wants guarantees for the country's minorities.

But, The Economist points out, in the end, all democracies "submit to the tyranny of arithmetic".

"No democracy worth the name can make it constitutionally impossible for the blacks to impose on the smaller groups. Yet that is the impossibility Mr De Klerk is trying to achieve...and some of his demands amount to 'a blueprint for paralysis, not power-sharing'."

All the features Mr De Klerk is trying to insert into the final constitution and the assembly that was supposed to draw it up create the prospect for a "prolonged and bad-tempered impasse".

Trust between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela is ebbing away, the magazine warns. "South Africa needs government and for a government to be credible, it will have to be predominantly black.

"Until he accepts that, Mr De Klerk will be celebrating the abolition of apartheid before he has finished the job," the magazine says.

Slabbert: 10 years to democracy

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The dynamics of the transition process might trigger undemocratic options while democracy itself is at least 10 years away, believes Idasa director Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

Nationalist Party politicians, on the other hand, envisage a period of authoritarian rule until the end of the decade.

Dr Slabbert, interviewed for a 10-page supplement on South Africa in

London's influential Financial Times yesterday, said there was "nothing inevitable" about a democratic outcome to transition.

"I think we have the capacity to become democratic, but I have to be very frank, I cannot see us approaching it within the next 10 years... The dynamics of the transition process may precipitate undemocratic options," he said.

In the lead article in which Dr Slabbert's comments appear, writer Ms

Pati Waldmeir concludes that the economic growth so crucial to stability will continue to be sabotaged by political upheaval.

● Sapa reports from Tokyo that the survey also said that senior NP officials had admitted privately that they envisaged a period of authoritarian rule in South Africa until the end of the decade.

Ms Waldmeir said this would be imposed in the interests of stability and economic growth.

"And the ANC worried about its ability to control its own constituents, seems likely to agree."

She said neither the ANC nor the NP could run South Africa on their own. Sooner or later they would strike a deal.

"What is not certain is whether it will be a fully democratic deal."

There was no immediate comment from President F W de Klerk, who is in the closing stages of his visit to Japan. — Sapa



Time for vision, not a battle for the trough

304A
[initials]

STimes 7/6/92

THE tragi-comic processes of Codesa have shown that neither white South Africans, whose experience of democracy is generally limited to a manipulative racial oligarchy, nor black South Africans, whose past is quite barren of democratic experience, are able to rise above their past.

A great opportunity to create a liberal democracy lies before us. It is being squandered in power struggles, not because of malice but because of a general ignorance of the basic tenets of a democratic society.

The ANC is gradually coming around to an acceptance of the need for investment, business and even certain forms of private property, but its economic policy, as spelled out a week ago, still rests on a simple belief: "They have it and we want it."

This demands, of course, a political system that will enable the ANC to "take it". Or to tax it, spend it, distribute it, and control it. If the ANC cannot have outright socialism then at least it wants a free hand to direct and manipulate the resources of the country as, from time to time, takes its fancy.

In other words, it wants to run the country as the Nationalists have been running it: a powerful central government, tightly controlled, and unfettered by too many checks and balances, to dispense patronage to its supporters through a nepotistic bureaucracy.

Indeed, the ANC's political strategy mimics the strategy used by the Nationalists for more than 40 years: just as the Nats could ensure an automatic and permanent majority by dividing the white electorate on language lines, so the ANC can ensure an automatic majority if it divides the population on racial lines — hence the constant harping on "white" privilege and "white" wealth.

The mere suggestion of an effective federal system elicits from the ANC the cry that it would perpetuate apartheid. The accusation is utter nonsense: in Germany, the federal system has provided a mechanism for the equalisation of wealth between the regions (Länder), just as in the United States it has pro-

vided a mechanism for the equalisation of individual rights in the states.

The Nationalists understand very well the ANC's lusts. They, after all, have their snouts in the trough; they know what power is worth in hard cash. Lately, indeed, a mood of "the end of the empire" seems to have taken hold among the mandarins, which would explain the almost desperate levels of looting that are uncovered week after week, but the politicians are still fighting to retain power.

The ANC suspects, with some reason, that the government is simply trying to draw it into a joint administration — an interim government — in which the National Party would have the ability to prevent constitutional progress more or less indefinitely. Democracy would never arrive, and the ANC leadership would simply be bought off by sharing the spoils of office.

The ANC, unlike some of the more ambitious members of the Democratic Party, finds this prospect of junior partnership at the trough unattractive; it wants the whole hog. The result is, inevitably, a looming power struggle in which the ANC will fall back on rolling mass action to keep South Africa, and its economy, destabilised.

TO say that the National Party relished the prospect would be to exaggerate but it is true that the party, imbued with a spirit of triumphalism since its convincing referendum victory and its overseas successes, does not flinch. It sees the ANC isolated internationally by its foolish adherence to socialist fantasy and weakened at home by schisms between the unionised labour elite and the unemployed masses.

Anyway, the government will not permit itself to be defeated in the streets.

So the fight is on. It would be silly to try to predict the course of battles yet to begin, but there is obviously a risk that the over-stretched police will, sooner or later, be caught in a position of using firearms against a crowd — on camera. The ANC's higher echelons

may be sanctimoniously horrified by the prospect of a massacre, but at the street level there is, one suspects, less squeamishness.

Those who hope for an economic revival in the next year, for a resumption of home-building, or for a successful expansion of the work of the peace commission must blanch when they consider the near future. The question is what can be done about it?

AT the risk of exciting again the quivering egos of those DP members who see their party simply as a stepping stone to greater things, I repeat a view that I held when the Progressive Federal Party made its expedient and ill-judged decision to go into alliance with Dr Wimpie de Klerk (who fled back to the Nats), Mr Wynand Malan (who just fled) and Mr Jannie Mornberg (who has gone to the ANC, taking Mr David Dalling with him).

In this country, only the old "Progs" have preserved sufficient familiarity with the basic tenets of democracy, and sufficient integrity in public life, to serve as the catalyst for the making of a democratic state. Only they can raise, and answer, questions such as: "What is the proper limit to the power of the central government?"

At Codesa, the DP leaders have done sterling work, more or less universally acknowledged, as marriage brokers between the ANC and the National Party. That is no doubt a worthy cause and it will deserve a kind footnote in the history books. But a better cause would be to devise, defend and propagate a vision of a truly democratic South Africa in which every individual has a chance to fulfil his potential.

The ordinary people of the country are aching for such a vision of the future that does not make them the pawns of government, or the raw material of social planners. This is the time for the DP to articulate such a vision, and to take it directly to the people.

KEN OWEN

CODESA should stop splitting hairs and jockeying for position when people were dying and the country was being asphyxiated, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, said on Friday.

Addressing a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral organised for the National Day of Prayer and Healing, he said for the sake of everyone and the country a widely accepted interim government should be installed as a matter of extreme urgency.

"Let a democratically elected constituent assembly get down to the business of drawing up a constitution so that we

Tutu condemns violence



MAN OF PEACE ...
"All are precious."

can have a popularly elected government in office for the new democratic SA."

Press 7/6/92
Archbishop Tutu called on political leaders to hold joint peace rallies and condemn violence unequivocally to demonstrate their commitment to peace.

He appealed to young people in the black community not to degrade themselves by being involved in undisciplined action.

Archbishop Tutu said people were not really surprised by the revelations of corruption and inefficiency, or by hit squads and assassinations of political opponents.

"We call on the government to act far more

speedily to bring all the culprits to book."

The government could end the violence if it wanted to. "We have no doubt that if whites were being killed then we would see just how effectively the government can act.

"The violence is doing nobody any good. It is ultimately going to destroy our country."

Archbishop Tutu also called on the government to "produce a police force that enjoys the confidence of the policed".

The country was being wracked by violence that was plaguing especially

the black community, a devastating drought that was exacerbating the country's economic woes, and an "enduring" recession.

"We have gathered to pray for the blessings that will end our woes, so that our society may be more caring, more compassionate, more sharing so that we may proclaim in word and deed that each person is of equal, infinite worth because each one is precious to God the Father who created each one of us in His image," Archbishop Tutu told the congregation. — Sapa

THEMBA KHUMALO

Codesa 3 better deliver the goods - Cosatu

Government should use Codesa 3 as a platform to push the workers of this country to the limit. He said next month national strikes, non-payment of taxes and huge demonstrations of an unprecedented nature "if the government continues to play games at Codesa 3".

He said instead of State President F.W. de Klerk "winning and dining in Japan and lending our monies to the Russians, he should be meeting with us here to create a climate conducive to foreign investment".

He slammed the big business and the white liberal press for criticising the planned mass action without offering alternatives to the suffering of blacks.

Naidoo said the government had recently allocated R1-billion for the relief of white farmers in drought-stricken areas, but black farmers would only be given two percent of this.

He dismissed the government's threat that it would "meet mass action with the laws of apartheid" and said: "The laws of apartheid have long lost credibility among the people. De Klerk can continue to threaten us but we will press ahead with our actions."

He said Cosatu expected Codesa 3 would agree to the formation of an interim government that would appoint a sovereign constitution-making body. The state media, especially the SABC, should fall under the control of an independent structure while the

He echoed the ANC's call for the public investigation and prosecution of all police and SADF officers implicated in the township violence and government officials named in recent corruption revelations.

security forces should be controlled by democratically elected structures.

Bearhugs for FW, but a bare bowl in Japan

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk stood in the middle of Moscow's Red Square on Monday, the South African flag fluttering perkily above the Kremlin, and announced: Communism is dead in Russia.

Those with him on his eight-day trip to Russia, Japan and Singapore could not miss the irony.

The message for those at home was clear: the president had come to Moscow, the former ally and ideological home of the ANC and the SACP, had seen President Boris Yeltsin and had conquered the *root gezaar*.

Once again Mr De Klerk proved the statesman. He was received warmly by heads of government and came across as confident and likeable, a leader to be trusted.

Had the success of the trip as a whole rested on political point-scoring, he would have returned home flushed with victory. But the material gains were slight. Karl Marx got one thing right — economics is the basis of politics.

In terms of the newly announced treaties between Russia and South Africa, an aviation treaty will be signed soon. But,

as one South African official remarked, South Africa would see little need to fly direct to Moscow for some time yet.

A trade agreement would be signed when Finance Minister Derek Keys visited Moscow in the next month. Mr De Klerk summed up its significance: "I am not advocating an over-hasty storming into Russia in any way whatever."

Blessing

The real test for Mr De Klerk came in Japan. He spelt out his aims en route to Tokyo: South Africa's return to the international community with no restrictions, establishing further business ties with Japan and instilling confidence to draw the substantial investment needed to create jobs.

For his first two objectives, Mr De Klerk was given Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's political blessing at their meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Miyazawa told Mr De Klerk that all obstacles preventing normalised relations had now been removed. The Japanese government also planned to encourage vigorous participation by business in

South Africa. Japan is South Africa's third-biggest trading partner, with trade for 1990 exceeding R7.5-billion. Japan had placed a \$4-billion-a-year ceiling on trade with South Africa in 1988, but quietly lifted the ban early last year. Last October Japan lifted economic sanctions.

Mr Miyazawa said he expected Mr De Klerk's visit to prompt a surge in economic commitment.

But on the last count — instilling the confidence needed for Japanese investment — Mr De Klerk could not hope to succeed.

Spiralling violence, the Codesa deadlock, threatened mass action and civil unrest, and the ANC's prohibitive investment policy could only confirm to Japanese investors that their caution was justified.

The certainty of failure must have been uppermost in Mr De Klerk's mind when he cautioned that he did not expect Japanese capital to flow suddenly into South Africa. Building confidence was his main aim.

Economic growth was the key to South Africa's survival and the only hope of

salvation for the region, which was dying of AIDS, poverty and famine, he told businessmen.

South Africa could provide the stable gateway to the rest of southern Africa, an enormous market.

Mr De Klerk assured businessmen that the government would not settle for a constitution that did not guarantee stability and political and economic standards.

Resources

But an editorial in the *Maimichi Daily News* spelt out the bottom line for Japanese investors.

"Closer economic ties with Pretoria are also in Japan's interest, given its rich rare metal resources and its place as the core of economic development in southern Africa at large.

"But domestic stability in South Africa must come first through the complete liquidation of apartheid, the birth of a new state based on the reconciliation of all races, the raising of the standard of living for black and other coloured citizens, and the lowering of gaps between them and the whites in many sectors."

So Mr De Klerk came away essentially empty-handed.

MP Dave dallies over the economy — with a poem!

S/ Times 7/6/92

(304A)

By CHARIS PERKINS

WHEN angry Sandton businessmen challenged maverick member of parliament Dave Dalling this week to explain why he had joined the ANC, he turned to poetry.

And when they asked him how business would be affected by the ANC's economic policies, he did not know.

Mr Dalling, elected to represent Sandton when he was a member of the Democratic Party, told a meeting of the Sandton Business Chamber that his conversion to the ANC began when he attended a funeral for 17 youths slain in violence in the neighbouring black township of Alexandra in 1986.

This life-changing experience inspired him to write a 10-page poem called *Reflections of a White Man Attending a Black Funeral*.

This week he solemnly read it out to nearly 100 hard-nosed businessmen who had come to the meeting to confront their MP with questions that demanded straight answers.

They listened incredulously as Mr Dalling recited his verse, ending:

"And so, back in Sandton / I look to the sky / It is the same sky / which covers Alex / And yet / We are worlds apart."

"It cannot last."

After the poem Mr Dalling launched into a political speech condemning the National Party and eulogising the ANC. This was not what the businessmen had come for.

Ludicrous

The meeting's agenda asked Mr Dalling to explain why he had joined the ANC and to explain its economic policy. The president of the Sandton Chamber, Mr George de Pontes, interrupted Mr Dalling halfway through his speech by grabbing his microphone.

"I've waited for long enough," he snapped. "Stick to the agenda. This is not a political platform. We want you to explain how business would be affected by the ANC's economic policies."

Mr Dalling refused.

"It's ludicrous to invite a politician and not allow him to talk politics," he said. "It is my right to finish my speech whether you like it or not."

The businessmen were unimpressed and the meeting collapsed into chaos as they shouted insults.

One called Mr Dalling "a fraud and a cheat".

"You never asked us what we thought when you joined the ANC," he said.

Not one person defended Mr Dalling.

Even ANC international relations chief Thabo Mbeki would not come to his rescue. When asked by Mr Dalling to explain ANC economic policy to the

audience, he refused.

"Mr Dalling was invited. He must answer the questions. If there are some he cannot, that is his business," said Mr Mbeki, who was sitting quietly at the back of the Sandown Primary School hall, with ANC sports supremo Steve Tshwete.

An embarrassed Mr Dalling responded: "That's not much help, is it?"

Moral

There has been pressure on Mr Dalling to step down from Parliament ever since he was booted out of the DP and joined the ANC in April.

Among those calling for his resignation have been Sandton's DP constituency committee and the National Party.

This week businessmen joined the call.

Said business consultant, Michael McMaster: "If he had any integrity or principles, he would resign."

Mr Dalling, secure in the belief that moral right is on his side, refuses.

"I feel the need to represent those who suffered under apartheid," he told the meeting.

by-election has a much "ANC" refuses to become local government struc- station yesterday that the situation should

Van Eck ejection could rebound on NP

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

SHORTLY after voting to suspend ANC member Jan van Eck from Parliament this week, a National Party member said he felt as if he had just watched the Springboks lose a rugby Test.

The MP, a backbencher who opposed the move but did not break ranks, was contemplating the implications of what was a parliamentary first in this country.

Mr Van Eck was suspended for the rest of the parliamentary session because the NP believed he had abused the privilege of freedom of speech.

What they objected to was Mr Van Eck's statement that sources in military intelligence had said that former president FW de Klerk had often stated that the government had been responsible for the execution of more than 1 000 black radicals.

To achieve the suspension, the Nationalists, who say they are opposed to the idea of a political party being able to wield total power simply because it has a majority of members in Parliament, used their simple majority in the Assembly to override opposition from the CP, the DP and the ANC.

The Act, which deals with offences against Parliament, is the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act of 1963.

It is this Act which gives members the right to exercise freedom of speech, but also defines what they may not say or do and what action may be taken against them if they break these rules.

Among the more common examples of what they may not do is to accuse another member of lying or of being a coward or a traitor.

Last year several CP members got into trouble with the Speaker for repeatedly accusing Mr FW de Klerk of being a traitor.

They were "named" by the Speaker and told to leave the precincts of Parliament for a week.

In Mr Van Eck's case, he did not contravene any of the provisions of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act.

So to act against him the NP had to use a provision contained in the present constitution, but which dates back to the 1910 constitution.

The effect of this provision is to confer on Parliament all the rights and privileges that existed then in the British Westminster system.

In SA, however, parliamentary officials and researchers could find no precedent for the action against Mr Van Eck.

The only previous occasion they know of a House deciding to suspend a member for offending it was when the House of Delegates suspended Mr Amichand Rajbans.

That was on the ground that he had deliberately misled the House (Parliament's euphemism for lying).

So to suspend Mr Van Eck, the NP had to rely on precedents set in Britain and Australia, of which there are many.

However, most of these examples date back several years, and the tendency in both countries more recently has been not to act against members on the ground that they abused privilege.

The NP chose to ignore these more recent rulings and used its majority to suspend an ANC member.

The ramifications of this are enormous.

This provision allowing a House to act against a member who offends it will almost certainly be included in the interim constitution to be drawn up by Codesa. That constitution will govern the operation of a 400-member national assembly that will write a final constitution.

Should the ANC, as expected, have more than 50 percent of members of the assembly, but not a sufficient majority to force through the final constitution it wants, it could simply duck out its opponents on the ground that it found what they were saying to be offensive.

Obviously this would require of the ANC that it behaved in a particularly bloody-minded way. But then, if the NP be bloody-minded, why shouldn't the ANC?

It was for this reason that the more astute members of the NP were not celebrating their "victory" on Tuesday night.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Leaders to debate

Goldstone report

THE Goldstone report on the causes of violence is to be debated by the National Peace Committee and political leaders next month. The long-awaited verdict, released last week, was lost in the scramble by politicians to lay the blame elsewhere.

The National Peace Committee has decided the report "is of such significant importance that national political leaders would be invited to discuss the content" at the National Peace Executive's next meeting on July 30. The executive has also asked that the ANC give an assurance that the principles of the Peace Accord be strictly adhered to during mass action.

It is also to give urgent attention to the establishment of a sub-committee to "deal with the massive task of handling the numerous complaints and violations" of the accord.

Zimbabwe in Fisherman's

SHOWN THE GATE: Jan van Eck leaves the house after being suspended. Picture: TERRY SHEAN. majority in the Assembly to overrule opposition from the CP, the DP and the ANC. and Privileges

Pik sticks on federal model

THE ANC has told the government it will not renege on agreements reached at Codesa over a six-month period — but little else was achieved at a closed-door meeting this week aimed at averting civil protest in July.

The ANC, represented by secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and negotiation committee members Mohamed Valli Moosa and Joe

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

Slovo, and the government, represented by Acting President Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, his predecessor, Gerrit Viljoen, and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, met at the Presidency in Pretoria on Tuesday this week.

Government members said Mr Botha had bluntly told the ANC the

government insisted a new South African constitution be based on a federal model which made provision for power sharing at all levels.

ANC members said their negotiators had made it clear they were not even prepared to discuss these concepts before clarity had been reached on the election of a body to draw up a constitution and the manner in which it would operate.

Participants said the meeting was generally cordial. They agreed to meet again next week to discuss:

- Time frames for the implementation of Codesa decisions;
- The functioning of structures that would be appointed to oversee elections for an interim government;
- Regional and local government in the transition;
- Deadlock breaking mechanisms.

Mr Botha said after the talks it was his impression the ANC was not reneging on agreements already reached at Codesa.

Positive

Another top government member said this was confirmed by an agreement reached by Codesa's management committee that working groups, which had already achieved substantial agreement, should be mandated to finalise outstanding matters.

He said the meeting with the ANC had been positive in that the government had been able to clarify its position on regionalism and power sharing.

The source said the government had made it clear it would insist on Codesa agreeing that the new constitution should contain important elements of a federal model.

Mr Moosa said the statements made by Mr Botha and by President FW de Klerk while abroad in Japan were an attempt to cloud the real reason for the deadlock.

Voters

The ANC believed the government was not prepared to allow a democratically elected body to draft a new constitution.

He said Codesa could not decide on important constitutional matters, such as federalism, as many of its participants had no support base.

The voters of the country, he said, should be allowed to elect the people who would make decisions on these crucial issues.

Mr Moosa said the ANC agreed that a final constitution should be decided by a special majority. But that majority should not be so high as to allow the minority to dictate the contents of a new constitution.

DP calls for judge to hear CCB evidence

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party finance spokesman Jasper Walsh has called on the government to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to hear evidence from Civil Co-operation Bureau members.

However, he supported a decision by the chairman of Parliament's public accounts committee, Dr Francois Jacobsz, to refuse to allow CCB members to appear before the committee, "as it was not the right forum".

Mr Walsh said he had spoken to former CCB managing director Joe Verster.

"There is obvious concern on the part of the CCB members that they are being blamed for things such as the murder of David Webster and the Goniwe killings. They claim they were not involved.

"Now that the CCB has been disbanded and accused of acting beyond their instructions its members will continue to be con-

venient scapegoats for allegations, such as those about the murder of activists. That suspicion will continue until the full truth emerges about their operations."

Mr Walsh was not happy with the decision by new Defence Minister Gene Louw to refer all outstanding matters relating to the CCB to Ombudsman Mr Justice Plet van der Walt.

CCB members and SADF representatives were scheduled to meet Mr Justice van der Walt yesterday.

Mr Walsh said the matter should not be resolved behind closed doors and called for an open public inquiry.

He said he was particularly concerned by an allegation made by Mr Verster this week that SADF General Eddie Webb had ordered CCB files to be removed.

A recent report by the auditor-general said CCB members had R3-million of pension fund money in their possession. They also controlled an overseas account which contained R800 000.

Fraud splits sugar barons

From Page 1

their shares to the Brett Hulett Family Trust, in which they had held 30 percent.

The trust had then sold its total shareholding to Attest Finance (Pty) Ltd for R2-million. Attest sold the shares to Baystone Sales.

The appellants contended they would not have sold to the trust had they known of the Baystone interest and had claimed damages in the Natal Supreme Court for the loss they suffered.

Mr Justice PW Thirion absolved Mr Brett Hulett in 1990 after finding "it had not been proved the shares were sold to the trust because of a fraudulent misrepresentation".

However, Mr Justice

Hoexter said it was common cause that at the time Mr Hulett was clinching the R2-million deal, he was fraudulently misrepresenting to the appellants that, if they sold their shares to him, he would retain them in order to exercise control over the company and continue running the quarry business.

The appeal judge quoted a report from the manager of the Stanger branch of First National (Mr Brett Hulett's bank) to his general manager which said, regarding an overdraft application related to the deal: "He is negotiating a deal (behind his co-directors' backs) to sell the company and land to Murray and Roberts for R2-million."

In assessing the close relationship which had ex-

isted between the defendant and the appellants, the appeal judge recorded that Mr John Hulett's wife, former top model Yvonne, was godmother to Brett's daughter, and that Brett and his wife were godparents to John's son.

The Townsends were not related to the Huletts by blood but in his evidence, the appeal judge recalled, Mr John Hulett had said that "Townsend's family and our families were very, very close".

The appeal judge said Mr David Townsend had testified: "The defendant and I have been ... best friends for the last 40-odd years. We have been on holiday together, we had houses at the beach together, alongside each other; the defendant proposed a toast at my eldest daughter's wedding."

Damages of R250 205 were awarded to Mr John Hulett, R84 890 each to Miss Townsend and Mrs Maingard, and R80 423 to Mrs Fowlds. The claimants were represented by Mr David Gordon, SC, and the defendant by Mr Peter Olsen.

**AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
SPECIAL AIRFARES**

Youth 'Codesa' falters

CP press 7/6/92
By JOHANNES NGCOBO

MUDSLINGING between the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade and the ANC Youth League this week forced a planned "mini-Codesa" summit to be postponed.

The "Mini Convention for a Democratic South Africa" was to have accommodated a large number of South African political youth movements at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park this weekend.

However, the IFP youth brigade declined to be part of it.

A well-placed IFP youth source said the organisation's leadership would not share the stage with the ANCYL because its president, Peter Mokaba, had told a gathering at Richmond that the IFP was the enemy of the people.

"What he said on the day in question is what we consider to be wartalk. We will only participate if he withdraws that statement."

Political groups which were to have taken part included the National Party Youth Action and the Democratic Party youth wing.

The event was sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Issues on the agenda included peace and the democratic process in SA.

Prior to the postponement, ANCYL's Geoff Brown and a member of the special committee on National Youth Unity, said: "The main aim of the conference is to bring together political youth



GUN CULTURE . . . A child in Sebokeng shows off one of the area's 'weapons'.

organisations from across the ideological divide."

Other issues for discussion at the conference were the youth rights in the future SA, international exchange and readmittance of South African youth to the United Nations' youth structures.

Idasa's Transvaal liaison officer Patrick Banda said: "We cannot confirm or deny that the conference is taking place."

The aborted conference was to have been attended by 300 delegates from all over SA.

MK man on CP Reporter

THE Rand Supreme Court this week heard how an Umkhonto weSizwe soldier and four others unleashed a Chicago-style bout of shooting during a bank robbery.

Appearing before Judge Hartzenberg and two assessors are Thabana Petros Zitha, 23, of 1254 Emdeni Soweto, and self-confessed MK member Thulani Trevor Ndlovu, 25, of 1236 Mailula Park, Vosloorus.

The court heard that the two men were not guilty of murder, but were guilty of armed robbery and causing harm and arms.

BRIEFING

MARTIN CHALLENGER, of The Star's Political Staff, reports from Singapore on President de Klerk's Far East tour.

Bee in his bonnet almost a rumour

Star 8/6/92

JAPANESE manners helped to avoid a diplomatic incident with Pretoria by playing down an incident in which a South African official on tour with President de Klerk banged the bonnet of a State car in Tokyo in frustration because the driver would not take him on a private shopping visit.

The bonnet-bashing took place soon after the South Africans had flown in from Russia. The car was parked in front of the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. Mr de Klerk and the other South Africans were staying.

Mr de Klerk arrived in Singapore yesterday on the third and final leg of his current tour. He returns home today.

Japanese government sources said the South African came down from his hotel room within hours of arriving and told the driver who had brought him in from Haneda Airport to take him to a camera shop. The driver was hesitant, partly because at that stage the South Africans were not fully known to the Japanese officials.

The South African visitor

then started banging on the bonnet of the car and demanded to be taken into town. The Japanese driver brought in somebody higher up in the Japanese Foreign Affairs hierarchy to speak to him. The South African then proceeded to step all over Japanese manners.

The Japanese Foreign Affairs officer later told his colleagues he felt humiliated by the arrogant way he had been spoken to, but gave in because the South African seemed in Japanese eyes quite mad.

So, although the South African Embassy should have provided a car in these circumstances, the Japanese decided to ferry the South African on a private shopping mission themselves.

The Japanese decided to let the matter die there rather than become involved in an incident.

Underlying the hurt they felt over the South African arrogance is Japanese indignation at being considered as "honorary whites" for trading purposes by South Africa during the apartheid years.

Although Japanese Prime

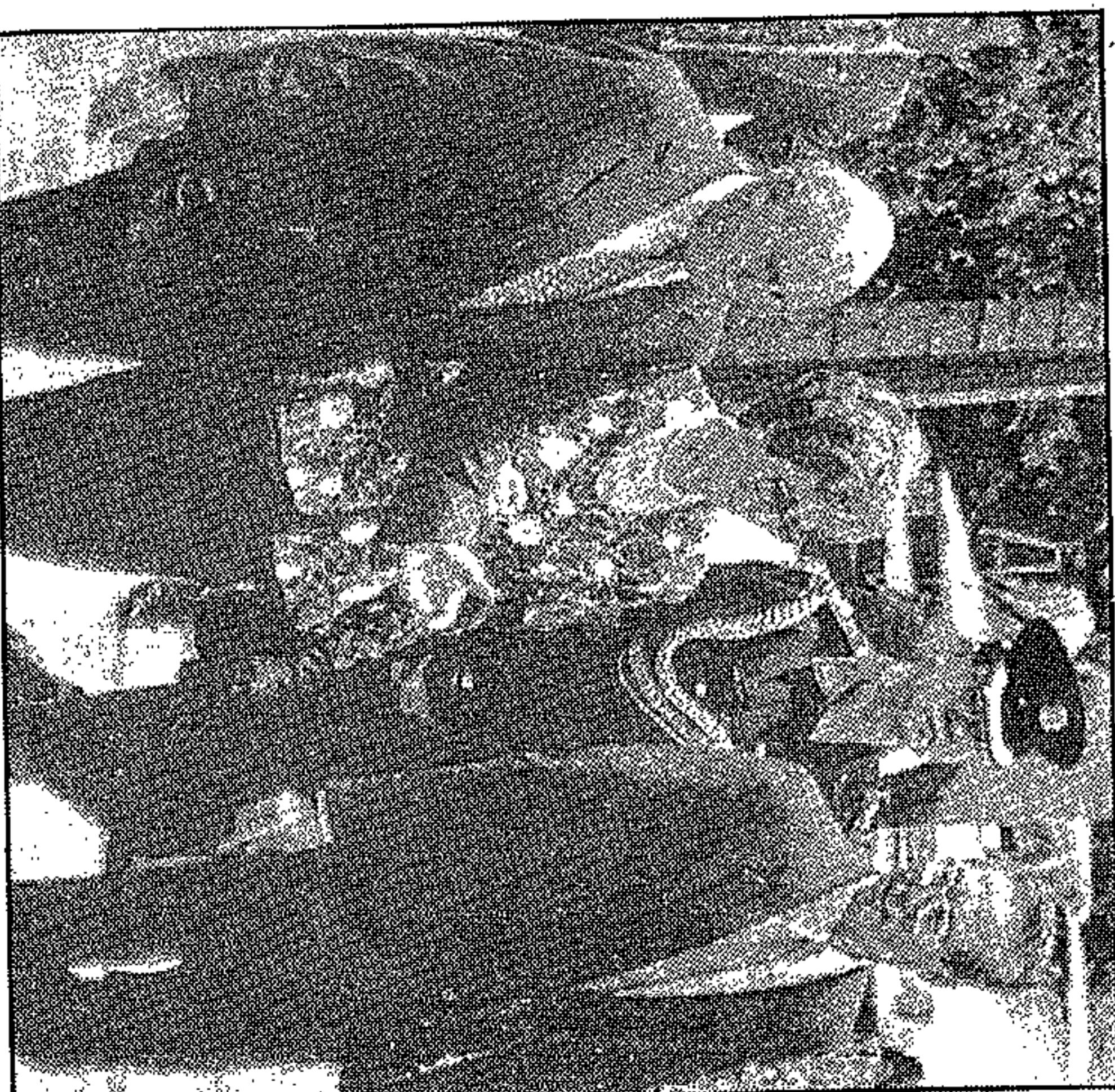
Minister Kiuchi Matsuura let it be known that Japan was officially not looking for an apology from Mr de Klerk, at least some of the Japanese officials working with the South Africans had hoped that the South African leader would say sorry for the past insult the National Party had foisted on them.

The Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs did not inform Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden about the bonnet-bashing incident.

South Africa also surprised Japan by having so few diplomatic officials taking care of the official delegates. This meant, in some instances, that the South Africans nearly missed appointments. In Japan, functions and engagements — like their trains — start and finish at the appointed minute.

Speaking in Singapore soon after landing there yesterday from Tokyo, Mr van Heerden said of the bonnet-bashing incident: "If we had known, we would have taken steps."

This was not the way South Africa conducted its foreign affairs, and he was "perturbed". □



Hectic day . . . Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong with President and Mrs de Klerk yesterday. Picture: AP

SA officer 'tramples' on Japan

Sowetan 8/6/92
SINGAPORE - Japanese manners helped to avoid a diplomatic incident with Pretoria by playing down an incident where a South African official on tour with President FW de Klerk banged the bonnet of a state car in Tokyo in frustration because the driver would not take him on a private shopping visit.

The bonnet-bashing took place soon after the South Africans had flown in on an eight and a half hour 8023km flight from St Petersburg, Russia. The car was parked in the car park of the plush Imperial Hotel in Tokyo where De Klerk and the other South African visitors were staying.

Japanese government sources said the South African came down from his hotel room within hours of arriving and told the driver who had brought him in from Haneda Airport to take him to a camera shop. The driver was hesitant, partly because at that stage the South Africans were not fully known to the Japanese officials working with them.

The South African visitor then started banging on the bonnet of the car and demanded to be taken into town. The Japanese driver brought in somebody

higher up in the Japanese foreign affairs hierarchy to speak to the South African. The South African then proceeded to step all over Japanese manners. The Japanese foreign affairs officer later told his colleagues he felt humiliated by the arrogant way he was spoken to, felt he was addressed as a second class citizen, but gave in because by then the South African seemed in Japanese eyes quite mad.

So, although the South African embassy should have provided a car in these circumstances, the Japanese decided to ferry the South African on a private shopping mission in Tokyo themselves.

The Japanese decided to let the matter die there rather than become involved in an incident.

Underlying the hurt they felt at the South African arrogance is Japanese indignation at being considered as "honorary whites" for trading purposes by the South Africa in the pre-De Klerk years.

The Japanese department of foreign affairs did not inform Mr Neil van Heerden, South Africa's director general of foreign affairs, about the bonnet-bashing incident.

DP, ANC criticise 'total strategy' relics

By Jo-Anne Collinge

(304A)

Opposition groups have fired another volley of criticism at the Government in the wake of disclosures that police are probing alleged profiteering in Government land deals, and that projects conceived at the time of the "total strategy" are being pursued at huge cost to the taxpayer.

Two Sunday newspaper reports have again focused attention on accountability for State expenditure.

The Sunday Star revealed yesterday that R500 000 is being spent on three sensitive construction projects: an underground command for the SA Air Force; new headquarters for the National Intelligence Service; and a computer centre for the Commission for Administration.

The first two projects have been described as outdated relics from the era when the Government employed its "total strategy" against the "total onslaught" by revolutionary forces. The computer centre, first mooted in 1984, has been overtaken by technology; computers have become increasingly compact and no longer require so much space.

The Sunday Times disclosed that police are probing massive profits made by local officials on the sale of 41 pieces of prop-

erty in the Thaba Nchu area when this land was acquired by the SA Development Trust for incorporation into Bophuthatswana in 1983.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus called on voters to hold the Government to account. "Really, the people of this country ought to be responding, not just the ANC and other organisations. People's resources are being squandered and their lives lost."

DP leader Zach de Beer called on the Government to restructure expenditure "so that you spend money on uplifting the poor and underprivileged in your own community instead of fortifying ourselves against a hostile world."

He said that South Africa was saddled with "fortress projects" conceived in the time of former President P W Botha. In some cases, such as Moss Gas, it would be more costly to dump the project than to fund it to conclusion.

He believed that the Parliamentary committee system did not give the DP a "detailed view" of decisions relating to expenditure; if the DP were a participant in the Transitional Executive Council, an interim super-Cabinet likely to be created by Codesa, "that would give us a higher level of participation than at present."

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Singapore premier sings FW's praises

By Martin Challenor
Political Staff

(3048)

SINGAPORE — South Africa's re-entry into the world community would follow the birth of a democratic and nonracial political system at home, Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong told President de Klerk at a banquet in his honour at the plush Raffles Hotel last night.

The banquet was the social highlight of the 31-hour visit. The two men meet again today for a game of golf at the Tanan Merah Country Club.

In his address, Mr Goh said Singapore's special representative to South Africa, Herman Hochstadt, visited SA last month and "informed me of the warm reception given to him by all the leaders he met during his visit".

"We in Singapore have followed the events in South Africa with deep interest. Years of apartheid have created enormous problems. These are not easy to resolve but you have moved with vision, courage and equanimity to search for a consensus to solve them," Mr Goh told Mr de Klerk.

"The reform process which you have initiated will eventually lead to the creation of a new South Africa. When your task is accomplished, long will your name be honoured and remembered for dismantling apartheid and building a new South Africa."

Mr Goh sent good wishes to the parties in Codesa. SA was on the verge of a new chapter in its history, he said. "We await with great anticipation the birth of a democratic and nonracial South Africa, and with that, (its) re-entry into the international community."

Encourage

"The international community, in turn, must respond and encourage so that the needs of the South African people will be met and their well-being assured. I am confident that you will overcome your many difficult tasks and create the necessary conditions for a bright future for your country."

Sapa reports that a family living in a 25-storey block of flats yesterday played host to Mr de Klerk when he toured a mass housing development.

During his tour, Mr de Klerk was told by an official of the Singapore Housing Development Board of a crash building pro-

gramme which had eliminated slums and provided 600 000 dwelling units since the 1960s.

The programme had been financed in such a way that 80 per cent of the occupants now owned their homes.

Mr de Klerk was taken to the comfortably-furnished flat of Wong Chee Min, a production supervisor in a manufacturing plant, and his wife Nancy, in Bishan New Town.

"I'm sorry to interrupt your Sunday afternoon," said the President after removing his shoes, in accordance with custom, to enter.

"We are having housing problems in our country and we are looking at the wonderful work that has been done (here)."

He and his wife Mrs Marike de Klerk sat on a sofa chatting to the Wongs and their two small children for a few minutes after inspecting the flat.

Commenting afterwards, Mr de Klerk said he was particularly impressed by the way the housing programme was structured and financed.

"I will go back home and read the De Loor report (on a national housing strategy) with a new perspective after what I have seen here."

● More reports — Page 11

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STAR 8/6/92 (304A)

CP has model for new SA

The Conservative Party leadership will present a confederacy model for a new South Africa for general party congress approval later this month, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Saturday. He told a media conference after a meeting of the CP's executive council that there had been broad consensus on the proposals. He expected the congress to approve the model.

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Consensus . . . says
Andries Treurnicht.

Treading warily in Singapore

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INDONESIA has helped to make President de Klerk's flight back to South Africa today a little more comfortable.

The Indonesian government at the weekend gave permission for the SAA 747 Magaliesberg bringing back the South African party from Russia, Japan and Singapore to fly over that country.

This will cut the return flight by 30 minutes, leaving President de Klerk with a flight of just more than 11 hours. He lands at Jan Smuts Airport this evening.

South African Foreign Affairs staff were chuffed at the Indonesian breakthrough because they have just begun diplomatic overtures aimed at Jakarta.

Yesterday in Singapore was anything but a day of rest. Arriving before daybreak, Mr de Klerk walked into a temperature of 26 deg C and humidity of 96 percent. In Singapore the official dress code is jackets off, and Mr de Klerk tried vainly to wear a jacket in public.

But while Singapore people might know what to wear, there

is much confusion about what to write. Here the press is controlled by the State through direct censorship, and even by the personal "no" of Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong.

Local journalists covering Mr de Klerk's 31-hour visit were called in by their Foreign Affairs Department and told to downplay the occasion because it could upset Singapore's Asian neighbours as well as South African blacks.

South Africa thought this was the highest-ranking official visit to Singapore, but Singapore officials said it was only the second highest-ranking visit because there were no diplomatic exchanges at present.

Prime Minister Goh was expected to announce Singapore's first consul-general to Pretoria before President de Klerk left.

While the South African flag flew over the Kremlin and in the streets of Tokyo, the only bunting in Singapore were pennants on the official cars the South Africans used.

All this will not stop Singapore flying to and from Jan

Smuts, exchange tourists, and trade in South African wine and minerals.

Singapore can only expand its economy by importing skilled labour or starting economic ventures in countries like South Africa.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Goh met in Harare in October for a dinner while Mr Goh attended the Commonwealth conference.

Singapore wants to show South Africa how people of different communities can live together and how a country can make 80 percent of its population property owners.

Because of the lack of press freedom in Singapore it is difficult to tell how harmoniously the Chinese, Malays, Indians and other races live.

The ethnic communities living in villages were offered the chance to buy their own flats in ethnically mixed blocks of flats, and most did.

President de Klerk met President Wee Kim Wee and other political leaders yesterday. He also visited a family in one of the housing complexes. □

Colourful namesake honours De Klerks

SINGAPORE — With its delicately veined green-white petals, and throat of passionate purple, Dendrobium De Klerk will be a living and attractive token of Marike de Klerk's visit to Singapore. **STAR 8/6/92**

The newly hybridised orchid was formally named after the State President's wife when she and Mr de Klerk visited the tropical Singapore Botanic Gardens yesterday.

Mrs de Klerk was given three new varieties to choose from.

When she made her decision,

National Parks Board executive director Dr Tan Wee Kiat said: "I thought you would choose that. It's a very good choice."

Public affairs officer Lin Kar Yee said the 54 ha gardens were internationally known for orchid hybridisation, a programme spearheaded by their first director in the last century. **(304A)**

Earlier, in a brief ceremony at her hotel suite, Mrs de Klerk was presented with a book on Singapore, inscribed with a specially written poem by mem-

bers of the Singapore Protea Club, for women with South African connections.

The 11 members are mostly South African-born and bred, and are living in Singapore with South African husbands.

One of them, who said her husband was a Singapore Airways pilot who formerly worked for South African Airways, told Mrs de Klerk she found Singapore "very protected, very safe".

"Everything is laid on for us. It's almost unreal." — Sapa.

CP likely to back plan for confederacy

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304A

The Conservative Party leadership will present a confederacy model for a new South Africa for general party congress approval later this month, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Pretoria on Saturday.

He told a media conference after a meeting of the CP's executive council that there had been broad consensus at the meeting on the proposals. He expected the congress, to be held in Pretoria on June 27, to approve the model.

In terms of the principles, drawn up by seven committees, independent, ethnically divided states will empower a confederate parliament to control matters of common interest.

Dr Treurnicht likened this parliament to the European Parliament.

Copies of a concept document outlining the draft plans were released at the conference.

Dr Treurnicht said he envisaged the CP negotiating a confederate dispensation with non-communist, national leaders who pursued partition policies and a confederate system.

The CP still rejected Codesa as a negotiating forum because it had a preponderance of communist delegates.

The CP had already held dis-

cussions with black leaders and there was a significant shift among them from the idea of a unitary state towards federalism and confederalism.

Dr Treurnicht named possible negotiation partners such as IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

He said the CP would be organising a mass meeting or regional rallies to mobilise its supporters, and the party would prepare itself for a general election, which was a likely event viewed against the setbacks at Codesa.

He said the CP's parliamentary constituencies and other areas of conservative support could be used as a departure point when delineating the boundaries of an Afrikaner volkstaat. He conceded that this state may consist of geographically unconsolidated areas.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP would not contest former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' vacant Florida seat, leaving it to the Herstigte Nasionale Party to challenge the NP.

It had not yet been decided whether the June 27 general congress would be open to the media, he added. — Sapa.

Talks failure means 'three-month delay'

CODESA II's failure to deliver a package of agreements would delay the negotiations process by three months, DP Codesa representative Ken Andrew said at the weekend. *Blomay 8/6/92*

The ANC's resort to mass action to support demands for an interim government and a democratic constituent assembly, as well as ANC-government mudslinging, would keep public tensions between the two main parties at a high level, said Andrew.

"The behaviour of the ANC and government in the days leading up to Codesa II and afterwards has set us back about three months," he said.

Codesa II mandated Codesa's management committee, made up of representatives of the 19 participating organisations, to resolve the deadlock that arose

PATRICK BULGER *30/11/91*

around decision-making percentages in a constitution-making body.

Once the deadlock is broken, agreements already reached on levelling the political playing field, interim arrangements and the reincorporation of the TBVC states will be ratified.

Codesa II asked the management committee to break the deadlock in time for a planned third Codesa plenary at the end of this month — by which time Parliament would have introduced legislation to facilitate interim arrangements. The deadline is unlikely to be met.

One ANC source admitted last week that emphasis on the office bugging issue was a "delaying tactic" intended to stall proceedings until the ANC had "consulted" its constituency through mass action.

Investment in Jo'burg expected from Far East

Blomay 8/6/92
ADRIAN HADLAND

SUBSTANTIAL capital investment in SA's manufacturing and property industries could be expected from the Far East soon, Johannesburg city council commerce and industry director Collin Wright said at the weekend.

Trade delegations from Singapore, China and Hong Kong would visit Johannesburg this year to investigate investment opportunities, Wright said on his return from the Far East. Japanese and Korean companies had also expressed interest in extending trading ties with SA.

Singapore's Trade Development Board and the Singapore Manufacturers' Association would send delegations to the city in July, and a Singaporean computer manufacturer had confirmed his intention to open a factory there.

A ministerial delegation from China had also announced it would be visiting Johannesburg during July.

Wright addressed more than 120 Hong Kong businessmen during his trip and discussed immigration and investment opportunities with several major corporations. A group of property owners was expected to arrive in Johannesburg soon to discuss city property development.

The Import-Export Bank of Taiwan was offering low interest rates with special repayment conditions to Taiwanese corporations investing in trade and manufacturing facilities in SA. Several South Korean firms had committed themselves to opening Johannesburg offices.

On a Hong Kong radio station last week, Wright pointed out that SA's infrastructure was better placed to take advantage of a global economic upswing than others such as eastern Europe.

Tribute paid to Marina Maponya

Business Day Reporter

MARINA Maponya, a former SA businesswoman of the year and wife of millionaire Richard Maponya, died at her Johannesburg home on Friday after a long illness. *Blomay 8/6/92*

Maponya was deputy chairman of the Maponya group of companies, which was built up after she and her husband went into business in Soweto during the '50s.

Maponya initially trained and worked in social welfare.

She became a director of several companies.

They included Volkswagen SA, African Life, the Development Bank of SA, the SABC — she was appointed the corporation's first black board member in 1990 — and the Post Office.

Sapa reports that Post Office board of directors chairman Donald Masson paid tribute to Maponya, saying her valuable contribution as a board member would be missed. He expressed his condolences to her husband, eight children and 15 grandchildren.



ROLEX

CP to push plans for southern confederation

304A

HRG 8/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party Chief Council (Hoofraad) will put forward a motion for a confederation of southern, possibly Southern African, states at a national congress in Pretoria on June 26.

This was announced by party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria on Saturday after a meeting to formulate resolutions for the congress.

He said the Conservative Party had met the leaders of several black states and nations, and the government, to put forward its ideas on a "volkstaat" and would continue to do so.

"Depending on their willingness, states such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland could form part of such a confederation," he said.

Dr Treurnicht would not be drawn on the size of the "volkstaat" other than to intimate that constituencies won by the Conservative Party since 1989 and "certain other areas" would form the basis of any negotiations.

"We have in our midst large and small 'volkstaters', but when we go to negotiate we will go for the maximum," he said.

The Conservative Party envisages a confederation in which each state would retain its own sovereignty and only certain aspects of government would be decided on a bi- or multi-lateral ba-

sis by a central government.

"The choice as to what should be decided upon by the central government will rest entirely with the members of the confederation," he said.

The party also reaffirmed that it was irrevocably bound to obtaining the freedom of the Afrikaner volk in its own fatherland under its own government.

The party had accepted that it was a "volksbeweging" which would work for the Afrikaners' freedom in his own country.

"The Afrikaner nation is an ethnic unit which seeks its own fatherland and this is in line with international thinking," he said.

Although the Conservative Party had been "fairly low profile" for the past few months this would change, he said.

The changes included a national "volk" gathering and the organisation of an anti-communist forum where leaders who were against communism would meet.

The party was actively planning for elections and by-elections. "We do not believe there will be no more elections in South Africa," he said.

"Codesa will not work even though it has been absolutised. There are too many communists and others of similar ilk there for it to be an acceptable forum for the Conservative Party," Dr Treurnicht said.

FW has a 'message of hope'

3049

CT8/6/92

From PATRICK CULL

SINGAPORE. — President F W de Klerk said last night that he was taking home from Singapore a message of hope that a real commitment to honest management of the problems of the day could make a better place of South Africa.

Addressing a banquet in his honour at Raffles Hotel, Mr De Klerk said Singapore had succeeded in doing what every government should be doing — raising the standard of living of all its people.

This was also the goal of the South African government.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa had been spending as much as Singapore on housing, but with a population growth rate of three percent and high unemployment, further exaggerated by the massive urban differences, it had been unable to make even a dent in the problem.

He said the message of South Africa was that it was, nevertheless, a country of hope, writing a new chapter in its history.

Part of the solution lay in a government of co-responsibility, which was being negotiated at present. There

was no alternative. South Africa was determined to become a better land.

Mr De Klerk said he hoped that the better links forged between South Africa and Singapore would help to make it happen.

Speaking earlier, Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Goh Choc Tong, said people-to-people contact between the two countries had been taking place since the lifting of the Commonwealth ban in October last year.

The start of the SAA flights to Singapore on June 2 would further facilitate travel and increase contact and business opportunities.

"You have moved with a vision, courage and equanimity to reach for a consensus to solve your problems," he said.

"We wait with great anticipation for the birth of a democratic, non-racial South African and with that South Africa's re-entry into the international community."

Mr Choc Tong said South Africa had much to do to prepare for that future "to create confidence, to restore economic growth, to build homes and hospitals and to rectify existing deficiencies and to educate their citizens on political compromises".

Govt must go — SACP

UMTATA. — The SACP is to demand the release of all political prisoners and the resignation of the Nationalist government during the pending mass action, the party's secretary general, Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday. (304A)

Addressing a commemorative rally at Ngquza Hill in honour of 11 people killed by police on March 6, 1960, he said the people of Ngquza had not been consulted about the imposition of the Tribal Act and it was their right to fight against what was imposed on them against their will. Sapa

8/6/92

FW meets Moi

Sowetan 9/6/92
KENYAN President Daniel arap Moi will meet President FW de Klerk in Cape Town today during a 24-hour working visit to South Africa. (204A)

Acting State President and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha confirmed that Moi, who would be accompanied by some of his Cabinet ministers, would stop over in South Africa on their way to the Earth Summit in Rio.

This will be the first visit by a foreign head of state to South Africa in several years. It is also the first "reciprocal" visit by a country's leader since De Klerk initiated his reform policies two years ago. - Sapa.

Govt, ANC in bid to break stalemate

Sowetan 9/6/92
THE Government and the ANC meet today to try to break the deadlock at Codesa.

Their discussions are expected to include the composition of a constitution-making body, regionalism, federalism and a senate with veto-powers over the constitution-making body.

Codesa yesterday set up four task groups to investigate issues hindering negotiations.

The groups will focus on the media, political prisoners, refugees and discriminatory legislation.

Govt and ANC renew bid to break logjam

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A
The ANC and the Government are scheduled to meet again today for the second time in seven days in a further bid to resolve the crucial deadlock about an elected constitution-making body.

They are expected to discuss their views on the composition of such a body, entrenched regionalism and federalism, a senate with veto powers over the constitution-making body, and the timing of the implementation of decisions.

Sources have indicated that the vital issue was whether the Government was prepared to accept that a democratically elected constitution-making body would draft a new constitution.

"The issue is whether the Government is prepared to make the conceptual leap from

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power-sharing to a democratically elected constitution-making body," said one source.

Observers have noted that serious bilateral attempts were being made by both sides to resolve the crisis in negotiations before the deadlock came up for discussion at next Monday's management committee.

This is only two weeks before the deadline for the ANC's comprehensive programme of mass action.

ANC sources indicated annoyance with views expressed by the Government which had created the impression that progress was being made at resolving the deadlock.

Both sides agree that the constitution should be fashioned by an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature, but disagree on the special majority needed for its adoption.

The Government has proposed 75 percent but the ANC insists on a two-thirds majority. Participants were split 50-50

on the issue at Codesa 2. The bilateral meetings indicate that the deadlock could be resolved outside Codesa.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpont said in Parliament yesterday that the deadlock over constitutional matters was not only about the percentage needed for approval.

He said the Government could not agree to suspend the constitution until a new one had been hammered out, as this would leave a vacuum.

The Government felt Parliament would not pass legislation for an interim constitution until a new one had been drawn up.

At yesterday's meeting of the Codesa subcommittee dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, four task groups were established. They will investigate the issue of political prisoners, an independent broadcasting board, discriminatory legislation and refugees.

Moi, FW to hold talks at Tuynhuys

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi will meet President de Klerk in Cape Town today in the first visit to South Africa by an African head of state in many years.

The visit by the leader of one of Africa's most important nations is being regarded as another significant breakthrough in South Africa's rapidly thawing relations with Africa and the world.

The last African head of state to visit South Africa was Malawian President Dr Kamuzu Banda, in August 1971.

Mr Moi will be passing through Cape Town on his way to attend the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, official sources confirmed yesterday.

He will break his journey briefly to meet Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys.

An official dinner hosted by

Mr de Klerk has been scheduled for tonight.

According to Kenyan officials, Mr Moi will also meet ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss progress made at Codesa.

It is understood that Mr Moi will be leaving South Africa tomorrow, although this could not be confirmed.

"He is using the opportunity of his transit through South Africa to meet Mr de Klerk," an official source said.

"It will be a follow-up to their meeting in Kenya last June."

This means the visit will not be official. However, the sources said it was significant that Mr Moi had chosen to use the opportunity to meet Mr de Klerk — and not just to pass through en route to South America.

Mr de Klerk will be seeing Mr Moi only hours after returning last night from a week-long trip to Russia, Japan and Singapore.

It was not clear yesterday whether Mr de Klerk and Mr

Moi had any specific business to discuss.

It seems more likely they will merely bring each other up to date on developments in both countries.

However, regardless of what they discuss, the symbolic value of a visit by the Kenyan head of state is great and will strongly underscore South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

South Africa regards Kenya, along with the two other continental giants, Nigeria and Egypt, as the most important nations in its campaign to re-establish ties with Africa.

Relations between South Africa and Kenya are thawing rapidly and last month Kenyan Foreign Minister Wilson Ndolo Ayaha visited South Africa to sign agreements with Foreign Minister Pik Botha for the establishment of formal diplomatic missions.

Since last year South African Airways and Kenyan Airways have been flying between Nairobi and Johannesburg and tourism and trade have both begun to pick up.

3 held after bid

Stop fighting start working

Putting the case for federalism

Sowetan 9/6/92

304A

THE two-hour drive from the mining town of Klerksdorp to the squatter camp of Phola Park on the East Rand is a journey across South Africa's racial divide.

One recent weekend, white supremacists meeting in Klerksdorp, 160km southwest of Johannesburg, poured scorn on "the kaffirs" as black radicals in Phola Park yelled insults at "the Boers".

The hatred in the eyes of both sides boded ill for peaceful co-existence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

As political leaders debate a new constitution, liberals are pushing them to accept a federal system as the only way to accommodate South Africa's ethnic and political diversity in one country.

"Federalism is part of the liberal armoury because it breaks up the agglomeration of power," said Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, traditional home of anti-apartheid white liberals.

The party is pushing the federal line at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), which is trying to guide the country out of exclusive white rule and into non-racial democracy.

The African National Congress, the main black opposition group, reaffirmed its commitment to a unitary state at a national policy-making conference at the end of May.

"I was disappointed," De Beer said. "Recently the ANC has been talking about regionalism, but they still seem to want ultimate authority for a central government."

De Beer said the ruling National Party, which has proposed dividing the country into about 10 regions, appeared to have accepted the fed-

FOCUS

eral model although it was reluctant to say so in as many words.

"Now that they are losing their position as a majority in a whites-only parliament, they want a federal system because they believe it will provide protection for minorities," he said.

"In fact, federalism would not protect racial minorities, except by accident, because we are all mixed up all over the country."

But groups who could expect a degree of autonomy under such a system include Zulus in northern Natal and Afrikaans speakers — white and mixed-race — in the northern Cape.

"It would be far easier to persuade Boer hotheads into a federal democracy than into a unitary South Africa," said Afrikaner author Rian Malan. By the same token, the bloody conflict between the ANC and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has made it clear that Zulu nationalists are absolutely unwilling to live under an ANC government."

The Democratic Party would give regions control of police, housing, education, health, welfare and roads, while leaving economic management and foreign affairs to a central government. Mr Wim Booysse, who heads a think-tank lobbying for federalism, said it was a practical device which forced people to work out their differences at local level.

"Then it becomes easy to agree



ZACH DE BEER

on a national level."

Booyse, who advocates a system similar to Switzerland's cantons, said the ANC should be weaned from a desire for centralised power.

Opponents of federalism argue

that a strong central government is needed to prevent local authorities in conservative white areas from perpetuating apartheid in their schools, hospitals and other facilities. - Sapa-Reuter.

There's a democratic way out of Codesa's

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IF YOU open that Pandora's Box you never know what Trojan horses will jump out — that was the famous comment of the redoubtable Ernest Bevin, trade union leader and subsequently Clement Attlee's Foreign Minister on the Council of Europe, the forerunner of the European Economic Community.

Codesa has been our Pandora's Box and now that the myth of smooth negotiations is shattered, Trojan horses seem to be jumping out in all directions.

Over the longer run this is a positive development. Only through learning the costs of breakdown can the main parties be brought to compromise.

This can be illustrated by the analogy of the Prisoners' Dilemma theory, described in the Dictionary of Political Thought as follows: Two prisoners who had entered into a pact not to squeal

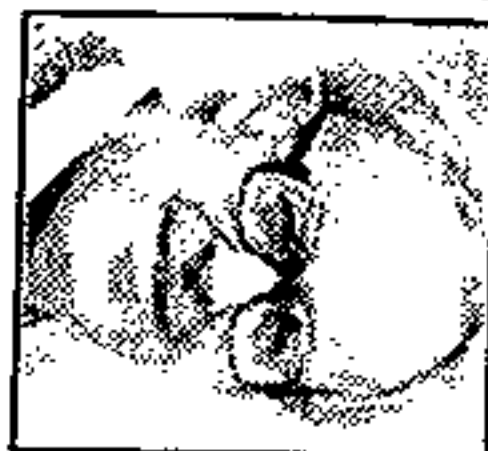
on each other commit robbery and murder. The suspect who confesses to the police is promised his freedom but his confession will condemn the other. If both squeal both will be convicted of murder. In the end each prisoner squeals because he reasons it is better to confess if the other confesses, and also better to confess if the other does not. So each squeals and gets sentenced for murder — an outcome worse for both than if they had kept their pact.

What we have in our political conflict is what game theorists call Co-operation under Anarchy. There is no final authority who can resolve the conflict. The only hope is that once prisoners learn the cost of defection they would make a better choice the next time round.

It is against this background that one must review the renewed pleas for majoritarianism to re-

The Pattern of Politics

HERMANN GLIOME



solve the conflict made by some commentators, most prominently Alister Sparks in his recent column. By demanding that the NP concede its adversary's demand for majority rule he in fact expects of it something never even raised as a possibility in the Prisoners' Dilemma. He wants the NP to confess all its crimes single-handedly and serve the heavy sentence, while its adversary is to go free and get the ultimate prize — capture of the State apparatus.

As an astute American scholar, David Laitin, succinctly remarked: For black South Africans giving up majoritarian principles

would mean abandoning the one principle that gives them strategic advantage over whites.

It is in any event difficult to see anyone being persuaded by Sparks's arguments. Let us review them briefly.

● Power-sharing is manifestly unacceptable to blacks. Wrong. Opinion polls consistently show the majority wants a power-sharing arrangement with no group predominant. It is the elite who want exclusive power to execute idealistic projects.

● White security is best sought by blending in with the new society. Can Sparks please give examples that are comforting? In fact new research finds that it is exactly the attempts to exclude or repress ethnic-based demands that backfire. A recent study on Indian democracy concludes: "Whenever the Indian state has democratically incorporated ethnic demands

the results have been positive both nation-building and economic development".

● If whites are persecuted they will leave. The point is precisely that the majority of whites is determined to stay and don't have the skills to settle abroad.

● If a government under majority rule does not perform satisfactorily it can be voted out and another installed. This belief suffers from acute wêreldvreemde! Majoritarianism in a divided society means that minorities are permanently in opposition. A election is similar to a census: merely shows the population's racial or ethnic composition. Minorities see themselves indeed as having no choice. Will it be any different under ANC majority rule?

For the deadlock in the South African conflict to be broken it is much better to eschew moral ar-

f the e. □

DIS

DELIVERING the third Ernie Wentzel Memorial Lecture last month, Prof Abie Sachs raised several important objections to the organisation of a post-apartheid SA around federal principles. This made it all the more disappointing that he could not attend last week's conference here on the American experience with constitutional federalism and its possible implications for SA.

It would have been a treat to hear him debate the extraordinary array of scholars and practitioners the organisers put together.

Most of the panelists would likely have agreed with his assertion that "fragmentation of sovereignty is ... just one possible way of protecting democracy from attack", but many, if not all, would have had trouble with some of his specific alternatives. A constitutional court and justiciable bill of rights, fine — a prerequisite, surely, of any package. But a human rights commission and ombudsman? Who would appoint them and how would their functions differ from those of the courts?

Sachs would no doubt have had answers. However, he might have lost even his most sympathetic listeners with his assertion that also needed would be "clear procedures to deal with corruption, nepotism, warlordism and terrorism".

No constitutional order has ever fully dealt with the first two vices on the list, nor, it can be confidently stated, will anything Sachs may have in mind be any more efficient in this regard. But what is truly troubling is his inclusion of the second two evils, for they are phenomena that a properly crafted constitution not only can, but should, strive to obviate. It seems a grave flaw in Sachs's constitutional theory that warlords and terror will continue to flourish after its implementation.

The primary purpose, surely, of creating a new constitution for SA, or anywhere for that matter, is that the very factors which give rise to violent forms of expression — exclusion, oppression and a perceived lack

The US experience suggests federalism may be best for SA

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SIMON BARBER in Washington

3044

of access to peaceful redress — should, as far as possible, be removed.

In candidly admitting that they will not be removed, Sachs is at best conceding defeat for his own position. A more cynical interpretation might be that he knows all too well the implications of his centralist doctrine, having personally witnessed what the excluded have done in the surrounding region, and that he fully expects to have to deal with the matter coercively as the price of his brand of "democracy".

The framers of the American constitution — as those who did attend last week's conference (among them 16 non-ANC members of the Codesa working group on constitutional principles) were incessantly reminding — enumerated several objectives for their document. Of these, establishing justice and promoting the general welfare are goals with which Sachs most assuredly has no quarrel. Yet it is a third goal, closely connected to the latter two, that is most pressing in contemporary SA — ensuring domestic tranquillity.

With certain obvious exceptions — relating, curiously enough, to a segment of the population the framers deliberately excluded — the federal system has by and large delivered the peace, prosperity and justice that

was asked of it. That it has done so imperfectly may irritate Sachs, but given what the professed pursuit of perfection through the divination of scientific laws has achieved elsewhere, the imperfections may even be a blessing.

The American system has succeeded, as University of Chicago law professor Cass Sunstein cogently argued last week, not only because it has provided an elaborate set of checks and balances to mitigate raw majoritarianism, but because it also contains a wide range of safety valves. The horizontal and vertical disaggregation of government into competing power centres gives the aggrieved "many points of access" that would not be available in a unitary system, even the three-layered one Sachs espouses.

Self-government through the devolution of powers to states and localities (and, please note, with the federal government always exercising what Wayne State University's Robert Sedler called "latent supremacy") promotes the very kind of democratic culture rightly sought by Sachs and others. It does this by ensuring, in Sunstein's phrase, that "people can have a place where they

can be citizens".

Equally important, it encourages people to establish communities of interest that supersede traditional ethnic or class divisions and enables them to resolve disputes before they turn explosive enough to require national disposition. Conversely, those who find themselves shut out at the national level have the option of seeking state-level action. Thus, for example, the failure of the present federal government to tackle health care, welfare and education reform has led a growing number of states to institute their own reforms.

These initiatives are not new but are part of a long tradition in which states have forged ahead of the federal government over the whole gamut of social issues — unemployment insurance, environmental protection, worker safety, even the liberalisation of abortion law — frequently acting as laboratories for policies that will subsequently be adopted at federal level.

To all of these, Sachs raises objections that must be answered. One is that federalism can lead, in his elegant phrase, to "stockades around intolerance". No question, that happened here, most notably in the South. The important point, however, is that the federal government had the power to remedy these abuses,

through the exercise of legislative, judicial and executive authority granted by the constitution and the post-Civil War 14th Amendment. The Supreme Court struck down separate but equal education in Brown vs the Board of Education in 1954. President Dwight Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock to enforce the ruling. A decade later Congress passed the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts.

The problem here was one of tardiness in execution, not an intrinsic weakness in the system. Does Sachs seriously think a post-apartheid government or judiciary would tarry so long under similar circumstances?

A second objection, and one raised repeatedly by the Codesa team last week, is that the American colonies were already a series of sovereign entities before they formed their "more perfect union". SA would have to create its own subdivisions, something the NP has already tried and which leads Sachs to suppose that "the only notional justification for federal boundaries would be ethnic autonomy". Even assuming, as much of the rest of the planet evidently now does not, that this is an appalling concept, how so?

Surely, and unless those party to the negotiations are not men but dreamless cattle, there can be a lot of other notions, notions that might usefully transcend old divisions to promote new communities of interest. Besides, unless I mightily misread the sentiments of many on the Codesa team, especially those of the Transkeian representative, the use of ethnic criteria in the delimiting of second-tier jurisdictions may not be quite the anathema it seems.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1821, reflecting on the constitution he had helped contrive about 30 years earlier: "It is not by the consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into states, that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself and what it can do so much better than a distant authority."

Mass action puts our future out on the street

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AFTER Codesa II, the ANC withdrew its consent from key agreements already reached because of the deadlock over the constitution-making body, and said it would use mass action to break the deadlock.

If government is to accept that agreements reached after nearly six months of negotiation involving 19 delegations can simply be overturned by one of those delegations, Codesa becomes irrelevant for three reasons.

Firstly, if the threat of mass action prevails, then SA's future is already in effect being decided in the streets and the NP may as well hand over power at once instead of pretending that it can ensure that the process is orderly and constitutional.

Secondly, other Codesa delegations would be exposed as nothing more than decorations to give an appearance of wider legitimacy to whatever concessions government makes in response to threats of mass action.

Thirdly, Codesa itself would be exposed as neither a consensus-seeking

body nor a nation-building forum, but simply as an expensive rubber stamp.

In a sense, government has itself partly to blame for the position in which it now finds itself. At the end of March it abandoned its plans to introduce VAT on certain foodstuffs after Cosatu threatened a government strike and Nelson Mandela threatened to destroy the economy if VAT was imposed on food. No doubt mindful of the fact that the anti-VAT campaign last November killed 100 people, government capitulated. The ANC and Cosatu drew the obvious conclusion, and they are now doing the obvious thing.

Mass action may not stop even if an interim government were to be installed. It would probably be used against that interim government until that government, too, handed over power. The pattern was established in St Petersburg in 1917, in the October half of the Russian Revolution, because the target of mass action on that occasion was not the Czar, who had already been forced to abdicate,

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

but the inept reformist provisional government under Kereensky.

The threat of rolling mass action prompts various questions:

□ Is Cosatu becoming the dominant partner in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP/Unkhonto we Sizwe/SACP alliance? Despite the difficulties at Codesa II, Mandela struck a bullish note immediately afterwards, only later talking about mass action to break the deadlock;

□ Although 3.5-million workers supported (or were coerced into supporting) the anti-VAT campaign last year, can a stayaway be sustained beyond a week when retrenchments are a daily occurrence and absolute unemployment — no work in the informal or formal sector — is running at 2.5-million to 3-million?

□ Will Cosatu seek to avoid this risk by staging a series of shorter stayaways instead?

□ Can De Klerk dig in his heels without reversing the extraordinary breakthroughs he has made on the international front, where, at a guess, he is probably the most popular leader in the world today?

Since the processes of Codesa are necessarily slow, SA faces the prospect of a second decade of mass action, boycotts, stayaways and the like. The price in terms of economic damage and loss of life is apparently regarded as acceptable. Mandela recently said: "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

Some supporters of mass action dismiss violence as endemic anyway, and last year, after the first 24 deaths (in two days) in the anti-VAT stayaway, a Cosatu official said, complacently and inaccurately: "There have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country."

The risk to the ANC in mass action is that it awakens unrealistic political expectations at the same time as

the organisation is beginning to lower economic expectations.

It was, indeed, in the very speech that he talked of using mass action that Mandela pointed out that "a much greater percentage of our membership now understands the resource constraints that an ANC government will face and that there will, therefore, be no quick-fix to decades of apartheid destruction". This argument was echoed by Cyril Ramaphosa a day or two later, when he too warned against "quick-fix solutions" to "centuries of deprivation, (and) decades of corruption and mismanagement of our economy".

Occasionally, when ANC officials speak on economic issues they seem a bit more realistic than some sections of the business community with their predilections for "kick-starts" which are, after all, the economic equivalent of the political quick-fix.

□ Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract from an address to the Rotary Club, Maritzburg, last Friday.

LETTERS

Volkstaters approach Codesa on homeland

B1 Day 9/6/92
AFRIKANER secessionists have applied to Codesa for limited participation to present a plan for an Afrikaner Volkstaat in the north-western Cape.

Afrikaner Volkswag chairman Carel Boshoff said yesterday Volkstaters had approached Codesa's management committee to open negotiations on the principle of an Afrikaner homeland.

"We believe in negotiations and wish to further our ideas at Codesa. We want limited participation because we do not believe we have anything to say about a future constitution. We stand for secession and we believe we have a viable proposal," Boshoff said.

He said a transition stage would be necessary as there was no part of SA where Afrikaners were in the majority at present. A new dispensation must make allowance for secession as well as drawing up borders

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PATRICK BULGER

and making arrangements for the voluntary settlement of Afrikaners. Once a majority had been established, the region would have a right to secede in terms of agreements negotiated at Codesa.

Boshoff said an Afrikaner Volkstaat would be built around the Orange River basin, which would be the principal resource.

He said he was unimpressed with new CP proposals for a Volkstaat comprising existing CP-held constituencies. He said the CP had accepted the terminology of a Volkstaat but he did not think the content of CP policy had changed or that its proposals were practical.

Meanwhile, a high-ranking CP team will meet government negotiators on Thursday to discuss ways in which the CP can present its ideas for negotiation.

SA 'crucial to revival'

SA was the natural cornerstone for an economic revival in southern Africa, Scientific Advisory Council chairman Chris Garbers told 150 foreign businessmen yesterday.

Garbers was speaking at a conference in Johannesburg on investment and trade opportunities in SA.

He said SA, which represented only 6% of Africa's population and 4% of its surface area, provided 23% of the continent's GNP, 50% of its electrical power output, 45% of mining production and 83% of its steel production.

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ADRIAN HADLAND

"By virtue of its economic strength and industrial expertise it is well-placed to play an important role in the region," he said.

Other speakers addressing potential investors yesterday included Kagiso Trust general secretary Eric Molobi, Institute of Multi-Party Democracy chief executive Oscar Dhlomo and CSIR president Brian Clark.

Speakers today include the ANC's head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki and Siemens CEO Reinhard Sanne.

Codesa slows to a crawl

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PATRICK BULGER

CODESA committees looking into levelling the political playing field and the reincorporation of the TBVC states met yesterday as negotiations slowed to a crawl. *B1 Day 9/6/92*

Both committees spent much of their time drawing up agendas in preparation for further meetings.

But the management committee which is due to discuss the constitutional dispute between the ANC and government did not meet yesterday.

ONE PLUS ONE
EQUALS THREE

Tour will reap benefits, says FW

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night he expected definite investments and improvements in trade and communication emanating from the foundation he had laid during his three-nation visit to Russia, Singapore and Japan. *Blum 9/6/92*

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport, he said government was working towards a perspective on SA's problems and progress to enable the country to fulfill its central role in southern Africa and the continent.

He is to meet Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi in Cape Town today.

De Klerk expressed his irritation with the ANC's failure to live up to expectations to be part of a political breakthrough.

The ANC's threat to lodge a mass action campaign raised questions about their commitment to negotiations, he said.

He warned that violence would have to stop before investors looked at the country seriously. *(SOLA)*

He acknowledged he had little concrete to show for his nine-day journey.

"Our goals were not to go back to SA with signed agreements of any nature (but to) expand on already existing good relations and to explore and lay foundations for long-term mutually beneficial agreements and relationships."

He acknowledged that there were still major hurdles to be overcome. For investors "the continuing violence is an issue; it is a problem ...".

□ Yesterday a spokesman for De Klerk's office said he knew nothing about a proposed visit by De Klerk to Mozambique next month. — Sapa.

Mass action will do more harm than good: Worrall

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ARC 9/6/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

MASS action by the ANC would retard not hasten the implementation of interim government, lead to more violence, further batter already depressed business confidence and boost National Party stakes.

This was the view of Democratic Party MP and director of Omega Investment Research, Dr Denis Worrall.

He suggested that real negotiation would probably only take place once there was a sense on both sides of a stalemate.

Speaking at a banquet in London in his business capacity, Dr Worrall sketched a gloomy picture of South Africa's immediate future, but was optimistic about the long-term.

Pointing to South Africa's infrastructure, natural wealth, underdevelopment in many business sectors and its geographical position, he believed the country would "inevitably become the flywheel for the region".

Dr Worrall believed the ANC resorted to its mass action campaign because of "restiveness" within the organisation over the absence of improvement in socio-economic conditions, continuing violence, anger at the government and lack of progress in negotiations.

Stop brawling, get on with it — Zach to NP, ANC

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ARC 9/6/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC must "stop behaving like two brawling school-boys" and start working together to save the country from ruin, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Rounding on the country's biggest political players, Dr De Beer added: "Make no mistake, while these two organisations squabble and scrap, it is South Africa that bleeds."

In a strongly worded speech in parliament yesterday, he criticised the government's "crude and outmoded" approach to negotiations and accused it of arrogantly flaunting its success in the March referendum at the expense of pro-

gress in negotiations.

He singled out deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpont's handling of the dispute in Codesa working group 2, noting that, while it was not his fault that he was left to negotiate on his own, he did not stand a chance against the formidable negotiators of the ANC and SACP.

Dr Delpont, who spoke soon after Dr De Beer in yesterday's debate, said he was "extremely disappointed" by the DP leader's presentation of events.



Dr De Beer

It showed a degree of "wilfulness", and "surprising ignorance".

Dr De Beer said the "unseemly brawl" between the government and the African National Congress was even being conducted overseas.

Dr De Beer said it was clear that if in future these two political organisations "become the leaders of two dominant political armies, it will be 'haves' versus 'have-nots', system versus struggle — yes, quite largely white against black".

For the past two years, the DP had actively campaigned for convergence between the ANC and the government in the interests of national goals.

"Today, alas, that possibility is looking rather remote."

Constitution: New bid to end deadlock

Political Staff

THE ANC and the government are scheduled to meet again today for the second time in seven days in a further attempt to resolve the deadlock about an elected constitution-making body.

The deadlock arose at Codesa 2 and centres on how the new constitution will be drafted.

Both sides agree that the constitution should be drawn up by an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature but disagree on the special majority needed for its adoption. The government has proposed a 75 percent majority while the ANC insists on two-thirds.

Participants were split 50-50 on the issue at Codesa 2.

The government and ANC are expected today to discuss its views on the composition of a constitution-making body, entrenched regionalism and federalism, a senate with veto powers over the constitution-making body and time frames for the implementation of these decisions. — Sapa.

FW turns sombre as he slams ANC over mass action

REC 9/6/92 304A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC got another lambasting from President De Klerk on his return to South Africa from a visit to Russia, Singapore and Japan.

A beaming Mr De Klerk last night quickly became sombre on being asked by journalists at Jan Smuts Airport about his feelings on the ANC's plans for mass action in the wake of Codesa 2's failure.

The ANC's decision to initiate strikes, parades and marches militated against its commitment to negotiations, he said. It raised questions about the ANC's integrity to commit itself to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said he had noted "irritation" among those who had received him overseas about the ANC's failure to "live up to expectations and to become a more concrete part of a solution."

"I implore them (the ANC) to be careful... I accept mass action as a legitimate democratic method to use, but during this period of intense negotiations, it is counter-productive, to my mind, and I am highly critical of it," he said.

Moments earlier a much lighter-hearted Mr De Klerk said all three countries he had visited had received him warmly.

Codesa bid to move obstacles

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa yesterday set up four task groups to investigate issues hindering progress in the negotiation process.

These are task groups on the media, political prisoners, refugees and discriminatory legislation.

The groups are to comprise between five and eight members, appointed mainly from within a nine-member sub-committee set up last week.

The sub-committee was one of three established by Codesa's management committee to take the place of the former five working groups.

The four task groups form part of sub-committee 1, which has the job of creating a climate for free political activity. — Sapa

Volkstaters

CT 9/6/92

(304A)

hope to put plan to Codesa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner secessionists have applied to Codesa for limited participation to present a plan for an Afrikaner volkstaat in the north-west Cape.

Afrikaner Volkswag chairman Professor Carel Boshoff yesterday said: "We want limited participation because we do not believe we have anything to say about a future constitution."

A transition stage would be necessary as there was no part of South Africa where Afrikaners were in the majority at present. A new dispensation must allow for secession as well as drawing up borders and making arrangements for voluntary settlement of Afrikaners. Once a majority had been established, the region would have a right to secede in terms of agreements negotiated at Codesa.

An Afrikaner volkstaat would be built around the Orange River, which would be its main resource.

Meanwhile, a CP team will meet government negotiators on Thursday to discuss ways in which the CP can present its ideas for negotiation of a volkstaat.

Government, Azapo hold informal talks

Sowetan
21/6/92

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

Investigations Editor

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THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has held several meetings with Government representatives aimed at opening negotiations between the two, *Sowetan* can reveal.

The meetings were held in Johannesburg, Pretoria and two other "bush venues" but did not involve executive members of Azapo.

Sources said the two delegations had "made sufficient progress to set up a meeting outside the country to involve the leadership of Azapo, probably led by deputy-president Dr Nchaube Mokoape and to include Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on the other side".

The meeting, which is likely to be held in Botswana, is to be convened by a respected African church leader, who was approached by Azapo's externally-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), which will also take part in the meeting.

Information at the disposal of *Sowetan* is that a senior member of Azapo was approached by an official of the

● To page 2

Secret talks

Sowetan 21/6/92

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● From page 1

Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Maritz Spaarwater, in February.

At an informal meeting between a team from Azapo, Spaarwater and two other officials, Dr Chris Maritz and Mr Herman du Toit, indicated that the Government wanted to engage Azapo in negotiations.

It is understood the Azapo delegation indicated the organisation's willingness to talk on condition the meeting was held outside the country, under a neutral chairman and if the Government talked about the handover of power.

The participation of the BCMA was also made conditional on acceptance of the invitation for talks.

Azapo's central committee apparently refused to meet the delegation, insisting that if the Government wanted to meet with the leadership, they should formalise the approach in a letter.

Several informal meetings were held later between the two and the process stopped last month before Codesa 2.

Viljoen hangs in

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CR10/6/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent
THE embattled Minister of State Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday brushed aside a groundswell of opposition demands for him to resign in the wake of the multi-billion corruption scandal exposed by the Pickard Report.

Dr Viljoen, who spoke in Parliament

yesterday for the first time since returning from a month's sick leave, appeared determined to ride out the storm which has erupted about his handling of the corruption-riddled Department of Development Aid.

There has been speculation in political circles that Dr Viljoen, who has been recovering from "exhaustion", might opt out of politics.

Dr Viljoen said that, according to records, since 1984 there had been 183 departmental complaints investigated. In 48 of these cases, 20 people had been found guilty in court, 34 in departmental hearings.

However, he insisted yesterday that

there was no reason for him to quit.

He told opposition MPs who have been calling for his head that in South Africa a cabinet minister was not automatically expected to pay the penalty for transgressions — however serious — in his department.

In a lengthy effort to absolve himself from political responsibility for the corruption exposed in departments he formerly headed — Development Aid and Education and Training — Dr Viljoen said he had not been found criminally liable by any official probe.

However, opposition MPs yesterday

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From page 1

Viljoen

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repeated calls for him to resign or be fired.

Democratic Party chairman and MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew told Parliament that if ministerial responsibility and accountability meant anything at all in SA, the three most senior ministers of the cabinet — Mr P. K. Botha, Dr Viljoen and General Magnus Malan — "would not be here today".

"The stench of corruption permeates public life in South Africa today," he told MPs during the second reading debate on the budget.

Mr F. W. de Klerk had promised to "cut corruption to the bone" but this had not happened.

The Conservative Party's Dr Willie Snyman said Dr Viljoen had appointed himself to judge his handling of irregularities which plagued the former Department of Development Aid — and then found himself not guilty.

In his speech, Dr Viljoen told Parliament the degree of ministerial responsibility for things that went wrong in his department depended on a number of factors.

These included: The nature and extent of the misdeeds, the minister's actual knowledge about these, the prospects of him knowing, and what he did in a bid to rectify the situation once he had learnt of irregularities and the degree of deception or cover-up towards him.

The fact that a minister was responsible and accountable for what transpired in his department, especially to Parliament, did not auto-

matically mean he was accountable to carry out the punishment himself.

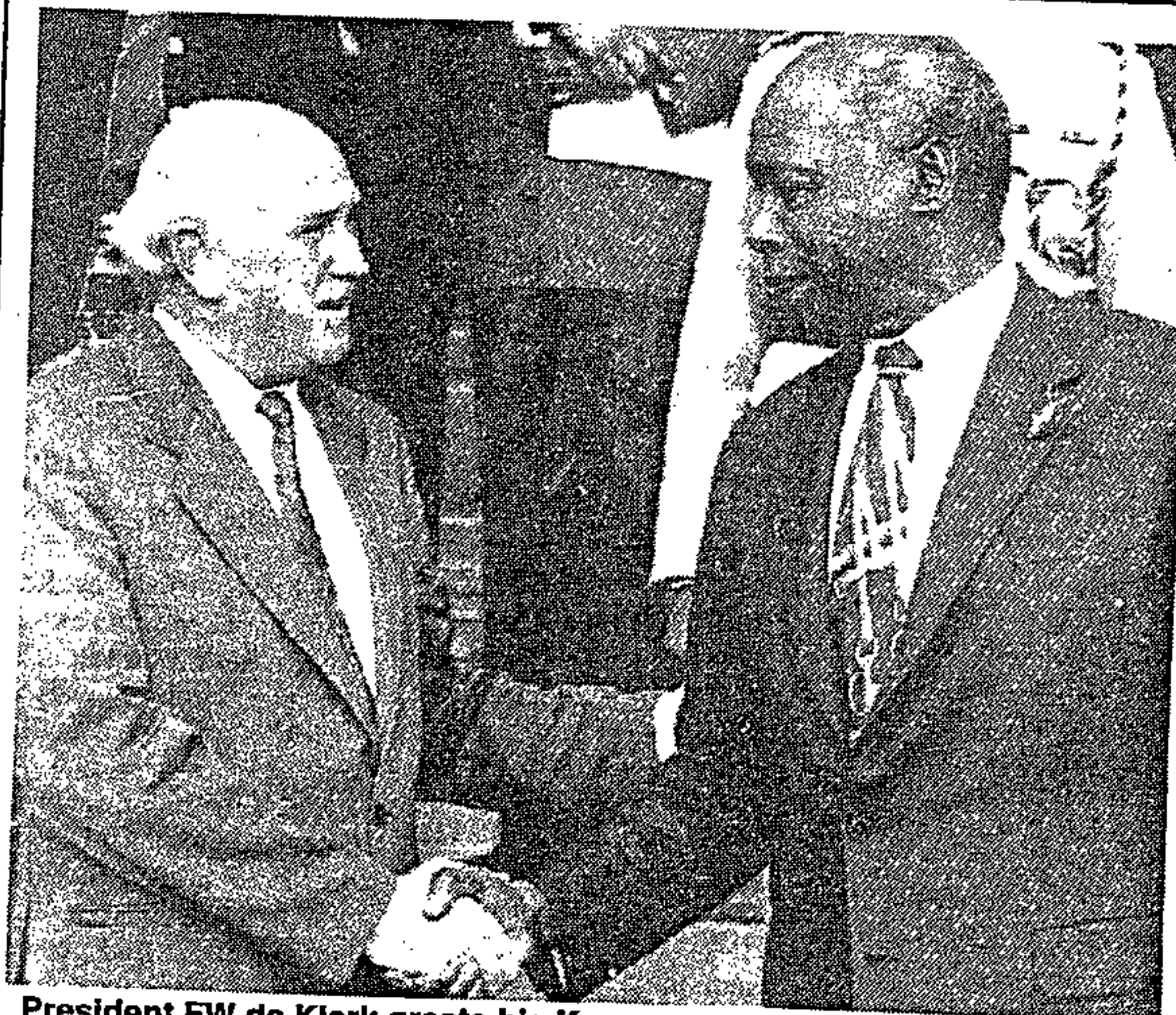
As soon as he became aware of irregularities in the Development Aid department he had taken steps such as suspending certain officials, handing over some cases to the police, launching departmental inquiries and bringing in outside management experts.

