

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992 July

Shareholders Dividend

Dividend number 13 of 10,6 cents for the year ended 30 June 1992 is declared payable on 10 July 1992 to shareholders registered in the books of the company as at 30 June 1992.

A dividend tax of 15% will be levied on shareholders whose registered addresses are outside South Africa.

1 July 1992

Transfer secretaries
Central Registrars Ltd
154 Market Street
(PO Box 4844
Johannesburg, 2000)

De Facto 0612

'propaganda'

304A WILSON ZWANE
GOVERNMENT yesterday dismissed as "propaganda" ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's allegation that President F W de Klerk had admitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela that he had no control over the police force.

Ramaphosa told more than 20 000 people at Monday's funeral for Boipatong massacre victims De Klerk made the admission during Codesa II in May.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at no stage during the discussion — at which he and Ramaphosa were present — did the president make such an admission. De Klerk said "neither he nor his government could be held responsible for acts of violence perpetrated by individuals and groups not associated with police or security force action".

Meyer said government was recommitting itself to the peace accord clause which stipulated that no language calculated to incite violence or hatred be used at political meetings.



ANC threatens FW with strike

Sowetan 11/7/72
THE African National Congress and its allies would call a one-day general strike on July 20 if the Government does not meet demands for a constituent assembly by today.

This was said yesterday by Mr Mandla Dlamini, a spokesman for the committee representing the ANC, SA Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

He said the general strike would be followed by "an intensified mass action campaign which would include sit-ins, occupation of Government buildings, pickets and marches".

Cosatu affiliates were late yesterday locked in a closed meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand to assess what had been achieved by the mass action campaign so far.

These demands included the establishment of "an interim government of national unity" which would work towards the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Dangerous egg dance could end in a shattered S

STAR 117192

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THE ANC's action in breaking off South Africa's constitutional negotiations while still committing itself to a negotiated settlement epitomises the position it has been forced into, squeezed between the rising militancy of its followers and the aggressive determination of the Government to cling to power.

The militancy was palpable in the huge crowd that gathered for the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims on Monday. I have attended most of the great funeral rallies around the country over the past 10 years, but this was the angriest.

Disillusionment at the slow pace of negotiations and the continuing violence in the townships has been building up for months. Now it has boiled over with the Boipatong massacre.

When Nelson Mandela went to nearby Evaton to address a rally four days after the massacre, people in the crowd yelled at him: "You are like lambs while the Government is killing us."

Suspending the talks was the least the ANC could do to appease that anger and avoid alienating its constituency.

Yet the ANC knows the Government cannot be overthrown by force. It knows there is no viable alternative to negotiations, and so it must hang in there even though President de Klerk and his Ministers have been making it increasingly difficult. Hence the egg dance.

De Klerk has been toughening his stance ever since his big referendum victory. Instead of seeing that as clearing his path to move faster, the President took it as a sign of growing support for his National Party.

This stirred hopes that maybe he would not have to relinquish power after all; that if he could forge alliances with conservative "coloured", Indian and black movements he might yet emerge at the head of the biggest political bloc in the country.

To do that De Klerk needed to play for time. Time to look South Africa's major trading partners in as allies of his Government, to see sanctions collapse, take credit for an economic recovery — and to let the ANC twist in the wind as disillusionment set in among its followers at the lack of progress in the negotiations and the failure

operations in Mozambique are now manipulating cleavages in the black community to promote "black-on-black" violence by "vigilante" groups in the townships.

The purpose is, firstly, to convince Western powers that black South Africans are unfit to govern the country alone, and, secondly, to destabilise the ANC by disrupting its ability to organise, making people fearful to be associated with it, and increasing their disillusionment at its inability to protect them.

Those who hold this theory are uncertain whether De Klerk himself is directing the operation; whether it is being pursued free-lance by anti-reformists in the security forces — old security forces still loyal to ex-president P W Botha — whom De Klerk cannot control; or whether it is a bit of both, that De Klerk cannot fully control them and has rationalised this by taking the view that a whiff of destabilisation will help his cause.

There is no conclusive evidence of these allegations, but the circumstantial evidence pointing to security force involvement in the violence has become formidable.

Even more important, the perception in the townships that the police are involved is now overwhelming.

What strengthens these suspicions and perceptions is the fact that police have been so strikingly unsuccessful in preventing this violence or bringing any successful prosecutions as a result of it.

The police say they cannot be everywhere at once. This is spurious. Ninety percent of the violence on the Witwatersrand has been the result either of attacks emanating from the migrant workers' hostels, or retaliatory attacks against the hostels.

There are only about 30 of these hostels on the Witwatersrand. Why is it impossible to mount a permanent police watch outside each one, to sound the alert if an attack is mounted either way?

Thousands of people have died in these unrestrained massacres, and life in the townships has become intolerable. Boipatong has ignited that into a huge sense of outrage, and the ANC is having to respond to that mood in its constituency.

It must respond or it will be dead. Yet it must also keep the

hope of a negotiated settlement alive. If the squeeze becomes too great and it fails in that, there will be no hope for South Africa.

De Klerk is a clever and subtle man, very different from the crude P W Botha, yet perhaps he has been too clever by half.

It never did make sense to try to destabilise the ANC. What De Klerk and his colleagues have never understood, what they are too conditioned by their own past to grasp, is that the ANC is essentially a moderate organisation, yet at the same time one that is widely acceptable in the black community because of its record as the primary resistance movement and its long list of heroes and martyrs.

That placed the ANC in the unique position of being able to carry a black community embittered by half a century of apartheid into a negotiated settlement.

The sensible thing would have been for De Klerk to harness that capability and work with it. Instead the desire to keep his own party in power has caused him to try to destabilise it. In the process he has destabilised all of South Africa. □



Allister Sparks

of life in the townships to change for the better.

So the Government stalled Co-desa 2. It did so by playing hard ball on the issue of the majority needed to agree on a new constitution, making demands it knew the ANC could not accept.

Next came the alliance-building phase. On June 16, Soweto Day, De Klerk made a high-profile appearance as Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's guest in Ulundi.

That same week the National Party announced a campaign programme naming the ANC "enemy number one".

Some analysts believe — and this is the critical question — that part of this strategy is a covert operation to destabilise the ANC. They believe the same specialists in Military Intelligence and the Security Police who remote-controlled Renamo's destabilisation

UN presence sought in

SA - Boutros

STAR 117192
DAKAR — All sides in South Africa favoured some type of United Nations presence in the country, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

Mr Boutros-Ghali was in Dakar for the summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

Negotiations between the SA Government and the ANC broke down last month after the massacre of more than 40 people in Boipatong.

The ANC broke off talks, saying they could not resume until an international commission was permitted to investigate township violence. More than 8 000 people have died in the last three years.

Mr Boutros-Ghali said: "It seems, and I want to be very precise, that there is consensus for a UN presence." He noted he had met the ANC, the Government and other groups.

He said he would bring the matter to the Security Council's attention as soon as he returned to New York next week, adding it was too early to say what form the UN presence would take. — Sapa-AP.

De Klerk condemns rhetoric at funeral

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The anti-Government rhetoric at the Boipatong massacre funeral drew a sharp rebuttal from President de Klerk yesterday.

"The tone of many of the statements at yesterday's funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre gives rise to concern," Mr de Klerk said in a statement last night.

He was reacting to speeches made at Monday's funeral service where threats were made "to take the Government to hell"; Mr de Klerk was declared incompetent and his resignation called for, and he was accused of being directly involved in the ongoing violence.

"Instead of using this occasion to mourn the tragic deaths of the victims and to console their families and loved ones, the funeral was exploited to whip up emotions and harden attitudes against negotiations and reconciliation," he said.

The repeated allegations concerning the involvement of the security forces and the Government in the tragic events at Boipatong were devoid of truth, and there was not a shred of evidence to support them.

Mr de Klerk invited anyone



President de Klerk . . . funeral was exploited.

with evidence of Government involvement to get in touch with the police or the Goldstone Commission.

He added that he would respond in more detail to the situation soon. "We must not allow ourselves to be pushed away from the path of a peaceful and negotiated settlement." — Sapa.

Council forces Klein Koos to take leave

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

(304A)
Boksburg Conservative Party councillor Klein Koos van der Merwe, believed to be the mastermind behind the Order of the Wit Wolwe, is being forced to take 60 days leave from the council after a decision at the monthly meeting last night.

The decision came in the wake of Mr van der Merwe's recent arrest with other right-wingers in the town in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

STAR 117192
The arrests are related to a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show in April and a fire at the Receiver of Revenue's offices in Boksburg in January.

The local council is forcing Mr van der Merwe to take leave so that "the matter can be cleared up".

His leave will begin on Friday.

The decision was supported by the National Party councillors, the CP mayor of Boksburg T J Ferreira, CP management committee chairman Beyers de Klerk, Buks Williams (CP) and Herstigte Na-

sionale Party councillor Stephanie Greyling.

The chief whip of the CP in the council, Andries du Toit, walked out of the council chamber after accusing the press of making "ugly allegations" which he said was typical of the South African media.

He said the attack by the press was not aimed at Mr van der Merwe but at the CP.

A request by Mr du Toit to adjourn the meeting was refused.

Mr van der Merwe, who is the nephew of Overvaal independent MP Koos van der

Merwe, has accused the media of waging a vendetta against him.

Mr van der Merwe is on bail of R5 000 and is expected to appear in court again at the end of the month (July).

Boksburg's mayor Mr Ferreira said the bad publicity which Mr van der Merwe had received in the press recently as well as allegations of running a massage parlour from his home, was a great embarrassment to Boksburg.

"Mr van der Merwe has been told to take two months leave to get his house in order," Mr Ferreira said.

De Klerk to reply to ANC demands

(304A)
THE Government is to issue a memorandum in response to the ANC's 14-point ultimatum on negotiations by Friday. *Sowetan 1/7/92*

A spokesman for the Ministry of Constitutional Development told *Sowetan* that the memorandum could be released as early as tomorrow.

She said State President Mr FW de Klerk had already handed the memorandum to the Cabinet for consideration.

De Klerk would be responding to the ANC's set of demands presented to his office last Thursday.

ANC sets rules

JOHANNESBURG. — Touring teams will have to visit Boipatong and all South African competitors will wear "democracy" armbands as a condition of South Africa's participation in the Olympics and world sport.

These were among the pledges made to the ANC yesterday in return for South Africa's return to the Olympics and international sport.

The ANC's sanction on world sport, however, applies only to tours already in the pipeline.

This means that the Cameroon soccer tour is back on track and also the Crystal Palace visit and rugby tests against Australia, New Zealand, England and France and the Indian cricket tour to South Africa.

The ANC also warned that its decision would remain under constant review and would depend on the government's actions on peace and democracy.

The ANC's decision also marks a turnaround from its decision last week to call for a re-imposition of the sports moratorium.

The decision follows pledges by local sports bodies that they would demonstrate visibly their support for democratic constitutional progress and an end to violence.

Apart from South African competitors wearing "Peace and Democracy" armbands, their controlling bodies will print leaflets and place advertisements in newspapers declaring their support for the democratic process.

"If there is no progress in this regard, the

Will Uli run on for peace in SA?

JOHANNESBURG. — How will Springbok rugby player Uli Schmidt, well known for his often over-robust play, react to "peace and democracy" in sport?

One of the ANC's conditions for allowing South Africa to continue with international competition is to let the competitors wear "Peace and Democracy" armbands.

When this was announced, a British reporter asked: "What about Uli Schmidt? Do you expect him to run on to the field at Loftus on Saturdays wearing a 'Peace and Democracy' sticker on his shirt?"

Nocsa president Mr Sam Ramsamy replied: "We expect sportsmen to observe this call. I think they all realise that the present politi-

cal impasse and the violence are hampering progress in sport."

Another newsman asked if there had been suggestions rugby tours be excluded from approval as a "boere" sport.

This was denied, but Nocsa president Mr Muleki George reminded rugby administrators that the July 15 deadline still stood for them to demonstrate that their development programme had got off the ground, and tours could proceed.

"They understand the position," he said. "If they want the Australian and New Zealand tours to take place, they must satisfy us. If they do not do what is required of them, the tours are off." — Sapa

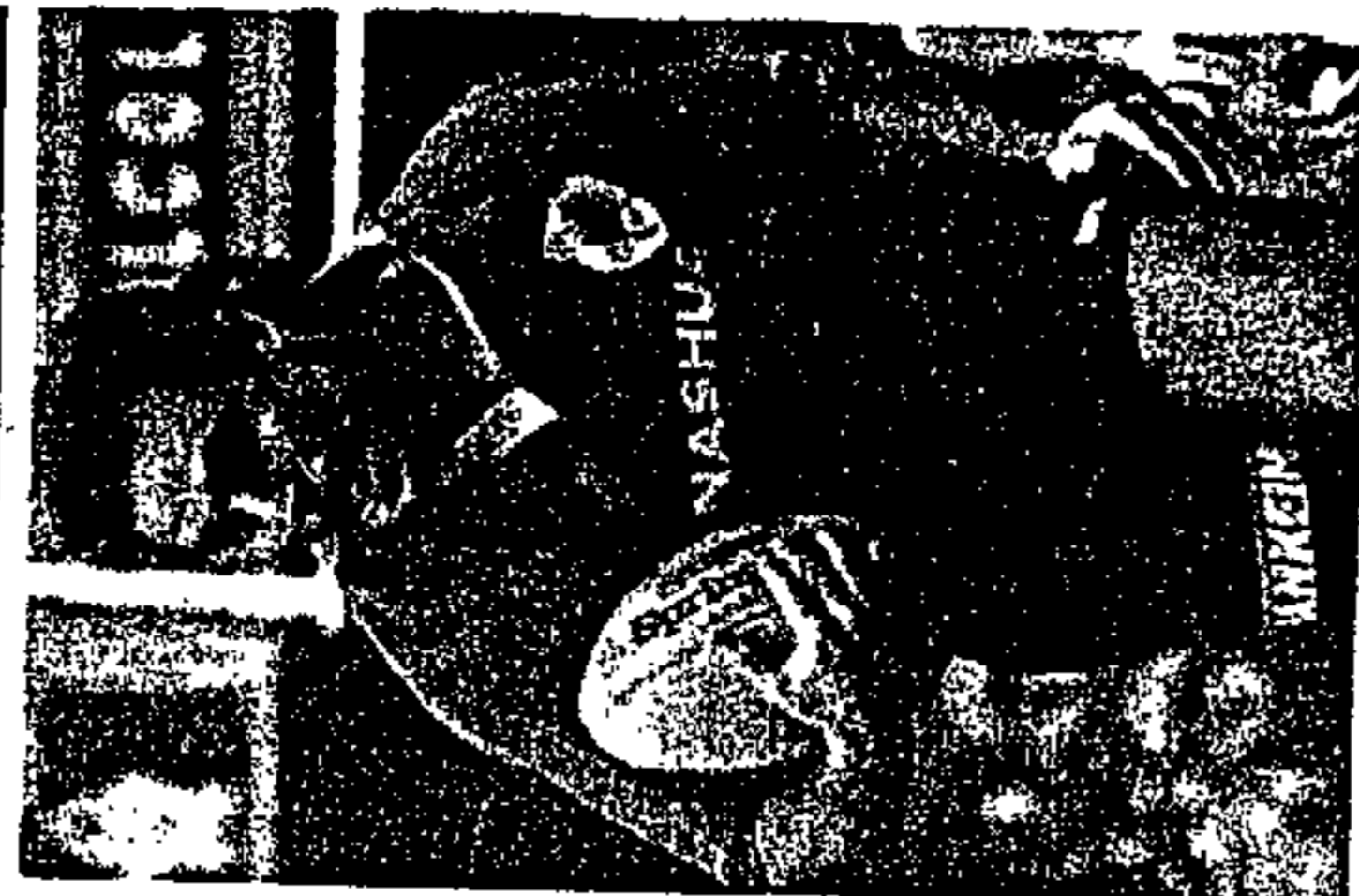
there must be an end to this violence which is now affecting all areas of our society."

The statement said sports bodies had decided on a number of actions, including:

- Public support for peace and democracy, including a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly.

Activities during international fixtures which will promote the course of peace and democracy.

Mr Sam Ramsamy, president of the National Olympic Committee (Nocsa) and Mr Muleki George, president of the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC), read out a 10-point statement on



WILL HE PLAY BALL? ... Uli Schmidt

the position of South African sports bodies.

It said: "South African sports bodies, having regard to the crisis gripping our country, have decided on the following actions to achieve peace and democracy."

Then followed the 10 points which dealt with, among other things, the wearing of "Peace and Democracy" armbands, the placing of advertisements condemning violence and calling for the establishment of democracy and the printing of leaflets expressing concern at the present impasse.

Mr Ramsamy, who prefaced his statement by thanking ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for his personal intervention in saving the Cameroon soccer tour, said Nocsa would use all forums to publicise the call for peace and democracy.

He said even rugby players in the Transvaal-Northern Transvaal clash on Saturday would be "expected" to abide by the requirement.

A separate statement issued by the South Africa Football Association (Safa) said that after the International Football Federation (Fifa) formally accepted South Africa at its congress in Zurich this week, the Safa delegation would condemn the killings at Boipatong and call for peace and democracy.

When the Cameroon team arrives on Sunday, the South African and Cameroon parties will observe a moment of silence at the airport for peace and democracy.

Safa was being allowed to continue with its fixtures against Cameroon in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg, and against Crystal Palace in Johannesburg and Durban.

From page 1

ANC rules

Thereafter it would only be allowed to fulfil continental and international obligations, such as the matches against Zimbabwe and Zambia, and preliminary round matches for the African Nations Cup.

"The football fixtures are expected to attract an audience of over two million people — via spectators and television coverage — and this can be effectively used to convey our message," the statement concluded.

● Athletics SA president Mr Justice Deon van Zyl welcomed the news that the Barcelona Olympic Games was on for South Africa. Athletics, like other sporting codes, would certainly back calls for peace and harmony in the country, "though we would not want to get involved in the hurly-burly of politics".

● A delighted Mr Solomon Morewa, secretary-general of the the South African Football Association, speaking from Zurich, said: "It is wonderful news. I am absolutely thrilled."

"I have always believed that the ANC had the country's sporting welfare at heart and this proves that," said Switzerland on Tuesday night.

Welcomed

● In Pretoria yesterday Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said the ANC's qualified approval for international sport contacts were made because it realised it had no real support for its call for a re-introduction of the moratorium.

He welcomed the news that the Cameroon tour would now take place as scheduled.

● In Harare, Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, chairman of the frontline states, said yesterday the OAU was unlikely to support a call for a ban on South Africa's participation at the Olympics.

"They would rather appeal to South Africa, or send a monitoring group ... to see whether a change in stance on (on the issue of Codesa and the control of township violence) cannot be achieved by the government." — Sapa

Governor backs ANC

Sowetan

217192

By MZIMASI
NGUDLE

THE ANC should fear nothing in terms of the United States' commitment to the liberation struggle, a visiting United States governor said in Johannesburg this week.

Virginia governor Mr Lawrence Douglas Wilder addressed the top leadership of the African National Congress at a cocktail party in Bryanston on Tuesday.

Wilder was responding to a welcoming address by ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel in which he pleaded with him to "stay

with us and mobilise with us so that we can emerge with a constitution respected throughout the country and the whole world".

Manuel said he was grateful to the US support to calls for sanctions.

"The situation remains the same until such time indications from the people of South Africa decide - and not Bush," he said in an apparent reference to US

federal policy which favours the lifting of sanctions. (304A) (122)

Virginia is reportedly a powerful state that might influence other states to tow the ANC's call for sanctions to stay.

Wilder attended the funeral at Boipatong and is leading a trade and cultural team currently touring the country on a fact finding mission.

He said he wished his optimism for a free South Africa would soon be realised.

Talks 'to resume soon'

GOVERNMENT and the ANC would restart stalled Codesa talks soon, Anglo American Corporation and De Beers chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson told investors at an Anglo presentation in Zurich yesterday.

He said SA's main political parties agreed that the country's problems had to be solved through negotiation. He was optimistic about the country's future economic development provided there was a worldwide economic upturn in the next six months.

8/10/92 2/17/92

SA: Huddleston hits at Major

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — To understand the intensity of township anger in South Africa, British Prime Minister Mr John Major should have been in President De Klerk's car when it was threatened by crowds at Boipatong.

This was said by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, on his return here after a week-long tour of South Africa at the invita-

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tion of the SACC.

At a press conference in the House of Commons, Archbishop Huddleston attacked Mr Major as being partisan toward South Africa.

An alternative means of correcting Mr Major's fundamental misunderstanding of black anger would have been for him to attend the Boipatong funerals.

Mr Major's ignorance of township anger was as great as that of South African whites, he added.

(304A)

If South Africa's white community thought that the blacks were just going to go on allowing Mr De Klerk to set the pace for constitutional change they were very much mistaken.

Unless the international community said to President De Klerk: "You have got to make up your mind whether you are going to control the security forces and end the appalling dangers of the hostel system," little would change.

UN Security Council set to debate SA crisis

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council is expected to debate the South African situation "in the next few days" in response to an initiative by the Organisation of African Unity summit in Dakar, according to a UN spokesman.

Spokesman Francois Giuliani said the OAU had adopted a resolution asking for the Security Council to meet on the situation in South Africa.

Yesterday UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali travelled to London after leaving the Dakar meeting.

Earlier, Mr Boutros-Ghali said the chances were growing that the international body would become involved in the South African crisis.

"It can be a UN observer, which we have already done. It can be a UN mediator. It can be just a fact-finding mission."

"But again, we have to obtain the agreement of all the parties concerned plus the agreement of members of the Security Council." — Special Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter.

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STAR 2/7/72

Government holds crucial meeting

Sowetan 2/7/92

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his senior advisers held a marathon meeting in Pretoria yesterday in a bid to find a way to get negotiations back on track.

The all-day meeting was called to prepare a response to demands made by the ANC following the Boipatong massacre.

Government sources said the Government team would draw up a counter-memorandum which would be delivered to the

ANC offices either today or tomorrow.

It is expected that De Klerk will propose a greater role for the international community in monitoring violence, as the key to breaking the negotiations deadlock.

He is also expected to respond to ANC accusations that the Government has a secret strategy to install a power-sharing interim government which will be impossible to dis-

lodge.

To allay these suspicions, he is expected to set a three-year time-limit on an interim government.

A greater role for the international community in curbing violence is one of the key demands of the ANC.

De Klerk will probably detail efforts the Government has already made in line with the ANC demands and the programme to upgrade single-sex hostels.

Democracy 'needs patience, tolerance'

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4EP

By JOE MDHLELA

Sowetan 2/7/92

DEMOCRACY was a long and arduous process, chairman of the Institute of Multiparty Democracy Dr Oscar Dhlomo said on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Radio Talkback Show last night.

Dhlomo said perseverance was central to the attainment of democracy.

Democracy, he said, should not be misunderstood to mean that a people should be eliminated when there was disagreement.

On the contrary, it meant that people should be pa-

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RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

tient to accept even the views they did not agree with.

"Political differences should not be a cause for physical war," he said.

"That would be resorting to the law of the jungle which has nothing to do with democracy."

However, Dhlomo said he had confidence in the wisdom of leaders to inculcate the spirit of democracy among their followers.

"They know what is right and what is wrong," he said.

Dhlomo said there was a need to keep democracy alive by preaching its values to all generations.

He said anything short of this would lead the country into anarchy. He also made it clear that this did suggest the present Government was democratic.

Sacob asks for return to Codesa

AN inability to overcome the current political impasse could lead to further closure of businesses, withdrawal of investment, a flight of capital and skilled manpower and loss of job opportunities. *304A*

The warning was made by president of the South African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Hennie Viljoen, who said business was acting as trustees for the population and accepted that constitutional negotiations were a task for politicians. *Sowetan 2/7/92*

"Allowing the negotiation process to break down is tantamount to the breaking of a trust and is viewed by Sacob as most unfortunate," he told a Press conference in Johannesburg.