"It is in fact ironic that the results of the investigations which I or my successors either ordered or promoted are now being used against me for political gain."

Dr Viljoen cited as other mitigating factors for corruption exposed in the departments of Development and Aid, as well as Education and Training:

- The countrywide unrest prevailing in SA during 1984-85.
- The inexperience of new black urban councils who were the targets of much of the unrest.
- The collapse of the influx-control system.
- The gigantic size of government departments.
- The department also had to implement an "innovating policy of separate development" while since 1978 that policy had been drastically adapted and revised.

Opposition MPs last night said they would today renew demands for his resignation or firing.



President FW de Klerk greets his Kenyan counterpart Daniel arap Moi at DF Malan airport in Cape Town.

Moi praises Codesa

Sowetan 10/6/92
KENYAN President Mr Daniel arap Moi wished Codesa success soon after landing at Cape Town's DF Malan Airport yesterday on his way to the Earth Summit in Brazil.

Moi, the first African head of state to officially visit South Africa since 1971, was welcomed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at a red-carpet reception.

The Air Kenya Airbus carrying Moi and his entourage touched down shortly before 1pm. Security was tight, with an Air Force Puma helicopter criss-crossing the runway.

Botha said it was a great honour and privilege for him to welcome Moi on behalf of the State President.

"It is a historic event for all of us in South

Africa to receive this elder statesman.

"We can at last receive, and be met, by our brothers in the rest of Africa," Botha said.

Malawi's head of state, Dr Hastings Banda, visited South Africa in 1971, the last official visit by an African leader.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Awie Marais said Moi, accompanied by Kenya's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was on a working visit to South Africa.

Moi told the media at the airport: "I wish the people of South Africa success in their endeavour to achieve what people of all races want, a non-racial democracy." - Sapa.

Former foes now forge strong ties

STAR 10/6/92

(30/11)

ANGOLAN oil sales to South Africa could open up strong trade between the two countries that would benefit the entire southern African region — if only the oil could be sold.

Angola produces more than half a million barrels a day but cannot sell any to South Africa while the oil embargo against Pretoria is still in place.

"Oil could definitely be the trigger," says Gert Grobler, chief director, southern Africa, in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

There is strong interest in the South African business community in Angola's post-war development, but financing remains a serious obstacle.

"South African access to Angolan oil makes sense and on the basis of future supply it could facilitate credit lines," Mr Grobler said in an interview.

He thought the "trigger" might be activated by the installation of an interim government in South Africa.

But while Angola's decision on whether to sell oil to South Africa is held hostage by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations — and, through them, by the ANC — the relationship between the two countries has grown remarkably.

"There has been a lot of progress in the relationship in a relatively short period which we welcome — given the past," said Mr Grobler.

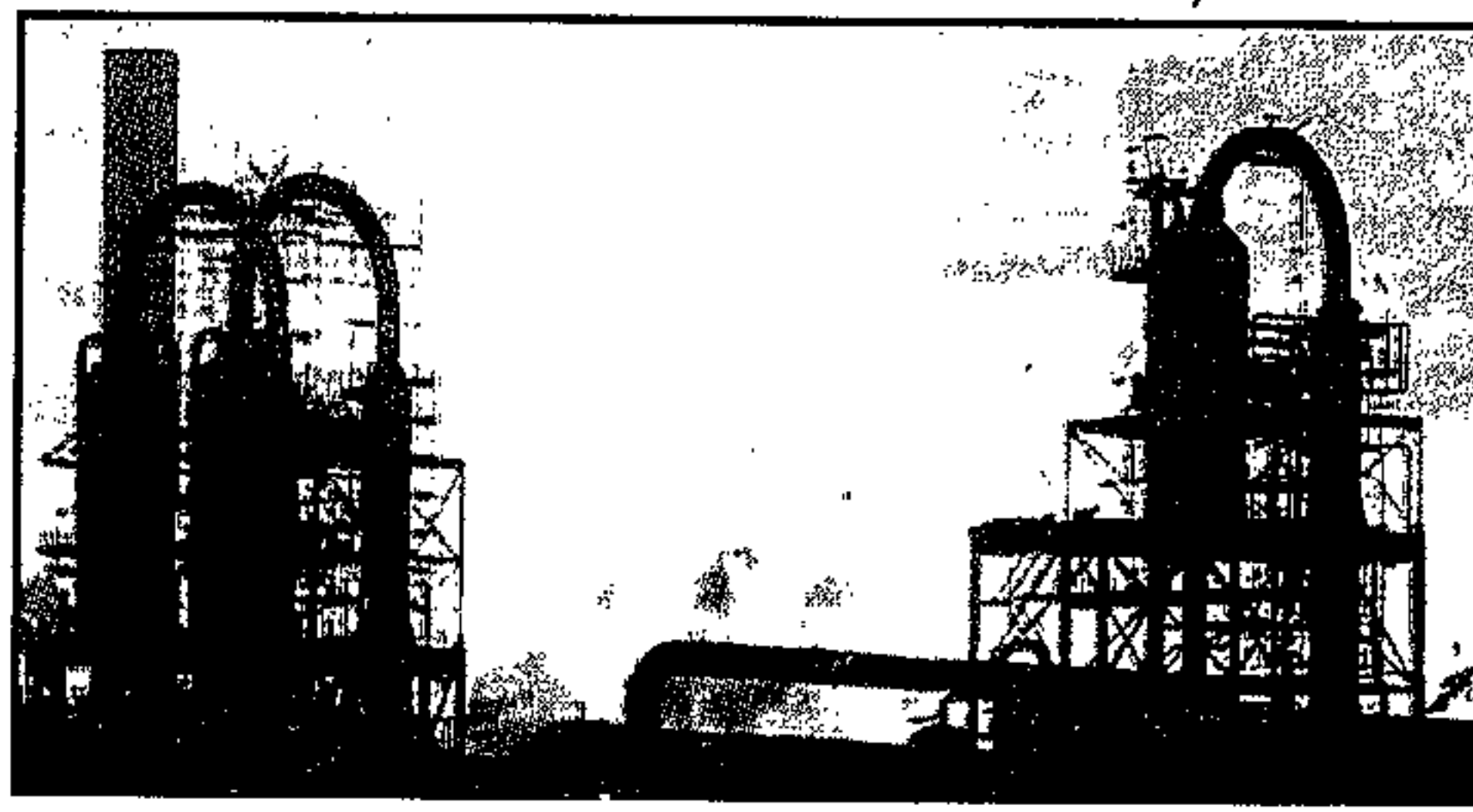
"It's very encouraging and in a sense astounding. We have a very frank and straightforward dialogue and it has produced the first fruits."

It is ironic, given the past referred to by Mr Grobler — when South Africa was at war with the Angolan government — that in the past six months, trade and other exchanges between South Africa and Angola have far exceeded those between South Africa and Namibia.

Overtly, the SA Department

Co-operation between the formerly warring South African and Angolan governments has reached levels that one top official has described as "astounding", reports DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star Africa Service in Windhoek.

STAR 10/6/92



of Foreign Affairs has been careful to build a scrupulously non-partisan relationship with Angola.

When you talk to American diplomats, you can still detect the old Unita-US alliance in their thinking. But with the South Africans, it is hard to believe that until recently they were fighting side-by-side with Jonas Savimbi's former rebels.

Suspensions remain in Angola and elsewhere. The ANC was recently reported as feeling that the old alliance between Dr Savimbi and Pretoria could not have disappeared magically and that South Africa was now supporting Unita in its campaign for the Angolan election in September.

Mr Grobler conceded that he could not speak for "individuals" in South Africa who hoped for a Unita victory.

But he said: "We are going out of our way to adopt a balanced approach. We want a good relationship (with Angola) that does not support any political party. We are supporting

the process (of democratisation) and that is of overriding importance. It would be absolute folly to be caught dabbling with one side. That all belongs to the past."

The SA Department of Foreign Affairs has stationed four diplomats in Luanda following the agreement in January to exchange diplomatic missions at "representative" level.

Since then South Africa has been engaged in a number of aid projects in Angola.

An SADF training team has trained 20 Angolan army (Fapla) members and 20 Unita army (Fala) men to clear the thousands of landmines that were buried in the country during the war.

"We have also handed over a comprehensive inventory of landmines, mainly in the south of the country," Mr Grobler said.

South Africa is also training Angolan instructors at manpower centres in South Africa for similar centres in Angola which would aim to help absorb the

estimated 120 000 demobilised soldiers of both Fapla and Fala into the Angolan economy.

Mr Grobler said the first group of 30 Angolans would soon be installed at two training centres in Angola, teaching mainly construction skills. Another group was due to arrive in South Africa shortly.

On a far larger scale, South Africa is involved in talks with the European Community and the Angolan government for a similar project in which South Africa would provide the training and the EC the funding.

This training would initially take place in Luanda, but between 10 and 20 more manpower centres elsewhere in the country are envisaged.

There is also talk of South Africa training medical orderlies for the newly unified Angolan military.

"Another area we are still exploring is agricultural co-operation. We have already had an exchange of visits in the area of agriculture and we hope to send a fishing delegation to Angola soon," Mr Grobler said.

The idea of marine co-operation from Angolan through Namibian to South African waters has already been enthusiastically expressed by Angolan Fishing Minister Fatima Jardim.

Co-operation will, however, depend on whether an election takes place in September and whether a viable government is installed.

"It is important that the elections take place so that the situation can normalise; so that we can build ties between our two countries not just for our mutual benefit but in the interests of the whole region," Mr Grobler said.

The road to the elections is being built, albeit imperfectly. Registration of voters has begun. The rest depends on whether the MPLA government and Unita retain the will to implement and accept a political solution to their long conflict □

'West concerned at alleged corruption'

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau STAR

10/6/92

LONDON — Western governments are anxious to accelerate the speed of negotiations in South Africa because some are worried about alleged endemic corruption within the Government.

This, according to the political journal Africa Confidential, was partly behind the serious concern expressed by officials from the British and American embassies over the impasse at Codesa 2.

The journal quotes a political source as adding: "There is a belief that some individuals in Government and the civil service may be trying to take the family silver with them before any

power-sharing arrangements with the ANC are established."

Africa Confidential points to the recent Department of Development Aid scandal as "heightening awareness of civil service failings", and notes that, despite the size of the scandal, only seven officials have so far been indicted.

There is also speculation that at least two major financial scandals are likely to break soon, one concerning land speculation by senior Government figures and the other of irregular trading in stock.

It refers to unsubstantiated rumours circulating about the cause of the intolerable pressures that led to Barend du Plessis's resignation.

No absolution without confession and reparation

NOW that it has been established that a senior military officer sought permission from the State Security Council to assassinate three black community leaders in 1985, the question arises more sharply than ever of how the New South Africa is going to live with its past.

Great crimes have been committed in this country, both individually and collectively. Indeed the United Nations declared apartheid a crime against humanity. People were tortured and murdered, beaten to death in interrogation rooms, robbed of their homes and driven from their land. Families were ripped apart and children denied education.

It is a past stained with 18 million pass law arrests and 3.5 million forced removals.

We reek of crime and drip with guilt. We need a Nuremberg trial to cleanse the soul of this nation, a tribunal that will bring out the truth so there can be justice for the dead and a purgation of anger. But you cannot have a Nuremberg trial after a negotiated settlement. Ours is an armistice, not an unconditional surrender. Any

hint of an apartheid-crimes tribunal would send the ruling party scurrying from the negotiating table.

So what are we to do with that guilt? With all that criminality and "structured sinfulness" as Allan Boesak has called it? Just sweep it under the carpet with all the other detritus of the shameful system that was constructed here? That is what President de Klerk wants.

But you cannot have reconciliation that way. The theologians tell us that to attain reconciliation you must first have confession and receive forgiveness. Only then can there be redemption and reconciliation. With confession, of course, goes penance, atonement, compensation.

Aye, there's the rub. For we are too greedy for that. We want the new society, an end to sanctions and the old polecat status, but we don't want to pay for what we did. We want to forget that. And being a good theologian himself, President de Klerk knows that once he confesses that the past was riddled with injustice he will have to go the whole hog and pay the



Allister Sparks

compensation.

So he stops short. Apartheid was a mistake, he says, not because it was fundamentally evil and did millions of people grievous injury, but because it didn't work. It was "impractical," "inefficient," "outdated", but never unjust.

The pattern began when Barend du Plessis thanked Nat congress delegates for agreeing to open party membership. After declaring that this had given rise to "a liberated National Party that is now operating on a moral basis", he paused to ask rhetorically: "Is there implicit in what I have just said an accusation that our predecessors were not moral, that they were unjust?"

"Absolutely not," was his reply. "The truth is that if it had been possible to divide this country so that the whites could be a majori-

ty and the blacks had their own sovereign states, then we would have been able to escape that way from accusation of discrimination and injustice.

"But over a long period of time it became clear that total segregation was not possible, and with that we realised that we had to change course and that power-sharing was the only way for us to go," Mr du Plessis said.

Only once has De Klerk himself uttered any words of remorse, and that was when he told an obscure Japanese newspaper in October 1991: "We are very, very sorry for the pain which was caused by that period in our history and we are glad that the period has passed."

He has said nothing to the people here at home who actually suffered that pain. The closest any Minister has come to that was Leon Wessels, who said last February: "We failed to listen to the... crying of our fellow countrymen. That must never happen again."

This refusal to come to terms with our past is not only morally reprehensible, it is dangerous. As Kadar Asmal, Professor of

Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape, warned in a powerful inaugural lecture the other night, it can kindle resentment on the part of those who suffered under apartheid and induce a chauvinist response.

Beneath the surface of the new society the old antagonisms will continue to fester, making it difficult to reach out to forge real non-racial unity.

"We need a revival of moral conscience if we are ever to build a common citizenship and a common national consciousness," Professor Asmal said.

So the truth must be admitted to heal the wounds and provide redress for those who have suffered. Confession and atonement. Asmal wants a "reconstruction accord" to atone for the past. It must include compensation payments to those who have suffered and been dispossessed, and affirmative action programmes for those who have been disadvantaged.

He also wants justice. Although there can be no Nuremberg tribunal in South Africa, Asmal believes there are certain categories of crime, such as murder, which

are beyond amnesty or any state of limitations. Retribution, he says, is not the primary motive. Nor is it simply a question of money. "It is the acknowledgement which is vital to the process of rehabilitation."

I find the arguments compelling. The precedents are there. Germany paid reparation to those who suffered under Nazism. Today it is restoring land appropriated by the former East German regime to the original owners, or compensating them if the land cannot be returned.

The US government has decided to compensate Japanese Americans who were detained after Pearl Harbour. In Russia the KGB is opening its files. Argentina is paying \$14 000 to people tortured by the military dictatorship which ran that country from 1975 to 1982.

Chile set up a commission after Pinochet was ousted. As Kadar Asmal puts it: "The struggle of human rights is a struggle of humanity against the misuse of power. It is also the struggle of memory against forgetting." □

SOUTH Africa is in a fast-changing situation, and perceptions of its stability and economic prospects will vary from time to time. And right now, whatever the longer-term view may be (and I am positive), the short-term view is a sombre one.

The ANC's decision to engage in a campaign of mass action must, as its leadership knows, postpone the implementation of interim government and not hasten it. The campaign also has little to do with constitutional negotiations and everything to do with grassroots attitudes.

The ANC is responding to a restiveness within its membership around the following issues:

□ Unhappiness with general socio-economic circumstances (joblessness, cost of living, homelessness, and so on), and the fading prospect of rapid improvement;

□ Political violence and its impact on the lives of ordinary people in the townships and, more specifically, the government's perceived inability to deal with the issue;

□ Widespread anger at the NP government. Aside from the fact that this is a minority government which is viewed as having no moral right to rule, it is increasingly being perceived as incompetent and corrupt. The widespread view is that it is also clinging to power for dear life;

□ General unhappiness at what many ANC supporters see as a lack of progress towards an interim government and a new constitution at Codesa. This applies especially within the trade union movement, which is not directly involved in Codesa;

□ Radical tendencies within the organisation. There have been several instances where renegade members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe have clashed with Cosatu leaders — resulting in deaths on the Witwatersrand and in Natal.

Winnie Mandela's ousting from all important ANC offices is also of concern to the leadership, as she has a radical youthful following. In the face of this mood, the ANC got cold feet about some of the posi-

Opportunity lies beyond the current state of gloom in SA

Blpaw 10/6/92

DENIS WORRALL



tions its delegation had committed the movement to at Codesa. For example, its compromise agreement to a 70% majority for the approval of constitutional proposals, as opposed to the two-thirds majority which it had previously insisted on, and its acceptance at one stage of the principle that regions will have effective powers which are enshrined in the constitution — in other words, federalism — runs counter to the ANC's official position that regional powers should be devolved from the centre — in other words, a unitary state.

The consequences of a campaign of mass action on the lines envisaged by the ANC and its allies, aside from slowing down the constitutional negotiations process, are obviously likely to increase the possibility of violence and bloodshed. This is likely in Natal and on the Witwatersrand where the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is bound to tell its supporters to ignore calls for mass action.

The campaign is also likely to contribute to the political polarisation of SA. With this campaign, the ANC risks forfeiting what little white support it has, and it is likely also to cost it support within the coloured and Indian communities. From a political point of view, therefore, the campaign is likely to benefit the NP. Aside from slowing down the con-

stitutional negotiation process, the campaign is bound to make the resolution of outstanding issues much more difficult. The ANC's turnaround on the powers and functions of the regions will confirm deeply held suspicions within Inkatha. The IFP will therefore be even less trusting of the ANC in the future, and will press in Codesa's working group 2 for even larger majorities.

Clearly, the ANC's campaign will have an extremely negative effect on business confidence that is already depressed.

Regarding the timetable and the installation of interim government, before Codesa II an informed view was that the interim government would be in place by late September/October. That will not happen — unless something unforeseen occurs.

Somebody has written that SA's conflict will lend itself to bargaining and compromise when both sides are approximately equal in power, and the cost of maintaining minority rule exceeds the benefits. In this view, real negotiation will take place only when there is a sense on both sides of a stalemate. That is where, when the campaign of mass action has run its course, the ANC is going to find it-

self. In the final analysis, it has to deal with the NP and, increasingly, with a strong regionally based IFP.

As for the longer view, any serious business evaluation must look beyond what is currently happening to what is substantial and enduring. The World Bank's recent studies on SA reflect this approach, and it is reflected also in Japanese business's hard-nosed approach to this country.

Looked at this way, SA must be a unique business proposition due to a combination of four factors — wealth, infrastructure, geographic location and underdevelopment.

Firstly, SA is an inherently wealthy country — especially from the industrialised nations' point of view — due to its enormous natural resources. Secondly, the country has a commercial infrastructure of telecommunications, transport, of financial services and managerial skills comparable to western Europe.

But, thirdly, and probably most important from a business perspective, SA is largely underdeveloped in many business sectors due to having been shut off from the world business community for so long. There is consequently a need for foreign expertise, know-how and skills.

Finally, SA is the gateway to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and with a GDP three times greater than

Nigeria (its nearest rival), and 22 times that of Zimbabwe (the next country in size in its own sub-equatorial region), SA inevitably will become the flywheel for the region.

Granting all this, the response may be: what about future government policy, especially the policy of an ANC-influenced government?

The internal dynamic of economic practice, policy and debate is toward a mixed economy of the social market kind in which middle-class values are recognised and in which the racial imbalances of the past are corrected by growth and fiscal processes rather than nationalisation.

This is evident in the ANC's economic policy adopted at its recent national policy conference. As Business Day editorially observed: "It is difficult to take serious exception to the economic policies proposed at the weekend, and that in itself is a measure of how far the ANC's leadership has shifted from its earlier unflinching support for socialism."

In any event, if Derek Keys is correct, future governments are not really going to be able to deviate greatly from certain inherent economic fundamentals — or imperatives as he calls them: economic growth, job creation, stimulating exports, and regional economic blocs, or "the benign consequences of the Republic's position in the region".

These, says Keys, will be as close to being fixed constituents in looking at any future SA economic scenario as you can hope for and will be the basic determinants of any government's trade and investment policy.

This internal dynamic of practice, policy and debate is being reinforced by external factors in the form of foreign expressions of investment interest, the opening up of new trading possibilities and enterprising individual foreign investment. The World Bank, IMF and other international funding agencies will no doubt add their influence to this external dynamic when they become fully involved in SA.

□ This is an excerpt of a speech delivered on Monday to a Price Waterhouse business banquet in London.

LETTERS

DP MPs slam 'inept and corrupt' NP government

CAPE TOWN — The euphoria of President F W de Klerk's reforms had been replaced by an air of despondency because of the poor state of the economy and the exposure of widespread government corruption, DP Finance spokesman Ken Andrew told Parliament yesterday.

He said democracy was unlikely to survive endemic violence and a lack of economic progress. But sustained economic growth and a reduction in violence were unlikely until there was significant progress towards a political settlement.

A successful, negotiated new constitution was the key to stability and certainty, Andrew said, adding that government had the prime responsibility in this regard. But the credibility of the NP's commitment to democracy was suspect, he said.

In another scathing attack on government, DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said its ineptitude resembled that in a tragi-comic soap opera.

It had spent or committed R500m on three projects of spectacular folly,

Billy Paddock

where the money could have been better spent elsewhere, Leon said.

"We now have no foreign enemies, but R205m is authorised on an underground bunker installation for the SA Air Force. While total strategy no longer features in government rhetoric, we spend R145m on a new headquarters for the National Intelligence Service — an overspend of R87m from the original estimate. We're committed to a lean bureaucracy, but R83m is to be spent on a new computer centre for the Commission for Administration," Leon said.

Meanwhile, back in the land of reality, famine, starvation, homelessness and despair stalked SA, he said.

Leon said if government's unnecessary expenditure was rechannelled, it could:

- Build 250 black primary schools at R2m each;
- Build 10 000 zinc houses with amenities for the homeless at R5 000 each; and
- Provide basic foodstuffs for 200 000

people for a year at an estimated R250 per person.

Leon said it appeared that government lacked the political will to bring violence under control.

Andrew said that a party which suspended an MP for more than seven months could hardly be said to have a commitment to or understanding of democracy.

He said the credibility of the NP's commitment to clean, honest and accountable public administration was shattered. "Its hands are covered in blood and gravy. The stench of corruption permeates public life in SA today," Andrew said.

He said if ministerial responsibility and accountability meant anything at all in SA, the three most senior members in the current NP Cabinet would not be there.

Many of the problems arose from undue secrecy and discretions granted to Ministers and officials.

But the underlying problem was the policy of economic patronage pursued by the NP since it came to power, Andrew said.

Gold coins VAT exempt

CAPE TOWN — Gold coins sold will not be subject to VAT but the tax would be added to coins made into jewellery, a memorandum on the Taxation Laws Amendment Bill said yesterday.

Tabled in Parliament, it introduced amendments to the Marketable Securities Tax Act, the Transfer Duty Act, the Stamp Duties Act, the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, the Regional Services Councils Act, the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Act, and the Value-Added Tax Act.

Tax on the transfer of property to a water or an irrigation board was waived.

If a vendor acquired a business which carried on an exempt or non-taxable activity, no VAT would be charged. — Sapa.

Doctors protest against

CAPE TOWN — About 120 doctors, dentists and other medical practitioners converged on Parliament yesterday to present a memorandum to National Health Minister Rina Venter opposing the amendments to the Medical Scheme Bill.

The group, marching under a banner calling for health care for all, handed the memorandum to Venter's administrative secretary Eric Cronjé at the gates of Parliament.

The memorandum objects to the Medical Scheme Amendment Bill on

the grounds that it "socio-economic and areas" to exploitation men seeking to profit

Dispensing Family Association (DFPA) capitulate read the memorandum handing it to Cronjé.

"We further object the Bill dismally fails dire needs of health indigent, unemployed who reside in the peripheral areas," he said.

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators met in Pretoria last night for talks aimed at resolving the constitutional impasse and possibly averting the ANC's planned mass action campaign. *8/10 am 10/6/92*

This was the third occasion the two parties met since Codesa II last month.

Government sources said yesterday it would not accede to ANC demands point by point but it hoped the talks would render mass action unnecessary.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said ANC plans would be clarified next week. It was still possible that an agreement on interim government could stop mass action.

Government was eager not to be seen to be giving in to ANC demands, however.

Govt, ANC in bid to resolve impasse

(304A)
"We are continuing with negotiations quite normally with the object of taking the negotiating process further. Whether any agreements will have an influence on the ANC and mass action remains to be seen," NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said. An ANC decision to call off mass action in the light of progress in bilateral talks would be regarded as a "bonus", Van der Merwe said.

The ANC was expected to ask government to clarify its views on regionalism, the role of a senate, time frames for implementation of decisions and an elected constituent assembly.

Van der Merwe: CP leaders in a dead-end street

Political Staff

IN a devastating debut as an independent MP, Mr Koos van der Merwe launched a searing attack on the Conservative Party leaders who expelled him from the party six weeks ago.

He charged that they were stuck "in a dead-end street with an HNP (Herstigte Nasionale Party) mentality".

The MP for Overvaal also signalled keen interest yesterday in government ambitions for a federal South Africa. This could be a stepping-stone to an Afrikaner "volkstaat", he said.

Mr Van der Merwe put CP leaders on notice that there was no way he was going to allow them further to mislead Afrikaner rightists and condemn the Afrikaner to irrelevance.

CP leaders were planless and had offered no workable strategy to concretise the principle of self-determination.

"Together with the greater Afrikaner majority, we throw down the gauntlet to the CP leadership over the future of the Afrikaner," he told parliament in the budget debate.

Rightist Afrikaners were going to return to mainstream politics. Mr Van der Merwe said he still believed self-determination was the key for South Africa, but not the CP leadership's caricature of it.

Their view of self-determination was a small white minority ruling a large majority of others — with apartheid laws. "It is nothing other than blatant domination and naked racism in the worst degree," he said.

CP leaders had been unable to come to grips with the new order in South Africa since President De Klerk's speech of February 2 1990 which CP members had dubbed "Red Friday".



Mr Van der Merwe

ANC opposition to Bill

JOHANNESBURG.— The African National Congress has demanded that the government immediately withdraw the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Bill and has called on its supporters to ensure it does not work on the ground.

"The government has once more acted unilaterally. This Bill, if passed, will impact negatively on both the negotiations at local level and on the constitutional negotiations in Codesa," an ANC statement said. — Sapa.

(304A) ARG 10/6/92

Talks 'may stop ANC mass action'

CT 10/6/92

Own Correspondent

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Government and ANC negotiators met in Pretoria last night for talks aimed at resolving the constitutional impasse and possibly averting the ANC's planned mass action campaign.

This was the third time the two parties have met since Codesa II last month.

Government sources said yesterday they would not accede to ANC demands point by point but they hoped the talks would render mass action unnecessary. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said ANC plans would be clarified next week. It was still possible that an agreement on interim government could stop mass action.

The government was eager not to be seen to be giving in to ANC demands, however. "We are continuing with negotiations quite normally. Whether any agreements will have an influence on the ANC and mass action remains to be seen," NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said.

The ANC was expected to ask the government to clarify its views on regionalism, the role of a senate and time frames for implementation of decisions and an elected constituent assembly.

● Advice team to visit SA — Page 8

Van Eck 'a sort of gargoyle'

THE National Party's treatment of Mr Jan van Eck (Ind, Claremont) had elevated him to a "sort of a gargoyle" grimacing from the edifice of that "broad church, the ANC", said Ms Dene Smuts (DP, Groote Schuur) in the Assembly yesterday.

The five former Democratic Party defectors were wrong when they claimed that the DP caucus had moved closer to the NP. "No such shift ever occurred in our caucus." — Sapa (304A)

Call to overcome fears of new SA

Star 11/16/92

DENIS Norman, one of Zimbabwe's three white Cabinet ministers, believes South Africa should have a "proving time" in which to adjust to whatever constitution emerges from Codesa.

Viewing South Africa's constitutional negotiations from a Zimbabwean perspective, Mr Norman suggested "checks and balances over a limited breathing space".

Mr Norman was interviewed in Johannesburg after signing an agreement in Pretoria to facilitate the movement of emergency grain shipments to his country.

Asked his views on Codesa, the former head of the white farmers' union in Zimbabwe said other countries must avoid trying to write a constitution for South Africa.

"I think this would be a fatal mistake. I think it just has to evolve. But if Zimbabwe's experience is anything to go by, a proving time is probably essential."

Recalling that the Z. wean constitution devolved Lancaster House in London barred changes to key clauses for the first seven years, Mr Norman said: "It was during those seven years that we ac-

Zimbabwe's Transport Minister Denis Norman views SA's constitutional negotiations from a Zimbabwean perspective.
GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service reports from Harare.



Denis Norman... a constitution has to evolve.

tually got to grips with the problem. And then, when they wanted to make constitutional changes, everyone accepted them without a murmur."

When the parliamentary seats for whites were abolished "it didn't seem to make any difference".

Asked whether he meant that only a part of the constitution should be implemented immediately, Mr Norman said: "The constitution that is worked out must be the final one, but I think you need to ease into it rather than declare it overnight. People must get used to the changes taking place."

It was, essential that "the

whole range of players" should take part in constitutional negotiations. "As long as everyone is a participant, the final refinements in the constitution will come."

No direct comparison could be made between Zimbabwean and South African constitution-making, since the two situations differed, Mr Norman said.

Given the wide gulf between the parties in Zimbabwe, the country could not have got so far down the road without Lancaster House and Britain's mediation. South Africa needed only agreement between its internal parties.

Once the elections were held under the Lancaster House con-

stitution "the goodwill was very rapidly established again".

Asked whether he saw a problem in that whites in Zimbabwe no longer had political power, Mr Norman said: "Not at all. We have no political power of our own, but every white adult has the vote."

Three whites were elected to parliament and there were three in the Cabinet — an increase since independence. Whites still had influence, especially in the economy.

"I don't think anyone would expect or even desire political power any more, it's an anachronism. We are a small minority — but can participate in the areas we want to."

Mr Norman said the future might not be as good as South African whites had hoped but it would not be as bad as they perhaps feared.

"I think fear is the big problem. Once you overcome fear, it's not so bad. Everyone is apprehensive that they are going to lose their property, their livelihood, their lives, their influence or whatever, and at the end of the day it usually doesn't happen. Life goes on."

Mr Norman said his two visits to the country to discuss

the emergency grain transport with his South African counterparts should not be seen as the abandonment of Zimbabwe's no-contact policy with South African ministers.

The visits would not have taken place were it not for the drought situation.

His government was expecting to import grain for the next two years. The emergency arrangements now in effect were working well, with good co-operation between Zimbabwe and South Africa, through which half of the emergency imports was coming.

Even if good rains fell next summer, Zimbabwe would still have to stock up.

If there was another drought next summer, the situation would be "too horrifying to contemplate". Water rather than food would be a major problem and industries could close down.

The large cost of food imports would set back Zimbabwe's economic recovery programme, Mr Norman said.

But he saw a silver lining — the drought would bring the countries of the region closer together. "If we can solve this one — and I am confident we can — it will be an indication that the other problems of the region are also solvable." □

Rebel will speak at music festival

Sowetan 11/6/92.
REBEL MP Mr Jan van Eck will be a featured speaker at a music and poetry festival at the Mamelodi Stadium on June 20 to commemorate the disappearance of activist Stanza Bopape at the hands of security police.

In recent weeks, Van Eck, who describes himself as "a sucker for lost causes" has shot to prominence as an outspoken critic of the Government.

He and four Democratic Party MPs made news when they left their party to join the ANC. This week Van Eck again made news when he was suspended from Parliament for implicating the State in the murder of over 1 000 black political activists.

The commemorative festival, which is being organised by the Mamelodi Civic Association, will also feature the rarely heard talents of Jonas Gwangwa's group, Philip Tabane's Malombo and Julian

(scribbles) 304A
Sowetan Reporter

Bahula. Other featured entertainers are Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Four Sounds Plus Three, Vusi Mahlasela and Ngwako.

Festival co-ordinator, Toenka Matila, said the festival starts at 7am with a 10 km fun run from Stanza Bopape Village to the Mamelodi Stadium. Van Eck will speak at 10am.

"There is also a possibility of speakers from MK, either Chris Hani or the newly-appointed MK head, Sphiwe Nyanda. But that still has to be confirmed," said Matila.

Entry to the stadium will be R5 and a R3 entry fee is also required for the fun run. Money for the fun-run can be paid in at the civic association's offices at the Balebogeng Centre in Mamelodi. The festival will end at 7pm.

Pressure to shut down PF in Codesa

Sowetan 11/6/92
THE Government and the Inkatha Freedom party are under pressure from minority parties to "shut down" the Patriotic Front in Codesa's daily management committee.

It is understood that the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei and the leaders of Solidarity and the National People's Party, both from the tricameral Parliament, are "revolting" because of the relative strength of the Patriotic Front in Codesa.

Codesa's daily management committee is made up of eight persons from the various political parties and of whom only two - the ruling National Party and the IFP - are not directly or loosely linked to the ANC in the Patriotic Front.

Sources within Codesa's warren of committees, subcommittees and technical committees were loath to comment on what has been called "a battle to shut down the PF in Codesa".

In terms of the agreements reached in Codesa in January, the daily management committee, which can perhaps best be

(304A)
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

described as the executive of the management committee, has to be reconstituted.

An offer to reconstitute the DMC with four PF members and four parties aligned to the Government was dismissed by senior ANC negotiators, a source said last night.

However, an "important meeting" of the PF leadership in Codesa is underway in Pietersburg today where the grouping will discuss strategies as well as the attempted shut down.

Meanwhile the ANC and the Government met this week for routine bilateral discussions on various issues including the current impasse at Codesa.

High on the Government's agenda is an attempt to stonewall the ANC's proposed mass action. It is understood that agreement on an interim government could successfully avert such action.

Best option for new SA

ADRIAN HADLAND

A FEDERAL system of government for the new SA would lead to more investment and greater economic efficiency, head of the HSRC's social dynamics unit Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday. (30/4/92)

He was speaking in Johannesburg at the launch of a new publication, Regional Government in the New SA, by HSRC researcher Bertus de Villiers. B/DeV

Schlemmer said SA would become an "investor-friendly environment" if autonomous regional governments had control over their infrastructures, incentives and levies.

He said cities and regions competing with each other for investment, under a federal system, would be the best way of bringing capital into the country.

In his book, De Villiers argued that SA should be divided into at least nine or 10 regions with the TBVC states losing their present independence. 11/6/92

Schlemmer appealed to political leaders of all parties to consider this option without reference to the "myths perpetuated by an oversimplified debate".

Federal system 'will lead to investment'

CT 11/6/92 (304A)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A federal system of government for the new South Africa would lead to more investment and greater economic efficiency, the head of the Human Sciences Research Council's social dynamics unit, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the launch of a new publication, "Regional Government in the New SA", by HSRC researcher Dr Bertus de Villiers.

Professor Schlemmer said SA would become an "investor-friendly environment" if autonomous regional govern-

ments had control over their infrastructures, incentives and levies.

Cities and regions competing with each other for investment, under a federal system, would be the best way to bring capital into the country.

Professor Schlemmer appealed to political leaders of all parties to consider this option without reference to the "myths perpetuated by an oversimplified debate".

Dr De Villiers said there had been no real debate about regional government. The issue could not simply be left to Codesa and the people from the different regions had to be involved in the talks.

ANC 'not ready to govern SA'

354H CT 11/6/92

FINANCE Minister Mr Derek Keys, in his first overtly political speech, said last night the ANC's call for mass action indicated that it was not ready to govern the country.

In a sharp response to the planned mass action campaign, he said: "There comes a point at which the watching world expects to see actions fitting a future government starting to emerge."

Closing the budget debate, he pointed to ANC secretary-general Mr

Cyril Ramaphosa's comments that the ANC was ready to govern, and said "the call for mass action rather indicates otherwise to that watching world".

Instead of learning the language and codes of how to take full advantage of the international market-related mindset, the ANC were walking into the trap of rhetoric and slogans, he said.

Meanwhile employers and unions have agreed that workers be given

the day off on June 16, Soweto Day, without loss of wages.

But mid-year exams at Soweto schools could be severely disrupted after about 460 schools scheduled exams for June 16.

The move has angered student and teacher organisations, which called on pupils to "honour the day" by attending rallies instead.

Protest action was planned at yesterday's summit of the co-ordinating committee on VAT to highlight the

effects of the tax and rocketing food prices.

Organisations associated with the committee had planned a programme of marches and demonstrations, but a date was still to be decided.

The starvation facing many was not caused only by the drought, but also by escalating food prices, the summit concluded. Businesses were taking advantage of the drought to raise their prices, it said. — Political Staff and Own Correspondent

ANC MP

slams

CT 1/16/92

Zach's

(304M)

speech

GREYTOWN MP Mr Pierre Cronje, an ANC member, lashed out at Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday for blaming the breakdown of Codesa on the "schoolboyish attitudes of the National Party and the ANC".

Mr Cronje's criticism comes against a background of deteriorating relationships between the DP and ANC in Parliament.

Speaking during the second reading budget debate, Mr Cronje said Dr De Beer "sounds like a small boy who has not been invited to play in the game. Or does he think he is a prefect or teacher?"

He said that when it came to the ANC's programme of action in order to "break the deadlock", the media, NP and DP had "lifted mass action out of the programme to the exclusion of all else".

DIPLOMATS on three continents are quietly preparing moves to monitor political violence and fair elections in South Africa knowing President FW de Klerk is working to thwart their plans.

Well-qualified officials of several governments here reported backstage talks are underway on two inter-related issues under the umbrellas of the Commonwealth Secretariat and European Community (EC), the United Nations in New York and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa.

The two related issues:

- Firstly, the introduction of several hundred "peace monitors", complete with backup staff, transportation and other infrastructural equipment, to check on the origins and effects of political violence, the role of the security forces and ways of restoring relative normality.
- Secondly, the introduction of hun-

government wanted to rejoin the Commonwealth, it would need to conform with the standards set by the institution. Also in London, Britain has stalled the visit of three EC foreign ministers to South Africa for talks with all parties until sometime after July 1 when the British assume the presidency of the EC. The three countries designated to make the journey are Britain, Portugal and Holland.

● In New York UN member countries have begun consulting over the sort of role the world body could or should play in promoting implementation of the Peace Accord and free, fair elections. There is broad backing for such a role but delegates seem painfully aware that the financially-strapped UN already is overburdened with peacekeeping missions.

● At OAU headquarters something of a split has developed on the monitoring issues. Countries like Nigeria and Kenya want to avoid offending De Klerk but most others favour substantial OAU representation in any system of observation.

In the past week, meantime, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have issued reports shedding new light on the degree of security force involvement in the violence. Their documented evidence has reinforced the case of those governments arguing for international monitoring of township violence and electoral surveillance.

Like it or not, world's going to watch SA

W/Weekend 12/6-18/6/92

Despite President FW de Klerk's resistance several foreign governments are planning to send delegations to South Africa to monitor political violence and elections.

By **ARTHUR GAVSHON** in London

3044

drums of foreign observers to see that the country's promised elections are conducted freely and fairly.

Publicly and privately, De Klerk has made it known his government would resist the involvement of a corps of foreign peace or electoral monitors. In verbal and written communications with several countries—including Britain, the United States, Portugal, Nigeria and Kenya—he has

indicated the presence of observers from abroad could be construed widely in the Republic as "foreign intervention" to the detriment of his own government's authority.

Some countries—Britain and Nigeria among them for their own varying reasons—appear to have bought this line.

The British Foreign Office, for instance, is saying Britain has not been

approached formally to send any sort of monitoring team either to check on violence or on the conduct of a future election. If asked, though, the request would be considered.

Meantime, the government has funded the secondment of a British academic, a Professor PAJ Waddington of Reading University, to serve on Judge Richard Goldstone's Commission. Waddington is an

authority on policing, the handling of public demonstrations and how security forces should go about their business using minimal force.

For its part Nigeria, which presides over the OAU, appears to be backing De Klerk's stance partly because it shares—for its own internal circumstances—his concepts on federalism. Another reason is that a political accommodation is developing between the two countries, as it is also between De Klerk and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, with future economic co-operation in mind.

Several Commonwealth, EC and UN countries, however, have been shaken in recent weeks by documented disclosures—in *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* among other newspapers—of ministerial and senior military collusion with massacres and murders. Revelations of internal governmental corruption also have had their effect. And, as a consequence, they have been saying through their officials that both the peace and electoral processes in South Africa simply must be monitored if they are to be internationally credible.

It was with that in mind that Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku had a series of discreet corridor-talks with leading delegates to Codesa last month when he attended the failed plenary session.

The underlying strategy is that if a consensus is established on the need for monitoring within Codesa, De Klerk's objections could be overruled.

Informants gave this rundown of discussions now going on in Europe, North America and Africa about monitoring:

● In London, Commonwealth diplomats are considering calling a special meeting of their Southern Africa Committee to examine the problem. The committee exercises a watchdog role over events in the Republic.

If a future nonracial South African

Fresh bid to draw CP into talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government and the CP held another round of discussions in Cape Town yesterday on ways of drawing the CP into negotiations. *Star 24/9*

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer announced afterwards that the talks were frank and had focused on developments in the constitutional field. The talks would continue at a later date.

The Government delegation consisted of Mr Meyer, Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport and Brentwood MP Boy-Geldenhuis.

The CP delegation comprised chief whip Frank le Roux, Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley, Barberton MP Casper Uys, Potgietersrus MP Schalk Pienaar and Randfontein MP Corné Mulder.

JAN VAN ECK

Pointing fingers

Getting thrown out of parliament is not exactly a new experience for Jan van Eck, who quit the DP and joined the ANC in April. This time round, his suspension is for the remainder of the session. His opponents say he overstepped the bounds of parliamentary privilege of free speech when he claimed that former State President P W Botha and his Cabinet were responsible for the execution of 1 000 black activists.

Back in May 1988, Van Eck was tossed out for a day when he would not withdraw his accusation that then Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was lying. Vlok had denied that Van Eck had been unsuccessful in laying a charge against some policemen.

Van Eck has a reputation of using parliament's special status to air his views. In 1988, Nat MP Roelf Meyer, now a top government negotiator at Codesa, attacked him for using parliament to say black people were treated like animals. That same year, Van Eck reported the plans for boycotts of local elections in the black and coloured communities — a subject off-limits to the press unless an MP mentioned it first.

Born in the Netherlands in 1943, the son of a music teacher, Van Eck came to SA at the age of five and grew up in the Karoo. Educated at Stellenbosch, he taught in Cape Town and East London, where, he says, he was inspired by the editorials of Donald Woods.



Van Eck ... not shy about speaking his mind

He says he found his calling after attending the funeral of Matthew Goniwe and three other black activists in 1985. In his book, *Eyewitness to Unrest*, he wrote of the

experience: "I left Cradock convinced that the struggle for freedom was totally just and one of which I should become part." But he had joined the old Progressive Party as early as 1971, when Afrikaner Progs were rare.

In 1986, he got his coveted seat in parliament when Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert unexpectedly quit the safe Cape PFP seat of Claremont. The next year he resigned from the PFP and became an independent, putting a few noses out of joint by making disparaging remarks about the party on his way out. Nobody has ever accused him of having read Dale Carnegie.

When the DP was formed in 1989, several PFP members blocked his membership for a short while — citing some scathing comments he had made about Inkatha — but then relented. Van Eck exploded when an SABC interviewer asked Zach de Beer if it was not possible that Van Eck would also quit the DP. Van Eck accused the SABC of being "deceitful and lacking principles" and the network apologised.

His "shock-them" brand of leftwing politics repeatedly delighted the Nats and irritated fellow DP members. When Kent Durr was a Nat MP, he suggested that Van Eck should be encouraged to address NP constituencies because every time he opened his mouth, it ensured that voters would not be tempted to side with the DP. Van Eck accepted, but the Nats demurred. ■

Protest over ousted MP

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 50 ANC members and supporters held a lunch-hour picket protest outside Parliament yesterday to protest against the suspension from parliament of the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck. (304A) CT 12/16/92

Singing freedom songs and shouting slogans, the protesters called for the immediate resignation of President F W de Klerk and Minister of State Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

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Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 12 JUNIE 1992
JUNE

No. 14022

PROKLAMASIE

van die
Waarnemende Staatspresident
van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 51, 1992

**TUSSENVERKIESING: VOLKSRAAD:
KIESAFDELING FLORIDA**

(1) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 110 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling Florida.

(2) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby ingevolge die bepalings van artikels 34 en 110 van genoemde Wet—

(i) **Maandag, 6 Julie 1992**, as die dag waarop 'n nominasiehof ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Florida sitting sal hou om nominasies van verkiesingskandidate te ontvang vir die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir daardie kiesafdeling;

(ii) **Woensdag, 12 Augustus 1992**, as die dag waarop, indien 'n stemming in die bedoelde kiesafdeling nodig word om die redes vermeld in artikel 41 van die genoemde Wet, die stemming ten opsigte van die verkiesing van die lid van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling hierbo gemeld, gehou sal word, welke stemming ooreenkomstig artikel 94 van genoemde Wet op daardie dag om 07:00 sal begin en om 21:00 sal sluit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Derde dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehoenderd Twee-en-negentig.

R. F. BOTHA,

Waarnemende Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

E. LOUW,

Minister van die Kabinet.

361—A

PROCLAMATION

by the
Acting State President
of the Republic of South Africa

No. 51, 1992

**BY-ELECTION: HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY:
ELECTORAL DIVISION OF FLORIDA**

(1) Under the powers vested in me by section 110 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the House of Assembly in the Electoral Division of Florida.

(2) Under the powers vested in me by section 33 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby determine, in terms of the provisions of sections 34 and 110 of the said Act—

(i) that **Monday, 6 July 1992**, shall be the day on which a nomination court will sit in respect of the Electoral Division of Florida, to receive nominations of candidates for election as a member of the House of Assembly for that electoral division;

(ii) **Wednesday, 12 August 1992**, as the day on which, if a poll becomes necessary in the said electoral division for the reasons mentioned in section 41 of the said Act, the poll in respect of the election of the member of the House of Assembly in the electoral division mentioned above shall be taken, which poll in accordance with section 94 of the said Act will commence at 07:00 and will close at 21:00 on that day.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Third day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-two.

R. F. BOTHA,

Acting State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

E. LOUW,

Minister of the Cabinet.

14022—1

FM 12/6/92 THINKING OF FEDERALISM

(304A)

A midwinter of malcontents

The national mood has shifted into an uneasy combination of foreboding and apathy. The euphoria after the March referendum has waned as the twin realities of violence and the recession have re-emerged in all their starkness.

Where before we were waiting for Codesa to deliver political reassurances and serious inflows of investment, there is now a mid-Eighties-style lack of certainty. While our leaders travel abroad or bicker, we tend to the everyday necessities of survival.

It is obvious that the heavy penalties of past misbehaviour are being visited upon us — the formidable antipathies of what underlay apartheid, and the structural mechanisms which were put in place to defend sectoral privilege. So it now looks less likely than it did at the beginning of the year that the lion will lie down with the lamb; hatred and incomprehension stir in various communities. So, too, the economy lurches towards further contraction.

In this climate of discontent, dramatic gestures seem plausible — rushing out and joining the ANC, for example — but quite soon expose themselves as frivolous.

Elsewhere in this issue we record the contribution of the Nationalist-inspired agricultural control boards to the disproportionately savage food price inflation rate. In the related field of political imagination, old, diehard attitudes also exert a stifling effect.

This is nowhere truer than over the issue of federalism — where debate is coloured by antagonistic beliefs about what federal structures are meant to do.

The government expresses abhorrence at simple majoritarianism — which it nonetheless employed to oust Jan van Eck from parliament. A federal structure — implicit in the degrees of autonomy and cultural preference of the provinces and homelands — would seem to guard against the terrors of outright, retributive majority rule.

The ANC — whose suspicion is fuelled by gross evidence of corruption and the inability of the State to end violence —

believes federalism à la Pretoria will enshrine a minority veto in the constitution and halt forthright black progress. It seeks to reclaim the initiative of mass action, though its degree of control over events of this nature is questionable.

The failure of one committee at Codesa to agree on certain technical aspects of how the constitution is to be drawn up could thus lead to the abortion of negotiations — though we are as yet far from that. This is because the main parties to the negotiations remain locked in past attitudes.

Given the geographically dispersed and disparate constituents of SA, federalism in one or another form is a likely constitutional outcome. What needs to be asked now is: what *kind* of federalism? Some point to the fission of the USSR and the hideous ethnic conflict in ex-Yugoslavia as evidence that a strong centralist State should be our future — the problem arising only when competing nationalisms are allowed free sway. And the ANC declaims against ethnicity as such, certainly in constructing a constitution.

Surely the point here is that the formerly socialist republics of the East would long since have entered the 20th Century and reached accommodations similar to those of their Western neighbours — were it not for the iron brutality of the communist inspiration itself, a residue from the last century.

Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia and so on did not go to war against each other under Tito, true; but the frozen status quo imposed by totalitarianism did not allow them to reconcile their differences through growing economic wellbeing, either. The ex-socialist world was retrograde in all spheres: political, economic, scientific, moral.

God forbid that we should have to endure a federalism like that, culminating in a civil war after decades of stagnation. It is, of course, to the US that we should be looking as the premier model of the kind of society into which we must evolve — where individual liberties and a free economic system reinforce each other. ■

"THIS gutter paranoia can only be prevented by fighting the conditions in which it can breed, and for that fight we need more, not less, freedom of discussion."

These ringing words on anti-Semitic propaganda, by Jewish American journalist IF Stone, have a direct bearing on the South African government's decision last week to withdraw the residence permit of British historian and Nazi sympathiser David Irving.

Behind the scenes, the Jewish community itself appears to have prompted the move, raising serious questions about freedom of expression and how far South Africans are prepared to go to defend it.

The issue is far broader than Irving's situation. South Africa has no shortage of racists of all shades and racism has been enshrined in our law for many decades. Will we ban the expression of racist views under a new order? Will banning them not raise more problems than it solves?

The African National Congress' constitutional proposals recognise the need for free speech, but would outlaw the expression of views which fan racial hatred.

Irving is a rightwing historian who has cast doubts on the authenticity of the Holocaust. A great deal of what he has to say on the subject is false and among those who have acknowledged this is the German government, which imposed a substantial fine on him for his claim that the Holocaust did not take place.

His views, which cause considerable pain to Jews and others who lost relatives in the Nazi death camps, are backed up by "facts", many of which have been shown to be false by reputable and independent academic authorities.

Irving has been in South Africa several times to speak on various platforms. In fact, he was invited to a Radio 702 talk show before the station withdrew the invitation.

Contrary to some press reports, he was not refused a visa. According to the Department of Home Affairs, his temporary residence permit was revoked because he had violated its terms by speaking on public platforms.

A department spokesman avoided the direct question of whether or not the Jewish community had pushed the department into this action — as did the chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies in Cape Town, Mervyn Smith, who said he preferred not to comment on the question.

However, sources within the Jewish community and close to the government have confirmed that the "irregularities" were brought to the government's attention by the Board of Deputies, and that the government acted on these representations.

Smith welcomed the move and made it clear that propagandists of Irving's ilk were not welcome. "We don't want Irving in this country. He is our enemy," he said, adding that Nazis have no right to freedom of speech here or anywhere else.

This is not the first time the government has acted directly to curb freedom of expression on behalf of one section of the community. Salman Rushdie's controversial *Satanic Verses* was banned at the behest of orthodox Muslims. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a trumped-up anti-Semitic tract, was rebanned after the government had unbanned it — with the case for its prohibition being argued by a noted Jewish free-speech advocate.

The simple truth is that these are acts of censorship which curb freedom of expression and which bring the perpetrators — who see them-

Can we combat gutter paranoia?

Rightwing historian David Irving has been made unwelcome in South Africa. Should those who find his views repulsive be celebrating — or worrying about the implications for freedom of speech?

Comment by PAT SIDLEY
12/6-18/6/92



Testing the limits ... Nazi sympathiser David Irving

Photo: Courtesy of THE STAR

selves as defending liberty — perilously close to those they are seeking to censor.

South Africa's Chief Rabbi, Cyril Harris, who becomes angry when speaking about Irving, believes there is a point "where liberty becomes a great danger".

"Freedom of speech does not mean poisoning people and then giving them an antidote," he says, referring to the persuasive academic trappings of Irving's misrepresentations.

Harris argues that there needs to be an "authenticity test". Where people — like Irving — spectacularly fail this, they should not be

allowed to propagate their views.

It's a stand shared by Les Harris of the Jewish Board of Deputies, who believes "absolutely" in freedom of expression and wants it to be enshrined in a future South Africa — but draws the line at propagating falsehoods.

This raises the questions of where to draw the line between "acceptable" and "unacceptable" falsehood, and who should apply the test. South African journalists have for decades lived with such "truth tests" — in the Police and Prisons Acts, among others — and there can be little doubt that they have been principally used to

suppress information damaging to the state and to protect erring officials.

When it's pointed out that the public which risks being duped by Irving's falsehoods has access to the truth, the proponents of censorship become guardians of the public's ability to judge. Says Les Harris: "Often the public doesn't have access to the full facts."

Freedom of speech carries with it responsibilities, but these include the willingness to allow others free expression.

A Johannesburg lawyer who is an expert in racially offensive literature and who has fought during much of his professional life for freedom of expression believes there must be some limits on freedom of expression. He points to the fact that most Western democracies have some form of legal prohibition on racially offensive expression. As signatories to a convention intended to stop racial hatred, they are obliged to prevent the dissemination of racially offensive material, one sanction being criminal.

South Africa has such a statute, dating back to 1927, which the lawyer concedes is a "textbook case of abuse" because "this law has been used against leftwing opponents of the government".

But he adds: "Nowhere in the world is freedom of expression absolute. What this debate is about is placing acceptable limits according to internationally acceptable standards." He points to societies like India — and, for that matter, South Africa — where a few words in a particularly highly charged ethnic or religious context will provoke hundreds of deaths.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus stresses that the ANC has no sympathy with Irving's "repulsive" views, but does not believe freedom of movement and expression should be limited in an arbitrary way. Any infringement of its Bill of Rights, which would prohibit the propagation of racially offensive views, would have to be tested in a court of law before action could be taken, he says.

David Dison, a Johannesburg civil liberties lawyer who has worked extensively with the media, believes Irving should have been allowed to come here, whatever his views. "I think that the public at large has the ability to assess the evidence for what it is. Only misguided and crazy people underplay the Holocaust," he says.

"It's like underplaying apartheid. If (Conservative Party leader) Andries Treurnicht wanted to go to Europe and say things were better under apartheid, he should be able to do this, and people could evaluate the statement on the evidence they have.

"I don't agree with outlawing race hatred. I'm virulently against it; I've fought censorship all my professional life. The National Party has used it politically against the ANC, and the ANC will now use it against the rightwing."

Perhaps the last word should go to Roy Steinman, the cantor at the Emanu-Shalom synagogue in Johannesburg, who lost close relatives in the Holocaust.

He believes that as repulsive as Nazis are — and he considers the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to be in the same league — they should be allowed to speak: "If the Holocaust taught us anything at all, it is that the minute you start cutting freedoms, you run the risk of creating another Holocaust."

'No funds' to bring bodies home

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) has turned down a request by the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) to finance the return to this country of the bodies of dead exiles.

SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane said in a letter to the REC that the request was impractical and would be too costly to carry out.

He added that the SACC did not provide for the exhumation of corpses in other countries.

"You will readily appreciate that there are probably thousands of people who have died in exile since 1960. And the possibility of bringing their remains to South Africa is a prohibitive expense which we can not afford," Chikane said.

The SACC had been subject to severe financial limitations recently and could not finance those wishing to visit the graves of relatives, he said.

The REC has also turned to the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the



DR FRANK CHIKANE: Request on exiles 'impractical and too expensive'

SOUTH 13/6 - 17/6/92
Anglican Church, the Rhema Church and the Dutch Reformed Church in its bid to find funds for the return of bodies of ANC rehabilitation camp victims. The response from the SACC has been the only one so far, the REC said. — Sapa

The Government, 'Plan B' and the art of the possible

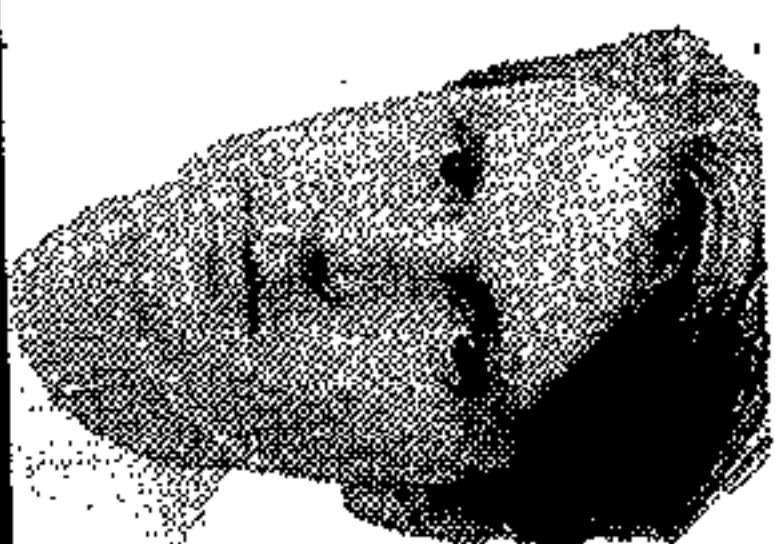
Star 13/6/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN

Johnson

(3644)



WHAT is "Plan B" and why do members of the Government get shiftier when you mention it? Why is President de Klerk so confident when he assures the Japanese government that the ANC's mass action campaign "can be dealt with"? What did he mean when he said in Parliament last year that his Government "had the capacity" to stop any negotiated settlement that was not to their liking?

Again: What is "Plan B"?

There is an assumption, in South Africa and abroad, that South Africa's transition process has an ineluctable quality to it. That President de Klerk, like reformist leaders before him through the ages, has unleashed a force which ultimately he cannot, and should not, control.

Translated into local terms, this means that at the end of the negotiating day, democracy will have its way. All the people of the country will decide its future, and we cannot know what that future is until they have been given the chance to speak. It is in the nature of embracing democracy: a sharp intake of breath and an honest commitment to accepting the outcome.

Business leaders, in particular, appear to have swallowed this assumption whole, even to the point of crudity. It is not at all unusual to hear people preface a sentence by saying: "When there's an ANC government..." They may well be underestimating the tenacity of the National Party, but they are assuming that the negotiating process is for real, and that whatever it delivers will stick. Well, yes, but not necessarily in South Africa.

Not if there is indeed a "Plan B". For some time now, albeit sporadically, the theory has been aired in political circles that the Government might be considering the re-im-

position of a State of Emergency, should negotiations appear to be running out of (NP) control. This is usually dismissed almost as soon as the words have been spoken, and it is indeed an implausible-sounding scenario.

But an impossible one? I wonder.

Consider some of the following realities of our changed political landscape. Firstly, in the eyes of the world legislative apartheid is gone. The everyday sound of sanctions collapsing bears loud testimony to this. As a result, the Government enjoys a degree of international legitimacy not known since the days of General Smuts.

His administration is universally accepted — yes, even in the Nordic countries — as the de facto government of the day. Many of his international interlocutors do so in the unspoken belief that he will soon be out of power, but this matters little in terms of the authority it confers upon him right now.

Mr de Klerk's assessments of the causes of violence, for example, are listened to in the corridors of world power with as much — if not more — respect than those of Mr Mandela. This

is an astounding turn of events: imagine, in 1989, P W Botha being regarded as a more credible witness than Oliver Tambo.

Secondly, the Government has placed the ANC in an unenviable bind over the question of national law and order, and the responsibility for its maintenance. Mr Mandela says repeatedly it is the duty of the State to put a stop to crime and violence. Whether he likes it or not, he is thereby sanctioning efforts by the existing security forces to this end.

Thirdly, in the course of Codesa negotiations, the Government has manoeuvred the ANC into principled acceptance of the need for Emergency powers, including detention without trial. The ANC has insisted that this should only occur with multiparty approval, but still — the principle has been established.

Further legitimacy has been conferred on the security forces via localised agreements where-by ANC "monitors" will accompany policemen or soldiers into troubled areas.

All of which is the basis for this scenario. Assume that South Africa is in turmoil as never before — prompted, say, by the ANC's upcoming campaign of mass action. President de Klerk, as de facto leader of the country, announces that he has no choice but to declare a State of Emergency. "Black on black" violence threatens to deliver the country up to chaos, he says, and a security clampdown — against the ANC and Inkatha — is the only way to save the negotiations process.

The world is at first confused, then wary, but ultimately understanding. The opportunity is used to weaken the enemy. Time has been bought, and the prospects for an election on one's own terms begin to look much better. "Plan B" has been implemented.

SA braces itself for mass action

KAIZER NYATSUMBA and PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

DEFENCE FORCE units have been put on standby as the country braces itself for a return to the confrontational politics of the past when mass action "on an unprecedented scale" hits the streets next week.

The African National Congress claims "Super Tuesday" will serve as the launch pad for the biggest protest campaign mounted in South Africa. ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the campaign was to "ensure democracy in our life-time".

SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said members of the citizen and commando forces had been called up or placed on standby in certain areas.

The ANC and its allies plan to hold more than 70 rallies involving at least a million people to protest against what it says is government intransigence at constitutional negotiations.

Mr Mandela said: "We regret that mass action will (have an) impact on the economy. But, the economy is so mismanaged it can't be damaged further. The government has not responded to our compromises and we have no alternative but to resort to the power we have — mass action."

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) has slated the latest call-up of white conscripts, saying that it will result in "unnecessary tension" and "the impression of a white-black struggle".

ECC spokesman Mr Kevin McManus said the

■ Turn to page 3

SA 'on standby'

ARG 13/6/92

■ From page 1

call-ups "smacked of militarism" and "exposed the lack of commitment of the De Klerk government to democracy and its intention to cling to white minority rule". The ECC called on the government to scrap military conscription immediately and "to submit to a democratic test of the will of the people of South Africa".

Meanwhile, the police will launch a country-wide publicity campaign tomorrow urging participants in the mass-action protests not to resort to violence.

In last year's "non-violent" general strike against VAT, an estimated 100 people died violently. The publicity campaign is part of a comprehensive contingency plan drawn up by the police to deal with mass action.

The police have refused to divulge details, but the plan is believed to entail the deployment and re-inforcement of police forces at expected trouble spots.

ANC sources yesterday told Weekend Argus that details of the mass action would be announced at a rally to be addressed by Mr Mandela at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on Tuesday.

He will lead a march from Ikhwezi station to Orlando West, where a memorial stone will be unveiled. He is expected to make major announcements following the ANC's three-day national executive committee meeting at a secret venue in Johannesburg this week.

The sources said the leadership of the ANC-Co-satu-SA Communist Party alliance had met on Thursday to consider possible courses of action if no progress was made in negotiations by the end of June. Mr Mandela would announce the decisions taken, they said.

The police's newly-formed 7 500-strong Internal Stability Unit, established to counter political unrest, is expected to be the core of its standby force.

Advertisements will appear in black newspapers tomorrow and thousands of pamphlets will be distributed in townships over the next few days showing graphic photographs of the victim of a "necklace" murder and a peaceful protest march led by American civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

The caption is: "Mass action, what is it to be? This (the necklacing) or ... (the peaceful protest)?"

The message of the advertisements and pamphlets is that "the SAP stands for legal, peaceful and non-disruptive actions". They read:

"Should you choose mass action, PLEASE:

- Make sure it is legal and peaceful;
- Exercise your democratic rights responsibly;
- Do not violate the rights of others; and
- Avoid all actions which could result in violence."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Major General Leon Mellet yesterday said the message was non-political.

The police, he said, were not opposed to peaceful protest, but felt they had a duty to try to ensure that, if it (protests) happened it remained peaceful. "If not, it is the police who have to step in to try to restore peace."

Pamphlets also are to be distributed appealing to township residents to report intimidation.

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday condemned the ANC's planned mass action and warned that the campaign would exacerbate the violence.

Addressing a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States, Chief Buthelezi said the mass action would be accompanied by intimidation and was an irresponsible and ill-timed move. — Sapa.



18 months", according to Dr Zac de Beer

the end of last year. According to political commentator Mr Rory Riordan, the surveys also showed the virtual disappearance of support for the Labour Party and a sudden levelling off in an initially strong growth rate of the National Party.

Dr De Beer estimated that the DP could obtain five percent and possibly even 10 percent of the support of the total electorate of all races. In the 1989 election the DP obtained 20 percent of the white vote, but this figure, he said, had declined because of Mr F W de Klerk's increased popularity after taking over some of the DP's policies.

"The role model for us is the Free Democratic Party in Germany," Dr De Beer said. "For something like four decades that party has been in the middle of the political spectrum. They never had less than five percent or more than 10 percent of the vote, and yet most of the time they have actually been in government through coalitions."

He foresaw a similar role for the DP. The party had, in fact, set a short-term target for itself of 10 percent of the total vote.

In a speech in parliament this week, Dr De Beer pinpointed what he and others see as some of the party's growth factors.

"We have not changed the principles or basic beliefs which we have upheld during the last 30 years. We have no scandals in our cupboard. We have never been involved in any kind of violence. We are liberal democrats by deep conviction and long experience. We believe in individual rights and freedoms. We stand for no caste or colour or class, but for human rights.

"We fear the polarisation with which the NP and the ANC are threatening South Africa. We look into the future, and we see that if these two organisations become the leaders of two dominant political armies, it will be 'haves' versus 'have-nots', system versus struggle —

envy, prejudice — yes, and even hate.

"And so we become more determined than ever that the moderate, democratic centre must be built and strengthened and expanded."

Earlier in his address Dr De Beer said he hoped and wanted to believe the National Party was sincere about negotiating, and then he remarked: "But then, for heaven's sake, they and the ANC must stop behaving like two brawling schoolboys in a playground, and must start to work together to save South Africa so that all of us can live in it.

"Make no mistake: while these two organisations squabble and scrap, it is South Africa that bleeds."

REFERRING to the DP's decision not to abandon its independence by joining one or other of the two "big battalions", Dr De Beer said he was sure neither was a suitable political home for a liberal democrat.

Here he pinpointed another potential growth factor for the DP — the heavy political baggage carried by both the NP and the ANC.

"One had only to remember the close involvement of the ANC with the Communists. One has only to observe the behaviour of the NP — which once more showed its contempt for democratic principles in last week's Van Eck episode.

"One had only to read accounts of the report of the International Commission of Jurists. Human rights will not be safe in the hands of either of these organisations (the NP and the ANC) by itself."

Dr De Beer then issued this call to "all South Africans who truly believe in human rights and in social market economics": "Come together to mobilise for a new democracy — to build a strong grouping of the centre, capable at the least of restraining the authoritarianism which is latent in both the ANC and the NP."

Some political analysts say Dr De Beer's argument has more validity than meets the eye. He has pointed at certain political realities, including the fact that both the NP and the ANC have authoritarian characteristics that could promote dissidence in their own ranks.

The DP, on the other hand, is relatively free of such political baggage, remains consistent, and offers democratic values in line with world trends. This could attract dissident elements from the other two groupings.

A comparable example mentioned by some is the "Perot factor" in American politics, where even a relatively insignificant independent politician could become a potential instrument for drawing dissatisfied elements from two major rival political parties.

In one US opinion poll, independent plutocrat Perot drew from both major presidential candidates almost equally: 27 percent of Clinton voters said they would switch to Perot in a three-way race, and 25 percent of Bush supporters said the same.

Likewise, say some analysts, the DP could in future draw support on a substantial scale from both the NP and the ANC.

A policy document issued by the DP will take the lead in encouraging the development of a multi-party democracy in which the values and interests of all South Africans will be represented by the parties of their choice. That choice must include a liberal democratic party independent of the two current major power blocs.

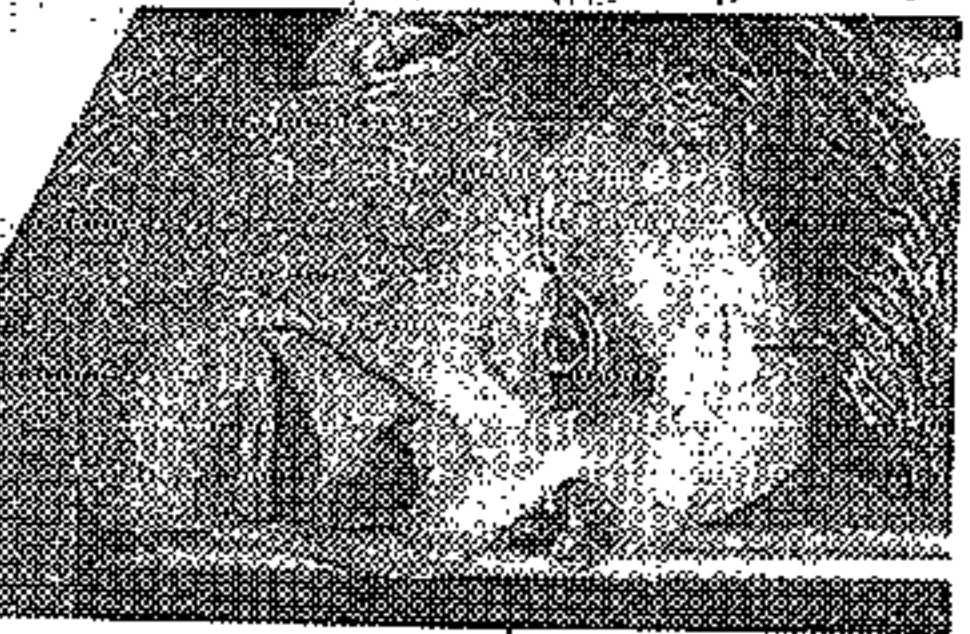
The DP is further committed to "transforming itself so as to become a force for liberal democracy in South Africa".

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13/6/92

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The DP ... spreading its appeal and aiming for the political high road



The Democratic Party has embarked on an action programme which it expects will put it in the forefront of South Africa's new politics. FRANS ESTERHUYSE, the Weekend Argus Political Correspondent, reports

If the Democratic Party's strategists are correct in their analyses, the way is open for the DP to hit the high road in a new non-racial, democratic South Africa.

With its strong democratic tradition and values, the party not only has the edge of history on its side but it also has a series of other distinct advantages over rival political groupings on its left and right.



ISSUES: Such as a moderating, if minority, role after a general election "in about 12 to 18 months."

In a special interview this week, DP leader Dr Zac de Beer told Weekend Argus why he believes the DP is on the move towards a powerful and influential role in the new South African politics.

He also disclosed details of the party's new action plan for expanding its membership and structures to all areas of South Africa and to put the party on an election footing.

The party, in fact, is gearing itself for a poll to elect a new national parliament (and possibly other bodies) within the next 12 to 18 months.

A call has gone out to party officials and workers throughout the country to implement the action plan "with great urgency".

"We have now embarked on the first stage of the election campaign," they were told.

Dr De Beer said he believed the party had a strong growth potential. Although there was no clear-cut indication of potential strength, some opinion surveys had indicated good prospects.

Surveys in the Port Elizabeth area, for example, showed that support for the DP had more than doubled within three years up to

FW could have a Plan B up his

JUST how committed is the government to allowing the negotiating process to run its course and deliver a democratically elected government? More pertinently, what is "plan B" and why do members of the government get shift when it is mentioned? Political commentator SHAUN JOHNSON has been wondering.

WHEN President De Klerk so confidently assures the Japanese government that the African National Congress's mass action campaign can be dealt with?

What did he mean when he said in parliament last year that his government "had the capacity" to stop any negotiated settlement that was not to their liking?

Another question: what is Plan B?

There is an assumption, in South Africa and abroad, that the transition process is irreversible. That Mr De Klerk, like reformist leaders before him, has unleashed a force which ultimately he cannot, and should not attempt to, control.

Translated into local terms, this means that at the end of the negotiating day, democracy will have its way. All South Africans will decide the country's future, and we cannot know what that future is until they have been given the chance to speak.

It is in the nature of embracing democracy — a sharp intake of breath and an honest com-

mitment to accepting the outcome.

Business leaders, in particular, appear to have swallowed this assumption, even to the point of crudity. It is not unusual to hear people preface a sentence by saying: "When there's an ANC government ..."

They may well be underestimating the tenacity of the National Party, but they are assuming the negotiating process is for real and that whatever it delivers will stick.

Well, yes, but not necessarily in South Africa. And then there is the question of "Plan B"...

For some time now, albeit sporadically, the theory has been aired in political circles that the government might be considering the possibility of a state of emergency should negotiations appear to be running out of (NP) control. This is usually dismissed almost as soon as the words have been spoken and it is, indeed, an implausible-sounding scenario.

But an impossible one? I wonder.

Consider some of the following realities of our changed political landscape.

Firstly, in the eyes of the world, legislative apartheid is gone. The everyday sound of sanc-

C.O.D. ? E.S.A

tions collapsing bears testimony to this. As a result, Mr De Klerk's government enjoys a degree of international legitimacy not known since the days of General Smuts. His administration is universally accepted — yes, even in the Nordic countries — as the de facto government of the day.

Many of his international interlocutors do so in the unspoken belief that he will soon be out of power, but this matters little in terms of the authority it confers upon him right now.

Mr De Klerk's assessments of the causes of violence, for example, are listened to in the corridors of world power with as much, if not more, respect than those of Mr Nelson Mandela.

This is an astounding turn of events. Imagine, in 1989, P W Botha being regarded as a more credible witness than Oliver Tambo.

Secondly, the government has placed the ANC in an unenviable bind over the question of national law and order, and the responsibility for its maintenance. Mr Mandela says repeatedly it is the duty of the State to stop crime and violence.

Whether he likes it or not, he is thereby sanc-

tioning efforts by the existing security forces to this end. The world's attention span is limited: they find it tiresome to try to understand the nuances in calling for decisive action, and protesting when, à la Phola Park, it is taken.

Thirdly, in the course of Codesa negotiations, the government has manoeuvred the ANC into principled acceptance of the need for emergency powers, including detention without trial. The ANC has insisted this should only occur with multiparty approval, but still, the principle has been established.

Further, legitimacy has been conferred on the security forces via localised agreements whereby ANC "monitors" will accompany police or soldiers into troubled areas.

All of which is the basis for this scenario.

Assume that South Africa is in turmoil as never before — prompted, say, by the ANC's upcoming campaign of mass action. Mr De Klerk, as de facto leader of the country, announces he has no choice but to declare a state of emergency. "Black on black" violence threatens to deliver the country to chaos, he says, and a security clampdown — against the ANC and Inkatha — is the only way to save negotiations.

The world is at first confused, then wary, but ultimately understanding.

The opportunity is used to weaken the enemy. Time has been bought, and the prospects for an election on one's own terms begin to look much better.

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ARG 13/6/92

Saturday, June 13 1992

Mounting CP tensions coming to a head?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE mounting tensions in the Conservative Party are expected to come to a head at the party's national congress in two weeks.

A number of MPs angry about the party's "lack of direction" could decide to part company with the CP after its Pretoria congress on June 27, sources said.

It is understood that a bruising showdown took place at the CP head committee meeting in Pretoria last weekend at which the party's remodelled policy direction was approved.

CP sources said Bethal MP Mr Chris Jager was so angered at the "poverty" of the new proposals that he decided to boycott the head council meeting.

Some disgruntled MPs who attended the meeting, including Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermeelo) and Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), demanded that a vote be taken at the meeting — a clear bid to signal division on the future direction of the party.

CP sources said that divisions also existed on the size of the proposed Volksstaat and whether it should include English-speakers

and coloureds.

In another development, the four MPs who failed to attend this week's regular caucus meeting in Parliament said yesterday that they had been granted permission by CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux to miss the meeting.

A statement issued by three of the four — Mr Mentz, Mr De Jager and Mr Andries Beyers — acknowledged that there were "differences of interpretation over the policy document which was accepted by the head council".

However, they added: "Nothing was unbrid-

geable as long as goodwill and realist ideas prevail."

The statement added that Mr Pienaar, the Free State leader of the CP, was out of town and could not be given the opportunity to sign the joint statement.

Meanwhile, it emerged yesterday that a member of the rebel clique, Mr Beyers, was no longer the chief secretary of the party. Mr De Jager, also a rebel, has apparently been dropped from the CP's negotiation team with the government on possible participation in constitutional negotiations.

WHEN people live together as a family, clan, community or nation, they develop a system of beliefs and codes according to which they live and interact with one another.

These beliefs and codes are learned and internalised through repetition and education until they are generally accepted.

Similarly, every political system is based on these beliefs and codes and every citizen is expected to observe and respect them. If the political system is a democratic one, this fact will be reflected in the system of democratic values that citizens and their government will uphold. The following are some (not all) values that are generally accepted as being part of the hierarchy of democratic values:

■ **Tolerance:** This means a willingness to listen to and tolerate a different point of view even if it is in opposition to our own point of view. Nobody is always right and nobody knows everything. It is therefore extremely important that we acquire the skill of listening to and tolerating a different point of view no fear.

■ **Freedom of association and participation:** In a democratic society citizens are free to associate with people, groups or political parties of their choice without any coercion or intimidation.

■ **Freedom of the press:** In a democratic society journalists and other media workers also enjoy the freedom to publish any information which they believe the public is entitled to know. There are no laws that restrict journalists or the press even if they choose to criticise the government of the day. There can be no democracy where journalists are threatened by political organisations if they write critically about these organisations.

Democracy takes

a lot of practice

Chen 14/6/92

This is the first of a series of articles by the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy. Topics will deal with democratic values, the role of political parties in a democracy, responsibilities of a citizen, the nature of a constitution, majorities and minorities, political systems, rule of law and voting procedures.

matter how much we hate to hear the view expressed by or of what people intimidate how much we hate the person expressing the view. If we fail to practise tolerance we will find it very difficult if not impossible to live happily in a democracy.

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Dealing with mass action the Zim way

S.T. Times 14/6/92

Sunday Times
Foreign Desk

HARARE. What were to have been nationwide labour demonstrations against the Zimbabwean government fizzled out yesterday in the face of a heavy police presence.

In Harare, scores of riot police gathered early next to the Town House in the city centre where the main demonstration mounted by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions was to have taken place, in defiance of an earlier government ban.

The march started about noon in the city centre. Protesters carried banners and placards, and most of them sang.

When the marchers reached a nearby street, riot police stopped them and ordered them to disperse. The marchers sat down on the road, but the ZCTU leadership told them to comply with the police demand.

The protesters handed over their banners and placards to police. There was no violence or arrests as the protesters dispersed.

ZCTU Harare regional chairman Leonard Kuzondishaya expressed satisfaction with the march, saying it had been successful and there had been no violence or looting of shops.

He expressed concern, though, that six would-be demonstrators had reportedly been arrested earlier in the day.

Their detention was confirmed by the national news agency, Ziana, which quoted union officials as saying small groups of people had been ordered to move on, while six would-

be demonstrators had been arrested while marching toward the city centre with a banner.

Mr Gibson Sibanda, president of the ZCTU, the country's umbrella labour organisation, said: "You can see the amount of deployment by the police."

He said police in Bulawayo had cordoned off the city hall where a demonstration was due to be held.

Ziana reported no sign of protesters in the city.

In Mutare, unionists called off the demonstration there "for fear of a confrontation with the police", said ZCTU Manicaland chairman Tarwirei Mabhande.

Shotguns

"I have told people to disperse peacefully," he said.

Police in riot gear, some armed with shotguns, were out in full force at strategic points along the streets of Mutare in preparation for the planned protest march.

On Wednesday, Minister of Home Affairs Moven Mahachi announced that he was banning the planned demonstrations because, he said, they would inevitably result in violence.

The ZCTU was hoping to hold a mass airing of grievances, calling for the suspension of an unpopular economic reform programme and the scrapping of new labour legislation.

A slowdown in the pace of talks does more good than harm, reports Ronald Kraybill

Codesa was moving too fast

STAFF 15/6/92

3044

SO, the headlines say the talks are deadlocked. Despite the over-hype of the media, it is clear that the dash to a new dispensation has come screeching into a go-slow zone and blame is flying. The truth is that, from the standpoint of constructive negotiation dynamics, hitting a snag in these fast-paced talks is a predictable and welcome development.

Things were moving too quickly.

● The political leaders had pulled too far ahead of their constituents. The sudden upsurge in personal recriminations among leaders across the table now suggests that both government and ANC recognise this themselves and are eager to move back into the safety of their own numbers.

● The Government and the ANC were dominating the smaller parties and the complex issues they represent, setting the stage for political and social turmoil later.

● Deals were being hammered out on the basis of short-term political pragmatism rather than on the basis of in-depth analysis of the issues both long-term and short-term that have to be ad-

dressed, and methodical examination of the options for resolution.

So what now? One fundamental goal should be to increase interaction of leaders with their constituencies about the negotiations. Experience elsewhere, the Sudan being one current example, shows that the biggest challenge in long-term resolution of major ethnic conflict often lies not in reaching an agreement across a bargaining table between leaders, but rather in gaining constituency support for what the leaders work out at the table.

Closer rooting to polarised constituencies would slow down negotiations, to be sure, but a slower pace would enable more careful analysis and thus improve the quality of the agreements and reduce the chances of rejection by constituencies later.

Secondly, the field of conflict resolution offers a variety of in-passe-breaking strategies that could be useful for the moment at which the parties decide they have re-grouped sufficiently to return to serious negotiation.

One classic strategy is to improve the quality of problem analysis taking place at the bargaining

table. An invariable aspect of in-passe is that negotiations degenerate to argumentation about solutions. Each side places a demand on the table, touts its merits, and attacks those of its opponents.

In other words, negotiators often get stuck arguing about solutions before they have agreed on the nature of the problems being addressed. The antidote is to employ discussion tactics that shift the parties away from adversarial posturing into a rational mode of joint analysis as a prelude to bargaining.

A technique that is sometimes used, for example, is this:

● Parties agree to withhold making proposals or demands for a period of hours or days.

● All discussion during this time is problem analysis, that is, it centres around the nature of the problems each side feels must be addressed by any later solutions.

● To the extent possible the parties then agree on a list of problems that must be addressed, or alternatively, a set of guidelines which the ideal solution would meet.

● Once this exercise is completed, the parties begin analysing so-

lutions in light of the problems or guidelines identified.

Another technique focuses on joint options analysis:

● Create a list of options being proposed by anyone at the table.

● On each option identified conduct a joint analysis. For example, make a list of "strengths" and "weaknesses" of each option. Alternatively, do an "Anticipated Impact Analysis", which spells out the likely consequences for each party of each option under consideration, and the consequences or implications of each consequence.

No single technique is effective, of course, in all settings. The point is not to propose magic solutions, but rather to demonstrate that there is a body of skills and approaches which, flexibly applied, can be valuable in moving parties through impasse and in improving the quality of their agreements on less-disputed matters.