Viljoen said this before a top level Sacob delegation met the State President Mr FW de Klerk in Pretoria with the hope to get the ANC and the Government to get Codesa negotiations back on track.

The group is scheduled to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at venues still to be decided.

He said the suspension of negotiations by the ANC until certain demands were met should be seen against the "crisis of confidence" in the economy.

The South African economy had now been contracting for nearly four years, the longest recession in almost 50 years.

More than 250 000 jobs have been lost during the current recession with no prospect of a turnaround in the coming 12 months.

De Klerk makes some major concessions in memo to Mandela

Softer line to rescue the talks

304A
ARCT 3/7/92

Political Staff

THE government has made significant changes to its demands for minority protection in a transitional government in an effort to rescue the stalled negotiations at Codesa.

In a letter from President De Klerk to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the government has made several major concessions softening the proposals which caused the breakdown at Codesa 2.

ANC maintains official silence on FW criticism

304A
ARCT 3/7/92

Political Staff

THE ANC was tight-lipped today about accusations by President De Klerk that it had manufactured the negotiation crisis.

In a prime time television address to the nation last night, Mr De Klerk denounced the ANC as an "unreliable negotiating partner" and threatened further security measures.

He accused the ANC of choosing to sabotage negotiations, adding that there was "every reason to believe they broke off negotiations to cause a crisis".

While the ANC declined to comment officially on the accusations today, a defiant Mr Chris Hani, Communist Party chief and ANC national executive member, last night dismissed President De Klerk's remarks as a mixture of posturing and threats.

Mr De Klerk said it seemed the ANC had decided to follow its own agenda towards the seizure of power.

"This will not be tolerated," he said.

The government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

But he also called for an urgent meeting between himself, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to get negotiations restarted.

At an SACP meeting in Wynberg last night, Mr Hani rejected Mr De Klerk's claim that an

SACP and Cosatu cabal inside the ANC had forced the movement to break off negotiations with the government.

"He said we have a secret agenda and called us insurrectionists. I want to tell him that we have an open agenda and that is to remove him from power.

"We are going to be part of unprecedented mass action which will lead to the transfer of power through democratic elections."

Spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC national working committee would meet to discuss the issue before replying to the government.

She could not say when the committee would meet.

Pressure on the ANC has been compounded by PWV region chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale's admission to the Goldstone Commission yesterday that the movement was having difficulty getting witnesses to talk about the Boipatong massacre and could produce no evidence of police involvement.

Ms Marcus declined to comment on the submission — likely to embarrass the ANC and damage its credibility — because she had not seen reports quoting Mr Sexwale.

The ANC has consistently accused the security forces of being involved in the June 17 massacre, citing this as a reason for breaking off negotiations, threatening to re-impose the sports moratorium and its mass actions campaign.

Mr De Klerk's memorandum appears to aim at refuting ANC charges that the government is clinging to power.

The contents of the letter were disclosed for the first time today. The major points include:

- The government has dropped its original plans to give minority parties disproportionately high representation in a transitional senate.

At one time the government proposed that all parties commanding support over a certain minimum (10 percent was suggested) should have equal representation in the senate — which would have veto powers over legislation.

In Mr De Klerk's memorandum the government has now proposed that each of the regions should have equal representation in the senate. And the seats allocated to each region will be in proportion to a party's support in that region.

- The government dropped its insistence at Codesa 2 that matters concerning the structure of regional government may be changed only with a 75 percent majority in the transitional legislature or constitution-making body.

The memorandum says that a majority of only 70 percent should be required to amend or substitute the transitional constitution — except for a 75 percent majority for changing the Bill of Rights.

- If the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution.

The new government position on a transitional constitution and a constitution-making body brings it very close to that which the ANC was prepared to accept at Codesa 2.

The ANC is expected to reply to the memorandum within seven days.

• See page 2.

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FWW lays it on the line

STAR (3/17/92) 30440
Twin-edged response

to ANC demands

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh 3/17/92

The Government last night denounced the ANC as an "unreliable negotiating partner" and threatened further security measures, while also calling for urgent meetings to get negotiations restarted.

In a six-page letter to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, released at a media conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk rejected allegations contained in the ANC's recent memorandum setting out the ANC's reasons for pulling out of Codesa.

More reports — Pages 5, 12 and 13

Letter contained some apparently conciliatory elements, despite its confrontational tone.

The ANC has said it would respond to the latest Government initiative within seven days. ANC officials have been given instructions not to comment before then, even in their personal capacities.

Mr de Klerk reiterated his suggestion of an urgent Government-ANC summit on negotiations and added a call for a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the violence.

This meeting, he said, could lead to the establishment of a full-time violence-monitoring mechanism, a joint monitoring body, and an observer role for the international community.

Mr de Klerk said "an exchange of memoranda is no substitute for face-to-face talks... every day lost will make the resumption of the

process more difficult and may lead to loss of further lives".

Mr de Klerk's letter noted a "number of fundamental issues which need to be addressed urgently at a meeting between us".

They included:
● Violence, the Government's denial of involvement in sponsoring it, and the need for a trilateral summit.

● The ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, which the Government said was instigated by the SA Communist Party and Cosatu.

● The ANC's aborting of the negotiating process, its commitment to negotiations, and a Government denial that it was clinging to power.

● The ANC's demands, including the questions of hostages and dangerous weapons. The Government said important initiatives were under way on both issues.

Mr de Klerk ended his letter: "I reiterate the Government's commitment to peaceful negotiations as the only way to bring us to a new democratic constitution as soon as possible. I repeat my proposals that we should meet urgently."

In six annexures to the letter, the Government set out its views on:

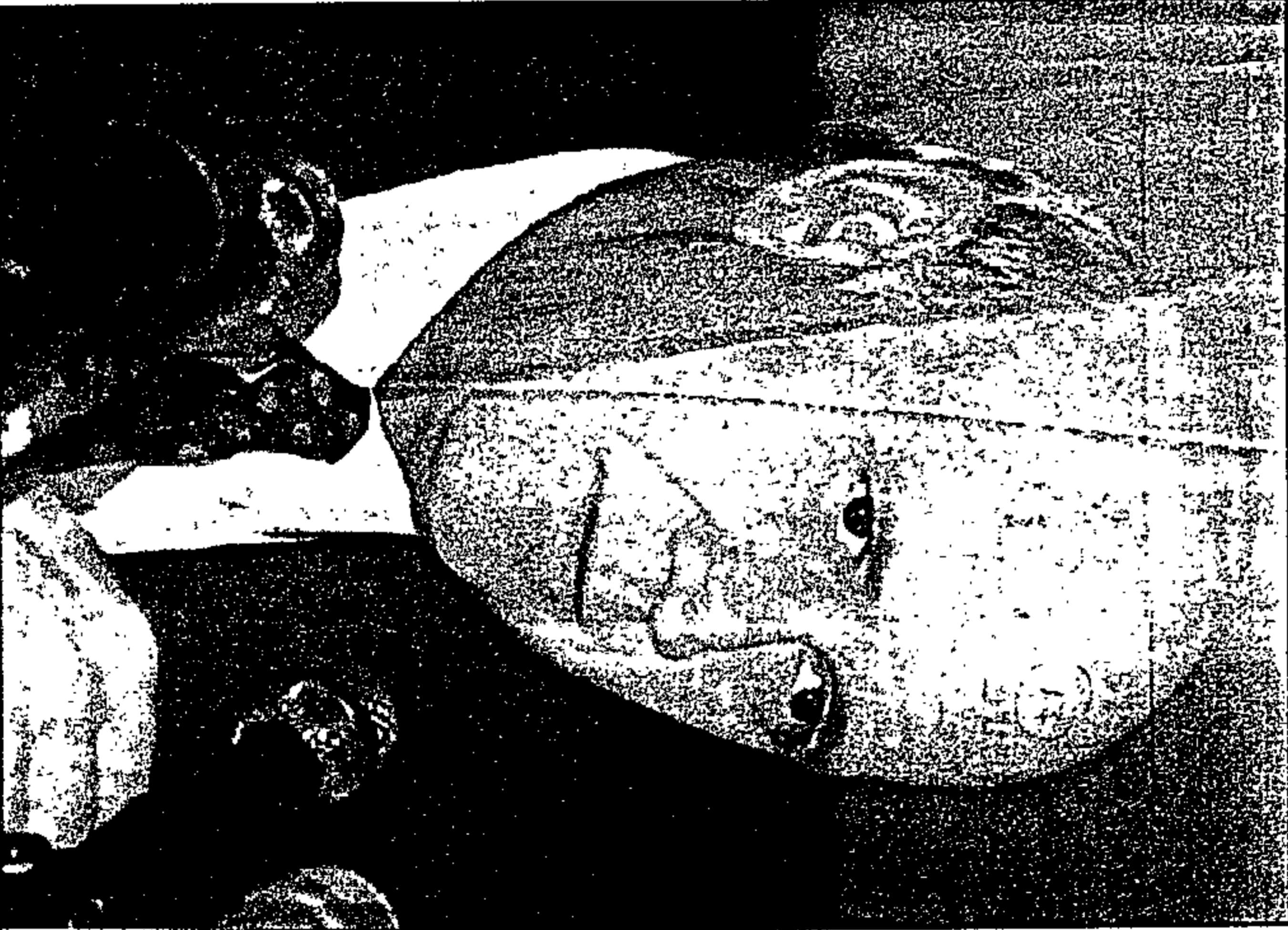
● The current influence of Marxism-Leninism in the ANC.
● Perceptions regarding the negotiations process.

● The ANC as a negotiating partner.
● Views on the current violence.

● The ANC's demands.
● The Government proposals regarding a transitional constitution.

In an apparent backdown on constitutional issues which bedevilled negotiations at Codesa 2, the Government offered revised formulations on three issues, which could now be more acceptable to the ANC.

The Government suggested



F W de Klerk... said the ANC had decided to follow its own agenda towards the seizure of power. "This will not be tolerated," he added.

ed a senate in which parties would be represented proportionally — its earlier proposal had been that all parties receiving a certain number of the vote, should receive equal representation.

It proposed that if a transitional constitution had not been replaced within three years, a general election would be held.

ated that it would be prepared to accept a 70 percent "special majority" to approve all aspects of a new constitution except the bill of rights, for which a 75 percent majority would be needed.

This appears to match the ANC's compromise position, offered at Codesa 2 immediately before the deadlock in Working Group 2.

Answering questions at the media conference, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said: "We believe we have prepared a basis to resolve the impasse. If the ANC denies this opportunity, it will be unreasonable."

While denying the Government was considering re-imposing a national state of emergency, Law and Order

Minister Heruus Kriel said the time had come for the ANC to realise that if it attempted to seize power, violence would follow.

There were only a few unrest "hot-spots", which could be dealt with in terms of the unrest regulations, he said.

In an address broadcasted to the nation on SABC radio and television last night, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had chosen to sabotage negotiations. There was every reason to believe that the ANC is breaking off negotiations to cause a crisis.

Mr de Klerk said it seemed the ANC had decided to follow its own agenda towards the seizure of power. "This will not be tolerated," he said.

The Government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

Codesa 2 had been close to an agreement, and an elected parliament and government representing all South Africans would have been installed within months.

There were strong indications that some elements had planned to sabotage the talks even before Codesa 2.

Mr de Klerk denied ANC allegations of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre.

"This is a lie that will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated," he said.

The Government was determined to find the perpetrators and proposed that international experts help in the investigation.

The Government could not stop the present type of violence on its own, and needed the support of all political leaders.

● A meeting of the Government and its Codesa allies in Pretoria yesterday discussed the ANC's breaking-off of constitutional talks with the Government and its "unwarped" campaign of mass "printed" campaign of mass action.

The meeting agreed that a campaign of this nature with an unchristian and coercive objective... would inevitably lead to an escalation of violence," Mr de Klerk said.

FW addresses the nation

STAR 3/7/92 (304A)

I AM speaking to you tonight with regard to the serious situation which has been artificially created in our country.

As you know, when I became State President, I promised to put South Africa on a new road. I promised that I would end apartheid and that I would free political prisoners, including Mr Mandela. I said that I would start negotiations with all of the main political leaders of our country so that, together, we could draw up a new constitution which would bring full political rights to all South Africans. I undertook to restore South Africa's relations with Africa and with the international community.

I have done all of these things. During the past two and a half years we have made very encouraging progress. At Codesa 2, we were very close to reaching an agreement which would have led to the first election in which all South Africans would have voted. Within months we could have had an elected Parliament and Government which, for the first time in history, would have represented all South Africans. The transitional constitution would have ensured the rights of all individuals and would have prevented domination and the abuse of power.

There were differences between the parties at Codesa: on some constitutional principles and aspects of the constitution-making process. These were important issues, but they could have been solved through negotiations — just as many other problems and differences had already been solved. However, the ANC and its allies chose instead to sabotage negotiations and to precipitate a crisis. There are strong indications that some elements of the alliance had planned this course of action even before the start of Codesa 2.

They are now also trying to

This is the full text of State President F W de Klerk's speech to the nation broadcast last night.

justify their decision because of the violence in the country. The most recent and terrible example of this violence was the massacre of 39 people in Boipatong on 17th June.

I can assure you that I and the Government are as horrified as anyone else by the violence. On Saturday 20th June I tried to visit Boipatong myself so that I could speak to the families of the victims and share their sorrow. But I was prevented from doing this — not spontaneously by the people of Boipatong, but by politically organised protests.

Since then the ANC and its allies have repeatedly attacked and slandered the Government. They have claimed that the Government and I were involved in the Boipatong massacre. This is a lie and will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated. There is not a shred of proof to support these accusations. We are determined to find out who was responsible for the killings and we will leave no stone unturned until we have prosecuted and punished the guilty. We have also asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the Boipatong massacre and we have suggested that international experts help with the investigation.

We have taken numerous concrete steps to stop the violence. We have given the police more money and more men. We have supported the National Peace Committee and we have set up the Goldstone Commission. However, regardless of the number of police we appoint and the number of investigations we start, we cannot stop the present type of violence alone. We need the support of all political leaders and of all South Africans to do this.

The ANC's reasons for

withdrawing from negotiations are completely unconvincing. They know that we are prepared to discuss any reasonable concerns with them and all other parties. Any differences which may exist make negotiations more necessary — and not less necessary. That is why we have urged them to return to the negotiating table.

There is, however, every reason to believe that the ANC is simply fabricating excuses to break off the negotiations and to cause an artificial crisis. This is because it, and particularly its allies in Cosatu and the SACP, have decided to follow their own agenda toward the seizure of power. Instead of bringing about the new South Africa through talks and agreement, they want to force their views on the rest of our society through confrontation and mass mobilisation.

This will not be tolerated. I want to make a few points very clear in this regard:

- The Government does not seek confrontation, and has repeatedly stated its belief that negotiations present the only viable option for the solution of our problems.

- The Government will not hesitate to take all steps necessary to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

- Any change of government must come about in a negotiated, constitutional manner.

- The ultimate goal of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, to overthrow the Government by coercion, will not be countenanced.

I appeal to all South Africans, wherever you may be, whatever community or party you may belong to, be calm and responsible. I wish to assure all South Africans that we will not allow our country to become ungovern-

able. We will not succumb to insurrectionist and undemocratic pressure.

Now is the time for cool heads and wise counsel. Say "no" to those who try to incite hatred and anger. Say "no" to any act or deed which will endanger your job or your security. Do not allow yourselves to be led along the path of confrontation and conflict. Support all reasonable acts the Government may take to ensure stability and security.

If conflict breaks out in our country there will be no winners:

- Conflict will lead to the loss of many more of our loved ones.

- It will seriously damage our economy and will cause more poverty.

- It will seriously disrupt education, medical and social services and the daily lives of millions of South Africans.

- It will make future negotiations much more difficult and will delay the search for negotiated solutions.

Conflict is completely unnecessary — because we can achieve all our reasonable objectives through peaceful negotiations. For all of these reasons you should urge all leaders to return to the path of genuine negotiations.

Our country is at a crossroads in its history. One road leads via negotiations to peace, elections and a new parliament and government which will represent all South Africans. It leads to a new South Africa where all South Africans will live together in peace, prosperity and mutual respect. The other road leads through mass mobilisation to confrontation, poverty and conflict.

The Government decided two-and-half years ago which road it would follow. It remains irrevocably committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution and will do anything which may be necessary to ensure such an outcome. I invite you to join us on this road. □

US urges ANC to negotiate

364A CT 3/11/92

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The ANC's decision to withdraw from talks was playing into the hands of those who wanted to disrupt a negotiated settlement, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen said yesterday.

"We are assuming that the people who are encouraging or instigating the violence have as one of their objectives the sabo-

taging of negotiations," Mr Cohen said.

"We'd like to see the negotiators return to the table, whether in Codesa or another forum, as soon as possible. We believe that the only solution for South Africa's problems is the continuation of negotiations leading to the objective of a non-racial democracy."

Mr Cohen confirmed that President George Bush had written to

President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi urging a return to the table and offering US "assistance" should they ask for it.

He also confirmed that Mr Bush had spoken personally to Mr Mandela by telephone.

US officials have made clear they do not favour intervention by the UN Security Council, as called for by Mr Mandela.

Govt replies to ANC demands as



LAYS DOWN THE LINE . . . President F W de Klerk issued a sombre warning to the ANC in an address on radio and television last night that anarchy will not be tolerated.

Picture: AP

FW talks tough

304A
CF 3/7/92

By BARRY STREEK

THE government last night proposed a joint ANC-IFP-NP body with international observers to monitor violence.

But at the same time that President F W de Klerk offered this olive branch to break the negotiations deadlock, he issued a sombre warning to the ANC that anarchy would not be tolerated.

In an address on radio and television last night, he said that the situation in SA was "serious" and there was "every reason to believe that the ANC is breaking off negotiations to cause a crisis".

The country was at a crossroads in its history, he said.

One road would lead, via negotiations, to peace and a new parliament and government, which would represent all South Africans. The other road was the one of mass

mobilisation, confrontation, poverty and conflict.

In a tough, no-nonsense speech, Mr De Klerk said it seemed that the ANC had decided to follow its own agenda to seize power.

"They want to force their views on the rest of society through confrontation and mass mobilisation.

"This will not be tolerated," he said.

Before Mr De Klerk's speech and the release of the government's proposals, the ANC said it would respond in seven days "after careful and thorough scrutiny" by its national working committee.

At a press conference in Pretoria last night, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, released copies of the government's response to the ANC's

To page 2

June 26 memorandum in which it made 14 demands to the government about violence.

In it, the government proposed the creation of a joint monitoring body with international observers.

Mr Meyer said: "We propose the leaders of the IFP and the ANC and the State President, in terms of the government's responsibility for law and order, should meet on a tripartite basis as urgently as possible to address what is necessary in this regard."

He also said a two-day conference with the ANC should be held as soon as possible to discuss the situation.

Despite the potential of the government's proposals to defuse the negotiations deadlock, the hard-hitting statements last night by Mr De Klerk, Mr Meyer and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hennus Kriel, about the ANC indicate that the government has little hope at this stage that negotiations will be resumed soon.

Mr Meyer accused an SA Communist

Party/Cosatu cabal of promoting insurrectionary thought and said mass mobilisation would promote conflict and violence.

Mr De Klerk said the government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

Mr De Klerk appealed to all to be calm and responsible, and gave an assurance that the government would not allow the country to become ungovernable.

He and the government were as horrified as anyone else by the violence and since the Boipatong massacre, the ANC and its allies had repeatedly attacked and slandered the government.

"They have claimed that the government and I were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

"This is a lie and will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated. There is not a shred of proof to support these accusations," Mr De Klerk said.

Govt reply

304A

Tutu has doubts about mass action

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday he had reservations about mass action for democracy in SA's political climate and called on businessmen to lead campaigns for faster reform.

Tutu said the ANC had done all it could to promote peace, but warned violence could discredit its democracy campaign.

Speaking hesitantly about action such as Wednesday's mass march through Cape Town which ended with police opening fire on demonstrators, he said: "I am worried ... having marched, what then? It's impressive, but, in a way, so what?"

"I am not entirely persuaded, myself, that the ANC and its allies would always be able to ensure that these demonstrations are peaceful," he said.

Referring to allegations that police agents sometimes provoked clashes with demonstrators, he said: "It would be very easy to discredit this strategy."

Tutu said it could be more effective to arrange smaller protests by well known public and civic leaders and businessmen. He was surprised there had not been more vigorous action on the part of business.

Rather than organise mass marches, the ANC might better use strikes to force businessmen to take sides. "You could try to enlist the support of the private sector, showing them that their best interests lie in support for the cause ... that if they don't do it voluntarily, they are going to be hit in the pocket," he said. — Sapa-Reuters.

● See Page 2



WHISTLE STOP: Watched by Western Cape ANC leader Dr Alan Boesak, right, and staff at the Khayelitsha day hospital, Mr Wilder shakes hands with nurse Ms Cecilia Yawa.

Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

Whirlwind tour for American governor

ARST 3/7/92 304A

Staff Reporter

IN A crowded two-day programme the Governor Lawrence Douglas Wilder of Virginia has so far met President De Klerk and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, toured Khayelitsha, had lunch with businessmen and been guest of honour at a civic banquet.

And that, yesterday, made up day one. Today he had break-

fast with opinion-makers, and is due to go on a sight-seeing tour of the Peninsula and a wine-tasting at Boschendal before flying off to Durban at lunchtime.

The guest of the ANC on a week-long fact finding mission of South Africa, Mr Wilder said after his meeting with Mr De Klerk yesterday that he had made it clear "we are prepared to do everything possible to

help build a new South Africa

... The United States wanted to be part of the rebuilding process in South Africa but could not under the present circumstances, he said.

Hundreds of ANC supporters met Mr Wilder during his visit to Khayelitsha.

He told them: "We know of your suffering and pain and we will do our utmost to stop your

suffering and pain.

"You are African and I am African and therefore we are brothers and sisters," he said.

Mr Wilder attended the Boipatong funerals this week and said he had not before seen "such emotional expressions of anger and hostility".

He was worried that the government "may not appreciate the seriousness of the situation".

Bush offers to help get talks going again

Sowetan 317192
Sowetan Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON - President George Bush has sent messages to State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela offering United States help in getting negotiations resumed, and he has received positive responses from them both. (304A) (447)

Disclosing this yesterday at a White House Press briefing, the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, said the US would "do everything in the world we can to support the prospect of the talks resuming".

Assistance

He did not specify what assistance Bush had offered, or what the responses had been, but indicated that the US and other Western countries were willing to play a role in getting the two sides together again.

"As we have said before, change is going to come to South Africa and it has either got to come through something like the Codesa process of peaceful negotiations, or it is going to come with a tremendous amount of bloodshed. That is obviously something we all want to avoid."

Baker said De Klerk and Mandela had shown great courage in getting the negotiations started and in getting them as far as they had, and that the US regretted the termination of the talks.

Constituent assembly rejected

FW calls for three-year interim rule

304A

B10am 317192

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday proposed a minimum three-year term for an interim constitution and issued a strong warning to the ANC not to attempt the forcible overthrow of government.

He called for a trilateral meeting on violence involving government, the ANC and Inkatha and said the meeting could consider an active fulltime monitoring mechanism and a joint monitoring body which could include the international community in an observer role.

Replying to ANC demands made last week when it withdrew from negotiations, De Klerk invited the organisation for talks but flatly rejected a constituent assembly. However, government had already agreed at Codesa on the broad structure of transitional arrangements, he said.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday it would examine the memorandum and give its response within seven days.

In a television address last night, De Klerk accused the ANC and its allies of sabotaging negotiations and said government was not alone capable of ending the violence. And in an earlier letter delivered to ANC president Nelson Mandela, De Klerk proposed the resumption of negotiations through a bilateral meeting with the ANC.

"The ANC's reasons for withdrawing from negotiations are completely unconvincing," De Klerk said.

He strongly criticised the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, saying it would lead to violence, delay the search for democratic solutions, damage the economy and seriously disrupt social services.