A second in-passe-breaking strategy is to introduce mediators or facilitators. Traditionally, third parties played a high-profile role as deal-brokers, with the consequence that combatants were often reluctant to complicate the negotiation with high-visibility

outsiders. But recent years have seen the emergence of a different style of mediator in many public policy conflicts, a low visibility facilitator selected for skill and experience in the dynamics of negotiation and in problem-solving approaches rather than for political prominence.

The best facilitators bring an arsenal of tools for problem analysis to assist the parties in establishing discussion approaches that move beyond adversarial argumentation to systematic, in-depth analysis of complex issues. In the heat of high-stakes negotiation such a third party can be invaluable in enabling the parties to establish and retain a "joint analysis mode" around critical problems.

Yet another commonly used in-passe-breaking strategy is to agree on procedures for further discussion when agreement on substance fails. The Codesa framework provides a macro-procedural framework for further talks, but what about agreeing on a procedure for further analysis and negotiation regarding the specific items of deadlock?

In short, the future of the nation is at stake and the issues are both

complex and emotional. Everyone will lose unless the negotiators go about unravelling those issues in ways that:

● Comprehensively identify key issues,

● Enable thoughtful, in depth and relatively unemotional joint study and analysis,

● Incorporate high-levels of ongoing consultation between the negotiators and their constituents.

The greater the tension and haste, the smaller the chances of accomplishing these tasks well.

The goal of building a tolerant and just multi-ethnic democracy is extremely urgent. But if the parties now focus on positive efforts to regroup and re-strategise a slowdown involving a few weeks or months could turn out to be one of the most constructive events yet to take place in the negotiation process. □

— Ronald Kraybill is director of training at the Centre for Inter-group Studies and a trainee for the National Peace Accord Process.

FW is ^(304A) 'clinging to white ^{Soweto} supremacy' ^{196/92}

SOUTH African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani at the weekend said President FW de Klerk was still clinging to the idea of white supremacy.

Hani told a rally, called by the National Union of Metalworkers, that De Klerk had gone to the negotiation table with a hidden agenda.

He blamed the deadlock at Codesa on De Klerk, who he said still believed in the homelands system.

He said the Government wanted people like President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu to do what the central Government wanted, "which is a continuation of oppression and is called federalism".

He said it was an accepted fact throughout the world that a 66 percent majority could make a constitution. The Government wanted 75 percent.

Hani said the Government was aiming at getting at most 30 percent votes by combining its votes with those of people like Buthelezi in order to block the ANC-led alliance from having a clear-cut majority.

He said De Klerk "must resign because he cannot rule us".

He urged the crowd to go out and mobilise people to take part in the ANC's mass action campaign, which starts tomorrow, in order to "bring the country to a standstill and force the door of freedom to open".

Sapa.

TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

LAST-minute efforts are being made today to resolve the impasse at Codesa on the eve of a mass action campaign planned by the ANC.

The management committee of Codesa is meeting in Johannesburg following bilateral meetings between the government and the ANC and Inkatha at the weekend.

Senior government sources said today the weekend talks had been positive and constructive and progress had been made.

They could go some way to resolving the serious differences in Codesa on matters such as constitution-making mechanisms.

A feature lately has been that government spokesmen have been far more optimistic about the prospect of success in the talks than the ANC.

The ANC demands remain that there must be an interim government by the end of this month and elections for a constituent assembly by December.

The government is resigned to mass rallies planned for tomorrow, Soweto Day.

Government spokesmen emphasised that such rallies were regarded as a democratic right, but the real concern was about strikes and stayaways that could be disruptive.

They said the government would not be willing to negotiate with a pistol held to its head and that if disruptive action took place it would have to review its strategy.

The ANC alliance plans to start with 70 rallies around the country tomorrow commemorating the Soweto uprising and to continue with a strategy of sit-ins, occupations, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience until June 30.

That is the deadline the ANC has given the government to give into its demands for interim government.

If this fails, the ANC will start a new phase of wider national actions, culminating in a general strike in August.

Government ministers and security officials fear that the mass action campaign will lead to violence — and even that the ANC's strategy might be deliberately to provoke violent confrontation with the security forces.

They said that peaceful legal protest would be tolerated. But any violence and illegality — such as ANC plans to cause disruption by occupying government offices — would be dealt with "firmly" and with the "necessary force".

But, police said they would exercise restraint at all times.

Business has made it clear that it will not indulge the campaign and will follow a policy of no work, no pay.

Some have also threatened, at least privately, to fire workers who stay away from work.

Last ditch bid to halt mass ac

It's a joke to legislate like he complained.

He said his chief concern at the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill was that it gave attorneys-general the power to refuse bail in cases involving violence and intimidation.

Leon said he needed to further the provisions of the Bill relating to shortened procedures and detention out trial.

While the DP could see the need for shortening court proceedings to avoid the problem of cases disappearing, this had to be balanced against the prevention of due process.

A new Bill contains several aspects:

- an effort to curb private violence, it makes it an offence to use, train, equip or arm a military organisation
- it tries to return the role of

Countdown

after crisis meeting fails

SOUTH AFRICA
enters its final
countdown today
for what could be
the most disruptive
and potentially
explosive
period in

**R97 million a day
cost to builders**

Mass action
the day on which the
Freedom Charter was
adopted at Kliptown in
1955.
If the government did
not accede to the de-
mand for an interim
government, the second
phase of the programme
would swing into action.
Mr Shilowa said nation-
ally co-ordinated mass
action campaigns would
be launched in this
phase.
Phase three, to begin
in August, would be
characterised by a
general strike, more
mass marches and spo-
radic stayaways. Phase
four, the "exit gate", is
when government is sup-
posed to exit from
power.
Mr Shilowa said that
running concurrently
with Cosatu's mass ac-
tion campaign would be
"intensified" campaigns
for demands such as a
living wage, lower food
prices and the extension
of "worker rights" to do-
mestic and farm work-
ers.
● Inkatha last night
called on its members to
go to work tomorrow. It
also said "self-defence

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de Klerk's presidency.

Tomorrow, Soweto Day, the ANC alliance begins its extended mass action campaign aimed at crippling the government with boycotts, stayaways, marches, sit-ins, occupations and other forms of disruption.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is holding rallies to protest against the mass action.

Many thousands of police, citizen force units and commando units will be on duty, on standby and in reserve to control the crowds and prevent violence and intimidation.

Weekend talks between the government and the ANC failed to resolve the deadlock between them. A critical Codesa Management Committee meeting takes place today.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu at the weekend spelt out a four-phase plan to cripple the government and force it to bow to the alliance's demands.

The action which begins tomorrow is scheduled to culminate in a general strike in August.

A government source said that while the mass action campaign was totally unnecessary, destructive and unlikely to help negotiations, the government had no real problem with marches and rallies.

However, he said there could be problems with intimidation if there were stayaways and, even though marshals and organisers might be determined to keep the protests peaceful, these marches and rallies could degenerate into dangerous violence especially if there were strong opposition from other political groupings.

Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa yesterday urged businessmen to shut their factories and offices on days of mass action or strike during the programme.

He said the fact that business leaders had played

R97 million a day could be lost by the construction industry if the ANC's mass action campaign goes ahead, the Association of SA Quantity Surveyors (Asaqs) warned yesterday.

"Retrenchment and closures could become the order of the day if mass action at this delicate stage of work scarcity was sustained for any length of time," the association said in a statement.

"Lost wages could exceed R8 million per day alone, which would result in extreme hardship, particularly as work is scarce and job security is threatened.

"It is a well-known fact that low productivity threatens the South African construction industry and to fuel this by a demand of a mass stayaway will only enhance the imbalance and

Asaqs said the misinformed may imagine there existed a saving to the construction industry resulting from unpaid wages due to stoppages, but the opposite is true.

Days lost in this manner created an atmosphere of reduced productivity followed by the cost of unproductive overtime working in the attempt to regain time lost, losses resulting from completion date overruns, extra expense of escalation etc, all of which the economy would have to somehow absorb.

"There is also the ripple effect into allied industries — cement, quarry, brick, steel, timber, electrical and mechanical industries which largely depend upon the regular turnover of work generated by the construction industry." — Sapa

a role in securing a yes vote in the referendum showed they were supportive of a new constitution.

"We have made our demands and we would like business — unless it wants to be perceived as siding with government — to say how it wants to participate in our mass action programme."

Cosatu was prepared to meet business leaders "in whatever way" to discuss the matter.

Sacob director-general Mr Raymond Parsons yesterday declined to comment.

Addressing a rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday, Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Mr Musa Zondi called on supporters to make the campaign fail by not taking part. He said it would damage Codesa negotiations, cripple the economy and give rise to large-scale violence.

Mr Shilowa said the programme's first phase — mobilisation — would begin tomorrow and finish at the end of the month. During this period locally and regionally planned mass demonstrations, including marches and pickets, would be staged.

Another key day in this period would be June 26 —

To page 7

against violent intimidation".

It called on the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defence and all security forces to ensure that main taxi and bus routes were kept open and asked for reinforcements for trouble spots, the IFP said after its Central Committee meeting in Ulundi yesterday.

"We will ask police to do more than patrol arterial routes by vehicle and to establish foot patrols controlled by command posts mounted to cover the trouble spots."

● The ANC yesterday criticised the police for demonstrating "their partiality by entering the political arena" in placing advertisements which linked mass action with violence.

The advertisement placed in Sunday newspapers juxtaposed a gruesome colour photograph of a necklace victim and a black-and-white photograph of American civil-rights leader Martin Luther King leading a march.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said that the police with "its shameful and ongoing record of violence and unlawful actions should claim Martin Luther King as their model and inspiration is so preposterous as not to warrant a reply".

Govt talks a waste of time, says ANC

Political Staff

As the ANC was poised last night to embark on a three-month programme of mass action, it urged the Government not to delude the public on the seriousness of the crisis between them.

After yesterday's meeting of the Codesa management committee, the ANC and the Government gave contradictory accounts of progress towards resolving the deadlock on who should write a new constitution.

While ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied that any progress had been achieved at Codesa or in bilateral talks with the Government, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said negotiations were proceeding "favourably and constructively" and explained Mr Ramaphosa's contrasting view as a way for the ANC to justify its mass action.

Mr Ramaphosa said the two parties had moved no further than identifying areas of difference. He described the meetings as "totally frustrating and a total waste of time" as the Government had not tabled any proposals to resolve the deadlock.

Mr Ramaphosa said he had told the management committee that mass action would be "a peaceful form of protest against a Government which is intransigent and bent on holding on to power as long as possible".

He said the ANC had ensured from its side that no loss of life would occur, but was concerned about agents provocateurs disrupting rallies and marches.

Mr Meyer said the Government had urged the ANC to suspend the mass action. It was a matter of concern that the tripartite alliance had decided before Codesa 2 to launch its programme of mass action, Mr Meyer said. The motivation lay not in the negotiation process

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'Govt talks waste of time'

● From Page 1

nor Codesa; the ANC was building a power base.

In Cape Town last night, President de Klerk charged that the state of the negotiations process could not justify the mass action, and called on the public to distance itself from this "disruption".

"Protest actions of the scale and nature which are planned do not coincide with the spirit of honest negotiation to which the ANC and its allies have bound themselves at Codesa. It also goes against the spirit of the Peace Accord."

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the Government was not opposed to peaceful and legal protest, but to mass action which led to "mindless violence, destruction of lives and property, and large-scale economic disruption".

The security forces would not tolerate the disruption of the public transport system; intimidation; the occupation of State or semi-State buildings; the disruption of emergency and essential services; damage to property; or any action affecting the public's security.

Security force protection of national key points has been

stepped up and troops are on standby to maintain essential services, reports Peter Fabricius.

Defence Minister Gene Louw told Parliament last night that apart from the 9 900 men which the defence force already had deployed on a daily basis in the country, certain part-time Citizen Force and Commando units were on 72-hour standby.

ANC MP Dave Dalling had earlier called the call-up "evil and hypocritical" and said the ANC demanded that it be withdrawn immediately.

Cosatu said: "We reject with contempt the attempt by the Government and police to whip up emotions around the impending programme of rolling mass action."

"Given their past record, the Government and police war-talk is extremely sinister, and suggests they are trying to create a war psychosis to enable them to crack down on peaceful mass action."

The National Peace Committee last night urged Mr de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to commit themselves to Peace Accord procedures rather than "strong-arm tactics" during the mass action.

Sincerity at the top is suspect, says Marimuthu Subramoney

FWW maintains white domination

Star 16/6/92

304A

EVER since the white electorate's President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC, the PAC, other political organisations and released Nelson Mandela in February 1990, we have been treated ad nauseam to what a sincere man Mr de Klerk is.

We have repeatedly been told that he is a man of his word and totally committed to the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic society.

Mr de Klerk himself has stated that he stood for democratic majority rule.

I don't doubt his integrity as a person but there are serious doubts about his commitment to a non-racial and democratic majority government.

The reality is that it is now more than two-and-a-half years

since the start of the new South Africa and yet we are unable to see any democratisation of the SA Government.

Before someone accuses me of being unkind to Mr de Klerk, let me say: Yes, we have seen apartheid laws repealed. But has anything really changed for the ordinary South African?

Has the man in the street whom Mr de Klerk and his Government are trying to woo as "vote banks" in any future free and fair elections been made to feel welcome?

Except for one or two exceptions, Mr de Klerk has not taken any action to integrate people of colour in his administration so that it will represent the population structure of the country on merit.

If anything, the man in the

street does not only have to put up with the daily violence wracking the country, the poverty, the unemployment, and the uncertainty, but he still remains outside the establishment and the mainstream of South African life.

From the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Home Affairs and Justice to police, army and every other department, whites control and dominate. Where is the move towards non-racialism? I cannot see any. Can you?

Take Mr de Klerk himself. How many people of colour does he have in the State President's Office? I bet not one!

During his trip to Nigeria early in May, his entire delegation was made up of whites — right from his personal security personnel to

senior officials.

During his latest trip to Russia, Japan and Singapore, Mr de Klerk's delegation was once again all-white. Mr de Klerk did not even take along one of his Indian or coloured supporters in the tricameral parliament or African supporters from the bantustans just to give the impression that he represents a non-racial society. All ambassadors and other diplomats appointed are white — except in Denmark — even in the new offices opened in countries that formerly regarded South Africa as a pariah state. Where is the affirmative non-racialisation of the Foreign Affairs ministry?

● Marimuthu Subramoney is correspondent for the Press Trust of India and also reports for Radio Deutsche Welle and Radio France Internationale.

Parties fail to make progress on crucial Codesa issues

304/1
#12

CODESA ground to a virtual halt yesterday with government and the ANC still at loggerheads on a number of crucial issues.

Even the size and composition of the daily management committee, scheduled to be decided at yesterday's management committee session, was left undecided and referred to the next meeting.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the talks between government and the ANC outside Codesa had also made "no progress whatsoever" on critical issues such as the creation of a senate, the percentages needed for adopting a new constitution and the timeframe and structure of a constitution-making body.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer, however, said bilateral talks were proceeding favourably and constructively.

One ANC management committee member said government had failed to realise how serious the deadlock had become. Government was conveying the message that everything was going fine while failing to tackle the "hard issues".

Codesa's management committee did decide yesterday to create a sub-committee to investigate the status of discussions within working group 2 which is concerned with the constitution-making body, prior to

the second plenary session.

It also formed a standing committee to examine working group 4's discussions around the TBVC states' incorporation, which would be considered individually.

Another subcommittee was created to make recommendations on arrangements for management committee meetings to take place with the media present.

But apart from cosmetic advances, the ANC and government appeared deeply divided on the crucial issues.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said the biggest single deadlocked issue concerned the writing of the constitution. "The question of whether Codesa or a constitution-making

body writes the constitution goes to the root of the matter," he said.

"It must be either democracy or Codesa, the two are not synonymous," he said.

Ramaphosa told a news conference yesterday the ANC had proposed a moratorium on government legislation aimed at restructuring defence and local government.

One member from each of the participating parties in Codesa would be travelling to the US to observe the forthcoming elections, it was announced. The invitation to spend three weeks in the US had been extended by the US government.

Trains, buses, taxis countrywide carry few passengers as Soweto Day is commemorated

(45)

3044

REC 16/6/92

STAYAWAY

Staff Reporters

HUGE stayaways were reported throughout the country today as Soweto Day was commemorated and the mass action campaign by the ANC and its allies got underway.

The first sign of a work stayaway in the Peninsula was the trickle of train commuters and a strong police presence at Cape Town station.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce spokesman Mr Charl Adams said the effect of the stayaway was "comprehensive", but he could not comment fully until he had more details.

The ANC has not called for a stayaway, but Mr Adams said unions had negotiated for workers to take the day off in lieu of official public holidays.

The majority of employers would use the no work, no pay principle in cases of absenteeism without negotiation.

A Spoornet spokesman said trains from Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha were 40 per-



unions had negotiated for workers to take the day off in lieu of official public holidays.

The majority of employers would use the no work, no pay principle in cases of absenteeism without negotiation.

A Spoorneet spokesman said trains from Mitchell's Plain and Khayelisha were 40 per cent full this morning. Trains on southern suburbs lines were half-full and those on the Bellville line 80 per cent full.

Buses empty

In Khayelisha the few buses running were mostly empty and only a handful of people were seen walking towards the railway station to catch trains to work. There were few cars and no taxis on the roads.

In other Peninsula townships stations were deserted and at the normally busy Nyanga terminus, a Golden Arrow bus inspector said business was down 80 per cent.

Although hundreds of taxis were parked at the terminus only those plying inter-township routes operated.

In Gugulethu toyi-toying youths carrying placards were seen about 9am, apparently preparing for an ANC rally at Nyanga Stadium.

In most Tygerberg areas refuse removal and municipal services operated.

"Most of our emergency services are available and we have about 65 per cent of our staff at work," said Godwood town clerk Mr Dave Wilken.

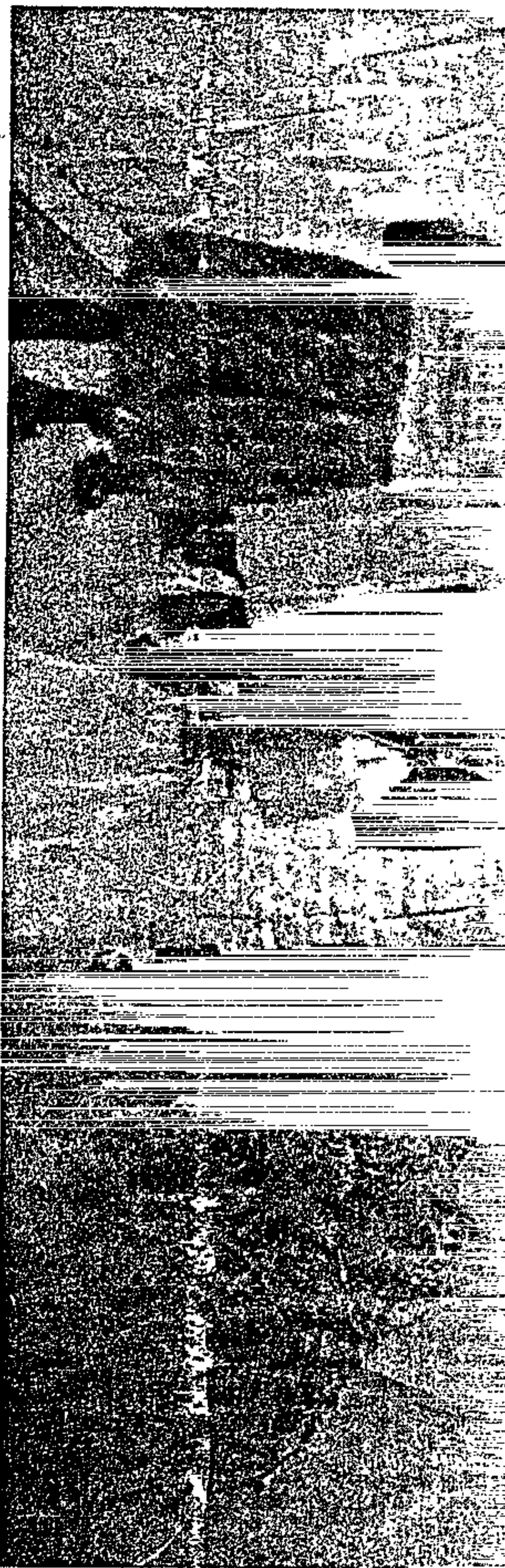
Acting town clerk of Milner-ton, Mr Trevor Hollis-Turner, reported very few absentees.

Bellville municipal staff were on duty and refuse collection was going ahead, said public relations officer Mrs Anne-marie Theron.

All staff at the municipal head office were present, she said.

The Brackenfell and Knuts-
river municipalities also re-
ported low absentee figures.

Black schools in the Peninsula were empty and the National Education Co-ordinating



COMMUTERS: An armed policeman guards a small group of workers walking from Clairmont outside Durban to catch trains to work early today.

Picture: RICHARD SHONEY, The Argus Picture Service

Committee predicted a quiet day of "commemoration and mourning".

NECC national chairman Mr Monde Tlwana said pupils were attending rallies and prayer meetings.

The Eastern Cape's main motor manufacturers were closed, but it was business as usual for hotels, shops and offices.

Della and Volkswagen regarded June 16 as a public holiday.

In Port Elizabeth, supermarkets and shops took on casual labour to offset the absence of large numbers of black workers.

Hotels made do with skeleton staffs and hospitals took on casuals.

On the Reef transport from black townships was reduced to a trickle and roads were deserted.

Early morning trains from Soweto carried a mere 0.5 per cent of capacity, a figure reflected on other Reef railway lines.

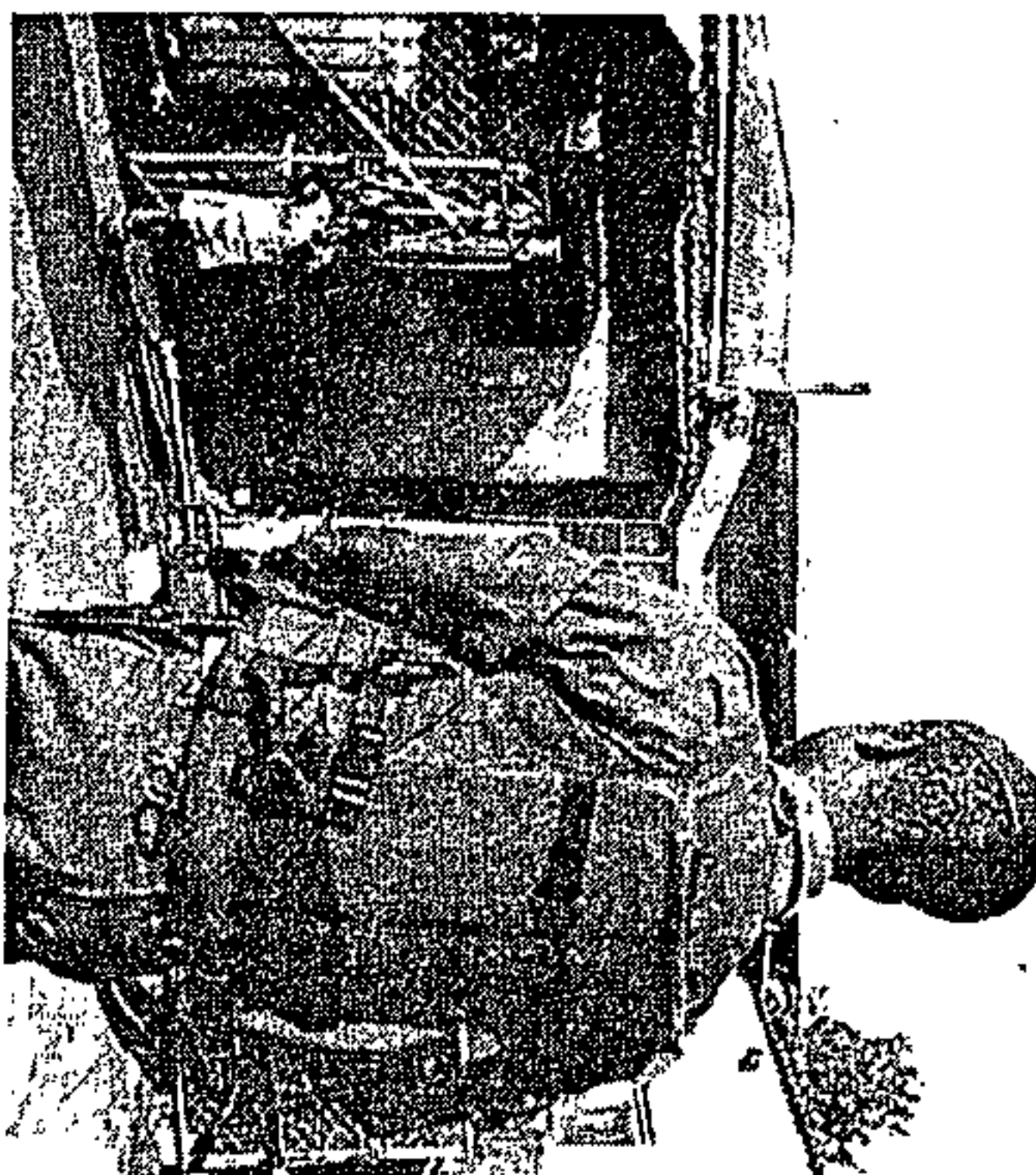
A Spoorneet spokesman said it was likely that the early morning passenger figures were the "lowest recorded".

He said 80 per cent of Spoorneet employees had not reported for work.

The stayaway is likely to be costly for the rail industry. During last month's Reef train boycott, the South African Rail Commuter Corporation lost an estimated R130 000 a day in fares alone.

Taxi ranks throughout the Witwatersrand were deserted.

Thousands of workers in Natal stayed at home and trains, buses and minibuses taxis carried only a handful of passengers.



The Argus Picture Service

STANDING GUARD: A small child stands at the gate of his home as a Defence Force soldier stands guard in Alexandra township on the Reef.

The Durban mass action campaign kicked off with a rally at Curries Fountain which was due to culminate in a march to the city hall where a memorandum was to be presented to a senior policeman calling for June 16 to be recognised as "National Youth Day".

The resignation of the government and the immediate installation of an interim government.

There was no one at the Codesa headquarters at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, to answer telephone queries.

Two Codesa sub-committee meetings due to be held today were postponed to tomorrow. The decision to observe

Soweto Day was reportedly taken at a meeting of Codesa's management committee yesterday.

Thousands of soldiers and police are on standby to back stern government warnings that it will not tolerate violence, intimidation or disruption in the mass action campaign.

As President De Klerk, the National Party and the government launched an 11th hour political counter-attack against the ANC, the SA Communist Party and trade unions, security forces upgraded the protection of so-called national key points and "important points and areas".

Sisulu calls for investor boycott

BOSTON — ANC chief economist Max Sisulu told an investment meeting on Sunday it was not time to put money in SA, saying this would wrongly reward Pretoria's white leaders and stymie democracy talks.

Sisulu said sanctions had brought SA's white leaders to the negotiating table, where talks aimed at establishing a nonracial democracy had stalled. Sanctions alone would keep them there, he said. *16/6/92*

"We are therefore saying now is not the time to reward (President F W) de Klerk, now is not the time to embrace apartheid, now is not the time to invest in SA," Sisulu told a meeting of the Social Investment Forum, a private US group that encourages value-oriented investing.

He said opportunities in a post-apartheid SA were "limitless" but that the ANC did not think a free market alone could deal with "the structural imbalances and inequalities" centuries of colonial and apartheid rule had brought. *16/6/92*

The ANC was committed to the creation of a "mixed economy" with co-operation between the state, private companies, financial institutions and unions, Sisulu said.

SA would need "massive flows of foreign investment" but the ANC believed this should "complement" domestically derived investment and productivity, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Azapo claims govt and ANC have secret pact

AZAPO claimed yesterday to have documentary evidence that government and the ANC had come to a secret agreement ruling out majority rule for 10 years.

The organisation claimed the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance had misled its supporters by saying its mass action programme, starting today, was aimed at ousting government.

ANC and Cosatu officials have said the mass action programme was aimed not only at breaking the Codesa logjam but also at the transfer of power to the majority.

A senior Azapo official said yesterday his organisation had documentary evidence that the transfer of power to the black majority was not the alliance's top priority.

The official said according to documents — obtained from Azapo supporters in Europe — there was an agreement between government and the ANC, which effectively ruled out majority rule for 10 years.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday Azapo would be better advised to concentrate on its campaigns aimed at ousting government.

Macozoma also rejected Azapo's proof as fabricated.

The Azapo official said judging by statements by the alliance's officials, including ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, it was obvious

WILSON ZWANE

the campaign was aimed at making Codesa negotiations successful.

Mokaba last week said his organisation would hold a "people's referendum" to test the scale of rejection of government's proposal of a senate, a 75% majority in a constitution-making body and on regionalism.

The Azapo official said his organisation was not opposed to mass action. "On the contrary. We are prepared to launch joint mass action campaigns with whatever organisation, provided such campaigns centred on the transfer of power to the black majority and the redistribution of wealth."

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said at the weekend his union would propose discussions with Azapo, the PAC and Nactu to secure their participation.

The Azapo official said his organisation would treat today as a public holiday. But that did not suggest Azapo supported the alliance's mass action programme.

National peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the committee's executive had agreed to set up a system to monitor violations of the national peace accord during the mass action programme.

Mass turnout for ANC likely

CT 16/6/92 304A

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

PENINSULA factory floors, classrooms and the city centre look set to be deserted today as workers and students turn out in force for the start of the ANC's mass action campaign.

According to Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairman, no rallies or marches to commemorate June 16 are planned for the city centre, but eight rallies will be held in the greater Cape Town area.

Some businesses, including Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Spoornet and Anglo American's gold and uranium division — and the Cape Town City Council — are following a policy of "no work, no pay".

Others, including engineering, textiles and clothing industries, will be closed today in accordance with an agreement that June 16 is a paid holiday, a Chamber of Industry spokesman said.

But it will be "business as usual" at CPA hospitals today, according to the CPA.

Dr Boesak said he would be the main speaker at a rally at the Nyanga soccer stadium starting at 11am.

Other rallies will be held in the Saxon Civic Centre in Atlantis at

Action is 'aimed at transfer of power'

JOHANNESBURG. — This week's planned mass action is not to break the Codesa logjam but is aimed at the transfer of power, according to African National Congress PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

He said an ANC regional conference on Saturday had endorsed mass action plans and a decision had been taken to consult immediately various Mass Democratic Movement and Patriotic Front forces.

"This will take place shortly."

Azanian People's Organisation Transvaal vice-president Mr Victor Dhlamini said Azapo had not yet been consulted, but hoped the ANC

would still come forward.

"If the action is in line with Azapo's resolution to seize power, then we will support it. But if it is just meant to revive Codesa, the answer is no."

Azapo also claimed yesterday to have documentary evidence that the government and the ANC had come to a secret agreement ruling out majority rule for 10 years.

A senior Azapo official said his organisation had evidence that the transfer of power was not the alliance's top priority.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma rejected Azapo's proof as fabrication. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

1pm, Carnarvon at 3pm, Eerste River Catholic Church Hall, Kleinvlei, at 1pm, Hout Bay Imizamo Yethu Community Hall at 1pm, and Worcester Stadium at 10am.

The ANC is planning a demonstration in front of the SABC building in Sea Point and possible demonstrations at the Brandvlei Prison in the Boland and Pollsmoor Prison near Tokai.

The Paarl Civic Association plans to march in Paarl East while the Nyanga Civic Association will contribute a cultural fes-

tival in Nyanga stadium.

● A police spokesman in the Western Cape refused to say how many people would be on duty today, but indicated a strong police presence in Cape Town and its surrounds.

The army was being placed on standby in the Western Cape, said Captain Attie Laubscher.

He said stations, taxi ranks, bus termini and other areas would be patrolled, and spot roadblocks would be held throughout the Peninsula.

(304A) CT 16/01/11

Showdown

Wide fears of violence today

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA can brace itself for a massive showdown between the government and the ANC alliance following the failure of last-gasp efforts to ward off today's first wave of mass action.

With CODESA negotiators battling vainly to stave off a bruising confrontation during a marathon session yesterday, the stage has been set for a major test of strength between the "struggle" and the "system".

Both the government and the ANC last night expressed fears that the mass action programme starting today could be marred by violence.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he believed the organisation had taken sufficient steps to ensure that demonstrations were peaceful, but concerns remained that "agents provocateurs" may cause violence at marches.

He accused the government of "whipping up people's emotions" in a way that may provoke an outbreak of violence, our Johannesburg correspondent reports.

And ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said it had instructed its supporters to exercise discipline at today's Soweto Day protests but expressed fears that the police and Inkatha "are going to try to provoke us into violence".

Amid the escalating war of words, the Conservative Party warned that the ANC would be "playing with fire" if it tried to demonstrate in white areas. Such action "would be a temptation to violence which no responsible leader dare risk".

MASS SHOWDOWN FOR ANC IS LIKELY

See PAGE 2

And Inkatha, in calls to its supporters to defy ANC calls to stay away from work, said it would call mass meetings in city centres to show that most workers rejected the ANC alliance's campaign.

Nervous investors on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange wiped off billions of rands in share values and set the financial rand plummeting. The financial slid to R3.62 to the dollar from R3.52 on Friday.

The JSE industrial index dropped 71 points to 4519, before futures-related buying of selected index shares saw it recover to close 68 points lower at 4523.

President F. W. de Klerk said last night that the government would not buckle to current threats from the ANC or any actions which flowed from the programme of action.

He assured the public that the government would do "everything in its power to ensure that law and order is maintained".

Law and Order Minister Mr Herens Kriel labelled the ANC's campaign as an attempt to seize "total power", but vowed that the government would not be intimidated or bow to pressure.

The security forces were prepared for any eventuality.

Mr Kriel said that while the government acknowledged the right of legal and peaceful protest, it was irresponsible to exercise these rights at the moment because of the high incidence of violence in the country.

The National Party's four provincial leaders accused the ANC alliance of trying to "take over power", adding that they were "afraid to submit themselves to the democratic process".

The Democratic Party said "certain aspects" of the campaign

To page 2

Showdown

(304A)

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were consistent with democratically-accepted right of free expression and peaceful assembly.

However, the statement issued by party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow added that the DP believes the urgent need to foster a true spirit of negotiation and reconciliation in South Africa would not be served by the mass action campaign.

In terms of the programme of action adopted by the ANC, four inter-related sets of demands have been targeted:

- Interim government by June and elections to a constituent assembly by December.
- The levelling of the political playing field ahead of elections.

'Transfer of Power'

- The end to unilateral economic restructuring and negotiations for the release of resources to address "people's needs".
- An end to "corruption", "murder" and "minority rule".

The ANC notes that "central to all these demands is the demand for the transfer of power", adding: "The programme is not limited to unlocking deadlocks in the negotiation process (switching mass action 'on and off'), but is designed to act as the engine of transition, to put the masses in charge of their own destiny."

No progress at Codesa, says Ramaphosa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa ground to a virtual halt yesterday as the government and the ANC remained at loggerheads on a number of crucial issues.

Even the size and composition of the daily management committee, scheduled to be decided at yesterday's management committee ses-

sion, was left undecided and referred to the next meeting.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the talks between the government and the ANC outside Codesa had also made "no progress whatsoever" on critical issues such as the creation of a senate, the percentages needed for adopting a new constitution and the timeframe and

structure of a constitution-making body.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said bilateral talks were proceeding favourably and constructively.

One ANC management committee member said the government had failed to realise how serious the deadlock had become.

SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo said the biggest single deadlocked issue concerned the writing of the constitution. "The question of whether Codesa or a constitution-making body writes the constitution goes to the root of the matter," he said.

"It must be either democracy or Codesa. The two are not synonymous."

People support action

Sowetan 17/6/92.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told about 45 000 people at a June 16 commemoration service that the mass action campaign would go ahead because the people supported it.

Mandela said the presence of the people at Orlando Stadium in Soweto and other parts of the country gave the ANC a passport to continue with their action.

Mandela said this when addressing the 16th anniversary of the students uprisings.

He said: "This is the scientific way of testing the will of the people and they responded positively.

"Your presence has proved the De Klerk government wrong when it said the people did not support the mass action campaign

300A
BY IKE MOTSAPI

called by the ANC.

"The ANC called for the mass action in order to break the deadlock at Codesa.

"The deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages. It is about the Government insistence that the party that wins the elections should not be allowed to rule the country.

"The Government wants all the parties presently engaged in talks at Codesa to be represented in the new government.

"This actually means that elections that are to be held will be meaningless. So, why do we have to hold elections?

"This means that if the ANC wins the elections and wants to change the system of separate schools, they cannot do so if the

National Party does not approve of it."

Mandela urged the youth to be "like the June 16 1976 students" who fought hard for black liberation.

He also slammed some ANC members who he said had become undisciplined by killing their political opponents.

He said by doing this they were "discrediting the struggle for black liberation".

He made an urgent plea to all people of the country to work together to stop the violence.

In Natal, an estimated 10 000 ANC supporters - under close watch by a strong contingent of security forces - marched peacefully through Durban's city centre yesterday afternoon to mark the beginning of the mass action campaign.

They earlier attended a mass rally at Durban's Curries Fountain Stadium, where they were addressed by speakers from the tripartite alliance.

In Pretoria, pamphlets distributed by the Atteridgeville branch of the ANC Youth League at a June 16 commemoration service at the Roman Catholic Church, said historic victories achieved by blacks revealed that it was only through mass action that the Government could be made to listen.

In the Northern Transvaal, more than 5 000 people heard from Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa that the Black Consciousness Movement had demonstrated in 1976 that black people were their own liberators.

Mabasa said if the BCM had not been there in 1976, oppression of black people would have been complete without any challenge.

● See also pages 6, 7 and 8

Briefs

Codesa closed (304)

CODESA offices were closed yesterday - Soweto Day - as well as the start of the African National Congress' mass action campaign.

There was no one at the Codesa headquarters, at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, to answer telephone queries. *Sowetan 17/6/92*

Two Codesa sub-committee meetings scheduled for yesterday were postponed to today officials said on Monday.

The decision to observe Soweto Day was reportedly taken at a meeting of Codesa's management committee on Monday. - Sapa.

Govt may look for new local government forum

CAPE TOWN — Government would go ahead and launch a national local government forum if Codesa did not reach speedy agreement in implementing the interim councils for local and regional affairs, Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate of the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Bill he said: "During this added period of negotiation at Codesa I am not prepared to sit back passively and do nothing in the face of the obvious indefensible, discriminatory practices."

He said he would take it upon himself to launch a national body for local government along the lines of the economic forum.

Leaders from organised local government and leaders from civic organisations that were not involved in Codesa should sit down with political parties (which were part of Codesa) and take the initiative to participate in such a body, he said.

He said there was no reason for local leaders to sit back and do nothing while negotiations at Codesa were deadlocked. Those in favour of establishing a national forum on local government must not now hide behind excuses when the onus is upon them to build a new life at local level.

Wessels said it was clear there

B/Dany 17/6/92
BILLY PADDOCK

would be a strong and effective system of local government in the new SA and until such time that a new system had been negotiated and implemented, there had to be effective and orderly administration in the interim.

"Government and local government have realised and acknowledged that black local authorities and also smaller local authorities as they are presently demarcated, are not economically viable," he said.

The problem could only be addressed through the establishment of non-racial economically viable local authorities and some measures in the Bill were specifically aimed at bringing about a purposeful and orderly transition towards a new local government system.

Wessels denied that the Bill was a racist measure to further apartheid. It empowered administrators to demarcate joint administrative areas in towns where local authorities were not making sufficient progress towards a joint administration and to arrange the allocation of income and set uniform service tariffs.

Sapa reports Jasper Walsh (DP Pinelands) as saying in the debate that government has struck local negotiations a death-blow with the Bill.

Government had made no attempt to consult outside the system when draft-

ing the Bill.

The most offensive clauses were those which empowered provincial administrators to determine the boundaries of joint administration areas and establish advisory commissions on financial aspects of local authority affairs.

Wide powers had been given to administrators who were not elected, but had been appointed by government.

The minister was clearly upset with the pace of local government negotiations taking place in terms of the unacceptable Interim Measures for Local Government Act.

He was surprised that the minister had threatened fiscal measures when joint administrations had not been established spontaneously by means of negotiations.

Virtually every problem he tried to address was a direct result of his party's failed apartheid policies.

Government held the attitude "if they won't negotiate, we will force such negotiations".

"What a bankrupt approach. What a lack of sensitivity and understanding. What an admission that when the pen or word fails, there is still place for the sword."

"But the very worst action that the government can take is to brush negotiations aside and dictate their own solutions."

Parliament may sit again in 1992

CAPE TOWN — A second session of Parliament was being planned for October, but would depend on Codesa's progress, government sources said yesterday.

Speculation about a second session has been rife since Codesa II failed to agree to allow Parliament to pass a Bill providing for a transitional executive council.

Legislation at a second parliamentary session is usually restricted to a particular field. If Parliament meets again, the focus will be firmly on constitutional legislation.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk said yesterday that government was not clinging to power for as long as possible, as alleged, but was anxious to move to power sharing in the shortest possible time, Sapa reports from Ulundi.

In an address prepared for the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said government

was not prepared to exchange one form of domination for another.

He said political leaders were more than ever responsible for keeping negotiations on track, adding that all leaders needed to refrain from inciting their followers to act in a spirit contrary to real and honest negotiations. Government would not be bulldozed into a constitution not suited to SA's complexities.

De Klerk rejected allegations government was not doing its duty in curbing violence, but conceded more security force action was necessary.

He said political activities had to be planned to avoid violence and the national peace committee and Codesa had to increase their efforts against violence.

Govt gives in on monitoring Bill

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has bowed to pressure on its controversial phone-tapping Bill and will amend the legislation to say only a judge can authorise the monitoring.

The Interception and Monitoring Amendment Bill raised a storm when it was tabled last week with a clause giving the attorney-general power to authorise phone tapping, bugging of rooms and interception of post.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will now appoint a retired judge for each division of the Supreme Court to perform this function.

Parliamentary joint committee on justice chairman Gert Myburgh said the judge-president would control

NEWS IN BRIEF

Blom 1716192 (364M)
London conference

SOME of SA's top economic and political experts gather with their international counterparts in London tomorrow to try to help loosen the logjam on the country's future.

Convened jointly by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the South African Institute of International Affairs, the conference is called A Changing SA: Internal Challenge and the External Dimension.

Idasa's Van Zyl Slabbert will be the keynote speaker.

who was the first person killed by the police on June 10, 1976.

Govt surprise

Plan to call back Parliament

By BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government is making plans for Parliament to reconvene later this year, in October at this stage, to adopt legislation flowing out of the Codesa negotiations.

It is anticipated in government circles that Parliament will sit for a week to 10 days. If these plans are intended to break the Codesa logjam (which has given rise to the ANC mass action campaign which started yesterday), it will need an agreement by all parties to the whole transition process. If the negotiations cannot strike a deal on the transition package the need for a second session will fall away.

News of the government plan came after President F W de Klerk, in his address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, said the government was not clinging to power for as long as possible, but was anxious to move to power sharing.

The ANC expressed surprise last night at the parliamentary development, saying that its programme of action was aimed at agreement about the installation of an interim government by the end of June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

"Our demand is that the legislation for an interim government should be adopted by the end of June," a spokesman, Mr Joel Ntshenzhe, said.

Surprise was also expressed last night in parliamentary circles that another session could be planned without any apparent anticipation of an agreement at Codesa.

However, earlier reports that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had told the BBC that Parliament would be reconvening later this year, apparently the Codesa agreements were not correct, and Mr Coetsee was not actually interviewed by the BBC.

● Pick 'n' Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman told shareholders at the company's annual meeting yesterday that South Africa would have an interim government in six weeks. He said he had heard this from a highly-placed source.

is the Transvaal ahead prop Johan le Roux. He was named yesterday as the fourth player to fail a drugs test. He is also the second Transvaal player, after Balie Swart, to be tested positive.

Making the announcement, Mr Louis Luyt, president of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union, said the top 26 players in the Transvaal had now been tested, and all the other tests had been negative.

Meanwhile in Wellington, New Zealand, the All Blacks are said to be determined to carry on with their tour to South Africa in spite of the drug scandal almost torpedoing the visit.

The All Blacks leave today for 11 matches in Australia and visit South Africa late next month.

WP'S 3 NEW CAPS SLOT RIGHT IN
see BACK PAGE



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3048
Aug 17/6/92
**Interim rule:
Parliament may
sit in October**

TOS WENTZEL

A SHORT session of parliament may be held in the middle of October to deal with legislation on an interim government.

This will depend on progress made at Codesa. One of the aims of the legislation would be to provide for elections for an interim government.

The main session of parliament for this year will end on Friday.

Government sources say President De Klerk is considering another session in the middle of October depending on progress made at Codesa.

Government spokesmen have recently been far more optimistic about events at Codesa, claiming that progress is in fact being made, while the ANC claims there is no progress to resolve the impasse reached on Codesa 2.

Political observers, however, sense that behind the scenes bilateral contact between the government and the ANC is heading for an agreement within the next few weeks.

There's enough pressure, don't bulldoze — FW

TOS WENTZEL (304A)
Political Staff

THE government will not be bulldozed into a new constitution, President De Klerk said.

He was addressing the Kwa-zulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi. Mr De Klerk referred to concern about attempts in Codesa to impose unrealistic time frames and target dates which added undue pressure on delegates.

Mr De Klerk said solutions must be found as soon as possible. The process could not be rushed.

ANC 17/6/92

"We are planning for a lifetime ahead and we owe it to the next generation to be painstakingly thorough in what we do."

He was sorry Codesa 2 did not result in a real breakthrough. The reasons why were far more complex than those advanced in a simplistic propaganda war now being waged.

Mr De Klerk said much more than percentages was at stake.

"We must keep negotiation on track. We must keep our people informed and motivated

for the process of a peaceful constitutional reform.

"We need to discourage them from any acts or deeds which may impact negatively on peaceful negotiation.

"All leaders need to refrain from inciting their followers to act in a spirit contrary to real and honest negotiation."

At the heart of the challenge was the ability to achieve agreement by a process of reasonable give and take.

Conflicting demands had to be reconciled to achieve a solution in which everyone won.

Mr De Klerk said that unfortunately certain leaders and political organisations had apparently decided to do the opposite.

They had embarked on smear campaigns, disruptive actions and strategies which went against the very essence of negotiation.

The president said he would pursue negotiation and peaceful change. He said the government would not cling to power indefinitely and wanted to move to power sharing as soon as possible.

Parliament to return ^(304A) for second session to ^{ANC 17/6/92} speed Codesa

PARLIAMENTARIANS are preparing to return to Cape Town later in the year for a second session of Parliament to deal with legislation emanating from the Codesa negotiations process.

An official announcement on a probable second session — most likely in October — is expected soon.

The decision to recall MP's for a snap session hinges on a resumption and expected progress at Codesa.

So far President De Klerk has given the idea of a second session a thumbs-down. After Codesa 2 he told the media he was loath to disrupt members' programmes for the second half of the year.

But new circumstances surrounding the Codesa process now seem to make a second session an imperative for progress in negotiations. This has been enhanced by clear signs that the ANC will return to serious negotiations after the June 16 and 26 stayaways.

The ANC wants an interim government installed as a matter of extreme urgency and is expected to view a refusal to recall parliament to legislate for it as obstructionist.

Parliament is set to end its current session on Friday and an announcement to adjourn with a view to reconvening is expected before then. A substantial slice of prepared legislation will not make the Friday cut-off, adding to the need for a second session.

Ministerial sources have confirmed that key personnel have been alerted over past weeks on the likely call to return and it is possible that firm decisions to prepare for this may be taken at today's cabinet meeting and confirmed at the weekly NP caucus meeting tomorrow.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has directed that no foreign visitor tours of parliament be booked for the latter half of October.

Hansard

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) Yes, in my budget speech I addressed the possible deregulation of private hospitals. I stated that on condition to deregulate, private patients should be allowed in State hospitals. Where provincial administrations can already afford it, there are no limits placed on them to render services to private patients at recognizable costs.

(2) no;

- (3) Yes, at certain public hospitals some patients will be restricted in cases of certain diseases where treatment is extremely expensive and physical resources are limited, such as in haemodialysis or transplants for kidney failure, access to the programme is restricted and if the patient does not satisfy the clinical protocols required for admission.

Total cost of Codesa

*24. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

- (a) (i) What is the total cost of Codesa to date and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished; (b) of what items is the above-mentioned cost made up and (c) who or what body is responsible for the payment of this cost?

B805E

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (a) (i) According to a provisional calculation the total cost of Codesa amounts to R16 042 320,82.
- (ii) June 11, 1992

- (b) This cost is made up of the following items:

(i) Accommodation expenses of participants in meeting, foreign observers and support and administrative staff	R3 981 478,80
(ii) Travel expenses (road and air)	R2 728 853,77
(iii) Telecommunication	R217 798,03
(iv) Meals and refreshments	R145 829,00

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hansard

report on and to make recommendations on the future of rural councils.

The committee conducted a comprehensive investigation in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, in which all rural councils, municipal associations, provincial administrations, provincial agricultural unions and the SA Agricultural Union were consulted. As the report of the Malan Committee has not yet been made available to me, I shall only be in a position to make a statement on the matter once the report has been cleared with all interested parties and accepted.

*Mr A A B BRUWER: Mr Speaker, here we have a typical example of the Government's constitutional plans. They establish a so-called level of government for rural areas, but that level of government does not know what it has to do. The hon the Minister cannot seek to establish a level of government and have people elected, when those people do not know what to do. A former Minister, one of this hon Minister's predecessors, said that they should establish at church gatherings what was bothering the people and then act accordingly. How can one run a country in that manner?

Initially it was said that third-tier government should be established for rural areas. There is nothing wrong with that. This third-tier government was then established because farmers had to pay regional services councils without having a say in their deliberations. Suddenly these rural councils were established and the CP controlled most of them. Then all of a sudden they were not good enough and there was a reluctance to give them the voting power which they should have in terms of the norms established for local government. Had they done that, the CP would possibly have controlled the regional services councils.

This is a typical example of a government that sets up a whole lot of institutions. They do not know in which direction they want to go. They are establishing certain structures at certain levels without these people knowing what to do. Surely it would be only fair at least to tell these people that they must fulfil the function of the roads boards or the hospital boards in conjunction with local authorities. Then these people would at least have something to do. However, a level of government has been established here and the people do not know what they are to do.

This is a pathetic example of a government that wants to govern a country.

Mr E W TRENT: Mr Speaker, to an extent I have sympathy with the CP with regard to this issue. I myself was disenfranchised in 1985 when the Regional Services Councils Act was promulgated. It took the Government three years to amend that Act in order to make provision for urban councils.

The problem I have with this interpellation is that this should not have been an own affairs issue. It has to do with general affairs—all rural people being neglected in this respect.

We also believe that any attempt to adapt RCSs on a piecemeal basis in an effort to make them a little more acceptable, is totally unacceptable to us. The hon the Minister gave us the assurance yesterday that no new measures affecting local government, even if it were only on a temporary basis, would be considered until the formation of a fully representative forum has been achieved. I hope that the hon the Minister will stick to that commitment.

Oscar Wilde once described the English sport of fox-hunting as "the unthinkable chasing the uncatchable". By the same token it is unthinkable that we should even be contemplating an attempt to change RCSs to make them a little bit more palatable to certain people. In that respect I hope the hon the Minister will stick to his commitment.

What are the facts? The Government does not give us an indication that that is what they are really about. The hon the State President said at the congress of the Association of Regional Services Councils this year, and I quote from a report:

Mr De Klerk het aangedui dat SDR's gekom het om te bly.

In other words he is accepting that this is a sort of non-negotiable.

The hon the Minister referred to the Malan Commission. I have a letter here from the Cape Province Agricultural Union. The Union was informed by the administrator and the executive committee that they should make certain recommendations. What are their recommendations? They say—these are the White farmers—that the farm worker should not get a vote in terms of the building which he occupies, because he cannot

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

FW advises chief against route of 'dark waters'

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APR 17/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — President De Klerk has advised Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi against leading his people to violence in an attempt to get participation for the Zulu king and the homeland in Codesa.

Mr De Klerk, who was addressing the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday, was responding to an earlier speech by Chief Buthelezi.

The homeland leader pleaded with Mr De Klerk to "do something effective to gain Kwazulu's involvement in Codesa".

With his voice breaking several times, Chief Buthelezi said: "Without that Zulu involvement in constitution-making, I can see a dark cloud on the horizon. My heart is troubled, Mr President, for I have rejected violence throughout my political career of more than three decades. And I reject violence even now."

"But, if this position persists, I can foresee the possibility of my being forced by circumstances to lead my people even through those dark waters."

"I shudder at the possibility. I am already outraged by the present level of violence."

Mr De Klerk advised him to seek "wise counsel" before embarking on a road to violence.

Chief Buthelezi also slammed the ANC's call for mass action: "It is totally irresponsible to call for mass action which will be backed by harsh intimidation."

● See page 2

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Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 17 JUNE 1992

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Death of two persons at Noenieput: inquest

*8. Adv J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether an inquest was held in respect of the death at or near Noenieput in the Kalahari in November 1991 of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the result of this inquest and (b) what are the names of the persons concerned;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B769E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No.

An inquest has not yet taken place. The docket has been forwarded to the Attorney General for his decision.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Jurgens Mattheus White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar.

(2) No.

Drivers' licences in KwaNdebele: abuses

*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether he has been informed of and/or has received any complaints on alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in KwaNdebele; if so, what is the (a) nature and (b) extent of these abuses;
- (2) whether he intends taking any action in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

B773E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) Yes. The Department of Transport is aware of complaints regarding alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in self-governing territories.
- (a) The complaints pertain to the issuing of drivers' licences to people on

payment without those people undergoing the appropriate tests.

(b) The exact extent of abuses in this regard is unknown as self-governing territories, in terms of the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), themselves exercise legislative and executive authority with regard to road traffic, including the licensing of drivers. The awareness of alleged abuses is solely based on complaints which are received and media reports in this regard.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b)

In terms of Act 21 of 1971, the Department of Transport has no statutory authority to take action regarding the alleged abuses. All complaints received are currently referred to the South African Police for investigation. The resolution of this issue is, therefore, in the process of initiating discussions with all parties concerned to address this problem in a coordinated fashion. The strategy will be finalized shortly whereafter further announcements will be made.

Steps against taxpayers

*10. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Finance:†

- (1) What steps are taken against taxpayers who fail to pay personal income tax;
- (2) whether at any time during the past five years it was decided not to take action against politicians who failed to pay personal income tax; if so, (a) when and (b) why?

B781E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) If a taxpayer fails to submit a return of income, legal proceedings are instituted against him and a court may, upon conviction, impose a fine not exceeding R2 000 or a prison sentence not exceeding 12 months. Furthermore, the Income Tax Act authorizes the Commissioner for Inland Revenue to impose an additional penalty equal to twice the tax chargeable.

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Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 17 JUNE 1992

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If, after furnishing a return of income, he fails to pay any tax due in respect of an assessment issued to him, civil judgement may be obtained against him.

(2) No.

Arms/ammunition caches: Umkhonto we Sizwe

*11. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) (a) How many arms and ammunition caches of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) have been traced by the South African Police in the Republic since 2 February 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) how many of these caches were pointed out to the Police by MK itself?

B782E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 12

(b) 11 June 1992

- (2) In ten (10) of the abovementioned instances arms and ammunition caches were pointed out by MK members after their arrest.

Trial of persons: Operation Vula

*12. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether the trial of any persons charged as a result of Operation Vula has been completed; if not, why not; if so, how many such persons have been tried;
- (2) whether he will furnish the names of those who have been tried; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

B783E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) No. Indemnity has in terms of section 2(1) of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No. 35 of 1990) been granted to nine of the persons who were involved in Operation Vula.
- (2) Falls away.

Marriages between Whites and non-Whites

*13. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

How many marriages between Whites and non-Whites have taken place in the Republic since the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act? B784E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

3 775

The figure is for the period 19 June 1985 till 31 December 1990. Since then, statistics on the group context of persons who married after 31 December 1990, are no longer being kept.

Alleged actions of members at Roodepoort counting hall

*14. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

Whether he will disclose his source for the statements made by him in an interpellation debate in this House on 22 April 1992 on the alleged actions of the hon members for Roodepoort and Losberg on 18 March 1992 at the counting hall in Roodepoort; if not, why not; if so, who is the source?

B785E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Department has at its disposal statements of persons who were involved with the counting of votes at Roodepoort on 18 March 1992. The information which my predecessor disclosed during the interpellation debate concerned was taken from those statements. The statements are available in the Parliamentary office of the Department for the hon member's confidential perusal if he so requires.

Companies/close corporations declared insolvent

*15. Mr J CHOLÉ asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:†

- (1) How many companies and close corporations were declared insolvent in the Republic during the latest specified 5-year period for which information is available;
- (2) whether his Department has made any estimates or has any statistics on the number of job opportunities lost as a result of the above-mentioned insolventcies; if not, why not; if so, how many job opportunities were lost over the said 5-year period?

B786E

where does the money of the increasing gap is going and what the solutions are. ~~According to the report only approximately 29% of the increasing gap can be attributed to the fact that some boards restrict competition. What about the other factors to which approximately 71% of the blame can be attributed but in respect of which no recommendations were made?~~

The following are examples from the report itself. Firstly, one of the most important causes is general inflation pressure which comprises approximately 40% of the cause which, according to the report, can *inter alia* be attributed to overspending by the State. Secondly, wages and trade union action are not in line with productivity. Thirdly, industries are being overprotected in the name of self-sufficiency. In the fourth instance six large food companies provide more than 60% of the processed food products. They are part of the big conglomerates in the country and their share prices increased more rapidly than those of the other industries. In the fifth instance the gap increased especially after the introduction of VAT in 1991, especially also as a result of the taxability of food which can therefore be linked directly to State policy. [Time expired.]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY: Mr Chairman, the hon member for Yeoville said he would let me off lightly with his savage attack. Of course, the classic comment on being attacked savagely is that it feels like being savaged by a sheep. [Interjections.] I thank him for his gentleness. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Delmas referred to the report of the Board of Trade and Tariffs in which there is an attempt to make an analysis of the divergence between the producer-price index and the consumer-price index. It is interesting to note that the media have run away with this report and interpreted this divergence as being solely the result of control boards.

They correctly pointed out, however, that food inflation is a part of inflation in general. I do not intend to become involved in an argument on macro-economic policy at this stage. It also points out that 2% of that divergence was due to an increase in wages, and also due to an increase in so-called shrinkage in the retail chain. Shrinkage means theft, mainly on the part of the employees of those retail chains.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

It goes further and says that 0.2% is due to the fact that price subsidies on food have been removed. It says that 0.3% is due to the fact that certain controls have been removed. It goes further and says that 1% is unidentifiable.

The popular notion, however, is that control boards are the great evil. I have to state that it was in the . . . [Time expired.]

MR E K MOORCROFT: Mr Speaker, five years ago, here in Cape Town, I was shocked to see, for the first time in my life, a person scrounging for food in a garbage can. That sort of thing, I thought, only took place in Ethiopia or Bangladesh. Today, however, the sight of hungry people scrounging in garbage cans has become commonplace. One can see it during any lunch-time on a walk up Government Avenue.

It is but one of the many symptoms which indicate the cruel poverty in which increasing numbers of underprivileged people in this country are beginning to live. As my colleague the hon member for Yeoville has pointed out, we do not have to look very far for at least one of the causes of poverty, and that is the ever-increasing spiral in the cost of basic foodstuffs.

The hon Deputy Minister has a knowledge of France and will be aware of the political consequences of shortages of affordable food. He will know what happened to Marie Antoinette when, on being informed that there was a shortage of bread, advised her subjects to eat cake instead.

The first thing the hon the Minister should do, as my hon colleague has suggested, is to study carefully the recently tabled report of the Department of Trade and Industry. He should seek ways of decreasing the ever-increasing gap between producer and consumer prices highlighted in that report. One of the best ways of doing that is to improve the climate for free choice. Both producer and consumer must have free access to markets of their choice. The State should make it possible for this choice to be exercised. [Time expired.]

MR D H M GIBSON: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister's reference to sheep was enough to make the consumer's mouth water, because there are many of them who have not been close to that expensive meat for a long time. I was talking about the hon the Minister himself, and I believe he has enormous clout in Govern-

ment, as well as in business, because of his background. I also believe that he should be using the influence he has with the business community to start turning South Africa around. I believe that the hon the Minister is uniquely placed to persuade both the Government and big business to co-operate. One suggestion is that they refuse to grant wage increases larger than 10% for this year. Then they must start limiting price increases, whether administered by the Government or decided upon by business, to no more than 10%. ~~This would be a contribution to breaking the back of inflation, and would give the consumer hope of a fair deal in the future.~~

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY: Mr Speaker, I think the hon member for Yeoville came very close to proposing a wages-and-prices policy. [Interjections.] I believe that this is an experiment that has been tried elsewhere, especially in the United Kingdom, and it has failed miserably. [Interjections.] I believe that the one option that is not open to us in solving this problem is price control. This is something which only serves to distort the economy, to create a situation in which people are producing products for which there is no demand.

However, we are looking at ways and means of breaking this inflation spiral in food prices. We believe that there must be increased competition. We believe we must go further down the road of deregulation, especially with regard to health and hygiene standards. I believe we must look at all measures that inhibit trading.

I believe that the new Businesses Act goes a long way towards enabling the informal sector also to play its part in the distribution of food.

We are looking very carefully at the renewal and reform of the whole issue of customs tariffs and import control. The hon the Minister of Agriculture and our Department will also be looking very carefully at the possibility of increasing imports on basic foodstuffs in order to prevent this spiral, but under the very strict proviso that it does not serve to disrupt the agricultural community and the rural economy of South Africa.

As hon members may have seen in the newspapers, the hon the Minister has appointed a special committee under the chairmanship of

prof Kassier to investigate the role of marketing control boards in South Africa. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Total cost of overseas visits

*1. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the State President:†

What was the total cost of the overseas visits undertaken by him and his entourage (a) in 1991 and (b) during the period 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which information is available?

THE STATE PRESIDENT:

- (a) R2 790 357
- (b) R2 614 724

These amounts are based on the latest available information and reflect the expenditure for all components which were involved in the overseas visits, namely:

- (1) The State President's Office.
- (2) The Department of Foreign Affairs.
- (3) The security component, as provided by the National Intelligence Service.

Second Interim Report: Goldstone Commission

*2. Mr L FUCHS asked the State President:

- (1) When was the Second Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (the Goldstone Commission) received by him?
- (2) whether this report was released immediately after being so received; of not, (a) why not and (b) on what date was it released?

B801E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

16 ROUND UP

Struggle enters 'last phase'

By MONK NKOMO

Sowetan 17/6/92

THE struggle for freedom has now entered its last phase before a popular flag was raised in this country, people at a June 16 commemoration service in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, were told yesterday.

Pamphlets distributed by the local ANC Youth League at the service held at the Roman Catholic Church, said historic victories achieved by blacks revealed that it was only through mass action that the Government could be made to listen.

"While the struggle for freedom enters its last phase before a popular flag is raised in the country, the Government seems intent on unilaterally restructuring the economy, privatising vital State institutions and imposing VAT on us.

"These economic changes will make conditions worse for workers and cause mass poverty. These changes are also intended to severely reduce the economic and political power of a future democratic government," the Youth League said.

Political education officer of the Youth League, Mr Kgoro Dau, said events had turned for the worse since the

release of political leaders and the unbanning of political organisations in 1990.

He also gave a report back on deliberations between the ANC and the Government at Codesa and said there was a deadlock at Codesa 2 and "the regime does not want to move".

Dau also expressed concern about the decline in political activity especially by youths since 1984/5. Police monitored the proceedings from a distance but no incidents were reported at the time of going to Press.

In remembrance of June 16 and in honour of the role South African youths played in the struggle for freedom since 1976, the ANC alliance yesterday announced it "and other democratic forces", had declared June 16 South African Youth Day.

In their pamphlets, the ANC Youth League said: "On this June 16, let us brace ourselves for greater forms of mass action."

organisation after an ar-

Parties can receive foreign money

Sowetan 18/6/92
THE prohibition on foreign financing of South African political parties is to be temporarily suspended in terms of legislation published in Parliament on Monday.

The General Law Amendment Bill proposes a wide range of amendments, including changes to obsolete provisions and measures to supplement deficiencies in the law identified in legal practice.

A memorandum to the Bill states that the temporary suspension of the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act emanates from the need for funds in order to expand the process of democratisation.

In another change, the common law crime of extortion is extended to include acts of a non-patrimonial nature.

The Sexual Offences Act is amended to provide that anyone found in a brothel who refuses to disclose the identity of the brothel keeper or manager shall be deemed to keep the brothel. Previously, this provision applied only to women.

The Criminal Procedure Act is amended so that

304A
the race of an offender no longer has to be furnished on a charge sheet or indictment as it could be viewed as discriminatory.

The Minister of Justice is empowered to refer to the Appeal Court the case of anyone sentenced to death prior to the commencement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1990. Persons sentenced to death after this date have an automatic right of appeal.

The Goldstone Commission is also permitted to appoint pro deo legal representatives for witnesses appearing before the commission.

As in the case of general sales tax, a preferential claim in respect of value-added tax is granted to the State.

Another provision confirms correctional supervision as a sentencing option even in the case of statutory offences.

On the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Non-Racial Area Measures, the conversion of certain quitrent titles into ownership is also allowed. - *Sapa*



DANIEL ARAP MOI

Kenya defends meeting with FW

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Sowetan 18/6/92

NAIROBI - Kenya yesterday defended a meeting between President Daniel arap Moi and State President Mr FW De Klerk.

"There can be no valid reason to say the meeting between Moi and De Klerk was against the wishes of any group in South Africa, including the ANC," Kenyan Foreign Minister Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah said.

Moi met De Klerk during a stop on his way to the Earth Summit in Brazil, angering the biggest anti-apartheid group.

He planned to see ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on his way back but Mandela cancelled the meeting.

Ayah said the ANC and other black opposition groups had been informed of Moi's agenda. It was the first visit by a black African leader since 1969.

Business sources said Moi and De Klerk discussed trade and South African assistance for Kenya, in recession and badly affected by a decision by Western donors to freeze new aid pending economic reforms.

"Kenya has been forsaken by its former Western allies and must seek fresh means of survival. South Africa is an obvious choice," said Mr David Altman, organiser of the largest South African trade exhibition so far in Africa in Nairobi from June 30 to July 4. - Sapa-Reuter

Parliament to reconvene briefly later in the year

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Parliament is to reconvene for a second short session later this year to pass legislation to implement transitional arrangements.

President de Klerk announced last night that Parliament — which rises tomorrow — would meet again this year, probably on October 12.

"The aim of this second session will be, if satisfactory progress is made with the negotiation process, to consider legislation which might flow from it," he said in a statement.

"This will prevent unnecessary delay in the implementing of decisions after consensus is reached."

Mr de Klerk said the second session would take place even if negotiations did not progress satisfactorily during the following months.

If that happened, Parliament would have the opportunity to deliberate on the state of affairs and to consider steps the Gov-

ernment might take.

He said the choice of October 12 as the starting date was largely influenced by the run-up time which would be needed to finalise the preparation of legislation and submit it to parliamentary joint committees.

To save costs and limit disruption, there would not be a large-scale removal of personnel and their families.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus described the move as a "ruse" to give the impression that progress had been made at Codesa.

By contrast, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could only surmise there had been rapid progress in talks between the Government and ANC over the last two weeks on resolving the impasse at Codesa.

Ms Marcus said that if there had been progress in Codesa, Codesa itself would have set the date for the second session.

Dr de Beer said: "It would seem certain that the Government rates the chances high that Codesa will make substantial and fairly rapid progress."

"There is much to be done if agreements are to be reached

at Codesa which can form the basis for legislation in October."

Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's decision to hold the second sitting even if little progress had been made at Codesa seemed to be "face-saving".

"It clearly would not be worth the trouble of a second session if Codesa didn't deliver the goods."

Grilled about Government claims of progress at Codesa, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said at a briefing yesterday that the ANC and Government had "clarified the issues".

They had also agreed to meet again on June 29.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said that by calling a second session of Parliament, the Government had given in to the ANC's mass action campaign.

"The Government is now placing itself under pressure to reach consensus with the ANC."

"This is in conflict with the Government's repeatedly stated attitude that deadlines should not be set in regard to the negotiation process."

STAR 18/6/92 304A

Codesa cost 'about R16-m'

A provisional estimate has put the cost of Codesa, until June 11, at R16 million, Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Concern over Codesa

Sowetan 18/6/92
THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce is deeply concerned that the stalemate at Codesa is resulting in actions that are straining the country's economic and social fabric.

Chamber president Mr Herbert Hirsch directed a "strong and urgent appeal to all the players at Codesa - particularly the major players and their leaders - to get on with the job".

He said the interests of South Africa should come first and delegates should cease indulging in party politics.

They should work unceasingly for the earliest establishment of an acceptable form of interim government, and ensure their followers devoted themselves to the implementation of the Peace Accord. - Sapa

3047

Parliament to reconvene in October

304A

Sowetan 18/6/92

PARLIAMENT will be reconvened on October 12 this year to pass laws to establish an interim government and to deal with legislation proposed by Codesa.

In a statement released last night, State President FW de Klerk said: "The aim of this second session will be, if satisfactory progress is made with the negotiation process, to consider legislation which might flow from it.

"This will prevent unnecessary delay in the implementing of decisions after consensus is reached."

The second session would take place even if no measureable progress was made at Codesa.

Dr Tertius Delpont, a spokesman for the Government on Codesa, earlier in the day said that Government had made preparations for a second session to be reconvened as soon as Codesa puts forward proposals for the establishment of an interim government, among others.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

It is understood that contingency planning for the announced second session of Parliament began at Codesa 2 last month, when it became obvious that no agreement would be reached in time for legislation on interim government during the current parliamentary session, which ends tomorrow.

While De Klerk did not detail the length of time the October session would sit, Government sources yesterday speculated that it could be between 10 days and two weeks.

De Klerk's motivation for making last night's announcement is interpreted as "Government's willingness to move quickly to implement an interim government once agreement is reached" sources confirmed last night.

It is also an attempt to dispel ANC allegations that the Government is clinging to power.

FW's visit to Ulundi on June 16 under fire

STAR 18/6/92
(304A)
Political Staff

President de Klerk is facing mounting criticism following his decision to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on Soweto Day.

In a statement issued from Parliament, Democratic Party MP Mike Ellis yesterday accused Mr de Klerk of arrogance and partiality.

Mr Ellis, chairman of the DP's Natal Coastal region, said it was "unfortunate" that Mr de Klerk had chosen to deliver his address in the KwaZulu capital while the rest of South Africa was commemorating the 1976 uprising and engaging in mass action.

"His decision may well give the impression of two of the important players at Codesa ganging up against another at a time when reconciliation between the groups is required," Mr Ellis said.

Other opposition sources said Mr de Klerk had abused his position by speaking as State President — a supposedly neutral office — and praising one of the political parties competing for support in SA.

"It would have been all right if he was there as leader of the NP, but not as president," said one. He was hardly a "naïve politician", the source said, and would have been well aware of the symbolic significance attached to his June 16 visit.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel insisted yesterday there was no special significance in the fact that the visit had occurred on the day that the ANC alliance's campaign of mass action began.

Mr de Klerk had accepted the invitation to speak long before the campaign was announced, he said. But he was unable to explain how the date could have been set long ago when IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had cut short an overseas trip to return for the campaign.

Mr Kriel denied the NP was "ganging-up" with the IFP.

Hopes raised for future of negotiations

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK B1000
and PATRICK BULGER 18/6/92

CAPE TOWN — Hopes for the future of constitutional negotiations were raised yesterday when it was learned that working group 2, which proved to be the sticking point at Codesa II, was set to reconvene.

Government and the ANC confirmed yesterday that they had also scheduled bilateral talks for next week in another bid to break the negotiations deadlock.

And Sapa reports President F W de Klerk said last night Parliament would be recalled for a second session in October. Earlier Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius said government would do all in its power to accommodate agreements reached in Codesa by convening another session.

De Klerk said the purpose of the session would be to consider any legislation which might result from progress in the negotiation process, but would take place regardless of progress in constitutional negotiations. This would give Parliament an opportunity to be informed and consider steps which government might take.

He said it was envisaged that the session would start on October 12.

The Codesa management committee's next meeting has been brought forward to June 29 when it will consider a report from working group 2 chairman Miley Richards. The report will detail agreements reached in the group so far and will form the basis of the bid to reconvene working group 2.

This could facilitate full agreement at Codesa and open the way for interim government arrangements to be implemented, Richards said yesterday.

Delpont said yesterday there was no possibility of an interim government operating under a new constitution in the next two months. However, an agreement at Codesa could lead to the setting up of a transitional executive council.

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

Speaking at a briefing on negotiations, Delpont said talks were on hold until June 29 and it was obvious "to all and sundry" that ANC demands for agreement on interim government by the end of the month would be impossible to meet.

He said it was also too late to avert July's planned mass action of boycotts, strikes and disruptions by the ANC and its allies. However talks with the ANC and other parties had been planned for next week.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation did not expect an interim government to be in place by the end of June but wanted a real commitment, "something with meat on it", by then.

At his briefing Delpont backed Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer's contention that government had documentary evidence of progress made in bilateral talks, but he refused to divulge this without the permission of the ANC.

He did say: "I think at least — and that is very, very important — we have a very clear idea now of what the issues are."

From now on Codesa would have to negotiate draft agreements in the "cold light of day" and stop glossing over diffi-

culties, he said. "I think there was a tendency at Codesa to draft agreements in such a way that all of us could live with them."

He said government had been ready at Monday's Codesa management committee meeting to reach an early agreement on how to deal with the problems in working group 2 and avert the mass action. But other parties said they did not have a mandate to clinch a deal.

Delpont said it had been decided that a report on the work of working group 2 would be tabled and it was likely the group would be reconvened soon after June 29.

He warned that such an agreement might be delayed by the ANC's insistence on restarting from square one.

Delpont said government wanted an interim constitution to determine the functions, powers and lifespan of a constitution-making body. The ANC wanted an open-ended constitution-making body that would sit until a new constitution had been agreed to. The ANC said after Codesa II that it was reconsidering the need for an interim constitution.

● See Page 4

□ From Page 1

4 BUSINESS DAY,

Codesa called undemocratic

(304A)
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The undemocratic way SA's constitutional future was being decided was "scandalous", according to the Civil Rights League's Hugh Corder, a UCT law lecturer.

It was being formulated virtually behind closed doors by an unelected leadership at Codesa meetings, he wrote in Idasa's Democracy in Action journal.

Even the literate and interested public were starved of information.

Corder said part of the blame lay with the media, especially the SABC's television and radio services.

Codesa parties were also to blame, Corder said.

He said few if any of the delegations had been prepared to divulge their policy on a number of crucial constitutional issues.

Day 18/6/92

Codesa: FW calls for Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk announced last night that a second session of Parliament would be held later this year irrespective of progress made at the Codesa negotiations.

The move was immediately criticised by the government's chief negotiating partner, the ANC, as a one-sided attempt by the government to call the shots in the transition process.

Mr De Klerk said it was envisaged that a second

"short" session would be held, starting on October 12, which should leave enough time to finalise legislation flowing from Codesa.

"This would ensure that there is not unnecessary delay with the implementation of decisions once consensus has been reached," he said in a statement after yesterday's cabinet meeting.

However, Mr De Klerk warned that if the constitutional development process did not proceed satisfactorily in the coming months the government would forge ahead with a second session to determine what

steps the government should take.

The ANC immediately attacked Mr De Klerk for unilaterally trying to determine the pace of change without consulting his negotiating partners.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus responded to the State President's announcement by saying: "There is an implied threat, obviously there is — but that is included in everything the government is saying."

"He is clearly putting a deadline (on negotiations)," Ms Marcus added. "Who is he to decide? It is a Codesa decision. The government simply refuses to

accept the implications of democratic change.

"We are being told: 'Have it (an agreement) ready by October 12 or we proceed without you.'"

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night expressed his party's "serious concern" at the decision by Mr De Klerk to recall Parliament. The CP said the government was placing itself under pressure to reach consensus with the ANC.

● Mass action part of elections, say ANC —

Page 2

CT 18/6/92

poses with the Olympics. Mr Ransamy, who received a SA team would be picked on merit, but it would also be population. Ransamy's merit pledge — Page 15.

Picture: ADAM TAYLOR

Anthony Johnson

Whites asked to plug NP

THE National Party has circulated a leaflet among white voters in Kimberley asking them to persuade their employees to vote for the NP candidate in the next month's House of Representatives by-election in the Diamant constituency. (304A)

The NP was optimistic, it said, but it was "important that every voter cast his or her role".

The NP candidate is Mr Howard Isaacs.

The Labour Party candidate, Mr Jan Scholtz, is a former ministerial representative.

LP spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said although the NP was heavily outspending his party in the by-election, the LP was confident. He did not believe the leaflet would help the NP. CT 18/6/92

Parliament to be reconvened later in the year

(304A)
AUG 18/6/92

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT is to be reconvened later in the year, probably in October, even if there is no agreement at Codesa on an interim government, President De Klerk announced last night.

He said the second, short session would probably begin on October 12.

However, with a view to cutting costs and disruption, there would not be a large-scale transfer of personnel and their families from Pretoria to Cape Town.

Mr De Klerk said the chief aim of the second session would be to consider legislation arising out of the negotiation process, if satisfactory progress was made in reaching agreement on an interim government.

This would prevent any unnecessary delay in the implementation of decisions on which consensus had been achieved.

However, Mr De Klerk said that even if there was no satisfactory progress at Codesa, the second session would still go ahead.

"The government believes that, under such circumstances, parliament should then have the opportunity of discussing the situation and considering whatever steps the government may decide to take," he said.

Mass action is part of elections, say ANC

(304A)
CAPE TIMES 18/6/72

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CODESA III appears unlikely to take place until late August at the earliest as a result of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Government negotiators yesterday conceded that no substantive agreements could be announced until the ANC's mobilisation drive — which only moves into full swing next month — has run its course.

A secret ANC document acknowledges that the campaign forms part of the process of preparing and educating people for elections.

"We also need to begin educating our people on what the election process involves," the document notes.

Commenting on the campaign, a government source said last night: "It's part of the political game — everyone accepts that."

It emerged yesterday that the mass ac-

tion campaign would begin in earnest in the second half of July, building up to a general strike.

Cosatu's executive committee will meet between July 10 and 12 to finalise the date for the general strike.

Meanwhile, Soweto Day's June 16 mass action has given rise to a fierce exchange of words between Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and the ANC.

Rallies

Mr Kriel said that although many people stayed away from work, only 80 000 people attended Soweto Day rallies across the country. Yesterday Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe gave the figure of 80 000 as a police estimation of crowds.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday: "Maybe we will have to wipe the smile off his (Mr Kriel's) face."

"He seems to be completely unable to comprehend what he is dealing with."

"All he seems to be doing is making journalists and members of the National Party happy and not taking anything seriously."

Earlier Mr Kriel described mass action as a "futile exercise in blackmail" that could retard negotiations or even derail them.

The minister said the success of the mass action campaign should be not be judged on stayaway figures but on the low attendance at and cancellation of marches and rallies.

Mr Kriel pointed out that many employers had given workers June 16 off while others stayed at home to protect their property or for fear of intimidation.

Mr Macozoma said that reports from only four of the 14 ANC regional offices indicated that the turnout was far in excess of 80 000. He pointed to a rally at Orlando Stadium which he said was attended by 50 000 people.

Gender issue to fore

Sowetan 18/6/92

By LULAMA LUTI

WHETHER or not Codesa's Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) will effectively address the disparity in the representation of women remains to be seen.

The 18-member GAC was formed by the management committee in April in response to a public outcry about the lack of women's representation.

It comprises members of organisations at Codesa except Bophuthatswana.

According to GAC's Ms Mavivi Manzini, while women form 53 percent of the country's population, only seven percent are attending the forum.

The women do not have any rights to speak at Codesa as they are there in an advisory capacity.

Does this mean that there are no women capable of participating in the shaping of the much talked about new South Africa, *Sowetan* asked her.

"I don't believe that our women are incapable. What we are dealing with here are stereotypes and the negative attitudes that women have about themselves," said Manzini.

She says often women elect men into leadership positions thus rendering themselves invisible.

"We have been brought up in a traditionally conservative society and there is a stigma attached to assertive women. They are not regarded as good

mothers and are rejected by their communities," she said.

She added that women also tended not to support each other and therefore contributed to their being given subservient roles.

Manzini pointed out that South African women, unlike their counterparts in other African countries, have a unique opportunity to ensure that their needs are taken care of during the making of a new constitution.

"When independence comes, priority will be given to other issues of national importance and the gender question will have to take a back seat.

Non-sexist

"That is why it is equally important to deal with it during this process. That way we ensure that the new South Africa does become the non-sexist, non-racial country espoused by all the organisations at Codesa," added Manzini.

Outlining some of the key recommendations that GAC has put forward to the working groups, Manzini said proposals and recommendations to Working Groups 1, 4 and 5 had not yet been formulated because of the deadlines in some areas within the working groups them-

selves.

However, the draft report on the recommendations has been submitted to the other groups for deliberation and the GAC would continue with its work after Codesa 2.

The working groups to which the report has been tabled are those dealing with the status of the TBVC states and implementation of resolutions and time frames.

The main thrust of the report deals with the repealing of all racial legislation and discrimination on the basis of gender.

It strongly advocates that women are consulted in drawing up the constitution and that women's organisations be utilised to the fullest.

In the report, the GAC said women should also be part of all interim execu-

tive bodies or sub-committees and other sub-councils which are going to be established.

This, Manzini said, would clear the path for women to participate fully in politics.

The committee has also recommended that Codesa helps facilitate and urges political parties to reach out to women in rural areas, domestic services and nursing homes.

Clause

The GAC further recommended the entrenchment of an unqualified equality clause in the constitution. This and other recommendations on women's rights to be protected by a judicial Bill of Rights.

The GAC has also put forward the need for a charter on women's rights

which will outline the ideals of women and serve as an interpretative document that would be used in case of violation of those rights.

Another important and perhaps sensitive issue that the committee has looked into is culture and traditional practices.

Manzini said the GAC has recommended that during the drawing up of the constitution, clauses dealing with culture and tradition which tend to be oppressive to women be done away with; this together with all clauses promoting racial hatred.

Codesa has also been asked to redefine intimidation of women by their husbands.

There is also a need for an independent media board that would include women.



NIEL BARNARD, the government's head spook now recast as a negotiator, sidled up to a senior African National

Congress member in the corridors of the World Trade Centre shortly before last month's deadlock at Codesa II.

"Go and tell Madiba he started the whole thing," said Barnard. "He must tell your people we are talking about power sharing."

The ANC official got the distinct impression that the government, through its spokesman Barnard, was expecting ANC president Nelson Mandela to deliver on some secret promise of power sharing.

Rumours of a "deal" between Mandela and President FW de Klerk's government, given grist by the tendency of the two men to retreat behind closed doors every time there is an impasse, have circulated for two and a half years.

Perhaps we will never know exactly what was said at the meetings between the ANC prisoner and National Party cabinet ministers in Mandela's last days in jail. But the two letters from Mandela to the government which were published at the time, pleading for reconciliation, do not support Barnard's inference that Mandela conceded power sharing as a compromise arrangement.

Careful rereading of the documents show that it is not Mandela who has violated any trust, but the NP which, by rejecting democracy as it is internationally accepted, has made the current mass action campaign inevitable.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting," Mandela wrote. "Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks."

"The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will

While the generals dither, troops return to trenches

W/ndel 19/6-25/6/92

(3044)

This week's launch of the mass action campaign is a return to the source of the African National Congress' strength: the streets.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
looks at the reasons behind the strategy

be to reconcile these two positions."

While Mandela was clearly offering some form of quid pro quo, there is no evidence he accepted what the government is now demanding: the constitutionally entrenched right of the NP to representation in government.

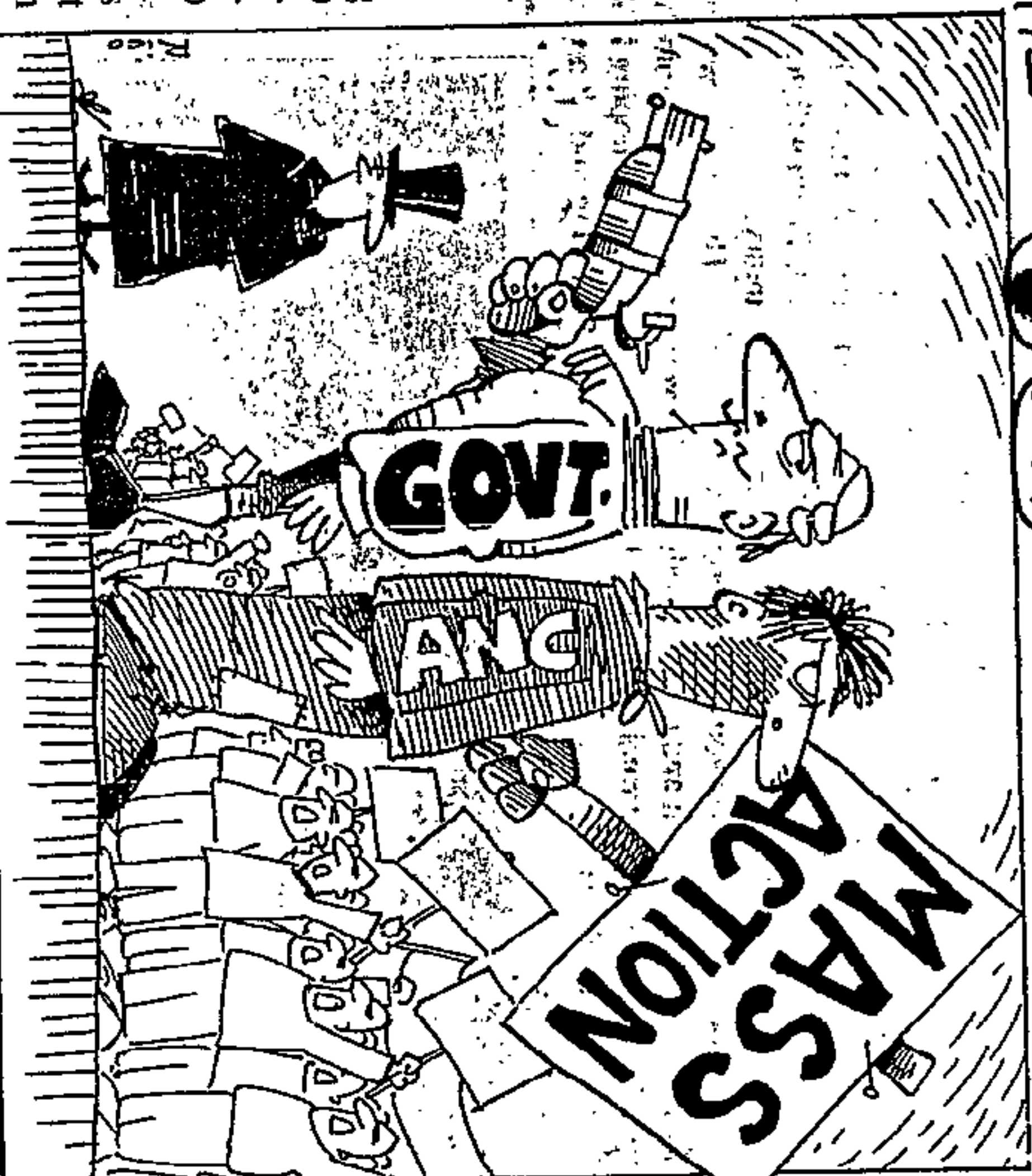
What Mandela was pleading for was a gesture of public spiritedness to cut through the conflict and confrontation that was propelling the country towards a bloodbath. It was a statesmanlike act that put his own political career at risk.

The idea was that rational people could get together, state their concerns and differences and build a structure, a gateway to democracy, that would address these concerns.

That was the theory. Rationalists, such as those most closely involved with the negotiations, believed that the ANC could win the day with the superior logic of its arguments.

However, the hope that reason and persuasion, and the mere act of showing up NP arguments as shoddy, would prevail, was dashed at Codesa II.

While there remain differences of emphasis within the ANC's national



executive committee (NEC), few voices were raised at last week's NEC meeting against the mass action campaign. Even the strongest advocates of the rationalist approach were silent, or actively enthusiastic about the campaign.

This week's launch of the mass action campaign is a return to the source of the ANC's strength: the streets. It is an admission, ANC activists say, that in putting its faith in Codesa the movement cut itself off from its power base, while the government retained its hold on, and continued to abuse, state power.

"We need to be more vigilant than we've been, less accepting of the government's good faith," says Frene

Ginwala, head of the ANC's department of research.

"We're now into deploying our power in a number of ways other than pure logic," says Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's political education department.

Suttner says the movement tended to separate Codesa from the general struggle for power. But "in South Africa, the language that matters is the language of power," he says.

The NP made a huge blunder by not settling on the very generous terms it was offered at Codesa II. The NP might have felt that a slight delay could help it, but it appears to have squandered its chances of the gentlemen's agreement, or an accord between the

elies, that Mandela was offering.

"Mass action is a threat to any deal at the top," says Suttner. "The ANC is reasserting its democratic character. What brought the government to the negotiating table was Cuito Cuanavale, the failure of the State of Emergency, the atmosphere of semi-insurrection and ungovernability."

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils says mass action will continue no matter what deals are struck at the negotiating table. "In the negotiating process, we've tended to consider mass action a deadlock-breaking mechanism: we've used the metaphor of a tap that you turn on and off."

"There is an important interaction between negotiations and mass action, but we must be careful not to see it in an opportunistic way."

Kasrils says he has tested the temperature of the people and is confident of the success of the campaign: "What we're talking about is a spiral, of building up our forces from about a million in the build-up phase to the active involvement of 10-million in phase four. We're looking at the possibility of the Leipzig option."

"The decision is that we now utilise mass action until we reach the stage where De Klerk is propelled out of the exit gate."

Suttner believes in "permanent mass action" as a way of democratising the country for the future as well as now.

In fact, the mass action campaign could also be seen as a build-up to an unspoken but inevitable fifth phase: the election campaign itself.

Suttner talks about the huge task of bringing to the polls 13-million people who've never voted before. "The election campaign can become the biggest national mass campaign in the country's history," he says.

The mass action strategists are not rejecting the negotiations, but hoping to create a completely new balance of power at the table.

This brings another potential headache for the NP: instead of a slight

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This brings another potential
headache for the NP: instead of a slight
delay, which might have been to its
advantage, we could now be in for a
long haul before there is a final settle-
ment.

Ginwala says there can be no com-
promise on the fundamental issue of
democracy. "The people are fighting
and dying for democracy, and do not
want to be short-changed."

She believes that even those areas of
consensus which have already been
reached between the ANC and the gov-
ernment could be overturned and pre-
dicts that by October or November, in
the absence of any agreement, the ANC
will abandon De Klerk's proposal of an
interim legislature to rule the country
while the constituent assembly draws
up the constitution.

"Mass action may not do it instantly,
but how long can this government con-
tinue to rule this country?" says
Ginwala.

Which brings one back to Mandela's
jail initiative. He proposed the need for
negotiations between the ANC and the
NP in the national interest to break the
stalemate on the ground between the
two forces.

In all probability, the country is head-
ing dangerously back into that arena
where angry armies on the ground dic-
tate the terms of the contest.

With every public statement, the gov-
ernment appears to dig itself further into
the trench of "power sharing", hoping
to convince the people of South Africa
that it is an adequate substitute for
democracy.

De Klerk would do well to reread
Mandela's document: "Majority rule
and internal peace are like the two sides
of a single coin, and white South Africa
simply has to accept that there will
never be peace and stability in this
country until the principle is fully
applied," he wrote, three long years ago.

1992

SOWETAN Friday June 19 1992

US blacks settle scores

NEW YORK - There are both remarkable similarities and distinct differences in the racial dilemmas facing South Africa and the United States.

Yet the similarities seem to becoming more and more pronounced as each country grapples with the problems of race, undoubtedly this century's most pernicious, unresolved social issue.

Thus it is perhaps not entirely coincidence that at a time when the African National Congress has launched its supporters on a campaign of "mass action", American blacks are being urged by their leaders to do exactly the same.

Though obviously not directly linked, the two campaigns have almost identical aims and almost exactly similar techniques.

The black American campaign is to be launched today - a day chosen by the Reverend Jesse Jackson

Sowetan Foreign Service

and other black leaders because it is the anniversary of the day in 1865 when black Texans learned for the first time that President Abraham Lincoln had freed the slaves some two years earlier (and some 29 years after slavery had been abolished in the Cape).

Freedom

That day, now widely observed among American blacks as a milestone of freedom, will this year be marked as "a day of absence" - an almost exact replica of the ANC's Soweto Day call this week.

Tommark what black leaders say is the "continuing burden of racism in America" they are calling on fellow blacks to stay at home, boycott white-owned businesses and avoid conversations with whites - even more radical

steps than those called for by the ANC.

In individual cities, local leaders have taken the call for action further. In New York black church leaders have urged blacks "to demonstrate our anger and outrage against police brutality, racial violence, political injustice and economic exclusion".

They specifically link their campaign to the recent Rodney King verdict, which acquitted four Los Angeles policemen of beating him in a video-taped incident seen round the world.

What gives the American Day of Absence a new dimension is the appeal to racism it evokes.

Not only are demonstrators called on not to go to work and to boycott shops, but are being urged not to spend money and not to use

the telephone - the latter because it is seen as a white-owned business.

Specifically, demonstrators are exhorted to patronise black-owned stores.

"Money is a powerful weapon," says one campaign leaflet being distributed by black church groups.

If there are similarities between the US and ANC campaigns, there are also differences.

The most noteworthy difference - and in it lies a curious irony - is how the

two campaigns are presented publicly.

In South Africa, a country moving slowly towards democracy, the ANC campaign has been widely publicised - a front page subject of national debate.

In the United States, a

country proud of its democratic system, a Day of Absence that reflects the welling anger of many of its black citizens, merits only a paragraph on the back pages of newspapers and hardly any reference at all on the air waves.

Govt must resign

By PHANGISILE

MTSHALI

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night called for the resignation of the Government following Wednesday night's Boipafong massacre.

Some said Codesa must be dismantled as the Government had not shown any willingness to stop the violence.

"The ANC and IFP do not know what they are doing. The peace accord has failed," a victim of the recent Alexandra Township violence said.

Thomas of Ratanda, Heidelberg, said he was angry and frustrated at the ongoing violence.

George of Moutse ac-

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

cused the IFP and a third force for the violence.

He appealed to the ANC to abandon negotiations at Codesa and revive the Patriotic Front with the PAC and Azapo.

He warned the ANC would lose its membership if it did nothing concrete to stop the violence.

Dube of Molapo said he was deeply concerned at the violence.

He said the Government was out to destroy the ANC.

He said the ANC must abandon Codesa proceedings because they were not bearing fruit.

Keith Montsisi of Vosloorus said the Government must resign because it had failed to protect its citizens.

Dennis Mdialose of Soweto said the Government had been involved in civil wars in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique.

Mbulelo of East London blamed the IFP and the Government for the violence.

He urged victims to defend themselves and prepare for a full scale civil war.

Colin of KwaThema said negotiation was the only answer to violence.

Benny cocks a snook at CP

PAN Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander was unrepentant yesterday despite charges laid against him by the Conservative Party for

Swetam 19/6/92
promoting attacks against the security forces.

CP MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs said in Parliament on Wednesday charges had been laid

against Alexander on May 4 as the CP was under the impression he had not been indemnified.

In a statement, the PAC official described himself

as "incurably addicted to the proposition that the armed struggle is legitimate".

"I am surprised at the statement of charges laid against me as no legal documents to this end were served on me nor was the matter brought to my attention. (304A)

"Besides, following confessions of senior CP leaders of their direct involvement in bombings, the CP is the last to point a finger at somebody who is not directly involved in armed activity. I will not be intimidated by self-confessed terrorists," said Alexander. - SA Press Association.

FM 19/6/92

CURRENT AFFAIRS

CHURCH AND STATE

Jaw or war?

Should church leaders be condemning the ANC's civil disobedience campaign? After all, such campaigns nearly always entail violence and intimidation, even deaths. Moreover, the moral basis for such a campaign may be disputed in view of the fact that negotiations are simultaneously proceeding, despite snags (which must reasonably be expected in such a process). This implies that the main adversaries still believe that jawing is better than warring. Or is the mass action simply a strategy in a purely political issue?

The churches are in general prepared to condemn any violent action. However, the SA Council of Churches (SACC), given its pre-Codesa anti-apartheid history, has tended to be largely pro-ANC in orientation, observes Wits University theologian William Domeris. This makes it unlikely to condemn

just about anything the ANC does. Inkatha, not surprisingly, has in the past attacked the SACC because of this.

Part of the problem seems to be that some church figures with a background in liberation theology accept the ANC view that government is operating at two levels: negotiating and stirring violence, with the strategic aim of preventing a transfer of power.

The Church, explains Domeris, is a huge, ponderous body that doesn't react quickly to these matters. Its mode of thinking is still that one should promote nonviolent action.

Yet the hospital workers' strike, endangering the lives of patients, is unlikely to provoke the SACC's condemnation — though it is hard to imagine apostles of nonviolence like Gandhi or Martin Luther King condoning the strike at Baragwanath.

The Church's attitude in this regard may be traced to the World Council of Churches' Lusaka Agreement in 1987, in terms of which certain churches — notably Latin American — accepted the right of the oppressed to resort to violence in extreme situations. The SACC at the time said it "understood" why people might resort to violence to break the cycle of State violence — a stance which caused a great row in SA.

While the SA churches have not quite adjusted to the Codesa situation, we are beginning to find churchmen arguing against mass action in view of the negotia-

tions, says Domeris, who is a church representative on the Randburg/Alexandra dispute resolution committee of the Peace Accord.

SACC general secretary Frank Chikane, whose ANC sympathies are not secret, says the SACC has not formally discussed the mass action campaign. However, as far as general principles go, Chikane personally believes that every South African has the democratic right to express his or her wishes in any democratic way. "And if mass action falls within the standards of allowed forms of democratic expression, there is no reason to condemn it. We can only say that whatever is done should fall within those bounds."

Chikane "would prefer not to see mass action, but, if a solution is not forthcoming, you cannot prevent people from using their right to protest."

The SACC, he observes, has officially called on Codesa to ensure that it "delivers the modalities" required for producing a new constitution, which, it believes, should be drawn up by an elected body so that it expresses the democratic will of all South Africans.

"We have said that the scope of Codesa should not be extended beyond that. Officially, we are definitely disappointed that Codesa 2 failed to deliver such a (constitution-making) body, or an agreement to elect such a body. We are concerned that delay could

cont →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 19/6/92

(304) (20)

lead to more lives being lost."

The only way to avoid mass action was through a "speedy agreement" on that question. Chikane believes that the talks are being deliberately stalled by the National Party. "So, if people resort to protest action, as is their right, I have no right to argue. I don't believe in such statements of condemnation. We need to take seriously the voice of the disenfranchised people of SA.

"The key issue is that no violence should be used. If no violence is employed, including by the security forces or covertly, then there is no reason for fear.

"The moral issue for me is that the disenfranchised must be allowed to make decisions affecting their destiny. As long as they are deprived of this right and as long as the present parliament continues as such, the situation is unacceptable and a serious breach of that right."

As to the question that lives could be lost in the programme of action, Chikane says "the problem in the black community is that they are dying already." It was a measure of their desperation that people are prepared to

say that they'd "rather resist the system."

He finds it "interesting" that business has not asked President F W de Klerk why he is wasting time (at Codesa) and why the victims of white minority rule are resorting to mass action. Business should be putting pressure on government to get on with it, he says.

The presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of SA, Stanley Magoba, believes mass action "is not something anybody would approve of. Those advocating it are doing so out of desperation. My understanding is that they do not want the failure of Codesa; so it's a desperate act to make Codesa work. But they are doing it from a political perspective."

The Church would like Codesa to succeed, says Magoba, adding that mass action is not necessary and appealing to all leaders, including those not part of the process, to make negotiations work. "Instead of condemning mass action, I think it should be rendered unnecessary by persevering with the negotiations, which is the only way to bring a peaceful settlement to our society," says Magoba.

Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley observes that mass action is part of ANC strategy and tactics, adding that the ANC has to discipline its people to adhere to non-violent protest. He finds it "very hard to say it mustn't happen" and urges the leaders to impress on their followers the laws of peaceful protest.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu notes: "We have to remember that two-and-a-half years after Nelson Mandela's release, the bulk of people are still unable to express their views through the vote." This did not imply, he says, that the right to protest should no longer apply once people had the vote. "Also, there has been a disturbing arrogance in the government's attitude since the referendum," which, Tutu believes, explains the harder line it adopted at Codesa.

"But I am very worried about the possibility of violence. If there is to be mass action, then, for the sake of those involved, for the sake of our cause, it must be made clear that people are not forced to participate and that intimidation and coercion are not acceptable."

De Klerk gave little away at Ulundi, argues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatumba

ANC-bashing — but no pacts

STAN 19/6/92

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) President Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might not admit it readily, but he and his followers gained precious little from President de Klerk's controversial visit to the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi this week.

The visit — surprisingly scheduled on the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — was ostensibly meant to afford the State President an opportunity to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the exclusion of KwaZulu and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Although Chief Buthelezi spent the second half of his speech on the "main issue" — the first half having been devoted to excoriating the ANC for its mass action and "total dishonesty" — Mr de Klerk barely mentioned it.

In a six-page speech, he devoted a mere paragraph to King Zwelithini's exclusion from Codesa. And when he did deviate from his speech to respond directly to Chief Buthelezi's emotional appeal, he stated that "the Zulu na-

tion", like other "nations" in South Africa, had an important role to play and had to be accommodated in a future dispensation.

Consummate politician he is, Mr de Klerk, who also used the platform to spell out his party's constitutional views once again, left his listeners feeling happy without actually giving them anything concrete to be happy about.

Much of the day's proceedings were taken up by an issue on which both sides did agree: the need to attack the ANC.

In his opening address to the assembly, meant to welcome the State President, Chief Buthelezi lambasted the ANC for its mass action, saying it was "totally irresponsible" of the organisation to call for mass action "which will be backed by harsh intimidation at this time when there is an upward spiralling of violence".

Chief Buthelezi said the National Party leader was "a man of integrity and political honour". He said it was "a hideous distortion of the negotiation process" to suggest that the Government was responsible for the deadlock in Codesa 2, and stoutly defended the NP team's performance there.

On these issues Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk were speaking the same language, mutually patting each other's backs.

When he stood up to talk, President de Klerk thanked Chief Buthelezi for putting the Codesa deadlock "in its right perspective", called on all leaders to stand against violence, outlined the actions his Government had taken to deal with violence, and went on to extol regionalism/federalism.

But on the question of King Zwelithini, subtle differences began to emerge.

Chief Buthelezi had accused the Government of giving in to ANC demands far too easily, and said it had been naive in the bilateral discussions held with the ANC before Codesa 1 last year. He called on Mr de Klerk to "act as State President", and tell the ANC and other Codesa delegates that, willy-nilly, KwaZulu King Zwelithini and the IFP would be allowed to send three separate delegations to Codesa.

The Chief Minister alluded to a long-standing friendship between Zulus and Afrikaners, and referred to his own co-operation with the Government in the past

— at the risk of being called "a stooge". He expressed the wish that these good relations might yet again be revived.

Here he was merely giving expression to what many political observers had long believed would happen: that the IFP and the NP would sooner or later enter into an alliance of some kind against the ANC-SACP-Cosatu axis. Mr de Klerk did not respond enthusiastically to this implied request, suggesting that — at least for now — the long-expected formal *toenadering* is not on the cards.

Mr de Klerk said the question of King Zwelithini's participation in Codesa would have to be addressed by the multi-party negotiating forum. He and his Government did not need to be convinced of the importance of Zulus, he said, nor of the contribution they could make. But just as Zulus and their king had to be involved in negotiations that affected them, so too did other "nations" and their traditional leaders.

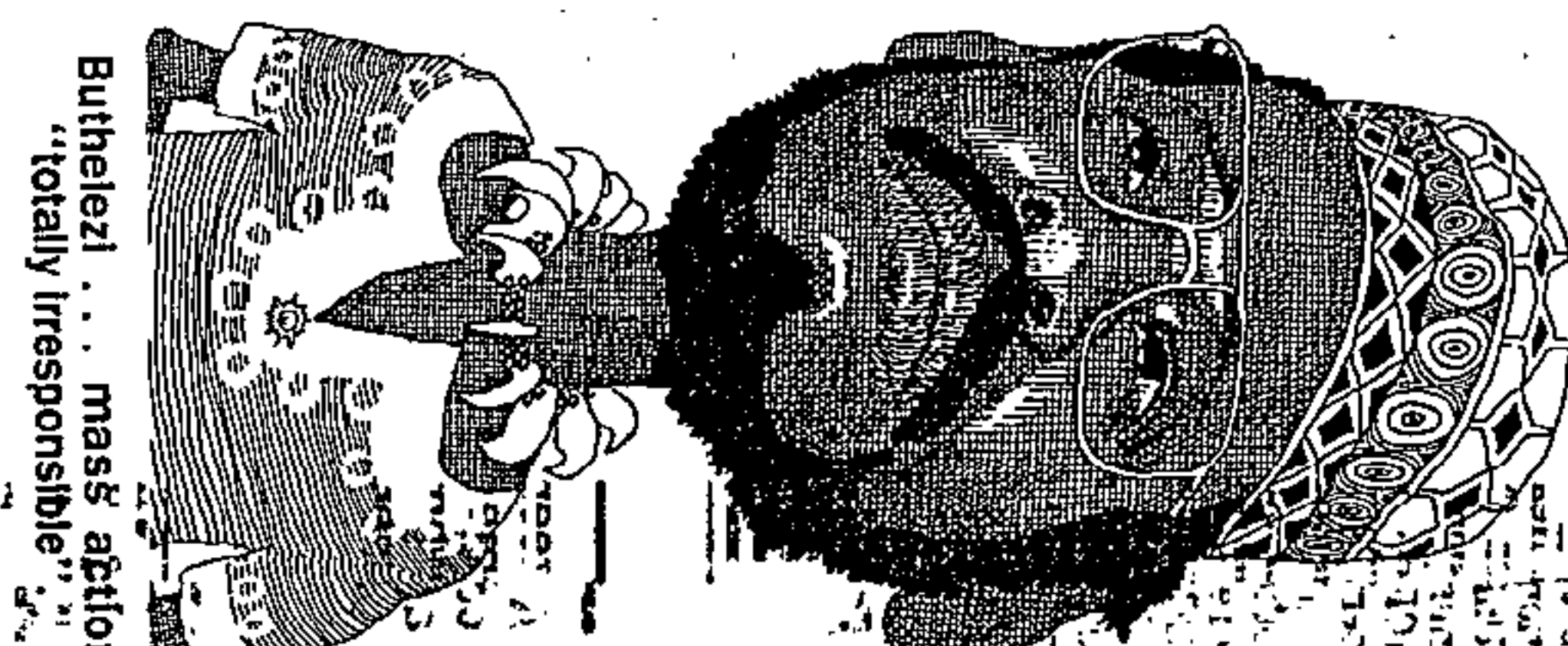
The President said: "It is regrettable that Codesa was unable to reach agreement on the inclusion of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, and his own delegation,

as participants in their own right. "Notwithstanding all our efforts, including my own constructive involvement, the matter remains unresolved." The best he promised to do was to redouble his and his Government's efforts in working for King Zwelithini's inclusion.

This will not have been welcome news to Chief Buthelezi. But while the De Klerk visit did not have all the desired results, it demonstrated most lucidly — if such a demonstration were needed — the convergence of views between the NP and the IFP.

Moreover, many believe that for Chief Buthelezi to have scheduled a sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16 — a day widely revered in the black community for its historical significance — is one thing, but for him to have chosen that day to invite President de Klerk to Ulundi, and for President de Klerk to have accepted, amount to little less than frightening callousness.

To make matters worse, not once did either man refer to the day, apart from observing that it had been chosen by the ANC-led alliance for the launch of its mass action campaign. □



ANC presses for urgent election the Nats could win

STAR 19/6/92

3041

AN APPARENT contradiction lies at the heart of the African National Congress's campaign of mass action.

Initiated on June 16 by nationwide protest marches and mass rallies to commemorate the 1976 revolt by black students, one of the campaign's declared aims is to force the De Klerk administration to agree to "democratic elections for a constituent assembly" by the end of the year.

But against that there is Nelson Mandela's startling admission that the ANC is concerned that it could be defeated by President de Klerk's ruling National Party in a nonracial election. He cites as reasons for concern the NP's electoral experience, organisational ability and resources.

Given the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and its retention of nationalisation as a policy option, NP resources are likely to be augmented by a sizeable sector of the business community.

On the face of it, the strategy of using mass action to compel Mr de Klerk to agree to hold elections for a constituent assembly is irreconcilable with anxiety about losing the election.

The apparent incongruity is even more striking when the high stakes involved in a constituent assembly elections are recalled. The primary task of a democratically elected constituent assembly will be to draft a constitution for a democratic and nonracial South Africa.

A theoretical explanation can be offered: Mr Mandela's admission was a ploy to lure President De Klerk into agreeing to earlier elections.

But there is too much evidence of genuine concern in the ANC about the elections for that to be plausible.

To begin with, there is the frank acknowledgement in the past general-secretary's report that the ANC has not won major support in the white, coloured and Indian communities. Re-

A conundrum is embedded in the ANC's mass action programme. Its aim is to force President de Klerk to agree to elections for a constituent assembly before the end of the year, even though Nelson Mandela has admitted that the ANC could lose the elections.

PATRICK LAURENCE offers an explanation.

cent opinion polls have shown that the general secretary's report, presented to the ANC general policy conference last July, was not alarmist: the ANC is trailing the NP by substantial, even alarming (from its point of view) proportions in these communities.

Then there is, too, a paper by the ANC's department of political education. Entitled "Mass Organisation is the Key to Victory", it identifies several ANC weaknesses in the election battle.

The paper refers to the distribution of potential voters before observing that in "many of the areas" where the concentration of potential voters is greatest, the ANC is organisationally weak and its membership is low. It cites Natal and northern Transvaal specifically.

The discussion paper then adds a corollary. Many of the areas with a high concentration of voters fall under black governments hostile to the ANC and this restricts the ANC's freedom to organise. It mentions KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, whose leaders, Manosuthu Buthelezi, Oupa Gqoza and Lucs Mangope, recently presented a joint memorandum to President de Klerk.

The paper pinpoints two more weaknesses in the ANC:

- Its vulnerability to attack by the NP as a communist-controlled movement.

- Its susceptibility to a "massive barrage" by the established media, big business and foreign governments.

The De Klerk administration has charged that the ANC is afraid to submit itself to the "democratic process".

Minister of Constitutional De-

velopment Roelf Meyer has said the ANC decided on such action before negotiations deadlocked at Codesa, inferring it was negotiating in bad faith.

The NP's interpretation is based on the false premise that there is a contradiction between argument for early elections at the negotiating table and agitation for them in the streets.

Negotiations and mass action are not mutually exclusive in the ANC's view: they are both "terrains of the struggle". It is true that the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, were drafting a plan of action even before the deadlock at Codesa.

But the programme has since been revised to take account of the ANC's failure to realise its "bottom lines" at Codesa — an interim government of national unity by the end of June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

A programme of action, if not the final programme, has been in the offing for some time, not as a substitute for negotiations but as a supplement to them.

The programme of action, moreover, has been designed specifically to link the ANC's election and mass action campaigns.

The contradiction between mass action and concern about weaknesses in the ANC election machine is thus more apparent than real.

South Africa is witnessing a bid by the ANC to mobilise "the people" for two overlapping objectives: to force the De Klerk administration to agree to early constituent assembly elections and to prepare for the elections themselves. □

Confident NP uses mass action to its own advantage

3/11/82 19/6-25/6/92

304A

COMMENT

A sophisticated government strategy aims to pin blame for the violence on the ANC

“Nat bragadigheid (display of power) at its worst” — contradict the NP’s professed support for a Bill of Rights. No attempt was made to gain the consensus of parliamentary parties, let alone the government’s negotiating partners at Codesa.

And, after disarming the Inkatha members, the police returned their confiscated “traditional” weapons to the IEP’s local headquarters. The police — and the media who had been invited to the performance — ignored another armed Inkatha group on the march nearby.

What is the government’s motivation? Sources close to the government indicate that its strategy is aimed partly at weakening the ANC’s position at a time of deadlock in the negotiations process. And, in the long term, it is the beginning of a bid to win wider support for the NP — particularly among coloured, Indian and black moderates who are uncomfortable with mass action — with an eye on the first democratic elections.

By appearing to be the only party that can maintain law and order, especially in the townships, the NP aims to market itself as the safe option in a time of conflict and violence. On this ticket, it hopes to ensure that it will be a major party, or even — as Minister of Foreign Affairs P. W. Botha promised recently — the majority party in the “new” South Africa.

Key NP strategists believe the party has the resources, know-how and machinery to peak at the right moment in an election campaign — and the mass action campaign presented an ideal opportunity for the party to lay the foundations for that crucially timed peak.

Political analyst Mark Swilling argues that the NP is “moving confidently forward with the belief that there is a sufficiently sizeable anti-ANC middle cut of the society upon which it can build a Christian Democratic alliance”. This alliance would be made of the NP’s traditional white base, remnants of the Democratic Party’s base, a 20 percent minority in the black population and the conservative middle of the coloured and Indian communities.

“The NP believes that if it can put together this alliance and enter into elections during the first half of next year, it will have more than a good chance of building itself into a significant power position that will effectively give it a veto over the direction of the new state,” Swilling argues.

The NP had blocked agreement at Codesa because it is not yet ready for an election, Swilling adds.

Some observers believe that the government has a “Plan B” in terms of which, if mass action succeeds, it will declare a State of Emergency and use it to act against the ANC, thereby pushing forward a political settlement against a weakened opposition.

They fear that an over-confident NP government may be considering the imposition of a political “settlement” even without ANC agreement. The concern is that the government, having rid itself of the albatross of the more outrageous apartheid laws and having survived the unbanning of the ANC, believes it can hang on to power without serious repercussions. This may tempt it to slung off the ANC as a negotiating partner.

A CONFIDENT National Party government has developed a sophisticated strategy to turn the African National Congress’ mass action campaign against it — portraying the NP as the party of law and the ANC as the party of disorder.

The NP strategy, which has been largely successful, has been to pin the blame for any violence on the ANC, regardless of the ANC’s involvement. Examples this week included:

● The government deliberately orchestrated a near-hysterical build-up to the threat of violence on June 16 by calling up soldiers it did not use or even need.

● Police immediately blamed yesterday’s Boipatong massacre on the ANC’s campaign, although initial evidence pointed to an attack launched

from an Inkatha-controlled hostel.

● Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel, in the forefront of the anti-ANC campaign, claimed there were links between mysterious “hit-squad” attacks in Soweto on June 16 and the mass action campaign.

● The government tried to rush through parliament a series of tough law and order measures which recall the era of former state president P. W. Botha.

● The government unilaterally decided to reconvene parliament in October to consider interim government legislation, despite the deadlock in the negotiations process.

● The NP threw R300 000 and a top campaign manager into a minor House of Representatives by-election in

Kimberley in a bid to show that it has strong support in the coloured community (see PAGE 21).

● President F. W. de Klerk chose to spend June 16, the day the ANC launched its mass action campaign, addressing the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and giving assurances on the Inkatha Freedom Party’s main concerns: regional government powers, the power of chiefs and an even spread of blame for violence.

● In a high-profile media show, journalists were last weekend taken along to watch police disarm Inkatha members on their way to a Soweto rally.

Most of these actions were marked by an unexpected self-confidence in the face of the mass action campaign and a cynicism seemingly out of step with the negotiations process.

For example, the laws the government tried to bulldoze through parliament — in what one opposition member called

In calling a special second session of parliament later this year, De Klerk said that if Codesa had not made sufficient progress for parliament to consider legislation, “parliament must then have the opportunity to discuss the state of affairs and consider steps which the government may propose”.

More likely, however, is that De Klerk, with his cunning sense of media image-building, did this to demonstrate that he was ready and eager to move forward. If Codesa is not ready by the time parliament reconvenes, he can score some points by letting MPs sit around for a few days blaming the ANC for the delay.

FW welcomes new recruits

STAR 191617 (304A)
President F W de Klerk yesterday welcomed four more former Independent MPs from the House of Delegates to the NP.

NP carries fight to black areas

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is about to launch its long-expected major recruitment drive into black areas, with no less than 2 500 meetings before Christmas.

The campaign strategy, which heavily emphasises the NP's commitment to free enterprise, was unveiled yesterday.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer made it clear that the strategy had been created with the rival ANC in mind.

The aim was to sign up members who would then form the nucleus of the canvassing teams.

The basis of the campaign is a multimedia publicity package in six languages — Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and English. — Political Correspondent.

New raise boosts FW's pay R48 000 this year

Political Staff

ARC 19/6/92 (304A)

PARLIAMENT has approved a 16 percent mid-year raise for President De Klerk, increasing his package from R218 000 to R253 000.

This is in addition to a six percent improvement he received at the turn of the financial year, from R205 000 to R218 000. The motion was passed unopposed by all Houses.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Mining tax contribution down

THE mining industry had paid R2,2bn in tax in the 1990/91 tax year as against R3,45bn in the 1986/87 year, Finance Minister Derek Keys said in Parliament yesterday. *Blom 19/6/92*

He said this represented a contribution of 3,3% against 10,1% of state revenue. In 1989/90 mining's contribution was R2,274bn or 3,7% of state revenue.

ANC cashes in on 087 lines

THE ANC has joined the 087 pay-line operation to raise funds. It will cost R15,97 a minute to phone on the ANC's 087 line and a top prize of R1 000 will be presented at a special luncheon.

Coast guard may be established

THE possibility of establishing a coast guard in SA is being investigated by an inter-departmental committee following the De Beir commission of inquiry's recommendations. Environment Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar and Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed said yesterday the committee would investigate the formulation of a national maritime policy.

High-tech NP campaign starts

THE NP launched a countrywide, hi-tech campaign yesterday to draw black supporters. The party caucus gave the six-language marketing package the nod yesterday and at least 2 500 meetings will be held using videos, full colour leaflets, cartoons and display portfolio folders. *Blom 19/6/92*

Indian, coloured MPs join NP

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk welcomed four former independent MPs from the House of Delegates into the NP yesterday, while two more members of the Labour Party crossed the floor to join the NP in the House of Representatives. *Blom 19/6/92*

REPORTS: Politics | Staff, Sapa

re filled only after
eration and subsi-

any for the commissioning of the new
intensive care unit and theatre com-
plex at Pelonomi Hospital.

Govt slated for late Bills

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — Government came under fierce attack from the ANC and DP yesterday for trying to steam-roller controversial legislation through Parliament in the last days of the current session. *Burrows 19/6/92*

DP senior whip Roger Burrows gave notice of a motion calling for Justice Minister Kibie Coetsee and State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter to be censured for late submission of Bills. Parliament's Chief Whip Alex van Breda was asked not to consider legislation unless sufficient time was allowed for it to be fully debated.

Burrows proposed that Coetsee be censured for late submission of the Criminal Law (Second Amendment Bill, the General Law Amendment Bill, the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Amendment Bill, and the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Amendment Bill; and Venter for the Secret Services Account Amendment Bill.

The ANC said government was trying to ram legislation with "hallmarks of the total onslaught" through Parliament before the current session ended today.

24 JUN 1992

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Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 19 JUNIE 1992
JUNE

No. 14054

ALGEMENE KENNISGEWING

KENNISGEWING 545 VAN 1992

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

TUSSENVERKIESING VAN 'N LID VAN DIE VOLKSRAAD IN DIE KIESAFDELING FLORIDA: BESONDERHEDE VAN NOMINASIEHOF EN KIES-BEAMPTTE

Ek, Petrus Jacobus Colyn, Hoofverkiesings-beampte—

- (a) bepaal hierby ingevolge artikel 34 (3) (a) van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Florida van die Volksraad, die Streekkantoor van die Departement van Binnelandse Sake, Kamer 106, Land-droskantoor, hoek van Rex- en Meyerstraat, Roodepoort, as die plek waar nominasies ten opsigte van genoemde kiesafdeling ingedien moet word en die plek waar die nominasiehof sitting sal hou; en
- (b) stel hierby, ingevolge artikel 34 (3) (b) van die genoemde Wet, ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Florida van die Volksraad, Helena Brink, Administratiewe Beampte, Departement van Binnelandse Sake, Privaatsak X41, Roodepoort, aan as die kiesbeampte vir genoemde kiesafdeling.

P. J. COLYN,
Hoofverkiesingsbeampte.

437—A

GENERAL NOTICE

NOTICE 545 OF 1992

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

BY-ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY IN THE ELECTORAL DIVISION OF FLORIDA: PARTICULARS OF NOMINATION COURT AND RETURNING OFFICER

I, Petrus Jacobus Colyn, Chief Electoral Officer—

- (a) hereby fix in terms of section 34 (3) (a) of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), in respect of the Electoral Division of Florida of the House of Assembly, the Regional Office of the Department of Home Affairs, Room 106, Magistrate's Office, corner of Rex and Meyer Streets, Roodepoort, as the place where nominations in respect of the electoral division mentioned shall be submitted and the place at which the nomination court will sit; and
- (b) hereby appoint in terms of section 34 (3) (b) of the said Act, in respect of the Electoral Division of Florida of the House of Assembly, Helena Brink, Administrative Officer, Department of Home Affairs, Private Bag X41, Roodepoort, as returning officer for the electoral division mentioned.

P. J. COLYN,
Chief Electoral Officer.

14054—1

FW's pay hike tops ⁽³⁰⁴¹⁾ rate of CT 19/6/92 inflation

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will receive a pay hike above the 15,6% rate of inflation from August 1.

The president's salary and domestic allowance package will be increased by 16% from R218 000 to R253 000.

Mr De Klerk's basic salary will climb from R176 675 to R193 000 and his domestic allowance from R41 325 to R60 000.

The increases were proposed in a motion by the leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday.

The motion was passed unopposed by all the Houses of the tricameral Parliament.

Six cross to Nationalists

SIX more MPs in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives have joined the National Party. In the House of Delegates they are: Chairman Mr Salamuddi Abram (People's Party of SA, Actonville), Mr Yakoob Baig (Ind., Moorcross), Mr Sagadava Naidoo (Ind., Verulam), and Mr Perumal Nadasen (Ind., Allandale).

In the House of Representatives they are: Mr Petrus Meyer (LP, Vredendal) and Mr William Whyte (LP, Natal Midlands). — Political Staff.

(304A) ARC 19/6/92

Tension rises as LP faces NP

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

(304A)

TENSION is rising in the build-up to the first election encounter between the National Party and the Labour Party in the Kimberley seat Diamant as President De Klerk tests his support in the coloured community.

Wednesday is polling day but more than 22 percent of the 32 500 voters have already cast special ballots in a closely fought battle over a constituency held by the LP since the inception of the House of Representatives in 1984.

Both the NP and the LP are reluctant to predict a runaway victory. They say the contest has been intense since the end of May.

A by-election defeat would be a devastating blow for Labour and could lead to a fatal schism.

ARG 19/6/92

For the NP the tussle is being seen as a major test of post-February 1990 shifts in party political allegiances in the coloured community.

This is a sector of the electorate on which the NP is pinning much of its hope of being a major contender in future general elections.

Opinion polls show strong support for Mr De Klerk among coloured people, but this first electoral engagement will be critical in testing the trend.

The by-election follows the resignation of Mr Leslie Abrahams, who was recently charged with fraud and theft.

Mr Abrahams, who was among LP members to defect to the NP, retained his seat in the 1989 election with 8 581 votes.

This time round, NP candidate Mr Howard Isaacs is up against Labour's Mr John Scholtz.

Battling for a place in the South African sun

Sowetan 19/6/92

304A

THE deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages, but the nature of democracy itself. The National Party wants a system where people vote and the result is fixed beforehand.

These words by African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, perhaps sum up most succinctly the (only partly expressed) objective of mass action, the uncertainty and confusion prevalent at grassroots surrounding deliberations at Codesa.

It also brought to the fore the ugly chasm between the aspirations of black and white, the very thing which negotiations at Codesa set out to bridge.

The two positions that have crystallised over the past weeks are distinctly familiar in that they represent, very much, the South Africa which so many people are trying to ignore.

They represent perhaps a South Africa where naked racism has been exchanged for economics. They also represent the clash between black and white perceptions of democracy.

Whites in South Africa have enjoyed a unique kind of "democracy", which for them worked remarkably well. Through this "de-



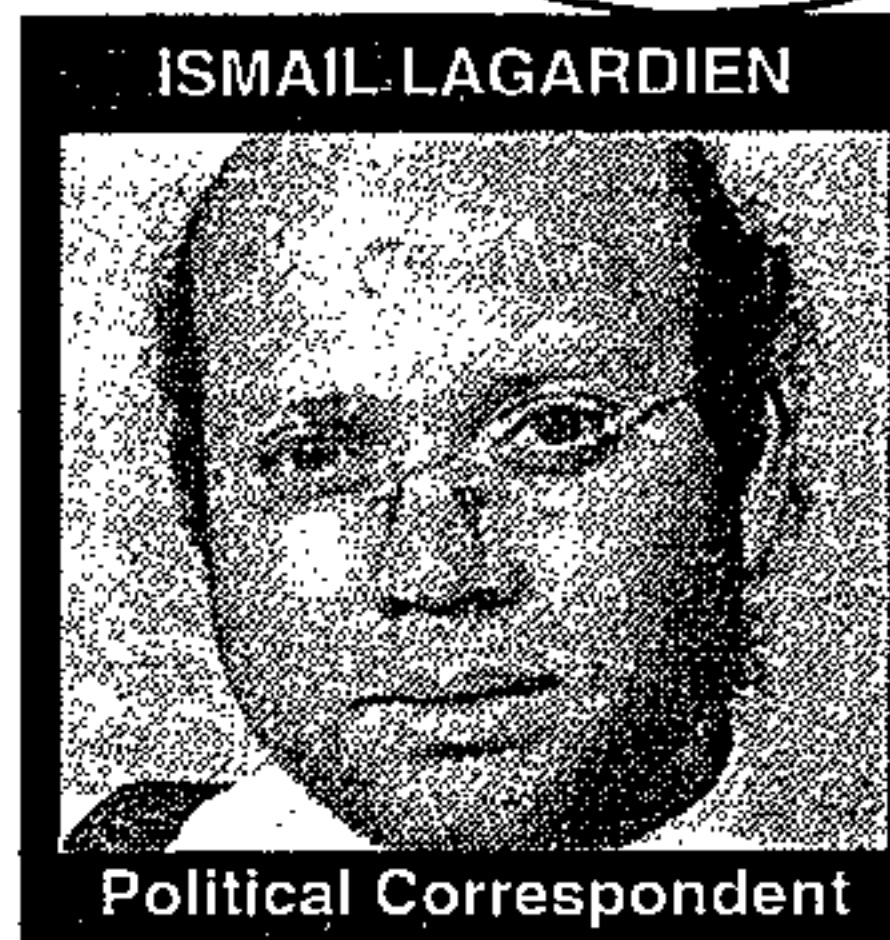
mocracy" they attained political, economic and social power.

Black people on the other hand were almost non-existent, or more like features in the topography of the land. In fact, Parliament and the prevailing policy worked, almost exclusively, to remove black people from the political (and geographic) landscape.

When black people protested or petitioned for power or self-determination, they were met with brute force and subjugation.

Today it seems, nothing much has changed for black people; they still don't have the vote, political or economic power, and in some way or another, the Government's multiparty conference (Codesa) appears to be no more than a continuation of the long-standing effort to get rid of that which black people represent.

Although it has mutated into a multipronged, more sophisticated broadside, the Government's response to mass action this week was



no different from its response to similar protests before Codesa.

By holding on to absolute power in the run up to the (actual) interim phase, the Government can, among others, send the President overseas to sell his honest intentions; keep a tight reign on the security forces and deploy them when and where necessary and absolve itself from any problems (including violence) on the grounds that apartheid legislation has been abolished.

The propaganda windfalls of marching across Red Square, or having tea in the White House and at 10 Downing Street, are great victories, whichever way they are looked at.

Judging by the response of the British Press over the past week to the ANC's mass action, it is clear that De Klerk has scored major victories in the international arena.

Not a single British newspaper registered an understanding of the underlying causes of, and for, mass action as explained by the ANC.

Every commercial British paper, including the ones that have traditionally been sympathetic to the struggle for black liberation in South Africa, supported De Klerk.

And with such power, De Klerk can impose any form of democracy on the country. Hence Mandela's statement on Tuesday.

The blame for this lies perhaps in the overrated power and signifi-

cance of Codesa.

Not a single party in Codesa has yet faced a nonracial and democratic election, while everyone there knows the ANC represents the majority view.

The Government's spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delpert, admitted this on Wednesday, saying it would be futile to continue in the convention without the ANC.

The deadlock at Codesa has similarly been misinterpreted or, at best, grossly oversimplified.

The deadlock is simply not about percentages, as Mandela has said, but about political power; about who will get it and who will lose it, as the Conservative Party's Mr Andries Bester has said.

The ruling National Party, by the admission of their leaders, are not prepared to hand over power - "they want to share it".

At Codesa 2, when the second plenary session was being delayed, a Cabinet Minister told a handful of journalists in the corridors of the World Trade Centre: "We will not let this place go the way Rhodesia went."

And this Minister is perceived as one of the more liberal NP persons.

De Klerk himself is of the view that "minorities have done a lot to develop this country" and deserve a special place in the new South African sun.

Thus black people, in terms of the expressed ideals of their political representatives, want a democracy where they can have a say in determining their own future.

White people, in terms of the expressed ideals of their political representatives, want a democracy where they will have a say in determining the future of the country.

Black people only have their feet to vote with - hence mass action. Whites still have their Parliament and their (internationally victorious) President.

'The deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages, but the nature of democracy itself. The National Party wants a system where people vote and the result is fixed beforehand.'

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Beware of the authoritarian democrats

WE'RE supposed to be looking forward to what can be bettered, rather than perpetuating — albeit in new guise — the miseries of the past, argues Don Caldwell in a new book titled 'No More Martyrs Now'. Books Editor JAMES MITCHELL reports.

STAR 20/6/92.

304A

REMEMBER those little parliamentary news reports that used to appear from time to time? Inevitably in the form of a minimalist answer to some probing Prog MP (remember the Progs?), they would disclose that so many blacks had been reclassified Cape Coloured, so many this or thats had become "other Asian"...

It all ended, of course, in 1990. No more race classification boards. No more pencils in the hair, etc. Or is it all over, asks Don Caldwell, gadfly emeritus and puncturer of the politically correct. What happens, he wants to know, when "affirmative action" is fully entrenched?

"Suppose a law is passed saying that 30 percent of all company directors must be black," writes Caldwell. "First question: what's black? Does somebody who was classified 'coloured' under apartheid pass for 'black' under affirmative action? ... Does hiring a coloured or Indian (or Malay or Chinese or Griqua) give a company full credit or half credit towards the 30 percent quota?"

Landslide

Nonsense, of course. We all know who's disadvantaged, don't we? Trouble is, points out the author, as soon as we introduce affirmative action (or the weasel-words reverse discrimination/positive discrimination/compensatory preferences) we are introducing group privileges and racial quotas.

"Suppose," asks Caldwell, "a bunch of fairly white-looking directors simply declare themselves to be black, thus beating the 30 percent quota by a landslide? Will a race classification board be set up to test their hair?"

Well, will it? After reading Caldwell, I think we should be told. And that will be the reaction of many who dip into this

vividly written exposition on — to quote the subtitle — "Capitalism, Democracy and Ordinary People".

The phrase "ordinary people" is, I strongly suspect, the key to Caldwell. He hasn't much time for "the masses" or "the people" — favourite catch-phrases of the new authoritarians. He does, however, display much interest in the fate of individuals.

Caldwell charges that the new freedoms we are being promised in place of the old apartheid oppressions are flawed. Just as affirmative action requires its racial classifications, so too will the new "democracy" and the new "free speech" involve the banning of political parties and the restriction of inquiry/news-gathering/opinion.

Caldwell's charges will be found unforgivable by many. His sin is that he is actually examining such documents as the ANC's Freedom Charter, its bill of rights and its constitutional principles, and then checking the (recent) statements of such luminaries as Joe Slovo and Albie Sachs. What it comes down to is that the new "authoritarian democrats" (my words, not Caldwell's) don't favour clear, simple declarations.

At the very least, Caldwell makes it clear there is no reason to trust the fine-sounding phrase-making of the ANC's constitutional experts any whit more than there was to trust the constitution of the old USSR ... the constitution that permitted the gulags, the forced removals of entire ethnic groups, internal passports and movement control...

Is there any hope? Not much, Caldwell suggests, unless we get over our current preoccupation with merely changing the labels on the levers of power, and instead actually disconnect them.

● "No More Martyrs Now" by Don Caldwell (Conrad Business Books R40)

Sins of apartheid's fathers are visited on the innocent

SA 20/6/92

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

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(304H)



PITY the small man and woman as we begin to pay the price for the decades-late arrival of the new South Africa: they are being told to dig deepest. I want to talk, in this week of big tragedies, about small people locked into a small one that threatens to engulf them.

There is a man called B who lives in a house north of Johannesburg. He is a good and much-loved man who treats people right and works to the limits of endurance to provide for his family. With the help of the bank, he bought his house more than a decade ago and with his wife and three children turned barren land into a lovely oasis. It also represents this family's wealth in the world.

B is not a particularly political person, but he is one of those white South Africans who have taken an interest in the unfolding political drama and have reached their own conclusions. Long, long ago B recognised that apartheid was wrong, and could not be sustained. He and his wife voted "yes" in the reform referendum with relish and high hopes.

He has now been told of the Transvaal Provincial Administration's decision to locate a squatter camp within a kilometre of his house. He has been told that the value of the house will fall by as much as 80 percent.

This means that having paid off a bond on the property faithfully for more than 10 years, he suddenly finds himself owing more to the bank than the land and house are now worth.

He is quite desperate, for this constitutes financial ruin after a lifetime committed to building up security for his family.

B, let there be no mistake, is not a racist. He welcomes black South Africans buying and building homes in his area. But the poor, powerless people who are to be dumped next door are able to do neither.

They are to construct any shelter they can on a piece of ground 20 m by 10 m. They are to use

whatever roads as can be scraped onto the veld in time, they are given vague promises of "chemical toilets" and even vaguer ones of electricity, eventually. The lack of infrastructure makes it certain that Nietgedacht will — whatever the efforts of its inhabitants — become a vast, growing slum.

Now B is told in pious terms by "experts" who live in the comfort of city suburbia that he must simply accept the situation as a new reality of South African life. Those who have never faced the prospect he faces call him a "nimby" ("not in my backyard"), content in the knowledge that their backyards are safe. He is accused of worrying only about his "view".

Well, he has some questions to ask.

Why must he pay alone — and such a devastating price — for apartheid's crimes, when its architects continue to live, literally, off the fat of the land?

Why is he told that he must propose an alternative site for the poor squatters, when he obviously has no power to do so?

Why, if there is not proper infrastructure in

either place, are the squatters to be moved from Zevenfontein to Nietgedacht? Could it be because there are powerful interests in the former area, while in the latter there are only ordinary people who have no financial muscle to flex?

To what lengths should he go to try to protect all that he and his family have? These are real and painful questions for B, and he is getting no answers. Meanwhile, the minutes tick by and resettlement and ruin draw closer.

South Africa's problems are vast and the sufferings of its people immense. The horror of Bopalong showed that again this week. But why is it that the small people must always bear the brunt of tragedy and injustice? B faces disaster because of the Group Areas Act, the scandalous theft and wastage of the Department of Development Aid, the billions poured into nonsensical homelands when housing for black people was needed in the cities years ago, and so on. He had nothing to do with all of this.

And the guilty ones still drive Mercedes-Benzes and retire behind their electronic gates on Waterkloof Ridge.

This disaster should not be allowed to befall a good man like B, and the many other honest, hard-working people in his community. If it is indeed too late to stop the ill-considered resettlement of the Zevenfontein community, then all those whose life investments are threatened with decimation must be fully compensated.

Rezoning, if it will help them, must also be implemented.

The uncaring, inept bureaucracy must be forced by the public will into responding to the plight of the ordinary people who are being punished for a situation not of their making. They cannot simply be ridden over roughshod because they do not have the financial muscle to bend the TPA to their will. It is an injustice which only serves to compound that already suffered by the homeless.

B, by the way, is my brother.

CP is in agony over Codesa

304A

ARG 20/6/92

■ Rightwing tensions are rising as groups agonise over whether to take part in Codesa and how to square their yearning for self-determination with a countrywide movement towards power-sharing.

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

TENSIONS within the Conservative Party are likely to come to a head when it holds a national congress next Saturday to discuss the leadership's latest proposals for an Afrikaner "volkstaat".

The white right is going through contortions as it tries to decide how to remain relevant in the post-referendum era, with the CP still adamant it will not take part in Codesa, yet desperately trying not to be sidelined.

There are also tensions between the CP and other rightwing groups, some of whom are amenable, at least, to approaching Codesa with their proposals. A rift in the rightwing, with some groups going off to Codesa, appears inevitable.

On the other hand, the government believes everything possible must be done to reduce potentially dangerous rightwing frustrations. Tensions arising from a perception that new systems are being imposed could be exploited by extremists — and even a small group could do serious damage.

This was why President De Klerk invited the CP earlier this year to come and talk to him, and several rounds of talks have been held between the CP and the National Party.

The CP, in spite of its referendum defeat, is playing hard to get because

it realises how keen the government is to get it involved in negotiations.

"We are not going to sell ourselves cheaply," said one senior MP.

Party spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said the chances of a whites-only election under the present system had faded.

Now the party wants to try to present itself as a "volksbeweging" with the emphasis shifting from race to ethnicity.

The party wants to step up its efforts to win recognition for the principles of self-determination of peoples.

In terms of its latest proposals to be submitted to the congress, a strong plea is made for a confederation or commonwealth of states on a voluntary basis, with political independence, but economic interdependence.

The CP also now appears to be prepared to accept a smaller white state. Previously, it had claimed all the 'traditionally' white land. The problem for the CP is that there is no region in the country where blacks are not in the majority.

The party's objection to Codesa remains that it does not recognise the right to self-determination. The government believes it should put its viewpoints at Codesa.

As the conference draws near, differences have emerged again. Recently, maverick MP Mr Koos van der Merwe was kicked out. Last week, four other MPs stayed away from the parliamentary caucus, saying there were differences on the latest policy document.

These potential rebels are said to be in favour of the party going for a much smaller white "volkstaat" as a more realistic target and for more of an element of federalism. They could well be enticed to put their case at Codesa.

were threatening her.

Barend choice 'shortsighted'

Political Correspondent

MR Barend du Plessis was an "eminently well-qualified" person for the position of president of the council of governors of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said yesterday. (304) CT 20/6/92

But he added that because of the bank's "sensitive" role the appointment of a former NP cabinet minister would be "unimaginative and shortsighted".

The ANC has proposed Mr Bob Tucker, former managing director of the Perm, for the position.

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At the edge of the abyss, think of the other path

204A

S/Times 21/6/92

MORE even than in the worst days of apartheid, South African life is lived at two levels: an elaborate day-to-day pretence of normality, a theatre of make-believe, overlaying a nightmare reality. This week, at Boipatong, the nightmare burst through the pretence.

For more than two years, since February 1990, we have been living in the euphoric illusion that the hatreds spawned by three centuries of war and oppression might be erased, like naughty words from a blackboard, by common sense and goodwill. Oh, vain hope!

Mass action was launched on Tuesday as street theatre, a mock version of what the ANC used to call "armed propaganda". It was a way to say "boo!", to frighten foreign investors, and to frighten local businessmen who fear nothing so much as frightened foreign investors. The aim was not ungovernability, which would exact a terrible, anarchic toll, but the illusion of ungovernability.

Like generals fighting the last war, the aged leaders of the ANC tried to employ against the subtle, clever President De Klerk the methods that succeeded against the crude regime of President Botha: strikes and boycotts, toyi-toying battalions for the cameras, fierce rhetoric, and taunting provocation intended to lure the police into violent responses.

That worked well enough under President Botha, when the ANC was challenging the rigid militarism of the total strategy; but under the conditions of helter-skelter change that have prevailed since President De Klerk began to dismantle the totalitarian apartheid state, the resort to threat and confrontation had the effect of crying "Fire!" in a crowded theatre.

The ANC leaders, still enraptured by the myths of socialist revolutionary theory, under-estimated the febrility of their opponents, white and Zulu, Indian and coloured, policemen and hostel-dwellers.

The days are past when threats might induce the whites — I will not speak for the Zulus or other communities — to mend their ways; today the level of insecurity in the suburbs is so

high that additional threats simply pose the question: fight or flight? Emigrate if you can, arm if you must.

The horrors of Boipatong remain to be investigated and explained. The ritual accusations which seek to blame whites whenever black people kill other black people may, or may not, be true. The answers await Mr Justice Goldstone's commission.

What does matter immediately is to recognise that when a civilised order breaks down, it is anarchy that lets slip the dogs of war, and that even the spectre of anarchy through mass action may unleash armed gangs against innocents. Boipatong marks another twist in the national descent into barbarism, but it should not surprise anybody, at the end of a terrible century, that atrocity rides on the back of disorder.

Boipatong will, I fear, stimulate hatred and retribution, and more demands for mass action, and more fear. The economic recovery will be delayed, and more workless people will be added to the tens of thousands who have already lost their jobs. The suffering that awaits the black people of this long-suffering country is not to be under-estimated.

Among whites, the prevailing mood is "end-of-empire". The tidal wave of corruption that washes over the society, sweeping along doctors and lawyers, public servants and private businessmen, is but a symptom of moral collapse. In the 80s, the military officers prated about spiritual readiness — *geestelike weerbaarheid* — but their military philosophy of survival at any cost has undermined all other values.

THE spirit that rides in the suburbs now is to get rich quick, and get out. Anything goes: gambling in every guise, gouging and overpricing, pornography by telephone, forgery and theft and fraud of every kind. Mad schemes proliferate, to dig great bunkers for the military brass, or to scatter toilets in the veld, or to accumulate paper fortunes in the government pension funds, or to take out paper insurance against a chaotic future.

There must be a better way, and there is, if only the ANC could be made to realise that the game is won. It is time to build the future, not to wreck the past. The dwindling white population, its schools running empty and its control of events slipping away, is much less a threat to be destroyed than an asset to be preserved for the future.

THE way ahead is clearly signposted by the experience of two dozen other countries: it is to avoid conflict at all costs, to negotiate patiently and endlessly at every level of society, to preserve stability, to honour contract, to uphold the law, and beneath the protection of the law to free the individual. The way of success is, at every point and in every way, the opposite of mass action, of confrontation, of threat and counter-threat.

Nearly three decades ago, Michael O'Dowd argued that economic growth was the greatest-force for liberation in South Africa. That has proved to be true. Economic growth unleashed the forces of urbanisation that destroyed the pass laws, unshackled the trade unions, raised the skills and the education of black people in the very teeth of government policy, and stretched the capacity of whites to control and direct every facet of society.

The process has been hampered all along by violent theories of revolution, by destructive tactics, by ideas and methods and weapons imported from Eastern Europe, where democracy is an unfulfilled dream. Now those theories have been discredited even in the countries of their origin, but they linger in the upper echelons of the ANC, and it has brought us to where we are today.

For many years guilt-ridden whites have tried to appease the ANC by going along with the tactics of confrontation. Now, as we stand at the brink of the abyss, it may be wiser to say peace is not built by conflict, nor wealth by destruction, nor security by threats, nor conciliation by war, nor democracy by coercion. It is time to follow the other path.

KEN OWEN

FW flees scene of bloody massacre

From Page 1

never seen a crowd show such hatred," he said.

Journalists invited on the tour were not told their destination until the last minute, but someone leaked the information to the media the night before.

From early yesterday morning members of the ANC and the PAC were in the township mustering the youths to oppose De

Klerk's visit.

PAC leaders Dikgang Moseneke, Barney Desai and Benny Alexander were also in the township yesterday morning, but this was only to show support for the community, said Desai.

The ANC also issued a press statement yesterday morning objecting to the visit by the State President. Under the heading "We demand action not

De Klerk's crocodile tears", the statement said that the ANC was shocked and dismayed at the planned visit of De Klerk to the scene of the Boipatong massacre.

It accused De Klerk of creating a climate for the massacre by his statements about a plan to counter mass action and his mobilisation of the security forces. After De Klerk was chased from

Boipatong he gave a press conference at a nearby military base.

De Klerk said elements in Boipatong had apparently been mobilised to wreck his visit to the township. He said he was shocked by his experience.

But he warned that South Africa would not be allowed to fall into a "state of anarchy" and reiterated his call to all

political leaders to refrain from reaction which could contribute to violence.

Hinting at the reintroduction of a state of emergency, he said, "We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order."

Sapa reports a man was shot dead by police in the troubled township yesterday afternoon.

By MOSS MAMAILA and SAPA

PRESIDENT FW

de Klerk yesterday fled Boipatong - where 39 people were massacred this week - when thousands of youths mustered by the ANC and the PAC descended on his entourage.

De Klerk, seated in the back of a car, looked terrified as hundreds of enraged youths swarmed around yelling: "Go away murderer!"

"Shoot, shoot!" the 3 000 strong crowd yelled as panic-stricken policemen waved automatic rifles in a fruitless attempt to prevent the youths from hammering on the doors and roof of the president's car.

The car, a grey BMW, did not stop during the brief visit as protesters vowed to stone him to death.

The high-powered government delegation which forced its way into the township was chased by thousands of residents who ignored the heavily armed police.

Fifteen armoured vehicles moved in to cut off an incensed crowd.

Despite shouts of insults directed to him, De Klerk waved at residents from his car.

De Klerk said later he had been shocked by his experience and hinted that the state of emergency might be reintroduced.

While some residents called on Umkhonto we Sizwe to defend them, others called on the PAC



UPROAR ... State President FW de Klerk's entourage is hounded out of Boipatong township yesterday by angry ANC and PAC youths shouting "Go away murderer".

PICT: EVANS MBOWENI

military wing, APLA, to come to their rescue.

The residents have refused to give statements to the police, saying the police were guilty of complicity.

"Why should we expect any help from the police while they are our very killers? Whether we give them information or not, nobody will be arrested. If any arrests are

made there will be no conviction as we saw with the acquittal of the Sebokeng massacre trialists," a furious resident said.

The tour was expected to be a show of compassion for families of the 39 men, women and children shot, speared and hacked to death in the early hours of Thursday morning in the worst massacre this year.

The visit lasted only 10 minutes and De Klerk's spokesman Caspar Venter shook his head before disappearing into the crowd. Frantic officials screamed "We've lost him! We've lost him!"

One member of the ANC, James Mphahlele, said: "We are all very angry about his presence here. He should never have come."

Placards said, "FW is a killer!" and "FW go home!"

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen and former Conservative Party, now Independent MP, Koos van der Merwe were also in the party.

Earlier, Viljoen and Van der Merwe briefly stepped out of their vehi-

cle, but quickly changed their plans when they realised the ugly mood of the crowd.

Van der Merwe was slightly injured on the head when someone threw a stone at him.

A burly policeman, the veteran of many riots, said he had never seen a crowd so angry. "I have

To Page 2

10 blacks for Barcelona King's attacker vanishes

C/PRESS 21/6/92

FW to earn R193 000 a year (304/1)

STATE President FW de Klerk is getting a salary increase and his domestic allowance is to go up to R60 000 from August 1, it was announced in parliament this week. C/PRESS 21/6/92

Leader of the House, Adriaan Vlok, proposed the State President would get a salary of R193 000. In the Budget De Klerk's salary for 1992/93 was to be R218 000 which included a domestic allowance of R41 325.

NP drive for black voters

THE NP has launched a hi-tech campaign in a countrywide drive to draw black supporters.

The party caucus gave the six-language marketing package the nod after a special presentation last Thursday. (304A) CIPren 21/6/92

The campaign will start with at least 2 500 meetings where MPs will use a video, full colour leaflets, cartoons and display portfolio folders.

The message "Everyone wins with the NP" will be the campaign slogan in Afrikaans, English, Zulu, Xhosa, and South and North Sotho.

The NP's Chief Director of Information, Piet Coetzer, told a special media briefing that since the referendum the party's market had broadened to the total population. - Sapa

De Klerk threatens emergency

Soweto 22/6/92

STATE President FW de Klerk on Saturday threatened to reimpose the state of emergency after he was chased from Boipatong township in the Vaal by angry residents.

Addressing a Press conference from the sanctuary of a military base as police who remained in Boipatong shot dead three more people, De Klerk said:

"We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans.

"It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said.

The President was critical of accusations by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which about 40 people were killed on Wednesday.

Earlier, about 3 000 residents, who were part of a march by ANC and PAC members accompanied by PAC leaders, shouting and waving placards with "FW de Klerk go home" and "We don't want you here

De Klerk", had streamed from all corners as the presidential cavalcade entered the dusty township on Saturday morning.

Secrecy had surrounded plans for the visit, but residents were clearly ready for De Klerk, as most turned up with placards condemning the visit. Surrounded by at least six armoured vehicles, the State President looked

tense but not visibly frightened. The party appeared in no immediate danger but, faced with the threatening crowd, it retreated.

De Klerk had been scheduled to visit the massacre victims' families and to hold a Press conference in Boipatong, but he was never allowed out of his car.

● See page 6

Pik calls for urgent talks with ANC

ACTING State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the African National Congress to consider the facts and issues surrounding last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He issued a statement reaffirming the Government's commitment to negotiations after ANC president Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral talks at a Vaal Triangle rally on Sunday. *Sowetan 22/6/92*

Meeting

Botha, acting State President while Mr FW de Klerk is on a private visit to Spain, said a Government representative suggested to a senior ANC member yesterday that there should be a meeting to discuss Boipatong.

He suggested the meeting take place the same day, but the ANC had not reacted to the proposal.

"I repeat our proposal," Botha said.

"Urgent talks are necessary to discuss all the factors and the facts concerning the Boipatong tragedy."

Threats were not going to produce solutions.

"The Government remains committed to finding solutions through discussion," Botha said.

Mandela says talks are off

Sowetan 22/6/92

By SONTI MASEKO

TALKS between the ANC and the Government were temporarily suspended by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, when he accused State President FW de Klerk of complicity in the massacre of 42 people in Boipatong last week.

Mandela, addressing tens of thousands of supporters in Evaton Stadium, declared that South Africa "will never be the same again" after the massacre, which he described as the work of beasts and not human beings.

Mandela said his coming to the Vaal had "nothing whatsoever to do" with De Klerk's disastrous visit to Boipatong on Saturday.

Earlier he told Boipatong residents that "in the course of our future political work, we will not forget what De Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty," he said.

He told the seething crowd, waving posters and chanting: "We want arms" that he had called off a planned meeting tomorrow between the ANC and the Government.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said.

"On Tuesday the ANC and the regime were supposed to have a meeting. After the murder of our people I instructed Comrade (Cyril) Ramaphosa that he and his delegation will not hold any further discussions with the regime."

He announced that the ANC would also be holding an emergency meeting tomorrow to discuss the future of negotiations and to explore other options.

Mandela also announced that the ANC would call for a national stayaway, "a day of mourning throughout the country" on the day of the burial of the victims of Boipatong, as soon as the date was announced.

On the international front, Mandela announced that he would request the United Nations to call a special session of its Security Council which he would address.

New players for Codesa?

Sowetan 22/6/92
THE recent revelations of informal meetings between the Government and the Azanian People's Organisation were signs that the "radical left" was gradually moving towards entry into Codesa.

This view is contained in a commentary in the *Southern Africa Report*, a weekly newsletter published by former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw.

In an article in the latest issue, based on an exposé by *Sowetan* two weeks ago, the SAR says the informal contacts between Azapo and representatives of the Government were significant as it also showed that the Government wanted to bring new players into Codesa to bolster its delaying tactics.

SAR argues that should the Government succeed in persuading Azapo to enter Codesa, it would have achieved "a considerable coup ... as it will have broken the resistance of the hardcore left to negotiations."

304A
By MATHATHA TSEDU

"The Government will gain recognition for being a sincere proponent of a negotiated settlement. It will be noted that it went out of its way to play out the tortuous charade demanded by Azapo of meeting at neutral venues under independent chairmen and so on."

It argues however that because the Government was meeting resistance to reform at grass roots level of its white constituency, it may be wanting to lure Azapo into Codesa to "merely add another element to the negotiations to enable the issues at that exercise (Codesa) to become more diffuse and thus able to be dragged out yet further".

Azapo national media spokesman, Mr Khangale Makhado, discussing the SAR interpretation, said Azapo had agreed to meet with the "regime because the process we are engaged in has nothing to do with Codesa".

State 22/6/92 (306A)

FW to meet Spanish king

President F W de Klerk has left for a short visit to Spain, where he is to hold talks with the Spanish monarch and prime minister. He will also meet bankers and businessmen wanting to invest in South Africa and on Wednesday he will visit the South African pavillion at the World Trade Exposition in Seville. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was appointed acting State President in Mr de Klerk's absence. The visit is a private one at the invitation of King Juan Carlos.



President de Klerk

STAR 22/6/92 (304A)
New-look volkstaat mooted

A small volkstaat in which forced removals would be ruled out and which would co-operate with the rest of SA in a regional or confederal context, was mooted by Professor Carel Boshoff at the biennial congress of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

● Page 6

Helen Suzman: lone voice in our darkest wilderness

Star 22/6/92

3044

BOOK OF THE WEEK

Helen Suzman's Solo Years edited by Phyllis Lewsen
(Jonathan Ball and Ad Donker R65,95)
Reviewed by DAVID ALLEN

SPURRED by recent disclosures of wholesale theft of public funds and officially sanctioned murders of political opponents, newspapers have begun to lament the absence of honesty in South Africa's public life.

This concern is well-placed, but comes a little late in the day. Public dishonesty has been a feature of our political and business conduct since well before the National Party came to power.

On the whole, society's leaders do little to encourage honesty. Anyone who attempts to expose their moral decrepitude is dealt with ruthlessly. There are countless broken lives strewn across the pages of our modern history to bear testimony to this.

But there are always a dedicated few who manage to escape the establishment's crushing maw, and go on to see their persistence indicated as the system is compelled to come to terms with their challenge by moderating its actions and policies. One such is Helen Suzman.

The effect of her parliamentary

work was to expose the intellectual, moral and political dishonesty that underpinned the destruction of the rule of law, the removal of civil liberties and the imposition of the most horrendous oppression on millions of people.

During the 12 years this book covers — the ones in which she stood alone in Parliament — her efforts were focused on trying to warn intelligent, worldly wise men, those on Government benches as much as those in the Official Opposition, not to be seduced by notions that were soaked in such unimaginable deviousness that they made good appear evil and evil good.

She tried in numerous ways to warn Parliament of the serious consequences of imposing such brutal measures as the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts, influx control laws, the Population Registration Act, the 180-day detention law, the Terrorism Act, Group Areas Act, and numerous other pieces of legislation governing universities, the press, police, prisons, political organisations.

But all that happened was that the vast majority of its members, fascinated by their own propaganda, so lost their grip on the principles of right thought and conduct that they were soon in conflict with their own deepest sense of right and wrong.

At a time when it was popular to go along with the Government line about the communist threat and the need to combat it through raids, imprisonments, bannings and censorship, she was a lone public figure crying out for more freedom.

The Government, irritated by this, tried to counter her attack by boasting how it was the only upholder of Western values in Africa. She replied by slating it for denying the rights enshrined in those very values to millions of

blacks. The best response it could muster was scorn, ridicule, censure and criticism, and labels such as un-South African, unpatriotic, agitator, commie.

While she was merciless with the National Party she was equally ruthless with the United Party. She was appalled at how easily its members allowed themselves to be led into some of the Government's most obvious political traps, and how their connivance with the Nationalists helped speed up the erosion of the rule of law.

She felt every assault on liberty acutely and personally. Vorster's notorious "No Trial" Bill (the 90-day detention law) was one of many examples. It effectively deprived people of the protection of open court, enabled the Minister to detain them over and over again without ever bringing them

to trial, without legal defence and without even knowing why they were being held.

It allowed the Minister to keep a man in jail for life after he had served a sentence, made crimes retrospective and put the onus of proof of innocence on the accused.

None of this fazed the UP. Although its members may not have wanted anything to do with the Nats, they nevertheless loved their policies — especially Vorster's Bill. Suzman was racked with despair: "If ever I felt sick at heart it was the day I witnessed the tragic capitulation of the Official Opposition — the day they supported the second reading of that monstrous Bill. And to make things even worse, not only did the UP support Vorster in the lower house, but in the Senate they queued up to thank him."

Phyllis Lewsen's is a masterful book. Delivering the reader a concentrated dose of Suzman's political philosophy distilled from the experience of more than a decade as the only Progressive MP, it is at once challenging, thought-pro-

voking and an inspiring condensation of one of the most important periods in our recent history.

More than that it demonstrates how far-sighted Suzman was when in the '60s she already knew with such blinding clarity the path South Africa would one day have to tread. As new political, social and economic immoralities were being imposed, she persisted in telling white South Africa what it least wanted to hear — and the Government and the UP what they least wanted to contemplate: the country must resign itself to having black people as a part of urban life, the homelands will never provide any long-term solution, apartheid is doomed to be an expensive disaster, multiracialism is the only way.

Political philosophers may long ponder why it took so many intelligent men inside and outside Parliament so long to catch up to where Helen Suzman was 30 years ago. □

● More book reviews will be found in *Tonight* during the week.

A quiet revolution of attitudes is under way, reports Hugh Robertson from Washington

US ties yellow ribbons for SA

STAR 22/6/92

(3044) (337)

WHILE the American media focus almost exclusively on the horror of South Africa's political violence and the turbulent politics of Codesa, a heartwarming evolution of sorts is taking place virtually unnoticed in the relationship between the United States and South Africa.

Almost every day small items of news flicker through the agency fires pointing to the steady reevaluation of South Africa's image among ordinary Americans, items which in themselves are not earth-shattering and which tend to be eclipsed by events of greater moment.

But every now and then something happens which demonstrates just how dramatic has been the transformation, how enormous it has become the cumulative impact of the many small triumphs breaking down the barriers of hostility and suspicion that were built up over the dismal years of apartheid. Some recent examples: A week ago, for the first time in the history of Illinois, the home

state of Abraham Lincoln, a foreign envoy was invited to address a joint session of the state legislature's two chambers. The envoy was South African ambassador Harry Schwarz, who was given a standing ovation.

A few days later, at a ceremony where President Bush broke the ground for a new Korean War memorial in Washington, there was a crescendo of applause when Mr Schwarz was introduced and the South African flag was hoisted.

While this was partly due to the changed political climate, the stout-hearted clapping by the large US military contingent at the ceremony bears some explanation.

While apartheid was rampant, South Africa's involvement in the Korean War often was obscured and few Americans knew of it, let alone the fact that 34 South Africans were killed fighting alongside US forces in the war.

But shortly before the latest ceremony, a military historian wrote a belated homily to the 826 South Africans who fought in



Schwarz... given a standing ovation after speech.

Korea, which appeared in a US military magazine under the headline: "The forgotten country".

The article reportedly caused a stir — and a recognition that the time had come to make amends.

In the same week, Renaissance Women, a large and influential educational foundation which operates in all 50 states of the US, decided that they wished to hon-

our the efforts being made by South Africans to come to grips with many of the problems which Americans themselves are battling to resolve.

They chose to declare South Africa to be an "honorary state of the US", in recognition of the "renaissance" of democracy and freedom that is slowly emerging in the country.

All over the US, South Africans are in demand as speakers at seminars, at service club luncheons, at schools and universities — on a scale unimaginable only two years ago.

And all over the country ordinary Americans are coming into contact with individual South Africans on an unprecedented scale. Many black South Africans, for instance, are visiting the US as guests of foundations, universities, multinational companies and government agencies.

This week, some of the biggest names in banking — Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Chemical Bank and JP Morgan, among others — welcomed the first group of black

South African managers to a six-month "professional development experience".

Last week the first of a group of black South Africans who have been undergoing an internship at the International Monetary Fund completed their course and embarked on a tour around the US. Earlier, several — including some of the ANC's top economic planners — were invited to attend a getting-to-know-you seminar at the World Bank where a continuing programme for South Africans is under way.

Some large US cities, including Washington, have begun to sponsor black South Africans who seek further knowledge of such things as drainage and sewerage, town planning, recycling and community health services.

The number of South Africans at US universities reportedly has risen dramatically, and several organisations are now at work raising funds to provide more scholarships and study grants.

In line with foundations and leading companies, watchdog

groups like the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, which monitors new US investment in South Africa, have recently appointed South African trainees to their staff, and several major US trade unions have South Africans training under their aegis.

So large has the South African community become that two newsletters now circulate among expatriates all over the US and Canada, keeping countrymen abreast of what is happening at home and putting them in contact with one another. Both appear to be flourishing.

It is a silent revolution, with many facets, and it is growing in scope and momentum. On both sides of the political and racial divide there are some who view it with uncertainty and suspicion.

But most appear to have embraced the change with enthusiasm, or at least with a recognition that whatever their own feelings might be, the process under way portends a deep and intimate new relationship with the US for many years to come. — Star Bureau. □

Massacre stalls talks

By Brian Sokutu
and Esther Vaughn

ANC to review participation in Codesa

STAR 22/6/92

3044

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended bilateral talks with the Government and announced that the organisation was to review its participation in Codesa — plunging the negotiations process into its most serious crisis since its inception two years ago.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said after paying a visit yesterday to the site of last Wednesday's massacre of squatters at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle.

Addressing thousands of ANC supporters at Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark, yesterday, Mr Mandela said an emergency meeting of the full ANC national executive committee had been called for tomorrow to review its participation in Codesa.

He said he had also instructed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to cancel a bilateral meeting scheduled for tomorrow with the Government.

Last night, Government spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Terence Delpont told The Star

that the ANC was looking for a reason to suspend talks with the Government. "They have their own agenda for doing so. The tragic events in Boipatong have made it more imperative that all parties talk about the future," he said.

"It has been obvious the past couple of weeks, especially on June 15, that the ANC was reluctant to resume talks at Codesa," Dr Delpont said.

Should the ANC decide to suspend its participation in Codesa, the Government would continue talking to those who wanted to have

discussions with it, he added. Speaking after touring the massacre scene at Boipatong and Slovo Park, Mr Mandela said he could "no longer explain to my people why we continue to talk to the regime which continues to murder our people."

According to the ANC, at least 43 people died in the attack, blazed on in a surprise.

Angry youths called for the resumption of the armed struggle as Mr Mandela told the crowd at Evaton's stadium: "We're now back to the Sharpeville days, and the

gap between the oppressor and the oppressed has overnight become unbridgeable."

He reacted strongly to Mr de Klerk's statement on Saturday about possible new measures to curb violence.

After being driven from Boipatong by angry crowds, Mr de Klerk said further steps would be considered if the violence did not end.

He said that declaring a state of emergency was an option, but not one he would readily consider.

Yesterday Mr Mandela said: "Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-demo-

cratic measures will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign."

The ANC leader added that the organisation would continue its campaign of mass action.

Arriving at Boipatong, Mr Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and other ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leaders were greeted with placards held by militant youths which read "Codesa, a white elephant, let it fight".

"Mandela, let's fight!" "Mandela, we want arms now!" and "Mandela, give us permission to kill our enemies!"

Mr Mandela cautioned the militants.

"As we brace ourselves for

● To Page 2

Talks suspended in wake of massacre

From Page 1
22/6/92

what lies ahead, we must call for discipline among our ranks. Don't allow yourselves to be provoked into unplanned violence.

"Be careful of agents provocateurs. We have won many battles because of discipline.

"When conflict looms on the horizon, that discipline becomes the lifeblood of the democratic movement.

"I can see from your expressions that you want to fight."

Mr Mandela said South Africans held the Government responsible for Wednesday night's massacre.

Mr Mandela also said the ANC would declare the day of the mass funeral — which is still to be decided — to be "a day of mourning throughout the country".

He said health workers would be exempted from such a stayaway.

He called on the international community not to relax sanctions on South Africa before there was an interim government of national unity in place.

The Government and ANC differed sharply last week on

progress, or lack thereof, in bilateral meetings and at Codesa.

While Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said progress was being made, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa insisted that no progress was being made and that some of the bilaterals had been "a total waste of time".

Mr Ramaphosa said they had only discussed points of difference and that the Codesa management committee was nowhere near discussing the deadlock in negotiations.

The crisis in constitutional talks arose at Codesa 2 last month when the two sides could not agree on who should write a final constitution.

This had resulted in the other agreements reached by Codesa working groups being shelved until the deadlock was resolved.

SACP leader Chris Hani last night told The Star he understood and supported Mr Mandela's decision to cancel tomorrow's bilateral meeting.

The SACP central committee had held a "balanced discussion" on pulling out of Codesa but decided it could not

take such unilateral action and would have to consult with the ANC and Cosatu, he said.

One senior ANC member said there were strong feelings of anger among grassroots members about the intolerable high levels of violence.

They also felt the Government was responsible for the deadlock in negotiations and had declared war on mass action, he said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I understand the rage on the ground, but will still appeal to the ANC to stay in the negotiation process," adding: "There is no way out of this for all South Africans other than the negotiation process."

Dr de Beer said he would continue to work towards getting constitutional talks back on track.

Commenting on Dr Delpont's statement that the Government would continue constitutional talks with whoever wanted to talk to it, Dr de Beer said such an exercise would be meaningless as the essential relation was between the Government and ANC.

il- hoped to visit the township sympathise with the re
ne their homes early on Thursday morning.
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Nat campaign 'a joke'

ge- SATURDAY's events in Boipatong made a joke of
for the National Party's proposed drive for black
rn- membership in the townships, according to ANC
ha- MP Mr Jannie Momborg. (304A)

who "He (Mr FW De Klerk) travels extensively over-
on seas and is like General Smuts — blinded by the
Mr reception of overseas leaders but totally isolated
from what is happening at grassroots.

fer- "His comments that the crowd's reaction to him
tile was not spontaneous is further proof of his lack of
this understanding." — Sapa CT 22/6/92

● NP aims new vote drive at Blacks — Page 4

Death toll in townships soars

ANC halts

talks with

21 Day 22/6/92

government

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended his organisation's participation in constitutional negotiations.

Mandela told 20 000 people at a rally in Evaton township near Vanderbijlpark he had called an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee to "examine our options in the light of what has happened".

However, ANC delegates to Codesa would attend today's scheduled meetings but an emergency ANC NEC meeting tomorrow will review the ANC's position on Codesa, Mandela said.

His speech came after angry Boipatong residents chased President F W de Klerk out of the township on Saturday, and as weekend violence pushed the unrest death toll in the past week to 112.

Mandela said: "I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiations process is completely in tatters."

Mandela said he had cancelled a meeting between the ANC and government scheduled for tomorrow as a result of last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He warned De Klerk: "Let me warn him the introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign with me leading it."

The ANC leader's remarks followed a statement from De Klerk on Saturday after his visit to Boipatong that the authorities would have to "look beyond present measures to maintain law and order". Some observers interpreted this to mean that a return to a state of emergency could

DUMA GAUBULE

be on the cards. However, government sources said an immediate imposition of the emergency seemed unlikely yesterday as De Klerk left for a scheduled visit to Spain where he will meet Spanish king Juan Carlos.