PATRICK BULGER

Turning to the ANC's demands, De Klerk said they were tailored "to support its programme of mass mobilisation and to justify the abortion of the negotiation process". He said the hostels issue was complex and was an issue government would like to discuss with the ANC. He said measures had been taken in regard to dangerous weapons.

He said government's information was that factions within Cosatu and the SACP were unhappy at what was being negotiated at Codesa and had initiated a strategy to abort the process.

He dismissed ANC allegations that government wanted a minority veto, arguing that whites would form only 17% of the electorate. Government wanted as many parties as possible to be part of the constitution-making process. "It should not be a constitution enacted by a majority in a constituent assembly elected on party political issues."

De Klerk said he wanted to make it clear that negotiations presented the only viable option for the solution of SA's problems, that government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent a slide into anarchy, that a change of government had to come about in a negotiated and constitutional manner and that the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign to overthrow the government by coercion would not be countenanced.

"We will not succumb to insurrectionist and undemocratic pressure," De Klerk said.

At a news conference in Pretoria last night, senior government Ministers out-

□ To Page 2

Interim rule

B10am 317192

304A

□ From Page 1

lined government's perspective on the transitional period. In memorandums attached to De Klerk's letter to Mandela, government said it would insist on a transitional constitution which made provision for a parliament with a national assembly and a senate together with an executive council directly elected by all voters.

The constitution would include provisions to safeguard against political manipulation of the SADF, the SAP, the Auditor-General, an ombudsman and an independent commission for administration.

"For the amendment or substitution of the transitional constitution a majority of 70% will be required and 75% for the Charter of Fundamental Rights. If the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution.

"The transitional constitution will be amended or replaced only within the framework of general constitutional principles as agreed upon at Codesa and the Constitutional Chamber of the Appellate Division must certify this to be the case," the memorandum said.

Laws would have to be passed by both houses and the senate will consist of an equal number of representatives from each electoral region using the development regions as points of departure. Government said the transitional constitution must facilitate the restructuring of the second and third tiers and must underpin order and stability.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said violence was the biggest obstacle to progress in negotiations. He denied ANC allegations of government complicity in planning and directing violence.

● Picture: Page 3

Envoy goes with words of hope

STAR 317142

30447

"Don't panic" is departing US ambassador Bill Swing's message to South Africans. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON talks to the top diplomat as he reluctantly prepares to leave behind a country in crisis.

Bill Swing, one of the most influential and best-informed foreign envoys to have been stationed in Pretoria, does not resort to diplomatic-speak when asked to describe the current state of the South African nation.

"I think it's in the deepest trough there's been since February 1990," he says. "I think a lot of us went to Pretoria 2 too euphoric after the referendum and the success of Mandela. The hope that we are going to come away with an accord on interim government probably didn't recognise how deep the differences still are, that there are two very different visions of democracy. These now have to become the substance of the next major compromise."

But while his assessment is realistic he insists that it is not pessimistic. He is convinced it the miracle of a negotiated transition to democracy is still possible. The key which will unlock the door to interim government is "get beyond the point where the majority-rule idea (a piling against) enforced power."

Progress will come only if both sides can agree to rethinking they can sell to their constituencies. "I believe the major threshold has to be interim government. So if things are being put on file the international support is."

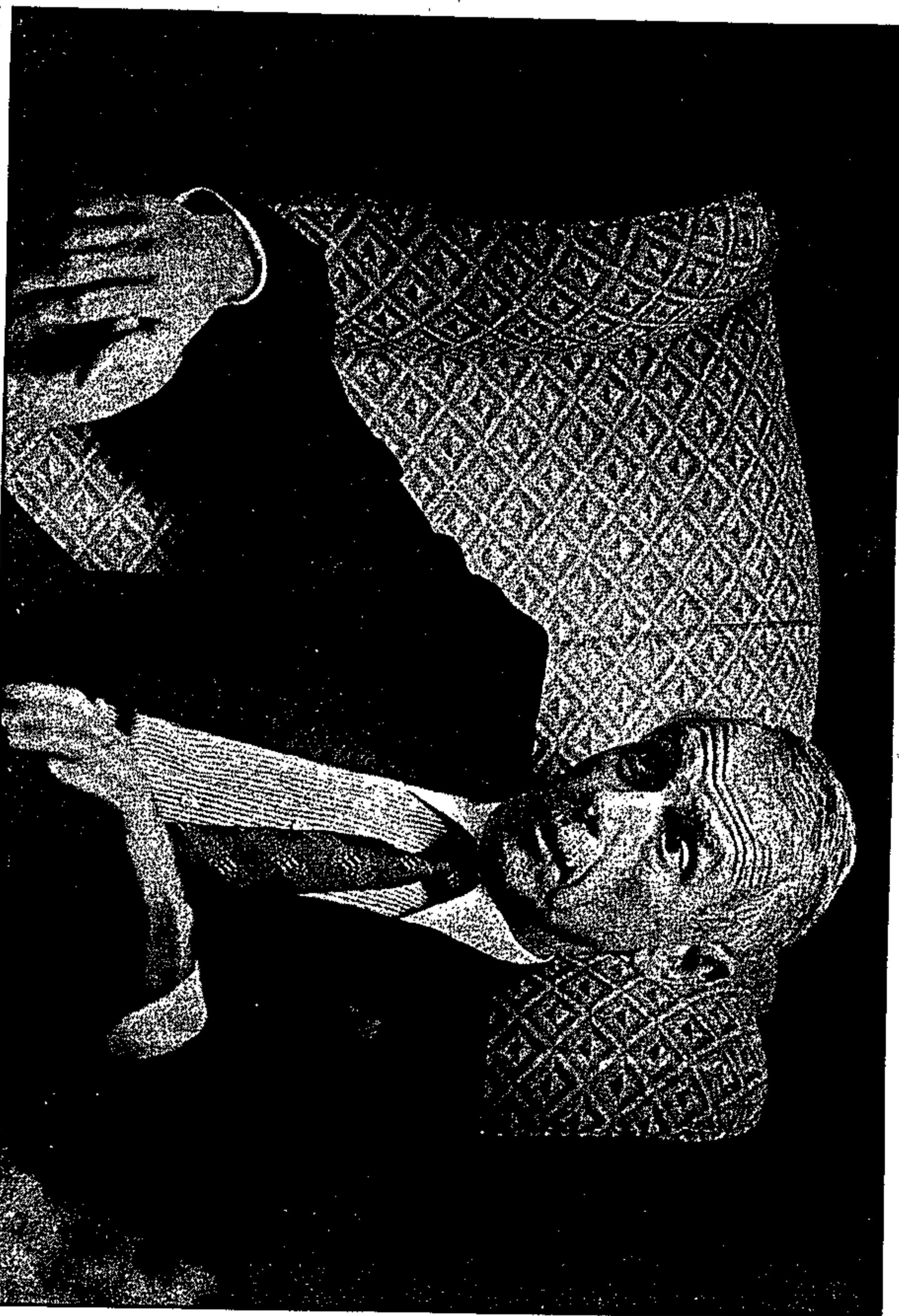
"This doesn't mean that I leave despondent about the country. I believe that the period of stand-off and break-down need not be long."

"I'm satisfied that the elements are still there to strike a deal. Unfortunately, in the process, the economy is partly being held hostage, and life at the grassroots level for an awful lot of people is not getting better. That's why it is urgent to get through this difficult phase, and get back to a table — whatever that table's going to be called."

Mr Swing does not go along with the growing perception that Codrington is dead, but neither is he convinced that it will convene in its original form. "There are various ways to skin a cat," he says.

Besides the competing ANC/Government visions of democracy, Mr Swing identifies the ongoing violence as "probably the (country's) most vulnerable area. (On constitutional matters) we know there is room for compromise if you can identify the atmosphere. So at this point a lot of stress has to be placed on getting a grip on the violence and restoring credibility to the process through that."

Mr Swing says he was deeply affected by the "anguish, frustration and, frankly, anger" evident at the Boipatong funeral, although he was encouraged that many speakers made it clear that "the door is not finally closed on negotiations". Asked whether he believed



Infectious optimism . . . Bill Swing discerned a "thousand points of light" as he travelled across South Africa. The Government was sufficiently aware of the mood of bitterness in the townships, he says.

"I would have to say that the Government has perhaps in the past not been as sensitive to the anguish and anger on the ground as would have been desirable."

"But I think that with the anguish that has been wrought by this massacre, they're becoming

much more aware of the suffering that's happening — and of the need, frankly, to do more

Picture: Karen Fletcher

about this. Because this is their most vulnerable point in terms of their credibility." The ambassador, who has held his post since 1989, believes the current jockeying for international support between the ANC and the Government is "natural" in political terms. But the international community — and the US government in particular — will "continue to make our own judgments and assessments, and to stay in touch with all the parties." He accepts that the debate over international involvement in the transition will hot up in coming weeks. "To the degree that the negotiations process breaks down, pressure will build up for the international community to play a larger role." "We do not have at this point a finely worked-out policy on the question of international monitors on violence and security. The embassy's recommendations are that, given the gravity of the situation . . . one ought to look seriously at this question of international observers or monitors." While disturbed by the sudden backward turn taken by the negotiations process, Mr Swing is at pains to reassure all South Africans that the world is not losing interest in South Africa. "In our own case we are going forward here with the largest aid programme in Africa." Mr Swing's parting thought for the people of this country is a description of the South African conundrum, as he sees it. "If you reduce it to the bottom line, I think blacks are afraid that change will not really mean change and many whites fear that change really will mean change." Solve that, he believes, and the South African miracle will come about. □

I know in my heavy heart SA will make it

STAFF 3/7/92

30441

Bill Swing looks so sad when he talks about leaving South Africa that, but for considerations of diplomatic propriety, one would be tempted to give him a comforting hug. "It's like being in the most interesting movie you've ever seen," he says mournfully, "and then someone taps you on the shoulder about a third of the way through and says 'Hey, you've got to go. And you don't get to see it through.'"

There can surely be few top foreign diplomats who have developed such a deep affection for a country which, after all, they came to know only through the vagaries of a diplomatic card-shuffle. But for Mr Swing, who takes up his new post in Nigeria in September, the South African bug bit early. "I began my career in the eastern Cape from 1964 to

1966," he recalled in a farewell interview with The Star this week. "I got here in the year of the Rivonia trial, and covered a lot of the Suppression of Communism Act trials. I was present at the creation of the Transkei, and I left in the year that Prime Minister Verwoerd was assassinated. You could say it was kind of a dark period. "I had all of that in my memory, so you can imagine that when I was appointed to come back in 1989 after a 23-year absence, I really had very limited expectations. I was delighted to be proved wrong — to live through arguably the most dramatic three years in modern South African history — and I leave you more encouraged and

hopeful about your country than ever before in the 30 years I've known it. Mr Swing is not one of the world's showy diplomats; his style is quiet but directed and thorough. He is both engaging and engaged: he learnt Afrikaans and Zulu before taking up his post (he is studying Hausa in preparation for Nigeria) and is the antithesis of the office-bound envoy. He gets out and about, all the time. "I've done about 130 000 miles (some 240 000 km) a year inside the country," he says, "and a lot of frequent-flyer miles on the airlines." He says his peripateticism probably explains his now-famous car accidents in 1990 and 1991 — "although I

Foreign ambassadors have to tell you they love your country; it's part of their job. The difference with William Lacy 'Bill' Swing, the US ambassador who leaves South Africa this weekend after a hectic three-year stint, is that he really means it.

hope that's not what I'll be remembered for."

Mr Swing's infectious optimism about South Africa stems from these extensive travels. "I base it on things that don't get in the media — what I call the 'thousand points of light'. I see as I go around your country. There's an awful lot of goodness at the local level, despite all the macro problems. "There are a lot of good peo-

ple. They're not certain of the future, but they want to make it work."

Moreover, says Mr Swing, South Africa is "a unique country in all of Africa. God threw away the pattern when he made South Africa. No other country has the unique origins or development that you have. You are going to join that elite group of countries in the world to which my country belongs —

truly multi-ethnic societies united round a common purpose.

"The real challenge is going to be building that sense of common patriotism, symbols, things to which you can relate to and rejoice in together. "I may not see it, but it will happen. If I were a young South African today, there is no way you could get me to leave this country. I'd want to be part of it."

He says a highlight of his tour of duty was the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, but he also emphasises the wider, less political, dimensions of his South African experience. "One of the great things about my job is that they actually pay me for

doing what I'm doing," he chuckles.

"I mean I really ought to pay my government for allowing me to be here at this historic moment. In doing my job, I'm able to do things I like doing. I'm able to follow your sports teams — I've got to know people like Ali Bacher and Kepler Wessels, I watch all the Currie Cup rugby matches — and I've got to know some of the great artists here.

"I ran into John Kani yesterday, who said my old friend Alhol Fugard is in town... I've participated in religious activities. I slipped into the NGA church here in Pretoria on Sunday. It's wonderful to be able to do all of that.

"I'm leaving with a heavy heart because I've had such a unsurpassable experience here and I know that whatever I do after this can't match it. Frankly I should retire after this post but I'm excited about the prospect of going to Nigeria because it keeps me in Africa. Also, they too are going through a transition and I want to be there a that time."

But Bill Swing is leaving part of himself behind: his only son has married a South African and has every intention of settling in this country. "I feel I accomplished at least one concrete thing in my time here — getting my son married to a very fine young South African. He's staying with both my blessing and my enthusiastic encouragement, because I believe in this country, and I know that it's going to make it."

INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION

Beware the innocents

FM 3/7/92

International mediation — beginning with a monitoring commission to help end political violence and restore the credibility of the security forces — has been offered to SA as a means of restarting constitutional talks.

This follows contacts between government officials and foreign diplomats in Pretoria over the past week, and separate meetings in Nigeria between UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Boutros-Ghali is due to visit SA within the next few weeks, possibly to take the process further.

The ANC is insisting on international monitoring of the security forces. Government has tentatively agreed to foreign observers coming in to help end unrest, but refuses to accept that alleged security force misbehaviour or neglect of duty is the only cause of violence.

President F W de Klerk says foreign teams are welcome as long as they don't compromise SA's sovereignty.

If successful, the monitoring operation could lead to formal foreign mediation in Codesa or a similar body, a move that government has rejected up to now. However, with Codesa stalled and the country on the verge of slipping back into international isolation, it may have no choice.

International mediation, possibly including an independent foreign chairman, would also assist the ANC in holding on to its militant Left wing. The PAC has long insisted that constitutional talks take place at a neutral venue under an independent chairman. It blames the failure of Codesa partly on the ANC's refusal to accept these prerequisites. A compromise could save face for both the ANC and PAC.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer says monitoring may lead to mediation, which he believes is essential to help SA out of the current political impasse.

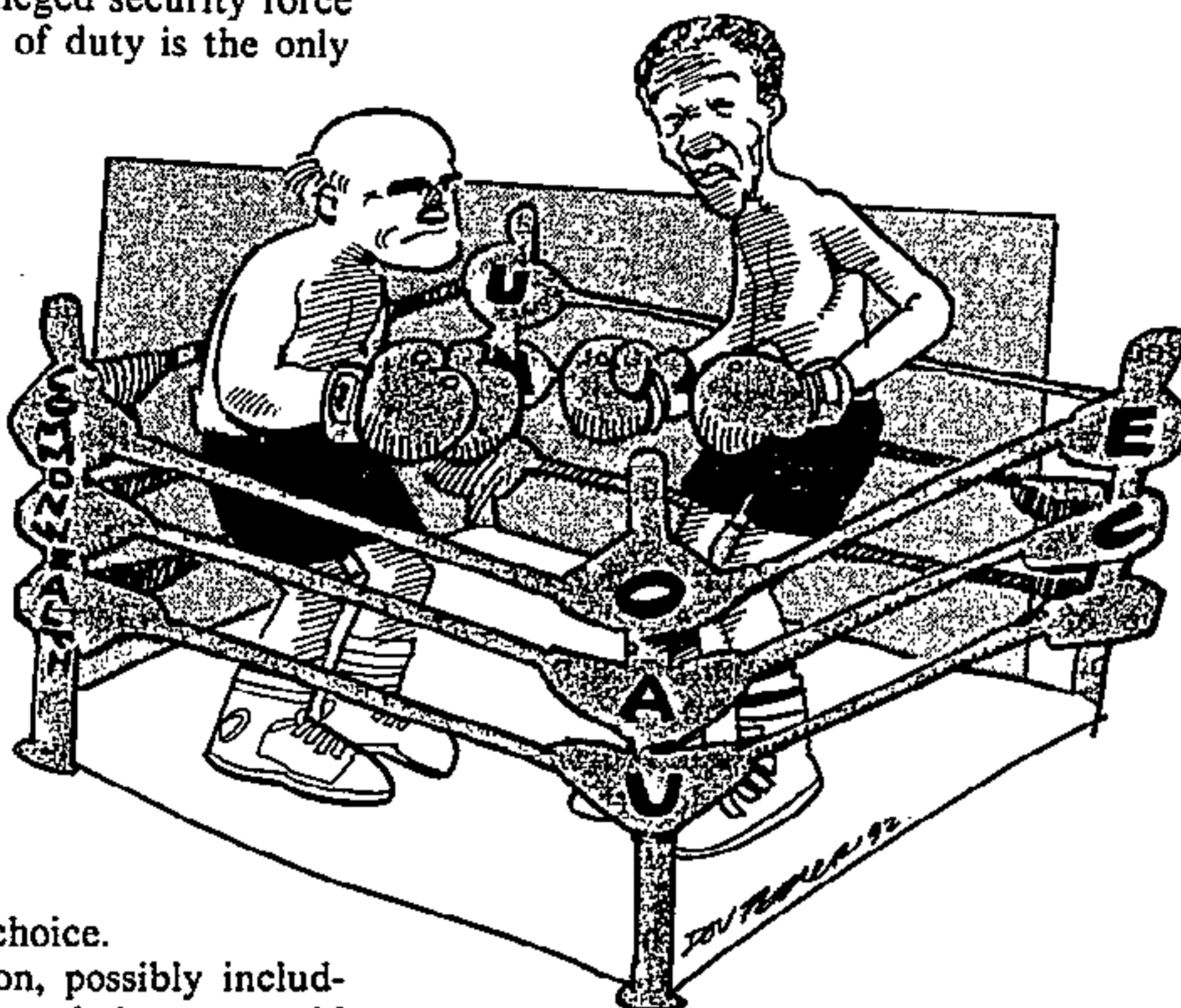
The Sowetan also says SA now needs international mediation to keep the reform process moving. "It is now required that our friends in the world give us a hefty push to the achievement of a peaceful and democratic society."

But analysts point out that unrest monitoring should not be seen as the solution to violence. It will have little effect unless poli-

tical groups honour commitments to work for peace and the SAP intensifies efforts to restore law and order.

Johan Olivier, Human Sciences Research Council authority on political violence, says he is not over-optimistic about the chances of a monitoring group being able to end the violence which is "clearly out of control. What we need is for all parties to remain committed to the terms of the Peace Accord. At the moment we even have Cabinet Ministers making irresponsible statements on violence. Political leaders are either naive or are simply using the violence to score political points."

Olivier says issues such as the size, financing and *modus operandi* of a monitoring group need to be carefully considered so that



it is perceived as credible and impartial. For example, if it is financed by the State and travels with the security forces, it may be perceived as being compromised.

He says if the monitoring group wants to treat causes and not just symptoms, it will have to be both reactive and proactive, in the same way that the Peace Secretariat is and signatories to the Peace Accord should be (but often are not). At the same time there will have to be greater efforts to address economic, political and social issues that contribute to unrest.

Clifford Shearing, head of the University of the Western Cape's community law centre, says a major problem facing SA at present is the lack of a valid descriptive base for acts of violence. "Virtually every descriptive account is part of a political game, part of the struggle. There can be no accountability because nobody really knows what's go-

ing on."

He says in a normal democracy a group like the SAP would be subject to scrutiny by a credible monitoring body, which would then report to a credible parliament. The Goldstone Commission is able partly to fill the role of a credible monitor but it is reporting to parliament that lacks credibility.

The co-opting of international participants by Goldstone — Reading University's criminal justice director Peter Waddington, and former Indian chief justice Prafulla Chandra Bhagwati — is a positive move, but Shearing believes international participation needs to be on a representative rather than an individual basis. "We need an internationally credible outside body to become involved in some way or other."

He says ideally a monitoring group should include international representatives, but be comprised mainly of an acceptable cross-section of South Africans. There are already a considerable number of individuals and organisations involved in unrest monitoring who could be brought in.

He sees government's concern that international monitors may compromise its sovereignty as a red herring. "Rather than interfere with its ability to govern, a monitoring group would compel it to govern in a climate where evidence of good governance is known."

Rather than monitoring all political activity, he believes the monitors should concentrate on ensuring the correct behaviour of the SAP, which should in turn maintain law and order and ensure that political groups don't resort to violence. "The monitors should not take over the law and order role of the SAP, but simply ensure that the police do their job in an equitable and acceptable manner."

Both Shearing and Olivier say agreement on the composition of a monitoring group should not be a major obstacle as long as there is a common will to end the violence.

But there may be better reasons, other than protecting sovereignty, for government's reluctance.

The statements after a recent tour by an Amnesty International delegation showed how easy it is for foreigners to decide who the bad guys are before they get here. The National Party is, after all, the party which invented and applied apartheid; it is understandably concerned about the foreign tendency to reduce SA politics to a case of Hitler vs the Cosby family.

Then there is the question of what the monitors would actually do. Would they stand around with notebooks whenever police confront a raging mob? How would they decide what level of force is required to stop, say, a necklacing? Who would transport the

Government backs down on ANC demands

304A

Sowetan 3/7/92

THE Government has backed down on the two crucial issues which caused the deadlock at Codesa 2.

The Government's revised proposals, which would have been acceptable to the ANC had they been presented at Codesa 2, were contained in an annexure to the memorandum sent to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by President FW de Klerk.

The Government says it is now prepared to accept a 70 percent majority to approve all aspects of a new constitution except the Bill of Rights, for which a 75 percent majority would be required.

This, in effect, is a belated acceptance of the ANC's compromise proposals tabled during Codesa 2, where the Government insisted on a 75 percent majority to approve all aspects of the constitution concerning regional government.

The Government is now also prepared to accept a democratically elected senate, based on "electoral regions" delimited for this purpose.

Delegates to the senate would be allocated proportionally according to the support their parties receive in each region - a departure from the government's previous insistence that each region be granted equal representation in the senate.

In his memorandum to Mandela, De Klerk said allegations that the Government was instigating the current violence were "lies".

The interim report of the Goldstone Commission showed that the causes of the violence were complicated and he therefore called for a meeting between himself, Mandela and Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP.

A touch of Wisconsin

NO MORE MARTYRS: CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY AND ORDINARY PEOPLE by Don Caldwell (Conrad Business Books, 175pp, R40). ~~3011~~ 3044

Caldwell is an American resident in, and a lover of, SA. But some of what he writes suggests a carry-over from Wisconsin, or wherever.

We are crisis-laden enough without the burden of our time having added to it the right of voters to recall holders of public office, or the calling of referendums on this or that. There is nothing in the history of the white or any other SA tribe to indicate that these proposals could conceivably win acceptance. That such material is included in the book argues a certain insensitivity to the realities of our situation.

Yet some parts of this curate's egg of a book are good — not least the chapter dealing with affirmative action. Here Caldwell invokes the work of black American economist Thomas Sowell, who posed a number of searching questions on the subject. Thus Sowell asks whether, in the absence of discrimination, all groups would be proportionately represented in all spheres of life. Fourteen statistical examples, taken from the Americas and Asia, show that huge disparities can be found worldwide which have nothing to do with discrimination. Indeed, some groups that have suffered from discrimination, such as Jews and immigrant Indians, regularly outperform those who discriminate against them.

Against advantages (if any) gained by beneficiaries of affirmative action, must be set the sense that many black Americans have of being stereotyped as losers. For the mass of blacks, the crown of the martyr then looks more becoming than that of the victor, which might fit them better.

As Sowell said: "The idea that large statistical disparities between groups are unusual, and therefore suspicious, is commonplace, but only among those who have not bothered to study the history of racial, ethnic and other groups around the world."

Another good chapter deals with freedom of speech. Caldwell shows that the ANC's acceptance of this is hedged round with qualifications. For fear of falling foul of these, dissidents are liable to take refuge in a deathly silence and thus sanctify the conventional wisdom of the majority.

A chapter is devoted to the question of how far the ANC can really be trusted. Caldwell appears to be intent on making his reader's flesh creep. Yet the ANC seemed to have come a long way at Codesa until it came up against a clear will to cling to power. The real question surely is whether the intellectual deadweight of a mass liberation movement will be countered by the leadership of a political party in office. Caldwell is a poor judge of this question; he

FM 317192

makes not a single reference to political leadership; he clearly distrusts politicians.

I must add that if Caldwell correctly assesses the trust that can be reposed in the ANC, his objections to its constitutional proposals hit the mark — and even if he is not correct, many of these proposals look like being a vast millstone round the neck of any government with a sense of responsibility. Caldwell argues cogently that there is a difference between rights and claims, and that the so-called secondary rights — such as a right to education, health or housing — are at most claims to be met in the light of available resources, not absolute rights.



Caldwell

In his chapter on taxes, Caldwell proposes referendums as a precondition of raising the level of taxation. It is surely a task of political leaders to determine what level of taxation is supportable; if they propose something excessive, should they be entitled to plead not guilty on the ground that this was what the electorate wanted? Where a constitution provides for a referendum, it would be all too easy to force one on the authorities.

To sum up, I see two main difficulties about Caldwell's book. One is that a number of his proposals are too remote either from reality, or from the continuing debate, to cut any ice among those whose contentions have the backing of any substantial section of public opinion. The other is that he expresses himself with a certain harshness that is unlikely to commend itself to South Africans of any colour — certainly not to blacks, from whom at least some of his arguments deserve to receive consideration.

Radford Jordan

'Great reformer' now a demon

STAR 3/7/92 304A

IN A speech made shortly after the Boipatong massacre, Ernest Sotsu, the ANC's representative in the township, referred scathingly to President "P W" de Klerk.

Whether Mr Sotsu had deliberately used the wrong initials or whether it was a slip of the tongue was unclear; either way it reflected a perception that there is not much difference between Mr Klerk and his predecessor, President P W Botha.

Mr Sotsu is not a maverick on the issue. There is a growing conviction in ANC ranks that there is little to choose between the two men. Mr de Klerk, the bold reformer, has been forgotten and replaced by Mr de Klerk, the cunning schemer.

The past six months have witnessed repeated characterisation of Mr de Klerk as a disingenuous politician, with ANC president Nelson Mandela leading the way. It is pertinent to recall Mr Mandela's sharp words during the opening session of Convention for a Democratic South Africa last

December.

Having accused Mr de Klerk of being the leader of "an illegitimate and discredited minority regime", Mr Mandela said: "The National Party and the Government have a double agenda. They are talking peace to us. They are at the same time conducting a war (against us)."

Later, in May, in an address to an OAU Committee on Southern Africa, Mr Mandela compared South Africa under Mr de Klerk to Hitler's Germany: "(In) Nazi Germany many people were killed because they were Jews. In today's South Africa our people are massacred simply because they are black."

He repeated the comparison, with one modification, in a speech at Evaton three days after the Boipatong massacre. He included Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in the forces which allegedly kill black people because of their skin colour.

Earlier that day Mr Mandela described the marauders responsible for the slaughter as "animals".

While not repeating the Nazi analogy, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa minced no words in accusing Mr de Klerk of "complicity" in the Boipatong massacre and had no hesitation in defending the use of posters labelling Mr de Klerk a man wanted for murder.

The Human Rights Commission — most of whose commissioners are ANC-aligned — implicitly endorses Mr Mandela's Nazi analogy in its analysis of massacres since July 1990.

After identifying the IFP and the security forces as the primary culprits in nearly 50 attacks in which 10 or more people were killed, the HRC concludes: "There can be little doubt that there is a design and purpose behind most that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality."

Against that, President de Klerk has accused the ANC of deliberately exploiting human tragedy for political gain at the risk of exacerbating an already dangerous

crisis.

There is undoubtedly an element of political calculation in the ANC's decision to hold President de Klerk personally responsible for the continuing violence, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's finding that there is no evidence of a third force and that causes of the violence are manifold and complex.

One of the purposes behind the ANC's mass action campaign is to force Mr de Klerk to agree to the election of a constituent assembly by the end of this year and to mobilise "the masses" for the election.

By demonising Mr de Klerk in the eyes of township people, by turning townships into "no-go" areas for him, the ANC is ensuring that he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to supplement the high level of support that he enjoys in the white, coloured and Indian communities with a respectable share of the black vote.

Mr de Klerk's image as an intrepid innovator seeking to lead South Africa to a new non-racial

and democratic order has been severely damaged in the townships by the ANC's barrage of fierce criticism.

Another sign of retrogression to the P W Botha era is the re-emergence of the dreaded necklace killings, the execution of "informers" and "enemies of the people" by hanging tyres filled with petrol around their necks and setting them alight.

The first necklace killing occurred in 1985 when, after the funeral of the victims of the Uitenhage massacre, an angry mob attacked the home of T B Kinikini, the only councillor in Uitenhage's black township of KwaNobuhle who had not bowed to pressure to resign.

In the words of veteran journalist Mona Badela: "Mr Kinikini was stabbed, then tyres were put on him after he was dead and he was burned like that. The crowd also killed three of his sons. It was a terrible thing."

Ominously, on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre, a young man sus-

spected of being an IFP sympathiser was hauled from a township house, hacked, shot and necklaced. Before that, on the weekend before the Boipatong massacre, a young woman was necklaced for consorting with an IFP man living at KwaMadala Hostel.

Another necklace victim in the Vaal Triangle was the former mayor of Lekoa, Esau Mahlatsi. He was murdered on May 28.

In a statement condemning the re-emergence of necklacing, the ANC implicitly but unmistakably laid the blame on the De Klerk administration. "The resurgence of necklacing is a manifestation of the deep frustrations and anger in the community with the violence and with Government's refusal to accept a democratic dispensation in South Africa."

The ANC's qualifying rider introduced a note of equivocation into its condemnation of necklacing and was reminiscent of the total propaganda war fought between the "regime" and the "liberation movement" during the Botha era. □

Govt softens transitional demands

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has significantly softened its demands for minority protection in a transitional government, in an effort to get negotiations back on track.

From President de Klerk's memorandum to ANC president Nelson Mandela, delivered to the ANC yesterday, it emerges that the Government has made several concessions compared with its proposals at Codesa 2 in May.

The aim seems to be to refute ANC charges that the Government is clinging to power.

● The Government has dropped its original plans to give minority parties disproportionately high representation in a transitional senate.

At one time the Gov-

ernment proposed that all parties commanding support over a certain minimum (10 percent was once suggested) should have equal representation in the senate — which would have veto powers over legislation.

In yesterday's memorandum, the Government is proposing that each of the regions into which the country would be divided should have equal representation in the senate. And the seats allocated to each region would be in proportion to party support.

This proposal represents a major departure from the Government's key proposal for minority protection.

● The Government dropped its insistence at Codesa 2 that matters concerning the structure of regional government may only be changed

with a 75 percent majority. The memorandum says a majority of only 70 percent should be required to amend or substitute the transitional constitution — except for a 75 percent majority for changing the bill of rights.

● If the transitional constitution had not been replaced within three years, a general election would be held.

The new Government position on a transitional constitution and a constitution-making body brings it very close to the position which the ANC was prepared to accept at Codesa 2.

The ANC accepted the need for a 70 percent majority in the constitution-making body in all matters except the bill of rights, where 75 percent would be needed.

It rejected the propos-

al by the Government of the need for a 75 percent majority on regional matters — which the Government has now dropped.

However, the Government and the ANC are still likely to disagree on the question of a deadlock-breaking mechanism.

At Codesa 2 the ANC proposed that if the constitution-making body deadlocked because of the high majorities required to make decisions, then after six months the draft constitution should be put to the public vote in a two-thirds majority referendum.

The Government's new proposal of a general election after three years is clearly an attempt to address that concern. But it may fall short of ANC requirements.

Graham Linscott discusses the two options involving a UN presence here

Peacekeepers 'No', observers 'Yes'

STAR 317152

30(UN)

UNITED Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali says all sides in South Africa favour some sort of UN presence in the country.

No doubt he is right. But the different parties probably have rather different views as to how the UN could and should be involved.

Some would want a peacekeeping force, blue helmets at the trouble spots to keep the factions apart, displace the South African security apparatus and hand things over pretty swiftly to an elected government. (Then, the cynics would say, withdraw before all hell breaks loose.)

Others would want a UN observer group to monitor events in the country, reporting back to the international community on the horrible complexities of our so-

ciety, telling them the issue is not a simple one — possibly giving an account of events here fairly sympathetic to the Government.

For various reasons the first option is undesirable and unlikely. Undesirable because the UN has a dreadful record in peacekeeping operations. Its forces generally have withdrawn whenever the combat heated up.

Unlike because to invite a UN peacekeeping force would be to altogether surrender sovereignty while member nations are not going to shell out the necessary cash or commit their forces to running the townships gauntlet.

However, the second option is an interesting one. It could introduce a degree of realism to the Codesa process and eliminate a great deal of posturing.

A UN observer group would tell it as it is. It would also recognise that South Africa is a special case. It is a complex mix of First World and Third World, rich and poor, of Africa, Asia and Europe. South Africa is the world in microcosm.

It requires special solutions, probably more complex than simple Western democracy or federalism, and the presence of UN observers would underline this.

But what of national sovereignty? Why should meddling some foreign devils be invited in? The truth is that sovereignty is very much a subjective notion.

The sovereignty established by Verwoerd — the Boer republic writ large — was not the sovereignty of Smuts or Malan. Nor does it mean much to blacks. Besides, outsiders have always

meddled here. The Russians, the Germans, the French, the Dutch and the Irish felt strongly enough about it to become involved in various ways in the Anglo-Boer War. It goes back a long way.

Sanctions against South Africa and countless motions at the UN are another form of meddling, whether we like it or not.

South Africa's traditional reaction has been one of bristling anger, from the days of Eric Louw to our very own P. W. Botha.

But F W de Klerk is now said to favour an international involvement. There is talk of the Commonwealth playing a role as well.

If the President's hands are clean and he believes in what he is doing, it could be an astute move. The heck with sovereignty. □

A talk with Baas Verwoerd

TM: Dr Verwoerd, as a pioneer of the master race doctrine - white supremacy - ostensibly Afrikaner domination in South Africa, what are your views on the present political developments?

Dr V: Firstly, I am still baas to you. Mandela boldly calls De Klerk a boy and gets away with murder. Talk about biting the hand that feeds you. And since the world laid the red carpet for him after his release, the Xhosa kaptein's son now carries on like he runs the country already.

I wouldn't have released him. Is he your leader too, are you also a Xhosa...?

TM: Many of us have come to accept such thinking as typical rightwing rhetoric. But please answer the question...

Dr V: You shall not interrupt while I speak, kaffir!

TM: I object...

Dr V: Well, take it or leave it. You requested this interview.

Mandela and the ANC communists think they are about to rule my fatherland, South Africa, and if they think it is with FW de Klerk's blessings they have another think coming. He will never betray his own kin!

FW's mistake is that he is going too fast for the likes of Eugene and Andries and them on the far right. What he needs to do now is rally the support of the Volkstaaters, the AWB and Andries and them. Ja-nee, they should close ranks and strengthen the laager.

Empathy

TM: Pardon me for my lack of empathy and disregard for your sense of camaraderie. On March 17 nearly 70 percent of white South Africans - about 1,9 million voters, including expeditiously naturalised immigrants - voted "yes" in a referendum which gave FW the "mandate to continue with reform and negotiate a new constitution".

I might inform you that 32 million people live in South Africa today. Of these four million are white. Of which three million have the vote. Of which one-and-a-half million use the vote. Of which 900 000 voted for FW de Klerk's party in the last general election.

However, the point is that the results of the last referendum were met with international approval and enthusiasm...

Dr V: Ja, I hear you, but you must be an idiot if you misread international



WHAT does the architect of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, think of the changes made by President F W de Klerk. He says this is still part of the grand strategy but taking today's environment into account. **THEMBA MOLEFE**, our political reporter, interviewed him in his grave.

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(304A)



reaction to events here post-February 1990.

TM: Why?

Dr V: You just told me that the referendum tested white attitudes on reform as a means towards power-sharing. You'd be naive to assume that the majority of white South Africans actually voted for a one-person-one-vote democracy as suggested in media reports overseas.

And let me tell you, the international world supports De Klerk mainly because he has released Mandela - the man was becoming a demigod, you know - and has allowed the communists and radicals to speak. For that South Africa's detractors abroad should reward him, shouldn't they?

Your own African hero, Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, equated De Klerk with your so-called revolutionary heroes, Steve Biko, Mandela and Clarence Makwetu. And now Jamaica plays cricket. Sjoe!

TM: I still don't understand why you scoff at the March 17 referendum.

Dr V: I knew you bantus were never perceptive. White people will never just hand over power to the bantu, the kaffir, and allow themselves to be swallowed into a frenzied majoritarian oblivion. Not just like that. The foundation my predecessors and I laid is solid. The white man, and that includes De Klerk and his confreres, shall not capitulate.

For instance, the deadlock on constitutional mechanisms at Codesa was not unexpected. Capitulation would mean handing over power to the ANC and the surrendering of the whites. So, my prediction is that you people will negotiate until you are blue in the face.

TM: I find it strange that you are advising the black majority to de-

mand democracy. Effectively you, of all people, are saying revolution is the way for this country's majority?

Dr V: Don't put words in my mouth. Listen, and listen carefully, now. There has never been any coherent black resistance in this, my land, but a communist-inspired struggle to intimidate you ignorant, good and loyal bantu peoples into rising against a perfect order - separate development. Another thing, bantus have never been capable of anything intelligible. Except for being faithful servants of their white masters, of course. Look at Africa...

Massacre

For instance, do you believe that the powerful Zulu nation can agree to be ruled by the Xhosas? Right now they are demanding the participation of their king at Codesa. What a performance.

Apartheid has really achieved its goal; of dividing you people to the extent that blacks are prepared to massacre their own kind without scruples.

TM: I would not hurry to gloat. There is talk already, and it is taking root, of genocide - of the blacks being exterminated.

However, I agree with you apartheid indeed has dehumanised blacks and that there is a very large number of whites who feel as triumphant as you about this tragedy today.

Dr V: Did I say that? Stop putting words in my mouth. You tell me why black leaders are at each other's throats. Your organisations cannot even agree on praying together even on emotional days such as June 16. Why do you think Van Riebeeck's Day changed to Founder's Day without a murmur from the blacks? It's just a thought.

Another thing: To me power-sharing

is just a modified version of separate-but-equal. Even the rightwing stands to benefit because it still means minority rules, okay.

TM: Are you saying De Klerk is just a high-tech version of the old you?

Dr V: Yes, and he has a nice smile. That's enough to convince investors abroad. You see, in my time there were no sanctions. Today times are bad. Sanctions have really hit apartheid's main beneficiaries - whites - the hardest.

Blacks have always been hungry, anyway. Today many a white stomach is empty and that is not good, my boy.

TM: I still don't get you. But many whites genuinely seek justice...

Dr V: That is why I say you people are wrong about whites. Now, let's look at you people, the bantus. You are several minorities, each with its own culture, language and outlook. There's nothing such as a black majority in the fatherland and I'll prove it...

TM: You've said that already and you are aware that you are deliberately distorting the truth.

Dr V: Jong, you are calling me a liar!

TM: You are putting words in my mouth.

The struggle by black people for their liberation is not motivated by tribal fascination. You know that the struggle waged by the ANC since 1912, the PAC since 1958 and consequently kept alive by the black consciousness movement, transcends ethnicity. When you banned the ANC and PAC in 1960 and detained thousands of their followers and sympathisers you were consciously sowing the seeds of black disunity.

When in 1977 Vorster's regime killed Biko and banned organisations that rallied under the black con-

sciousness banner your successor was aware only of one thing: the destruction of a re-emerging and determined black majority.

Dr V: I shall elaborate on the fact that there is no "black majority" here. Divide-and-rule ensured that blacks would remain fragmented and hostile entities: different bantu "nations" who belong to what your resistance movement aptly calls bantustans. There would also be "coloured" and Indian minorities, with the white "nation" at the helm, of course.

Many of the "puppet leaders," as you call them, will not just abandon power now that they've tasted it. Elementary, my dear Watson. Look at Mangope, he'll hold on to power no matter what. Bophuthatswana is fast overtaking Pretoria as leader in its disregard for human rights. Buthelezi thinks there won't be peace without him. He has said it.

The difference between us and you people is that you will end up annihilating each other while the white man watches in feigned amazement.

Monument

TM: Dr Verwoerd, it is now almost three decades since your bones were laid to rest. Many (white) people are even thinking of renaming Verwoerdburg and destroying any monument named in your honour...

Dr V: Yes, isn't it funny? Why did they extol me in the first place? They believed, and still do, in my teachings. Wasn't I the monster everyone had to hate? I have left a legacy that took 42 years to manifest. It will not be eradicated in just two years.

TM: Don't you think it is this heritage which will inevitably devour the white race it seeks to benefit...

Dr V: What's your name again? Ah, I am dead, you know.

FWW



FW DE KLERK

slams

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ANC

THE scene has been set for the worst showdown between the government of FW de Klerk and the African National Congress since its unbanning in February 1990.

This follows De Klerk's "gloves off" response to the ANC's demands set out in a memorandum to the Government in the

wake of the Boipatong massacre.

His hard-hitting speech has dimmed the prospects of a revival of Codesa or a reconciliation between the Government and the ANC in the immediate future.

In an address to the nation last night, De Klerk said the Government would "take steps to prevent a slide to anarchy".

●Full report page 2

ANC is causing a crisis, says FW

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THE African National Congress had chosen to sabotage negotiations, State President FW de Klerk charged last night.

In a hard-hitting address broadcast on SABC radio and TV, De Klerk said there was "every reason to believe that the ANC is breaking off negotiations to cause a crisis".

"They want to force their views on the rest of society through confrontation and mass mobilisation. This will not be tolerated," he said.

The Government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy. It would also not allow the ultimate goal of the ANC's mass action campaign - to overthrow the Government through coercion - to succeed.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel told a news conference in Pretoria that the Government was, however, not considering reimposing a State of Emergency.

At the same Press conference, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said a two-day conference with the ANC should be held as soon as possible.

(ZAP) (304A)

De Klerk gave an assurance that the Government would not allow the country to become ungovernable.

"Now is the time for cool heads and wise counsel. Say no to those who try to incite hatred. Do not allow yourselves to be led along the path of confrontation and conflicts," said De Klerk.

If conflict broke out in the country there would be no winners. Conflict would make future negotiations much more difficult.

The country was at a crossroads in its history. The negotiations road would lead to peace and a new parliament and government.

The other road, he said, would lead to mass mobilisation, confrontation, poverty and conflict.

He said Codesa 2 had been close to an agreement and that the country would have seen an elected parliament and government representing all South Africans within months.

He said there were indications that some elements had planned this course of action even before Codesa 2. - *Sapa.*

Watch out FWV, the crunch is coming

THE stage is set for a colossal showdown between the state and the African National Congress, as local and international pressure on South Africa reached new heights this week.

Last night the government was due to announce its response to the ANC's 14 conditions for the resumption of talks. But indications are that they are not likely to go far in meeting ANC demands. Plans by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC for widespread mass action are far advanced and unlikely to be changed.

In the latest developments:

- A confidential ANC document gives a first glimpse of the insurrectionary tactics it would use to topple the state. These include the disruption of post and telecommunications, the dislocation of the civil service and crippling of the national transport system. *W/Week 317-917192.*
- Cosatu has announced plans for a general strike, potentially of a week's duration, starting on August 3.
- Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emeka Anyaoku jettied in to South Africa yesterday and met President FW de Klerk last night.
- United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to raise South Africa at the next meeting of the United Nations Security Council.
- Proposals for the inclusion of international monitors in National Peace Accord structures are under consideration within the UN, Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and European Community.
- A mission of three EC foreign ministers is due in South Africa before the August 3 national strike.
- The world Anti-Apartheid Movement is to discuss the revival of the sanctions campaign against South Africa at a conference this month.
- Local churches are to launch a defiance campaign if the government's response is inadequate.



A mourner contemplates the graves of Bolpatong massacre victims

Photo: GUY ADAMS

THE frenzied round of negotiations between South African politicians and potential international mediators reached a new pitch last night when Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emeke Anyaoku flew into Johannesburg for an urgent and unexpected meeting with President FW de Klerk.

At the meeting, held in Pretoria, Anyaoku offered the Commonwealth's services as monitors of the current violence, observers of peace initiatives and facilitators of the collapsed negotiations process.

Sources said that high on the agenda was likely to be a proposal — supported by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community — to resolve government-African National Congress differences over controlling the violence by giving foreign monitors a role in running South Africa's wobbly Peace Accord structures.

While the four international organisations favour a higher level of involvement, this proposal may be more acceptable to the government and would, at the very least, call for foreign lawyers and policemen to be incorporated into all peace-resolution committees throughout the country.

Despite De Klerk's open call for international fact-finding missions, his government is still highly sceptical

Commonwealth chief jets in unexpected

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Last night's urgent visit by the

Commonwealth's secretary

general underlines the

organisation's role as

primary peace-broker in the

South African conflict.

By MARK GEVISSER

and ARTHUR GAVSHON

about inviting foreign observers and monitors, which is a primary demand of the ANC to be met before the resumption of negotiations.

The international community believes that despite official nervousness, the South African authorities have already accepted the principle of foreign monitoring.

De Klerk and Anyaoku have met twice already and relations between them are, according to sources from both sides, "cordial and close".

In the next few days, Anyaoku will also meet ANC officials, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and National Peace Accord chairman John Hall.

Anyaoku is en route from the OAU summit in Dakar, where he met ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha and United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His rapidly arranged visit pre-empted the arrival of Boutros-Ghali, who is expected here soon, and demonstrates again the Commonwealth's desire to

be the primary peace-broker in the South African conflict. Commonwealth officials stress, however, that any initiatives will be made in conjunction with the other three international organisations interested in mediating.

Sources from all four organisations stress that most of the pressure is on De Klerk, who is being urged privately to go further than ever in creating conditions necessary for the resumption of negotiations. "Governments and not oppositions have the responsibility for maintaining law and order," commented one ambassador.

While Anyaoku consults local parties about what mode of mediation or observation would best suit them, South African human-rights lawyers are planning a conference, probably to be held in Durban, to examine and flesh out the bones of the proposal to incorporate foreign observers within the Peace Accord structures.

And Boutros-Ghali continues to drum up support abroad for the idea. He intends raising the issue in the UN's Security Council next week, and will also advise British Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on Thursday.

Both Major and United States President George Bush have sent messages to South Africa calling for the resumption of negotiations. Britain, in its current capacity as head of the EC, is also hastily arranging a long-delayed mission to South Africa by three EC foreign ministers.

"We have to time this mission carefully," a British official said. "It is like-

ly to be after Judge Goldstone completes his report on Boipatong, but before the planned general strike on August 3. We don't want the ministers to be caught up in any sort of violence or to be the targets of demonstrators."

Diplomats note that the South African government would prefer EC monitoring, while the ANC would be more supportive of the Commonwealth, which counts many African countries and most of the southern African region among its membership.

Unlike the UN, neither the Commonwealth nor the EC would be in a position to institute a Namibia UNTAG-style peacekeeping force — even if the government were, ultimately, to accept this. The Commonwealth would confine its involvement, in the words of one of its officials, "to observing and facilitating the process, perhaps through the Peace Accord structures".

The Commonwealth has generally taken the lead in South African policy, and then, last October, by lifting "people-to-people" sanctions at its milestone summit in Harare.