Mandela said: "One thing is clear, we are back in the Sharpeville days. The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr De Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa but to the NP. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

Mandela added the ANC would continue its campaign of peaceful mass action.

The ANC expected the funeral of the 39 massacre victims, still to be announced, to be declared a day of national mourning.

In fresh outbreaks of unrest, five people — two of them women — were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville Hostel in Soweto early yesterday.

Inkatha Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu said the five were Inkatha members who had been attacked by armed ANC members.

Police reported one death at Boipatong on Saturday. However, media reports yesterday said three people died and about 20 were injured in Boipatong on Saturday when President F W de Klerk was chased out of the township by angry supporters of the ANC and PAC.

The full police report on Boipatong states: "A group of about 15 black youths threw stones at members of the SAP. The police were also attacked with pangas. One

□ To Page 2

ANC 22/6/92

black man over 18 years was wounded and arrested.

"A black man attacked another with a panga. The SAP member shouted a warning whereupon the man attacked the SAP member and was shot dead."

"Also at Boipatong, unknown persons fired a number of shots at the police. No-one was injured. Later, unknown persons again fired at the SAP. One member was wounded. The SAP returned fire and a number (unknown) of persons were injured."

□ New Zealand's opposition leader Jim Anderton yesterday urged his country's rugby officials to reconsider the upcoming All Black tour of SA because of the violence, Sapa-AP reports.

Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon and New Zealand Rugby Football Union chairman Eddie Tonks said there were no plans to reconsider the tour at this stage.

Meanwhile, PATRICK BULGER reports leaders of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance said at the weekend mass action was not directly linked to the Codesa dead-

ANC 22/6/92

□ From Page 1

lock.

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils, Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa, and ANC national executive members Mac Maharaj and Pallo Jordan told a briefing that with the suspension of the armed struggle, negotiations had become a site of struggle.

They outlined a four-phase campaign to link local civic and labour disputes to the central demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Phase one entailed mobilisation around local issues. Phase two would include mass marches in city centres, demonstrations against the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and factory sit-ins.

Discussions in the alliance at the beginning of August would determine whether to proceed to a general strike.

In the fourth phase, "Exitgate", "the government must go". Even if there was an agreement on time frames for elections, mobilisation would ensure government did not renege.

● Picture: Page 3



country to fall into a state of anarchy" and his could entail looking beyond the present measures of law and order to protect all men and women in South Africa," he said.

He added: "We are looking at all measures and it would be a very sorry day to go back to a state of emergency."

et 22/6/92
Sharpeville

In his speech the ANC president said he wished to tell Mr De Klerk that "the introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign with me leading the defiance campaign".

"One thing is clear — we are back in the Sharpeville days."

"The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbridgeable."

"Mr De Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa but the National Party. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

Clarity

The mass action campaign is expected to move into top gear on Friday — Freedom Charter Day. The universal is expected to take place the following day.

Speaking on the SATV programme "Agenda" last night, ANC information director Dr Pallo Jordan said that tomorrow the ANC executive meeting would "review

Talks in 'tatters'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA today teeters on the brink of a new era of street conflict and resistance politics following the ANC's shock decision to suspend constitutional negotiations with the government.

As the worried government considers whether to meet the impending crisis by declaring a state of emergency, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday warned that he would personally lead a defiance campaign against any such crackdown.

In the wake of the Boipatong massacre Mr Mandela told a rally of 20,000 at Evaton township that the negotiation process was "completely in tatters".

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people."

The massacre, which on Wednesday last week claimed the lives of 39 people, including women and children, has caused worldwide shock.

US Secretary of State Mr James Baker warned in a statement last night that the ANC's suspension of democratic negotiations with the South African government could lead to "tremendous bloodshed".

Mr Baker, who spoke in an interview on NBC-TV, said the talks were essential to effect peaceful change in South Africa. "If change doesn't come peacefully, and I think change is going to come, it's going



WELCOME ... ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela gets a warm reception when he addressed about 20,000 people in Boipatong yesterday after residents chased away President FW de Klerk.

to come with tremendous bloodshed," he said.

An enraged Mr Mandela, after accusing the "regime" of President F W de Klerk of murder, also announced that an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee tomorrow would consider its future options and review participation in multi-party talks at Codesa.

He warned that the recent spate of violations "may completely put an end to negotiations with the regime".

Mr Mandela's bombshell statement came hours after President De Klerk left on a four-day visit to Spain, leaving his senior government ministers to wrestle with one of the gravest threats to the negotiation process to date.

Acting state president Mr P. W. Botha said last night that the ANC had failed to respond to a government initiative to set up an "urgent meeting" yesterday to examine the whole Boipatong issue.

And the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, told the Cape Times after meetings with senior ministers: "It's a major setback and I think they (the ANC) planned it that way."

"If they want to put pressure on the negotiations they will have to calculate the consequences — but what they are doing now is totally unnecessary."

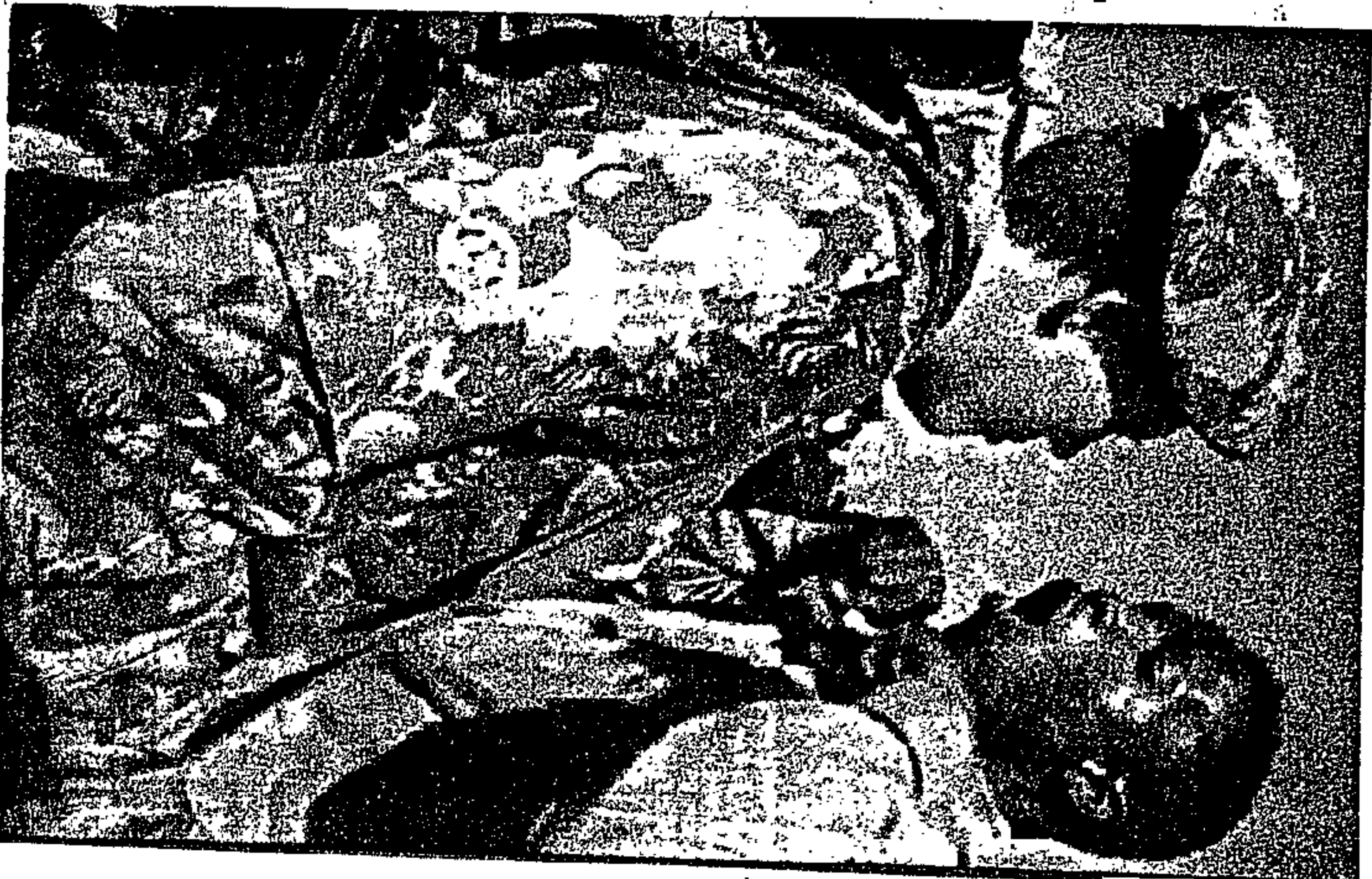
Mr Meyer said the government was taking the ANC's latest stand seriously. "In the sense that they apparently would like to reconsider the whole negotiation situation."

The Minister of State and key government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen described the ANC's move as "a shock" that was "difficult to reconcile with the spirit of negotiation".

The next meeting of the Codesa management committee had been scheduled for next Monday but the ANC and the government have been largely relying on bilateral talks as a deadlock-breaking mechanism for problems still facing Codesa.

In stark contrast to Mr De Klerk, who had to abandon his visit to Boipatong on Saturday in the face of angry crowds, Mr De Klerk later told a press conference that he was "shocked" by the hostile reception he received.

The government "will not allow this



ANGRY CONFRONTATION ... An angry Boipatong resident confronts a police officer before police opened fire — killing three people and wounding 20 others — President Mr FW de Klerk, was forced to abort a visit to the strife-torn township. He hoped to visit the township sympathise with the residents after 40 people were killed in their homes early on Thursday morning.

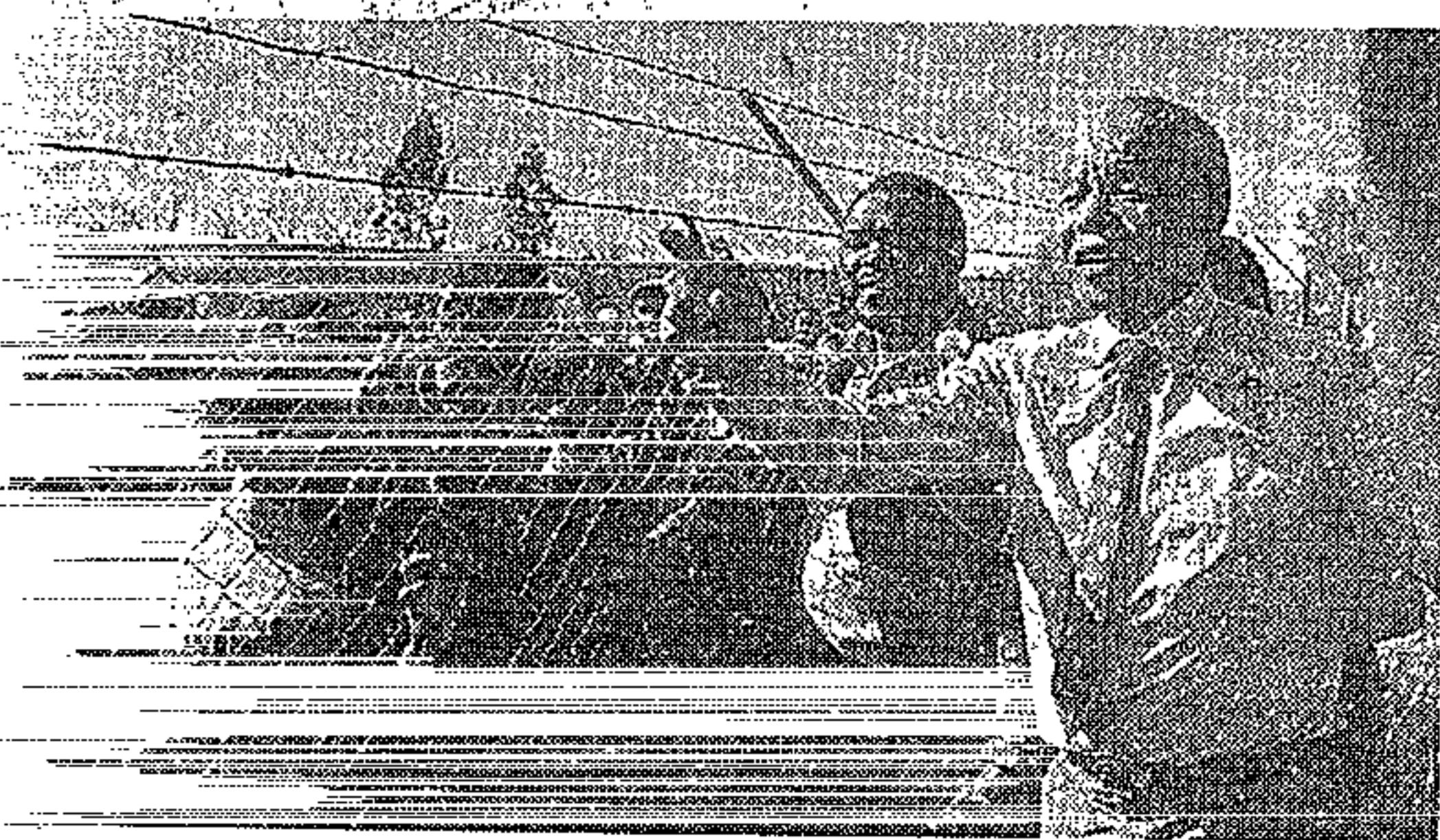
the whole attitude towards Codesa".

He said he "thought" that only bilateral talks between the ANC and the government had been suspended for the moment — but that greater clarity on the broader negotiations picture should emerge after tomorrow's meeting.

During the same programme Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said he had "no doubt" that the Boipatong massacre had arisen out of the ANC's mass action campaign.

No international force could stop the present violence, Mr Kriel said. Only the country's political leaders could do that.

MANDELA'S VISIT



APPEAL: ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela points to a poster calling on him to provide guns. Mr Mandela was welcomed to Boipatong by the residents who had chased President De Klerk away on Saturday. (304A)

ARCT 22/6/92

De Klerk chased out by angry, cursing black residents

**RODNEY PINDER
in Johannesburg**

FEW sights could be more calculated to further polarise black and white South Africans than that of a white president chased down a road by a baying crowd of angry, cursing blacks.

The humiliation in Boipatong township of President De Klerk and the event that gave rise to that historical first — the massacre of 39 people — have brought negotiations for a democratic South Africa to the brink of collapse, analysts say.

Some say they believe the level of fear, anger and hatred now evident between the two parties essential for a peaceful settlement — Mr De Klerk's National Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress — is too high for action to break already deadlocked constitutional negotiations.

"The relationship has soured to such an extent that Mr De Klerk and the ANC can no longer sit together as people of honour and integrity to piece together a constitution," said veteran analyst Willem Kleynhaus.

Others predicted the events of the week, which added at least 80 black dead to the 5 000 buried since de Klerk began dismantling apartheid two years ago, would in the cold aftermath force both sides to draw back from the abyss, perhaps with behind-scenes diplomatic intervention by South Africa's deeply concerned friends in the West.

Whatever transpires, it seemed clear that the name of Boipatong was destined to go into history alongside Sharpeville and Soweto as another blood-drenched turning point in South African history.

The massacre and the flight of de Klerk, with hundreds of township youths baying at his heels, brutally exposed the gulf between the ANC and the National Party after two years of inconclusive negotiations on how to arrange democratic elections and the end of white minority rule.

The ANC has become convinced that government attempts to negotiate ironclad safeguards for minorities in a new constitution mean it has no intention of ceding power to a democratically-elected government.

Mr De Klerk's hints that he could re-introduce the hated state of emergency that marked the dying days of apartheid regimes, and the failure of white-led security forces to control the township slaughter, have reinforced its view.

Independent analysts were at a loss to explain how Mr De Klerk came to expose himself so dramatically at Boipatong on Saturday.

He said demonstrations labelling him a murderer were staged, but any journalist who had had spent the preceding two days there could have told him of the deep anger and frustration of residents who accused government forces of colluding with Zulu hostel dwellers in the attack.

There is widespread anger in black communities over the inability of the most formidable security apparatus in sub-Saharan Africa to restore order in the townships.

Time and again residents say police ignore warnings of impending attacks, and fail to make arrests afterwards.

No arrests were made in connection with last week's carnage even at the KwaMadala hostel from which, swear scores of residents, 200 men attacked with guns and knives on Wednesday night.

Mandela charges that such police helplessness was not evident in the long battle to defend apartheid against the ANC and would be inconceivable if white people were being killed in their homes.

Cabinet members are convinced the ANC is not interested in sharing power but wants to grab all for itself and its communist allies.

Officials are deeply angered by an ANC mass action campaign launched to force the pace to majority rule. — Reuter

Talks ^(304A) totter ^{Aug 22/6/92} on brink of abyss

Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS were balanced on a knife-edge today as an angry ANC prepared for a full National Executive Committee meeting to discuss whether talks with the government should continue.

But a Codesa sub-committee meeting on peaceful participation for all in the political process was due to go ahead today.

Yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral talks with the government and announced that the organisation was to review its participation in Codesa.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said today the movement's NEC would meet tomorrow to decide on continued participation in Codesa.

She said she presumed today's sub-committee meeting would go ahead.

Ms Marcus said the ANC was angry following last week's massacre in Boipatong squatter camp.

Observers believe the ANC may suspend all dealings with the government but that negotiations will be resumed after a bitter process.

The government spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Tertius Delport, said the ANC was looking for a reason to suspend talks.

"They have their own agenda for doing so. The tragic events in Boipatong have made it more imperative that all parties talk about the future," he said.

Should the ANC decide to suspend its participation in Codesa, the government would continue talking to those who wanted to have discussions with it, he added.

Speaking yesterday after touring the massacre scene at Boipatong and Slovo Park, Mr Mandela said he could "no longer explain to my people why we continue to talk to the regime which continues to murder our people".

According to the ANC, at least 43 people died in the attack, blamed on Inkatha supporters.

Angry youths called for the resumption of the armed struggle as Mr Mandela told the crowd at Evaton's stadium: "We're now back to the Sharpeville days, and the gap between the oppressor and the oppressed has overnight become unbridgeable."

He reacted strongly to President De Klerk's statement on Saturday about possible new measures to curb violence.

After being driven from Boipatong by angry crowds, Mr De Klerk said further steps would be considered if the violence did not end.

He said that declaring a state of emergency was an option, but not one he would readily consider.

Yesterday Mr Mandela said: "Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-democratic measures will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign."

He said the ANC would declare the day of the mass funeral — which is still to be decided — to be "a day of mourning throughout the country".

Last night acting State President Pik Botha, deputising for Mr De Klerk during his trip to Spain, said the government remained committed to finding a solution through negotiation.

● See page 9.

Cold war grows chillier

NEGOTIATIONS have not only been jeopardised, but last Wednesday's Boipatong butchery also poses a moral dilemma for the black leaders involved in the Codesa process - ostensibly those of the African National Congress.

In fact, people are talking in the townships, on the streets.

They are saying the ANC should get out of Codesa and mobilise its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Conversely, not only has the Government's credibility plunged over the latest mass deaths of blacks.

State President FW de Klerk's personal standing among blacks suffered a further setback when police bullets killed three people during his abortive "mercy" mission to Boipatong on Saturday.

This incident - in which the State President was chased away by about 3 000 residents - was the climax to events in the Vaal township, and indeed the whole country, since Wednesday when 39 people were killed in the worst single carnage in recent times.

Pointedly, the ANC's political game plan has been put to the test as the Government's main negotiating partner in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

A pertinent question raised by ANC's supporters and adversaries alike, even by the ANC's leadership core itself, is: Why pretend things are on course?

But are things really on course?

Mr Saki Macozoma, the ANC's spokesman, might have touched a raw nerve in a radio interview on Friday. "I personally think we are witnessing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word," he said.

Earlier this month Mr Nelson Mandela was criticised for telling an overseas audience that blacks were being killed because they were black and for equating the spiralling mass black killings with the Holocaust - the massacre of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Also, was it simply emotional oratory by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, when he said on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyn recently that his Government had a plan to counter (the ANC's programme of) mass action."

And in a hard-hitting speech at Boipatong, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, questioned the Government's sincerity and said action would have been prompt if whites had been killed in a similar bloodbath.

The coming few days are indeed going to be crucial in determining whether the ANC and its allies remain in Codesa as calls for it to pull out by other liberation groups, Azapo and the PAC, grow louder.

Already one of the ANC's allies, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, has called on all organisations involved in talks with the Government to withdraw immediately

'The ANC places blame squarely on the shoulders of FW de Klerk.'

(SOCIETY) Sowetan 22/6/92.

The shocking killings of innocent people in Boipatong and other Vaal areas last week has placed a lot of strain on the relationship between the ANC and the De Klerk Government, with growing calls for the ending of negotiations and a return to militant struggle. **THEMBA MOLEFE** of our political staff assesses the situation.



because of the alleged insincerity of the De Klerk administration.

In its initial reaction to the Boipatong massacre Azapo was forthright and called for black political organisations to stop any dealings with the Government.

While it is unlikely that the ANC will pull out of Codesa, one of its most viable options would be to intensify its mass action.

The organisation's executive committee member, Mr Mac Maharaj, remarked on Friday that "negotiation is a slim thread that holds the political process together".

It is with this notion in mind that the ANC's national working committee meets this week to discuss how the slayings impacted on negotiations.

What is certain, though, is that the cold war between the ANC and the Government has never been chillier.

Harsh words have been said all round as a result of the massacre and more are to be expected this week.

On the one hand the ANC, as a liberation movement, is responsible to its grassroots membership.

If the hundreds who forced De Klerk to flee on Saturday are supporters of the ANC, then the message is clear: the shaky marriage should end.

On the other hand, the Government has to back its words and ensure that police produce results.

It is not enough just to deny allegations of police collusion in this and other massacres while no action seems to be taken to at least apprehend those responsible.

'I personally think we are experiencing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word.'

MADAM GETS SATISFACTION FROM HER MALE DOMESTIC

A prominent black businesswoman is completely satisfied with her male domestic servant. What makes this unusual relationship work?

TRUE LOVE gives you valuable tips on what you can do to keep your job when everybody around you is losing theirs.



Govt's 'secret agenda exposed'

Sowetan 23/6/92

THE ANC claims it has uncovered a secret plan by the Government aimed at weakening the organisation in order to forced it into a coalition with the National Party.

The allegations are contained in the July issue of the ANC's *Mayibuye* magazine. The organisation claims the secret plan was hatched shortly after the release of political leaders.

The report says: "From sources within Government circles and the ANC's intelligence department, *Mayibuye* has unearthed a chilling two-pronged plan of the NP regime for the transition - 'Operation Thunderstorm' and 'Operation Springbok'.

"Worked out to deal with the post-February 1990 period, the final aim is to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition with at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok' is complex, but simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake."

Government tactics have sparked anger and defiance in the ANC, writes Colin Legum

SA on course for a collision

STARS 23/6/92

3044

JULY looks like being another turning point in South Africa's road towards a non-racial democratic society.

Unless a compromise becomes possible, the ANC and its principal ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, are committed to launching what promises to be the most serious protest campaign in the country's history.

Two principal points of conflict are at the core of the crisis.

First, what appears to be a Government decision to slow down the negotiating process in order to gain time to absorb the changes already agreed by the 19 parties engaged in Codesa, and to build up its own electoral strength.

Second, there is the continuing deadlock over the voting power of the National Assembly which is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation and a universal franchise.

Then there is the question of violence — and the massacre in Boipatong last week which has resulted in the ANC suspending bilateral talks with the Government.

A decision on whether to continue negotiations at Codesa was expected to be taken today.

On the issue of slowing down the process of negotiated change, the Government blames the ANC for having set its own timetable for implementing the agreements reached at Codesa.

The ANC's demand was for the necessary legislation to be passed by the end of June. This objective seemed to have been reachable until deadlock was reached over voting powers of the new National Assembly.

The Government remains adamant that a 75 percent vote should be required in the assembly to approve articles in the new constitution. The ANC at first offered a compromise of 70 percent, but as this was rejected it has fallen back to its original demand of a two-thirds majority.

Narrow as the difference is between the two positions, the Government's refusal to agree to the lower figure can only be because it feels more confident that, with its allies, it can achieve at least a 25 percent blocking vote, hence its insistence on a 75 percent majority.

For the Government this is crucial if it is to be sure of having a decisive say in determining the division of power under the new constitution.

It has now become transparently clear that the Government wants more time to build up its electoral strength, hence the wish to slow down negotiations.

The evidence for this is provided by a statement of P. K. Botha, who was recently elected chairman of the Transvaal region of the National Party.

"It is our purpose," he said, "to become the majority party and I believe we need another 10 percent to add to the 10 percent we have already gained; we will then approach the 50 percent plus situation. When we are the majority party we will still have to share power with the minority parties."

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP did not expect to get a clear majority on its own, but would depend on support through an alliance with three or four other parties. These are Chief Buthe's Inkatha, Chief Mangope's party in Bophuthatswana, the ruling regime in Ciskei, and two parties

representing Indians and coloureds.

Judging by recent polls, it seems possible that a majority of Indian and coloured voters will support parties opposed to the ANC and its allies. What is more doubtful is the actual voting strength of Inkatha and the two regimes in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei in free and fair elections.

However, the National Party is not counting only on the support of its putative allies, but is engaged in a major campaign to win non-white members. Somewhat daringly, Mr Botha has told his party faithful: "It is logical that the NP, the traditional party of the Afrikaners, could have a black leader in the future."

Meanwhile, the ANC has set into motion its plan of mass action which includes nationwide strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations. The aim is to paralyse the country for several weeks in order to demonstrate the ANC's actual strength.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa blamed the Government for having "plunged the negotiation process into a crisis and set itself on a confrontation

course with our people". The crisis, he said, afforded the ANC the opportunity to "use its power on the ground and to force the Government out of power". He went on to say "there is no alternative to negotiations".

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer declared that it was "most irresponsible" of the ANC to "push up the political temperature at this level of violence and the impact mass industrial action would have on the precarious economy with its already high level of unemployment. There could be no assurance that the campaign would not turn violent beyond the ANC's ability to control it."

Mr Coetzer said that "ultimately cannot be part of negotiations. If one wants to negotiate, one must make compromises". The ANC reply to this is to point out that the compromises must be made by both sides; it had offered a compromise of 70 percent over the voting power of National Assembly, it was the Government which had refused to compromise.

Prof HW van der Merwe of the Centre for Intergroup studies at

the University of Cape Town, like other experts in the dynamics of negotiation, forecast that where parties of unequal strength are engaged in negotiations, the weaker party is likely to use whatever power it has to increase its bargaining strength. Since the Government controls all the constitutional instruments of power, it is predictable that its opponents would mobilise their non-governmental power which resides in mass resistance.

There can be no mistaking the mood of militancy among the rank-and-file of the ANC. This was demonstrated at the recent conference of the ANC where the principal item on the agenda was the movement's economic policy. Although there was a significant shift towards moderating the ANC's programme of economic reform, this was not matched by the 600 delegates' overwhelming enthusiasm for taking a much stronger line against the Government. Critics of Nelson Mandela and his senior colleagues complained that they had proved themselves to be too accommodating in the Codesa talks. □

SA should withdraw from Games Tutu

STAR 23/6/92

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — South Africa should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if the Government did not accede to one of three demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement in the country, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said at a service in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

Archbishop Tutu then outlined three methods of achieving peace.

"There must be inter-party agreement, either through the mechanisms of the National Peace Committee (NPC) or through Codesa, on the immediate constitution of an international monitoring force."

He also called for an end to the "bickering and power play" at Codesa and for politicians to stop trading insults and making political capital out of the violence, while he urged the Government to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

Another demand was that agreement, through the NPC or Codesa, had to be reached for multi-party control of the security forces.

"Pending the implementation of this agreement, F W de Klerk must take over personal responsibility for the security forces, particularly the functions of



Cry for peace . . . Archbishop Tutu wipes a tear from his eye during yesterday's service in Cape Town. Picture AP

Minister of Law and Order.

"If at least one of these demands is not met before the Olympic Games begin, then the SA team to the Olympic Games must withdraw."

He said that when South Africa returned to the Olympic Games it must be done in a spirit of celebration and unity. This could not be achieved while the country was in a na-

tional state of mourning for the dead and while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

Archbishop Tutu said that before embarking upon this course he intended to seek an interview with Mr de Klerk to discuss the violence with him and to warn him that "I intended returning to the international community if he does not act immediately". — Sapa.

Graham Linscott says if you want to know the score, know whom to ask

Our top 'grocer' a bold prophet

STAR 23/6/92

AS ANY foreign correspondent will tell you, if you want to find out what's going on in a country you ask a taxi driver.

He is likely to be able to tell you such things as: "No, the generalissimo will not launch his campaign against the revolutionaries this week because he has taken his mistress away to his holiday retreat for a reconciliation after the furious row they had two days ago after she smashed every piece of crockery in their love nest."

Or: "No, the dockworkers will not go on strike this week because their union leader has recovered from his stomach ache and is now in a very good temper."

Taxi drivers know what is going on, always. They have the basics.

Hotel concierges are pretty good also, but barmen are suspect. They can be carried away by having an audience and can also be in the pay of the secret police, there to pass on disinformation.

In South Africa, though, you ask a grocer if you want to know what's going on. All right, Raymond Ackerman is a pretty Big League Grocer, but a grocer nevertheless. And he says this mass action is all a lot of politicking — everything is still on track, Codesa hasn't failed and we'll have an interim government in six weeks.

This is fairly startling stuff and, were Mr Ackerman a professional political analyst and not a grocer, one might be sceptical. After all, the ANC and Cosatu spokesmen are talking about sit-ins, confrontation, a transfer of power — not about getting negotiations going again.

But then why has President de Klerk recalled Parliament for a special session in October? To transfer power to the street mobs? Unlikely.

It is a great puzzle, not least because mass action has so far been such a low-key affair. One always has to keep the fingers firmly crossed when writing such a thing, because all kinds of ugliness can and does blow out of absolutely nowhere as last week demonstrated, but so far mass action has been nothing near as angry and confrontational as many had feared or expected.

Police have been firm but low-

key. Protest marches have tended to be street theatre rather than anger. Without attempting to minimise the tragic deaths in the Vaal Triangle (apparently not directly related), the worst friction between the authorities and the mass activists so far has been verbal — foolish taunting by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel about the low turn-out for mass action and some equally school playground-like responses from the ANC.

Could it be that the African National Congress and its allies are going through a necessary process of blowing off steam before Codesa goes into its next phase? That the lower echelons of ANC leadership, who have been bottled up in frustration for two years now, have to be given the opportunity to show their strength — numbers — and toyi toyi in the main streets of the major cities.

If that is so, the ANC's top leadership surely deserves a little more sympathy and understanding from those who automatically oppose and condemn mass action as a political tactic, unpredictable and dangerous though it certainly is. They really have little else and they have little choice when lower leadership demands that the card be played.

If this argument is correct, a point must eventually be reached where boredom sets in or hunger takes over, as pay is shut off, or the whole thing begins to look futile as it becomes clear that the Government is not about to topple — or a combination of all three.

At this point, the percentage quibble over the majority needed to adopt a new constitution begins to be seen for what it is — a quibble. People start talking again.

That's the theory anyway — it could be wishful thinking and entirely wrong. Yet it does seem to be borne out by the predictions of an eminent grocer.

But an interim government within six weeks?

That does seem a tall order, especially as President de Klerk has called the special session of Parliament only for October.

Perhaps Mr Ackerman's prediction needs to be cross-checked with a taxi driver. As I explained, taxi drivers are infallible. □

SACC, VCA **sets up relief** **fund for victims**

STAR 2.3.1972
A relief fund for victims of the Boipatong massacre has been established by the South African Council of Churches and the Vaal Civic Association.

A bank account has been opened for donations to the Boipatong Relief Fund. Inquiries can be directed to the SACC Vaal branch at (016) 220450 or the VCA at (016) 337728.

Meanwhile, a memorial service in honour of the 39 people who died at Boipatong will be held on Thursday at 2 pm at the Boipatong Community Hall. The mass funeral is scheduled for Monday. — Sapa.

NP has two-pronged strategy to weaken us, claims ANC

Political Staff

The ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan which involves death squads and which has the ultimate aim of preventing the ANC from forming a government.

It said the report was based on information "from sources within government circles and the ANC's intelligence department".

The report, due to appear in the July issue of the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, and released last night "as an item of interest in the present political climate", said the plan was entitled both "Operation Thunderstorm" and "Operation Springbok".

The ANC said in a statement the final aim of the strategy was to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition

with, at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok is complex but, simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake. It is meant to wreak havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok," the ANC said.

A senior official of the ANC intelligence department said in *Mayibuye* that the plan involved weakening the ANC so that it was eventually forced into a constitutional coalition.

"At the heart of the

plan is the NP goal to be the main partner in a future government, controlling all levers of power — particularly the army, police and intelligence. The process of change, according to NP calculations, should be controlled, contained and regulated by the Government. This is with the understanding that the status quo, with limited adjustments, would remain intact and protected," the publication said.

The ANC said Operation Thunderstorm was designed to weaken the organisation through violence and create a climate of uncertainty.

The organisation said Operation Thunderstorm was left in the hands of the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI).

"The main strategy of Operation Thunderstorm is to unleash violence using secret networks of the DMI and the 'former'

Security Branch of the SAP."

The ANC claimed: "Operation Thunderstorm aims to root the idea of 'black-on-black' violence in local and international public opinion.

"Random shootings, which appear not to be linked to any political rivalry, form part of this strategy. To confuse matters further, the professional hit squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC. The train and vigil massacres and, more recently, the murder of 18 people on the eve of June 16 are an example."

The ANC also claimed common criminals released under Government amnesties had been recruited "to take part in the violence".

No Government comment was available last night.

Pensioners tuck in while Codesa waits

STAR 23/6/92 304A

The only life that remained at the Codesa offices yesterday was a party of pensioners who had come to see the workings of the negotiations process.

They were treated to a free slap-up lunch after proceedings came to an unexpected halt yesterday morning when the ANC sought a two-day postponement.

This followed the ANC announcement that it had suspended bilateral talks with the Government and would today review its position on Codesa.

With Codesa delegates gone, the pensioners were served the normally lavish lunch reserved for the country's negotiators. The menu included a carvery, grilled fish, beef curry, a chicken dish, salads and desserts.

Fears that Codesa may be suspended for a long time following the ANC meeting today were definitely not shared by the caterers at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park. "Ag, we'll just freeze it for you guys for next week," a caterer said

when asked what she would do with all the untouched food.

Codesa's security guards wandered aimlessly around the cavernous building. "We're so bored, we want you people to come back," a guard said.

The lack of activity was also reflected in the administration offices, where staff played games on their computers.

The pensioners were given a guided tour of the once-busy Codesa meeting rooms and heard a talk on how it used to work.

A spokesman for the 43-strong group, Heather Marshall of the Johannesburg Association for the Aged, explained the reason for their request to visit Codesa. "Codesa is current. We wanted to find out what happens at this place. The pensioners now understand what they've always been confused by on TV."

One pensioner was disgruntled. She had come to meet Lester Venter, SABC political correspondent and Codesa reporter, who was not present. — Sapa.

Crucial decision on Codesa today

STAR
23/6/92
304A
By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

President de Klerk has cut short his visit to Spain and is today jetting back to South Africa, while at a crucial meeting the ANC leadership decides whether to pull out of the Codesa constitutional negotiations.

Senior Government sources said they believed the ANC national executive committee would today suspend talks and threaten to pull out completely unless the Government met certain tough conditions.

These were likely to be that the perpetrators of the Boipatong killings be brought to justice, an international peace-monitoring force be deployed, and the security forces be brought under multilateral control.

Senior ANC members last night told The Star it was not a question of whether the organisation would withdraw from Codesa, but how this would be done.

One source said the options included temporarily suspending the ANC's participation in Codesa, or withdrawing completely from the negotiations process.

ANC spokesman Gill

More reports -
Pages 3, 5 and 19

Marcus would not comment on the alternatives open to the organisation, saying that was the reason for an emergency meeting being called.

The negotiations crisis, which follows the Boipatong massacre, caused President de Klerk to curtail his four-day visit to Spain to hurry back for a Cabinet meeting tomorrow where the Government will discuss a response to the crisis.

Yesterday Codesa working group meetings at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park came to a standstill as

the ANC requested a postponement pending today's NEC meeting.

Since ANC leader Nelson Mandela's announcement on Sunday of the suspension of bilateral talks with the Government, calls have been made urging the ANC not to break off talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night said the Government believed negotiations were the only course that would secure peace and progress for South Africa.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit said negotiations between the Government and the ANC would eventually continue whatever happened in the short term. He said the Government would continue with negotiations with whoever was ready to talk. Asked if this meant they would continue without the ANC, he said it would be unwise to speculate.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos last night dismissed the ANC's threats to withdraw from negotiations as propaganda. She believed the most the ANC would do was temporarily suspend its participation in Codesa — but with "escape clauses" to allow itself back in.

Diplomats were briefed in Pretoria yesterday by senior police officers on their version of events in Boipatong.

Lieutenant-General Johan Swart, head of the Internal Stability Unit, told the diplomats during the briefing that the police had detained seven residents of Kwa-Madala hostel yesterday in connection with the massacre. Police later confirmed that two residents were subsequently released.

Worried FW cuts short Spanish trip

Sowetan 23/6/92

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday decided to cut short his trip to Spain as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa teetered on the brink of collapse.

And, the ANC has dismissed a statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that it had rejected a call for urgent talks to discuss the Boipatong massacre.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had instead told Botha it would refer his invitation to its national executive committee which meets today.

She said: "We, however, feel there is nothing to say but investigate the massacre."

If the Government wants to act on Boipatong then it has to start with a proper, open, public and independ-

By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

ent investigation into the police force."

In a statement to Sapa, Botha, who is acting State President, said De Klerk's decision follows the ANC's national executive committee's plan to convene today in the wake of last Wednesday's Boipatong carnage.

The ANC is to decide today on its future participation in Codesa as the negotiation process faces a severe crisis as a result of the killing of at least 43 Boipatong residents.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has called off today's bilateral talks with the Government, saying that "the negotiation process is in tatters".

It seemed to be this statement that inspired De

Klerk's decision to cut short his trip. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told

Sowetan that the Codesa talks "need not break down because much was at stake".

"The ANC will be insistent that urgent steps be taken to install an interim government which is more urgent now in view of the crisis surrounding last Wednesday's killings," Niehaus said.

Also expected to feature at the ANC's meeting is De Klerk's hint of re-introducing the state of emergency.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the ANC's suspension of talks with the Government was insufficient to protest against the massacre.

The ANC should commit itself to the Patriotic Front alliance of liberation movements, the PAC said.

FW returns early to deal with crisis

B/day 23/6/92

304A

Business Day Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would return early from his trip to Spain because of the crisis precipitated by the ANC's suspension of negotiations, Acting President Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha said De Klerk would return in time for a Cabinet meeting tomorrow, Reuter reports.

De Klerk would keep appointments with Spanish King Juan Carlos, government and leading businessmen and industrialists.

The announcement came amid a broad spectrum of appeals to the ANC to remain in negotiations, and calls for SA not to take part in next month's Olympic Games.

Idasa, Sacob and the British government urged the ANC not to suspend its involvement in constitutional talks.

Sacob said it was appalled by the Boipatong massacre in which 39 people died.

It said, however, that it was a time "for all political leaders to demonstrate statesmanship and discipline, and to continue to search for reconciliation and peace through Codesa and the national peace accord.

"The local and overseas business reaction to the latest political developments has been extremely negative, as shown in the decline in the financial markets," Sacob said in a statement.

Sapa reports Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday SA should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if government did not accede to demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate much further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said during a lunchtime service at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

Tutu outlined three methods of achieving peace, including multiparty control of security forces and immediate constitution of an international peacekeeping force.

He said SA's return to the Olympic Games had to be in a spirit of celebration and unity.

This could not be achieved while the country was in a national state of mourning, or while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports that British Labour MP Peter Hain called for SA's suspension from the Olympics and the imposition of diplomatic sanctions.

A spokesman for Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said Britain was very concerned that the

violence should not derail Codesa negotiations.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku said SA risked a return to international isolation if it failed to take action against township killers.

ANC sports leader Steve Tshwete said ANC president Nelson Mandela was unlikely to take up an invitation to attend the Olympics following the Boipatong massacre.

The All Blacks rugby tour could also be called off, he said. If it was not, all policemen and soldiers should be excluded from tour games. However, SA Rugby Football Union joint president Danie Craven said such an action would not be considered.

Meanwhile, WILSON ZWANE reports that the US embassy said yesterday it would give the International Committee of the Red Cross R700 000 to assist violence victims.

Part of the donation would go to victims of last week's massacre.

Mandela announced on Sunday that the ANC had proposed establishing such a fund, which would be administered by the Red Cross.

The PAC said yesterday it was pledging R20 000 to help victims in Boipatong. The ANC had pledged R100 000.

The PAC said the ANC's suspension of talks was not enough to protest against the Boipatong killings.

In a statement, the organisation called on the ANC to withdraw from Codesa.

□ Sapa reports that police said in Pretoria yesterday that 13 people died in politically motivated violence during the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Sunday.

Two policemen were wounded in four attacks on police.

A man's body was found outside a burning house in Sebokeng and five other bodies were found in Dobsonville, Soweto, after a raid by armed men on a local hostel.

In a separate incident in Dobsonville, a municipal policeman was wounded when he was fired upon with a shotgun.

In Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark, a policeman's house was set alight.

Police said six people were wounded and three arrested during the 24-hour period.

In another incident in Meadowlands, Soweto, extensive damage was caused when two private vehicles were set alight.

CRISIS POINTS

ARC
23/6/92

The Angus Foreign Service and Political Staff

be attending the OAU summit session.

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has asked the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

His call was made as a major crisis in the negotiating process developed after the Bopalong massacre last week. No formal meeting of the UN Security Council is likely to occur, however, until Mr Mandela has discussed the question with Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali at Dakar, where both men will soon

be attending the OAU summit session.

● President De Klerk has cut short his visit to Spain and is jetting back to South Africa today, while at a crucial meeting the ANC leadership decides whether to pull out of the Co-desa constitutional negotiations.

● The ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan which involved death-squads and which had the ultimate aim of preventing the ANC from forming a government.

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From Johannesburg's financial district to middle-class suburbs and the slums of the black townships, the mood was bleak amid the burgeoning violence and political stalemate dogging South Africa's efforts to emerge from white minority rule.

● International action against South Africa and South African sport on many fronts is to be discussed at an emergency meeting of the 90-member ANC NEC in Johannesburg today.

● See page 15

ANC plans to pressure government over crisis

ARC
23/6/92

DENNIS GRUYWAGEN

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ANC Information chief Mr Palo Jordan said the meeting was one of the most important held by the ANC this year.

He said: "The events of the past few weeks have put the ANC in a mindset that we can't continue as if nothing has happened. Bopalong has been a watershed event."

He said the massacre followed the judgment in the Trust Feed killings, the corrup-

tion scandal in the Department of Development Aid, Inkatha-gate, and now reports by Vrye Weekblad that a Port Elizabeth security policeman had killed black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

He said ANC leadership could not ignore the mood on the ground: "It's angry and it's infectious."

Asked what action the ANC would be discussing, he said: "We'll be talking about the Barcelona Olympics, the New Zealand rugby tour, and all sorts of other action that will put pressure on the government."

"We'll also discuss action by the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations Security Council."

CITY LATE

CRISIS POINTS

AR4
23/6/92

The Argus Foreign Service and Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has asked the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

His call was made as a major crisis in the negotiating process developed after the Boipatong massacre last week.

No formal meeting of the UN Security Council is likely to occur, however, until Mr Mandela has discussed the question with Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali at Dakar, where both men will soon

be attending the OAU summit session.

In other developments, locally and internationally:

● The Bush administration has told the South African government there is an urgent need to bring the perpetrators of the massacre to justice.

Although the administration itself has repeatedly said it does not believe the government was involved in the massacre, the ANC's allegations to the contrary have been prominently reported in newspapers and have been given top billing in talks shows and commentaries on television.

● President De Klerk has cut short his visit to Spain and is jetting back to South Africa today, while at a crucial meeting the ANC leadership decides whether to pull out of the Co-desa constitutional negotiations.

Senior government sources said they believed the ANC's National Executive Committee would suspend talks today and threaten to pull out completely unless the government met certain tough conditions.

● President De Klerk will attend a crisis Cabinet meeting tomorrow when the government will discuss a response to

the latest challenge to the negotiation process.

● The ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan which involved death-squads and which had the ultimate aim of preventing the ANC from forming a government.

It said the report was based on information from sources within government circles and the ANC's Intelligence Department.

● The Boipatong massacre has plunged South Africans into gloom.

From Johannesburg's financial district to middle-class suburbs and the slums of the black townships, the mood was bleak amid the burgeoning violence and political stalemate dogging South Africa's efforts to emerge from white minority rule.

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AR4
23/6/92

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Boesak warns FW: 'We'll kick you out'

ARC 23/6/92 (3047)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk would be chased out of Elsies River just as he had been forced to leave Boipatong if he entered the Cape Flats township, warned Dr Allan Boesak.

Speaking in the Leonsdale civic centre, Elsies River, following a 6km march in intermittent rain yesterday, he said Elsies River

residents had shown what could be achieved through unity.

He said police had told the more than 100 residents they would not allow them to march.

Dr Boesak said: "But we got permission and we marched. You have shown that your struggle is not over. The time when they could do with you as they pleased is over."

He added to loud applause: "If

F W de Klerk wants to enter Elsies River he'll be chased out just as he had been forced to leave Boipatong at the weekend."

Yesterday's march by Clark's Estate residents — which was closely monitored by police — was to hand in a joint petition from the Elsies River Civic Association and the ANC (Elsies River branch) at the Regional Services Council offices at Leonsdale civic centre.

ANC

304A

CT 23/6/92

crisis talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE future of the Codesa negotiations and international sports tours, including the Barcelona Olympics, are balanced on a knife-edge.

A crisis meeting of the ANC's national executive committee will decide today whether to collapse the Codesa process and whether to halt South African participation in international sport.

As the shockwaves from the Boipatong massacre continued to rock the country, the ANC yesterday pulled out of five Codesa committees and rejected continued government overtures for urgent talks to defuse the crisis.

The ANC warned last night that at least 50% of parties would join the ANC if it decided to pull out of the forum, effectively ending its life.

The ANC dismissed as "political myopia" government plans to forge ahead with negotiations in the event of an ANC pull-out.

As relations between the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance and the government plunged to an all-time low, President F W de Klerk was forced to cut short his visit to Spain to chair tomorrow's vital cabinet meeting.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday proposed that South Africa be withdrawn or expelled from the Olympic Games if the government did not take steps to end the violence and speed up a political settlement.

Warning that the country was in danger of sliding into "an outright civil war" if violence continued unchecked, he also threatened to rally world opposition to the Wallaby and All Black rugby tours in August if the government did not take decisive action.

The archbishop demanded that those responsible for the Boipatong massacre be brought to justice, an international peace monitoring force be deployed and multi-party control of the security forces be instituted.

His stand was endorsed by Cape Town Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde when a

To page 2

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US official warns of SA bloodshed

WASHINGTON - The United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, warned yesterday of "massive bloodshed" in South Africa if change did not take place peacefully.

He urged all parties to resume the negotiating process as soon as possible.

Commenting on the ANC's decision to suspend negotiations with the Government following the massacre at Boipatong, Baker told a television interviewer that in the light of the "extraordinary courage" shown by President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in proceeding with negotiations so far, it was "very regrettable" to see the talks broken off.

"I think change is going to come in South Africa, and if it does not come peacefully it is going to come with massive bloodshed. So I think it is incumbent upon all of us, myself included - the United States - to do everything we can to get these negotiations resumed," he said.

Asked whether he accepted the ANC's claim of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre, Baker said: "I do not know that that is true and I do not know that it is not true. I simply do not know. There have been suggestions to that effect in the past when there has been black on black violence in the townships, but I am not in a position to say."

Sowetan Foreign News Service

Sowetan 23/6/92

Meanwhile, in London Mandela's dramatic break with the "murdering" South African Government has swept even the first day of Wimbledon off the front pages of the British Press.

"Most serious newspapers make the abrupt halt to the peace talks their main news item, as have both radio and television newscasts. Several papers also carry leading articles trying to make sense of how the dream of a "new" South Africa seems to have been killed off.

The Boipatong violence, too, has been extensively and soberly covered, with strong warnings that South Africa might be on the point of losing all the ground it has already made in its drive for a peaceful and democratic future. Television coverage has been particularly powerful and harrowing.

The Times, which carries three reports on the latest development, says an atmosphere now rules in South Africa in which "precise questions of evidence seem almost not to matter".

At the same time, an article by RW Johnson claims there is "absurdity" in blacks blaming whites every time violence breaks out in the townships. "Nobody has more to lose than De Klerk."

The Independent's leading article looks at the stresses within the ANC, including growing conflict between the young "comrades" of the townships and the leadership, and Winnie Mandela, who is "still a loose cannon".

It believes that a shrewd mixture of private persuasion and international exposure can still help arrest the drift to disaster, but expresses disquiet at alleged police involvement in township violence which, it adds, indicates either that De Klerk is playing a "double game", or that rogue elements within the security forces are now out of control and increasingly blatant in encouraging black on black violence.

The Guardian, for its part, is hopeful that the talks have only been suspended, not terminated, but calls on De Klerk to "change course very fast".

Despite his achievements, he is still not curbing "the enemy within" and the possibility of racial civil war has now become very real.

The Guardian also calls on world governments to "speak very clearly" to De Klerk and for De Klerk himself to apprehend and charge those within the security forces responsible for the destabilisation.

Philip Gawith, writing in *The Financial Times*, points to the frustration of black South Africa at the fact that nearly two years after Mandela's release, the ANC and its allies are as far away as ever from running the Government.

However, it sees no alternative for the ANC leader but to return to the negotiating table. "The ANC is outgunned by the security forces, and trade sanctions are a dead letter," he says.

Whites' paradise is parched, barren

Southan 23/6/92

SOUTH Africa's remote north-western Cape Province is hot, parched and barren, but Afrikaner separatists see it as a potential paradise for whites.

Probably unique in Africa, it is an area where blacks are a minority. The only problem for the Afrikaners is that whites are, too.

The majority here are the coloureds, children of inter-marriage between white settlers, indigenous San tribesmen, Malayan slaves and various other groups.

"We will have to negotiate resettlement of the coloureds," said Professor Carel Boshoff, a leading would-be white secessionist.

Boshoff has already created a whites-only settlement at the abandoned construction town of Orania, far away on the banks of the Orange River near Kimberley.

But he dreams of a state extending 800km west along the river to the Atlantic coast.

"The exact boundaries are still to be negotiated, but we take the river as our starting point and potential economic backbone," Boshoff said.

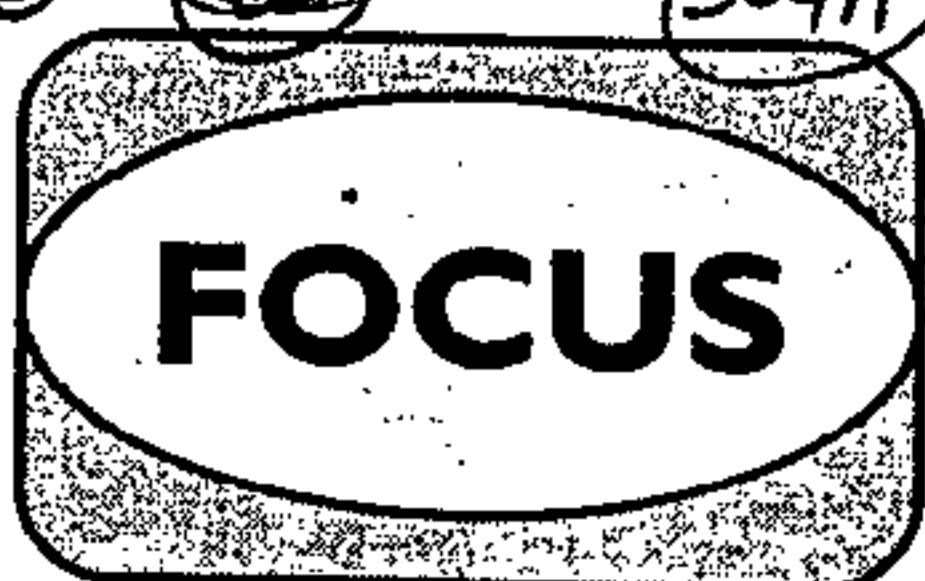
A visitor to the main towns of the region - Upington, Pofadder and Springbok - sees plenty of coloureds, a few whites, and no blacks.

"You know, blacks are not interested in this area," said estate agent Mr Boet van Rooyen in the town of Redelinghuys.

"On the black television channel, they don't even include it in their weather maps."

Van Rooyen said whites in the Transvaal were showing increasing interest in property in the area because it had escaped the crime and violence engulfing their towns and cities.

Not all whites in the sparsely-



populated region of vast livestock ranches want to turn it into a Boers-only homeland.

"A couple of people here want that, but we tell them to go and live in Orania," said Mr Koos Louw, a white sheep farmer from Pofadder, a town named after a snake.

"We get on well with our coloureds, we respect each other as human beings. Our coloureds are clean people and they keep their houses neat."

Some farmers in the district refused to acknowledge that apartheid was dying, Louw said.

"They did not want to have a public hiking trail across their properties because they were afraid blacks would use it."

Coloured petrol station attendant Mr Johannes Basson said he had travelled the whole country but would always come back to Pofadder.

"We have no trouble here, everyone lives together peacefully. The only problem is the doctor."

The town doctor has established a branch of the white-supremacist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging which also wants a whites-only state.

Asked recently where he would draw his borders, AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said: "We draw no boundaries. Our state will be the battleground where we fight for our land."

The Conservative Party, which most mainstream rightwing whites support, scaled down the projected



CAREL BOSHOFF

size of its proposed white-rule state after a resounding defeat in the reform referendum last March.

It used to say it would begin negotiating from the boundaries of the present white South Africa, excluding the black homelands which occupy 13 percent of the land. Now it wants only the constituencies it holds in parliament.

The CP still balks at joining Codesa where the Government and black opposition are hammering out a transition to non-racial rule.

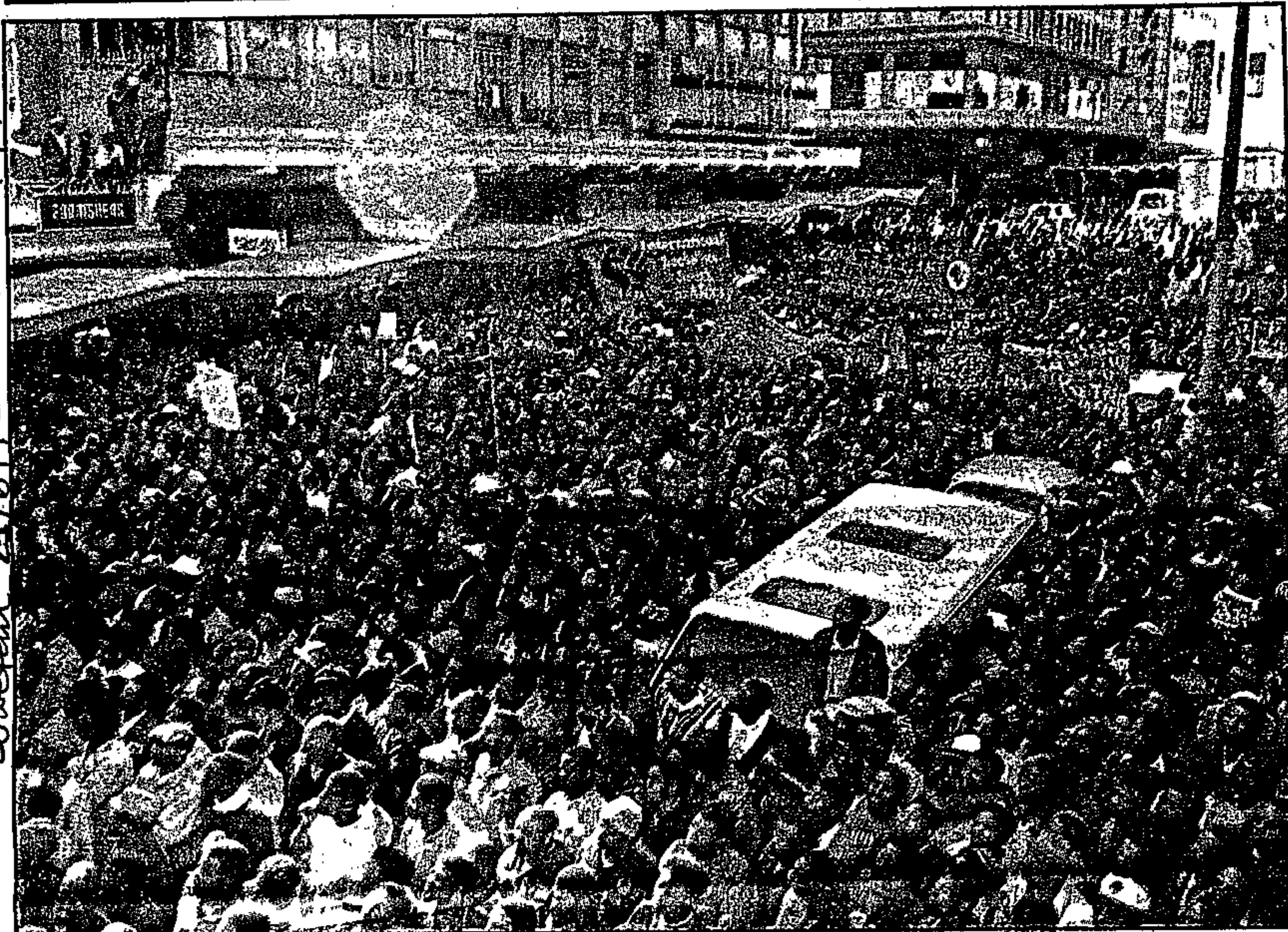
Boshoff is one of the few advocates of secession to have taken his proposals to Codesa.

"We only want limited participation to present our plan for a white state, we don't want to get involved in negotiating a constitution for the new South Africa," he said.

He believes a separate white state in the north-west Cape could be economically viable.

Apart from the river's largely untapped irrigation potential, the region has copper and mineral deposits, alluvial diamonds and some tourist potential based on the desert's spectacular wildflower display in spring. - Sapa-Reuters.

Sowetan 23/6/92 Sowetan 23/6/92



Numsa members, part of a group of 20000, hold a street sit-in in Johannesburg yesterday.

Pic: PAT SEBOKO

FW



FW DE KLERK

makes U-turn

Sowetan 23/6/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday cut short his visit to Spain as Codesa teetered on the verge of collapse as a result of last Thursday's Boipatong massacre in which 39 people died.

He is due back tomorrow and is expected to go into an immediate meeting with senior officials of his party and Government.

The ANC also meets today to decide if it

will continue with Codesa.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called for the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympics if De Klerk does not act decisively on the massacre.

Other organisations have also called for SA's withdrawal, while the ANC's Steve Tshwete meets sports organisations this morning.

The Vaal Council of Churches yesterday announced that the Boipatong victims will be buried next Monday. The ANC and PAC have declared Monday a day of mourning.

Full reports on page 2.

3044

BIC

FACTORY

A BRAND NEW CONCEPT FOR

163 PRESIDENT ST (OFF TROYE ST)
COR KOTZE AND KLEIN ST



LOUNGE SUITES SPECIALS

5 PIECE MODULAR LOUNGE SUITE from R399

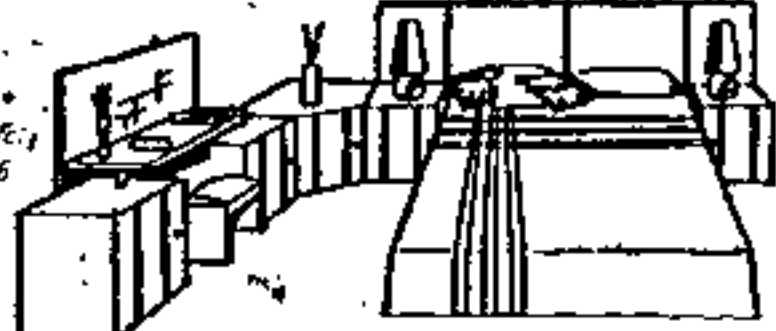
4 PIECE SHOW LOUNGE SUITE from R799

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BIC

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COR KOTZE AND KLEIN STS, HLI

Pullout stuns Government

Soweto 24/6/92

304A

ACTING State President Mr Pik Botha last night said it was a pity the African National Congress had pulled out of negotiations.

"I stand by my viewpoint that there is no alternative to finding a solution to our differences but through negotiations," Botha said in a statement.

"We in South Africa have no alternative," he said.

Botha said the Cabinet would discuss the implications of the ANC decision today when President FW de Klerk had returned to the country from a visit to Spain.

De Klerk cut short his trip after the ANC suspended bilateral talks with

the Government at the weekend, and announced it would review its position on the full negotiation process, including Codesa.

"The causes of violence in this country are complex," Botha said in his reaction.

Chaos

"What is needed is that the truth surrounding the causes of violence should be brought to the fore.

"Unless we are ready to openly discuss with each other these issues, public accusations will not help but in fact only worsen the situation," he added.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoort said he was

stunned by the ANC's decision.

When told that attached to the ANC's announcement was a string of demands before the organisation could re-enter the negotiation process, Delpoort said: "Well at least it seems as if they will return eventually".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder welcomed the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations, saying the Government's policy of handing power over to create third-world chaos had been averted.

He said the ANC's withdrawal had abated the fear of millions of people. Sapa.

The long road to deadlock

Sowetan 24/6/92
THE African National Congress' decision to pull out of democracy negotiations yesterday halted a process that began early in 1990.

Following is a chronology of key events and meetings between the Government and the ANC leading up to the current standoff:

1990:

- February 2 - President FW de Klerk legalises the ANC, its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, the South African Communist Party and other banned opposition groups in a prelude to all-party democracy negotiations.

- February 10 - De Klerk meets ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the Tuynhuys presidential office in Cape Town and agrees to release him the next day.

- May 4 - The ANC and the Government meet for the first time at Groote Schuur presidential residence in Cape Town and agree to a framework for the release of political prisoners, indemnity for exiles and a joint commitment to end violence.

- August 6 - The two sides meet again in Pretoria. The Government agrees to ease emergency rules and the ANC suspends its 30-year armed struggle against apartheid.

1991

- April 5 - Mandela accuses De Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and sets a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure continuation of "talks about talks".

- April 9 - Mandela and De Klerk rescue talks in a five-hour crisis meeting

that results in ban on cultural weapons.

- September 14 - ANC, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party sign a national peace accord to reduce tension and set up mechanisms to resolve disputes.

- November - ANC, Government, Inkatha and others agree to start power-sharing talks the following month. The right-wing Conservative Party and far-right groups boycott and the Pan Africanist Congress walks out.

- December 20 - Nineteen parties launch the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at a plenary meeting dubbed Codesa 1, the first real attempt to negotiate a transition to democracy.

The two-day conference ends with agreement to begin bargaining in March on a constitution giving blacks equal political rights.

1992

- May 16 - Codesa 2 fails to resolve differences between the Government and the ANC over minority powers and protection in a democratic South Africa.

- June 16 - ANC launches mass action campaign of strikes, boycotts and rallies to force the Government to speed up political reform.

- June 17 - At least 39 people are butchered in Boipatong in the Vaal. Residents accuse supporters of the IFP for the massacre.

- June 21 - Mandela accuses De Klerk and his Government of complicity in the attack and orders ANC negotiators to suspend bilateral talks with the government.

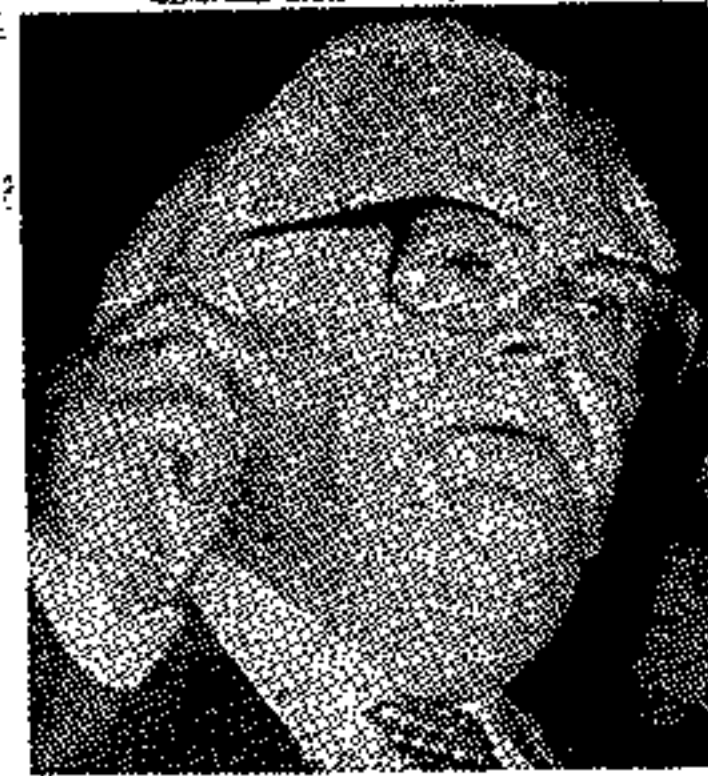
- June 23 - ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out of the talks. - *Sapa-Reuter*



RAMAPHOSA



HOLOMISA



SLOVO

Allies back ANC

Sowetan 24/6/92

SEVERAL organisations represented at Codesa have supported the African National Congress's decision to break off multiparty peace negotiations.

On the platform with ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and president Mr Nelson Mandela were the organisation's most visible allies - the Congress of South Afri-

can Trade Unions and the SACP.

Cosatu was represented by its deputy secretary-general Mr Sam Shilowa and the SACP by chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Also present were Transkeian military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa, Transvaal Indian Congress president Mr Cas Saloojee and repre-

sentatives of Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Dr Pravin Gordhan, who is a member of the Indian Congress formation and has been the chairman of the Codesa management committee, was also there.

Gordhan said Codesa had, with the decision last night, lost nine of its participants. - Sapa.

304A

Britain worried by SA situation

Sowetan Foreign News Service

LONDON - Alarmed British Ministers have been in touch with both the Government of President FW de Klerk and the ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela since the weekend.

Whitehall sources said the Conservative Government is anxious to head off renewed calls for sanctions against South Africa in the wake of Boipatong and the deteriorating political situation. *Sowetan*

But, despite Prime Minister Mr John Major's resistance to South Africa being banned from the Barcelona Olympics, the mood in the British government is said to be "alarmed and despondent". *24/6/92*

They are "pushing hard" for De Klerk to be seen to act swiftly and unequivocally against those responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

They also want him to purge the security forces of elements now widely believed to be out of control and acting independently to scuttle the peace initiative.

Overseas Development Minister Baroness Chalker said: "However tragic and alarming the continuing and horrendous violence, I am still sure that the new basis for co-operation can be made to work."

The influential *Financial Times* yesterday warned De Klerk to "restore his credibility by ordering an independent inquiry into the police role in both the Boipatong tragedies, including allegations that the authorities failed to act on warnings of impending slaughter".

Cape Lime denies union's claim

CAPE LIME has denied claims by the SA Chemical Workers' Union that 150 workers are on a go-slow strike at its plants.

A union spokesman said last week the decision to go-slow followed a strike ballot and union demands for a R400 across-the-board increase. Cape Lime claims only 74 workers embarked on the strike. — Sapa

CT 24/6/92

ATTENTION!!!
SUBSCRIBERS!!!

Zimbabwe to introduce land tax

HARARE. — The Zimbabwean government is to introduce a 10-month government land tax to discourage people from holding under-utilised land.

Opening the third session of Parliament yesterday, President Robert Mugabe said the government would also speed up its land distribution programme. "In the 1992/93 financial year a land tax will be introduced to discourage people from holding under-utilised land," he said.

working to rebuild strategic maize reserves.

Zimbabwe needs to import up to 1.5 million tons of maize in the next year to avert mass starvation.

Mr Mugabe said new incentives would be introduced to boost exports and agricultural production while the government would loosen its controls on the economy to promote private enterprise. — Sapa-Reuter

Bingo

ONLY A PHONE CALL

AWAY

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First eight numbers called out

R1 000

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Judges decision is final no correspondence will be entered into.

2 DAYS A WEEK 1156

Non-striker's house bombed

DURBAN. — The house of a freelance radio announcer here who is not taking part in the Media Workers of South Africa SABC strike has been burnt down after being petrol-bombed.

Miss Lindiwe Ntuli, who is announcing on the SABC's Radio Zulu station, was not at home when the petrol bomb was thrown through a window just after 8pm on Monday. The house was completely gutted.

The strike has entered its sixth week, without any hope of a settlement in sight. — Sapa

CT 24/6/92

ANC pulls out

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

The ANC last night broke off talks with the Government and withdrew from the Codesa constitutional negotiations forum.

However, ANC leaders are expected to meet President de Klerk within the next two days to discuss a list of demands which the ANC wants the Government to meet before negotiations can resume.

The announcement of the withdrawal of the ANC and its eight allies from Codesa was made at a press conference after an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC made clear that it would be prepared to resume talks if significant progress was made towards satisfying its demands.

Its withdrawal along with major allies such as the Congress of SA Trade Unions left Codesa in tatters.

The demands the ANC has made are:

- An interim government of national unity, and a dem-

ANC's full statement

- Page 5

Anatomy of atrocities

- Page 16

ocratically elected constituent assembly be established.

- The Government must immediately stop "its campaign of terror".

- Government must terminate all covert operations, including hit-squad activity.

- It must disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces, as well as detachments comprising foreign nationals.

- It must suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence.

- The Government must ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing territories and homelands be ended.

- The Government must immediately implement a programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family units.

- The Government must install fences around hostels.

- Security forces should guard hostels permanently.

- Hostels must be searched regularly by multilateral peace structures.

- The carrying of all dangerous weapons in public must be banned.

- An international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence must be set up.

- All political prisoners must be released at once.

- All repressive legislation must be repealed.

If the Government took practical steps to meet all the demands negotiations would be re-started, said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — while ANC president Nelson Mandela said that if its most important demands were met, the organisation would re-examine its position.

Speaking in Spain before jetting back home last night to address the crisis, Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "dramatic" decision was based on a fundamental untruth: that the Government was responsible for the violence.

"I and the Government absolutely reject any inference that the Government is involved in this act or in any other acts of violence."

Mr de Klerk said while various options would be considered, a final solution

● To Page 3

of

Codesa

ANC pulls out of negotiations

From Page 1

could not be attained only through security measures.

"We need a change of hearts and minds," he said, adding that the Government rejected foreign intervention in South Africa.

Announcing the ANC's demands at a Johannesburg press conference last night, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC could not tolerate a situation where the Government's control of State power allowed it "the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence."

"The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the F W de Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability," he said.

The ANC has laid the blame for the massacre of at least 39 people at the Boipa-

tong squatter camp in the Vaal Triangle last week on the Government.

Mr Ramaphosa said South Africans were compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear. Between July 1990 and April 1992, 261 attacks had been carried out by hostel residents on township dwellers, leading to 1207 deaths and 3697 injuries, he told the press conference.

The ANC's major allies, including Communist Party, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transkei, pulled out of Codesa along with the ANC.

Last night the ANC also announced that it would consult other organisations about the holding of a summit to unite and mobilise against white minority rule.

It called on the international community to compel the Government to bring violence to an end, and urged the UN Security Council to undertake measures "which will reinforce our efforts aimed at

bringing about a democratic order".

Acting State President Pik Botha said last night that it was a pity that the ANC had broken off negotiations.

"I stand by my viewpoint that there is no alternative for finding a solution to our differences than through the negotiation table."

"The causes of violence are complex. What is needed is that the truth of the causes should be exposed."

"Unless we are prepared openly to negotiate with each other regarding this matter, public accusations will only lead to a worsening of the situation."

Mr Botha said the Cabinet would meet today after the return of President de Klerk to consider the implications of the ANC decision.

After initially expressing shock at the ANC's decision, the National Party said later that there some cause for hope in the ANC statement.

De Klerk 'will accept mediation'

B/Day 24/6/92

304A

MADRID — President F W de Klerk was prepared to accept mediation to solve the SA crisis as long as there was no interference in the republic's internal affairs, official Spanish sources said yesterday.

Sapa-AFP reports De Klerk told Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez during an hour-long meeting SA needed international support to stimulate the process of negotiations.

Our own correspondent reports, however that De Klerk last night lashed out at the ANC over its stand on the Boipatong massacre.

He said: "I find it a pity that the ANC chooses to politicise this terrible event . . .

"It was a great shock . . . All South Africans in their right mind are deeply shocked and deeply concerned by what happened.

"I regret any inference that the government was involved in this act of violence or any acts of violence. We do not instigate violence. We fight it."

He went on: "We have had incidents in

the past where individual policemen either acted wrongly under stress or overstepped the mark by overreacting. We have even had cases when individual policemen committed criminal acts. But that happens everywhere. In the US, Britain, and I am sure here in Spain.

"We have a proud record of dealing with individuals who transgress the law. Recently, a number of policemen were sentenced to death for their complicity in committing murder.

"The government is not implicated in or a part of political violence."

The President was originally meant to have spent two days on his official visit. But last night, he was flying home 24 hours early because of the crisis.

Yesterday he also lunched with prominent Spanish businessmen and then dined with King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia before taking his early flight home. He cancelled a day at the Expo '92 world fair in Seville. — Daily Telegraph.

Try and try again

SO it is back to the drawing board on Codesa. The ANC's withdrawal from constitutional negotiations is, without a doubt, a severe setback for hopes of an early settlement and a firm peace accord.

However, it is not yet a stalemate. The ANC says it remains committed to a peaceful solution and armed action is still suspended.

Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet President De Klerk soon to present a list of demands drawn up by the organisation's national executive committee yesterday. In the past, there has been a certain chemistry between the two leaders by which they have been able to overcome differences, reach some level of compromise.

□ □ □

Whether that chemistry has survived the latest discord over the massacre at Boipatong, and other differences, only time will tell.

Yet the ANC's demands are by no means extreme. Indeed, some — like the release of all political prisoners and the phasing out of the hostel system — have been raised before and could well have been met by now. Others are already being addressed or are eminently negotiable.

The call for an international inquiry into Boipatong also is not unreasonable. On a previous occasion, the government allowed a team of international jurists into the country to investigate the ongoing violence, so there is a precedent of a kind.

□ □ □

What the ANC would do well to bear in mind at this time is that those jurists discovered — as, subsequently, did the

Goldstone Commission — that no party or faction has been blameless in the situation, that its own followers have contributed to the crisis in which South Africa finds itself today.

But if an international inquiry was able to satisfy the ANC's disquiet, and end the controversy over what happened at Boipatong, that would be in everybody's interest. And particularly if it managed to lay the ghost of the "third force", once and for all.

□ □ □

Of prime importance, of course, is the ANC's demand for an interim government of national unity and we believe in a multilateral route, to share not only control in this interim period but joint accountability.

This is not a time for despair, but to try and try again.

Political Staff and Argus Foreign Service

AS President De Klerk flew back from Spain to an emergency Cabinet meeting today, international efforts to rescue South Africa's deepening political crisis were under way.

The latest moves are:

- The Commonwealth is considering sending an observer team to help resolve the crisis.

- The chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Paul Simon, urged Pretoria to consider the role which the UN could play in helping.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said in Canberra that soundings among the Commonwealth had been made over recent days by Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall.

"This will be something that evolves over the next few days," said Mr Evans.

Mr Evans said any Commonwealth observer team would not be involved in monitoring the negotiating process.

"It is a matter of getting some kind of presence, of an international kind, to assist in the resolution of the problem of violence," he said.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has asked the United Nations to help resolve the crisis after talks aimed at setting up a multiracial government foundered following the Boipatong killings.

304A

The Cabinet met in Pretoria today against a background of cautious optimism in government circles that the new impasse reached on the ANC decision to withdraw from Codesa negotiations could be resolved.

Marked difference

The ANC is to meet President De Klerk soon to discuss its withdrawal from talks and the demands it has put. The ANC's bottom line is that an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence must be set up.

According to Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, negotiations would resume should the government respond positively to the demands.

The government has not rejected some international involvement, if not an international force, out of hand. This is a marked difference from the days of South Africa's international isolation.

Mr De Klerk flew back to chair the Cabinet meeting in the Union Buildings. A statement was expected after the meeting.

There was an attitude of "all is not lost" in top government circles and the feeling that the resumption of negotiations was inevitable and the only alternative.

Acting State President Mr Pik Botha said today that it was a pity that the ANC had pulled out of the negotiations.

"There is no alternative to finding a solution to our differences through negotiations.

"The causes of violence in this country are complex. Unless we are ready to openly discuss with each other all issues public accusations will not help but will in fact worsen the situation."

● See page 3.

FW flies in for emergency talks; world stands by to help

ARG 24/6/92

304A

Key SA figures to speak in Canada

KEY SA businessmen and politicians will speak at a conference in Canada tomorrow for the first time in a decade.

A statement by the host of the conference on SA business opportunities, Canadian law firm Goodman & Goodman, said delegates would discuss a range of SA business and political issues.

Speakers would include Deputy Trade Minister David de Villiers Graaff, ANC economist Tito Mboweni and SA's ambassador to Canada Andre Kilian.

"With the changes occurring in SA and the approaching normalisation of business and political relations, we feel it is important to offer Canadian executives an opportunity to hear for themselves the issues involved in deciding whether to invest in

the country," Goodman & Goodman co-founder Edwin Goodman said.

Goodman & Goodman lawyer Stephen Pincus said: "We don't anticipate an immediate flood of new business activity between Canada and SA."

"But as sanctions are lifted, businesses will want to look at what doing business in the country might mean."

SA offered a number of advantages to foreign businesses that other newly emerging states such as in eastern Europe did not, he added. SA's commercial currency had always been convertible, business was based on free market principles and telephones worked.

SHARON WOOD

NP set for victory at Diamant?

INDICATIONS in the Diamant by-election in the Northern Cape — from National and Labour Party workers — are that the NP is poised to win its first elected seat among voters who are not white.

And independent political analyst Mr Donald Simpson predicts an NP win in today's "watershed" House of Representatives by-election.

He expects NP candidate Mr Howard Isaacs to scoop more than 7 500 votes against just over 5 000 for LP candidate Mr John Scholtz.

Crucial LP test

An NP candidate is standing in a House of Representatives election for the first time.

The by-election is shaping up as a crucial test for Mr Allan Hendrickse's party.

Mr Isaacs has been backed by a well-oiled party election machine and substantial funds.

Mr Scholtz has had to make do with limited resources and his campaign has been overshadowed by the ANC's ambivalent attitude to participation in the by-election.

LP sources have admitted that their chances are thin.

However, Sapa reports that the ANC has locked the NP out of black townships around Kimberley.

— Political Staff, Sapa

Stoffel visit 'incident-free'

POTCHEFSTROOM. — National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe addressed an incident-free meeting on Monday night in the black township of Ikageng here.

The lively audience of about 300 at Botoka Secondary School listened as he delivered a 30-minute speech, but the ANC and PAC later criticised the government for the logjam at Codesa, the Boipatong massacre and failure to implement an interim government.

Sapa (304A) CT 24/6/92

London,
Washington
express

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in London and Washington

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The Foreign Office said it was concerned at the ANC's decision and called on all to "restore the confidence vital if constitutional settlement is to be achieved."

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The Washington Post said the ANC's "hasty decision" to pull out of talks had been preceded by a hardening of attitudes on both sides and verbal hostility between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

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The newspaper said the government should be held accountable for controlling the violence, but added that the ANC "should not lose sight of the larger interest."

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Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gubbins told The Argus: "We will be looking at the possibility of international assistance."



"It is under consideration, but, of course, it needs to be accepted by everybody, including the government."

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He said he had found the recent visit by the International Commission of Jurists "impressive and useful."

Dr De Beer said he believed the government was more inclined now than a year ago to consider international assistance or monitoring.

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President De Klerk's warning that he might reimpose a state of emergency "threatens the process of change," Mr Salim said.

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June 23 — ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out. — Sapa-Reuter.

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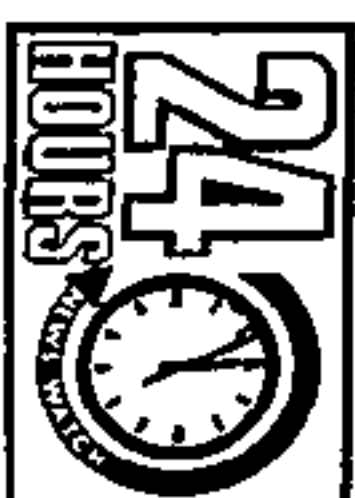
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August 6 — The two sides meet again in Pretoria. The government agrees to ease emergency rules and the ANC suspends its 30-year armed struggle against apartheid.

1991

April 5 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and sets a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure continuation of "talks about talks."

April 9 — Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk resume talks in a five-hour crisis meeting that results in a ban on cultural weapons carried by the ANC's Zulu force.

September 14 — The ANC, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party sign national peace accord to reduce tension and set up mechanisms to resolve disputes.

November — The ANC, government, Inkatha and others agree to start power-sharing talks the following month. The right-wing Conservative Party and far-right groups boycott the talks and the radical Pan Africanist Congress walks out.

December 20 — Nineteen parties attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at a plenary meeting dubbed Codesa 1, the first real attempt to negotiate a transition to democracy. The two-day conference ends with agreement to begin bargaining in March on a constitution giving blacks equal political rights.

1992

May 16 — Codesa 2 fails to resolve differences between the government and the ANC over minority powers and protection in a democratic South Africa.

June 16 — The ANC begins a mass action campaign of strikes, boycotts and rallies to force the government to speed up political reform.

June 17 — At least 39 people are butchered in Bopalong, south of Johannesburg. Residents accuse supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's conservative Inkatha Freedom Party.

June 21 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk and his government of complicity in the attack and orders ANC negotiators to suspend talks with the government.

June 23 — ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out. — Sapa-Reuters.

No talks 'until demands are met'

B/day 24/6/92

~~11P~~ (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC yesterday formally suspended negotiations with government and said constitutional talks would remain on hold until a series of violence-related demands were met.

In an apparent reprieve for the negotiation process, however, the ANC said it remain committed to a negotiated settlement. ANC president Nelson Mandela would meet President F W de Klerk shortly to convey the demands decided at a day-long meeting of the national executive committee (NEC) yesterday.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night he had already spoken to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer to arrange a top-level meeting between the ANC and government.

The ANC said De Klerk had to agree to a democratically elected constituent assembly and the installation of an interim government but laid down no deadline for these.

"The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process," the NEC statement said.

A senior NEC member described the NEC decision as a "reprieve" for negotia-



● DE KLERK

● MANDELA

tions and said De Klerk should have little difficulty in meeting the demands which were:

- ☐ An end to covert operations including hit squad activities;
- ☐ Disarming and confining to barracks of special forces and detachments made up of foreign nationals;
- ☐ The suspension and prosecution of all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence, and;
- ☐ Ensuring an end to repression in the self-governing and independent states.

The ANC said it wanted an international

commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of all repressive legislation, including laws passed during the last days of Parliament.

The NEC also demanded the implementation of agreements reached with government a year ago, including implementation of the programme to phase out hostels and convert them into family accommodation, the installation of fences around hostels, permanent guarding of hostels, regular searches with the participation of multilateral peace structures and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The statement said that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks by hostel dwellers on township residents which had led to 1 027 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

A senior NEC source said the ANC was having difficulty justifying to its constituency continued negotiations. The demands and the suspension of talks were intended to show government that the ANC-led alliance had to be taken seriously.

The ANC said the NP regime had "brought our country to the brink of disaster. Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy. It pursues a strategy which embraces negotiations, together with systematic covert actions, including murder, involving its

☐ To Page 2

Talks on hold

security forces and surrogates.

"We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of state power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence," Ramaphosa told a news conference last night. He was joined on the platform by homeland leaders from the Transkei, Lebowa, KwaNgwane and KwaNdebele as well as Cosatu and the SACP.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said only eight of the original 19 groups in Codesa remained.

The ANC called on the international community to "compel the De Klerk re-

gime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles". It said the UN Security Council should convene and take measures to stop the violence.

"The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codesa negotiations. The NEC will be keeping the situation under continuous review. The response and practical steps taken by the De Klerk regime to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place," the ANC said.

● Comment: Page 8

☐ From Page 1

Major pleads: Do not pull out of Codesa talks

LONDON — British Prime Minister John Major has made a direct appeal to ANC president Nelson Mandela not to pull out of the Codesa talks and to "build on earlier progress".

Major said he was "very distressed" by events over the past few days, and urged Mandela to keep negotiations open. He rejected Labour calls on him in the House of Commons to raise the reimposition of economic and oil sanctions against SA at the European Parliament.

Major said the two main political players had made "enormous strides" towards a representative democracy in SA and it was now of "very great importance that talks do not break down".

EC leaders attending the Lisbon summit this weekend will be urged by the strong EC socialist lobby to introduce tough measures against SA.

Japanese foreign ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa said his country was concerned about the escalating violence, Sapa-AFP reports. "We sincerely hope all parties concerned in the country will show restraint and make efforts to continue the peaceful negotiation process."

Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told reporters she had written to President F W

CHRIS BATEMAN

de Klerk and Mandela urging an end to the violence.

McDougall suggested it was time an international observer mission was sent to SA.

The Taiwanese embassy announced yesterday it was matching a US donation of R700 000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross for help to violence victims, including those at Boipatong. The embassy said in a statement it hoped the various parties would resolve their differences at Codesa.

France urged parties to keep to the talks process despite the Boipatong massacres. "We hope these events, in the light of their seriousness, are not of a nature to endanger the constitutional negotiations that were under way," said foreign ministry spokesman Daniel Bernard.

Sapa-Reuter reports from the first day of an OAU foreign ministers' meeting in Senegal yesterday that Theo-Ben Gurirab of Namibia said negotiations for majority rule were doomed unless President F W de Klerk's government shouldered blame for the Boipatong township massacre and police shootings.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel appealed to all sides to refrain from violence.

Peace committee to discuss massacre

THE national peace committee meets in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the Boipatong massacre and independent monitoring of investigations into it.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday the "immediate harnessing" of lawyers from the SA Law Society to monitor investigations into the incident — which left at least 39 dead and scores injured — would be high on the agenda.

She said the meeting would also consider bringing forward the peace

WILSON ZWANE

committee's July 31 meeting — to which political leaders had been invited to debate with the committee the Goldstone Commission's second interim report.

She said the meeting would be held regardless of the outcome of yesterday's ANC national executive committee meeting called to consider its response to the massacre.

"But the meeting will definitely discuss the ANC's NEC decisions," Pauquet said.

Officers to be fingerprinted

31 day 24/6/92
POLICE would take fingerprints and handwriting samples from more than 30 people, including two of its own senior officers, in the presence of an independent forensic expert employed by the family of assassinated ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Judge B O'Donovan, who is hearing the inquest into Mlangeni's death, was told this was one of the terms of an agreement between lawyers acting for the police and those representing the Mlangeni family.

Counsel for the family, Gys Rautenbach, submitted a list of 34 names on Monday from whom fingerprints and handwriting samples were wanted.

It includes police forensic chief Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling and Col Wahl du Toit.

Mlangeni was killed at his home in February last year when he activated a booby-trapped portable cassette player meant for former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee.

The tape recorder and a cassette marked "evidence of hit squads" were

SUSAN RUSSELL

posted to Coetzee in Lusaka. He did not collect the parcel, which was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed that his former colleagues at Vlakplaas were responsible for sending him the package and has implicated Du Toit as a suspect.

Rautenbach said Col Jacobus Hattingh would take the samples in the presence of independent forensic expert Dr David Klatzow and attorney Peter Harris.

He said Klatzow would be allowed to determine the identity of each person from their identity book.

Each person would have to write his name and provide a full set of fingerprints.

A copy of the specimens would be lodged with the Attorney General for safekeeping. Rautenbach said Klatzow would be allowed to examine the specimens in Hattingh's presence. Each of several experts would then make the results of their analysis available to the other.

The inquest has been adjourned to July 6.

Police smash five car-theft syndicates

FIVE vehicle-theft syndicates have been uncovered and 18 members arrested in a weeklong crackdown on vehicle robberies in the northern Transvaal.

Police said yesterday 63 vehicles worth more than R4m were recovered.

In addition, a further seven people were arrested for vehicle thefts and cars to

STEPHANE BOTHMA

the value of another R900 000 were recovered, the SAP motor vehicle theft unit in Pretoria said.

The police also said 463 arrests had been made by the child protection unit last month. This included 126 rapes, 80 indecent assaults and 49 assaults on children.

During May the diamond and gold unit arrested 235 people and took possession of diamonds, gold and other gems valued at R1,3m.

The commercial branch charged 338 people in cases involving R6,3m.

The narcotics bureau arrested 2 145 people and confiscated more than 1-million mandrax tablets.

NP appeals to Potchefstroom blacks

POTCHEFSTROOM — NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe addressed an incident-free meeting for the first time in the black township of Ikageng, on Monday night, as part of the NP launch in the area.

Arriving in a black taxi, without a police or bodyguard escort and accompanied by six white NP supporters, Van der Merwe addressed the lively audience of about 300.

However, the residents

forced him to abandon the Afrikaans/English format after a vote in favour of an English speech with Tswana interpretation.

Members of the ANC and PAC later strongly criticised him and government for the logjam at Codesa, the Boipatong massacre and the failure to implement an interim government.

Van der Merwe said "I refuse to apologise for

apartheid. I did not cause it ... I am very sorry for it; but all my political career, I have fought for its downfall."

Asked about relations with the ANC now that it had partially suspended talks with the government, Van der Merwe said: "We cannot negotiate in this manner with the ANC. Let us work together, win together for a rich nation."

"If we keep fighting, we will all lose." — Sapa.

Major's ^{304A} appeal to CT 24/6/92 Mandela

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — British Prime Minister John Major has made a direct appeal to Mr Nelson Mandela not to pull out of the Codesa talks and to "build on earlier progress".

In a message to the ANC leader, Mr Major said he was "very distressed" by events in South Africa over the past few days and urged Mr Mandela to keep negotiations open.

Mr Major yesterday rejected Labour calls on him in the House of Commons to raise the reimposition of economic and oil sanctions against SA at the European Parliament on Friday.

EC leaders attending the Lisbon summit this weekend will be urged to introduce tough measures against SA.

● Sapa-AFP reports from Dakar that the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, called yesterday for an emergency UN Security Council meeting on the upsurge of violence in SA.



GRIM-FACED: ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, flanked by president Nelson Mandela, announces the movement's withdrawal from Codesa. Pic: JACOOB RYCLIFF

ANC pulls out of Codesa

Sowetan 24/6/92
THE African National Congress yesterday pulled out Codesa and broke off bilateral talks with the Government.

The far-reaching announcement was made by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at a Press conference in Johannesburg after an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee.

The meeting was convened by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, in response to the Boipatong massacre.

The organisation will convey the decision to

(3044)
By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

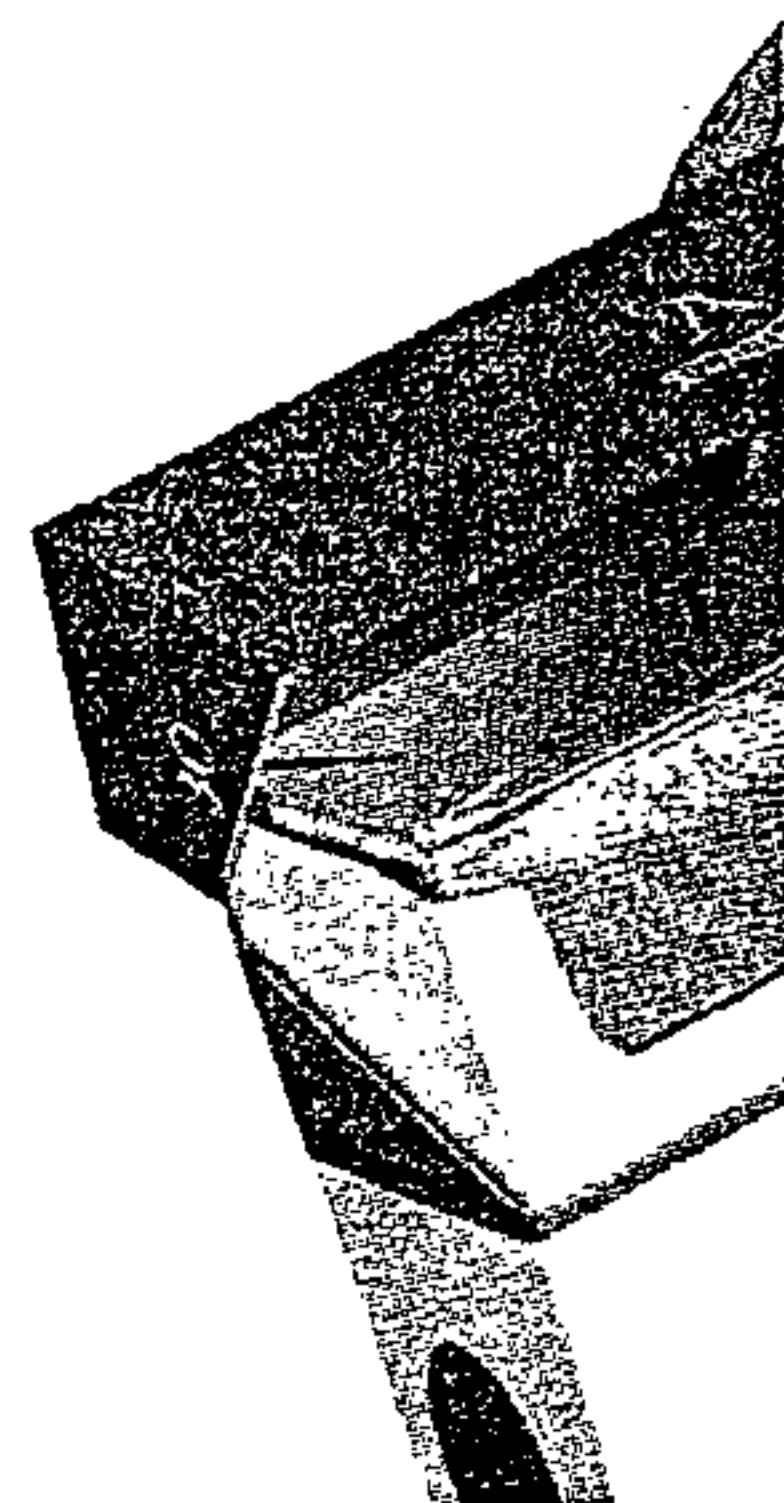
the Government in the next two days. Ramaphosa said on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night.

The ANC said the Government had brought the country to the brink of disaster. The organisation accused it of being "determined to block any advance to democracy".

"The ANC re-affirms its commitment to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace

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World
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P.T.O.

AFRICAN OUT

Codesa shunned over massacre

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC last night threw down the gauntlet to the government by pulling out of Codesa negotiations and threatening to review South Africa's international sporting contacts.

After a crisis meeting of the ANC's 80-member national executive committee (NEC) and consultations with its patriotic front allies, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa declared last night that the stage had been reached where further talks with the government were "pointless".

Government response

However, in an apparent rebuff for the negotiation process, the ANC said it remained committed to a negotiated settlement. Mr Ramaphosa dismissed suggestions that the ANC was "walking away from a peaceful solution", saying that armed action remained suspended notwithstanding the "ugly situation" flowing from the Boipatong massacre.

A number of the ANC's allies at Codesa have also suspended participation at Codesa pending a satisfactory response from the government to the bloodshed in the country.

After a day of high drama, the ANC last night began making arrangements for a top-level meeting



GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa chat during a break in formal discussions yesterday on suspending their participation in negotiations with the government.

with the government at which it would outline conditions that would have to be met before it was prepared to rejoin the negotiation process.

The ANC's bottom line demands included an international inquiry to look into the Boipatong massacre and "all acts of violence" in SA and an international force to monitor the violence in the country.

The ANC has also resolved to consult with sporting bodies throughout the country about SA's continued participation in international sport.

Mr Ramaphosa said it was "fully justified" that the possible withdrawal from international sporting

links be considered in the light of the deaths of scores of people.

After the ANC's suspension of negotiations with the government, moves were also being made to breathe new life into the patriotic front, including organisations like the PAC which have remained out of negotiations so far.

As President F W de Klerk flew back from his shortened visit to Spain last night to deal with the growing national crisis at today's cabinet meeting, the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said that a full government response would only follow today's Union Buildings meeting.

At yesterday's press conference, links be considered in the light of the deaths of scores of people. Mr Ramaphosa said a string of demands for ending the violence and the progress necessary in the negotiations process to be met by the government. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will meet Mr De Klerk soon to convey the demands, which were decided on by the NEC at a day-long meeting yesterday.

The ANC said Mr De Klerk had to agree to a democratically-elected constituent assembly and installation of an interim government but laid down no deadline for these. "The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy,"

FW lashes back at the ANC

Own Correspondent

MADRID — President F W de Klerk last night lashed out at the ANC over its stand on the Boipatong massacre. Mr De Klerk, who returned to Spain last night after cutting his visit short, said: "I find it a pity the ANC chooses to politicise this terrible event in our country."

"It was a great shock that so many people were killed in a short period of time — women and children. All South Africans in their right minds are deeply shocked and deeply concerned by what happened."

"I regret any inference that the government was involved in this act of violence or any acts of violence. We do not instigate violence. We fight it."

He said the ANC allegations were based on a fundamental untruth — "that the government is involved in killing people."

"We had incidents where policemen either acted wrongly under stress or overstepped the mark by overreacting. We even had cases of policemen committing crimes. But that happens everywhere. In the US, Britain, and I am sure, here in Spain."

"We have a proud record of dealing with individuals who transgress the law. Recently, a number of policemen were sentenced to death for their complicity in committing murder."

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Whites demand protection

THE white Mineworkers' Union has deplored attacks on its members after last week's Boipatong massacre near Vanderbijlpark.

The union yesterday warned that white workers would have to take steps to protect themselves.

In an open letter to Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, MWU general secretary Mr W Ungerer said union members working for companies like Metalbox, Consolidated Wire Industries and Cape Gate near Boipatong had come under attack since June 15.

Ungerer said: "The final straw was when a Mineworkers' Union member employed by Cape Gate was assaulted on his way to work and his car burned."

Union leaders immediately met employers and officials of the local commando unit.

"The union decided that police protection must be provided 24 hours a day, that shifts be altered so that shiftworkers commute in daylight, and that union members be provided protected parking areas. - Sapa.

De Klerk in Malaga stop over

Sowetan
Sowetan Correspondent

MADRID - In spite of South Africa's grave problems, State President FW de Klerk's jet stopped off at Malaga while en route to Madrid for official meetings yesterday with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and King Juan Carlos.

De Klerk has cancelled a trip to the Expo world fair to return home to face the crisis.

On Monday night he was staying privately in the up-market Miraflores suburb near Mias Costa, midway between Fuengirola and Marbella.

A spokesman for the Miraflores Club said the developers were South Af-



FW DE KLERK

rican and the director of the Club Playa at Miraflores was at one time Mr Henry Staub, a South African. At the height of the anti-apartheid protests, a substantial amount of South African money flooded into the

Costa del Sol.

The complex also contains a British timeshare resort, a golf course and other sports facilities. Civil guards had been called in to watch over the South African president.

Storms

If De Klerk had hoped for sunshine during his break, he would have been disappointed. After months of drought, Spain is currently swept by storms and rain that have caused severe flooding in many areas, especially in southern Spain near the Costa del Sol.

The Costa del Sol sprang to fame in the early '60s with the jet set resort of Marbella but more recently has been associated with runaway British criminals, arms dealers and drug traffickers.

Sowetan 24/6/92

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ANC meets FW today

Sowetan 25/6/92 (3047)

THE African National Congress meets State President FW de Klerk today to give him a list of demands to keep Codesa on track.

The ANC announced its decision after an emergency national executive committee meeting on Tuesday.

De Klerk last night told a hastily convened international media conference that the Government and the ANC should meet as soon as possible in order to get negotiations back on track and to break the current impasse.

The Government would continue with all its energy and full commitment to secure a negotiated settlement in the interests of all South Africans, De Klerk said.

No date had been set for the talks as the Government did not want to unilaterally set a specific date. The date had to be mutually agreed on with the ANC.

De Klerk said Boipatong was a tragedy and the Government shared in the grief of those who had lost loved ones. However, he rejected the ANC's allegations of State involvement in violence as without foundation.

He rejected "constant insinuations that the Government is involved in violence". He said the Government had nothing to gain from it.

De Klerk said it would be a tragedy if all the work done at Codesa was nullified.

He rejected charges that the Government wanted to cling to power and said protracted negotiations would only play in the hands of radicals.

**By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff**

Meanwhile, local and international support for the ANC's decision grew as threats of renewed sanctions surfaced yesterday.

South Africa's participation in international sport was in jeopardy as the ANC joined Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for the withdrawal of the country's team from the Barcelona Olympic Games.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi attacked the ANC for withdrawing from Codesa and described it as "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

Overseas reaction varied from outright threats of sanctions to caution and disapproval of the ANC's stance.

Sweden said its intended removal of commercial sanctions against South Africa could be delayed as a result of the ANC's withdrawal from democracy talks, reports Sapa.

In Washington, South Africa's ambassador to the US Mr Harry Schwarz said the only way to solve the country's problems was by negotiation.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said the ANC had to realise it could not win the battle against the regime alone.

Mugabe encouraged by SA interim talks

Sowetan 25/6/92

**Sowetan
Correspondent**

ZIMBABWE is encouraged by the important steps taken towards the formation of a nonracial interim government in South Africa.

The country hopes the people of South Africa will have the wisdom to move expeditiously towards an eventual fully democratic order, President Robert Mugabe said on Tuesday.

His comments at the opening of a new session of parliament were clearly aimed at reducing tension in the wake of last week's massacre.

Mugabe said South Africans should be wise enough to remove such obstacles including those which

arose from the violence which had gripped parts of the country and stood in the way of positive change.

The stage in the transition from apartheid to a nonracial democracy had reached a critical point, he said.

Mugabe said Zimbabweans faced great challenges in overcoming the painful but unavoidable effects of economic reform which had been exacerbated by the worst drought in living memory.

He said the government remained committed to the economic structural adjust-

ment programme (which aims at encouraging free enterprise and leaving market forces to control the economy).

The government intended accelerating its land resettlement programme but in remarks which will please white farmers he said: "We shall remain mindful of the need to maintain a viable, vibrant, efficient and highly productive agricultural sector."

He also announced government's intention to build strategic reserves of maize and other essential grains to last for at least two harvest periods.

economic mismanagement rather than township violence sees the greatest threat to South Africa's future, argues
CHARD DOWDEN.

THE end of South Africa did not begin with a massacre at Cato Ridge last Wednesday night.

That was probably no more than a blip on the road to doom.

South Africa's chances of being a stable country faded about 20 years ago when its economy went into decline.

By the time State President F.W. de Klerk posed for a camera with Mr Nelson Mandela in those heady days of February 1990, the country was dancing on a shaky floor weakened by decades of economic hegemony.

Beneath yawned a chasm of disaster.

The images of South Africa are the gold and diamond mines, the glittering towers of Johannesburg, the lush golf courses and the wines.

South Africa may have the trappings of a First World economy, but it depends on the export of raw materials for most of its income and is precariously close to a Third World footing.

The myth is that it has been held back by sanctions, but the rot started long before sanctions bit.

Living on this myth, white South Africa believed that talks with Nelson Mandela meant the end of sanctions. Trade and investment could flow again and, as long as the African National Congress could be weaned from its "communist" tendencies, the good times would roll again.

For the ANC, the fabled wealth of South Africa, the piles of gold and diamonds, gleaming Johannesburg towers and the swimming pools and Mercedes of the city's white northern suburbs would be theirs at last.

The models of political change in Africa which both sides looked to were Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The rot set in a long time ago

At independence the whites of both these countries had held onto their wealth and privacy even though they had given up power. In South Africa, the whites were being assured they would not have to give up power, merely share it. So they said to De Klerk in the referendum on negotiations last March: "Keep talking".

The ANC saw that political power had given African governments power to distribute wealth by policy and patronage.

In Zimbabwe, for example, the civil service has more than tripled since independence, providing a huge source of political support for the government. There is debate within the ANC about Marxist or mixed economies and a recognition that wealth will have to be shared, but there is no doubt in ANC minds that its supporters should reap the rewards of office.

For the international business community, the only question is whether the ANC will shed its socialist tendencies and accept free market economics.

Closer examination, however, reveals that it is not Mandela who needs to shed a belief in State controls and a large public sector but De Klerk.

White-ruled South Africa has a bureaucracy matched only for size and inefficiency by those of the former East European socialist states. State spending in South Africa has risen in the past two decades from 16 percent of GDP to 29 percent.

In the past decade employment levels in the country's main industries have declined while State jobs have increased by 73 percent.

As a result, South Africa,

mainly white South Africa, has among the highest levels of personal and corporate tax in the world. People have borrowed to maintain their standard of living and this has led to high inflation, now 15 percent, and high interest rates.

The economy's growth has declined by roughly 2 percent a decade since the early 70s, and last year it fell into negative figures. Unemployment is now officially at 15-16 percent and is likely to rise.

Economic expansion led by existing capital is unlikely. Fixed investment in South Africa has fallen steadily since the mid-80s. Last year it fell by 8.5 percent.

South Africa remains primarily an exporter of raw materials and, therefore, is dependent on the world economy. The high cost of South African products such as textiles, protected for years by sanctions, makes them uncompetitive on the world market.

At a conference at the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London last week, Mr Azar Jammine, the director of Econometrix, a Johannesburg economic research organisation, gave a devastating analysis of the shortcomings of the South African economy and then listed the positive prospects.

At the top of the list were the business opportunities created by new housing and education programmes.

The question "who pays?" went unanswered.

Nobody who has been to black as well as white South

Africa can be unaware of the mind-boggling wealth gap between the two.

Yes, there are richer parts of Soweto; yes, there are poor white areas, but the abiding image is of the detached walled gardens of Johannesburg's northern suburbs and the rows of grotty brick shacks in Soweto.

It takes barely 30 minutes to drive between the two.

A successful political settlement can only be accompanied by a physical improvement in the lives of the mass of black people. They want jobs, homes, schools and cheaper food. These will not be possible in the short term.

Even if De Klerk had managed to maintain an aura of political trust and establish a genuine alliance

with Mandela, he would have found it difficult to raise taxes for whites still further.

Mandela, too, would have had immense difficulties in selling an agreement on the promise of things to come.

Job losses and government cuts are certain. The global trend away from Government economic interference suits De Klerk, who does not want to put the presently powerful State machine into the hands of his former enemies.

He seems like a man trying to sell Mandela a second hand car. Each time they come close to a price, De Klerk removes another piece or insists on another condition. Vetoes, regionalisation, a constitutional commitment to pri-

vatate property - all detract from central power so that Mandela, if he ever clinches the deal, will be like a man holding a steering wheel.

He will have all the responsibility and none of the power.

In the meantime De Klerk has failed to cash in his political capital. He has travelled to dozens of countries to be welcomed with glowing tributes and encouragement. But he has returned to South Africa like a child from a party without a party bag.

Far from there being a surge of investment in South Africa following the ending of sanctions, the world is holding back until South Africa achieves a political settlement, sorts out its economy and slashes State spending.

Once there was talk of a Marshall Plan for South Africa. The message from Britain and America is that there is money available - from the IMF and the World Bank at the usual price. There will be no Marshall Plan. The world has more important causes to save and horses to back. - *The Independent, London.*

304

Locked within a balance of terror

Sowetan
25/6/92

(304A)

THE South African Government and the African National Congress are locked into a balance of terror.

The one is hinting that it will reimpose a state of emergency, the other is threatening to pull out of constitutional talks.

If one presses the button it is almost certain that the other will follow suit. Either way, instability and destruction, a return to the dark ages of the PW Botha era, are guaranteed.

What makes each pause, as Government and ANC officials acknowledge, is the response of the international community, the fear of isolation.

What, then, is the public to make of the conflicting rhetorical barrage? Where lies the truth? In the Government's contention that last week's killings are, as Mr Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Police, said on Monday, the direct result of the ANC's campaign of "mass action"?

Or in the ANC's claim that the Government has opted for brute force as the only means of retaining political power?

It is best to answer these questions by going back to May 16 when the Codesa talks broke down.

Why did they break down? The ANC proposed

The victims of Boipatong died because of a constitutional disagreement in South Africa, writes JOHN CARLIN

70 percent as the required majority to approve a constitution in an elected constituent assembly, the Government proposed 75 percent, and neither side would budge.

The ANC wants the proposed constitution to entrench a system of majority government. The Government rejects majority rule. State President FW de Klerk says that the Western world's "50 per cent plus one" formula would be "simplistic" in the light of South Africa's diversity.

His solution is "powersharing", a system in which the "domination of the past" is replaced not with a new form of "majoritarian domination", but with a Government of "checks and balances" with "minority protections".

It sounds complicated but can be reduced to a demand for a veto over the decisions of the majority. De Klerk is responding to the whites' terror of being ruled by blacks.

The ANC responded with outrage to the Government's refusal to accept less than 75 percent, and declared the time had come

for a test of political strength on the streets.

The first day of "mass action" was marked by marches around the country, all of which, according to the Commissioner of Police, went off peacefully.

Kriel, his political chief, disagreed, blaming the deaths of 34 people on Monday and Tuesday on the ANC campaign, and warning of more deaths.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, warned on Tuesday, when he shared a podium with De Klerk, that people would lose their lives.

The Government and Inkatha prophecies came true on Wednesday night when hordes of Inkatha warriors rampaged through Boipatong while police in armoured vehicles looked on, according to numerous witnesses.

Had the ANC accepted the Government's powersharing solution, mass action would not have been necessary and the security forces and their Inkatha allies would not have responded the way they all but promised they would. - *The Independent, London.*

Hendrickse admits defeat shortly before polls close

STAN 25/6/92
KIMBERLEY — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse last night conceded defeat an hour before the Diamant by-election polls closed and said his party was now "obsolete" in Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse said he expected to lose by between 1 000 and 2 000 votes.

He attributed the defeat to Les Abrahams, the former LP member for the constituency who defected to the NP last year before finally resigning the seat a few months ago.

He said Mr Abrahams had

destroyed the LP's credibility.

Mr Hendrickse said his party's future now lay with the Patriotic Front (PF) and negotiations at Codesa as the tricameral constitutional system was "on its last legs".

He claimed the NP had fought the election as a mini-referendum focused on President de Klerk's personality, whereas his party had seen the election as an opportunity to put their view across and explain the need for a constituent assembly. — Own Correspondent.

CP: State of emergency now

PAC: Return to struggle

Political Staff

The Conservative Party yesterday called for the imposition of a state of emergency and the Pan-Africanist Congress called for intensification of the armed struggle against the Government.

"We must intensify the political struggle, the international isolation and the armed struggle against the apartheid regime," PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim said in Senegal, where he was attending a preparatory meeting for next week's Organisation of African Unity summit.

The campaign should continue until the establishment of an elected constituent assembly in South Africa, he said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP as well as national leaders, create a forum for negotiation different from Codesa.

He told a news conference in

Pretoria that the CP had warned the Government that Codesa would end in deadlock because of the way it had been constituted.

The United States government has urged the Government to arrest and prosecute those responsible for last week's killings in Boipatong.

In a statement issued by the US embassy in Pretoria, the US government called on all parties to work towards a negotiated settlement, saying negotiations offered the only way forward for South Africa.

The South African security forces should, with immediate effect, be placed under the joint control of Codesa, the western Cape region of the ANC Women's League said on Tuesday.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC's withdrawal was "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

The IFP would call for a ple-

nary session of Codesa to review its aims and objectives.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, we must re-examine our options and recommence negotiations on a different tack," said Chief Buthelezi.

The Azanian Student Convention yesterday congratulated the ANC for pulling out of negotiations.

"We can only hope this is not just a ploy to appear radical in front of our people, but is a genuine intention to pursue the struggle for liberation," said its president Sipho Maseko.

The political chaos besetting South Africa and the low confidence in the country demanded urgent measures to counteract the slump in the economy, CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said.

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would contribute to restore and strengthen confidence, both locally and internationally, he said.

STATE 25/6/92

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OPINION

The ANC withdrawal from Codesa was inevitable, argues Joe Latakomo

Pace too fast for followers

STAR 25/6/92

3044

AS SOUTH Africa reels from the political crisis brought on by the African National Congress decision to withdraw from both Codesa and bilateral talks with the Government, the question now is what alternatives there are, and whether South Africa can survive those alternatives.

It was inevitable that the ANC would, sooner rather than later, withdraw from Codesa. The organisation seemed to be waiting for an event which would give it the courage to do so, while still retaining the moral high ground.

Signs of dissatisfaction over the organisation's role within Codesa had begun to emerge months ago. The feeling was that while the leadership bargained and negotiated on the various issues, there was little reporting back to its constituencies. This meant that while the organisation was moving forward in agreements, a large body of its constituency was

being left behind.

Clear signals that grassroots support of Codesa was not forthcoming were noticeable in constituencies like the Natal Midlands region, under the leadership of hardliner Harry Gwala, and also in Transkei and the eastern Cape, where the ground was becoming more and more fragile under the feet of even the regional leadership over the Codesa issue.

The ANC negotiators were accused of being "salesmen with briefcases who are selling out the black cause". Indeed, briefcases were derisively called "Codesas".

In the Natal Midlands and the eastern Cape, preference for addressing rallies went to Chris Hani, Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela, rather than Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa.

The leadership, however, clearly realised they would need a major issue to break off talks.

Simply quitting would seem to vindicate the Pan Africanist Con-

gress, which had held that while it believed a settlement could be negotiated, Codesa was not the appropriate forum.

The organisation was also too deeply involved simply to get out and scupper the talks. As Ramaphosa pointed out, the process was started by the ANC, not by the Government, even before the organisation was unbanned and Nelson Mandela was released.

By all accounts, much headway had been made, to the extent that predictions were made of an interim government before the end of the year.

But that also created resistance from their supporters. There were those who believed that there was too much urgency to "get to Tynhuys", with a perception that this was being done "at any cost". The ANC was perceived to be compromising far too much, too quickly, while the regime had done little in return.

This view was reinforced after

the white referendum. Among Codesa delegates, the feeling was that before the referendum, the Government was moving fast to obtain the best possible deal for whites.

However, after the referendum a hardening was perceived; the Government was sure of its support — even though this was a misjudgment — and began to dig in its heels.

The ANC had not tested its own constituency. That is why the need for mass action arose, as the only test of support, and a way of showing the Government its strength so that the balance on the scales can be brought back to equilibrium.

At about this point, terms like "white minority regime" and "illegitimate regime" began to re-enter the language of the ANC leadership.

The Government clearly underestimated the pressures on the ground that the ANC had to deal

with. They believed that the ANC would not — could not — quit Codesa. Quite rightly, they pointed out that only negotiation can bring about the desired democratic state, and that the alternative was a slide to anarchy.

In any event, both had no practical alternatives to negotiation.

A major factor which undoubtedly changed support for Codesa to resistance was the violence, perceived to be State-sponsored or Inkatha-inspired.

How could the ANC leadership, people asked, talk to the people who are responsible, directly or indirectly, for the killing of innocent people on trains, in their homes, in the streets?

In the period since Codesa, hundreds of people have died. The view that a "third force" — determined to wreck Codesa and the negotiation process — was involved, is often reinforced by the nature of the killings: clinical, random, well-planned operations

done with military efficiency. If that they have achieved. Their next move is to spark off another

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As Ramaphosa demands are "emancipable", and the Government, which, it is out, was a subject of negotiations. By quitting Codesa has sent out two messages: the Government is not serious about the move toward the government, and, the pace of the going to be dictated by the "minority regime".

OPINION

withdrawal from Codesa was inevitable, argues Joe Latakomo



Too fast for followers

STW 25/6/92

11/4 3044

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done with military precision and efficiency. If that is the case, then they have achieved their objective. Their next step would then be to spark off anarchy.

The ANC, in its list of demands to be met by the Government before it can reconsider its position, has left many escape routes for itself.

As Ramaphosa said, the demands are "eminently reasonable", and the Government, for its part, can act swiftly on all but the matter of an interim government, which, it can rightly point out, was a subject for Codesa negotiations.

By quitting Codesa, the ANC has sent out two messages: one to the Government that the organisation demands more urgency in the move towards a democratic government; and, second, to its own grassroots supporters that the pace of the process was not going to be dictated by "the white minority regime". □

Statesmanship is needed as time is running short, argues Hans Middelmann

The two men who can give South Africa a future

SOUTH Africa urgently needs a political arrangement to give us a credible government representative of the entire population — a black-white coalition of national unity that has both Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk in the leadership.

This is only possible if these two main players on the political scene commit themselves jointly to the basic rules of parliamentary democracy to which they have pledged themselves separately. They should make a personal, unprecedented and visible statesmanlike gesture before it is too late.

It has been said that an economic upswing is a prerequisite for a political solution. The steadily declining path of our economy suggests the opposite. No lowering of interest rates, no "kick-start" or any other gimmick, is likely to make our economy take off while uncertainty about the succession to the present minority government persists.

The longer this uncertainty lasts, and the greater it becomes, the greater the danger of the economy suddenly sliding further. Another setback could have tragic consequences when set against the background of the falling gold price, persistent inflation and the drought.

The State President and Mr Mandela still travel the world separately, which forces them to highlight their differences. They would both be far more convincing about South Africa's future — to their respective hosts and to the South African public — if they were seen working together, despite disagreements on many issues.

In the words of Mr de Klerk's landmark speech in February 1990, we must have "a dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic". He added that the country's fu-

ture was "linked inextricably to the ability of its leaders to come to terms with one another".

Codesa 1 and 2 nearly arrived at this result, but too many cooks (and perhaps too many advisers) have spoiled the broth. At the very moment when — in line with world developments — there was near agreement on how to level the playing field and on the rules of play, we are sliding back alarmingly towards ideological confrontation.

To have abolished practically all apartheid legislation is a truly remarkable achievement by a government and party which put the policies on the statute book. But to remove something that obviously had broken down is only part of the answer to our problems.

As long as the government does not include people legitimately elected by the yet-voteless blacks it will remain unrepresentative. On the other hand, any future majority government would be

equally unrepresentative if it were constituted to exercise unrestricted rule. Yet this concept of unrestricted rule heads the agenda of many leaders of the voteless.

Entrepreneurs, investors, call them what you will — the people of enterprise and innovation who alone create employment and real wealth — will not start or expand activities in times and areas of uncertainty. The wealth they manage to create is the only source of taxation which pays for education, health and other state services. There is no other source. But such people put their skills, savings and borrowings at risk only if there is a reasonable expectation that the State and government are likely to remain stable.

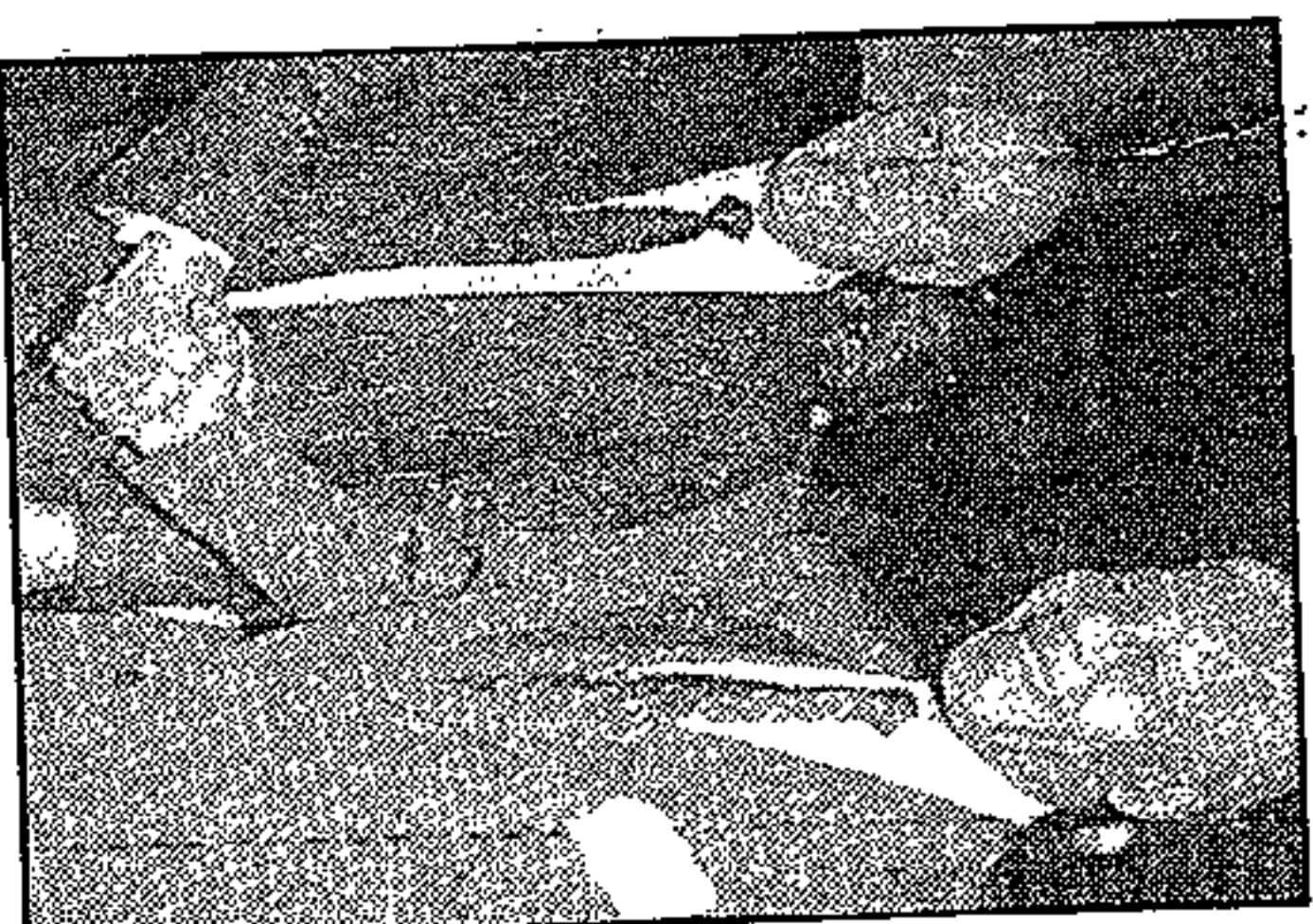
South Africa's greatest enemy is poverty. To reduce, or possibly eliminate, it must be our principal aim. It cannot be done by government edict, whatever government is in power. It can only be done by

work and wealth creation. Those who are anxious, willing and able to get the economy going — and that includes the workers and the unemployed — have little say in the matter. They depend entirely on the politicians to create the conditions of confidence and stability without which progress is impossible.

South Africa has everything going for it. In the last two years almost unbelievable progress has been made in bringing people of all colours together in common endeavours to mutual benefit.

The country is poised to give added momentum to these efforts. The outside world is ready to assist. Yet all this progress can be lost if the near agreement at Codesa is not taken to a successful conclusion.

Two great South Africans, F W de Klerk and Mr Mandela, have shown exceptional statesmanship in taking their constituencies to the present position. Will they be great enough to take what was



Greetings... before the start of Codesa 2 on May 15.

begun two years ago to the point where the new South Africa becomes a reality? □
Hans Middelmann is a past president of Assocon.

STAR 25/6/92
**SACC warns of
pressure if Govt
fails to deliver**

By Michael Sparks (304)

The South African Council of Churches yesterday called on the Government to move towards democracy or face renewed local and international pressure.

SACC general-secretary Dr Frank Chikane said the Government's failure to act against those involved in the violence called into question its commitment to the negotiations process.

The SACC called on the Government to act on its demands by July 15 or else it would be forced to take action "calculated to ensure a timeous achievement of democracy and peace in South Africa".

The SACC demands include:

- That those responsible for the killings at Boipatong and other areas be arrested, charged and convicted.
- That the security forces be brought under multiparty control.

Anti-apartheid lobby ready to flex muscles

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

304A
ism of his predecessor Margaret Thatcher, and is unlikely to want to be seen to be piloting South Africa to a new, more refined state of white elitism.

STAR 25/6/92

LONDON — As South Africa rakes over the coals of Boipatong, the international anti-apartheid machine is getting ready to roll again.

MPs, politicians, European Community leaders, civil rights campaigners and veteran political opponents, whose long-running campaigns were mothballed following the release of Nelson Mandela, are already marshalling their forces.

Their action could all too easily end in renewed sanctions on South Africa.

Even trusted and tried allies such as Britain's Conservative government are seeking to steer a more neutral course.

At the same time, though, British ministers are conducting urgent private talks with the Government and ANC in a bid to avert what looks like a suicidal plunge into bloodshed and chaos.

British Prime Minister John Major's message of encouragement to President de Klerk earlier this week was warm and cordial enough.

But senior Whitehall sources say he is becoming increasingly perturbed at what is seen as Pretoria's refusal to control security forces and move swiftly towards a democratic solution.

Already embarrassed by Britain's role in pressing the EC to lift economic and oil sanctions, Mr Major now lacks the passionate pro-South African-

Overseas Development Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker's recent offer of British assistance in "reintegrating" South Africa's police and military is a direct hint that even the Tory government believes that South Africa's forces must be swiftly purged.

And there can be no doubt as to where the blame is being laid for the troubles.

Where Mr de Klerk was regarded just a few months ago as a man of courage, determination and insight, he is now widely seen as manoeuvring to divide and defuse black resistance, placate international opinion and preserve white power.

Pretoria's approach to negotiation is now seen in many quarters as a thinly disguised bid to secure white interests at the cost of basic freedoms for blacks. Southern Africa expert Professor V L Allen says: "Negotiation is all about meeting white demands."

Meanwhile, as Pretoria strives to contain the damage in the face of growing internal disorder, plunging share prices, the threat of renewed political isolation and the shying away of serious foreign investors, elements ranging from the centre to the Left of European politics are starting to gather to discuss what action to take.

EC ministers will meet in Lisbon at the weekend, and the

issue of sanctions will not be far from their concerns. The opinion that Mr de Klerk must be told to hold full and free elections within six months, otherwise sanctions would be reimposed, is now being held in all but the most right-wing quarters.

And, while Australia and New Zealand have insisted publicly that the violence does not affect their South African tours, there is the barely concealed caveat "for the time being, anyway".

Sport, as Labour MP Peter Hain knows, remains South Africa's Achilles heel, and most efforts are likely to be focused on South Africa's expulsion from the Olympics. Mr Hain has already called for an international campaign to force South Africa out.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement, which a few months ago discussed what amounted to its dissolution, has moved quickly to mount a campaign in response to the crisis in South Africa.

This includes delivering to Mr Major a series of suggestions for action the British government could take, a national "call to action" over Boipatong, an emergency protest march and a mass picket of South Africa House in London.

Like blacks in South Africa, enemies and allies alike are waiting for a single sign that Mr de Klerk is indeed committed to positive change — and is prepared to act against even those closest to him who threaten to disrupt it.

STAR 25/6/72

The political impasse remained unresolved last night when proposals put forward by President de Klerk were immediately rebuffed by the ANC.

Addressing a press conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk proposed a two-day summit between the Government and the ANC, and opened the door to international involvement in investigating political violence.

He was responding, after a Cabinet meeting, to the ANC's decision to pull out of all talks until its demands were met.

**More reports —
Pages 3, 6 and 20**

An ANC statement described the President's response as paltry, and said the proposed summit would serve no purpose.

The ANC said it wanted a meeting with Mr de Klerk only to present its demands.

Mr de Klerk told the press conference the Government had asked for an international assessor to serve on the Goldstone Commission and international experts to evaluate police investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

He said the proposed summit would discuss 14 demands made by the ANC as well as obstacles which have been identified by the Government — mass action, violence, inflammatory rhetoric and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

These talks should have as their purpose the resumption of negotiations to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, as soon as possible.

Responding to the ANC's demand for international involvement, Mr de Klerk sharply rejected "foreign in-

FW's reply

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Shot down

interference in SA's affairs". Goldstone — chairman of the But he welcomed the international community's interest in developments in South Africa and said it was helpful for them "to acquaint themselves with the facts, surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions".

He had asked Mr Justice Goldstone — chairman of the commission of inquiry into political violence — to start his probe into the Boipatong massacre as soon as possible and to arrange at his discretion "for a suitably qualified person of international reputation to join his commission as an assessor."

He said the SAP had asked that "I should request Mr Justice Goldstone to invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy".

He said charges of Government complicity in the massacre "are without any foundation whatsoever and we find it reprehensible".

The ANC statement issued in response to his proposals said the proposed summit "has only propaganda value and will serve no useful purpose. The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC."

It said the Government's rejection of a meaningful role for the international community in monitoring the violence confirms that they have a lot to hide.

Describing Mr de Klerk's response as "paltry", the ANC said "we express our concern that this statement is a diversion from the real plans the Cabinet was hatching throughout the day".

Sacob tries to rekindle talks

By Sven Lünsche

25/6/92

The business sector has launched a major initiative to encourage the immediate resumption of Codesa negotiations.

In a six-point plan announced at a press conference yesterday, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) called for independent monitoring of the policing of violence.

While Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons refused to be drawn on whether there should be international monitors, he said this should be considered as a viable option.

Sacob president Hennie Viljoen said Sacob would seek urgent meetings with the Government, ANC and IFP leaders and "offer its assistance in breaking the political logjam".

"The inability to overcome the current political impasse could lead to further closure of businesses, the withdrawal of investment, a flight of capital and skilled manpower, and further loss of job opportunities," Mr Viljoen said.

THE paradox in the ANC's decision to call off talks and yet still want to inform President F W de Klerk personally of its demands reflects the tenuous position in which the organisation finds itself two years after its unbanning.

Having tried the full gamut of strategies to force the government from power, the ANC leadership finds itself trapped between the militancy of its followers and the obstinacy of government.

The paradox manifests itself at a number of levels. The armed struggle has been suspended, yet ANC officials are killed at will. Exiles are returning, only to face police harassment at home. To cap it, in the midst of the ANC's misery, De Klerk is fettered around the world.

The ANC thrashes about in this political no man's land — issuing ultimatums, making demands yet urging reasonableness. Its resources strained to the limit, its patience tested and its moderates embarrassed, the ANC casts a nervous eye at its constituency and fails to recognise it through the fog of political uncertainty.

A senior national executive committee (NEC) member relates how ANC leaders, facing township audiences, are confronted by new songs — which the leaders do not recognise — calling for guns. In the face of this grassroots militancy, the ANC has little option but to suspend negotiations. It does so, however, with the claim to being the custodian of negotiations, a graphic admission that a negotiated settlement is in the interests of its leadership.

Two visits to Boipatong at the weekend illustrated the challenges and the problems facing the negotiation process.

De Klerk's face-to-face meeting with black anger — an encounter no other NP leader of government has yet experienced — taught government several lessons that will have an impact on negotiations. As a politician that he is, De Klerk under-

Caught between militant supporters and obstinate govt

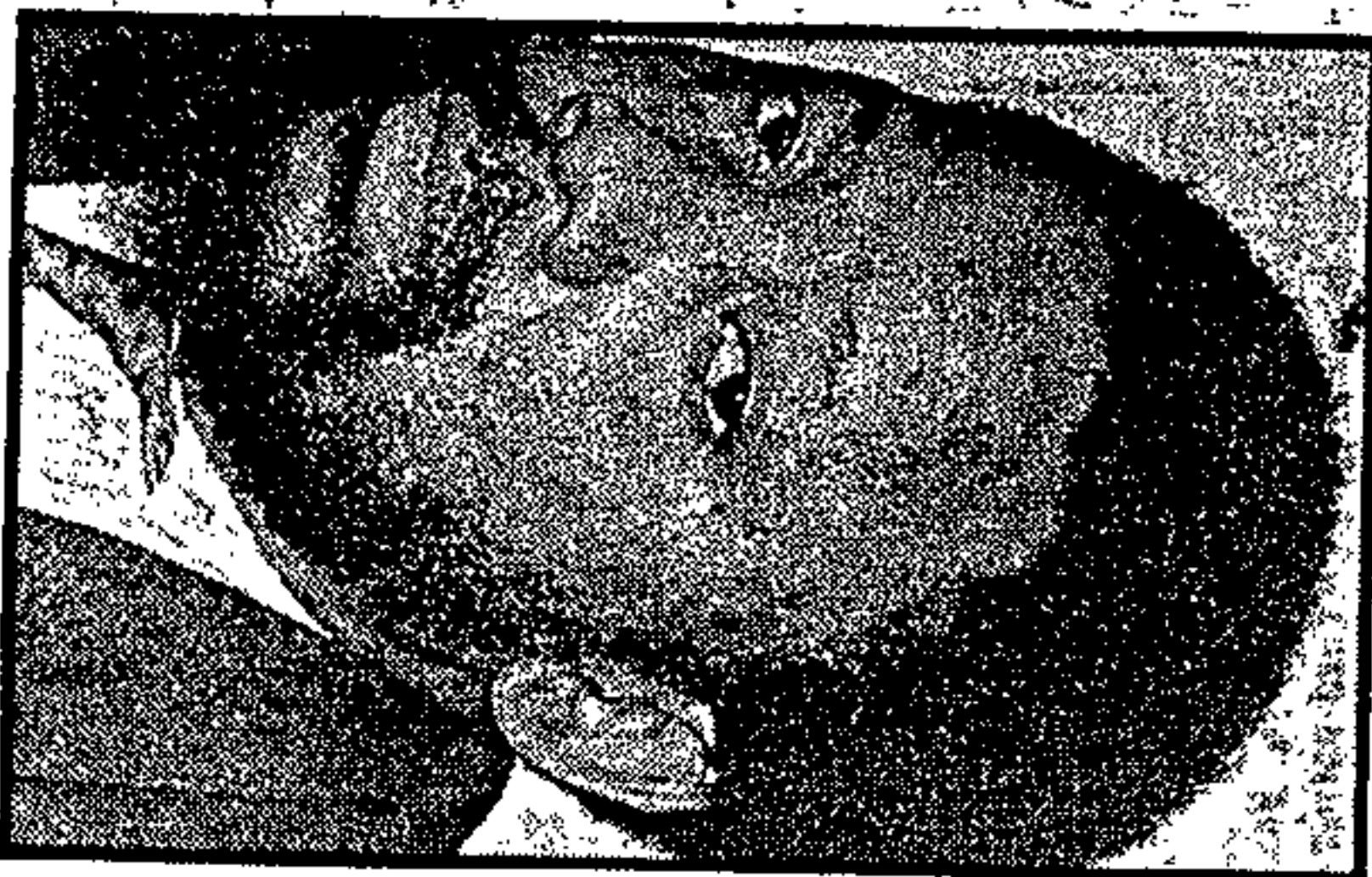
BIOGRAPHY 25/6/92
PATRICK BULGER

estimated black anger at the continuing carnage in the townships and at him as head of state. NP hopes of putting together a winning election alliance appeared in that fleeting visit to be ill-considered. The pressure on government to remove itself from power with the remaining grace it can summon is imperative as black anger rises by the day.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit the following day and the rapturous welcome he received illustrated just as graphically that the ANC and its leader is the only political force in the country with the capacity to control the townships. The alternative is ungovernability and unpopular security measures.

These are hard political facts for the NP to swallow. Yet, even harder to swallow, for the country as a whole, is an agreement with a political leadership divorced from its constituency. This is what government's campaign to undermine the ANC could come to, and it is a development that can only set SA on course for a disastrous confrontation between white diehards and township radicals with nothing to lose.

The ANC's demands contained in this week's NEC statement are "eminently reasonable", secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said. In



RAMAPHOSA

essence they are similar to those linked to the ultimatum the ANC made last year, regarding security matters, and in some respects put SA back to the pre-Codesa era.

Codesa had come to a virtual standstill since the May plenary session and it was generally accepted

that progress in bilateral talks between the ANC and government was necessary before there would be progress at Codesa.

The political challenge facing SA now lies in the resumption of the negotiating process. The ANC will find it difficult to find solid reasons for restarting talks unless De Klerk acts on at least some of the demands presented to him. As with last year's impasse, the demands require that De Klerk puts a distance between himself and the security forces and that he show himself to be impartial in regard to security force conduct.

Whether he is willing or able to do so remains one of the big unanswered questions in SA political life. As with a year ago, Mandela maintains that either De Klerk is behind the violence or that he has no control over his security forces.

Codesa made some progress on the question of joint control of the security forces, but negotiations will remain bedevilled as long as there is a perception that the security forces are less than wholeheartedly committed to a negotiated solution.

It has become a truism to say that negotiations offer SA the only route to democracy. But negotiations can take place both before and after civil wars.

In the next few days government and the ANC will attempt to restart talks. In the meantime, SA's participation in world sport and its return to the international community will remain under threat. The economy will wither as political uncertainty drags on.

The ANC's long-term demand for a democratic constituent assembly is not going to be forgotten or dissipated in compromises that offer anything less than full-blown majoritarian democracy. Government will sooner or later have to test its strength among the electorate. De Klerk's Boipatong visit suggests he has no time to waste.

For the ANC, difficult months lie ahead. It will have to persuade its followers — against all the evidence to the contrary — that government is serious about a negotiated transition to democracy. It will have no chance of success should the township killings continue and should the security forces appear partial to political groupings.

Government will be hard pushed to persuade the international community of its sincerity. It faces a renewed loss of standing among world leaders who effectively granted government a last chance to negotiate itself out of power when De Klerk unbanned the ANC.

De Klerk cannot continue to live on international goodwill indefinitely. The mood of black South Africans is ugly — it will take more than smiles and kind words on his part.

Over the next few months, the militants in the ANC will take maximum advantage of the suspension of negotiations to prove the correctness of street-based confrontation. Should their methods of protest prove more effective in moving government, they will argue strongly against a resumption of negotiations.

In the chaos and economic debilitation that will accompany mass action, precious time will be ticking away. With the negotiators outwitted by circumstance and hidden agendas, it will be left to the warlords to pick up where they left off.

CP calls for emergency to be imposed

PRETORIA — Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP and national leaders, create an alternative forum to Codesa for negotiation, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He told a news conference in Pretoria the CP had warned government Codesa would end in deadlock, because of the way it had been constituted. (3044) (CP)

The CP rejected the notion of the ANC and the SACP determining whites' futures. Thousands of blacks had died since government had unbanned the ANC and SACP, Treurnicht said. (b) (6) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)

CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said the political chaos besetting SA and the low confidence in the country demanded immediate measures to counteract a slump in the economy. "It is clear that the dream of political power-sharing with the ANC has been shattered," he said.

Treurnicht blamed the business world, the media and government, which should have known the ANC would demand a transfer of power.

Unless government gave direction on both the political and economic front, unemployment, liquidations and insolvencies would increase and living conditions would deteriorate.

The CP therefore demanded that government declare a state of emergency, for the sake of security and the protection of

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would help to strengthen confidence in SA, Nolte said. — Sapa.

Diamant: Nats set for win

304A
CT 25/6/92

KIMBERLEY. — The National Party was poised to notch up its first election win outside exclusive white politics in the Diamant by-election yesterday.

A 35% poll was expected. The total poll is therefore expected to be around 11 500 as opposed to the 10 314 votes cast in the 1989 general election which the Labour Party won in a 31% poll.

But a last-minute surge by the LP appeared to have come too late to wipe out a substantial headstart in special votes notched up by an efficient NP campaign machine.

Some 30% of the available voters (9 461) had cast special votes in advance.

The NP leader in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, said a victory would be a forerunner of others, and a defeat of both the LP and ANC. — Sapa



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ANC action could spark civil war, says Buthelezi

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign could lead to civil war.

He called the ANC's actions "the worst kind of political tantrum" imaginable.

He said, in Ulundi, that Codesa was the "only show in town" and thwarting Codesa was akin to trying to thwart mainstream politics. He said the reconstruction of the negotiation process would take place only at tremendous national cost.

"This cost will have to be paid firstly in terms of a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

Enormous economic hardship would result from the ANC's actions which would also impair a future democracy, he said.

Codesa should continue its tasks and the management committee should not cancel its scheduled meeting. Inkatha would call for a plenary session to review what the convention stood for and how to proceed following the latest developments.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, then we must re-examine our options and re-commence negotiations on a different tack," said Buthelezi.

He accused the ANC of portraying the negotiation process as simply between itself and government, when in fact it was a multiparty affair.

Government, the DP and at least seven other parties will attend a Codesa management committee meeting on Monday.

Meanwhile, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the committee's fate was still to be decided on the basis of consultation with the various participants in Codesa.

He said the ANC's withdrawal was a serious blow to the negotiation process and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse quickly.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday there was no question of the party withdrawing from Codesa. "If there is a management committee meeting, we're going."

Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the June 29 meeting, although they were doubtful whether there would be a quorum of two thirds of the 18-member committee.

De Beer said it seemed the ANC remained fully committed to negotiations.

He said in a statement the DP was deeply distressed to hear the ANC was withdrawing from Codesa. "However, this morning's media accounts put matters in a better perspective. It seems the ANC remains fully committed to negotiations, and has already been in touch with government for this purpose. This clearly means that all is not lost."

DP national council chairman David Gant said yesterday the party would hold talks with all political groups to get talks back on track.

He told a meeting in Somerset West the DP was determined to prevent a continuation of the unhealthy, antagonistic political rivalry between the ANC and the NP.

"The intransigent style of the Nationalist government at Codesa, its ramming of bad legislation through Parliament at the last minute, its indifferent attitude towards its accountability for corruption, and its apparent inability to deal with the perpetrators of violence, raise questions as to its competence to govern for another single day and its bona fides at Codesa," Gant said.

"The response by the ANC and the return to protest politics and mass action is short-sighted, dangerous and unconstructive. It may appeal to the masses today, but they will suffer the most from the consequences tomorrow." — Sapa.

Commonwealth ponders sending observers to SA

B/day 25/6/92

304A

Business Day Reporter

THE Commonwealth was considering sending an observer team to SA to help resolve the crisis in the republic, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday.

He said Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall recently had sounded out Commonwealth leaders on the possibility of sending such a team, Sapa-Reuter reports.

"This will be something that evolves over the next few days," said Evans, adding that McDougall was discussing the observer issue with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has called for an international observer team and President FW de Klerk has indicated government might be prepared to accept foreign mediation of the dispute between it and the ANC.

Evans suggested that a team of about 150 people could be sent to sensitive areas to give an objective assessment of incidents.

Diplomats representing nine countries including Australia, Canada and Britain yesterday visited the scene of last week's Boipatong massacre, interviewing survivors and victims.

And the US embassy in Pretoria announced it would observe Mon-

day's day of mourning declared by the ANC and its allies for the victims of the massacre.

Meanwhile, the White House yesterday voiced regrets that the ANC had broken off negotiations, and urged it to return.

"We view the negotiating process as critical to SA's democratic future, so we see the ANC's latest move as regrettable," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.

Sweden said yesterday its intended removal of commercial sanctions could be delayed by the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

Postpone

"It can ... take longer before our sanctions are removed. We shall see," Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas told Swedish radio.

"It depends on how quickly a joint basis for negotiation can once again be found," Af Ugglas said.

Sapa-AFP reports that Dutch parliamentarians are pressing Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers to cancel or postpone his trip to SA in August.

Christian Democrat MP Harry Aarts told the chamber of deputies in a debate on Tuesday that the visit of

such a high-level delegation "would have no sense in the present context". Socialist deputies agreed.

SA's ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz told millions of TV viewers yesterday that the only way to solve SA's problems was by negotiation and it was serving no purpose to stop talking.

Appearing on the MacNeil/Lehrer news hour during evening prime time, Schwarz said: "The government wants peace. The government wants the negotiations to continue."

"Obviously the way to solve it is to be talking. There is not much point in saying we are not going to talk to each other (but) we're going to solve the problem. I think that is really the dilemma that the ANC has."

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday morning delivered a letter to Prime Minister John Major calling for a fundamental reappraisal of British policy towards SA.

Sapa reports the AAM said the letter criticised the British government for exhibiting "remarkable complacency and indifference to the threat which the intransigence of the NP and the escalating violence poses to the negotiation process".

The letter also attacked Major for trying to persuade Mandela not to pull out of talks.

THE SA Council of Churches yesterday joined the ANC-led campaign against government, issuing a July 15 ultimatum for steps to be taken against violence and a resumption of the negotiation process.

SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane was flanked at the Johannesburg news conference by the council's two honorary presidents, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Khoza Mgojo.

The SACC's four demands are the same as

SACC issues ultimatum on violence and Codesa

some of those of the ANC. Unless there was an "assuring response" from government to the demands by July 15, the SACC would embark on a three-pronged international and local campaign.

The campaign would consist of:

- ☐ Calling on the SA Olympic team to pull out of the Olympic Games in Barcelo-

na, "failing which we will call on the world community to ensure that the team is expelled". The same applied to the planned All Black rugby tour in August.

- ☐ "We shall lead our people into acts of peaceful protest ... We shall also defy all repressive measures, even a state of emergency, which the state may be tempted to introduce", and
- ☐ Calling on "all our partners abroad" to demand their governments use all possible pressure to get the SA government to respond to the demands.

Threat to grab homes

RESIDENTS of demolished hostels would simply occupy township homes, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association said yesterday.

Saying the ANC had called for the demolition of hostels, association chairman Joseph Kubeke said his organisation found the demand disturbing.

"The hostels not only house bachelors but families as well. Two hostels, in some blocks, for example Meadowlands and KwaMasiza... have been converted to family units."

Hostel closures would result in more chaos and conflict, he said. "The hostel inmates, should the hostels be destroyed, will simply walk into the location and occupy all those houses. The ANC will be responsible for that." — Sapa.

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Mandela, Botha to see UN chief

De Klerk asks ANC to meet govt for talks

B/day 25/6/92. *(304A)*

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night signalled increased international involvement in SA's political transition and invited the ANC to meet government for two full days of talks.

De Klerk, speaking at a news conference in Pretoria after the Cabinet met to discuss the ANC's withdrawal from constitutional negotiations until a series of violence-related demands were met, opened the way for international monitoring of political violence. This has been a key ANC demand as violence has escalated.

He said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would meet UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali in an unnamed African country.

A diplomatic source confirmed Botha would meet Boutros-Ghali who will be in Dakar, Senegal, for the OAU summit early next week. ANC president Nelson



● DE KLERK

PATRICK BULGER

Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu would also meet Boutros-Ghali.

It is understood the ANC and PAC leaders will try to persuade him to convene a meeting on SA of the UN Security Council. The diplomatic source said Botha would oppose the move and that he would probably be backed by Britain, a permanent Security Council member. He might suggest a compromise in the form of a UN violence-monitoring team which could be in SA within weeks.

The ANC's Gill Marcus confirmed Mandela would discuss convening a UN security council meeting with Boutros-Ghali.

De Klerk said last night a senior Commonwealth diplomat was planning to visit SA. It is believed he was referring to Canadian foreign minister Barbara McDougall, chairman of the Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee on SA.

"The government reiterates its firm stand against foreign interference in SA's affairs," said De Klerk. "We, however, welcome the international community's interest in developments in SA."

"The government has nothing to hide. It is helpful that members of the international community acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions."

□ To Page 2

F W invites ANC *b/day 25/6/92.* *(304A)* From Page 1

De Klerk said he had asked Judge Richard Goldstone "to arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor". The SAP had suggested the judge invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy.

De Klerk called for two full days of talks with the ANC. "We believe that fundamental discussions must be held on the obstacles which have been raised in their statement and also on the obstacles which the government has identified, which include:

- The consequences of the ANC's plan for mass action;
- The current violence in SA;

□ Inflammatory and unacceptable rhetoric; and

□ Defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

The ANC said in reaction last night Mandela would meet De Klerk only to place the ANC's demands before him. The ANC said De Klerk's proposed summit had only propaganda value and would serve no useful purpose. "The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC. Democratic change, and an end to violence, is possible if the steps proposed in the NEC statement are fully addressed," an ANC statement said.

● See Pages 4 and 8

ANC's withdrawal from Codesa 'a political tantrum'

304A

ANC 25/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has attacked the ANC for withdrawing from the Codesa negotiations, saying its decision showed "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

In a statement issued by Kwazulu Chief Minister and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office, the IFP said it deeply regretted the ANC's attempts to frustrate negotiations.

It described as "a pathetic distortion of reality" the organisation's claim that it had started the peace process, as ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on television on Tuesday.

"It is a gross distortion of political reality to present a picture of the negotiation process as one which the ANC can control. The brash presentation of a 14-point ultimatum to the government reflects an alarmingly inflated ANC view of itself as an organisation which can dictate through an ultimatum," said the statement.

Repeating Chief Buthelezi's statement in Ulundi on June 16, the IFP said it was not true that the government was responsible for the deadlock in negotiations but that the ANC had been "politically defeated at Codesa 2".

The statement said that although the government, the ANC and the IFP were "quite capable" of unilaterally destroying Codesa and the negoti-

ation process, South Africans would eventually repair the damage any "of the three major mainstream political forces" could do.

"The ANC's abandoning Codesa and going to the streets to throw delicate negotiation issues beneath mass action mobs is the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable. What they are doing is throwing their political toys out of the cot in some kind of immature political temper."

The IFP, which hoped that national and international opinion would "curb the ANC's irresponsibility", would call for a plenary session of Codesa to review what the negotiating forum stood for and how to proceed in the light of the ANC's withdrawal.

If Codesa was so vulnerable that it could not proceed without the ANC, the other parties would have to examine their options and "recommence negotiations on a different tack".

The IFP said Codesa's management committee meeting scheduled for next Monday — a day designated by the ANC-led tripartite alliance as a "national day of mourning" — had to be held as planned.

The IFP's central committee would hold a meeting on Sunday to decide "how to deal with the ANC and ensure that we can salvage the negotiation process from the disaster into which the ANC is intent upon thrusting it".

CP urges different forum for talks

304A

CT 25/6/92

PRETORIA. — The government should declare a state of emergency and, with the Conservative Party and national leaders, create a different forum than Codesa for negotiation, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He told a news conference here the CP had warned the government that Codesa would end in deadlock because of the way it had been constituted.

The CP rejected the notion of the ANC and the SACP determining whites' future.

"The ANC is organising the violence and the killing of people and then blames the police," he said.

The ANC and SACP aimed to make the country ungovernable, and the country was sinking into chaos.

Dr Treurnicht blamed the business world, the media and the government, which should have known that the ANC would demand a transfer of power.

He said he did not think the police or Inkatha had been responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

The CP will present a new confederacy model for ratification to a general congress in Pretoria on Saturday. — Sapa

DP and others will be at Codesa

JOHANNESBURG. — The governing on June 29, although they were not, the Democratic Party and at least seven other parties would be attending Codesa's management committee meeting on Monday, sources confirmed yesterday.

"There's no question of us withdrawing from Codesa," said DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the meet-

ing on June 29, although they were doubtful there would be a quorum.

The chairman of the Codesa management committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said in Durban that the withdrawal of the ANC was a serious blow to negotiation and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse as quickly as possible.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Magosuthu Buthelezi said at Ulundi

that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign were the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable and could lead to civil war.

UDF leader Mr. Nelson Ramodike said at Lebowaqomo that Lebowa's ruling United People's Front could not see its way clear to continuing negotiations with the government while the killing of black people con-

CF 25/6/92

304A

continued. In Umtata, the Transkei military council "fully endorsed" the decision by the ANC and its allies, including the Transkei, to pull out of the negotiation process.

In Durban, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Sifiso Moodley, said: "If the ANC wants to embark on any action of any kind, it must stick to the accepted principle of consultations." — Sapa

'Keep talking'

(3044)
CT 25/6/92

International door is opened

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a clear bid to break the negotiations deadlock, President F W de Klerk last night took the first step towards international involvement in solving South Africa's spiralling violence.

The President, in a statement issued after a special cabinet meeting to discuss the deepening national crisis sparked by the Boipatong massacre, also called for "two full days" of talks with the ANC "as soon as possible" to end the negotiations logjam.

An ANC spokesman said last night that a date for the top-level talks — at which the ANC would motivate its 14-point list of demands to end violence — had "not yet been secured" but they would take place soon.

Although the State President repeated the government's stand against "foreign interference", he signalled a preparedness to be flexible on a key ANC demand — international monitoring of the violence sweeping the country.

In a move which political observers interpreted as "opening the door" to external involvement, he

referred to the Justice Richard Goldstone had been asked to "arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute" to join his Commission as an assessor.

The SAP had also asked that the judge be asked to invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy.

In another olive branch to the ANC, Mr De Klerk said he had asked the Goldstone Commission to probe the Boipatong killings as soon as possible. The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on SATV's Agenda programme last night: "We are trying to make sure that every problem relating to Boipatong is resolved."

While noting that "foreign interference" was not in the national interest, he acknowledged that "international interest can help the process".

Yesterday the ANC also indicated a flexibility in its position on getting the negotiation process restarted.

Members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) who briefed diplomats and journalists in Cape Town said the ANC would return to the negotiation table if the government addressed its 14 demands with a "serious response".

Despite the conciliatory signs, the ANC signalled clearly that it remained angry with the government over its handling of the wave of violence.

The ANC executive has come under increasing pressure from its grass-roots membership to take a hard-line stance on the violence question, with some arguing that it takes a decisive stand only once NEC members have been murdered.

ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak said the organisation did not regard the meeting of all its demands as a condition for resuming talks at Co-desa.

"We are looking for a signal that the South African government are finally going to take the negotiation process seriously. If there is a serious response from the government to the ANC demands the re-

To page 2



BACK ..
President F W de Klerk arrives at the Union Building Pretoria yesterday to attend an urgent cabinet meeting convene after the ANC announce on Tuesday that it had called of negotiations following the Boipatong massacre last week Mr De Klerk returned early for a trip to Spain to attend yesterday meeting

THE SA



Thumbs up for shared rule

Sowetan 26/6/92

304A

CODESA is in trouble, but the man-in-the-street remains firmly committed to shared rule, according to a Gallup poll in May last year and May this year.

The poll by the Markinor research group, among 1 300 blacks and 1 000 whites, shows most blacks and whites favour a Government in which power is shared by all population groups and in which no one group dominates

another.

The proportion of whites favouring shared rule has risen from little more than half (55 percent) in 1991 to more than two-thirds (69 percent) this year. The proportion of blacks favouring power sharing remains constant at 84 percent.

About 12 percent of blacks want all power in black hands - up from nine percent in 1991.

Nearly a third of whites (29 percent), however, would prefer whites to have a greater say in Govern-

ment than other groups "because they have more experience and knowledge of how to run the country". Last year this figure was 44 percent.

Markinor deputy managing director Ms Christine Woessner said black perceptions remained fairly constant over the year, while white perceptions had undoubtedly been influenced by media coverage of the negotiation process.

"More and more (whites) have come to real-

ise their fortunes hinge on working out a viable political system in a shared South Africa," she said.

The poll showed Xhosa-speakers to be the most polarised group, with 16 percent favouring a black government, compared to nine percent of Zulu-speakers.

Income also affected attitudes, with 17 percent of blacks earning less than R700 a month wanting power in black hands, compared to eight percent of those earning more than R1 250 a month. - Sapa.

NP, ANC at odds over vote result

STAT 26/6/92
The National Party victory in the Diamant by-election in the House of Assembly showed that the writing was on the wall for the Labour Party, the NP said.

The NP said its majority of 2 892 in the election was overwhelming confirmation by voters that negotiations should be continued.

But the ANC said the low percentage poll of 35 percent showed that the majority of coloured voters in the constituency had heeded the organisation's call to boycott Wednesday's by-election.

"The ANC's support remains unshaken by the results in spite of the massive resources and propaganda machinery of the NP," the ANC said.

The organisation added that the true representation of the constituency had yet to be proved in one person, one vote democratic elections.

However, the NP said its victory was "much more remarkable when it is seen against the background that the ANC climbed in wholeheartedly with the LP against the NP".

● The victory FW's been waiting for — Page 15

De Klerk Forced To Flee Boipatong

By David B. Ottaway

BOIPATONG, South Africa — Hundreds of furious residents forced President de Klerk out of this tense black township Saturday, chasing his car through the dusty streets and shouting, "Go away" and "Shoot, shoot."

Shortly after his hasty departure, police opened fire without warning and at close range on a crowd that had gathered in a field inside the township. At least three people were killed and 20 seriously wounded, according to a journalist who witnessed the incident. Armed residents living in nearby homes then responded with sniper fire, leading to a shootout that lasted well over 15 minutes, the witness said.

Foreign diplomats and officials of the African National Congress, the main black group involved in negotiations with de Klerk's government to end South Africa's apartheid system of white rule, said they feared that the recent spate of killings here could help trigger a new black uprising similar to those in 1976 and 1985.

A visibly angry de Klerk told reporters outside Boipatong later that he had been shocked by what he had seen and charged that the protest was a "very efficiently planned" attempt to wreck his visit. He said he would not allow South Africa to slip into a state of anarchy and left open the possibility of reimposing a state of emergency.

"If necessary, and we have tried to avoid it at all costs, we will have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order," he said. Asked whether he meant he was considering a new state of emergency, he replied, "It will be a very sad day if we are forced to go back to that." His government would be examining "various possibilities" but he did not elaborate.

It was the first time he or any other white South African leader had made such a gesture.

The ANC had issued a statement before his arrival denouncing his visit as "a cynical public relations exercise" and saying he was not welcome. "We demand action, not de Klerk's crocodile tears."

Furious residents who blamed his security forces for the massacre were clearly determined to let de Klerk know he was not welcome in the township.

"We don't want to see de Klerk. It's his government killing most black people," said 35-year-old resident Meshak Dekelidi. "We blame him, de Klerk," said Eva Moleofane, 81, who was wearing an ANC cap and T-shirt.

Anger and frustration among ANC supporters has been mounting steadily over the past month,

with township residents growing more vocal in their conviction that de Klerk has been using the security forces to aid the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Most of the townships here in the so-called Vaal Triangle, a heavy industrial center 50 miles south of Johannesburg, already resemble miniature war zones, with rocks and crude stone-and-tree barricades set up along the streets to deter police. Clashes have been increasing between ANC supporters and the security forces or Inkatha members.

Tensions between Inkatha and ANC sympathizers reached their height Wednesday when nearly 200 Zulu residents at a nearby hostel controlled by Inkatha allegedly rampaged through the township,

with township residents growing more vocal in their conviction that de Klerk has been using the security forces to aid the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Numerous residents alleged that local police aided the attackers, by bringing them to the township in armored police carriers and then by escorting them back to the hostel. In addition, they said whites were seen accompanying the killers as they rampaged through the township, and the adjacent Joe Slovo squatter camp.

Last Saturday's confrontation between police and township residents after de Klerk's departure was triggered by the apparent police killing of a man whose body lay in a field surrounded by scores of riot policemen. Residents were seeking to get through the police lines to take the body away when several policemen opened fire, apparently without orders from their

commander. South African journalist Allister Sparks, a former Washington Post special correspondent who witnessed the shooting, said he heard an officer repeatedly shouting in Afrikaans, the language of white Afrikaners, "I told you not to shoot without orders."

Sparks said the crowd had been taunting the policemen when several officers began firing with shotguns, and then others followed. In one case, he said, a policeman was only a yard away from the nearest demonstrators when he opened fire. Sparks said he was pinned down on the ground for at least 15 minutes before he was able to get away. He said he counted "at least three dead" and 20 seriously wounded lying on the ground before he left.

Saturday's incident erupted as de Klerk's motorcade was passing through Boipatong and was besieged by angry residents on Bakoenia Street, where dozens of residents died Wednesday night in this country's worst township massacre in years.

The crowd, which included youths brandishing stones, pressed to within a few feet of the motorcade while scores of plainclothes security men armed with pistols and automatic rifles sought to protect de Klerk. The president sat rigidly in the back seat of his car.

The motorcade then sped off down the dusty township streets to the main road outside, with shouting youths chasing it all the way.

De Klerk had come here to express his condolences to the families of the more than 40 victims who were hacked, speared, and shot to death in Wednesday night's massacre.

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Mr Nelson Mandela speaking at an ANC rally on Sunday

Massacre brings call for South

African Olympics ban

Guardian in *Washington Post*
By David Beresford and Hella Pick

SOUTH AFRICA'S government this week faced a rising chorus of demands for international sanctions to be reinforced and its newly restored foreign sporting links to be suspended in the wake of last week's slaughter in Boipatong squatter camp, in which more than 40 men, women, and children were murdered.

The Commonwealth secretary-general, Emeka Anyaoku, said that the South African government risked a return "to full international ostracism" unless it acted "quickly, effectively, and impartially" to stop the murder of blacks. Although the Zulu-dominated Inkatha movement is suspected in the Boipatong killings, police are accused of supporting them at worst, or at best doing nothing to stop them.

Chief Anyaoku added that the determination of Commonwealth governments, with only Britain excepted, would now be bolstered to maintain financial sanctions against South Africa until agreement was reached on a transitional government in the country.

The ANC's spokesman on sport, Steve Tshwete, said he had a "gut feeling" that the crisis might force the postponement of forthcoming

Australian and New Zealand rugby tours. He added that the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was unlikely to take up his invitation to attend the Olympic Games opening ceremony in Barcelona on July 25.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for the exclusion of South Africa from the Olympics unless President de Klerk allowed the establishment of an international monitoring force and placed the security forces under multi-party control.

"Those who choose to insulate themselves from the suffering and grief caused by this horrific slaughter must realise that they cannot have both a Boipatong and Barcelona," said the Anglican primate of South Africa. "If our Olympic committee does not withdraw the team then it must be expelled from the forthcoming games, and I am calling today on our friends around the world to begin a campaign to achieve that end."

In Washington, congressional spokesmen have told President Bush that the congressional ban on South Africa's membership of the IMF and the World Bank cannot be lifted in present circumstances. In London, anti-apartheid cam-

paigners, led by Labour MP Peter Hain, made an urgent call for the suspension of South Africa from the Olympics. Mr Hain raised the issue as a Commons point of order saying: "Surely after the appalling massacre of black citizens by South African police, the Government should introduce immediate diplomatic sanctions."

But the Foreign Office, although declaring itself "appalled" by the killings in Boipatong, brushed aside the sanctions question. It has appealed to President de Klerk and Mr Mandela to maintain the constitutional negotiations.

In private messages to both leaders, the Government urged them to use the legacy of the township killings to make significant concessions on township policing and the establishment of an interim government.

The Minister for Overseas Development, Lady Chalker, said: "I am still sure that the new basis for co-operation can be made to work." But in an apparent admonition of the South African police, she called for "fair and proper dealing with violent behaviour". This was "as much a hallmark of democracy as free and fair elections".

Mandela calls a halt to talks

Guardian in (w) By David Beresford in Johannesburg

THE CRISIS in South Africa over the latest security force and Inkatha massacres worsened on Sunday when Nelson Mandela — declaring the police were not fit to be regarded as human — announced the ANC was calling off talks with the government.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people," the ANC leader told a rally.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would be reconsidering participation in multi-party talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and he would also seek to address a special session of the UN Security Council on the violence.

"We are now convinced that his [President De Klerk's] method of bringing about a solution to this country is war," the ANC leader said. "We are going to respond to that."

The foreign minister, Pik Botha, appealed to the ANC for an urgent meeting to discuss the massacre, saying "there is no alternative to negotiation." In Washington, the US secretary of state, James Baker

called for a resumption of the talks.

The ANC decision came after an extraordinary succession of events in the Transvaal township of Boipatong beginning with last week's massacre of 42 people by Inkatha and culminating on Saturday with police killing three more residents in front of the world's press after President de Klerk had been forced to flee (report, page 17). Mr Mandela announced the suspension of talks during a visit to Boipatong. Touring the houses and shacks where the massacre took place, he was surrounded by crowds singing: "Mandela, give us guns."

Several thousand dancing supporters gathered on the township's dusty sports field to hear him say of the police: "I am convinced that we are no longer dealing with human beings, but with animals." He added that he had never seen such cruelty as had been carried out at Boipatong.

At a bigger rally later, Mr Mandela said: "The negotiation process is completely in tatters." The country was back in "Sharpeville days," he added.

"The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr de Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa, but to the National Party. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

In an apparent reference to a possible state of emergency Mr Mandela warned Mr de Klerk that the introduction of anti-democratic measures would result in his leading a defiance campaign.

The suspended talks are thought to be the most important forum for the constitutional talks going on. But Codesa has more symbolic importance and an ANC decision to pull out of it could force its collapse, and effectively end negotiations.

There had been horrific scenes in Boipatong the day after the massacre as police and mortuary attendants carted away corpses of men, women, and children.

Stunned residents washing blood off their floors and boarding up broken windows described how relatives and friends died.

Belina Lerobane, aged 58, said she was hiding under her bed when

she heard her aged mother being stripped by the killers before being stabbed to death. "I heard the man say they wanted ANC [African National Congress] members."

Elizabeth Kolatswewu said her sister-in-law, Elisa Mbatia, banged on her door. "I could hear her children crying next door. I opened my door and she fell on the floor. She had been stabbed and chopped on her neck. She died there on the floor." Her baby was strapped to the dead woman's back.

In another street a mother was lying with her nine-month-old infant clasped to her breasts; both had been stabbed to death. On the next block a year-old child lay dead.

Mr de Klerk expressed revulsion at the "mindless killing" and said: "We will not rest until we have found the perpetrators of this shocking act and have brought them to justice." Police and government inquiries are planned.

A spokesman for the ministry of law and order said the ANC's recently launched mass action campaign "undoubtedly created a climate in which it is easier for such incidents to take place".

CONSPIRACY THEORY

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FM 26/6/92

The ANC claims it has unearthed an NP plot to prevent the ANC from ever governing on its own. In an article to be published in the July edition of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, it is claimed that there are two linked covert operations, code-named Springbok and Thunderstorm, and run by the Department of Military Intelligence.

The operations allegedly aim to weaken the ANC physically through sowing black-on-black violence and creating a climate of uncertainty. This would then be perceived by blacks as being the direct result of the ANC's unbanning. The result would be to weaken the ANC and force it into a coalition.

The source of the conspiracy claim is an unnamed ANC intelligence official.

A spokesman for Defence Minister Gene Louw says he has "no knowledge of these so-called plans." Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze says he has no knowledge of a government or NP plan to orchestrate violence and promote destabilisation and anarchy. "In fact it is our avowed intent to do exactly the opposite," says Kotze.

He adds that the ANC should submit any evidence of operations of this kind to an independent body such as the Goldstone Commission and that it is particularly important to avoid unsubstantiated claims in the present tense climate.

Not so fast

Peace, but not at any price: that seems to be the position of KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He is stepping up pressure for a new constitution embracing devolution and federalism.

In the presence of President F W de Klerk in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, Buthelezi warned that though he had been committed to peace throughout his 30 years in politics, he could see a "dark cloud on the horizon" and, if the position persisted, he could see himself "leading his people through those dark waters."

He accused the ANC of reducing delicate negotiations to mob politics. Those in the political know, he said, are aware that calls for strikes, stayaways and boycott action fail in SA unless accompanied by intimidation and disruption of public transport. He said it was totally irresponsible to call for mass action at a time of escalating violence.