Despite the organisation's history as a strident voice against the apartheid regime, it decided at the Harare summit to shift its emphasis away from one-sided support of the liberation movements and towards facilitation of the peace process.

Clearly, the Commonwealth's sense of urgency is motivated by the demands of its member countries. According to the Commonwealth schedule for the lifting of sanctions, trade sanctions may only be lifted once there is establishment of an interim government; already, there is a rift between those nations that are stringently observing this schedule, like Canada and Australia, and those that are effectively ignoring it, like Kenya and Nigeria.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Published by M&G Media, Pty Ltd, c/o Frederick and Smal streets, Johannesburg. Printed by Caxtons, c/o Bloomburg and Commando Roads, Industria. Editorial comment in this issue by Anton Harber. Newsbills by Irwin Manoin. Headlines and editing by Laura Yeatman. All of 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg. Phone: Editorial: 334-2400

The Washington Post

There's No Hope Unless The Police Are Brought To Book

Guardian (w/ in w/ mail) 317-917192

BOIPATONG TOWNSHIP, South Africa — After the June 17 massacre here, one thing is certain. There will be no negotiated settlement in South Africa unless something is done to restore the credibility of the police as a peacekeeping force.

Foreign Minister R. F. Botha is right when he says there is no alternative to negotiation. But what there is if negotiation fails is the appalling prospect of a slide into anarchy and ruin, of South Africa becoming another Lebanon or Yugoslavia. That prospect looms if President Frederick de Klerk continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time here talking to survivors of the massacre, and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpville that followed Mr de Klerk's visit to the township on June 20, when the police fired point-blank, without orders and without warning, into a crowd of about 3,000 people, and I can only say that I despaired for my country.

I despaired because every man, woman, and child I spoke to in Boipatong told me they believed the police had escorted the attackers from a nearby migrant workers' hostel, housing supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw how inept the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr. de Klerk's ill-considered visit. After the president had left and the crowd was beginning to simmer down and disperse, the police inexplicably turned their personnel carriers around and re-entered the traumatized township.

The big armoured vehicles drove slowly down the street just a few yards behind the retreating crowd, looking so aggressive and provocative that a newly arrived foreign correspondent beside me blurted out in astonishment: "What the hell do they think they're doing? Are they looking for trouble?"

Then, in those explosive circumstances, a policeman in one vehicle stood up in the turret and fired a shot, killing a black man about 80 yards (73 meters) away. The police

claimed the man was threatening another with a machete, but people in the crowd said the shooting was unprovoked. Whatever the truth, the shooting created a situation so explosive that a greater tragedy became inevitable.

Other factors cry out for explanation. Neither these police nor any others I have seen in similar situations in South Africa carried riot shields or batons the way crowd controllers do everywhere else in the world. They wore camouflage battle dress and carried only lethal weapons — submachine guns and 12-gauge shotguns loaded with buckshot. It meant shooting was their first, not their last, resort in case of trouble.

The angry crowd milled around, demanding that the police officer who fired the fatal shot be arrested. They were determined to stop the

By Allister Sparks

police from taking away the body, saying this would lead to a fabricated case of self-defence, and they tried to reach it. When a police mortuary van arrived, they blocked its path. The van driver got out and, pressed back by the crowd, fired his shotgun into the ground to try to scare them off. Instead, this triggered his own colleagues, who on hearing the shot opened fire into the crowd standing directly before them.

They kept up the shooting for more than 19 seconds, firing round after round as the people fled in terror, falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 others groaning on the ground.

When the shooting stopped, the officer in charge leaped up and screamed at his men in Afrikaans: "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders."

I despaired finally because when it was all over, the police did not come out to help the injured. It was left to the few journalists there and the black survivors to do that.

I watched a young woman photographer cradle a man's shattered head as he gurgled and died. My wife, who accompanied me on the assignment and had to run for her

life with the stampeding mob, turned back to drag a man who had been hit in the spine to safety behind a parked car.

But the police stayed next to their parked armoured personnel carriers. All of this was inflicted on a community that had suffered one of the worst atrocities in South Africa's history four nights before, when more than 40 persons — including women and babies — were shot, hacked, and speared to death in their beds. Mr. de Klerk's decision to visit the scene of that atrocity is a measure of how out of touch he is with the mood of black South Africa in these dark days of frustration and fury.

To those of us who had been there after the massacre it was obvious the moment we heard of Mr de Klerk's intention that his gesture was misplaced and bound to cause trouble.

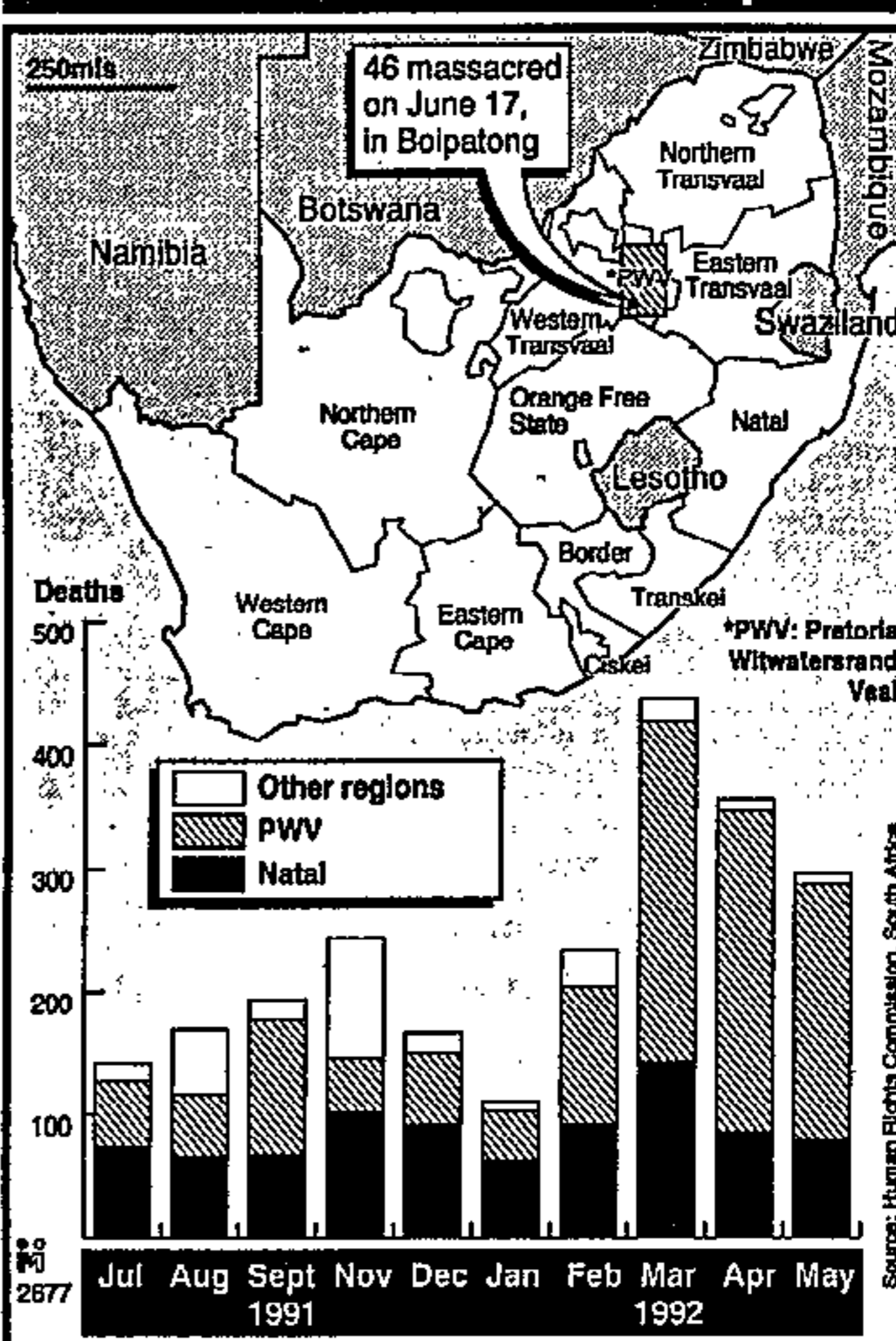
Boipatong and nearby townships were boiling with rage. Absolutely everyone here believes the police were involved in the Inkatha attack. Whatever the president may say, however many exculpatory statements the official police spokesmen may issue, the people on the receiving end of the knives and hatchets and crude home-made guns know who attacked them. You can bluff the whites in their remote suburbs, but you cannot bluff the blacks who are there on the spot — and the more you try, the more you discredit yourself.

That is what has happened to South Africa's police force. It has discredited itself by its deeds and its cynically disingenuous explanations until it is seen not as a peacekeeper but as a feared and deadly enemy.

Mr. de Klerk does not want to believe that. He gets angry when it is put to him. But it is true.

How can credibility be restored? Only by drastic measures. There must be a complete change in the command structure of the security forces, they must be brought under multi party control, and there must be an international commission to monitor police operations. If that is done, there may be some hope of getting the peace process back on track. Anything less, and the abyss yawns.

South Africa: township toll



Estimated 6,000 killed in political violence since Mandela's release in February 1990. In 1991 an average 215 killed every month. In first five months of 1992 monthly average was 286

SHOWDOWN



The stakes rise and
it's FW against
the world ...

THE final showdown between the government of
P.W. Botha and his opponents has begun.
A confidential ANC document, revealed in *the*
Weekly Mail today, gives first details of insurrectionary
tactics to topple the state. *the Mail* 29/1/82
Cosatu has announced a general strike on August 3.

The world anti-apartheid campaign is to be revived
within the next fortnight.
Discal churches are to launch a defiance campaign.
Commonwealth leaders have flown to South Africa
to be followed next week by a UN delegation.
the Mail
Full details: PAGES 2 and 3



ANC'S plan to topple government

Wimail 3/7-9/7/92

3014

A CONFIDENTIAL African National Congress document gives the first clear indication of exactly how the movement intends to bring the government down if it does not relinquish power.

Calling for an extended political strike to break the deadlock at Codesa, the document — which *The Weekly Mail* understands has been canvassed at the highest levels of the ANC's leadership — urges "prolonged, intermittent disruption of normal business".

A prolonged political strike will spearhead an ANC plan to force the government to relinquish power.
By Weekly Mail Reporter

Targeting the national communications system, the transport system, the public service and the economy, the document outlines how government and business activities could be brought to a halt for a lengthy period. Included among its proposals are:

- The systematic and deliberate interruption of the telephone services of certain business and state institutions
- Sit-ins, stayaways and protest action at all major police stations, prisons and post offices
- Deliberate delays and the systematic interruption of the general transport system, including the railways, harbours and airways. The document proposes paralysing the road transport system by mobilising taxi drivers to cause traffic snarl-ups
- The deliberate displacement of important documents, office and machine keys, and other essential items for the normal running of government services.

In line with an ANC policy conference decision, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on

Wednesday announced a general strike of unstated duration, beginning on August 3, if the government does not meet its demands for significant concessions. (See Page 19)

The confidential document argues that a political strike could lead to the breaking of the negotiations deadlock, and even the removal of the government from power and the imposition of an interim government. It suggests a two to three-week strike, although Cosatu is understood to be advocating week-long action.

The upsurge in militancy in the townships in the wake of the Boipatong massacre and the ANC/Cosatu/South African Communist Party alliance's strong commitment to a programme of escalating mass action have created fertile conditions among anti-government forces for the adoption of these tactics.

However, many observers are sceptical about the ability of the organisations to maintain a general strike for the proposed two to three weeks. The most successful stayaway the ANC and Cosatu have previously called was on November 4 and 5 last year, when about three million people protested against the implementation of Value-Added Tax. The document also reveals that dif-



Pallo Jordan

ferences of opinion exist within the ANC about the effectiveness of the "Leipzig option" — action aimed at toppling the government.

It notes warnings that "threats reduce the possibility of the regime acting without creating serious problems among its supporters. An extended strike would give the regime an excuse to pull out of a process designed to transfer power to the majority." Those holding this view believe mass action as a means of extracting concessions from the government should be "limited or even suspended".

Despite the overwhelming support the ANC's withdrawal from negotia-

tions won from its members, *The Weekly Mail* has learnt that there was some resistance within the movement's national executive committee (NEC) to withdrawing from Codesa. During last week's NEC meeting where it was decided to break off all contact with the government, the sentiment was expressed that the strong allegations of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre had given the ANC the political high ground. It was argued that the ANC should end all bilateral contact with the government but use the renewed international and local pressure to achieve significant concessions at Codesa.

But at the end of the day the decision was taken to end all contact with the government until it meets 14 demands aimed at ending the violence and breaking the deadlock at Codesa. This week, NEC members remained tight-lipped about the debate and instead emphasised that the decision to break off both bilateral and Codesa negotiations was taken by the NEC as a whole.

"Once the decision has been taken, it is binding on the whole NEC and private views are neither here nor there," said NEC member Pallo Jordan.

Commenting on the significance of the debate, Mohamed Valli Moosa, another NEC member, said: "It would not be on the mark to make anything of the differences of opinion about what we should be doing. The decision was taken in a matter of hours and that should indicate that there was not a wide range of divergent opinions."

Tough ANC reply to FW is expected

304A
ARG4/7/92

■ An ANC statement reacting to President De Klerk's memorandum is expected to reflect feelings like those of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa who described Mr De Klerk's memorandum as "unhelpful and extremely dangerous".

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

EXPECTATIONS of an uncompromising stance by the African National Congress to President De Klerk's memorandum increased last night as the movement's national working committee prepared for talks today to decide the next step.

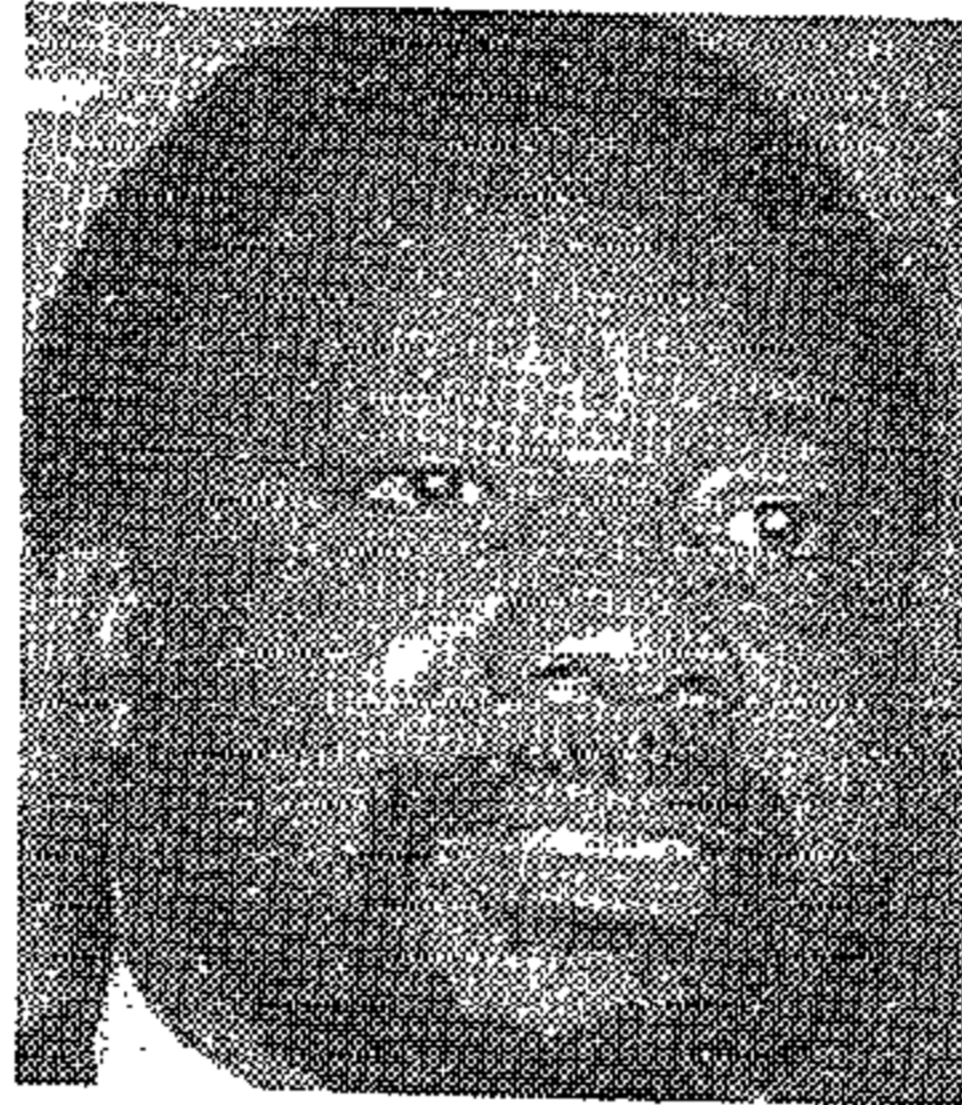
A statement could be made later today.

In the first ANC reaction so far to Mr De Klerk's Thursday night memorandum, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa dismissed one of the government's key concessions and described its approach as "unhelpful and extremely dangerous".

And, speaking in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela rejected the government's accusation that the ANC was plotting forcibly to seize power as "a false allegation, and diversionary".

Mr Mandela, speaking after a meeting with President Ibrahim Babangida in which he called for a UN Security Council meeting on South Africa, insisted the ANC believed democracy would be attained "through fruitful dialogue".

The ANC leadership's comments followed a tough response yesterday from the politically non-aligned Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) which said it believed Mr De Klerk had misjudged the anger of the ANC's constituents.



□ Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

And, as the crisis continued, the National Peace Committee (NPC) yesterday called an emergency meeting of all Peace Accord signatories next Wednesday to deal with the "volatile situation" in the country.

The NPC had earlier called for a July 30 meeting for all 29 signatories to the 10-month-old National Peace Accord.

The first ANC reaction to Mr De Klerk's memorandum came from Mr Ramaphosa who spoke to journalists after addressing a Nieman Foundation conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said the government's concession that a 70 percent majority would be acceptable in a constitution-making body was no longer valid because the ANC had reverted to its position of 66 percent after talks broke down at Codesa 2 in May.

In his memorandum delivered to the ANC on Thursday, Mr De Klerk dropped the government's insistence on a 75 percent majority to amend the transitional constitution, opting instead for the 70 percent offered by the ANC in a compromise at Codesa, and then later withdrawn when Codesa 2 failed.

Mr Ramaphosa said it was regrettable that the government continued to blame the ANC for the crisis of violence in the country.

"This attitude is unhelpful and extremely dangerous. The National Party is placing narrow party political interests above the interests of the country as a whole."

The memorandum had brought about some serious thinking within the ANC and people were going to apply their minds to it.

Earlier, Idasa programme director Mr Paul Graham said he believed the government's misjudgment of the anger in the black community "bodes ill for a quick resolution of the negotiations crisis".

"It is clear to us the ANC could not stay in the Codesa process unless it had something to show its increasingly angry constituents."

In another development yesterday, the findings of a team of lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society — enlisted by the National Peace Committee to investigate and categorise contraventions of the Peace Accord since May — were submitted to political parties, regional dispute resolution committees, the police and other parties involved.

In a speech yesterday, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys warned that South Africa was slipping into a new revolutionary era.

"We are trying our very best to get all parties to the National Peace Accord to remain in the peace process.

"That is, at the moment, one of the strategies we still have, which accommodates everybody, that so far has not fallen down," said Dr Gildenhuys.

● Mr Ramaphosa said in Johannesburg yesterday that Mr Mandela had undertaken to issue a directive to all ANC structures to ensure township youths respected journalists covering unrest situations.

At least six journalists were assaulted or threatened at the Boipatong funeral.

Calls for Broederbond to justify secret political role

Out in the open, Broeders!

RRS 4/7/92 (304A)

ers!

If it had to continue in existence, it would be better if the Broederbond came out into the open.

Professor Swart said he had never been a member of the Broederbond and, therefore, could not speak with authority about the organisation. However, he criticised its secrecy and exclusivity, which were unacceptable to him.

Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, said what worried him was the Broederbond seemed to be making attempts to promote sectional interests at the cost of the interests of the country as a whole.

"I also wonder to what extent the Broederbond's exclusivity, its secrecy, and its 'jobs for pals' had laid the foundation for the high level of corruption which our country experiences at present," said Mr Bester.

The Broederbond had never promoted open administration. The way it operated was to put Broeders in key positions, and to keep non-Broeders out.

National Party MP for Swellendam Mr Nic Koornhof predicted that the Broederbond might be forced by circumstances to think again about its future role and membership.

Mr Koornhof said his personal view was that the new circumstances in South Africa would force the Broederbond, among others, "to think totally afresh about its role in the future and especially about its membership".

He declined to say whether or not he was a member of the Broederbond.

sponded to the central issue — his membership of the Broederbond.

One of the signatories, former philosophy professor Dr Johan Degenaar, now retired, told Weekend Argus he and others had nothing against Professor Van Wyk as a person.

However, the issue was that of membership of the Broederbond, which Dr Degenaar described as "a disturbing phenomenon in the life of the Afrikaner".

A factor that made the Broederbond unacceptable, especially at this stage in South African history, was its exclusivity which confined its membership to white Afrikaner Protestant men.

"And there was the arrogance they had to advocate apartheid on our behalf. For a long time, they influenced the government and the church."

Other prominent academics, including professors, who had not signed the petition, said this week they shared the concern of people like Professor Degenaar.

They all emphasised that the criticism was not aimed at Dr Van Wyk personally and that he was, in fact, highly respected and admired.

His nomination for the position of rector had been unanimously approved by the university senate.

Professor S M "Blackie" Swart, dean of the Faculty of Commerce, told Weekend Argus he believed there was no room for a secret organisation like the Broederbond in modern society. It would rather be an obstacle (remskoen) than a

■ A war of words against the secret role of the Broederbond rages on among academics at the University of Stellenbosch — and politicians of various shades of opinion have entered the debate.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

PUBLIC demands are growing for the Broederbond to come out into the open and to justify its secret political role and its alleged exclusivity based on race, sex, religion and language.

Critics this week described the organisation as "a disturbing phenomenon" and said they saw no role for it in a democratic South Africa.

Criticism of the Broederbond came from leaders of various shades of political opinion.

The new war of words erupted after a recent open call by 77 academics from 23 departments of the University of Stellenbosch to the university's rector-designate Professor Andreas van Wyk to resign from the Broederbond.

The academics, including eight professors, sent a signed petition, accompanied by a declaration, to Professor Van Wyk's office.

They said although some of them had received brief replies from the rector-designate

Strong criticism of the Broederbond's secret political role has come from Conservative Party MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs, who said the organisation's system of "jobs for pals" was still continuing.

Mr Jacobs, a former law professor at the University of Potchefstroom, said he welcomed the fact that a public debate about the Broederbond had begun.

His main criticism was aimed at the organisation's secrecy and its exclusivity.

He said that although it had had a task and a mission in the past, mainly to help the Afrikaner economically, its role had changed for the worse in recent times, deteriorating to that of granting privileges to some Afrikaners against others.

The National Party MP for Springs and NP information chief Mr Piet Coetzer rejected criticism that the NP was manipulated by the Broederbond. He said the NP and the Broederbond were two separate and independent organisations.

"All members of the NP caucus can testify that discussions in the caucus take place in an open and uninhibited atmosphere."

Mr Coetzer, who said he was giving his personal view, said he was virtually certain that a majority of NP caucus members were not members.

Asked whether he was a member, Mr Coetzer said: "Whether I am a member of the Broederbond or of a special church or any other organisation does not have any bearing on my role as MP and as a member of the NP."

PROPAGANDA WAR: For the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa

304A
4/7/92

Painted into a corner

THE Government's long-awaited response to the ANC's demands for restarting negotiations was not, in the first instance, a response to the ANC at all. There is little doubt that when the phalanx of high-ranking National Party ministers took the podium at the Old Presidency this week, they knew that what they were about to say would not cause the ANC suddenly to relent and return to the talking-table.