While endorsing the right of the ANC and its allies to protest, Buthelezi added that "we also claim the right to protest and demonstrate our anger at political injustice ... to this end, the Zulu nation will resort to every possible course of action to oppose Codesa decisions to which we are not party."

"We already have the complication that mobilisation of mass opinion in support of KwaZulu's participation (at Codesa) will

cont.

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(304A)

begin to emerge with the mass action we take, to claim our right not to be dragooned into ANC tactics and strategies ... The complexity of the issues will grow. We will be launching strong drives to popularise federalism. The ANC will oppose these."

Buthelezi's push for federalism is emphasised in the new IFP publication *The Democrat*, which states that the concept is central to the way forward if SA is to be a better place with a strong economy and the right approach to the distribution of political power in society.

If there is an all-powerful central government of the type sought by the ANC, says *The Democrat*, the country will be doomed to permanent instability and failed democracy.

If Buthelezi has as much support for federalism as he claims, the issue will not die in a hurry. And he is likely to gain substantially more allies on this issue than he has over the inclusion of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Perhaps it is time for the federal option to be properly debated. ■

The victory FW's been waiting for

STAR 26/6/92

(254) (304A) (11A)

THE LABOUR Party would lose every seat it holds in the House of Representatives with this gigantic swing against it of 55 percent across the country. No "white" by-election has ever shown a swing of this size.

This is the end for Labour as any kind of political force. And it is no good LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse blaming the previous MP or anything else. This is the political earthquake President F W de Klerk has wrought in this country — and this election is undeniable proof.

The NP would win all 80 seats in the House and would take the five nominated seats as well. Labour would lose every one of the 69 it won in 1989.

It is likely that more than 70 percent of the coloureds would vote Nationalist. The main drawback to this prognosis is that the Diamant constituency is a country constituency, with some local factors. This could mean a slightly smaller swing nationwide than the 55 percent seen, but it is marginal.

Mr de Klerk is a political genius. He has achieved the impossible in two years. People of colour are flocking to vote for the NP in great numbers but Mr de Klerk has held on to the most conservative of white voters who see him as their only hope.

If Mr de Klerk can win a third of black votes, he will have enough with the tricameral votes to win a non-racial election and rule South Africa against the ANC.

The National Party's victory in this week's House of Representatives by-election shows that the majority of coloureds will support the NP in a nonracial election, writes political scientist DONALD SIMPSON.

Nevertheless, 70 percent of coloured people look set to vote NP and over 85 percent of Indians would also do so. The Democratic Party is evaporating. The Conservative Party cannot poll its full vote in a nonracial election, but some of its voters, opinion polls say, would vote for Inkatha rather than the NP.

In an election under universal franchise, with proportional representation, the NP would win 20 of the 26 seats that coloured voters could expect to "win". The ANC would get only six of these. The LP would not qualify for any seats under a 1 percent threshold, and would cease to exist in the new South Africa.

What a narrow escape the inexperienced young Kimberley ANC branch had. They got into bed with Mr Hendrickse and performed an unnatural political act with the electorally wise LP.

They might well have contracted a terminal political illness. In this new permissive climate for liberation movements, doing previously forbidden things, this is very exciting but potentially very dangerous.

The ANC can claim unconvincedly that the missing votes — 20 000 — are all ANC supporters heeding its equivocal message not to vote. However,

in Kimberley, this most liberal of platteland cities, many NP supporters did not want to support "South Africa's last ethnic election". Certainly in the very mixed suburbs of Kimberley, to go to vote when your wife and neighbour do not have the privilege is not quite yet on.

The ANC did increasingly back the LP, but its supporters and the voters of the Diamant constituency showed more wisdom and maturity. They kept out of the artificial and irrelevant poll, as they did in 1984 and 1989. They are waiting for the real thing, where their votes will not be able to be analysed on a racial basis.

The extraordinary performance of mixing liberation and tricameral politics, in a vain bid for a short-term political fix, makes them look reassuringly much like their Afrikaner NP brothers.

Will the LP be able to function at Codesa? It is the apartheid creation with the most credibility; it stopped P W Botha where no one else could. It was independent to an extent.

However, all the parties at Codesa, except the NP and the ANC, know that they are going the way of the LP. We are heading for a two-party system, unless the Azanians win a few seats to balance the CP. □

Moment of truth for Mr de Klerk

Guardsman (in w/w) 26/6-2/7/92 (3047)
BOIPATONG—this name will now join Sharpeville and Soweto in ap-
palled world memory. The massa-
cre on Wednesday night last week
had already struck a deep chord of
black suffering. The 42 who died
joined the ranks of eight thousand
over the past two years, very many
at the hands of the Inkatha move-
ment, with its strong connections to
the white regime. What happened
on Saturday resonates on an even
more acute wavelength. The se-
quence of events showed confusion
rather than—as on the Wednesday
—the strong hint of premeditation
or the turning of an official blind
eye. But this only sharpens the
question: How can an inherently
violent regime seek to defer change
on the grounds that black majority
rule would be more violent?

Another circumstances resignation
would be the only appropriate per-
sonal gesture for Mr de Klerk.
Nelson Mandela, already under
enormous pressure from his own
rank and file, on Sunday said he
was suspending the ANC's talks
with the government, in language
which also showed uncontrollable
outrage. It is doubtful now whether

Briefly last year Mr de Klerk seemed
shaken by the allegations of a "third
force" seeking to destabilise the
black-white political dialogue. But
his attitude hardened again along
with his position in that dialogue. It
is hardly surprising if the ANC ac-
cuses the President of personal
complicity as long as he will not face
the real enemy within.

The possibility of racial civil war
in South Africa has become very
real. The Western governments who
took Mr de Klerk at his own best
valuation now have to speak to him
very clearly. On the political front,
the National Party must make the
concessions in the Codesa negotia-
tions which will remove the suspi-
cion that they intend to hang on to
power indefinitely, and bring back
the ANC to the table. On the secu-
rity front, the guilty—whether
Inkatha, police, or security forces—
have to be apprehended and
charged. The suggestion that in-
ternational peace monitors should
be invited to the townships should
be acted on. To achieve all this, Mr
de Klerk may need a revolution in
his party. But that is far, far better
than a revolution in the country.

A new watershed

By David Beresford (in w/w) 26/6-2/7/92 (3047)
BOIPATONG is not the sort of place
where one would expect to witness
the founting of a noble enterprise.
A small community of tiny brick
houses and tin shacks tucked away
behind the belching chimney stacks
and waste dumps of a giant iron
and steel foundry, the place is rep-
resentative of the thinking which
lay behind the placement of hun-
dreds of such townships scattered,
and for the most part hidden, across
the South African countryside. Out
of sight, out of mind...

Today, of course, with the help of
the cameras which have done so
much to destroy the fantasies of
apartheid's planners, the name of
Boipatong is not only on the
national, but the international
consciousness. Boipatong, where a
pregnant woman was killed and
mutilated so horribly, where a little
baby was stabbed to death; where
40 others died last week. But above
all Boipatong will be remembered
as the place where the country's
head of state had to flee for his life
on Saturday; and where three more
lives sacrificed to police guns yielded

Continued on page 6

A new watershed for South Africa

Guardsman (in w/w) 26/6-2/7/92 (3047)
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quoting diplomats on the inevita-
bility of international pressure for
action against Pretoria.

But perhaps of even more impor-
tance are the domestic
repercussions, the most striking of
which is the fact that in those brief
hours on Saturday the govern-
ment's entire strategy to lead South
Africa into a democratic era (if such
a strategy is to be believed) was
almost completely destroyed. Sat-
urday's incidents came just a few
days after the ruling National Party
had finalised plans to mount an
intense electoral campaign in the
country's townships, in an attempt
to sell themselves as a non-racial
party to rival the ANC.

Without hope of making inroads
on the ANC's township support
there would appear to be little
chance of the de Klerk administra-
tion breaking the deadlock at the
constitutional talks, over their de-
mands for a 25 per cent minority
veto. Which leaves them danger-
ously cornered and gives ominous
overtones to remarks Mr de Klerk
made to reporters after fleeing
Boipatong: "Maybe we should be
asking whether the violence can
be coupled to the un-banning of
the ANC and the South African
Communist Party... We will not

fire on unarmed men, women, and
children.
If Boipatong does not spell an end
to the reform process credit will
probably be due—somewhat per-
versely—to the ANC, which is
currently making such a fuss over
it. And reason for saying that can
be illustrated by the product of yet
another of those intrusive cameras
which give such insights into the
South African condition.

This particular picture fitted
rather oddly among the lurid
photographs of bloody carnage
splattered across the pages of
South Africa's Sunday
newspapers. It was a birthday
picture.

The rest are well-heeled
businessmen, a "financial whizz-
kid," a successful stockbroker, and
one Sol Kerzner—who has made
his particular fortune by creating
a gambling empire, including the
notorious Sun City, out of South
Africa's inherently corrupt
bantustans system.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times,
which published the birthday pic-
ture, takes an almost malicious
delight in "exposing" ANC leaders
with cheap digs of the "socialist
sends-his-kids-to-an-elite-public-
school" variety. And it must be said
that Mr Mbeki's company was no
choice of his; it was a surprise.

joined the ranks of eight thousand over the past two years, very many at the hands of the Inkatha movement, with its strong connections to the white regime. What happened on Saturday resonates on an even more acute wavelength. The sequence of events showed confusion rather than—as on the Wednesday—the strong hint of premeditation or the turning of an official blind eye. But this only sharpens the question: How can an inherently violent regime seek to defer change on the grounds that black majority rule would be more violent?

In other circumstances resignation would be the only appropriate personal gesture for Mr de Klerk. Nelson Mandela, already under enormous pressure from his own rank and file, on Sunday said he was suspending the ANC's talks with the government, in language which also showed uncontainable outrage. It is doubtful now whether

and somehow a road has to be found back to dialogue. Mr Mandela's suspension of talks is not the same as termination. It has been said that, where governments are concerned, they should be assumed guilty until proven innocent. And, if ever a government owed it to the world to discharge the onus of proof, it is surely the one, justifiably reviled for so long, in Pretoria. The debt has been compounded, twice, in Boipatong. Threats of a state of emergency lead further in the direction of disaster. If Mr de Klerk is to stay in office with any credibility, he must change course very fast. Let credit of a sort be given to the president for seeking to express his regrets for the original massacre. But it was naive and condescending to suppose that a personal visit would not be seen as a provocation. The much publicised police raids on the KwaMandela Zulu encampment had not resulted in a single arrest.

is hardly surprising if the ANC accuses the President of personal complicity as long as he will not face the real enemy within. The possibility of racial civil war in South Africa has become very real. The Western governments who took Mr de Klerk at his own best valuation now have to speak to him very clearly. On the political front, the National Party must make the concessions in the Codesa negotiations which will remove the suspicion that they intend to hang on to power indefinitely, and bring back the ANC to the table. On the security front, the guilty—whether Inkatha, police, or security forces—have to be apprehended and charged. The suggestion that international peace monitors should be invited to the township should be acted on. To achieve all this, Mr de Klerk may need a revolution in his party. But that is far, far better than a revolution in the country.

houses and tin shacks tucked away behind the belching chimney stacks and waste dumps of a giant iron and steel foundry, the place is representative of the thinking which lay behind the placement of hundreds of such townships scattered, and for the most part hidden, across the South African countryside. Out of sight, out of mind. . . . Today, of course, with the help of the cameras which have done so much to destroy the fantasies of apartheid's planners, the name of Boipatong is not only on the national, but the international consciousness. Boipatong, where a pregnant woman was killed and mutilated so horribly, where a little baby was stabbed to death; where 40 others died last week. But above all Boipatong will be remembered as the place where the country's head of state had to flee for his life on Saturday, and where three more lives sacrificed to police guns yielded

that gives Boipatong its significance, however horrific it may have been—recent South African history has been littered with too many such massacres to make even the loss of 42 lives of more than passing political importance. But the timing and circumstances of Saturday's events give promise that Boipatong will long be remembered as a watershed in South African affairs, which could radically affect the entire reform programme. There are a number of levels at which Boipatong is likely to have major repercussions, perhaps most obviously at the international. South African newspapers reported at the weekend that cabinet ministers were steeling themselves for a worldwide outcry. "A pall of gloom settled on the government as it realised the full impact of President de Klerk's Waterloo at Boipatong," one political correspondent observed

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A new watershed for South Africa

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is out of the reach of even the most sophisticated government PR exercise.

Without hope of making inroads on the ANC's township support there would appear to be little chance of the de Klerk administration breaking the deadlock at the constitutional talks, over their demands for a 25 per cent minority veto. Which leaves them dangerously cornered and gives ominous overtones to remarks Mr de Klerk made to reporters after fleeing Boipatong. "Maybe we should be asking whether the violence can be coupled to the un-banning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party. . . . We will not allow this country to fall into a state of anarchy. . . . We have tried to avoid it at all costs, but we have to look beyond the present (security) measures to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of men, women and children in our country." He was speaking before his police had managed to disgrace themselves once again, by opening

If Boipatong does not spell an end to the reform process credit will probably be due—somewhat perversely—to the ANC, which is currently making such a fuss over it. And reason for saying that can be illustrated by the product of yet another of those intrusive cameras which give such insights into the South African condition. This particular picture fitted rather oddly among the lurid photographs of bloody carnage splattered across the pages of South Africa's Sunday newspapers. It was a birthday picture, taken at a party in Johannesburg's northern suburbs to celebrate the 50th year of one of the ANC's most popular and outstanding leaders, Thabo Mbeki, and shows him beaming happily in the middle of some curious company. On one side is the veteran anti-apartheid activist, Helen Suzman, on the other the Communist Party chief, Joe Slovo

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But perhaps of even more importance are the domestic repercussions, the most striking of which is the fact that in those brief hours on Saturday the government's entire strategy to lead South Africa into a democratic era (if such a strategy is to be believed) was almost completely destroyed. Saturday's incidents came just a few days after the ruling National Party had finalised plans to mount an intense electoral campaign in the country's townships, in an attempt to sell themselves as a non-racial party to rival the ANC. After Boipatong they need not bother. The campaign could, possibly, have survived President de Klerk's humiliation at being driven out of the township—the Nationalists were always adept at exploiting such incidents. But the subsequent murderous fusillade by police gave the protesters a credibility which

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NOT for the first time, President FW de Klerk holds the fate of South Africa in his hands. Following the African National Congress' rebuff of his offer of a two-day summit to talk about obstacles to the resumption of negotiations, De Klerk has two options.

He can either lay aside his distaste of "ultimatum politics" and seriously address the ANC's 14 preconditions for a return to negotiations.

Or he can declare a State of Emergency, lock up Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership, and forge a deal with what is left of Codesa after the walk-out by the ANC and its eight allies.

Voices within the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party—even within his own cabinet—are urging the latter course.

But De Klerk is too well-schooled a student of the follies of his predecessor to do a repeat performance of PW Botha repression; too pragmatic a politician to abandon entirely the high ground that he has fought hard for these past three years; and too mindful of international opinion to tell the world to get lost.

Perhaps he will persist with the middle path approach he revealed at his press conference on Wednesday night, appearing to respond reasonably to the ANC while attempting to recapture the moral high ground.

Unfortunately, that easy option has gone. Boipatong was in every sense a township massacre too many.

One massacre too many, FW

*Willard 26/6-2/7/92
How President FW de Klerk responds to the present political crisis will determine the fate of South Africa. He needs the courage he displayed in February 1990. argues PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK*

The international community, quietly easing out of what was starting to look like a not very interesting debate between "federalism" and "winner takes all majoritarianism", has been shocked back to attention.

The South African question has not been "resolved". The leopards of the National Party have not changed their spots.

No matter how reprehensible he views the suggestion, there is a widespread perception that De Klerk has the blood of Boipatong on his hands.

An important lesson that the NP has failed to realise about the ANC response is that it is not sim-

ply a matter of political expediency. The ANC is reflecting the sentiments of its followers in the townships who have been at the receiving end of the violence.

As Mandela told a rally in Evaton on Sunday: "We can no longer explain to our people why we are talking to a regime that continues to murder our people."

Some leaders at the ANC National Executive Committee meeting this week urged that now was not the time to walk away from negotiations. They argued that it was precisely the time to get in and extract concessions from a weakened NP.

That would have been the most expedient path. But the ANC leadership was vigorously reminded by tramping around Boipatong that it ignores its base at its peril.

De Klerk himself came face to face with that consideration on Saturday when he witnessed the fury of Boipatong from inside his car. It was a journey that elevated Boipatong from being just another township massacre to becoming a turning point in our politics.

Simply to respond, as De Klerk did, that they were put up to it by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress exposed how sorely out of touch and badly advised the president is.

Perhaps that explains why De Klerk has so far underestimated the volatility of the townships, why he has underestimated the will of the ANC not to allow itself to be politically outmanoeuvred, and why he has overestimated the new mood of acceptance of the international community.

In the end, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the ANC will have to find its way back to the negotiating table.

Yes, but not on terms that compromise democracy and emasculate the ANC. And not while nothing is done to stop the murderers of ordinary black people.

Which brings one to the demands that the ANC has made.

What they amount to is forcing the government to take the carnage in the townships seriously. If it looks like a repeat of the April 1991 ultimatum it is because the conditions of violence are, incredibly, the same after all this time.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa stressed that all the demands were "do-able".

Those concerning the hostels have already been agreed, and simply await implementation.

The prosecution of security force personnel such as General CP van der Westhuizen, head of Military Intelligence, who have been implicated in murder and other misdeeds, is simply a call to start applying the common law of the country.

As for disbanding 32 Battalion, Judge Richard Goldstone has already recommended that they not be deployed in the townships.

The ANC is quite right to say that there should be no more talking about these questions. People are impatient for action.

As for an international inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, De Klerk made some important concessions on Wednesday, allowing an assessor at the Goldstone Commission and an international review of the police investigation.

A bigger battle lies ahead in the ANC's demand for international monitoring of the township violence.

Yet collectively the ANC's demands offer De Klerk an easy way back from the brink.

He would be foolish to squander another opportunity, as he did at Codesa II when he believed that time was on his side.

This time De Klerk and the NP need to clutch at the life-raft that has been thrown for them. But he should go even further.

He needs to restore trust, even if he will never again be hailed by the township comrades in the way that he was after February 1990.

He should declare that the NP is willing to accept democracy as it is normally understood, and that it is not committed to tricky power-sharing manoeuvres that will retain the NP permanently in power irrespective of the verdict of the electorate.

That is De Klerk's one way of undermining the mass action campaign that has him so bothered. He can prove that its premise, that he is not about to surrender power to the democratic process, is fallacious.

If he did that, he would clear the air at Codesa so that its work will not be bedevilled by the constant suspicion that there is a double agenda at work.

The win in the House of Representatives seat of Diamant on Wednesday and the NP's recruitment meeting in the black township of Ikageng prove that there is a political route for the party that does not have to involve hit squads and violence to weaken the NP's opponents, and rigged constitutions to ensure a role in government.

As he sits down to ponder his options to overcome the crisis, there is a route for FW de Klerk.

It is a hard one, perhaps requiring the same courage as it took when he stood up to address parliament on February 2 1990. But it will be equally important for the future of this country.

De Klerk refuses to be 'bulldozed'

Sowetan 26/6/92

(304A)

THE Government will not be bulldozed into a constitution which is not suited to the complexity and needs of this country, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

He said this in a speech read on his behalf by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, during the opening of KwaNdebele's fourth session of the third Legislative Assembly at KwaMhlanga.

"Ultimatums and steamroller tactics merely complicate matters," he said in an apparent reference to the ANC's latest demands.

De Klerk said it was a pity that Codesa 2 did not result in a real breakthrough. The reasons why it could not be achieved were much more complex than those advanced in the simplistic propaganda which was now being waged.

De Klerk said Codesa now faced a tremendous challenge.

"It must overcome the setbacks and deadlocks of Codesa 2. Now, even more than before, there rests a great responsibility on the shoulders of every political leader. We must keep negotiations on track.

"We must keep our people informed and motivated for the process of peaceful constitutional reform. We need to discourage them from any acts or deeds which may impact negatively on peaceful negotiations."

De Klerk, who was reported to be in an urgent meeting with his Cabinet in Pretoria, called on all leaders to refrain from inciting their followers.

"Unfortunately certain leaders and political organisation have apparently decided to do exactly the opposite. They have embarked upon smear campaigns, disruptive actions and strategies which militate against the very essence of negotiation," De Klerk said.

He added that constitution-making was an arduous and difficult process especially in a country as diverse and complex as ours.

"Therefore, delays, disappointments, differences and even deadlocks are bound to occur from time to time. That is both natural and inevitable.

"The Government will not be bulldozed into a constitution which is not suited to the complexities and the needs of our country and the diverse interests of all its people."

He added that the Government was not clinging to power for as long as possible as alleged.

"We are anxious to move to power sharing in the shortest possible time. What we are not prepared to do is to exchange one form of domination with just another form of domination."

PARLIAMENT

A hollow move

With negotiations seemingly in tatters after the Boipatong massacre, and the country facing its worst crisis in years as township violence escalates, government's bid to gain political advantage by recalling parliament in October is crumbling.

President F W de Klerk announced last week that parliament would reconvene for a second session on October 12 irrespective of progress made in talks at Codesa. However, unless agreement is reached at Codesa, it is unlikely that draft legislation to facilitate a political transition will be ready in time for the session. In that case, says De Klerk, the short session will be used to "review the state of affairs" and consider what measures government should take.

With the future of Codesa in the balance as the FM went to press, this seemed the most likely task facing MPs in October — and the session may become a watershed in politics.

De Klerk's decision to call it was made just before the Boipatong killings and was apparently aimed at putting pressure on the ANC to abandon mass action and return to the negotiating table. By announcing the recall of parliament in October to pass laws for a transitional authority, De Klerk tried to por-

tray the ANC as the obstacle to rapid progress. In effect he was saying that while government was willing to negotiate at Codesa, the ANC was more interested in street protest.

Two days previously, De Klerk attacked the "aggressive tone and conflict style" of recent ANC statements which he described as contrary to the spirit of "honest negotiations" to which the ANC and its allies had bound themselves at Codesa. He said there was no reason to believe further progress towards a transitional phase could not be achieved fairly quickly at Codesa.

"It is not true that government is clinging to power at all costs for as long as possible. Government is committed to the establishment of a transitional government as quickly as can be achieved in a responsible manner," he added. ■

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Moderates knocked

CP hardliners this week were pushing for the expulsion of at least four of the party's moderate MPs before this weekend's crucial policy conference in Pretoria. The four are said by caucus sources to be on the verge of either quitting or being booted out. They are Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Chris de

Jager (Bethal), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron).

The position of Pienaar, the party's Free State leader, is believed to be particularly tenuous. The four are alarmed by the failure of the CP leadership to realise the crisis which the party faces in a rapidly changing political scene. They are spearheading attempts to move the CP towards full-scale multiparty negotiations either at Codesa or in a similar body.

However, the effective suspension of the ANC's participation in Codesa following last week's Boipatong massacre has shaken some CP moderates who are now unsure of when and how to move forward. It has also undermined the position they were planning to take at the policy congress and is likely to strengthen the hand of the hardliners headed by deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

The four dissidents believe a recently published CP policy document offers the party no hope of playing a significant role in SA's political future.

The latest crisis was brought to a head by former CP MP Koos van der Merwe in an attack that highlighted the hardline/moderate split. In his first speech in parliament since he was kicked out of the CP in April, Van der Merwe said there was nothing wrong with the party and its supporters but the leadership was "wandering around in a deadend street without a plan."

Cont →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

He said he still believed self-determination was the key to solving SA's problems and though CP leaders claimed to do so too, their interpretation of the policy was that it gave a small white minority the right to rule over the majority based on apartheid laws.

He said CP leaders still did not appreciate the significance of President F W de Klerk's reforms, which were the end of the old order "whether we like it or not." It was now

necessary to operate under the rules of the new order to achieve objectives.

"The new order demands that politicians develop new, realistic strategies to remain relevant in the changing circumstances and this is where the CP leaders have fallen short."

The CP's latest policy document proved how out of touch it was with changing circumstances. Its leaders still believed there

would be another white election which they could win and that 87% of SA belonged to Afrikaners.

Van der Merwe said a broad moderate alliance was needed to oppose the ANC in the first democratic election which he expected within the next year. He regarded the ANC as "enemy number one" and believed all other interparty differences should be put aside until the ANC was beaten. ■

DAKAR - Hunting for the men from Pretoria has been a little game played - sometimes very seriously - by journalists, lobbyists and diplomats attending the Organisation of African Unity meeting in the Senegalese capital.

Are the South African diplomats here or not here? Have they been invited or not? So far the answer to these frequently-asked questions has been in the negative.

And it looks destined to stay that way through not only the preliminary meeting of the OAU foreign ministers but also the heads-of-government that follows it.

One senior official of a South African liberation movement even went searching in the corridors of the huge King Fahd Complex, venue of the summit, for a South African official who, he understood, was giving an interview to a local television crew just around the corner. It turned out to be a man from the SABC.

The liberation man said there were rumours that South African Government officials were already in town and that their African

Hunt for SA at OAU goes on

By BARNEY MTHOMBOHI
Sowetan Africa
News Service

friends were ready to spring them on the ANC and PAC - who have observer status - in one of the plenary sessions.

Embarrass

If that were to happen, the man said, the liberation movements would walk out of the summit. That could greatly embarrass the OAU and even provoke a split within the organisation which it is doubtful it could ever survive.

At one stage it was strongly rumoured in Dakar that Mr Neil van Heerden, the South African director-general of Foreign Affairs, was in the city, but

keeping out of sight. Diplomatic sources elsewhere in Africa supported the rumour. But the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria laughed at it and insisted Van Heerden was right there in the Union Buildings.

In any event, South Africa is said to have lobbied long and hard for an invitation and some of its increasing band of friends in Africa were hopeful that even if South Africa was not invited this time the ground would be prepared for its eventual admission. That is until Boipatong intervened.

Then there was talk of dragging South Africa before the UN Security Council to resume its old place in the dock.

Was it realistic for the South African Government to expect an invitation from the OAU in the first place?

Senegalese

26/6/92

3044

Pretoria would probably say it was, having dined and wined representatives of many African countries in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria - not to mention the Kruger National Park.

And then there was President de Klerk's official visit to Nigeria, where Die Stem was played for the first time in an independent African state.

Equal

That was surely the icing on the cake, with an OAU chairman receiving De Klerk in his own country and describing him as the moral equal of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Steve Biko.

And then from Nigeria the baton of the continent's leadership passes on to Senegal, another country with cordial relations with the

South African Government.

There should therefore be no obstacle to South Africa being given the nod by the OAU, at least to be present as an observer at Dakar.

The problem though for the South African Government is that, despite February 2 1990 and all that followed, none of its friends has the courage to break ranks and back their private friendships with public action.

The issue of South Africa is still clouded with deep emotions and the ongoing violence, especially massacres such as Boipatong, undermines the Government's case - and it embarrasses her friends.

Mr Pik Botha came here a few days ago looking for an invitation to the summit. Apparently the Nigerians

had told him invitations were the business of the host nation, Senegal. The Senegalese, in turn, referred him back to Nigerian President Babangida, as the current chairman. And so South Africa was left in limbo.

Knockout

After doing so well diplomatically out of Nigeria's chairmanship of the OAU, they just couldn't achieve the coup de grace, the knockout punch that would have seen the party that gave us apartheid and its attendant polecat status finally and irrevocably taking the country back into the international fold.

The circle would have been rounded and doubts about the irreversibility of the process quashed for ever.

But the South African

Government can at least derive some satisfaction from the fact that, for the first time, its absence from an OAU summit is being questioned.

At his Press conference on Sunday the OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim was repeatedly asked by journalists from Senegal's state-controlled media why South Africa had not been invited.

The questions seemed to annoy him. He did not disguise his surprise at a suggestion that De Klerk should have been invited since Mandela will also be here.

One could sympathise with him. He has to punt an OAU line on South Africa for which his current chairman does not even try to disguise his contempt.

The message to the South African Government seems to be: Push by all means, but don't push too hard, lest you break the door.

The key to admission to the OAU is back home, not in Dakar. It is in finding an accommodation with the black majority.

The OAU seems to agree that Codesa is a suitable forum for seeking that accommodation. So, get on with it. And don't put the cart before the horse.

PRAVIN GORDHAN

FM 26/6/92

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304A

Controversial committee man

"Anti-Communist" of Chatsworth wrote to the *Tribune* recently asking about the political affiliations of Pravin Gordhan, the Durban-based social activist catapulted into the national limelight when he succeeded Zach de Beer as chairman of the Codesa management committee and voice of the SA negotiations process.

Gordhan (43) replied that he is a member of the Natal Indian Congress (of which he is a delegate at Codesa), the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I am a socialist who will resist oppression in any form," wrote Gordhan, whose politics spring from a deep involvement in extra-parliamentary civic organisations. This, he says, takes up most of his time and began with resistance to the Tintown removals to Phoenix in 1976, three years after he graduated as a pharmacist from the University of Durban-Westville. He has been secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee, which he helped found, since 1980; and this year, PG — as colleagues know him — was elected vice-chairman of the southern Natal region of Sanco, the national body of civic organisations. He also chairs the ANC's national education committee.

Gordhan's political views do not make it any more difficult to deal with the man, says De Beer, pointing out that if Codesa means anything, then anyone there has the right to be chairman — an appointment made by consensus.

It wasn't long ago that, within the liberation movement, Gordhan's name was mentioned as part of an alleged Leninist "cabal". He, of course, dismisses any such suggestion. Some who know his background as an agitator are astonished at how well he comes across in his new diplomatic role in Codesa, as though to the manner born.

Running such a large committee, comprised of representatives of the 19 parties haggling over big stakes, is a daunting task. It's difficult trying to project a Codesa message as opposed to political perspective, Gordhan admits. In De Beer's view, Gordhan has been an extremely good chairman. He is calm, intelligent and articulate and does well synthesising the various positions and proposals of a divergent political bunch. The only hint of opposition to his chairmanship has come from Inkatha.

His elevation to the job came as something of a surprise: "After all, we were supposed to be the street brawlers," quips Gordhan. Only in March was he granted indemnity against charges in relation to Operation Vula, an alleged plot of ANC subversion for which he spent four months in jail 18 months ago.

While he remains optimistic about the talks, Gordhan, pressed, has no doubt where



Gordhan ... from street brawler to diplomat

blame lies for the deadlock: "The refusal of the NP to subscribe to internationally accepted norms in constitution-drafting and adoption is a clear signal that this party is not willing either to share power or to create the conditions for a genuine democracy to emerge in SA. The NP's insistence on a veto, dressed in various forms, can only be a very serious threat to both the progress and positive outcome of the negotiation process." ■

IAN THOMPSON

If the shoe fits

Though outgoing Sales House MD Ian Thomson has turned down two international job offers within the last year, the challenge to turn round the UK's largest footwear retailer was "irresistible."

Thomson is leaving SA shortly to take the helm at the British Shoe Corporation (BSC), with roughly 2 000 outlets and an annual turnover of around R3bn. It is part of the Sears group, which also owns the Selfridges group.

"I was only prepared to leave Sales House for a company which gave me a bigger stage," he explains. By comparison, Thomson notes turnover at the 113-outlet Sales House, in the Edgar's stable, is roughly R470m.

Trading profits at BSC, with roughly 18% of the UK market, has plunged to £10m from an historic peak of £50m, indicating the potential at the seven-chain group. But he believes turning BSC round will be diffi-

cult, adding "for those who think we are having a recession in SA ..."

As BSC is cash-rich, Thomson reckons there will be significant room for expansion in the UK and Europe, though only after the current operations have been rectified. There could also be avenues in the Selfridges group, which owns one of the world's largest department stores, as well as the Miss Selfridge and Wallis chains.

The successful headhunting means Thomson goes back home, so to speak, as he was born and raised in Aberdeen, Scotland.

Ironically, he was headhunted to SA 16 years ago by Edgars, having been with the House of Fraser group for 13 years before that, ending his time there as a general merchandise manager.

He is not a university graduate. "I had the qualifications but not the inclination," he explains, despite having briefly considered teaching history after completing school.

Instead he fell into retailing by accident, becoming a trainee manager at House of Fraser "and realised retailing was for me."

Thomson reckons he will miss "the people" most, adding Sales House had established a great team, largely explaining why the business has been a success at a time other local retailers are struggling. He believes local retailers seriously underrate themselves. "Apart from the outstanding systems, very few international retailers market themselves as well as SA retailers."

As BSC's head office is in Leicester, Thomson says home will be "somewhere around Leicester." His wife, Jacqui, a fashion consultant, has also been approached by international firms. Though originally from Bournemouth, the two met in SA. "As Jacqui makes as much money as I here, I hope this will be the case there too," he jokes.

Their weekend home at Hartbeespoort Dam won't be sold, maintaining the SA link. ■



Thomson ... looking for a bigger stage

Push, but don't break down the OAU's door

BARNET MITHOMBUTHI OF THE STAR'S AFRICA Service,
who is in Dakar, examines South Africa's relationship
with the Organisation of African Unity

HUNTING FOR the men from Pretoria has been a little game played — sometimes very seriously — by journalists, lobbyists and diplomats attending the Organisation of African Unity meeting in the Senegalese capital.

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Was it realistic of the South African Government to expect an invitation from the OAU in the first place? Pretoria would probably say it was, having wine and dined representatives of many African countries in South Africa.

And then there was President de Klerk's official visit to Nigeria where Die Stern was played for the first time in an independent African state. That was surely the icing on the cake, with an OAU chairman receiving Mr de Klerk in his own country and describing him as the moral equal of Mandela and Biko.

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other country with cordial relations with the South African Government.

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After doing so well diplomatically out of Nigeria's chairmanship of the OAU, they just could not achieve the *coup de grace*, the knock-out punch that would have seen the party that gave us apartheid and its attendant polecat status finally and irrevocably taking the country back into the international fold. The circle would have been rounded and doubts about the irreversibility of the process quashed for ever.

But the Government can at least derive some satisfaction from the fact that for the first time its absence from an OAU summit is being questioned.

At his press conference on Sunday OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim was repeatedly asked by journalists from Senegal's State-controlled media why South Africa had not been invited. The questions seemed to annoy him. He did not disguise his surprise at a suggestion that Mr de Klerk should have been invited since ANC leader Nelson Mandela would also be here. One could sympathise with him. He has to punt an OAU line on South Africa for which his current chairman does not even try to disguise his contempt.

The message to the Government seems to be: Push by all means, but don't push too hard, lest you break the door. The key to admission to the OAU is back home, not in Dakar. It is in finding an accommodation with the black majority.

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STAR 26/6/92

Nats' new bid to win ^(304A) over blacks

STAR 29/6/92
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The National Party will step up its campaign to woo black supporters this week when it holds a public meeting in Johannesburg.

The meeting, to be addressed by NP MP for Jeppe Hennie Bekker, comes after President de Klerk's reception in Boipatong two weeks ago.

It will be held on Wednesday evening at the IH Harris Primary School in Doornfontein. Speakers will include Koos Roets, NP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Bosmont MP Trevor George, NP Hillbrow chairman Daryl Swanepoel and councillors Robert Rousseau and Hein Kruger.

In pamphlets distributed to flats around Joubert Park, Hillbrow and Doornfontein at the weekend, Mr Bekker praised Mr de Klerk's reform initiatives.

The pamphlets, written in English and Afrikaans, open with a greeting in Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and the two official languages:

"Great tidings! The moment for you has arrived. We are now part and parcel of the democratic process. If you are above the age of 18 and have registered with the Department of Home Affairs, you have the right to vote in the next general and municipal elections.

"The man who made this possible is President F W de Klerk, who since 2 February 2 1990 has scrapped the apartheid laws and has given full rights to all South Africans. F W reaches out his hand to all South Africans of goodwill, who seek prosperity, to join him on the road to the new South Africa," say the pamphlets.

Interested people are urged to fill in an attached NP membership application form.

UN steps in

CT 26/6/92

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The top official of the United Nations is to meet both Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela following the critical breakdown in talks between the government and the ANC this week.

The proposed separate meetings with UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros-Ghali at the weekend as a government-proposed summit with the ANC remained in the

balance yesterday. The ANC said an official would hand over its demands to President F W de Klerk's office today, but added that it expected an answer in writing to the violence-related demands. This response would be considered by the ANC's national executive committee.

Telephone conversations between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa failed to come up with a time for a De Klerk-Mandela meeting before Mr Mandela leaves for the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

And Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said he could not meet Mr Mandela till next week.

Mr Meyer, who issued the statement yesterday, did not give reasons. The ANC has not rejected outright the De Klerk-Mandela summit, but has said it wanted its demands met before talks could restart.

'Pressed for time'

Also Mr Mandela, whose movement rejected Mr De Klerk's proposal for two days of talks on Wednesday, was pressed for time as he was scheduled to attend the Organisation of African Unity summit. The ANC had been seeking a meeting with Mr De Klerk before Mr Mandela's departure on Sunday.

At the OAU meeting, Mr Mandela will seek to influence Mr Boutros-

Ghali for the Security Council to impose new curbs on Pretoria.

Mr Pik Botha left the country yesterday, also for a meeting with Mr Boutros-Ghali to present the government point of view.

The victims of the Boipatong massacre will be buried in a mass funeral on Monday. The ANC has declared a day of mourning on that day.

In a statement announcing that civil servants would attend the funeral, Mr De Klerk said: "It is the government's sincere prayer that the atrocious events at Boipatong will finally cause all South Africans to reflect and that the Almighty God, in whose hands the destiny of peoples and nations is, shall provide for a speedy end to the violence."

Diplomatic sources were hopeful that foreign mediation could help bring the parties together.

Diplomats also said it was significant that Mr De Klerk appeared to be opening the door to international mediation.

A British embassy spokesman said they were in contact with all parties and were doing all they could to get negotiations going again.

A European Community mission comprising the foreign ministers of Britain, Portugal and the Netherlands or Denmark was thought likely. One diplomat said European peace-monitoring teams could be on

To page 2

From page 1

UN role

their way to the embattled townships within months.

Diplomats said the opening of the door to deeper foreign involvement was significant, given white South Africa's long suspicion of outsiders, especially the UN and the Commonwealth.

The sources said neither Britain nor the US was happy that the government's efforts to enshrine power-sharing in a final constitution met requirements for genuine democracy.

The ANC had promised Mr De Klerk white seats in a government of national unity for years after a majority-rule election, but that was insufficient for the ruling National Party.

'Face-saving'

One ANC figure close to the negotiations said: "No democratic constitution can guarantee one party a place in government forever."

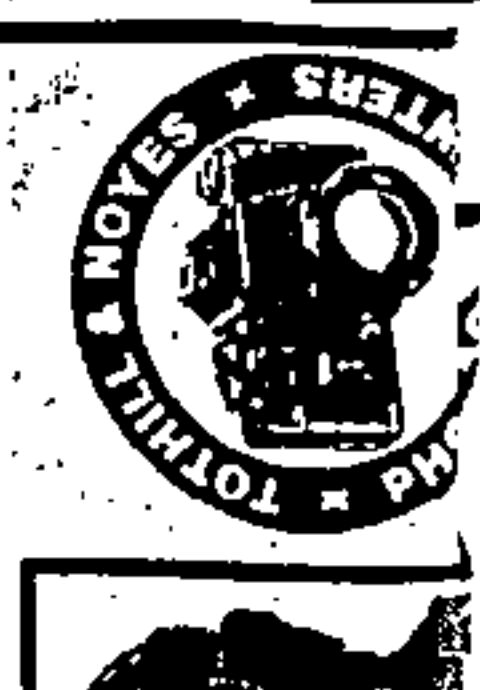
Business leaders say a complete breakdown in talks would cause a flight of capital, skills and investment, hurting economies throughout the region.

"Foreign involvement might just produce the face-saving compromise formula that at present eludes blacks and whites," one European envoy said.

● In The Hague, Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek yesterday said it was unlikely that he and Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers would go ahead with a planned visit to SA in August following the recent escalation of violence and the breakdown of democracy talks.

● Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said in London yesterday that he may soon make a personal peace mission to SA and suggested his organisation could help to end violence there.

● Denmark will not reintroduce sanctions against SA nor support a boycott of South African athletes at the Olympics, its Foreign Ministry said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP



No end to stalemate

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Attempts to set up a meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk collapsed yesterday as the crisis in the negotiations process continued.

The ANC announced last night it had been informed that Mr de Klerk would not be able to meet Mr Mandela before the ANC leader left for an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Dakar on Sunday.

Instead, an ANC official will today deliver the ANC's 14 demands, formulated on Tuesday, to the State President's Office in Pretoria.

Breaking off negotiations with the Government on Tuesday, the ANC stressed it would meet the Government to hand over its demands, but would not enter into any discussions.

More reports —
Pages 3, 7 and 14

In his response after a Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, Mr de Klerk proposed a two-day summit.

The ANC immediately rejected the proposed meeting — it is bound by a decision taken on Tuesday at an emergency national executive committee (NEC) meeting not to enter into any talks with the Government until sufficient progress has been made by the Government in meeting the ANC's demands.

The ANC said last night several telephone discussions were held between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer to arrange a meeting where Mr Mandela could present the Government with the ANC memorandum, but Mr Ramaphosa had been advised yesterday that Mr de Klerk was unable to meet Mr Mandela "until some time next week".

The organisation has asked Mr de Klerk to reply in writing to the memorandum, so that the NEC could consider his response.

The ANC has also denied reports that Mr Mandela was to meet Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Abuja.

Mr Mandela will meet Mr Boutros-Ghali in Dakar next week, then visit Nigeria and Tanzania.

In a related development, diplomats yesterday told The Star that serious consideration was being given by foreign governments on what kind of foreign presence might be needed in South Africa given the Boipatong massacre and the breakdown of negotiations.

McKeed Kotlolo reports that Mr de Klerk yesterday expressed concern about attempts in Codesa to impose unrealistic time restraints for the implementation of agreements. The time frames put pressure on participants and complicated the already difficult task, he said.

In a speech read by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar to the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly, Mr de Klerk said: "We have deliberately and systematically closed the book on apartheid, and the process of constitutional reform got under way in a short time."

He said "delays, disappointments, differences and even deadlocks are bound to occur from time to time".

Pickets to resume at SA missions

Pickets and protests outside South African embassies around the world, discontinued after President de Klerk's reforms, are to be reimposed on Monday under ANC instructions issued in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC called on all its chief representatives overseas to organise vigils outside embassies on Monday to mark a national day of mourning for the 45 people massacred at Boipatong on June 17.

The ANC missions will also be asked to hold public meetings and press conferences, and to call for a boycott of South African products and services, including South African Airways, on that day.

Mission heads should also urge governments, political parties and churches to send messages to the South African Government deploring the massacre and demanding action against the culprits, the instructions said. — Sapa-AFP.

More whites favour shared rule — poll

304A
Star 24/6/92

Codesa is in trouble, but the man-in-the-street remains firmly committed to shared rule, according to a Gallup poll among 1 300 blacks and 1 000 whites.

The poll, by the Markinor research group, shows that most blacks and whites favour a government in which power is shared by all population groups, and in which no one group dominates another.

The proportion of whites favouring shared rule has risen from little more than half (55 percent) in May 1991 to more than two-thirds (69 percent) in May this year. The proportion of blacks favouring power-sharing remains constant at 84 percent.

About 12 percent of blacks

want all power in black hands — up from 9 percent in 1991.

Nearly a third of whites (29 percent), however, would prefer whites to have a greater say in government than other groups "because they have more experience and knowledge of how to run the country". Last year this figure was 44 percent.

Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner said black perceptions remained fairly constant over the year, while white perceptions had undoubtedly been influenced by media coverage of the negotiations process.

"More and more (whites) have come to realise that their fortunes hinge on working out a viable political system in a shared South Africa," she said.

The poll showed Xhosa-speakers to be the most polarised group, with 16 percent favouring a black government, compared to 9 percent of Zulu-speakers.

Income also affected attitudes, with 17 percent of blacks earning less than R700 a month wanting power in black hands, compared to 8 percent of those earning more than R1 250 a month.

Among whites there was also a language divide, with 78 percent of English-speakers and 57 percent of Afrikaans-speakers in favour of power-sharing.

More people in Natal and the Cape want a balance of power (76 percent) than in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (64 percent). — Sapa.

As Day 26/6/92

CP confederacy model

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht will outline his party's strategy for the rest of the year when he opens the CP's special general congress in Pretoria tomorrow, where the party's new confederacy model will be debated. Treurnicht said earlier there had been broad consensus at the executive council meeting on the confederacy model proposals.

(304A)

Antidote to the born-again democrats

Wendy Supply 26/6 - 2/7/92

WITH stalemate at Codesa II, the publication of this book could not have been better timed. It is an important antidote to the born-again democrats whose glib statements about irreversible change have done so much to create a new orthodoxy and a corresponding cynicism about the "new" South Africa.

The opening sentence contains the alarming statement that the book was written "on the rot". Sometimes this shows, but as one would hope from a politician of Slabbert's experience and intelligence, basic common sense prevails through so often that one forgives the occasional obscure or dense passage.

Setting South Africa's quest in a world context, he makes the point that there is growing international convergence on a basic meaning of democracy, and on the desirability of a market economy. But the bad news for the capitalists is that the depth and breadth of state intervention is still very much a live issue, perhaps more so now that the red herrings promoted by Stalinism are dead and buried.

Slabbert's main point is that democracy is not inevitable in South Africa, nor will it unerringly lead to economic growth. The abolition of a specific authoritarianism, apartheid, could lead either to a new form of domination, or stabilisation short of democracy. He recounts, briefly, the history of domination and previous, undemocratic plans for transition, stressing continuity and countering the facile idea that we are now operating in an his-

THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY: SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION
by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (Penguin, R19.75)

torical vacuum.

He argues that democracy can be obtained, and offers the Metropolitan Chamber (in the Johannesburg area) as a regional example, while pointing to the massive task of altering fundamentally the bureaucracy, security forces and economy, as well as writing a new constitution. All of this has to be achieved with the inheritance of a devastated civil society.

His treatment of President FW de Klerk is plausible. He is dismissive of the public relations mythology, portraying him as a skilful politician reacting to irresistible pressures, especially financial sanctions and internal defiance. Slabbert has an irritating habit of referring to political parties and movements as "actors" or "players" but he does a shrewd job of analysing the main groups, with the exception of Inkatha, whose benign description belies the experience of Natal and the Reef townships.

In the present context, perhaps the most interesting section concerns a range of non-democratic outcomes. Chillingly, two of them involve states of emergency, increasingly being talked about in human rights circles. Slabbert's low-risk variety involves co-optation of elements of the African National Congress. The other two are semi-permanent, de-



Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

racialised governments of transitional unity (GOTU), ruling by decree. Slabbert's description of phases of transition, and the political, economic and social variables involved, sometimes reads rather

like a politics textbook. This is reinforced by the apparently simple, but often impenetrable, matrix diagrams. Occasionally one has a feeling of detachment: where are the endemic state-orchestrated violence, the struggle for grassroots democracy, the grinding poverty and despair, for instance?

The obviously (and understandably) hastily written postscript on February's referendum is a weakness. Slabbert portrays the whites of South Africa heroically "seizing the moment". This was true of some, but in all probability most were acting out their historical tendency to do as they were told, given the unprecendented and massive advertising campaign mounted by political parties, the mainstream press and big business for a "yes" vote.

The price and brevity of this volume are laudable, putting it within reach of a wide audience. Whether this is also true of the language is debatable: "neuritic devices" is hardly likely to be understood by the political activist on the Umlazi taxi.

The purpose of the excellent series of which it forms a part is to enhance democratic participation by presenting alternative views. Slabbert has much to offer in this regard but could have been better served by his editors in terms of style. On the other hand, an acceptable degree of recapping is a bonus, encouraging the reader to absorb the essential issues.

Criticisms aside — buy this book. Every politically alert household should have one.

Christopher Merrett

ANC due to hand demands to FW

6/26/92 304A

A GOVERNMENT-proposed summit with the ANC remained in the balance yesterday, but the ANC said an official would hand over its demands to President F W de Klerk's office today.

The ANC said it expected an answer in writing to the violence-related demands. This response would be considered by the ANC's national executive committee.

Telephone conversations between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa failed to come up with a time for a De Klerk-Mandela meeting before Mandela leaves for the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

The ANC has not rejected the De Klerk-Mandela summit outright, but has said it wanted its demands met before talks could restart. Diplomats were hopeful foreign mediation could help bring them together.

LINDA ENSOR reports that ANC NEC member Pallo Jordan said in Cape Town the ANC would resume negotiations with government once it gave a clear indication of its bona fides.

"De Klerk's response to our demands will determine how soon we can get discussions back on course again," Jordan said.

Ramaphosa confirmed that the ANC

PATRICK BULGER

was investing considerable energy in securing international involvement.

He said the ANC was examining De Klerk's offer of an international jurist to sit as an assessor with Judge Goldstone, and his welcoming of an international violence-monitoring mission.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha is due to meet UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and outgoing OAU chairman Gen Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja, Nigeria, tomorrow to discuss UN and OAU intermediary efforts. Mandela will meet Boutros-Ghali in Dakar on Sunday, when he will argue for the UN Security Council to convene on the SA issue.

Diplomats said it was significant that De Klerk appeared to be opening the door to international mediation.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that a British embassy spokesman said it was in contact with all parties.

De Klerk said in his response to the ANC's demands he would not allow government sovereignty to be compromised.

It is believed government will agree to an international violence-monitoring team working alongside Goldstone.

Women demos held at parliament

Freedom Charter
nailed to door

ANC 26/6/92

(304A)

GRAHAM LIZAMORE and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporters

NINE members of the ANC Women's League scaled the security fences and nailed the ANC Freedom Charter to the doors of Parliament early today.

The women hung plastic bags of red paint on to the white walls about 7.15am while the secretary of the league, Ms Nomatyalala Hanganu, "nailed" a large poster of the ANC Freedom Charter to the wooden doors of Parliament.

A crowd of about 200 people watched in Government Avenue as the women, some of them chained together, sang freedom songs and waved placards denouncing the government and violence, particularly the recent Bopalong massacre.

Three women, all chained together, locked a chain around one of the pillars.

Police arrived after about 20 minutes and forcibly removed the women from the stairs. Those chained together were carried off with difficulty to police vans.

A policeman ran up the stairs with a chain cutter and one by one separated the women who had chained themselves to the pillar. The struggling women were carried off by at least five policemen.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the women had occupied parliament as an act of defiance against the institution. Ms Hanganu and her two predecessors, Ms Madelein Fullard and Ms Louis Nande, were among the nine women arrested.

The six others were Ms Tozama Mlandeni, Ms Cordy Raca, Ms Sinele Piso, Ms Malisatsi Mamba, Ms Pat Matloengwe and Ms Nombulelo Kotzi.

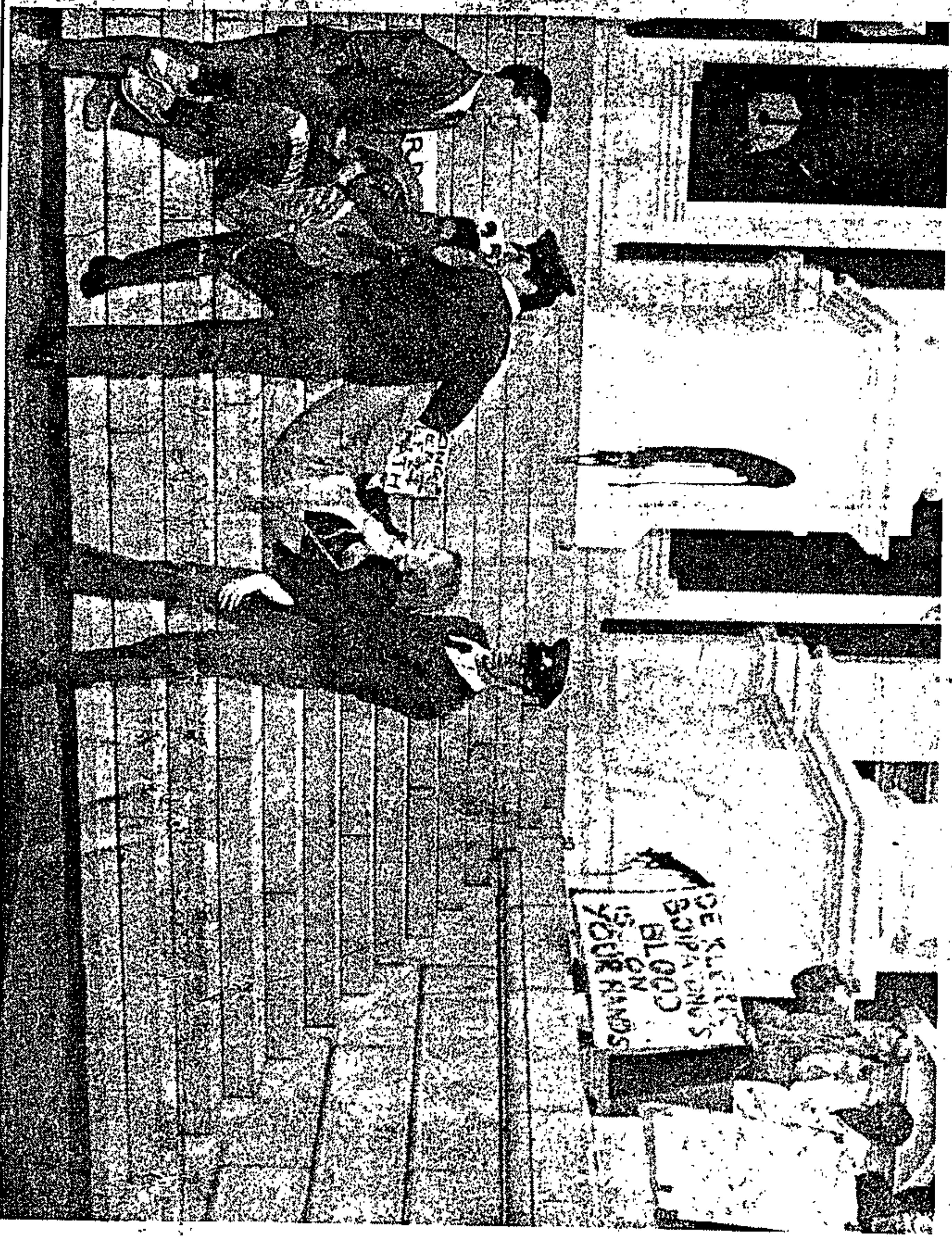
Two similar demonstrations took place in the past two years, but the demonstrators did not manage to get into the grounds of the parliamentary complex.

In March, 1990, the mothers of 10 Robben Island prisoners on hunger strike chained themselves to the railings around parliament at the bottom of the Avenue and at the entrance to Stalplein near Teyateyan. Police with bolt cutters cut the chains.

This also happened in April last year when members of the ANC's youth league chained themselves to the railings at parliament.

In the '90s a miner chained himself to the railings of the debating chamber of the Assembly and shouted slogans in support of a strike going on at the time.

Police said charges of malicious damage to property and trespassing were being investigated against the women and they were expected to appear in court on Monday.



Picture: Brenton Gaeht, the Argus

World moves to defuse deadlock

By ARTHUR GAVSHON, London
KEY world governments, still shocked by the Boipatong massacre, moved urgently yesterday to defuse the South African powder barrel.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary General of the 50-nation Commonwealth, decided to fly immediately to the Republic for talks with President FW de Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other high-ups. Topping his agenda will be a proposal for a Commonwealth role in monitoring the security situation. Anyaoku was due to depart last night.

The British Foreign Office disclosed that United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been invited to London next week for talks on the South African crisis with Prime Minister John Major's government. Britain assumes the presidency of the European Community (EC) on July 1 and will be speaking for the 12-nation group.

Boutros-Ghali will be flying in from Dakar, Senegal, where the South African situation will be a hot subject of debate in the Organisation of African Unity summit.

In EC capitals, in Washington and at the UN and Commonwealth headquarters in New York and London, officials closely scrutinised the text of De Klerk's public response on Wednesday to the ANC's terms for returning to Codesa.

There appears to be consensus that De Klerk's offer to internationalise the Goldstone Commission investigation into the Boipatong murders will not succeed in luring the ANC back to the negotiating table.

This reaction was reinforced by a public declaration by 100 members of the United States Congress in Washington asserting that De Klerk's response to Boipatong and the breakdown of Codesa had been "wholly inadequate".

LEAVING CODESA

(304A)

26/6/92

Looking into the abyss

The decision by the ANC to pull out of Codesa confirms the worst fears implicit in our cover story on this week's political crisis. The highly complex factors which have led to this hour of danger are set out in the following pages.

In essence, instead of leading, Nelson Mandela has capitulated to populist feelings which have at their root the inflamed wish to overthrow the State by force. His feverish abuse at Boipatong — from whence F W de Klerk had been expelled by the mob — did not show a man in control of either his emotions or his followers. They seemed to be controlling him.

Talk of a "pro-democracy forum" — which the ANC would lead — cannot shield the ANC from the charge that it has reverted to confrontation. If this forum does not include Inkatha — and how can it, since they are accused of committing murder with the government? — the terrible folly of an ANC-Zulu war will be fought out in innumerable Boipatongs.

The ANC also listed a number of demands which, otherwise expressed, would make eminent sense — but which are meaninglessly broad and provocative. They include instructions to:

- ☐ Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activities;
- ☐ Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals;
- ☐ Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; and
- ☐ Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith.

Stated like that, these demands have the bite of an ultimatum. There is no timetable. Government has in fact acted in all the areas of disquiet set out here, though doubtless it cannot, any more than the ANC, curb the deeds of evil men cloaked in secrecy.

If these demands, then, constitute an ultimatum, it cannot be met. The demands, then, also constitute an active incitement to further unrest, rumour and despondency. Where De Klerk — the head of State — moves to contain this unrest, he will be again accused of bad faith. Mandela has already called him a "Nazi."

The kind of disturbances which are likely to arise will be exacerbated by the libel that the murderers from the Kwa-Madala hostel were led by whites. Indeed, it is difficult to see where such unleashed rage can lead except to further massacres and explosions in the developed world's racial ghettos.

Mandela is quickly going to lose stature throughout all the nations which have honoured him. The implications of his decision will be carefully weighed — not least because it is

going to prove impossible to carefully stage a programme of mass action that will lead to the installation of an ANC government. The ANC itself is riven with factions.

In the testing time that lies ahead, Western leaders in particular are going to be subjected to strident calls to reimpose sanctions on SA. The turmoil which must be expected will be blamed on the De Klerk government as a rationale for that. But it is unlikely to have the desired effect. What will happen is a forgoing of investment because of what will rapidly turn into a chaotic industrial and social morass.

At the end of this period — during which Mandela is likely to be superseded by men far more radical than him — the outcome is certain to be exactly what is being cast aside now: a negotiated settlement. The appalling spectre of a wasteland lies ahead if the confrontation endures for even a few months.

De Klerk was right to shorten his visit to Spain. He is needed at home. He will, we feel certain, continue to urge talks upon the now dangerously inflamed parties who look to the streets for salvation. SA is plunging into a racial and ethnic abyss which could make what has so far been seen in this unhappy land seem like a golden age.

De Klerk's appeals for peace and a restoration of negotiation deserve the full support of all men of reason.

The whole behaviour of the ANC leadership at Boipatong and subsequently does not indicate that these are men with a clear idea of what true leadership entails. Because the greatest hopes were placed on him, Mandela's failure is the most disillusioning. Even if he survives the interregnum, it will be as a broken man. He has thrown away his image of a man of peace.

And all this in the name of peace itself! Since the police are those most charged with maintaining law and order — but have been most directly accused of complicity with Inkatha — how willing will certain of its members now be to put themselves in danger when the next massacre looms?

The hope must be that De Klerk does not lose authority. In a Cabinet devastated by scandal and incompetence — with the Right always capable of appealing to the deepest reactionary instincts of Afrikaners — he has played a courageous and morally authentic role. Without his bold steps in February 1990, we would have descended into the abyss which now beckons in any case.

This invests him with immense responsibility. His actions in the days to come will determine how the world sees us, how it responds to our plight — and provide the objective criterion by which we have to make our way forward to decency and democracy.

Or so we have to hope. ■

THE National Party's new national headquarters are in a white-washed, mock Cape Dutch complex of buildings the sections of which are named after the great Cape wine estates: Boschendal, Nederburg, Delheim...

The offices are lined with soft grey carpets, cocoon-like. The atmosphere is quiet, the furniture new and unsoiled. The party's occupancy of the premises is so recent that there is not even a portrait of the leader, President FW de Klerk, on the wall.

Unsurprising that the party should select a setting reminiscent of its new heartland, the western Cape, the one region that the NP could win in universal franchise elections.

Perhaps it simply reflects a nostalgia for the faded Cape summer and the parliamentary session that ended last week, bringing the civil servants back to the Highveld like migratory birds, back to the heart of the crisis beating in the 100km arc of the PWV.

The angry world of township politics is as remote as if the building were in Malmesbury or Wellington. And yet De Klerk saw that world through the windscreen of his BMW on Saturday, a fleeting 15 minutes in the hell of Boipatong and the South Africa that it represents.

I have driven to this building in Pretoria to get the NP perspective of the political crisis.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe has agreed to fit me in for a half hour, but keeps me waiting 10 minutes and then apologises in advance that he will have to cut the interview short because something else has cropped up.

So we start in right away: What went wrong? How did the mood of optimism in March that a deal was imminent collapse into the crisis of June?

"I think firstly the optimism was not altogether justified," he says softly. "We made spectacular progress up to a certain point but that was because we tackled the easier things first. When we came to fundamental divisions between the African National Congress and the National Party we got stuck."

"Also, we feel that the ANC took much too heavy a position. We ran into a deadline and then it was difficult to reach understanding on a few points whereas a large number of agreements were already in place."

"They were adamant that there must be agreement on those last few points before Codesa II, otherwise the whole thing would be off."

"From our point of view that was not justified. We felt that it was a conscious strategy to put us under the pressure of a deadline. And then one ran into a situation where the temperature inside the negotiating room became overheated and we were under the glare of publicity."

"Everyone knew what everyone was saying and it was all written up in the papers. In that manner neither the NP nor the ANC could afford to make meaningful concessions because then either the one or the other was going to lose."

"If the ANC had just calmed down and continued the negotiations after Codesa II on those points of dispute, keeping all the other points in place, then we could have had agreement by now."

Van der Merwe is one of the

A weary Stoffel van der Merwe tries to explain: What went so wrong?

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

visits the National Party's new headquarters in search of the official version of how the peace process turned sour



smarter, smoother Nats. He is certainly more convincing than colleagues such as Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoit who was savaged by ANC Information chief Pallo Jordan on Radio 702 on Monday night in what came across as a philosophical debate between a second hand car salesman and Socrates.

Asked about Boipatong and the conflicting claims between the NP and the ANC over the causes of the massacre, Van der Merwe sighs and says: "The general temperature was definitely elevated by the run-up to the mass action campaign and it is not impossible that it was the last straw for a number of individuals who were already feeling very threatened."

But the mass action campaign has been peaceful, I reply. What could be the logical connection between that and a group of people

going out and murdering, in brutal fashion, a community that isn't even necessarily ANC?

"Ja." Van der Merwe pauses and slumps into silence for a moment.

"Sorry for taking such a long time to think," he says. "My brain is a little slow today, not having had much sleep." (He had in fact been addressing an NP rally in Ikageng, the black township outside Potchefstroom, the night before, as part of the NP's new fangled recruitment campaign.)

"How that would work, according to my estimation of the situation, is that the whole tenor of the mass action campaign is an aggressive tenor. Maybe not physically aggressive, but it is an aggressive tenor in the sense of saying: you didn't want to listen to reason at the negotiating table, now we will take the power."

"This is how people on the ground level experience it. This is the interpretation you will find among many whites."

But they don't pick up spears and axes and AK47s and go out and massacre people, I say.

"You are dealing with less sophisticated people who have been living in a very physical environment and their only response to that feeling of threat is in a physical manner."

Why had the NP not criticised the Inkatha Freedom Party, its alliance partner, given that the kwaMadala Hostel where the murderers came from was an IFP stronghold?

"I keep my options open regarding that. I do not deny the possibility that it was IFP members, but I doubt very much that this was done on the instructions of the IFP."

"What we do condemn is the deliberate, well-considered policy of mass action by the leaders of the ANC. They are responsible people who, even if they do it peacefully, know the chances are that people will respond in an aggressive manner."

Following on from De Klerk's threats on Saturday, after he was ejected from Boipatong, under what conditions would the NP support a State of Emergency, I ask.

"The only consideration would be whether it can help to stop the killing of people."

"The government and the leadership of the National Party are exasperated that all measures taken so far cannot stop the killings. The breakdown of the negotiations coupled to the aggressive mass action campaign makes an already very difficult situation that much more difficult."

Would you accept other solutions such as international monitoring of the violence?

"That would take a lot of persuasion. If you take what is happening in Eastern Europe, the peace-keeping forces are not in a position to stop the killing."

By this time I am trying to cram in as many questions as possible. The answers are growing more and more perfunctory. Van der Merwe's smartly attired, efficient secretary has taken to reminding him that it is time to go.

Would the NP make a constitutional deal excluding the ANC and its allies?

"Not the sort of settlement one would like to see. One can try something without the ANC, but that is not the way to go. We have not even considered it."

Would the NP accept a final constitution that had anything less than power-sharing in it?

"The shape of the final constitution is very open still, so there's no reason why one can't have different arrangements in the final constitution than in the transitional constitution."

"One needs to be satisfied that such a constitution will ensure continued democracy. We don't want a situation where you slide from pseudo-democracy to one-party rule to dictatorship, as has happened in countries dealing with similar problems."

Van der Merwe removes my microphone from where it is latched on to his top pocket, smiles a charming smile, says "I owe you one" and gets up to leave. On the way out a colleague makes as if to delay him further.

At this his clearly overwrought secretary flips completely, says "Oh no", and, in a gesture of exasperation, flings Van der Merwe's attache case on the floor. I leave Pretoria, with 15 minutes of insight into NP thinking.

It is a 45-minute ride to ANC headquarters at Shell House. Getting inside it these days involves standing in as many queues as at customs at Lusaka airport. The once zooty downtown building has become slightly frayed, now bearing the unmistakable stamp of the many activists that go tramping through its revolving gates.

The ANC National Executive Committee is still meeting. The fury of Boipatong has left its imprint. They are about to announce the suspension of talks.

"You are dealing with less sophisticated people who have been living in a very physical environment and their only response to that feeling of threat is in a physical manner."

ANC calls off talks but doors still open

Swepan 26/6/92

3044

rectly at Inkatha.

early 1990) on the other.

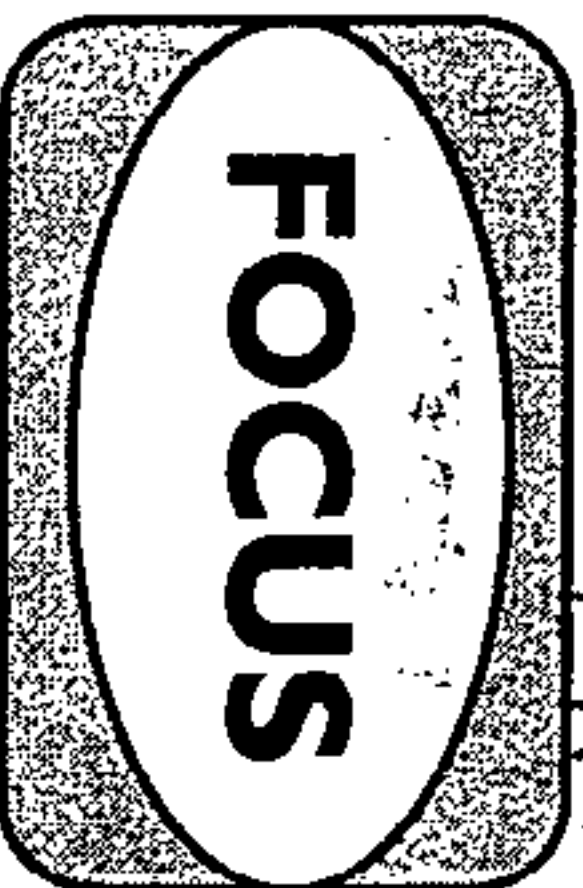
THE African National Congress walked out of constitutional negotiations with the Government on Tuesday. But it did not slam the door shut.

An emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee avoided issuing an ultimatum in a statement setting out its position in the light of what it perceives to be the Government's murderous double agenda.

Instead of the word "conditions", the statement used the more open-ended "demands". And, as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters, if the demands were "sufficiently met", the ANC would review its position on negotiations.

The door, then, is open to compromise, to the Government meeting the ANC half way.

That, a senior NEC member said on Wednesday, was the political rationale behind an otherwise heated document, which blamed



the "FW de Klerk regime" for the massacre in Boipatong township last week and for bringing South Africa "to the brink of disaster".

The problem, the ANC man acknowledged, would come in interpreting what is "sufficient".

De Klerk might be persuaded to agree to a phasing out of the squatted single men's hostels, so many of which the Inkatha Freedom Party have converted into de facto barracks.

Many attacks on township residents - such as the one in Boipatong - have been launched from these hostels.

A ban could be imposed on the carrying of dangerous weapons, a measure that would be aimed di-

rectly at Inkatha. He might also entertain the possibility of international peace monitors or fact-finders. But this would be complicated as, first, the Government rejects any political intervention in its internal affairs and, second, it would not be easy to find a foreign personage or an organisation considered credible and independent by all sides.

The other ANC demands are the termination of all covert operations, including alleged security force hit squads; the disbanding of the army's Special Forces, South Africa's SAS units; the suspension and prosecution of officers involved in political violence; the release of all political prisoners; the repeal of repressive legislation.

For the Government to accede to these demands would amount to admitting that it has been conducting a duplicitous strategy of negotiations on the one hand and calculating mass murder (7 000 having died in political violence since

Compounding the difficulties in finding "sufficient" compromise is that after Boipatong political decisions can no longer be taken behind closed doors by men in suits. The political temperature outside is near boiling point and no insulation can stop the heat from penetrating the negotiating salons.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC's most powerful ally, has been issuing statements this week significantly more hardline than its parent political organisation.

Pressures on the Government side not to compromise come, first, simply from its own political need not to be seen to be bowing to "the communists"; second, from its security forces, whose most powerful and sinister elements still pursue a policy of open season on the ANC; and, third, from its Inkatha allies, whom the Government cannot afford to antagonise unduly. - *The Independent, London.*

The rot started in 1984

3041

Sowetan 26/6/92

26/6/92

CAUGHT in a storm over Boipatong and shaken by the breakdown of constitutional talks, President F.W. de Klerk has warned he will not allow South Africa "to fall into a state of anarchy".

But many black South Africans, not least the relatives of the 45 who were butchered, many of them as they slept in Boipatong on the night of June 17, could be forgiven for thinking that anarchy had already arrived.

"In many, many areas of South Africa... there is already anarchy," said Paul Perreira, a re-

searcher at the South African Institute for Race Relations.

Since 1984, clashes involving police, the power struggle centred on the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party have killed more than 14 000 black people.

De Klerk's "primary responsibility is to protect life and limb," Perreira said. "That he is not doing."

Pretoria's inability to stamp out the violence it suppressed so effectively before De Klerk, is no evidence of collusion, in Perreira's view.

De Klerk is gaining nothing by

violence, Perreira believes, pointing to the drop in his approval rating among blacks from 22 per cent in 1990 to its current eight per cent.

Although he accepts that right-wingers, including security force officers, could be fanning violence to divide and rule blacks, Perreira refuses to heap all blame on a mysterious "third force".

Perreira highlights what he calls "strategies of ungovernability".

Soweto teachers at a post-mortem into disastrous exam results last year lamented that when children mounted protests in June 1976, parents had abrogated their

responsibility to lead.

The consequences were encapsulated in the *Sowetan* in a report on what it is like to ride a notorious train to Daveyton.

Young ANC comrades use one coach as an indoctrination centre, haranguing passengers and forcing them to sing ANC songs, the report said.

Five people were shot dead at Daveyton station last week. The comrades had "harassed the wrong person," passengers told the *Sowetan*.

Then, he said, perpetrators of violence were not being prosecuted. — *Sapa-AFP*.

Nats must hear 'voice of own pain'

SOUTH 27/6-11/7/92

(304A) (11/7/92)

LET'S face it, the nationalist government has never willingly made concessions to the democratic movement. Reform initiatives under former President PW Botha addressed the symptoms rather than the cause of the country's problems — attempts to ease international pressure, sanctions and a failing economy.

Every step of the way, the Nats had to be bullied and cajoled into reform. Without any vision, they slowly adopted opposition party programs, piece by piece — keeping the NRP, PFP and now DP on the run.

Unable to take his "reform" any further than the tricameral system, Botha did not have the staying power to see the process through. Having risen through the ranks of the Nationalist Party, are there any indications that President FW de Klerk will be different?

After De Klerk's watershed speech of 1990, it looked like a change of heart and a good start. But even the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC (amongst others) were obvious moves that showed little imagination.

With the Codesa initiative, the Nats had at last come as far as the Progs of the seventies. Now, facing another crisis, De Klerk resorts to threats of "emergency regulations" — the old tendencies are starting to show again.

Fact of the matter is, power-sharing (never mind a transfer of power), is alien to the Nats. Through the years of apartheid they methodically and resolutely entrenched their control — in government, the judiciary and local government. Quite simply, any serious opposition was not tolerated.

When the Nats went to the negotiating table, the single purpose was to secure guarantees of minority rights for whites. And while the ANC argued for a simple transfer of power, the national liberation movement still made a number of compromises.

With those compromises rejected, the deadlock resulted. The ANC opted for mass action. The government's reaction was to call up the reservists and commandos.

Clearly, the government will not accept majority rule. At every stage they have been exposed in their attempts to force the ANC into an unholy alliance — as though trying to co-opt the ANC leadership.

Through decades of apartheid, the nationalist government met resistance with authoritarian measures. Now President F W de Klerk has threatened a state of emergency. Political correspondent TED MAGILL argues that the government cannot come to terms with the prospect of losing power:

This possibility the PAC is well aware of. Objectively, the interests of the government and ANC are inextricably linked. The ANC need the Nats to facilitate their smooth transition to power; the Nats cannot continue to rule without the ANC.

The Nats are playing "hard ball". Arrogant and completely recalcitrant, they went to Codesa 2 with an artificially strengthened hand. With sanctions lifted and De Klerk welcomed in the international community, it would appear the Nats felt that all was forgiven and they could enter negotiations on equal terms — conveniently forgetting the Trust Feed killings, corruption in the Department of Development Aid, Inkathagate, Goniwe, etc.

In the face of these scandals, nobody resigns, nobody is subjected to the process of law. Everything just carries on, setting a dangerous precedent for a future government.

And in parliament, the most outspoken ANC MP, Mr Jan van Eck, is suspended — by invoking some ancient parliamentary rule not used in over 100 years. When he requested two minutes of silence, to remember the victims of apartheid, they laughed him out of the house.

Add to this the Defence Amendment Bill which was recently bulldozed through parliament — in contempt of Codesa, after the ANC security commission objected.

And of course there was the referendum

result which the Nats interpreted as support for De Klerk's reform initiative. Now, there is talk of the Nats going into a democratic election, TO WIN.

De Klerk's visit to Boipatong was not out of concern for the victims of the violence, but rather an attempt to familiarise himself with the people from whom he naively hopes to win votes.

And with Angolan elections set for late September, one wonders whether the Nats are not hoping to see Savimbi into power with some or other covert South African aid, which would not so easily be achieved under the multi-party eyes of an interim government. This is reported to be a real possibility, according to former military intelligence operative Mr Nico Basson, who played a central role in South Africa's intelligence during the Namibian elections.

Are the Nats simply incorrigible? Anyone would think THEY were leading the liberation struggle. Are they completely insensitive to the pain and suffering, the pent-up anger, pain and frustration, of millions of disenfranchised South Africans?

It would seem the answer is "Yes".

De Klerk comes out of Boipatong, as though suddenly confronted for the first time, with the anger of black South Africans. His reaction — emergency regulations! Is he not capable of moving forward and leaving behind the authoritarianism?

Let's face it, the Nats have never apologised for apartheid. Everytime the subject is brought up, they say apartheid did not work, implying there was nothing morally wrong with it — it was just another system which failed. And they try to avoid the matter, saying it will not help to "dig up the past".

"Nobody said it was going to be easy," everybody is now saying. In the light of the government's arrogance, intransigent and recalcitrant attitude, those words are well-spoken — and the ANC's mass action campaign is not a minute too soon.

Given the history of the nationalist government, there is no indication of a softening heart, no sign of remorse or apology. The Nats, as usual, will only respond to the force they know best — and it's not the voice of reason — it's the voice of their own pain, that they must be made to hear.

Government

ANC's memorandum is delivered to De Klerk

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has outlined, in a memorandum to President de Klerk, several incidents which "proved" Government collusion in the ongoing violence.

The memorandum was delivered to De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed. The ANC, in breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, said it would hand its demands to the Government but would not enter into any discussions.

South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP Government, the State security forces and the police in the violence".

Failure to act

Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the Government's practices and policies. "Ministerial defences of the SAP and your Government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make Government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The Government, he said, had legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mandela noted the acquittal of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trial which showed extensive cover-up.

"The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

All religions recognised reconciliation and repentance, he said. Mandela added: "I have avoided imposing such requirements in the hope that you and your Government would reach that recognition on your own."

The Government's persistence in portraying the crisis as a creation of the ANC was "unhelpful and extremely dangerous". Mandela accused the Government of placing party political interests above national interest by trying to minimise the seriousness of the crisis.

Mandela said the crisis in the negotiations process stemmed primarily from the Government "pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content".

He noted that in a letter, written from prison in 1989, he said the two issues which had to be reconciled were the demand for majority rule, as well as the insistence by whites for checks and balances which would mean that majority rule was not domination by blacks.

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations was the failure of the Government to face up to the need for the conciliation of these two issues. Mandela said the Government had chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which defined a democracy — by equating majority rule with black domination.

The negotiations deadlock would remain unresolved for as long as the Government insisted on a minority veto. "We are of the view that the response and concrete steps by your Government to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and pace with which bona fide negotiations can take place."

collusion 'proved'

Nigeria summit on SA likely

CT 27/6/92

304A

ABUJA. — A full-scale Nigerian summit on the South African crisis seemed likely last night when it became known that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi will join Mr Pik Botha in talks with UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali today.

Nigerian Vice President Augustus Aikhomo said yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would also join the talks preceding an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit opening in Dakar on Monday.

This, however, was denied in the Senegalese capital by ANC foreign affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki and by spokesmen in Johannesburg.

The ANC pulled out of constitutional talks with the government on Tuesday, in protest at the Boipatong massacre and the ongoing violence in the country.

● ANC SENDS FW LIST OF DEMANDS

● WAR OF WORDS ON KOEVOET CLAIMS

REPORT — See PAGE 2

The ANC has blamed the authorities for the violence, arguing it is within the government's power to put an end to it.

Mr Botha, accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, left South Africa yesterday for Nigeria, which is due to hand over the OAU chairmanship to Senegal next week.

Mr Boutros-Ghali is due to fly to Dakar tomorrow with the Nigerian president Mr Ibrahim Babangida.

Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu will also meet Mr Boutros-Ghali next week during the OAU Heads of State meeting in Dakar.

Talks are also taking place about a possible visit to South Africa by Commonwealth secretary-general Mr Emeka Anyaoku.

Mr Babangida said South Africa would be a major issue at next week's annual OAU summit.

Commenting on the breakdown in democracy talks and the unrelenting violence in South Africa, Mr Babangida said: "I think it tends to put the whole (peace) process into a very delicate situation, which requires very deft political activities to get it back on course."

He indicated that today's talks would be chaired by Nigeria. — Sapa-Reuter

Mandela still ²⁶⁴¹⁴ set on negotiation

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela has reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to negotiations.

In a 7 000-word memorandum presented to President De Klerk, Mr Mandela said: "The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice." ^{ANC 27/6/92}

He said the government's refusal to accept a negotiated settlement compelled the organisation to review the current negotiations.

In a response to the ANC memo, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the government was "anxious" for a negotiated settlement to come on track again as rapidly as possible. — Sapa.

ANC sends FW list of demands

304A
CT 27/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday submitted a memorandum to President F W de Klerk setting out the conditions for the resumption of democracy talks.

The detailed 16-page document contained up to 14 demands, among which were that Mr De Klerk quickly act to stop township violence and that he prosecute security force personnel involved in the violence.

The memorandum also demanded the closure of migrant worker hostels and an international inquiry into the massacre in Boipatong.

The letter to Mr De Klerk said: "None of us can escape the gravity of the crisis facing our country.

"The point has been reached where your responses will be looked at by us to determine whether you are taking concrete measures to terminate forthwith the involvement of the National Party government, the state security forces and the police in the violence," it added.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government would study the ANC memorandum and respond before the end of next week.

"The government does not want to cling to power, and therefore wishes to bring a transitional constitution

Codesa meeting cancelled

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting of Codesa's management committee scheduled for Monday has been cancelled.

The announcement was made by the chairman of the committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, in a one-sentence statement yesterday.

This follows the announcement on Tuesday night by the ANC and eight of its allies at Codesa that they were pulling out of the negotiation process in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

The NP, the government and DP later indicated they were still planning to attend Monday's meeting. — Sapa

into being through peaceful negotiation as soon as possible," Mr Meyer said.

He said that besides the matters raised in the ANC's memorandum, there were also numerous obstacles that would be addressed from the government's side.

The memorandum, which was the ANC's response to Mr De Klerk's invitation to the ANC for a two-day summit, is apparently aimed at keeping the lines of communication open between the ANC and the government.

Quoting from a prison letter written to Mr De Klerk in 1989, Mr Mandela said: "Majority rule and internal peace are like two sides of a single coin. White South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied."



Live frugally and esteem learning above all else

304A

STimes 28/6/92

AT THE end of a week in which political leaders squeezed every possible advantage from the massacre of innocents at Boipatong, and every last drop of bathos, the impression that remains is nausea: a lingering taste of foulness on the tongue, a scent of decay in the nostrils.

Allowances must be made. The anger of the crowds was greater than the anger of the leaders who addressed them, and new dangerous voices — among them a man who professed to be a minister of the church — were calling black people to a race war. The PAC began to reap the harvest of its own intolerance as the ANC leader was denounced, with a poetic inversion that was surely unconscious, as a lamb leading his people to slaughter.

Radicals are displacing moderates. Winnie Mandela for Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani for Thabo Mbeki, hot-headed Peter Mokaba for Cyril Ramaphosa, PAC for ANC, and a new breed of violent radicals lurk at the corners of the stage. The ANC leaders had plenty of reason for a show of ferocity, and their political demands were not, if you examined them closely, outrageous.

Yet Mr Mandela's accusation that President De Klerk was, like a Nazi, allowing black people to be killed because they were black was untrue, recklessly intemperate, and calculated — whether deliberately or not — to whip up racist feelings. His habit of resorting to extravagant invective is, in a leader of his stature, a weakness.

Chris Hani leaped into the fray with a fresh flood of warlike rhetoric, and Mr Ramaphosa's lugubrious descriptions of Boipatong were so transparently manipulative and politically expedient as to raise the suspicion that the ANC leaders were not altogether displeased to have more blood for the cause. The IFP's Themba Khoza was not slow to take the gap by suggesting — without evidence — that the ANC itself might have perpetrated the massacre.

Of course, the international anti-apartheid movement, anaemic and close to death after two years of negotiations, was revived; its glee was palpable as it launched into a new campaign for sanctions, sports boycotts, and the

renewed isolation of South Africa. Not surprisingly, the first victims were the usual soft targets, innocent sportsmen and desperately conciliatory businessmen.

So far, the ANC's methods have all displayed more theatricality than threat. There is a curious dissonance between the ANC's strategy, which rests on the myth that the Nationalist government is a pushover, and its tactics, which are evidence of impotence. Propaganda, boycotts, sanctions, stayaways, strikes, international pressures — these are the methods of the weak.

Strip away cheap political theatre, and what is left is the ANC's real dilemma: it faces a government which is too weak to govern, and too strong to be overthrown. Trapped between an immovable National Party, and an irresistible tide of anger rising on its left, the ANC needs evidence of success if it is to continue negotiating.

The ANC's dilemma? It is South Africa's dilemma.

President De Klerk has done much in three years to strengthen his party and to widen its power base. The core support consists of half the Afrikaners and most of the English whites; the remaining Afrikaners, scattered in disarray on his right, have nowhere else to go in a pinch. A majority of the coloured people, and probably of the Indians, and a scattering of black people now lean towards the National Party.

THIS is not to say the Nationalists will win an election — I am sure they would lose — but that they are in a much better position at home to resist the ANC than they were when Nelson Mandela came out of prison.

Abroad, too, they are in a much stronger position, not only because Mr De Klerk has assiduously gathered diplomatic support. The national reserves of gold and currency, which dropped steadily until mid-1989, have risen since then from practically nothing to about R10-billion; foreign debt shrinks steadily.

In his hands, President De Klerk has an array of immense powers: control of

the money supply and the budget, of borders and of tariffs, of transport networks and vehicle fleets, of taxation and expenditure, of the appointment of judges and the deployment of public prosecutors, of police, army and bureaucracy. It is only the inevitable tide of demography, of numbers, that ensures the eventual defeat of his party.

Indeed, his position might seem well-nigh impregnable, except that this mighty array of powers does not, ironically, enable him to govern wisely or well — or, in some case, to govern at all. The bureaucracy is so overblown, so corrupt, and so determined to defend its own privileges that perhaps it is beyond rehabilitation.

WHAT Boipatong has shown, above all, is the cost of a police force which nobody trusts, which does not investigate with vigour, which cannot prevent its own members from opening fire at the most disastrous moments, which will not disband its covert units, and which does not even suspend an officer found by a court, on balance of probability, to be a poisoner.

If the ANC's dilemma is that it lacks the power to achieve its strategic aims, the dilemma of the government is that it cannot direct its power to its own strategic ends. The result is confusion, mayhem and political cynicism. As John Hall lamented this week, we need statesmanship, and we have none.

For the ordinary citizen, chilled by the shadow of anarchy, the only sensible course of action is to batten down. In capricious times, go back to old truths: live frugally, without ostentation; neither a borrower nor a lender be; make your home your castle, or your fortress; avoid the limelight, travel with care, take no risk; cultivate disbelief and caution; prepare for the rainy day but disperse your savings and trust your family above your bank; take a lesson from the world's greatest chroniclers of insecurity, the Jews, and esteem learning above all else.

Hope will return. Until then, take care to survive.

KEN OWEN

SA Ministers in UN mercy bid

Special Correspondent

30/4/92

TWO SA Cabinet Ministers yesterday held urgent talks in Abuja in Nigeria in a bid to prevent the present political impasse in SA from becoming internationalised. CIP/28/6/92

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday had talks with United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

It is believed they conveyed to him the SA government's belief that, according to the UN Charter, there are no grounds for the UN Security Council to meet to consider the situation in SA. They claimed that the situation holds no threat to or will not cause a disruption of peace in the southern African region.

Apparently, the meeting between the two Ministers and Boutros-Ghali took place yesterday on Botha's request after ANC president Nelson Mandela requested an extraordinary meeting of the UN Security Council on the violence in SA earlier this week.

Meyer is expected to spell out the government's constitutional proposals to Boutros-Ghali and to give their version of the deadlock in negotiations.

Meanwhile, Mandela leaves today for Dakar for the meeting of OAU countries. He is expected to meet both Boutros-Ghali and Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku.

■ It has been reported from Abuja that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will also meet Boutros-Ghali for discussions in the Nigerian capital.

Walkman bomb: Cops tested

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

THIRTY-FOUR former Vlakplaas-based policemen are to be fingerprinted and subjected to handwriting analysis in an effort to get to the bottom of the "Walkman bomb" murder of ANC activist and lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in March last year.

Mlangeni's death sent shockwaves throughout the world after former security police captain Dirk Coetzee blamed the murder on some of his former police colleagues.

Coetzee also named Col Wal du Toit, who is working at the police forensic laboratory, as a possible suspect.

The Mlangeni family requested the handwriting and fingerprint samples, which will be taken by police handwriting expert, Col Jacobus Frederick Hattingh, and David Klatzow, an independent forensic expert hired by

the family.

Klatzow pulled out of the previous investigating team, accusing it of covering up. He said it was obvious the investigations headed by Capt Andre Kritzinger would lead to nowhere.

This week a shocked inquest court heard how a vital clue - a cassette marked "Evidence Hit squad" - was kept away from handwriting experts.

Hattingh told the Rand Supreme Court inquest headed by Judge O'Donovan that he saw the cassette for the first time in court.

When the samples are ready they will be sent to the Attorney-General for safekeeping. The case was adjourned to August 6, when results will be made available.

A former post office employee who received the package containing the booby trapped cassette player said she could

not remember who posted the parcel at the Kempton Park post office.

Karen Smith had received the package - addressed to Coetzee in Lusaka - in May 1990 and had issued an insurance slip, but could not remember who had posted it. Smith said it could have been a black person.

Mlangeni, who was also chairman of the ANC Jabulani branch, was fatally wounded at his home on March 15 last year when a shaped-explosive charge placed in the earphones of the cassette player exploded when he tried to listen to the cassette.

The package was initially posted from the Kempton Park post office to Coetzee in Zambia, but he did not collect it and it was later collected by Mlangeni's law firm as his name had been given as the sender. He had been Coetzee's lawyer at the time.

By CHARLES LEONARD

The proposal for a smaller white homeland with Pretoria as its nucleus was tabled by a group of MPs including Mr Andries Beyers, Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr Rosier de Ville and Mr Chris de Jager — the so-called "new rightists".

It was opposed by hardliners including deputy party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Schalk Pienaar and Kobus Beyers.

The CP's original volkstaat proposal included all 39 constituencies currently represented in parliament by the party.

Addressing about 1100 delegates at the CP's national conference at the Pretoria showgrounds, Dr Treurnicht warned that right-wingers could turn to mass action to secure their rights.

Prison

"We have seen the success and power of the Farmers' Crisis Action when they laid siege to Pretoria last year and we aim to use that power in a positive manner to protect our rights and to demand freedom," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said since the ANC was unbanned on February 2 1990 and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the National Party had "reared a bird of prey" in South Africa.

He asked: "How dare they call for international intervention in South Africa's crisis?"

"Why have they not considered a state of emergency to deal with violence emanating from the ANC's mass action campaign?"

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UN CHIEF Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday accepted an invitation from South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to visit South Africa. (304A)

The decision followed nearly three hours of talks between the two men in Abuja, Nigeria, about the political crisis in South Africa caused by the rupture between the government and the ANC.

Mr Botha went to brief the UN secretary-general about the situation in the country and ask that Codesa parties be allowed to take part in any UN Security Council meeting on South Africa.

It will be the UN secretary-general's first visit to South Africa. No official statement has yet been made about his itinerary or the timing of his visit, but it is understood he will consult all major parties to acquaint himself with the current crisis.

Mr Botha also met Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and the country's foreign minister. The meetings between Mr Botha and the Nigerians were immediately slammed by the ANC's director of external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We don't understand why this meeting should take place in Nigeria," said Mr Mbeki. "Presumably the Nigerians will explain."

Jockeying

Mr Boutros-Ghali, meanwhile, is also due to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Dakar, Senegal, today where the heads of African states are gathering for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit. Mr Mandela will tell Mr Boutros-Ghali tonight that he wants the UN Security Council to approve the sending of an international peacekeeping force to South Africa.

A delegation of top Inkatha officials, headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also arrived in Abuja yesterday for talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali.

The jockeying for international support follows a week of intense political activity in South Africa during which the ANC broke

BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS: P25

off all negotiations with the government until it meets a series of demands aimed at installing an interim government and controlling political violence.

Yesterday, to underscore the point, Mr Mandela told 10 000 cheering supporters at a gathering in Kliptown, Soweto, commemorating the 37th anniversary of the Congress of the People, that the ANC National Executive Committee had decided that there would be no further talks with the government until all the ANC demands were met.

"If the regime insists on invoking white minority rule and opposes genuine democracy, there can be no negotiations," he said.

Mr Mandela will instead propose to the

UN secretary-general in Dakar, tonight that an international monitoring group along the lines of those deployed in Angola and Namibia should be sent to South Africa. It would consist of a permanent group capable of determining possible areas of conflict and, once conflict occurred, of determin-

ing who was responsible. It would liaise closely with Peace Accord officials.

The ANC will also call for strict adherence to the phased lifting of sanctions subject to the installation of an interim government.

The ANC was involved this week in a round of briefings of foreign diplomats in Johannesburg prior to Mr Mandela's departure for the OAU meeting.

Aides said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also use the opportunity at the OAU summit to appeal

□ To Page 2

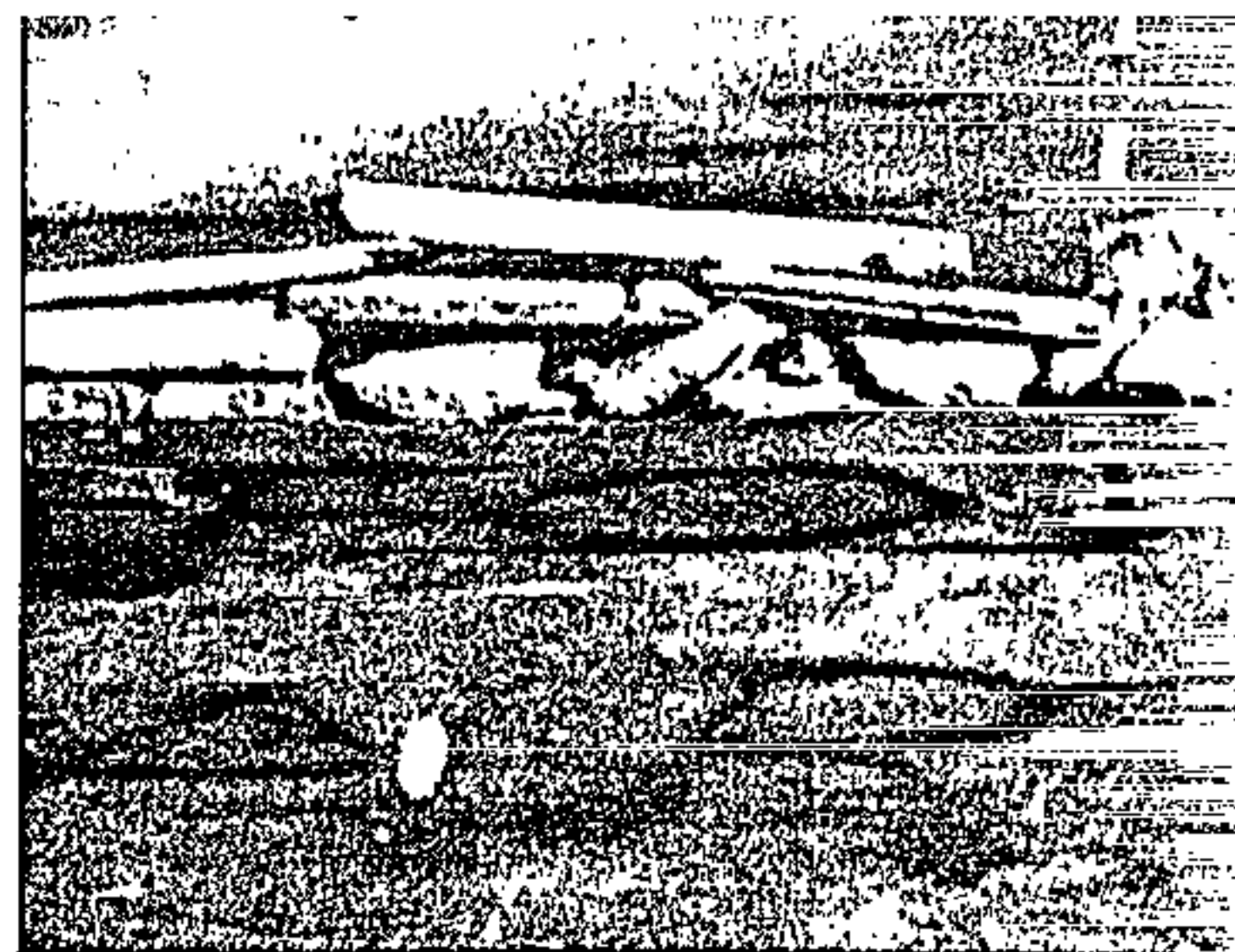
P.T.O.

UN CHIEF FOR SOUTH AFRICA VISIT

Dramatic move as ANC-government struggle goes abroad

STimes 28/6/92

Hope rises out of Boipatong



BOIPATONG BARRICADE ... A defenceless

C/PRES 28/6/92

(304A) (KAP)

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE tragic deaths of 45 people in the sleepy Vaal township last week that shocked the world could signal a turning point in negotiations for SA's future.

Following the failure of Codesa 2 and subsequent trading of accusations between Pretoria and the ANC, there was general consensus that the government was prepared to hang tough against the ANC's mass action campaign.

Several government spokesmen left little doubt that they were bracing themselves to meet the ANC head-on - which would have delayed movement towards resolving the constitutional impasse.

Ironically, Boipatong has changed all this.

Although no solid evidence has emerged linking the government to complicity in the killings - save claims by residents that the killers were ferried to Boipatong in casspirs - there is no doubt that the government has taken a serious knock over this tragedy.

International condemnation of Pretoria, particularly by Western Europe and the United States, has been muted, but it is there nonetheless.

A leading ANC official told City Press that "important voices among SA's major trading partners", have told the government that the Boipatong outrage does not inspire investor confidence and cannot be tolerated.

In a matter of days following Boipatong, State President FW de Klerk found himself forced to plug a burst dam of anger with his fingers. Apart from international censure, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (the country's barometer of stability) took a dip and the participation of our sportsmen in international events including the Barcelona Olympics, was threatened.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu,



"GO AWAY MURDERER!" ... FW de Klerk was forced to flee Boipatong in the wake of the massacre when enraged chanting youths besieged his car. Shots were fired after the presidential party left and three more people were killed.

who has been quiet since the start of negotiations, has threatened to mobilise international pressure to exclude SA from Barcelona unless certain steps are taken to end the violence and achieve a political settlement.

The cumulative effect of all this means that, if in the weeks before Boipatong the onus to get the talks back on track lay principally with the ANC and the government, it is now the government which must deliver a lot more to save the process.

With its back against the wall the government will, in the next few weeks or even days, take a

serious look at how far to go in rescuing the talks.

Having built an impressive image locally and abroad as a reformist, De Klerk will have to take drastic measures to keep his image. His immediate task is to address the ANC demands.

An angry ANC national executive committee - after meeting for several hours in Kempton Park near Johannesburg - has come up with 14 tough but by no means unreasonable demands (see box) the government must address if the talks are to resume.

The organisation says it is willing to return to the negotiat-

ing table if significant progress can be made in satisfying - not necessarily meeting (our emphasis) - the demands.

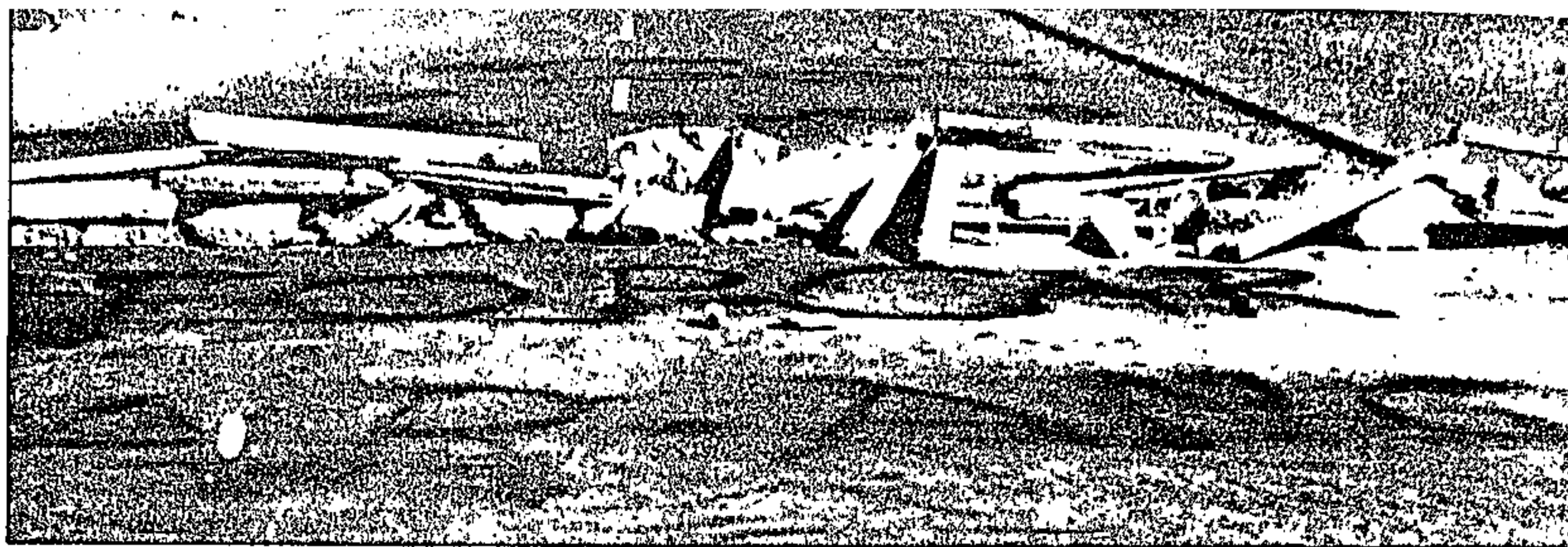
That the ANC is in an angry mood is understandable. Its political standing has also taken a knock in recent weeks. Internally the organisation is faced with a restive membership (even some leadership) which questions the wisdom of placing too much faith in negotiations.

Externally, since the impasse at Codesa, the organisation has had to live with the constant refrain from rivals (PAC and Azapo) that De Klerk had sold them (ANC) a dud cheque.

The rejoinder by PAC Azapo - "We told you so!" must have been rankling to the ANC leadership, especially Nelson Mandela, who placed so much faith in Codesa and the integrity of De Klerk.

While the ANC was still clinging without much conviction to justify participation in Codesa along came Boipatong. The organisation was under even more pressure.

At the same time the ANC was painfully aware that it had to do something urgent to risk losing support to their rivals. The sight of desperate Boipatong residents demanding



BOIPATONG BARRICADE ... A defenceless community tries to protect itself against night attackers.

Boipatong ashes

C/Press 28/6/92

304A



flee Boipatong in the wake of the massacre when enraged presidential party left and three more people were killed.



IN THE WAKE OF SLAUGHTER ... Municipal bulldozers clear away the makeshift roadblocks of concrete and rubble erected by Boipatong residents after the night of death.

■ PICS: ANDRIES MCINEKA

It's up to FW to break the political deadlock

weapons from Apla, the PAC's military wing, must have been unsettling.

After much agonising, withdrawing from Codesa and cancelling all bilateral talks with the government was the only route left for the organisation. Yet, Boipatong may in fact save the negotiations.

De Klerk is now placed in a situation where he must seek a political understanding with the ANC. The ball is now firmly in his court to break the deadlock.

As one senior ANC official stated: "After Boipatong, the government is now forced to take demonstrable action to curb the violence and also resolve the impasse at Codesa."

By cutting short his trip to Spain where he was to open a South African exhibition, De Klerk has shown that perhaps

he has now grasped fully the magnitude of the problem.

On arrival in Pretoria, he announced at a hastily convened international media conference that the government and the ANC should meet as soon as possible to break the current impasse and get the negotiations on track. He has proposed that the two meet over two days. The date and venue of such a meeting - it is a moot point whether they will take place - has not yet been agreed.

But such a meeting, brought about as a result of Boipatong and its aftermath, may well determine the future of the negotiations.

This will of course depend on whether De Klerk will satisfy in a significant way the ANC demands - especially the curbing of the slaughter.

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Externally, since the impasse at Codesa, the organisation has had to live with the constant refrain from rivals (PAC and Azapo) that De Klerk had sold them (ANC) a dud cheque.

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At the same time the ANC was painfully aware that they had to do something urgent or risk losing support to their rivals. The sight of desperate Boipatong residents demanding

Long before Boipatong, the seeds had already been sown for **THE**

28/6/92

JOCA

involvement in unravelling the negotiations deadlock. On Friday Mr Botha sent letters to 50 foreign ministers outlining the government's position and repeating the President's invitation for fact-finding missions.

Mr De Klerk's offer to the ANC of two days of negotiations failed to draw the desired response. Unlike last year, the ANC leadership would not be allowed by its constituency to creep back into negotiations without concrete proof that its demands were being taken seriously.

Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer made fruitless telephone calls to each other trying to arrange a meeting between the principals — Mr

Mandela and Mr De Klerk — to deliver the memorandum.

While Mr De Klerk indicated that he would be available on Friday morning, Mr Ramaphosa told Mr Meyer on Thursday that the memorandum would be ready only by 2pm on Friday.

The ANC had decided that such a face-to-face meeting could be construed by its membership as too akin to talks. There was, the ANC felt, nothing to talk about. In the end, the ANC sent the 15-page document to the President's office by messenger. It was a signal of its determination not to engage the government.

But if the government was slow in realising the depth of

feeling on the ANC part, others were not.

Mr John Hall, the top businessman who heads the beleaguered National Peace Committee, was so appalled by Boipatong that on Sunday night he planned to go on television to call for the immediate formation of an emergency government of national unity involving the major parties. Political confidants persuaded him not to.

Nevertheless, he appears to be one of the few still optimistic. "Nobody in his right mind is going to let this situation get out of control, because if it does, the way back will take many years and leave an economic wasteland."

CRISIS

S/Times 28/6/92

EDYTH BULBRING and BRIAN POTTINGER look at the rapid unravelling of months of careful political negotiations

FIFTEEN minutes after appearing on television on Tuesday night to announce the ANC's suspension of talks, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa telephoned Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at home.

"What the hell do you think you are doing?" asked Mr Meyer.

"Well, the good news is we still want to talk," replied Mr Ramaphosa. He was serious.

Earlier that day 70 members of the ANC's national executive committee held an emergency meeting to decide the course of action following the Boipatong massacre. Most of those present had already made up their minds: talks should be suspended.

But how this should be done was at issue. Some wanted the ANC to break off talks unconditionally and indefinitely until mass action had taken its course. Others wanted the ANC to pull out of the Pretoria and DF Malan Accords. Still others felt talks should be suspended until the government had addressed certain demands. After five hours of debate, those in favour of conditional suspension won the day.

The decision was swiftly endorsed by the ANC's alliance partners and by Patriotic Front members. What has become known as "the crisis" was at hand.

The Boipatong massacre was clearly the catalyst for rupturing negotiations this week. But the seeds of crisis had been sown long before.

For some time the ANC had felt the government's referendum victory in March had created a dangerous sense of triumph and arrogance in the National Party. The result, felt the ANC, was foot-dragging and an attempt by the De Klerk administration to cling to power.

The deadlock at Codesa 2 over the government's insistence on a minority veto over the final constitution signalled to the ANC that it would have to take negotiations back to the streets to

force the government's hand. The decision to revert to mass action held an inherent threat of a deterioration in the negotiating climate. Suspension of talks was, therefore, always a possibility.

The government, for its part, believed the ANC had decided long before Codesa 2 that it no longer wanted multilateral negotiations. It believed radical elements within the ANC had ensured no agreement could be reached. Boipatong, argued the government, gave the ANC the excuse to suspend talks and then resume them, on its own terms.

For many in the government, the ANC's announcement was reminiscent of April last year, when the ANC suspended talks about talks until the issue of violence was satisfactorily addressed.

At the time a senior government negotiator remarked, prophetically, that negotiations would not collapse because violence then was hurting both major players equally. Equally prophetically, he observed that when a point was reached that either of the major players felt it was hurting far worse than the other, a crisis would be reached.

WITH the white right routed in the referendum, and opinion polls showing the NP making major advances in the Indian and coloured communities, things were going swimmingly for President FW de Klerk before Codesa 2. He might have been appalled at the continuing violence in black communities, but it did not have a direct impact on his political base.

The exact opposite held for his counterpart, Mr Nelson Mandela. Every violent township death brought renewed accusations that the ANC was selling out its supporters. Boipatong was, for Mr Mandela, the final straw.

Addressing a meeting in nearby Evaton last Sunday,

Mr Mandela was confronted by an angry crowd which demanded arms and accused him and the ANC of "acting like lambs while the enemy is killing our people".

He realised then that negotiating in this climate could put the ANC in serious danger of alienating its support.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he told the crowd.

It was not an off-the-cuff remark. Mr Mandela had consulted trusted lieutenants soon after the massacre and the overwhelming response, even from moderates, was that a dramatic gesture was required from the ANC. The crowd's response merely confirmed his opinion and he left it to the NEC to endorse.

For the government, the crisis did not become apparent until later this week. Having experienced a suspension of talks over a year ago, there was a sense of *déjà vu*.

President De Klerk left for Spain on a prearranged visit, despite some misgivings by members of his cabinet. When the seriousness of the ANC's position became known, Mr De Klerk belatedly cut short his visit.

He flew back to a sombre cabinet meeting on Wednesday. The strategy that was thrashed out rested on two pillars — a play for international support, and a simultaneous signal to the ANC that the government was prepared to meet for talks, but on its terms.

In a press conference later

that day Mr De Klerk offered a two-day summit to deal with the impasse and made some minor concessions on the admission of foreign observers. The real thrust of the attack lay elsewhere — an appeal to world sentiment, over the heads of the ANC.

The government decision was bolstered by reports from the Department of Foreign Affairs which suggested that the international community was leaning towards the government. Subsequent reports would suggest a misreading on the part of the department.

Nevertheless, on the day, the cabinet was persuaded by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to seek greater foreign

20/10/74

30/6/92

Poll result shifts battle front to ANC and Nats

51 News [Cape Metro]

777 (30/11)

THE National Party's victory over the Labour Party in the Diamant by-election is set to spark a renewed battle between the Nats and the African National Congress in the Western Cape. 28/6/92

With 1.2 million "coloured" voters — based on the 1989 voters' roll — in the province and most of them in the Western Cape, the ANC and the NP are acutely aware that the party that gains the most support will dominate the region in a new parliament.

The NP's strength among African potential voters in the Cape is undetermined, although the ANC appears to be in a position to capture most of their votes.

The ANC's membership among coloureds and Africans in the Western Cape — which stretches from the Cape to the Namibian border — is 56 000 votes, according to the movement's sources.

In the 1989 election, about 200 000 coloureds voted, most of them for the LP.

The LP is expected to disappear in the wake of the Diamant by-election.

The NP, with 45 seats against Labour's 35, already has the majority in the House of Representatives.

Another by-election is pending in the "safe" Labour seat of Border, vacated by the resignation of Mr Peter Mopp, who was returned unopposed in 1989.

However, a Labour Party source said it was unlikely to contest the seat.

Morale in the LP caucus is at it lowest, MPs say, and many of them predict a further defection of their numbers — including senior parliamentarians close to party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse — to the NP.

It is understood that several LP MPs, most of them in Western Cape seats, have been waiting only for

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

the Diamant result before making up their minds.

Media spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said yesterday he did not expect resignations from the party.

Asked if the LP would reconsider its future, he said it would discuss the Diamant result at its annual conference in December.

It regarded the result as "only one battle lost in a war still to be fought for total liberation and democracy".

Mr Hendrickse was uncharacteristically reticent about the ANC's involvement in the by-election, but conceded that it had given "moral support".

"We obtained stickers from the ANC and we used them on our combis and cars, but the ANC did not involve itself organisationally, nor did it canvass on our behalf. All it did was call on the people not to vote for the NP."

The ANC's spokesman for Kimberley, Mr Pakes Dikghetsi, also denied the movement had been involved officially in the by-election.

FW and Mandela meeting is not on

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk would not meet today as speculated earlier. 24/6/92

The ANC last night said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday contacted the organisation saying De Klerk would not be able to meet the ANC leader "until sometime next week".

Mandela is due to leave for the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

The ANC said an official of the organisation would therefore deliver a memorandum containing its demands to the State President's office today.

"We have requested that Mr De Klerk reply in writing to our memorandum, so that the NEC (national executive committee) of the ANC can consider his response," the organisation said in a statement. (30/4)

Stalled

Meanwhile *Reuters* reports that De Klerk and top advisers met yesterday to find ways of reviving the stalled negotiations.

But the ANC ruled out any resumption of substantive negotiations.

The ANC said it was trying to arrange a meeting with the Government only to present demands for an end to township violence.

The organisation said it would not discuss how to repair the rapid deterioration in their relationship over the township violence for which the ANC says security forces were largely to blame.

A Government spokesman said he was meeting senior Ministers to discuss the crisis. A Government source said these included Meyer and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma denied a *Reuter* report from Senegal that Botha and Mandela would meet in Nigeria tomorrow.

Political organisation in townships is well nigh impossible, argues Sheena Duncan

Instability indirectly benefits Govt

STAR 29/6/92

will keep them safe.

Proper organisation of branch structures by any political party is now well nigh impossible in the townships.

Free and fair elections cannot take place without an end to violence and an international peace keeping and monitoring team.

The international community has been seduced into seeing "black on black" violence as just another indication that Africa is corrupt, savage and irredeemable and sympathises with Mr de Klerk as a strong, sincere free marketer who can lead South Africa into a secure future as the "power house" of southern Africa — to the profit of the industrialised north.

All this adds up to the fact that the National Party Government is undoubtedly benefiting from the destabilisation of its major political opponent.

President F W de Klerk has been reported as saying in Madrid that the Government has nothing to gain from instability.

This is an argument which has often been used by those who cannot bring themselves to believe that an evil, military-designed programme of "low intensity conflict" can possibly have been carried forward from the P W Botha era into the new South Africa.

The truth about the causes of our present tragic situation will no doubt be revealed in one way or another in the future.

Various pressures forced the Government to recognise that it could not continue with the ruthless imposition of apartheid, and that one-person-one-vote elections would have to be held in the foreseeable future. In such elections the National Party would not succeed in winning a majority and forming a new government if the elections

were truly democratic and fair.

Even a hold on the balance of power in a coalition would be unlikely because a majority party which failed to win overall support would be likely to look elsewhere among minority parties for a coalition partner.

The ANC, building on the strong base of the UDF structures — unions, civics, community and service organisations of various kinds, would have been able to organise itself into an efficient and grass-rooted electoral machine which would have brought people to the polls to vote resoundingly for its policies. It is undoubtedly the most powerful of all the National Party's political opponents.

But the violence has prevented the efficient organisation which is required for such a normal electoral process. The movement is riven with dissenting groups. The young (66 percent of the black population is under the age of 27) are especially angry but so also are their parents who have to travel to and from work each day in terror of sudden attack.

Communities who do not feel themselves to be African seek protection from those they have been taught to fear in years of TV projection of an image of an enemy which almost always was black-skinned.

Some see Mr de Klerk as saviour and friend who is the only person strong enough to protect them. Some remain loyal to the ANC but are very critical of its inability to protect them.

Some are joining other parties who offer a more militant approach. Some are going underground into revolutionary structures. Some will "join" other groups and take party cards because they are forced by fear to do so and hope a new affiliation

THANK YOU

Inkatha pair meet UN chief

STAN 29/6/92
ULUNDI — The Boipatong tragedy must not be allowed to threaten the reform process, senior Inkatha Freedom Party members told United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, at the weekend.

An IFP statement issued yesterday said the delegates told Dr Boutros-Ghali that the IFP had in no way been responsible for the outrage.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and secretary-general Inkosi S H Gumede told the secretary-general that the ANC was "erring grievously" in telling the world that the Government was not prepared to relinquish power to democratic institutions.

And at an IFP central committee meeting in Ulundi yesterday, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that more than half of the delegates to the second phase of Codesa had rejected the ANC's proposals for an interim government.

"Whichever way the South African Government had moved, that half of Codesa would have voted against the ANC," he alleged. — Sapa.

Big business De Klerk in talks on violence

STAR 29/6/92
Organised industry and trade meet President de Klerk in Pretoria today to discuss violence and the political situation.

There will also be talks soon with ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meeting with Mr de Klerk will be senior representatives of the South African Chamber of Business, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation.

"The opportunity will be taken to have an exchange of views with the State President on the concerns which the business community have about current political circumstances and their impact on the economy," said a statement. — Sapa.



PIK BOTHA

ANC Govt *30 Oct* still *Sowetan* talk *29/10/92*

BEHIND the scenes talks with the African National Congress continue despite the suspension of the constitutional negotiations, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He was speaking to journalists on his return to South Africa with Constitutional Development colleague Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday after their meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Nigeria.

Boutros-Ghali, who also held talks with an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation in Abuja, asked apartheid be eliminated more quickly, Botha said.

The South African delegation also met the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Boutros-Ghali will hold talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela at the OAU summit which begins in Dakar, Senegal today. An ANC delegation will attend the ministers meeting which will precede the summit meeting. - Sapa

Babangida pleads for Codesa

ABUJA - Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, outgoing chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, called for an end to violence in South Africa and the resumption of constitutional talks.

"Violence in any form is deplorable and never solved any problem," General Babangida, quoted by a state house statement, told visiting Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. Botha met UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the Nigerian capital amid the worst crisis facing two-year-old reforms aimed at ending 300 years of white supremacy.

Botha sought the meeting to discuss the breakdown of South Africa's democracy talks after the Boipatong massacre of 49 blacks.

Babangida, who had separate talks with Boutros-Ghali, agreed "with the South African Government on the need for all parties to the stalled Codesa talks to rejoin the process aimed at democratic rule".

"He restated his belief in Codesa and pledged to support current efforts at reviving the talks," it added.

The African National Congress last Tuesday broke off the Codesa talks, blaming the Government for the massacre at Boipatong. Official Nigerian sources said they had

also expected ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Abuja ahead of this week's OAU summit meeting in Dakar, Senegal.

Mandela is expected to meet Boutros-Ghali in Dakar. Botha said after meeting Boutros-Ghali: "I conveyed our viewpoint on negotiations and said we remain fully committed to resolving our problems through negotiations, and we think it is a mistake for any party to withdraw."

The call by Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, for a resumption of Codesa follows April's landmark visit to Abuja by President FW de Klerk. - *Sapa Reuter*

Africa surveys its tra

3044

STAR 29/6/92

Conflict and the economy are some of the problems to be discussed at the OAU summit in Dakar, writes **BARNEY MITHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service.**

country are controlled by different armed militia. So the factions turned up in D each claiming to be the legitimate government.

reigning in Liberia and Somalia, and about a dozen low-level conflicts are raging on the continent.

There are also the economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought in most of eastern and southern Africa. Southern African countries have called for greater co-ordination of drought relief.

Because of the venue of the summit, west African concerns will tend to dominate. The civil war in Liberia tops the list because the host country, Senegal, has lost troops serving with the

peacekeeping force Ecomog in Liberia.

There are fears that the Liberian civil war could engulf the entire region. It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone. The summit will have to decide what to do about Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor, who has broken every agreement reached with him. Last week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement.

In Somalia, civil administration has completely broken down. Various parts of the

AFRICAN heads of state assemble in Dakar today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention — but with the South Africa issue no longer one of them.

A mighty row over this issue had been expected. Some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codesa to attend this year's summit as an observer, but others opposed it.

A week ago a showdown seemed possible, but the Boipatong massacre apparently came to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby.

Rumours persisted early last week that SA Director-General

of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call to the summit, but his department denied it.

In a press briefing, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed. He condemned the violence in South Africa only after he was prodded.

The massacre and Dr Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa. The foreign ministers, who met before the summit to draw up its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC.

According to sources, not a single foreign minister argued

the case for South Africa. ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it much easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria. The massacre had dealt President de Klerk's personal image and prestige a severe blow, he said.

The ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja, Nigeria, that some sanctions be lifted, but this year it is presenting a position fairly similar to that of the PAC, which has maintained that Codesa was not the correct forum for constitutional talks. The PAC wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC.

Although they may have been let off the South African hook, African leaders face other tough problems. Anarchy is

Dr Salim has complained the international community has not always responded as elsewhere. "The is not interested (in Africa more," he said, adding Africa would have to use own resources to solve its

The OAU's impotence to with the continent's problems something that has long erred many of its supporters just being able to exist been an achievement. Africa is now a victim of end of the Cold War. Gona

Survivors its tragedies

STAR 29/6/92

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The OAU's impotence to deal
with the continent's problems is
something that has long both-
ered many of its supporters.
Just being able to exist has
been an achievement.

Africa is now a victim of the
end of the Cold War. Gone are

the days when Soviet envoys
could influence policy decisions
in exchange for armaments and
easy terms of trade.

Now the remnants of what
was the Soviet Union are join-
ing the queue for international
aid, and it annoys the Africans
that they jump the queue.

OAU officials are saying that,
colonial emancipation having
been attained, the time has
come for economic indepen-
dence. The signing of the treaty
establishing the African Eco-
nomic Community in Abuja last
year is seen as signalling the
second phase of the continent's
liberation. But the governments
know that without political sta-
bility it will be almost impossi-
ble to pull Africa out of the eco-
nomic quagmire.

Dr Salim wants some mecha-

nism for conflict resolution, and
it will feature high on the sum-
mit's agenda. He wants the
OAU to decide on how to build
its capacity for the control of
conflict both between and with-
in states.

But some countries are ex-
pected to resist this develop-
ment because it seems to go
against the OAU policy of non-
interference. If the suggestion is
adopted, it will mean that the
organisation has at last been
given teeth.

The OAU faces another issue.
It is often asked to observe
elections in member countries,
but it does not have enough
money to do so. It is \$38 million
(about R106 million) in the red
and almost half of its members
are in arrears with their contri-
butions. □

The ANC quitting Codesa won't help the PAC or Azapo, argues Kaizer Nyatsum

Waiting in vain in the wings

STAR 29/6/92



THE ANC decision to withdraw from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been greeted with mixed reactions here and abroad.

Although some foreign governments have expressed understanding for the ANC's frustrations as a result of the ongoing violence and Pretoria's apparent inability — to some even say reluctance — to deal with it satisfactorily, they have nevertheless urged the organisation to return to the table.

For the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the ANC decision should come as a boon and, consequently, go a long way towards enabling these organisations to attract to themselves disgruntled ANC supporters.

The two organisations have so far refused to participate in Codesa, pointing to a number of inadequacies with the negotiating forum's structure.

Predictably, they have reacted to the ANC's decision with glee,

saying it had vindicated their views that Codesa, as presently structured, was heavily flawed and could not lead to "the transfer of power to the oppressed".

But there seems to be no reason to believe a large-scale exodus of disgruntled ANC supporters will take place.

At best, the two organisations could hope for a trickle of support from the embattled ANC.

If that trickle should materialise at all, there is no precedent suggesting that the PAC and Azapo can turn it into a flood.

Azapo and the PAC have been very critical of the ANC for its involvement in "exploratory talks" with the Government in May and August 1990 to pave the way for negotiations, and accused the organisation of having "sold out" in the struggle for majority rule.

The criticism grew louder after the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle as a result of the Pretoria Minute, and relations between the ANC and the PAC were severely strained when then South

African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, speaking for the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, said the PAC's armed struggle had existed in name only.

It was around this time that a new slogan "One negotiator one bullet" was heard chanted with the same enthusiasm at PAC rallies as the familiar "One settler one bullet".

Commentators believed then that the two organisations to the left of the ANC, especially the PAC, would gain support at the expense of the ANC if negotiations ever floundered.

The PAC, it was argued, would mobilise vigorously in the black community and present itself as the "real" liberation movement which had not rushed into talks with Pretoria to conclude deals which fell short of meeting blacks' aspirations.

The ANC has since suffered a number of embarrassments, but the PAC and Azapo have, through the lack of either organisational skill or the requisite will, failed to take advantage of those situations.

Shortly after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, violence — until then been confined to Natal — spilled over into Transvaal townships.

Whole communities, including ANC members and sympathisers, were affected and the ANC appeared vulnerable to the PAC.

But neither they nor Azapo made any major inroads into ANC constituencies.

Since the beginning of tete-a-tete between the ANC and the Government at Groote Schuur in 1990, there has been a widespread perception in the black community that Pretoria has outmanoeuvred the ANC all the way. And where the Government has made concessions, it has been slow to implement them.

Throughout this period, however, there is no evidence that the ANC has lost some of its support — even among the radical elements in its ranks — to Azapo and the PAC. There is no reason, therefore, to believe now that last week's killings in Boipatong, and the ANC's subsequent decision to

pull out of Codesa temporarily, will give the PAC and Azapo any significant advantage.

For a change, it can be argued that by pulling out of Codesa, the ANC is responding to sentiments expressed by its general membership on the ground and therefore wisely eschews any erosion of its support.

That does not, however, explain why organisations to its left have failed to capitalise on the situation.

At least two reasons can be advanced: the PAC and Azapo are not as organised as the ANC — whose sophisticated propaganda machine they lack — and they take for granted that they will be able to mobilise vigorously when the right time comes.

Although its own and Nelson Mandela's allure is no longer what it used to be, the ANC can still attract crowds to its rallies and protest marches, and can count on a huge contingent of the local and international media to attend and cover its activities. Not so Azapo and the PAC, whose crowd-pulling

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STAR 29/6/92

(11A) (3044)

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At least two reasons can be advanced: the PAC and Azapo are not as organised as the ANC — whose sophisticated propaganda machine they lack — and they take for granted that they will be able to mobilise vigorously when the right time comes.

Although its own and Nelson Mandela's allure is no longer what it used to be, the ANC can still attract crowds to its rallies and protest marches, and can count on a huge contingent of the local and international media to attend and cover its activities. Not so Azapo and the PAC, whose crowd-pulling

does not compare to the ANC's.

And if time will ever be right for Azapo and the PAC, it is now. Azapo has spoken of a nationwide "village to village, township to township" recruitment campaign, evidence of which has yet to be seen.

The best the PAC could hope for, then, is the revival of the Patriotic Front (PF) formed in Durban last year, so that it, and the ANC would confront the Government with similar demands.

But the ANC, which is likely to return to Codesa shortly once President de Klerk's Government has addressed some of the demands it made last week, does not share the PAC's enthusiasm for the PF. Nowhere in the ANC NEC's statement was reference made to the PF and the need for its revitalisation.

Indeed, the ANC, whose main intention appears to be to jolt the Government and rid it of its complacency in negotiations, has left the door wide open for its imminent return to Codesa.

CP is split on homeland plans

Sowetan 29/6/92

304A

THE division within the Conservative Party broke into the open on Saturday at the party's general congress in Pretoria.

Party leader Andries Treurnicht had to refer back proposals on the geography of an Afrikaner homeland to an executive council committee after five CP MPs voiced their opposition to the proposals drawn up by the executive com-

mittee earlier this month.

The five - Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr J de Ville and Advocate Chris de Jager - distributed a document entitled *he Road Ahead*, outlining their own proposals.

Media representatives obtained copies of the document afterwards.

Sources who attended the congress said the deputy

leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, repeatedly reprimanded Beyers, widely seen as the leader of the "new rightist" faction, for exceeding the time limit when he tried to convey the group's proposals.

Treurnicht intervened and said the matter should be referred back to the executive council, and re-submitted to another general congress later this year. - Sapa.

Power struggle

SOUTH Africa needed a strong centre party to balance propositions from the ruling National Party and the African National Congress, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said at the weekend.

Speaking at Funda Centre in Soweto, De Beer said both the Government and the ANC were out for power. *Sowetan 29/6/92*

"The danger facing South Africa now is one of polarisation," he said. - Sapa *(304A)*

Briefs

Nats woo blacks

THE National Party will step up its campaign to woo black supporters this week when it holds a public meeting in Johannesburg. (304A)

The meeting, to be addressed by MP for Jeppe Mr Hennie Bekker, comes after President FW de Klerk's rude reception in Boipatong two weeks ago following the Vaal Triangle killings which catapulted South Africa to international headlines.

The meeting will be held on Wednesday night at IH Harris Primary School in Doornfontein.

Sawfan 29/6/92

Strong centre party vital, says De Beer

Because of dangerous polarisation in South Africa, a strong centre party was needed to balance propositions from the ruling National Party and the ANC, says Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Dr de Beer, speaking at the Funda Centre in Soweto, said both the Government and ANC were out for power.

"The danger facing SA now is one of polarisa-

tion." The ANC and Government "are more interested in beating each other up than in producing the right policies to make SA peaceful and prosperous".

"Ideally, we should get them to work together. But it looks as though they will make this impossible," he said.

"The best we can do is to build a strong centre party," he said. — Sapa.

Optimism over revised plan for volkstaat

STAR 29/6/92

By Helen Grange

304A

A proposal by a handful of Conservative Party members for a smaller volkstaat in the north of the country has a good chance of being adopted by the party, according to the proponents.

The proposal, by the so-called "new rightists" in the party, emerged at the CP general congress in Pretoria at the weekend. It was immediately opposed by hardliners including deputy party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Schalk Pienaar and Kobus Beyers.

To avoid a clash, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht referred it back to the executive council to be reviewed and resubmitted later this year.

The proposal, dubbed "The Road Ahead", was made by Andries Beyers, Moolman Mentz, Cehill Pienaar, Rosier de Ville and Chris de Jager.

Mr de Jager said yesterday it was based on the idea of a confederation of "open regions" that would include an Afrikaner-dominant state in the north of the country with Pretoria as the core.

Other states would include a state for Afrikaners and coloureds, a Zulu-dominant state "in



Andries Treurnicht ... prevented clash.

the east", a "cosmopolitan state" in the "central north", a Xhosa-dominated state in the south, a Tswana state in the west, a multi-ethnic black-dominant state in the far-north and north-east, a Sotho state with Lesotho as the core, and a Swazi state in Swaziland.

"The proposal is growing in popularity at grassroots level and we believe it will eventually be supported within and even outside the party," Mr de Jager said.

Dr Hartzenberg said the opposition to the proposal did not mean the party was split.

"There are no differences in matters of principle. It is only a practical difference," he said.

Employer bodies to meet FW

Business acts to help end talks crisis

BIDay 29/6/92

304A

ORGANISED business today launches a concerted drive to break the current negotiations impasse.

Leaders of Sacob, Seifsa and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) will meet President F W de Klerk today for talks on the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa, and the violence.

The meeting is one of several private sector initiatives intended to help overcome the breakdown of negotiations since the ANC's withdrawal from talks last week.

In a joint statement yesterday the organisations said they would also meet ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi soon.

The business leaders are expected to spell out the effects the negotiations breakdown and the violence are having on investor confidence and the economy.

It is believed Sacob will be represented by president Hennie Viljoen and executive director Raymond Parsons, the AHI by president Attie du Plessis and executive director Joe Poolman, and that Seifsa director Brian Angus will represent the steel and engineering employers' body.

In a separate development yesterday, the Urban Foundation's board of directors released a four-point strategy which it said all political leaders should adopt to eliminate violence and get negotiations going.

A foundation statement said this strategy should include fostering a perception that the security forces were instruments for peace and strengthening the process of justice in violence-torn areas.

It is understood that members of employer body Saccola met Cosatu leaders at the weekend to discuss the crisis over

PETER DELMAR

negotiations and violence and the ANC alliance's mass action programme.

Meanwhile, international calls for the resumption of Codesa negotiations continued at the weekend with the EC urging the ANC to go back to talks.

The EC leaders said in a statement following their two-day summit in Lisbon that all parties should return to Codesa, Sapa-Reuter reports.

Nigerian President and outgoing OAU chairman Ibrahim Babangida also urged a resumption of talks. He told SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha he agreed with government that all parties should join the talks.

Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer returned to SA yesterday after meeting Babangida and UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Abuja.

Boutros-Ghali agreed to Botha's invitation for him to visit SA, but a Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said no date had yet been arranged.

On his return to SA, Botha said behind the scenes talks with the ANC were continuing.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and deputy secretary-general S H Gumede met Boutros-Ghali yesterday and told him "the Boipatong tragedy must not be allowed to threaten the reform process".

Boutros-Ghali was due to meet Mandela yesterday, in Dakar, Senegal. Mandela is expected to ask for a special UN security council debate on SA.

□ Today's meeting of the Codesa management committee has been cancelled. No reasons were given.

CP splits at its Pretoria congress

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The five — Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Moolman Ments, Cehill Pienaar, J de Ville and Chris de Jager — distributed a document entitled

"The Road Ahead" outlining their proposals.

Treurnicht said the matter should be referred back to the executive council.

The five MPs suggested the country should be divided into 10 regions, with the "Afrikaner-dominant state in the north with Pretoria as the core ..."

They suggested a state or two "in the south" for Afrikaners and coloureds, a Zulu-dominant state "in the east," a "cosmopolitan state" in the "central-north" with Johannesburg as the core, a Xhosa-dominant state in the south, a

Tswana state in the west, a multi-ethnic black-dominant state in the far north and northeast, a Sotho-state with Lesotho as the core, and a Swazi state with Swaziland as the base.

Beyers lost his post as chief secretary of the party on Saturday and was replaced by Len Theron of Brits. None of the five attended a news conference addressed by Treurnicht. Treurnicht tried to play down the issue.

He said the executive council's idea of an Afrikaner homeland was that the 39 CP constituencies should be regarded as Afrikaner territory. The party also laid claim to other land, according to the council, but was willing to negotiate the borders of this additional land with other claimants. — Sapa.



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Govt 'looking for veto power'

CT 29/6/92 304A
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government's intention was to form a coalition of moderates which it believed would gain sufficient votes in a general election to give it 30%, thus giving it veto power, said Mr Pravin Gordhon here yesterday.

Mr Gordhon, chairman of Codesa's management committee, spoke in his private capacity at a meeting of the Durban Central Residents' Association.

He said 30% for the NP would

guarantee it a minority veto power if the 75% demand was accepted, he said.

The Government's failure to take action against "IFP impis" and the carrying of dangerous weapons must be seen against the NP's attempts to please its potential allies in the planned "coalition of moderates" for a general election, he said.

"Their strategy is to rule South Africa without being seen to be in power."

● The Democratic Party had undertaken to attend Codesa meetings today — the day of the mass funeral for the Boipatong massacre victims — before it had been announced the mass funeral would be held that day, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told Sapa: "Once the date was fixed for the funeral, it was quite clear that no meeting could be held, and certainly quite clear that we would not attend."

CP divided over Afrikaner state

Dr No: 'Safety action' planned

PRETORIA. — Division within the Conservative Party burst into the open at its general congress here on Saturday.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had to refer proposals on an Afrikaner homeland back to an executive council committee after five MPs opposed the executive committee's proposals.

The five — Mr Andries Beyers, Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr J de Ville and Mr Chris de Jager — distributed a document outlining their own proposals.

The congress was closed to the media, but sources who attended said deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg repeatedly reprimanded Mr Beyers, widely seen as leader of the "new rightist" faction.

The five MPs suggested that the country be divided into 10 regions, with the "Afrikaner-dominant state" in the north and Pretoria as its core.

Mr Beyers was replaced as chief secretary of the party by Mr Len Theron of Brits. — Sapa

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party would give attention to "safety action" where necessary because it would not be intimidated by the ANC and its private army, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Saturday.

The party would use Boer Crisis Action to protect whites' rights and freedom.

Dr Treurnicht told a general congress, convened to consider the CP executive council's new confederacy guidelines, that on Friday night the council had accepted a number of strategic proposals by its planning advisory committee.

In terms of these the CP would discuss a future dispensation on the basis of the acceptance of self-determination and determination of borders.

Pleas to FW

Business bid to get talks going

304A
21/6/92



JOHANNESBURG. — Big business today launches a concerted drive to break the current negotiations impasse in a meeting with President FW de Klerk.

The talks comes as services and prayer meetings are held across the country to commemorate the Boipatong massacre and is one of several private sector initiatives intended to overcome the breakdown of negotiations since the ANC's withdrawal last week.

Leaders of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) will meet Mr De Klerk in Pretoria to discuss the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and the violence.

In a joint statement yesterday, the organisations said they would also meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's spokesman.

"The opportunity will be taken to have an exchange of views with the State President on the concerns which the business community have about current

political circumstances and their impact on the economy," the statement said.

It is also understood that members of employer body Saco met Cosatu leaders at the weekend to discuss the crisis over negotiations and violence and the ANC alliance's mass-action programme.

The meeting comes in the midst of government claims that behind-the-scenes talks with the ANC are being held.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr P. Botha, after returning to South Africa yesterday from talks with United Nations secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali — who has accepted an invitation to visit South Africa — and the chairman of the Organisation of Africa Unity, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, maintained that they were talking to the ANC.

But the ANC yesterday attacked Mr Botha. "This whole weak disinformation has been put out about proposed meetings between Mr Mandela and Mr Botha despite our organisation having no knowledge of Mr Botha's proposed meetings," said spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Klip-

From page 1

FW plea

town, Soweto, on Saturday, ruled out all further meetings with the government until it had acted to curb violence and installed an interim government.

He also told about 10 000 people, gathered in Kliptown to commemorate the 37th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, that there were more ways to power than negotiations.

He told the crowd, many of whom were armed with spears, axes and sharpened sticks, that mass action and the reimposition of international sanctions could be the way to end the government's rule.

However, European Community leaders at the weekend urged the ANC to resume talks. In a statement, following their two-day summit in Lisbon, they said all parties should return to Codesa and work towards a transitional government.

The statement noted Pretoria's willingness to allow foreign observers to participate in an investigation of the Boipatong massacre and said this could be discussed during a coming visit to SA by three EC ministers.

Mr Mandela yesterday flew to Dakar, Senegal, where he will meet Mr Boutros-Ghali ahead of an OAU summit.

Mr Boutros-Ghali also held talks with an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation in Abuja, Nigeria.

According to an IFP statement released yesterday the IFP's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, and secretary-general, Mr Inkosi S H Gumede, told Dr Boutros-Ghali that the IFP had in no way been responsible for the Boipatong outrage.

● Virginia Governor Lawrence Wilder, who arrived in Johannesburg yesterday to conclude a tour of seven African nations, said the Boipatong massacre and SA's political problems had failed to deter the 23-member American business and cultural delegation accompanying him. The party is to stay here till July 5. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

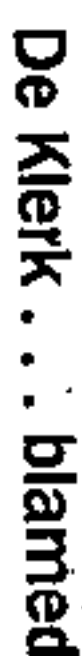
To page 2

STAR 30/6/92

3047

peaceful country where everyone had infinite patience, it might not have mattered. Unfortunately, it isn't.

"Trouble in the townships was happily blamed on the ANC-Inkatha struggle and on the ANC's desire for mass action."



De Klerk . . . blamed

De Klerk ^{Soweto} powerless'

30/6/92
STATE President FW de Klerk had admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that he had no power over his police force.

This was said by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa during the mass funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The alleged disclosure was made by De Klerk when he met Mandela for crisis talks during ill-fated Codesa 2 negotiations in mid-May.

De Klerk was, therefore, either incompetent or "totally useless", Ramaphosa charged. "He must go."

Codesa direction to be decided this week

Sowetan 30/6/92

304A

Own Correspondent

FOCUS

THE direction of South Africa's constitutional development, particularly the threatened Codesa negotiations, will be decided this week.

Pressures from the OAU leaders' summit, the UN and the Government's response to an ANC memorandum on ending negotiations are the major factors which will set the stage for the possible resumption of constitutional talks next week.

However the resumption of Codesa talks is still clearly in the balance after the ANC's suspension of talks after the Boipatong massacre.

The scheduled Management Committee meeting yesterday did not take place as the ANC alliance and church organisations arranged gatherings of mourning for the Boipatong victims.

The ANC alliance's central demand is a swift move to transitional government and a new constitution.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will seek support for his organisation's position at this week's OAU conference in Dakar, but it is understood that the OAU and the UN are both stressing the need for a resumption of the Codesa process.

The US and Britain are the main forces within the UN Security Council to bring pressure on the Government and ANC to get back to the talks' table.

This was confirmed after the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Constitutional Development, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Roelf Meyer, returned from the Nigerian capital Abuja on Sunday.

Talks with the UN secretary-

general, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the outgoing OAU Chairman, Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida, made it clear that the international and African community expected the parties to return to the negotiating table.

To ensure precisely this, the Government is going to prepare a comprehensive memorandum this week.

Meanwhile the UN secretary-general, who also spoke to the IFP, is due to speak to Mandela at the OAU summit probably in an attempt to mediate in the lingering dispute.

Details of Government proposals were not available but senior sources said on Sunday the main thrust of the complex proposals and analysis would be directed at the resumption of talks at the earliest possible opportunity.

The document is expected to be presented to the ANC towards the end of the week and will directly address issues raised by the ANC in its own memorandum, as well as problems which the Government itself has identified as obstacles to talks.

Violence, mass action, incitement, hostels, the role of the security forces and what the Government regards as unwarranted attacks on the person of State President FW de Klerk, are the main features to be addressed.

Several ministries, including Constitutional Development, Law and Order, Defence, Justice and Manpower and National Housing are contributing to the memorandum.

"We are aiming at getting talks



Mr NELSON MANDELA embraces PRESIDENT DIOUF of Senegal on Sunday on his arrival for the OAU conference and also urgent talks with UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

resumed on a reasonable and fair basis," a Ministerial source said on Sunday.

There were no scheduled talks between the main Codesa parties for the week, the same source said.

Efforts would be concentrated on drawing up the memorandum in the hope that with the return of Mandela at week's end, a new initiative could be started and that at the very least bilateral talks could be resumed to explore ways of getting Codesa moving once more.

Observers are optimistic that this goal will prove to be achievable.

The mass action period has adequately demonstrated the ANC

leadership's commitment to matching grass roots agendas but has also focused on weaknesses in the Codesa process which could now be corrected.

The Government/National Party negotiators have also re-evaluated the process and conceded shortcomings which may now serve as a basis on which talks can be resumed.

Firm indicators that the talks are to be resumed will not be forthcoming before next week.

The ANC will formulate its own position only after a national executive committee meeting has considered the Government response.

SOWETAN BUSINESS



FW DE KLERK

Business is anxious to heal split

SOUTH African business organisations yesterday indicated their strong desire to see political negotiations resume as soon as possible.

At an hour-long meeting with State President FW de Klerk in Pretoria, members of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the South African Chamber of Busi-

SA Press Association

ness and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation said business remained willing to assist "in whatever way possible" to help the negotiation process.

The organisations expressed their deep concern about the human and economic costs of the ongoing violence as well as the negative impact the breakdown in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was having on investor and business confidence.

"There is an overwhelming need for confidence building actions on the part of all concerned in South Africa," a joint statement from the organisations said.

In response De Klerk reaffirmed his Government's firm commitment to trying to get political negotiations back on track.

De Klerk also reiterated the Government's strong support for the National Peace Accord and the need to reduce the level of violence in the country.

The business organisations indicated they would, to an even greater extent, give their support to the negotiating process and the structures of the Peace Accord.

Initiative

The meeting with the President formed part of a multi-level initiative by organised business to address the current political problems in South Africa as they affect the economy.

Other separate meetings have been arranged with African National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi.

These meetings are expected to take place within the next week.

304A

Sowetan 30/6/92

Big business gives FW stern warning

By Michael Chester

Big business yesterday warned President de Klerk that both investor and overall business confidence had been rocked by the breakdown in the Codesa talks and the level of violence.

The stern message about the economic damage inflicted by the current political stalemate was handed over to Mr de Klerk at an hour-long meeting in Pretoria that emphasised the gloom of the business mood.

In dramatic new moves to seek a new peace settlement, organised business confirmed that it intended to convey similar warnings in meetings with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the next few days.

The urgency of solutions is being impressed by a powerful team that has been joined by all three main business organisations — the SA Cham-

ber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa).

An insider said: "The series of meetings underscores the growing alarm about the damage inflicted on the levels of confidence among both local and overseas businessmen in the South African economic outlook as a result of evidence of political disarray and ... violence."

In a joint statement, the business leaders said: "In a constructive exchange of views, the employer organisations conveyed to the State President their deep concern about the human and economic costs of the ongoing violence as well as the negative impact of the breakdown in the Codesa talks on investor and business confidence."

"The business organisations indicated their strong desire to see negotiations resumed as soon as possible."

"Business remained willing to assist in whatever way possible to facilitate the ne-

gotiation process. There was an overwhelming need for confidence-building actions on the part of all concerned.

"In response, the State President reaffirmed the Government's firm commitment to trying to get the political negotiations back on track. The State President also restated the Government's strong support for the National Peace Accord and on the need to reduce the level of violence."

"The employer bodies in turn indicated they would throw their weight to an even greater extent behind the process and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels."

"The discussions ... were an important part of a multi-level initiative by organised business to address the current political problems as they effect the economy."

The team was led by Sacob president Hennie Viljoen, AHI president Attie du Plessis and Seifsa executive director Brian Angus.

STAR 30/6/92

President goes to bed without fear of being butchered, observes Mike Siluma

FW fails to fathom the fury

STW 30/6/92

(3044)

IN ASCRIBING the disruption of his visit to Boipatong to the work of political elements bent on using his foray into the shell-shocked township to embarrass the Government, President de Klerk may have been right.

But he also revealed an astounding failure to fathom the level of anger engendered by violence in Boipatong and other townships across the land.

Those who advised him to visit Boipatong — where 39 people, including women and children, perished just 48 hours before — should also have told him that black people across the country are angry at the continuing violence which has claimed more than 12 000 lives in eight years.

Today there is no black person in the townships of the Witwatersrand, the Vaal and Natal, who, by virtue of skin colour, is not a potential target of the faceless killers whom the police seem to be having so much difficulty arresting.

Perhaps the reason Mr de Klerk cannot grasp the depth of fury in the townships is that he does not

have to retire every night fearing he might be butchered in his bed by a marauding gang such as that which descended on Boipatong 13 days ago.

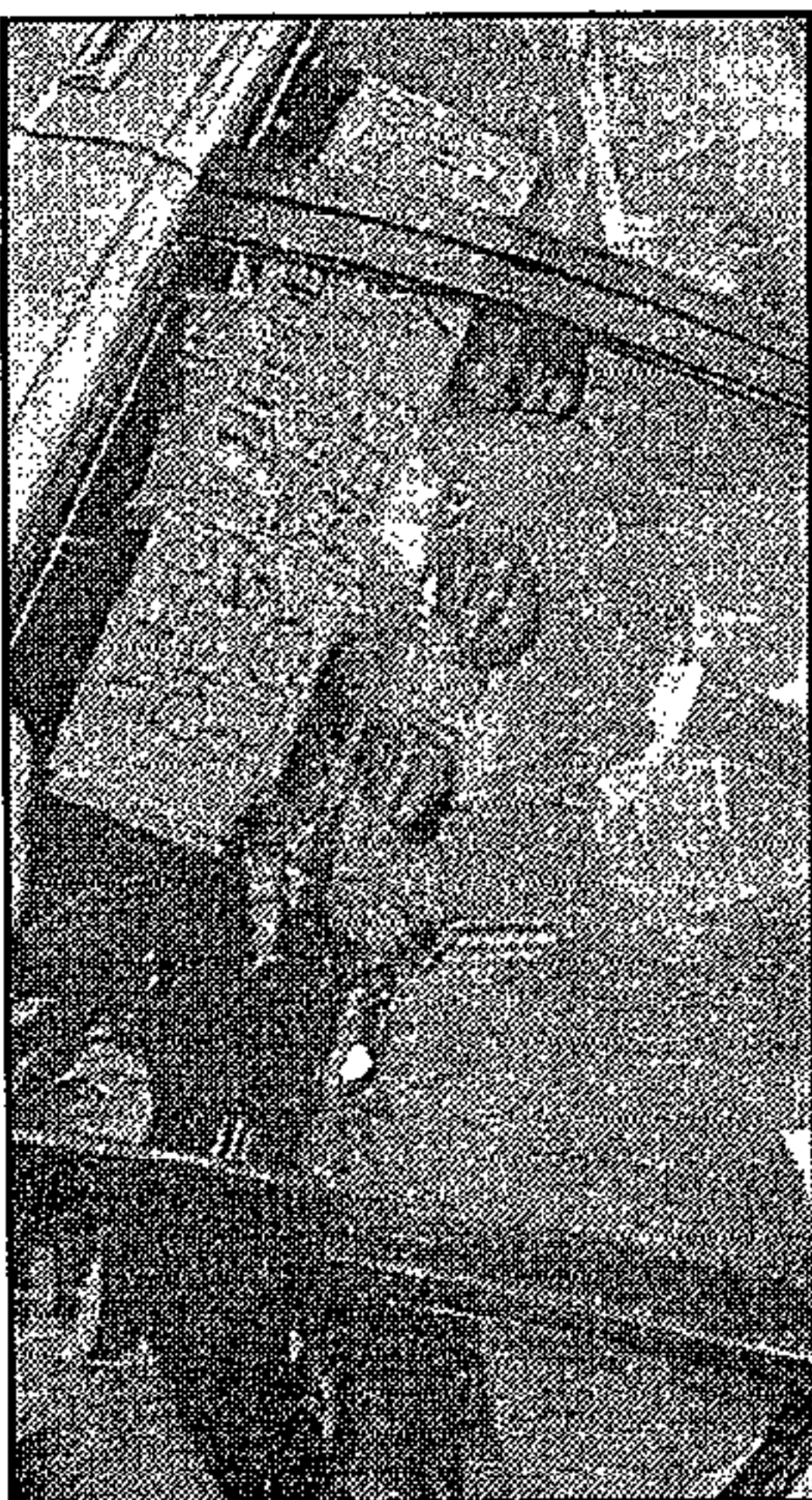
He does not have to fear that those close to him could, just because they are white, become fair game for a spear and club-bearing mob, an AK-47 sniper or gang.

Someone needs to tell the State President that since he came to power three years ago, millions of his black compatriots have been forced to live under this cloud of terror and death, day and night. And they are furious about it.

To say that his reception in Boipatong was the result of the machinations of unscrupulous politicians on the Left is to refuse to accept this fundamental fact.

Since the major outbreak of violence in Natal in 1984, when the security forces and the Government first used the term "black-on-black violence", there has seemingly been a denial that the violence is a national crisis. This probably accounts for the muted response to the problem by white South Africans.

Mr de Klerk, recognised as hav-



To hell with De Klerk and your IFP murderers... a poster reflected in the President's window on his Boipatong visit.

ing introduced the most far-reaching reforms in South African history, may wonder why so much anger was directed at him personally. This is because he has insisted on retaining State power in his hands. He says because the National Party is the government of the day, it must have the final say on crucial issues including the control of the security forces.

To that extent he must be willing to accept blame for the failure of those security forces to curb

the violence and bring to book the murderers who have plunged the constitutional talks into a crisis.

Mr de Klerk's often-repeated casting of the violence (echoed by his Minister of Law and Order, Hennis Kriel last week) as essentially a fight for territory between the ANC and Inkatha is only partly true.

Can he say, for instance, how those who randomly mowed down nine people with AK-47s in Molekane, Soweto, on June 16 knew

their victims' political affiliations? Or how the Boipatong attackers knew the allegiance of each one of those they murdered?

With not even the ANC having claimed all black people to be its members, and the violence having assumed such indiscriminate proportions, Mr de Klerk's assertion becomes hard to sustain with any credibility.

More to the point, Mr de Klerk needs to explain his police's abysmal performance in catching the perpetrators of some of the most horrific massacres of his three-year reign, from the Jeppe train outrage to Swanenville and Boipatong.

He might point out that arrests have been made in connection with Boipatong. But those at the receiving end of the violence have learnt the lesson, thanks to the police's investigative track record, that in these matters an arrest does not equal a conviction — witness the acquittal, ironically as the Vaal was on the boil again, of seven men accused of 38 counts of murder following the Sebokeng funeral vigils attack last January.

Mr de Klerk rejects as "a fundamental misunderstanding of his country's claim of his colour. Even if benefit of the doubt still remains. We get the police to jail? The police the police's track the very least, the very least, being seen to be crimes.

The country largely on the of the security that the transit to democracy is full. This has led community to the wisdom of a head of state the security for least, suspect.

If Mr de Klerk pable of arrest and protecting of political affairs then the argument of the security as the need for involvement, will less have-brain out to be. □

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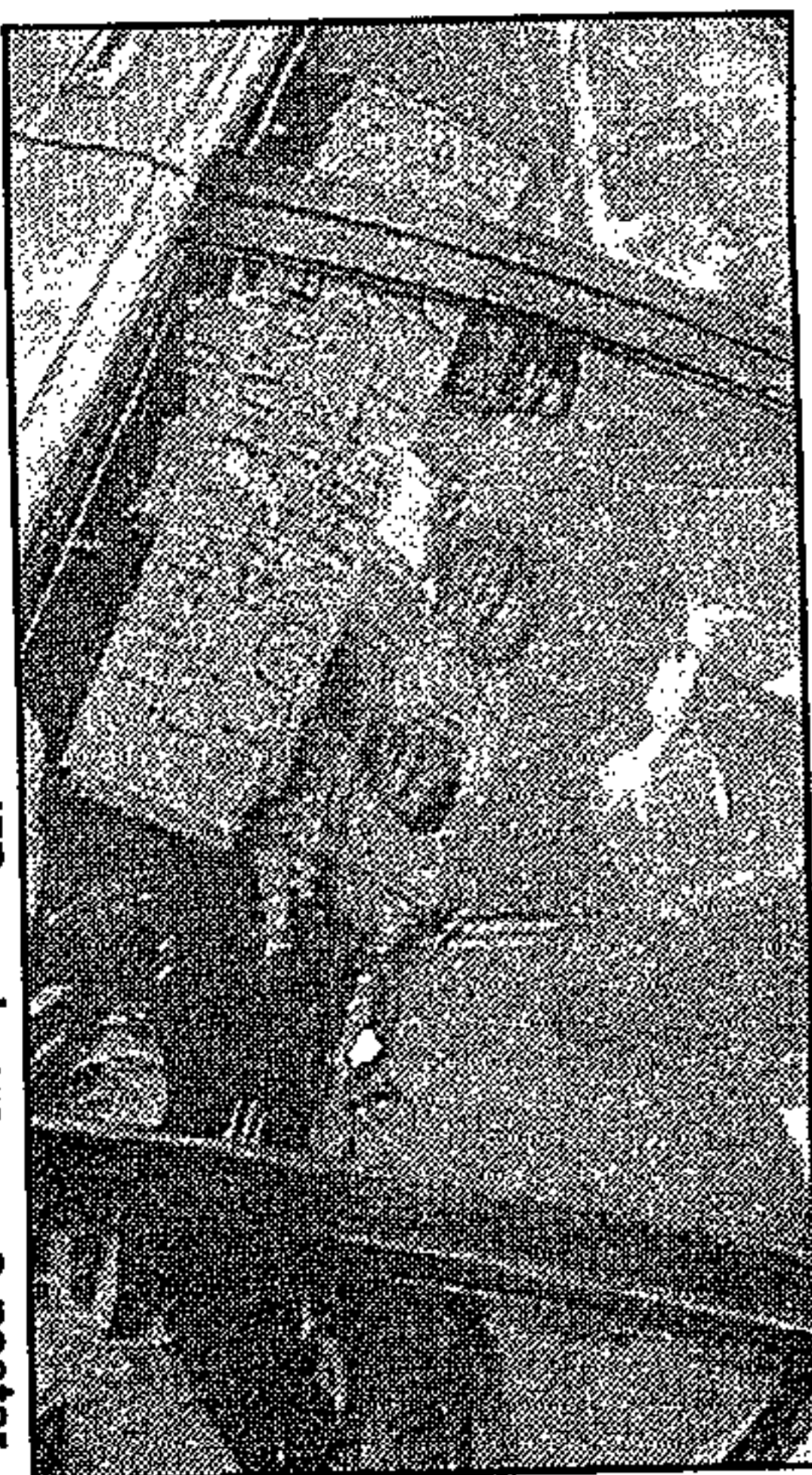
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To hell with De Klerk and your IFP murderers... a poster reflected in the President's window on his Boipatong visit.

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Mr de Klerk rejects as "a fun-

damental untruth" the ANC's claim of his complicity in the violence. Even if we give him the benefit of the doubt, the question still remains: Why is he not able to get the police to put the killers in jail? The political aspect aside, the police's track record should, at the very least, be a simple question of law and order, of criminals being seen to be punished for their crimes.

The country is going to rely largely on the police and the rest of the security forces to ensure that the transition from apartheid to democracy is relatively peaceful. This has led some in the black community to begin questioning the wisdom of making deals with a head of state whose control over the security forces is, to say the least, suspect.

If Mr de Klerk's police are incapable of arresting the murderers and protecting life — irrespective of political affiliation or race — then the argument for joint control of the security forces, as well as the need for international involvement, will increasingly sound less hare-brained than he makes it out to be. □

Pik puts Pretoria's case to the world

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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The Government has proposed a three-year lifespan for an interim constitution.

In a letter sent to foreign missions on Friday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said elections should be held within three years if an interim constitution had not been replaced by a final draft. A copy of the letter is in the possession of The Star.

Mr Botha denied accusations that the Government was aiming at a transitional government becoming a permanent one and thereby making it impossible to change the transitional constitution.

Mr Botha provided foreign governments with detail of the Government's reaction to the obstacles which caused the breakdown of negotiations as well as the main elements of the disagreement.

The letter discusses the negotiations process, alleged Government complicity in violence, the Government's constitutional proposals and international involvement.

Mr Botha said accusations of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre or other violence were without any substance.

"Not only are such actions totally reprehensible but they run counter to SA's urgent

need for investment, economic growth and job creation."

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had taken repeated initiatives to combat the violence, including attempts to arrange a joint meeting between himself, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"So far Mr Mandela has not found it possible to attend such a meeting."

After the tabling of the Goldstone Commission's interim report in Parliament in May, Mr Botha noted that R294,6 million had been budgeted for the 1992/3 financial year for the conversion and upgrading of hostels.

Mr Botha denied the Government was clinging to power. "While you may have reservations about some of the proposals for an interim constitution, I trust that you will agree that there can be no justification to claim that they constitute a desire to cling to power or to entrench a white veto."

The Government did not believe a valid basis existed for the UN Security Council to consider the SA situation.

However, if the Security Council felt it needed to be reliably informed on events, "it would be expected that all the members of Codesa would be invited to address (it)".

De Klerk called on to resign over failure to control security forces

THE ANC launched a stinging attack on President F W de Klerk yesterday, saying he should resign as his recent admission that he had no control over security forces proved he was "incompetent and useless".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo warned that government's failure to bring to book perpetrators of violence would lead to people meeting out their own "justice".

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told more than 20 000 people, gathered for yesterday's funeral of 42 Boipatong massacre victims, that De Klerk

had admitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela in May he had no control over security forces.

Yesterday's day of mourning was marked by hundreds of thousands of people, but work absenteeism was limited and there were few incidents of violence.

However, Reuter reports witnesses said one person was shot and hacked to death at the funeral after being grabbed by people in a section of the crowd standing outside the sports stadium.

And Sapa reports township youths toyed between and on graves, brandishing

a variety of weapons, including shotguns, AK-47 rifles and Makarov pistols.

"Hey, settler, you deserve a bullet," a youngster shouted at a white journalist.

Two journalists, including one from the BBC, were reported to have been assaulted later by militant youths.

Police confiscated a handgrenade carried by a man attending the funeral.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk should "go" as he had proved to be "either incompetent or useless as a president".

He called also for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

However, chances of the ANC's return to the negotiations were zero unless government met demands, which included bringing violence to an end and banning dangerous weapons at public gatherings.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should not be pressed into resuming negotiations. These should be resumed only when time frames for the transition to "representa-

tive" government were in place.

Ramaphosa also called on blacks to unite, saying their unity was important and could not be achieved through speeches at funerals but through mass action aimed at forcing government out of power.

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation would join the "ANC and all other liberation organisations" in a struggle whose clear-cut objective would be the overthrowing of the government.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe called for the "combination" of his

De Klerk *30/6/92* *30/6/92* *30/6/92* ☐ **From Page 1**

organisation's military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania), the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla) and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The combined forces would play a role in ousting government, Nefolovhodwe said. Naidoo told the cheering crowd that workers were tired of "endless negotiations".

Inkatha, whose supporters at KwaMandala Hostel allegedly attacked Boipatong residents, was not represented at the funeral. But Sapa reports that its national chairman Frank Mdlalose extended the organisation's condolences.

SA Council of Churches (SACC) president Khoza Mgojo said unless government met their demands before July 15, church leaders would lead people in peaceful protests. Church leaders' demands, included the conviction of perpetrators of violence

and the bringing of security forces under multiparty control.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston said his London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement would try to shift the Western powers' focus from the "democratisation" of eastern Europe to the ending of apartheid in SA.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said had the ANC, the PAC and Azapo had armies, the Boipatong massacre would not have happened.

Ngcukana urged leaders of the liberation organisations not to discourage people from forming defence units.

Former Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana said the Boipatong massacre undermined the urgency with which SA had to move towards democracy.

Picture: Page 3

☐ **To Page 2**

White opinions stable — survey

CAPE TOWN — No significant movement in white political opinion had been found between January and April this year, despite the March 17 referendum, according to the results of a new public opinion survey released yesterday. 30/6/92.

It found that 46% of white women and 42% of white men would vote for the NP, while 23% of white women and 31% of white men said they would support the CP.

The DP drew 6% of white women and white men, Inkatha 2% of both women and men, the AWB 2% of the women and 4% of the men, and the ANC 0% of the women and 1% of the men.

However, in a similar poll the ANC received nearly two-thirds of black support — 60% of black women and 64% of black men in the metropolitan areas, and 50% of

rural black women.

It also found that 63% of coloured women in metropolitan areas and 47% of Asian women would support the NP. Only 6% of both segments would support the ANC.

The poll results were released yesterday by Research Surveys, who interviewed 800 randomly selected white women, 500 white men, 800 black women, 500 black men, 200 coloured and Asian women in January and April this year.

"The most meaningful finding of the research was the fact that there was no significant movement in support for any political party, indicating a degree of stability in the political allegiance of white South Africans," Research Surveys said.

Political Staff

Flag ripped down, doused in paint

CT 30/6/92

(304A)

Staff Reporter

DEMONSTRATORS tore down the South African flag outside the Cape Town Magistrate's Courts yesterday, doused it in red paint, tipped the remaining paint over a policeman's head, and re-hoisted the flag to fly at half mast.

Twelve men and women were arrested after the incident.

Shortly before the incident eight women who had been arrested outside Parliament on Friday had appeared. No charges were put to the women, all members of the ANC Women's League, and they were warned to re-appear on August 5.

They were: Ms N Hangana, 36, Ms P Matolengwe, 37, Ms N Kotyi, 36, all of Khayelitsha; Ms M Maceba, 28, of New Crossroads; Ms M Fullard, 25, of Mowbray; Ms T Mlajeni, 31, of Guguletu; Ms C Racaza, 29, of Mfulani, and Ms L Naudé, 34, of Vredehoek.

Ms Kotyi, Ms Matolengwe, Ms Mlajeni and Ms Maceba, were re-arrested during the flag demonstration, along

with ANC Youth League members, Mr M Skwatsha, 27, (Western Cape Youth League president), Mr W Carolus, 21, Ms H Naudé, 32, Mr B Magadlela, 28, Mr M Ramgstamai, 37, Mr M Ntloko, 26, Mr J Mbelesi, 26, and Mr P Nongwasa.

ANC Women's League spokeswoman Ms Mildred Lesea said the demonstration was a symbolic act of defiance, part of an "anger campaign", on the National Day of Mourning for the victims of Boipatong.

Freedom Charter

ANC Youth League spokesman Mr Themba Sikhutshwa said they were protesting against the court appearance of the women arrested for nailing the Freedom Charter to the doors of Parliament.

A police spokesman said the 12 arrested yesterday would be charged with desecration of the flag, malicious damage to property, assaulting police officers and demonstrating near court buildings.

De Beer slams 'greed, arrogance'

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party believes international mediation is vital to aid South African transition, says its leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the DP's North Rand constituency in Johannesburg last night, he said the Boipatong massacre had turned this into one of the

country's worst weeks.

The one positive step had been President De Klerk's agreement that Mr Justice Goldstone might acquire foreign investigators. "Their impartiality may be more readily accepted," said Dr De Beer.

"Monitoring the tragedy will not bring it to an end — but may

perhaps bring greater understanding. ^{304A} ARG 30/6/92

"The DP believes international monitoring may spell mediation.

"It is a tragedy that at the referendum white South Africans should have made such a gesture towards sharing the future, only to find the process grinding to a halt."



Sacob president Hennie Viljoen and former president John Hall at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after meeting President F W de Klerk. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Business delivers a plea for resumption of talks

PATRICK BULGER

BUSINESS conveyed to President F W de Klerk yesterday its strong desire to see political negotiations resumed as soon as possible.

A high-powered business delegation met De Klerk in Pretoria for talks on the political breakdown and its impact on the economy.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting Sacob, the AHI and Seifsa said they had conveyed to De Klerk their concern about the violence "as well as the negative impact of the breakdown in the Codesa talks on investor and business confidence".

The statement said business remained willing to assist in whatever way possible to facilitate the negotiation process.

"The employer bodies indicated they would throw their weight to an even greater extent behind the process and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels," it said.

"There was an overwhelming need

for confidence building actions on the part of all concerned in SA."

De Klerk's office said in a statement the discussions had been constructive and he had used the opportunity to convey certain perspectives to them.

"He had also explained government's basic points of departure and given the assurance the government would meet its obligations concerning maintenance of stability in a responsible and balanced manner.

"He assured the delegation further that the government would leave no stone unturned in getting negotiations properly back on track," the statement said.

Other separate meetings have been arranged with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

These meetings are expected to take place within the next week.

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OAU censures De Klerk

Savelem 30/6/92

3047

DAKAR - The honeymoon with black Africa seemed over yesterday when the Organisation of African Unity condemned Pretoria for violence against blacks and demanded an emergency United Nations Security Council meeting.

"Africa's concern is to see that the process of change in South Africa is not aborted," OAU secretary-general Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim told a news conference after a week of meetings by African foreign ministers who set the agenda for the OAU summit opening in Dakar

yesterday.

The ministers urged the Security Council to put pressure on South Africa's white minority Government to end violence following the massacre of 49 people in a black squatter camp by hostel dwellers.

The bloodbath 12 days ago prompted the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government on a new democratic constitution. The ANC, led by Mr. Nelson Mandela, accused the security forces of involvement in the massacre in Boipatong township, south of Johannesburg.

The escalating violence in South Africa is expected to dominate the three-day summit, which Mandela will address.

South African Government representatives had been expected to make an unprecedented appearance on the sidelines of the meeting. But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as thousands of people observed a day of mourning in South Africa and the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage". Mandela, who arrived here on Sunday, said negotiations would not be

resumed unless the Government of President Frederick de Klerk met ANC demands to stop the violence, free political prisoners and repeal remaining apartheid laws.

The foreign ministers also passed resolutions calling for the creation of an African peacekeeping force that could intervene in the many civil wars and conflicts draining the meagre resources of the poorest continent. The force, comprised of units drawn from the armies of all OAU member states, would be formed as part of a new structure "for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa".

The OAU summit will also discuss demands for compensation to be paid by Western countries for the slave trade.

The ministers called for closer links between Africa and blacks in the West. Black American leader Rev. Jesse Jackson and Britain's first black member of parliament, Bernie Grant, will hold meetings here with African leaders during the summit.

The ministers appealed for an end to fighting in Somalia and urged the United Nations to pursue efforts to restore peace in the wake of a UN brokered ceasefire agreement. - Sapa-AFP.