Rather, De Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela, and the reams of supporting documentation, were aimed primarily at the NP's constituents — real and imagined — and the international community.

The NP, increasingly perceived as having lost control of the transition process after the ANC's Codesa walkout and the onset of mass action, wanted to take the political fight back to the ANC while quietly shipping in some constitutional compromises which might prove useful at a later stage.

This explains the imbalance between confrontation and conciliation in the Government presentation. De Klerk served notice that, for the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa.

To this end, the Government



THE Government has decided — once again — that the best form of defence is

partner. Therefore the decision of the ANC NEC on June 24 1992, in collaboration with its alliance partners, to suspend negotiations is viewed as only the most recent of a range of similar past decisions which further contributed to negative perceptions regarding the ANC's approach to negotiations *per se* and as a process. The perception that has been created includes that:

- The ANC is committed to negotiations only to the extent its own objectives are served.
- The ANC readily enters into agreements but is not committed to supporting the implementation of such agreements.
- The ANC is using extremely coercive negotiation tactics, including ultimatum deadlines, threats, renegeing on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing.

The Government concludes with the charge that "for the period November 1991 to June 1992, the ANC was responsible for 186 recorded breaches of the National Peace Accord and the D F Malan Accord.

"The ANC, by starting planning for mass action even before it became clear that a deadlock might develop at Codesa, renegeing on all working group agreements on the basis

the ANC while quietly slipping in some constitutional compromises which might prove useful at a later stage.

This explains the imbalance between confrontation and conciliation in the Government presentation. De Klerk served notice that, for the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of

Codea. To this end, the Government opened two new major battlefronts in its propaganda war with the ANC.

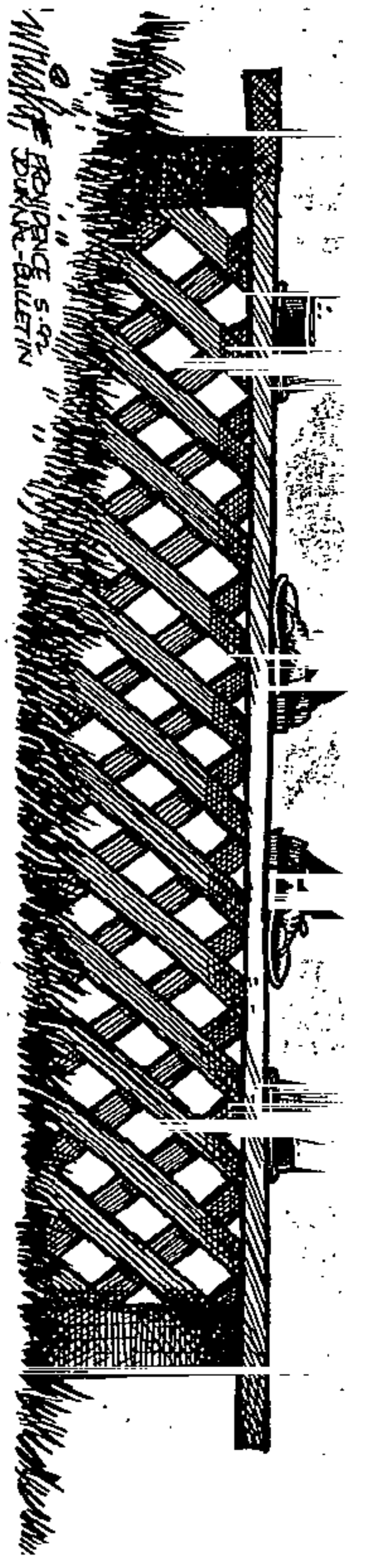
The onslaughts are contained in two of the six lengthy annexes appended to De Klerk's letter. They have received little attention thus far because of the focus on the president's renewed call for face-to-face meetings with his estranged negotiating partner.

The annexures aim to convince the world (and, in the process, as much of South Africa as possible) that the ANC has been manipulated by the SA Communist Party and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

In his letter to Mandela, the president set out the two inter-linked allegations.

His Government acknowledged the right to peaceful demonstration and protest as important civil liberties, he said, but "our information indicates that the SACP and Cosatu have played a dominant role in directing the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontation which are inherent in mass mobilisation."

Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the SACP and Cosatu. These elements undermine the attempts of many ANC realists to negotiate in good faith and also induce within the ANC the spirit of radicalism and militancy



THE Government has decided — once again — that the best form of defence is attack. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH detect the opening of two new battlefronts in President de Klerk's aggressive response to the ANC's memorandum on negotiations.

STAR 41192

of the insurrectionist school, which was evident at the SACP's 8th congress in 1991.

"The current mobilisation action can unleash forces which the instigators will not be able to control. This will, in turn, make extended Government action unavoidable. The stated ultimate goal of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign is the overthrow of the Government by coercion. This will not be countenanced."

These allegations are then used to underpin the conclusion that "the fundamental difference and even

SACP/ANC "tail" is wagging the ANC "dog". Interestingly enough, in making its case, the Government inadvertently reveals that its security police are still hard at work in snooping on the "old enemy", the ANC — despite the fact that it is a perfectly legal organisation, and a political rival of the National Party.

In its detailed memorandum on "the current influence of Marxism-Leninism within the ANC", the Government alleges that "the SACP lends so much support to initiatives to influ-

The Government aims to convince the world and in the process as much of South Africa as possible that the ANC has been manipulated by the SACP and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

ence between the approach of the ANC and that of the Government regarding the purpose of negotiations lies, on the one hand, in our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible; and on the other hand, in the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power before a proper transitional constitution is negotiated."

The key impression for which the Government is trying to secure credibility is that the

real character of the ANC."

Having sketched this context, the Government makes the direct claim that the ANC's Cosades pullout and current campaign of mass action have been foisted upon it.

"There can be no doubt that both the SACP and Cosatu were, in their individual and collective capacity, instrumental in a number of recent crucial ANC decisions regarding the negotiation process."

"These decisions followed intense deliberations between SACP and Cosatu members and were clearly

the result of specific guidelines drawn up by the SACP/Cosatu."

The document then reveals its central purpose: to alienate the ANC from its sympathisers in the West, and indeed the rapidly changing political orders of Eastern Europe. "As South Africa moves towards a new democratic order, the strategy and policy of various revolutionaries within the ANC alliance are increasingly in conflict with internationally accepted norms."

"For example, to regard negotiation in principle as a 'terrain of struggle' undermines the essence of the concept itself. In the final instance it gives rise to concern that the ANC allows these influences to

11A 304P

flourish when these forces are already committed to extra-parliamentary struggle against the new dispensation."

"This extraordinary approach underlines the fact that revolutionary ethics generally overrule all other principles, and are therefore incompatible with democracy."

A separate annexure — "the ANC as a negotiating partner" — then seeks to undermine the ANC's credibility as a reliable political interlocutor.

After recapping agreements reached at Groote Schuur and

The Government says the ANC is using extremely coercive tactics, including ultimatum deadlocks, threats, reneging on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing.

in other high-profile bilateral meetings, the Government says: "Despite these agreements and the spirit in which they were concluded, the ANC at regular intervals started using threats and ultimatums as part of its political approach, which from the start had a detrimental and erosive effect on the mutual trust that was beginning to develop."

"The ANC do have a bad track record in maintaining agreements and can be considered an unreliable negotiating

in the offing."

The Government concludes with the charge that "for the period November 1991 to June 1992, the ANC was responsible for 186 recorded breaches of the National Peace Accord and the D.F. Malan Accord."

"The ANC, by starting planning for mass action even before it became clear that a deadlock might develop at Cosades, reneging on all working group agreements on the basis that there was no agreement if all agreements were not accepted, as well as suspending negotiations, cannot but further compound the already negative perceptions surrounding its approach to negotiations."

"From these and other decisions and actions by the ANC, in conjunction with its alliance partners, it can only be deduced that the ANC is indeed negatively viewing negotiations as an 'area of struggle', and even as a battle in the 'struggle' that must be won at all costs."

"If this is indeed the case, then it is clear that in the ANC's current view of negotiations there is no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement."

The pace of progress towards a resumption of the formal negotiations process will depend

in no small measure on the extent to which the Government succeeds or fails to make these charges stick against the ANC. The Government is attempting to add a new weapon to its armoury: it is one which could be highly effective, but carries risks.

If De Klerk can convince a significant body of world opinion that the ANC is indeed being held hostage by proponents of a "dogmatic and discredited ideology", he will strengthen his position considerably. Should he fail, his credibility will suffer as a result of being seen to have made false accusations for narrow party-political gain. The propaganda war on the international stage is as important as ever.

STARZ 47192.

not all fire, ^{304A} ~~304A~~ brimstone

BEHIND the mask of hostile rhetoric, President de Klerk's letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela offers some important concessions on the demands made by the ANC in its memorandum of June 23.

Considerable convergence between the ANC's and the Government's formal constitutional positions — and on ways of curbing political violence — has occurred since the breakdown of Codesa 2 in May.

The aggressive tone of the Government's memorandum may ensure that the ANC will not come back into negotiations immediately, but significant shifts and a general readiness to discuss remaining differences may have laid the foundation for renewed discussion and agreement later.

The concessions might also serve to shift some international sympathy to the Government side and thereby increase pressure on the ANC to ameliorate its campaign of mass action. This is how the Government has responded to the ANC's "14 reasons" for breaking off negotiations:

DEMANDS 1 AND 2: The Government must agree to the creation of a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft a new constitution and to an interim government of national unity.

The Government replies to these points by saying it has already acceded, since Codesa agreed to the broad structure of transitional arrangements including a constitution-making body. But the Government reiterates its insistence on an elected, not an appointed, interim government.

More importantly, the Government seems to have made further concessions to these demands by softening its requirements for minority protection in a transitional constitution. It is no longer insisting — as it did at Codesa 2 — that a 75 percent majority will be needed to change the structures of regional government in the transitional constitution. But it has introduced the idea that each regional authority will have the right to veto constitutional changes which affect its region.

It has also reintroduced the idea of a second House or senate in the transitional constitution — which it dropped at Codesa 2. But — and this might be the most significant shift — parties will be represented in the senate in proportion to their voter support, with no enhanced representation for minority parties as the NP originally proposed.

DEMANDS 3 to 6: Terminate all covert operations including hit squads; 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; ensure that repression in the homelands is ended.

The Government replies collectively by saying it cannot meet these demands because there is no campaign of terror against the people. But it is willing to discuss the specific charges — in the context of the ANC's own contribution to violence.

DEMANDS 7 to 10: The immediate implementation of the agreed plan to convert hostels into family units; installing of fences around hostels; permanent guarding of hostels by security forces monitored by multilateral peace struc-

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

tures; regular searches of hostels.

The Government's response to these demands is that it has a comprehensive strategy to upgrade hostels but this can only be done by consensus in negotiations between hostel dwellers, surrounding town residents and other concerned parties. De Klerk says he would like to discuss this matter at a proposed meeting with Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

DEMAND 11: Ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including so-called cultural weapons — in public on all occasions.

The Government replies that it is drafting new regulations to ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including firearms — in public. The ban will be part of the unrest-areas regulations, which means it will be applied in selective hot-spots. In a clear reference to the armed struggle, the Government says it would like to discuss with the ANC measures to counter the illegal possession of all dangerous weapons, including firearms and explosives.

DEMAND 12: The establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all other acts of violence, and international monitoring of violence.

The Government replies that international experts have already been appointed to assist the Goldstone Commission investigating the Boipatong massacre and other political violence. The Government also proposes that De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi should consider creating a Government-ANC-IFP monitoring body which would act to defuse violence. "The role of the international community in an observer capacity could be considered, especially in relation to this item."

DEMAND 13: Release all political prisoners forthwith.

has already fulfilled its obligations under agreements with the ANC and that large numbers of political prisoners have been released. It adds that the Government and the ANC had already agreed in Codesa's Working Group 1 to form a task group to consider the release of remaining prisoners who have committed common-law crimes such as murder.

It proposes that the prisoners issue, the lack of indemnity for senior ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) officials, the future of MK and its arms caches, and the treatment of detainees in ANC camps abroad could be dealt with in one agreement.

DEMAND 14: Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws hastily passed at the end of the last session of Parliament. (These laws give the State extraordinary powers to counter drugs and arms trafficking, private armies, and violence and intimidation.)

The Government replies that Codesa Working Group 1 made extensive unanimous recommendations concerning security legislation and emergency measures. "The ANC's inexplicable delaying tactics are keeping these issues alive." On the laws just passed in Parliament, the Government says it cannot abrogate its responsibility to reduce crime, intimidation and violence.

● See Spectrum — Page 11

Toppe behind the hostility

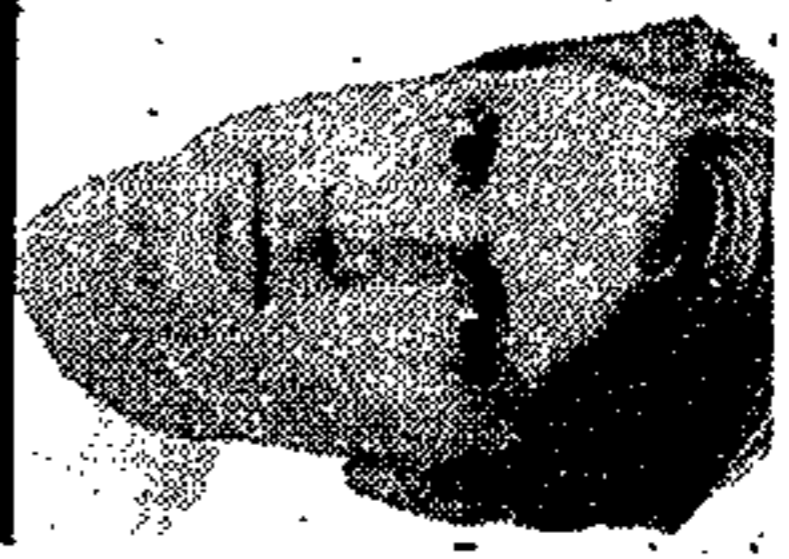
Take heart: there is hope if you take time to look hard enough

STAL 4/11/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN

JOHNSON



THERE are conciliatory seedlings in the Government's otherwise warlike, unrepentant response to the ANC's memorandum detailing the organisation's reasons for pulling out of Codesa. (30/4/92)

THE elegant, airy, carpeted halls of the Old Presidency in Pretoria could not be further from the blood and dust of Boipatong. But events, one at each locale and at opposite ends of this harrowing week just passed, left a remarkably similar taste in the mouths of those in attendance.

The taste was of fear, tart fear, for the future of our country. In Boipatong on Monday, we saw hatred and no sign of the spirit of compromise without which there cannot be a negotiated settlement in South Africa. In Pretoria on Thursday, we saw defiance and threats in response. The mood among both the bereaved of Boipatong and the politicians of Pretoria spelt one thing: struggle. It was a stomach-wrenching time-trip back to the mean days of the 1980s, to the atmosphere of Fortress Botha as it steeled itself for the onslaught of the Barbarians.

Should we succumb to hopeless depression? Moreover, can we afford to? I think not, and for that reason am prepared to scour the desert landscape of our current politics for signs of growth — even if it is just budding between the dry soil. There are conciliatory seedlings in the Government's otherwise warlike, unrepentant response to the ANC's memorandum detailing the organisation's reasons for pulling out of Codesa.

Ignore, for the moment, the fact that President de Klerk places all the blame for the crisis at the feet of the African National Congress, and obliquely threatens a security clampdown in one form or another. Leave aside the distasteful impression that it is only the crisis which has galvanised the police and State departments to respond with urgency and seriousness to the Boipatong killers, the hostels question and the carting of dangerous weapons. Forget, too, that the positive, constructive elements of the Government's response were buried beneath an avalanche of vitriol.

The point is that, whatever the motivation, we

tion, and has therefore approved a comprehensive hostel strategy". This differs from earlier formulations, which expressed concern and said simply that the matter was "being discussed".

Progress on the scandalous latitude allowed in the matter of carrying dangerous weapons in public also seems imminent. De Klerk says "further regulations are currently under consideration". To this is added the prospect that "the possession and carrying of all dangerous weapons at any public place may be absolutely banned". Hallelujah!

There are other signs of light on practical issues. Minister Kobie Coetsee, replying to questions, revealed that the dispute over political prisoners might be resolved by way of a redefinition of the category. Also, the Government is clearly softening its opposition to international involvement in monitoring.

Then there is the constitutional arena. For reasons unknown and best not asked for, the Government now sees its way clear to doff a cap in the direction of the ANC regarding three issues on which it seemed immovable at Codesa 2. It now appears to find a 70 percent "special majority" for most constitutional issues acceptable, it agrees that representation in a senate should be proportionate to party support, and it envisages an electoral mechanism to break a possible deadlock under an interim constitution.

None of these signals complete agreement between the two main negotiating partners — far from it — but they constitute definite movement. The engine parts are being reassembled; what is required is an injection of that precious fuel called trust.

South Africans — all South Africans — lose a good friend tomorrow when US ambassador Bill Swing leaves the country. But we might dwell on his parting message: Don't despair, he says; dig out, cling to and nurture the reasons for hope. Some of those reasons, however blood-stained, are detailed above. Take heart.

UN role in peace process will send 'right signal'

South 4/7-8/7/92

The international

community will have to

intervene to get talks

back on track, Anand

Sharma, an Indian

envoy, told **REHANA**

ROSSOUW:

THERE has been a sharp reversal in the international community's attitude towards President FW de Klerk's government following the Boipatong massacre, says Indian envoy Mr Anand Sharma.

The special envoy of the president of the Indian Congress Party says the South African government must now accept international monitoring of the peace process.

"The situation demands alert monitoring and a guarantee by the international community to secure negotiations.

"I believe this can only come about through the intervention of the United Nations and structures like the Commonwealth.

"The message we hear is that President De Klerk is keen to continue negotiations. If that is the case, he must accept international observers to come on a fact-finding mission. He must also respect their findings and recommendations and punish the guilty elements," says

Sharma.

South Africa was high on the UN agenda for 25 years and the South African government should accept the UN's intervention if it wants to prove that it has nothing to hide. Failing this, the wrong signal will be sent to the world.

"India will definitely take up the issue of negotiations in South Africa at the UN Security Council. What will follow, depends on the decisions of the Security Council and the Commonwealth.

"This is not a question of Boipatong only. Boipatong symbolises a malaise in a brutalised and desensitised society.

"Boipatong is a watershed, where the people of South Africa have stood up and said 'Enough is enough'.

"It has shocked the world as well. What we saw on our television screens filled us with revulsion and horror.

"The international community might not discuss sanctions, but I can assure you that no-one who has money will want to invest in a country which is being torn apart by violence."

Sharma says the government embarked on a diplomatic campaign to explain to the international community that it has clean hands.

"For the last two-and-a-half years the international community believed in the integrity of the Pretoria regime. But as the violence escalated we began to keep an alert watch on South Africa.

"What the South African govern-



PEACE MISSION: Anand Sharma who is in South Africa

ment has not explained to us is why there has been a sharp increase in violence during the past two years."

Sharma says the government should maintain law and order and apprehend and prosecute those involved in the killings.

He was told that there were 30 hostels from which 230 attacks against township residents had been

launched.

"How many people are required to guard 30 hostels? How many months and years are needed to confiscate dangerous weapons?"

"The government must correct the signal we are picking up abroad, that it is unwilling to take responsibility for the situation."

Sharma fails to understand how

people with dangerous cultural weapons could move in full view of the police. South Africa could not claim to be civilised until laws were passed prohibiting such behaviour.

"How can this be overlooked in the name of culture? The spilling of blood is no cultural activity."

He says the South African government urgently needs to restore confidence among the international community, the parties represented at Codesa and citizens.

"India and the international community have been observing the violence with growing concern. We only hope that there will soon be an end to the ongoing carnage and that the forward movement towards a transition will be resumed.

"During my last visit (in July last year) I found a lot of hope. The people were cheerful and the leaders enthusiastic. But now I find that the leadership and people are dejected over what has happened."

Sharma will not meet government or National Party members as India does not have diplomatic links with South Africa. He has met the ANC leadership, including Mr Nelson Mandela.

Contact with the government can only be resumed when there is peace in South Africa.

Sharma says the Indian government believes it is important to resume negotiations and is committed to bringing about a peaceful transition in South Africa.

The "dangerous drift" which followed the Boipatong massacre has to be arrested soon, Sharma says.

A government plot to devastate South Africa and weaken the ANC has been revealed by the organisation in the latest edition of its mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*:

THE ANC's intelligence department, with the help of sources in government circles, has revealed a sinister two-pronged strategy designed by the

government to thwart progress towards democracy.

The ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, says Operation Thunderstorm and Operation Springbok are the official names of the strategies aimed at forcing the ANC into an entrenched coalition with the National Party.

Operation Springbok aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. On their own, the aims of Operation Springbok can be viewed as a natural competitive strategy of a party striving to attain maximum advantage.

'Bloody hands' revealed

South 4/7-8/7/92.

But when combined with Operation Thunderstorm, the ominous nature of this strategy is revealed. As its name suggests, Operation Thunderstorm seeks to devastate the country — wreaking havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok.

Its purpose is to weaken the ANC through violence and the creation of a climate of uncertainty.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm seeks to create the impression, particularly among blacks, that the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leaders is the cause of

their suffering.

When the NP finally forces the ANC into a coalition, the people will be happy to see an end to violence even if their socio-political conditions do not improve.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm was placed in the hands of the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI). Its main strategy is the unleashing of violence using secret DMI networks and the 'former' security police.

Sources who have been in contact with the government on security measures allege that it is prepared

to discuss most arms of the SADF but will not tolerate any discussion of the DMI.

Thunderstorm propaganda includes blaming the ANC, and particularly uMkhonto weSizwe (the ANC's military wing) for the violence. A deliberate campaign of character assassination directed against selected ANC leaders is also part of this propaganda blitz.

Using the SABC and the government's network in the press, the government's response to violence is portrayed in a favourable light.

Mayibuye says the first and most important phase of Thunderstorm has been in operation for some time. This is reflected partly in the support given to activities of organisations like the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Another aspect is the arming and deployment of criminal gangs, agents provocateurs, Askaris, Renamo, Koevoet and others. Random shootings, which appear unconnected to political rivalry, form part of this strategy.

To confuse matters further, professional hit-squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC.

Mayibuye says the structures used in Operation Thunderstorm, remnants of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and others, must appear to act 'independently'. Such remnants emerge in the IFP and as battalions 31 and 32 (Angolan mercenaries), Recce 5 (Mozambicans), Koevoet (Namibians) and Recce 3 (former Rhodesians).

Taxi wars in the Western Cape, Transvaal and other areas also form part of this strategy.

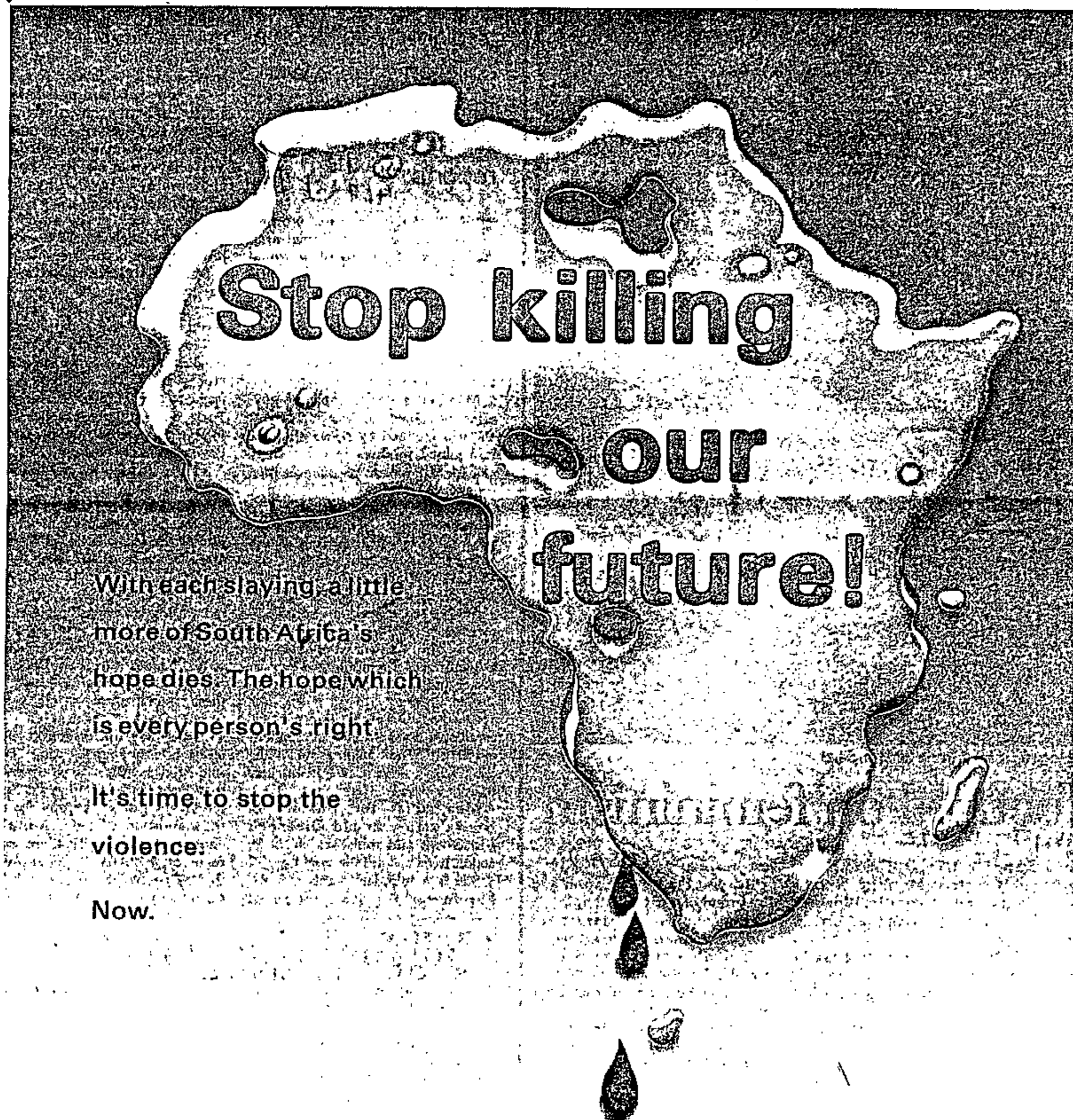
The generals behind these plans are concerned about campaigns of mass action, the exposures in some newspapers, the failure to substantially weaken the ANC and the creation of self-defence structures in some communities.

A number of these generals and some senior NP leaders are finding the temptation to resort to more repression difficult to resist.

The recent call-up and President FW de Klerk's threat to declare a state of emergency reflect this temptation.

A question that needs to be asked is whether De Klerk can credibly claim not to know about Operation Thunderstorm?

The reality is that operations of the scale, funding and political objectives of Thunderstorm and Springbok could not imaginably be conducted without at least the tacit involvement and knowledge of the head of state.



With each slaying a little more of South Africa's hope dies. The hope which is every person's right.

It's time to stop the violence.

Now.



ENGEN

Committed to peace, justice and prosperity

Mandela rules out

talks with De Klerk

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE slanging match between the government and the ANC continued yesterday dimming hopes of negotiations getting on track soon.

ANC president Nelson Mandela dashed any hopes of an early reconciliation between his organisation and the government when he reiterated the accusation that Pretoria is involved in the current violence.

And as relations between the two worsened, Mandela also dismissed the possibility of an early meeting with State President FW de Klerk saying "no good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage".

Mandela repeated the allegation of the government's involvement in the violence soon after his arrival from an OAU meeting in Senegal.

The ANC leader's attack follows De Klerk's hardline response to the list of demands the organisation has made to the government before it can resume talks.

However, although De Klerk used a harsh language in replying to the ANC

memorandum and accused the organisation of being manipulated by a South African Communist Party/Cosatu cabal, he did not dismiss the demands out of hand.

Instead, he strategically replied in broad terms to the demands - thus leaving room for these to be a subject for further discussion either in bilateral talks or in Codesa.

This left a glimmer of hope that talks between the two parties could soon take place - something which now seems unlikely.

As a sop to the ANC, the government agreed to the conversion of hostels into family units and has already brought in some involvement of international personnel to investigate and monitor violence.

Pretoria also softened its previous position about the majority percentage needed for a constitution-making body. However, the government's concession comes several weeks too late. The recent ANC conference resolved that the organisation must now insist on its initial 66 percent majority demand.

CIPress 517192

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'SA English' is proposed as official language

ENGLISH is alive in South Africa, but it is not well. To thrive it will have to divorce itself from "standard British English" and accept an injection of local culture.

While there is no risk of a pidgin English gaining ground in South Africa, teachers of English will have to learn to accept that an ability to communicate well in "South African English" is as important as the need for strictly correct grammar.

These are among the conclusions drawn this week at a conference — "How do we ensure access to English in a post-apartheid South Africa" — hosted by the English Academy of Southern Africa and organised by the education department of the University of Cape Town.

The three-day conference was attended by many of South Africa's top educationists, language academics, poets and writers, as well as by delegates from the US, Britain and Canada.

Speakers criticised the academy for its submission to Codesa that English should be the main official language of South Africa and that the official standard of English be standard British English.

They argued that English should be promoted as a "bridging" language to "link" people who spoke other mother-tongue languages.

Professor Peter Titlestad of the University of Pretoria, a member of the academy executive, said the proposal would be "reworded".

Nurture

In his address, Dr Neville Alexander, director of the National Language Project and chairman of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, called for the disbandment of the English Academy, with its "colonial" heritage, the recently founded Stigting vir Afrikaans (Foundation for Afrikaans) and other "language boards".

He said that a new national institute of South African languages should be set up in their place to

By EVELYN
HOLTZHAUSEN

nurture the use of all the languages spoken in South Africa.

Dr Alexander argued that English should be adopted as South Africa's *lingua franca*. The language's international significance made it a "key to power", he said.

Developed

The use of all other languages spoken in South Africa, however, should be encouraged and developed.

He warned that all South Africans would have to learn to speak at least one regional African language to be able to communicate with civil servants who, in a future South Africa, might not be fluent in English.

In an interview after the conference, Professor Elwyn Jenkins, president of the 8 000-member academy, founded in 1961, said the academy would "consider" the proposal to disband at its annual meeting in Johannesburg in September.

In his opening address Professor Manganyi, vice-chancellor of the University of the North, questioned the value of teaching standard British English and why black students should be forced to study poems such as *Daffodils* by William Wordsworth when there was a rich tradition of local writing, particularly by black authors, which had more local relevance.

SA on brink of disaster - Tutu (30/11/77)

SA was on the verge of disaster and required statesmanship to save it, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said on Friday.

Speaking at the opening of a technology centre at St Albans College in Pretoria, Tutu said the Boipatong massacre and the shooting of fleeing people following President FW de Klerk's abortive visit to Boipatong had dumped SA into "dark despondency and gloom". *C/Pres 5/7/92*

"We are on the verge of unmitigated disaster requiring the skills of statesmanship from all involved in determining the destiny of our beautiful land," he said.



De Klerk must govern his way out of trouble

S/Times 517192

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THE Prague Spring that began on February 2 1990 is coming to an end in a test of strength. President De Klerk's measured warning on television — "This will not be tolerated" — has set the stage for a resumption of the power struggle.

The ANC alliance, led by the Cosatu militants and the township youngsters, has been working towards this test of strength. The deadlock at Codesa was a pretext, the slaughter at Boipatong a fortuitous dramatisation of the conflict.

Soon after the Boipatong funeral I had a chance to talk, off the record, with one of the most prominent ANC leaders. The discussion left me with the depressing conviction that nothing could avert this test, this flexing of muscles. And, indeed, the government's softening of its Codesa terms later in the week made no difference at all to the mood; the concessions came too late.

As usual, things are not what they seem. We South Africans, black and white, live in two worlds. We are drenched in propaganda, but we know little of what happens on the "the other side".

The police cannot collect evidence on the massacre from the people of Boipatong, where the brutal regime of the Comrades has been reimposed, and nobody waits for the courts; instead, the "evidence" is collected by the Human Rights Commission, whose grand title is mere camouflage for a self-appointed group closely aligned with the ANC. Guess who gets the blame?

Sebokeng, in a way, is worse. The people cannot leave for work, or indeed for any reason, unless they have the permission of the Comrades; the police can enter only in strength. Old Rhodesians will recognise the condition: they talked of such areas as "totally subverted"; Zanu called them "liberated zones".

Conversely, the ANC seems to have little awareness of the hardening mood in the suburbs and the boardrooms. Industrial strikes, a bizarre phenomenon in the very pit of economic depression, have been proliferating even in advance of the mass action that is due to begin in the next month.

The aim, one is told, is to bring businessmen to the realisation that they must switch support from President De Klerk to the ANC. Choose sides, bring the country to a halt, force the government to yield on the streets what it will not yield in negotiation. Mass action, in this guise, is a mechanism to break the deadlock.

Not everybody in the ANC alliance takes so mild a view. On my desk this week landed a document headed "Draft Paper for Presentation to SACP Consultative Conference, June 20 1992", which sets out, in 11 cogently reasoned pages, some of the thinking behind the mass action campaign.

It argues, firstly, that the period since February 2 1990 has been merely "a new terrain of struggle", on which the government has managed to put the ANC in an ideological corner and to win international support for reforms that might go no farther than power-sharing.

In effect, the paper argues, the liberation alliance has failed to exploit fully the "crisis of the regime" that caused President De Klerk to make his February 2 speech. Instead, the ANC has been drawn into a series of compromises, and the result has been severe disaffection in the ranks of the ANC and its allies. (Hence, by implication, the revival of the regime of the Comrades in the Vaal region.)

THE document sets out a different strategy: "If we want to succeed in ensuring a transfer of power to the people, we need to see mass struggle as a permanent feature of South African life." Codesa is described as "a site of struggle". The National Peace Accord is "one of a series of terrains where we and the enemy engage one another".

To achieve a decisive breakthrough, the argument runs, the liberation alliance needs to return to the view it held before February 1990 that the primary goal was "seizure and control of state power through a series of incremental steps".

"We need to look at mass action as

more than symbolic and more than deadlock-breaking, and relating towards a path to power that we need to elaborate more fully. At this point in time we can see that mass action may have the immediate effect of forcing the regime to respond politically to the demands it is stalling on — Codesa in particular.

"Regarding the security forces, the mass action is stretching them, and the scale on which the mass action is being planned is capable of limiting the security forces' impact. By virtue of their being stretched, the state's counter-revolutionary power can be limited."

A COPY of this paper was sent to me under the signature "Democratic socialists within the SACP", who claim that dissident views expressed by moderates do not find expression in publications controlled by left-wing editorial boards. Whether that is a genuine claim I cannot say; but I can vouch for the authenticity of the draft itself.

That hardly matters. The document is in circulation, and it sets out views which are substantially echoed by spokesmen for Cosatu and by various other figures in the ANC alliance. In dealing with mass action, the possibility must be kept in mind that the campaign has a hidden as well as a public agenda.

That hidden agenda, surely, is a local variation of what is known in the jargon as "the Leipzig option" — rolling strikes intended to demoralise the society and weaken the instruments of government to the point where power passes, quite painlessly, to organised labour and its political allies.

That is why President De Klerk has, soberly but firmly, drawn his line in the dust. To yield now to the pressures of mass action, or to the anger of Boipatong, or to the concerns of business, would simply add momentum to the campaign. All he can do now is govern his way out of trouble.

KEN OWEN

FW accused of breaking his word over hostels

Mandela renews attack

STAN
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Staff Reporter and Sapa

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday kept up his offensive against the State President, accusing F W de Klerk of reneging on an agreement to phase out single-sex hostels.

He also condemned the Government for refusing to use an arbitrator in the national health workers' strike.

His new attacks came as Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, warned South Africa's leaders that they must move quickly to end the political crisis.

Delivering the keynote address at the launch of the SA Health and Social Service Organisation (Sahso) at Wits University, Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had agreed in May last year to turn hostels into family units and have them fenced in and guarded.

More reports

— Pages 3, 8 and 9

However, he had "forgotten" the agreement and recently said the conversion of the hostels should be discussed by hostel dwellers, civic organisations and the community.



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**More reports
— Pages 3, 8 and 9**

However, he had "forgotten" the agreement and recently said the conversion of the hostels should be discussed by hostel dwellers, civic organisations and the community.

Mr Mandela said the Government was not interested in curbing the violence or resolving the political crisis, but only in securing National Party minority rule.

Of Mr de Klerk, he said: "When I deal with him I am most disappointed and concerned. After meeting him when I was in prison, I wrote a letter to my colleagues in Lusaka saying Mr de Klerk was a man of honesty and integrity. After my release I acknowledged this in public too. He did not have to do any public relations; I did it all for him."

Mr Mandela said the Government was relying on "authority and not discussions with the workers" to deal with the hospital strikes, which he described as "a national disaster". Pledging the ANC's support, he said the independent arbitrator the strikers had demanded was acceptable.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after a four-day consultative visit to South Africa, Chief Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help get constitutional talks back on track.

"The Commonwealth is concerned and prepared to assist in any way possible to address the violence which has emerged as a major stumbling block to negotiations," he said.

During his visit, Chief Anyaoku held discussions with Mr de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke. Chief Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for the violence-monitoring and peace-keeping force proposed by Mr Mandela and Mr Moseneke.

6/7/92

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SA leaders urged to move quickly

SA WAS in a serious political crisis and its leaders would have to move fast as time was not on their side, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku warned yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a four-day consultative visit to the country, Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help in getting constitutional talks back on track. *BIDAY 6/7/92*

"The Commonwealth is prepared to assist in any way possible to address the violence which has emerged as a major stumbling block to negotiations."

Anyaoku added: "We were all very optimistic after the Harare Commonwealth summit that negotiations launched through Codesa would move speedily to a successful conclusion."

He spoke to President F.W. de Klerk, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

He said suggestions by various political parties would be looked at to sustain the negotiations process. "The stalled negotiations need to be reactivated in an appropriate way and the stumbling blocks addressed quickly by all parties concerned."

Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for a violence monitoring and peacekeeping force, as proposed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and by Moseneke. — Sapa.

ANC plans response to FW's memo

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Bl Day 6/7/92

PATRICK BULGER

ANC leaders will meet this week to formulate a detailed response to the constitutional proposals contained in President F W de Klerk's memorandum, amid indications that they may not be rejected out of hand.

However, prospects for an early resumption of negotiations remain bleak following ANC president Nelson Mandela's rejection on Saturday of De Klerk's response to the ANC's demands on violence.

An ANC national executive committee source said De Klerk's suggestions presented "areas for discussion". ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the NEC would definitely respond in detail this week.

Delivering his first comments on government's proposals, Mandela said: "By responding in the manner he has done, De Klerk has chosen to drive SA into a collision course. I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country. No good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage."

Mandela reacted only in passing to De Klerk's constitutional proposals and concentrated on government's response to the violence-related demands as the basis for turning down a meeting with him.

Last week De Klerk shifted from previous government positions by suggesting a minimum three-year period of interim government (as opposed to the five or 10 years the NP had earlier suggested), a 70% majority to change the interim constitution (as opposed to government's insistence on 75% at Codesa II) and a democratically elected Senate.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government was awaiting the NEC's "detailed reply" and that government's proposals were "completely in accordance with democratic norms".

"It would appear on the face of it as if a proper study of the government's reply has not yet been made," Meyer said.

Mandela said government had chosen to ignore the gravity of the ANC's demands which De Klerk "seeks to channel into endless negotiations and discussion".

ANC sources said discussions with government had already been held on most of the issues raised in the ANC's demands, and that there was frustration with talks that failed to deliver concrete results.

For this reason, ANC sources said, the ANC and its allies were examining a more "results-driven" style of negotiations. They said Cosatu's proposals for a negotiations forum which conducted its work in the open and which limited itself to the issues of an interim government and constitutional principles was gaining wider acceptance within the ANC alliance.

Mandela said the ANC would return to Codesa in its present form should its demands be met. He said the ANC wanted a "simple sign" from De Klerk that he accepted majority rule.

Meyer said that "the ANC has shown that it prefers confrontation and conflict to peace and negotiation".

"Mandela accuses the President of favouring 'endless negotiations and discus-

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From Page 1

sions'. We would prefer negotiations to reach a satisfactory conclusion as soon as possible, but yes, we prefer negotiations and discussions to endless conflict and violence."

He repeated government's allegation that the SA Communist Party and Cosatu had gained the upper hand in the alliance.

Former Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said that while De Klerk's constitutional proposals suggested "good progress", De Klerk remained blasé about violence.

"We are witnessing part of a lead-up to another cycle of negotiations. Each exchange will bring a new dynamic, and week by week we will see how it develops. This is an important and constructive phase that removes the tendency to play around with generalities," Gordhan said.

But, he added, it was "indicative of the level of tension and distrust and the refusal to take bland assurances of what is to come."

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Mandela said yesterday he was "greatly disappointed" in De Klerk, whom he used

to believe was an honest man.

Speaking at Wits University at the launch of a new umbrella body for health organisations, Mandela said he believed something had "happened to De Klerk" since the referendum, and added that the president had mistaken the yes vote as an authority to go back to "P W Botha days".

"On platforms around the world, I used to tell people that we were dealing with a man of honesty. De Klerk did not need a public relations man, I was doing it," said Mandela.

"His greatest mistake is that he fears democracy and he fears majority rule," said Mandela.

He said De Klerk had reneged on his undertaking to quell the violence by agreeing to transform hostels, which were the centres of violence, into family units.

He said that since the Boipatong massacre he had been met with a common refrain at rallies. "People are saying I am behaving like a lamb while the government kills our people." He assured people he had taken note of their message.

Comment: Page 4

ON THE eve of my departure from SA, the tragic events of Boipatong and the disappointing breakdown of Codesa negotiations caused me, for a brief moment, to think that maybe we were slipping back in time. And yet, I know that the talks will resume, eventually, and that the violence will cease because there is only one rational direction — and that is forward.

The Boipatong massacre does remind us, however, of the urgent need for redoubled efforts to negotiate a new, democratic political order. Until then, sadly, the violence is likely to continue and the economy unlikely to recover.

I have frequently been asked my government's views on the continuing efforts to negotiate a new, democratic political system for SA. Let me begin with two general points.

First, we strongly believe negotiations are the only rational way forward. Force and violence offer no route to a settlement and are, indeed, major impediments to one.

Second, we support the idea of the negotiations being broadly based, drawing in as wide a spectrum of significant players as possible. All South Africans have a stake in their country's future and a right to make their views known. We continue to urge those who have not yet joined the process to bring their opinions and arguments to the negotiating table.

Moving to the more specific, the US supports the kind of effort begun last year at Codesa, and the goal to which the parties to Codesa's declaration of intent have pledged themselves: "To establish a free and open society based on democratic values, which will be governed through a system of 'multiparty democracy'."

We believe such a democratic final settlement is essential if SA is to achieve the peaceful and prosperous future its people seek. Only a final settlement acceptable to the vast majority of South Africans can create the stable climate necessary for investment, economic growth, and jobs. Only a genuinely democrat-

Creating democracy is hard work, and it never ends

By Dan Clary 6/17/92

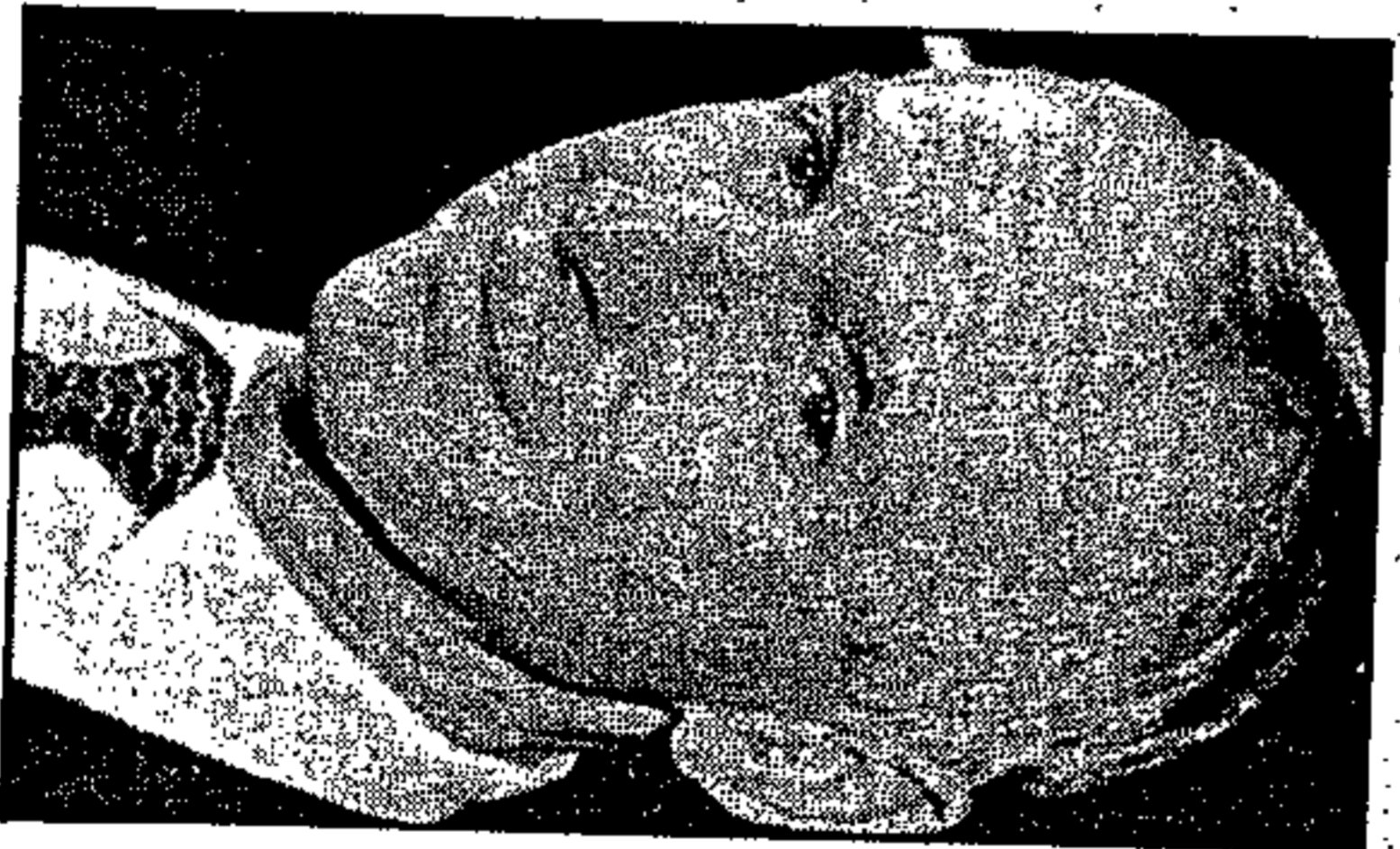
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US Ambassador WILLIAM LACY SWING's term in SA ended at the weekend. He wrote this final assessment for Business Day just before he left the country.

ic government will have the legitimacy to deal decisively with the enormous problems which must be resolved in the near future — problems such as political violence, crime, and the great shortages of housing, schools and health care.

We urge all parties to the negotiations to push forward as quickly as they can towards the goal to which they have committed themselves: a democratic SA. That, of course, begs the question of what the word "democratic" means. Even when you look at those countries which are generally accepted to be representative democracies today, it is easy to find as much variation as similarity.

Some are highly centralised unitary states, while others devolve considerable powers to regional and local governments. Some give a party winning a narrow majority the authority to do virtually whatever it wants, while others give electoral minorities considerable powers to constrain the majority and limit its exercise of power without paralyzing it. Some encourage single-party governments, while others make broad coalitions likely, though not compulsory. Some even allow different parties to control different branches of government. These are all variations on the broad demo-



□ SWING

cratic theme.

There are, however, a few elements which all those countries have in common, which define their political systems as democratic:

- All their citizens enjoy essentially

the same political rights. No person, by virtue of birth into a particular racial, religious or ethnic group is granted more political rights than another.

□ The government's legitimacy is derived from the support which the citizenry — the people as a whole — freely give to their political institutions. The people are the source of the state's power, and

□ The people have a chance, within broad constitutional limits, to decide who is, and is not, to be in government, through the mechanism of free and fair elections. They can elect into power whichever individuals or parties they want, and can vote them out again if they do not deliver.

This last point is particularly important. Elections alone do not make a country's political system democratic. Many autocratic or oligarchic regimes have held elections of one sort or another, even the old Soviet Union had them. But the elections were irrelevant, since they had no real impact on who governed the country, or on what they did. Unless power is in the balance, when the people cast their votes, the elections are essentially meaningless, and the country's political system, whatever it may be called, is not a democracy, even if it consists of multiple parties.

On the other hand, "democracy" does not necessarily mean that those who win 51% of the vote must get 100% of the power. Indeed, it almost never does. It does, however, suggest that those who win 51% of the vote should have a larger share of real power than those who win less, and certainly more than those winning, say, 25% or 10%.

I do not know, nor will the US prescribe, what kind of democratic system will serve SA best. It is not for foreigners to tell South Africans what the new SA should look like; you are more likely to have a sense of what will work here than any outsiders. I would certainly expect any successful constitution to be unique, just as SA is unique — an "African original."

None of this will be easy to do. Neither the basic political agreements nor the precise constitutional language will emerge from the negotiations without a great deal of ingenuity, hard work — and compromise. Fortunately, many of SA's best minds are involved in the effort. They have already found ways of dealing with a number of thorny issues, often by crafting unique and creative solutions.

We should not, however, expect the final document or the new system it establishes to be perfect. No system human beings — let alone a multiparty committee — design ever is.

I believe, nonetheless, that fair and workable compromises can be found — even in regard to the current impasse between those favouring majority rule and those with a power-sharing model.

It will then be up to all South Africans to make this new, democratic political system function in the real world. The process of creating democracy is hard work, and it never ends. Democracy is not a spectator sport. It requires the active participation of all citizens to succeed.

Skill, the potential rewards of success are great. I leave your country confident that all South Africans will soon join as equal partners in building their country's future.

osure ● Court told of ANC squad

'No alternative to Codesa' — ANC

■ LEAKED DOCUMENT

Quotes Ramaphosa: 'We precipitated the present deadlock in Codesa.'

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Investigations Editor

Sowetan 6/7/92

THE ANC has no alternative to Codesa and "precipitated the present deadlock" to show that FW de Klerk will not give in easily.

This startling disclosure is contained in a secret document leaked to Sowetan.

The document is based on a briefing to several Cosatu affiliates by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on May 17, a day after Codesa 2 ended in deadlock.

The document, drawn up as minutes by one of the participants, also reveals that the ANC's commitment to Codesa is total, with no possibility of moving out of the process.

It quotes Ramaphosa as telling the delegates from the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CIWU), Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU):

"We should not abandon the process in Codesa. There is no other alternative.

"It is still possible to go back to old forms of struggle. This (Codesa 2) deadlock was precipitated by ourselves. We knew the enemy would not agree. We wanted to deadlock so our people could see we are dealing with an enemy that will not give in easily," Ramaphosa said.

Ramaphosa received "audible noises of dissatisfaction" when he said the ANC had agreed to a state of emergency and detention powers during the interim period.

Ramaphosa also told a questioner who wanted to know why activists should not think they would be redetained that "strict rules" would be enforced before detention, and that this would be like "a honeymoon kind of detention - allowing 48 hours' maximum" detention.

Ramaphosa was also questioned about compromises made by the ANC at Codesa and asked whether unions should not come in and help.



Cyril Ramaphosa

"It is true we have compromised... We could have gone too much out of our way to accommodate them (Government)," Ramaphosa is quoted as saying.

He told the meeting the July general strike was correct and should not be changed as negotiations and mass action were "inseparable twins".

The disclosures come in the wake of assertions by FW de Klerk that the ANC had brought the deadlock at Codesa.

The admitted lack of an alternative to Codesa, coming after the militant posture by the ANC since Codesa 2, and now after Boipatong, puts a question mark on the ANC withdrawal from the talks.

Ramaphosa has confirmed the briefing but said the document contained some inaccuracies. In an interview with Sowetan, he said he had not said there was no alternative to Codesa and added that mass action was the option. He emphasised that the briefing had been before Boipatong.

He denied stating that detention would be like a honeymoon and said "no one who has been detained can ever say that".

He however confirmed that the ANC had agreed to detention powers.

He denied saying the ANC had precipitated the deadlock at Codesa 2 and said what he "would have said is that the deadlock was inevitable as the regime refused to agree to a constituent assembly".

Ramaphosa also told the meeting that only an interim government would be able to stop the violence, and added that violence "will be a feature of our communities for a while".

the nation in brief

SACC conference

THE South African Council of Churches begins its national conference in Durban this week during which the role of the church in the current crisis in the country tops their agenda. *Sowetan 6/7/92*

The conference was preceded by a peace rally at Durban's Central Methodist Church yesterday afternoon at which many of the delegates were welcomed and peace prayers were read.

Those who attended were invited to pray silently for peace in the country at the opening of the service.

The theme of the SACC's conference is The Crucified God and the Easter God - seeing the light in the darkness. - Sapa.

Sowetan 6/7/92
one white and the other was black. -
Sapa. *(304A)*

Sparrying on brink of the abyss

Nelson Mandela has rejected President de Klerk's call for urgent talks to resolve their differences, thereby underlining the crisis confronting the nation. PATRICK LAURENCE interprets the situation.

AT THE heart of the crisis facing South Africa is a deep lack of trust between the two main adversaries, the National Party and the ANC.

The suspicion with which these two premier political forces and their allies view one another is manifest in the exchange of memoranda between their leaders, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, after the Botopalong massacre of June 17.

President de Klerk accuses the ANC of eschewing power-sharing and of wanting to plunge into "simple majoritarianism", a system which the ANC believes — and the NP fears — will concentrate power in its hands.

Mr Mandela denounces the De Klerk administration for thwarting the "process of truly democratising South Africa", and feigning commitment to democracy to disguise its determination to cling to power.

The suspicion extends to the violence which has claimed

more than 11 000 lives since President de Klerk initiated his drive for a negotiated and peaceful settlement shortly after his accession to power in September 1989.

Mr de Klerk charges that the ANC, under the influence of a communist cabal within its ranks, has plunged recklessly into mass action to impose its will on South Africa, even at the cost of unleashing forces which it will not be able to control.

Mr Mandela counters by charging the De Klerk administration of talking peace while covertly deploying its "security forces and surrogates" to foment violence in the black community and destabilise the ANC and its allies.

Their recriminations are punctuated by declarations reaffirming their commitment to a negotiated settlement while questioning the sincerity of their opponents.

Mr de Klerk, noting that the ANC regards negotiations as a "terrain of the struggle", con-

cludes that the ANC's approach means that there is "no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement".

Mr Mandela, observing that the "De Klerk regime" equates majority rule with black domination, calls on Mr de Klerk to demonstrate that he is prepared "to make negotiations a bona fide exercise to charting the way to a democratic SA."

To vary a metaphor used by political analyst and facilitator Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the NP and the ANC resemble two pugilists trading punches on the edge of a cliff.

The fight has gone on for so long that both men are too exhausted to land a knock-out blow. From time to time they stumble forward and lean on one another for support.

But every time they lurch towards one another — often after one of the weary men has taken a mighty swipe — there is a real risk that one will tumble into the abyss and drag his opponent with him.

The perils of the situation are summed up by Jay Naidoo, general-secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions. Mr Naidoo, accusing the De Klerk administration of meeting the "demands of the people" with a go-to-hell attitude warns: "We will take you to hell with us."

Read with its annexures, Mr de Klerk's memorandum, released on July 2 in reply to an earlier one from Mr Mandela, justifies cautious optimism. It shows that the gap between the two sides has narrowed since

they deadlocked at Codesa 2. In retrospect, three cardinal points of difference at Codesa can be identified: dispute over the powers of regional government under a new democratic constitution, disagreement on the composition and power of the upper House, and discord over the duration of the transitional government that would wield power until a final constitution was drafted.

The Government, which favours strongly entrenched powers for regional governments, wanted clauses relating to regionalism to be passed by a 75 percent majority in the constituent assembly. The ANC, which fears that strong regional governments would be used to thwart the central government, would not budge above 70 percent at Codesa.

Now, after much bloodshed and angst, the 5 percent difference has been whittled away. The Government has agreed to a 70 percent threshold for all but one category of clauses. The exception relates to the bill of rights: it wants a 75 percent majority, a requirement the ANC assents to.

At Codesa the NP pressed for a regionally based senate, in which representation is weighted in favour of smaller bodies. Its original draft plan, released in September, proposes that all regions should be allocated an equal number of seats and that in each region all parties which receive more than a certain quota of the vote — a 10 percent quota has been cited — would qualify for an equal share of the seats for that re-

gion. The ANC, sensing constitutional chicanery to boost unrepresentative parties as a bulwark against majority rule, opposed the idea at Codesa in May, dubbing it a loser-takes-all arrangement.

Now, however, the De Klerk administration has again retreated: it agrees that the parties in each region should receive seats in proportion to the number of votes they win.

At Codesa the ANC feared the NP would use the high threshold required for acceptance of the final constitution to prolong the government indefinitely: now the De Klerk administration has proposed a three-year limit on the life of the first transitional government.

The narrowing of differences does not guarantee that constitutional talks will even resume, as Mr Mandela's weekend rebuff of President de Klerk's call for urgent talks shows. It does, however, create an opportunity

for the parties to move back from the abyss towards the negotiating table. If they do, a major difference still remains to be resolved, according to Joe Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party and a pivotal figure in the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

As Mr Slovo sees it, the De Klerk administration wants all the main features of the final constitution to be drawn up by Codesa rather than by a popularly elected constituent assembly or constituent-making body.

As many of the 19 parties at Codesa are drawn from the discredited "bantustan system" and the rejected tricameral Parliament, it is a thoroughly unrepresentative body and therefore unqualified for the task of drafting a new constitution, Mr Slovo reckons.

Thus, even if the two main protagonists step back from the brink, a long road still lies ahead to the new South Africa. □

STAR 6/17/92

3044

The SA crisis: Big Seven voice their concern

The Argus Foreign Service
MUNICH — Violence in South Africa had interrupted "substantial progress towards the complete dismantling of apartheid", foreign ministers of the world's seven leading industrial nations said at the G-7 summit.

While heads of state and government leaders concentrated on the economic problems of Southern Africa, their foreign ministers tackled political issues.

They called on "all sides" in South Africa to "resume negotiations as soon as possible and make greater efforts to prevent violence".

The foreign ministers said: "We appeal to all parties concerned to continue through negotiations the path to democracy devoid of racial barriers. Sustainable economic growth is essential for an enduring solution of South Africa's problems."

In a separate final statement, the G-7 leaders said they were "deeply concerned about the unprecedented drought in southern Africa".

Noting that two thirds of the Drought Appeal target had been met, they added: "But much remains to be done. We call on all countries to assist."

On other pressing international issues, the G-7 leaders decided:

- to take common action to assure a recovery in world economic growth;
- to work for a new GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) treaty by the end of 1993;
- to commit themselves to build confidence for investors, savers and consumers;
- to adopt policies aimed at creating jobs and growth.

'Sweating it out' until ANC makes up mind on talks

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Political Staff

CABINET Ministers are taking a break this week as the government awaits a further ANC response to proposals to resume contact between the two sides.

Sources at the African National Congress indicated today that various structures of the movement would consider government proposals following ANC demands and that a final response may not be ready this week.

On the government side an attitude prevailed of "sweating it out".

The National Party's chief Codesa negotiator, Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, has also warned that Mr Nelson Mandela's blunt dismissal of President De Klerk's invitation to resume talks could lead to "bloody confrontation".

He expressed hope that the ANC's national working committee would this week give a more considered response to the government's overture.

But ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus seemed to dash these hopes when he said that although the national working committee of the ANC and other structures would give a more detailed response it was

unlikely to change Mr Mandela's decision against further talks with the government.

Mr Mandela said at the weekend that the ANC would not resume talks with the government or at Codesa until the National Party had agreed to majority rule.

Otherwise it would continue with its plans for a general strike starting on August 3.

Another ANC official, Ms Jill Marcus, said the ANC was not in a hurry to reply. It wanted to respond in a way that would address the real problems of the country.

While dismissing "hysterical" attempts to create the impression that the ANC was seeking confrontation and that radicals were taking over, she said the issue was whether there would be real democratic change granting all groups the same values.

"The first remarks of Mr Mandela are not very encouraging," Dr de Villiers said.

"They must be taken as indicative of the mood in the ANC".

"The picture is not very rosy at the moment.

"But one must wait for the official response. Perhaps there will be room for manoeuvre," he said.



Eglin urges ANC to resume talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has urged the ANC to accept the Government's invitation to "eyeball to eyeball" talks to get negotiations restarted.

DP national chairman Colin Eglin, one of his party's chief negotiators at Codesa, issued the call after studying the Government's latest memorandum to the ANC.

Mr Eglin said that on balance the Government's new proposals for a transitional constitution were no better than the ones which the ANC rejected at Codesa 2.

They probably did not provide enough for the ANC to immediately resume Codesa-type negotiations.

But if the new Government proposals were a starting position — as they seemed to be — and not a bottom line, then the ANC should accept the invitation to bilateral talks.

Mr Eglin said he feared the ANC alliance's campaign of mass action was ceasing to be a device to bolster the ANC's negotiating position and was running out of control.

"In view of the fact that mass action is in danger of leading to escalating violence and jeopardising negotiations, the sooner

bilateral talks begin, the better," he said.

He said the Government's new proposals for the transition showed significant changes from its Codesa 2 position.

The Government had dropped the requirement of a 75 percent majority in a constitution-making body on matters affecting regional government powers.

However, the Government had reintroduced the idea of a transitional senate of regional representatives which would have to approve legislation.

But — and this was an important improvement — the senate now provided for proportional representation of parties — and no longer equal representation for all parties with more than a certain minimum of support.

Unrepresentative

Mr Eglin expressed concern, though, about new proposals giving strong veto powers to regional authorities.

Each of these would effectively have the power to veto constitutional clauses affecting its status and powers.

This could give strong veto powers to present homeland governments, some of which were unrepresentative.

This was because the Government was proposing that present homeland regimes would continue into the transitional

constitution if no agreement could be reached beforehand on new regional boundaries.

He described the provisions for a homeland veto as "the Buthelezi clause", because the Inkatha Freedom Party leader had proposed such a veto in a recent document.

"The new proposals for regional vetoes give greater powers to the status quo — to the existing authorities — than before."

Mr Eglin also asked questions about the Government proposal that if the constitution-making body could not agree on a new constitution within a three-year period, general elections would be held under the transitional constitution.

He said this clause was clearly intended to counter ANC accusations that the Government intended to make the transitional constitution permanent.

But it was not clear how the new proposal would overcome that concern if general elections were held under the same transitional constitution.

● Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer confirmed in weekend reports that both the senate and the exact percentage majorities needed to approve the final constitution were negotiable — as long as the ANC accepted that regional authorities should play a role in deciding the constitution.

Zach in plea for unity

The Government and the ANC were polarising society, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

At a DP youth congress at Roodeplaat near Pretoria, he sharply criticised the policies of both, saying the NP and ANC saw politics as a duel, and that "everyone must choose one side or the other".

One side concerned itself with dubious entities called "minorities" and the other with an amorphous entity called "the people", but "these two adversaries are set to tear the nation apart".

Dr de Beer urged South Africans to substitute the politics of unity for the politics of division; the politics of individual liberty for those of group domination; and the economics of the social market for those of the dominant State.

NP, ANC criticised 304A

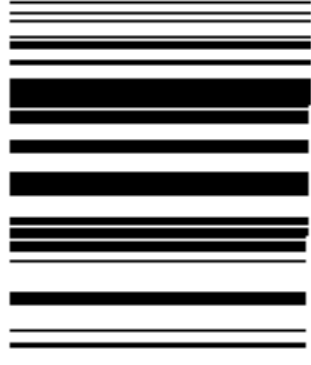
DEMOCRATIC Party leader Mr Zach de Beer has sharply criticised the policies of the Government and the African National Congress, saying the two were polarising the South African society.

He told a DP Youth Congress at Roodeplaat near Pretoria yesterday:

"The Nats and the ANC are busy polarising this society... they say that in the end our politics are a duel and everyone must choose one side or the other."

De Beer said there were two sides only, one was rich and the other poor,

Sowdan 6/7/92



De Klerk 'reneges' ⁽³⁰⁴⁷⁾

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk has reneged on a definite agreement to phase out single-quarter hostels in townships, according to African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela. *Sowetan 6/7/92*

He was presenting the keynote address at the launch of the SA Health and Social Service Organisation (Sahsso) in Johannesburg yesterday.

Azapo calls for unity to topple State

Political Staff

AZAPO has called for a summit of all "liberation movements", trade unions and "representative organisations of the oppressed" to agree on a programme of action to unseat the government.

Azapo secretary-general Don

Nkadimeng said yesterday: "The programme may include the armed struggle, mass action, economic sanctions, cultural and sports boycott or even negotiations."

Mr Nkadimeng said "freedom will always be a slippery object" until anti-apartheid or-

ARG 7/7/92 (3044)
ganisations spoke with one voice.

● With the ANC's response to the government memorandum on the crisis in negotiations expected after a national working committee meeting tomorrow, it is understood that the ANC will attempt to focus again on its 14 demands.

Talks: ANC response due by end of week

Political Staff

304A

THE ANC response to government proposals for direct talks was still expected within the original seven-day deadline, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said this was the case, as far as he knew, although a meeting of the national executive committee would still have to be arranged.

If so, the ANC response will be given by the end of the week.

However, prospects for a resumption of bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC do not look good in the short term.

Both the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the general-secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Chris Hani, have insisted

on agreement on the creation of an interim government and a date for elections to a constituent assembly before talks are resumed.

Although the government says the agreement at CodeSA on transitional arrangements goes a long way towards resolving the interim government issue, there is still a large gap between the ANC demand for elections and majority rule before the end of the year, and the government's proposals for a three-year transitional process.

In some ANC circles it is suggested that sufficient opening has been left by the government for some discussions to take place.

● Business leaders are to meet Mr Mandela in Johannesburg today to discuss ways of speeding up the resumption of national negotiations.

FROM design to disaster, Codesa lasted just a week short of six months. It was an era of negotiations marked by optimism and camaraderie among political opponents. It was also unfeignable to the majority of South Africans, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa commented recently.

At one stage Inkatha, branded as the spoiler throughout proceedings, pointed out that not a single Codesa document had seen the light of day in an African vernacular. One of the working group's subcommittees agreed that Codesa should be taken to the masses by way of broadcast-states. But like so many other Codesa decisions, this one failed to get beyond the World Trade Centre.

If Codesa rapidly became an institution in SA political life, this was due in part to negotiations becoming a permanent feature. At least as important as the results coming out of Codesa was the fact that SA's political protagonists were at last talking to each other.

The danger of elevating political debate above the outcome it is meant to achieve became apparent when events in the country began to make proceedings at Codesa appear trivial and even irrelevant to the wider SA crisis.

While Codesa's 19 political groupings — roughly divided into two

The new face of negotiation

By Day 7/9/92.

PATRICK BULGER

equal sides with the ANC and government anchoring the opposing groups — blame each other for the present impasse, a more fundamental reason suggests itself. The breakdown was rooted in Codesa's failure to broach SA's central constitutional question: roughly posed as the choice between a democratic or negotiated constitution.

Codesa's aim, expressed in its guiding document, the Declaration of Intent, was obscure in committing the parties to a democratic outcome. For the ANC this meant a constituent assembly elected by adults on a proportional representation basis. Negotiations served only to construct the modalities by which democratic transition would take place, the interim government being an important marker en route.

Government's aim was the negotiation of an equitable political compromise between two more or less equally balanced power blocs. Government cannot be accused of not having repeated often enough its hope of negotiating a "power-sharing agreement", democratic enough in an imperfect world. But government went a step further and said strong regional and local government pre-

sented even more democratic potential than the ANC's democracy. Government argued for a "constitutional state" to protect individual and group rights.

Government's insistence on a constitutional state meant a heavy emphasis on an interim constitution, the utility of which is now being questioned by the ANC and its allies. This led to the fear, successfully exploited by militants, of the permanent entrenchment of an interim constitution drawn up by undemocratic and unrepresentative parties at Codesa.

The fear was justified on a technical level, in that there is no such thing as an interim constitution. Constitutions remain in place until they are replaced by other constitutions. So when the argument over whether a 70% or a 75% majority was needed in a constitution-making body to amend the constitution, the ANC and declared Codesa II a failure. ANC figures scoffed that the government's proposed constitutional-making body would decide only the colour of a new flag.

REVIEWS



Codesa began on an optimistic note but fizzled out in six months.

Admittedly, both government and the ANC had agreed without ambiguity on the need for negotiations, before the establishment of a constitutional-making body, on constitutional

364A

principles. But there was no substantial agreement on what were principles and what were unfair attempts at short-circuiting democracy.

There was another dynamic at work, and this expressed itself in disillusionment with Codesa and the whole tenor of negotiations. Two days before the Codesa breakdown the ANC alliance agreed to mass action, regardless of the outcome of Codesa II. In the ensuing atmosphere of confrontation, especially since the broken off bilateral talks with government and ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed himself against "endless discussions and negotiations".

While Mandela has said he will go back to Codesa in its present form, the breakdown of talks and the subsequent negotiations-by-memorandum between the ANC and government has served to clarify positions in a way that Codesa did not do. Mass brought negotiations from behind the cloak of confidentiality.

This is not what the pinstriped Codesa negotiators had in mind, however. Neither is Cosatu's suggestion of an open forum in which decisions are taken in public and in which mandates are frequently obtained. Negotiations will resume at some stage. But the leisurely Codesa tea party atmosphere of earlier months is a thing of the past.

The Government says:

Sowetan 7/17/92
THE leadership of the ANC owed the State President FW de Klerk, the Cabinet and the security forces an apology, the National Party said.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the commission's finding that no evidence had been submitted to support allegations of direct Government or security force involvement in the violence was damning for the ANC, which had spread propaganda to this effect.

"It is hoped the ANC and its leaders will take note of Mr Justice (Richard) Goldstone's finding that under the circumstances such accusations are unwise, unfair and dangerous."

Coetzer said Goldstone's statement illustrated how the ANC leadership abused recent tragic incidents of violence for purposes



FW de Klerk

of propaganda.

"If the ANC is serious about a peaceful settlement, it will cease to make wild allegations about others and return to the negotiation table," he said.

Coetzer did not react to Goldstone's expression of "distress" that the Government had failed to implement a number of its recommendations.

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B/10 any 7/7/92

Candidates named

THE NP and HNP yesterday named their candidates for the Florida by-election. Daniel Brendkamp of the NP and Oscar Hartung of the HNP would contest the seat vacated by former finance minister Barend du Plessis, the parties said. (304A)

Tutu urges democracy

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday called on Togolese President Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema in Lome to embrace democracy and seek a pardon from his people for any wrongs. Eyadema, who staged a military coup in 1963, has ruled virtually unchallenged except for a four-year period when he handed power to a civilian government.

SA back in world spotlight

STAR 7/7/92.

304A

ABOUT one over-arching issue the commentators of the world agree: South Africa is indeed in crisis, the situation is deteriorating by the day, and there is potentially a "drift towards disaster". Where they differ is on who to blame and what to do about it.

Here is an up-to-date summary of what the world's media — on different continents and in a range of languages — are saying about us:

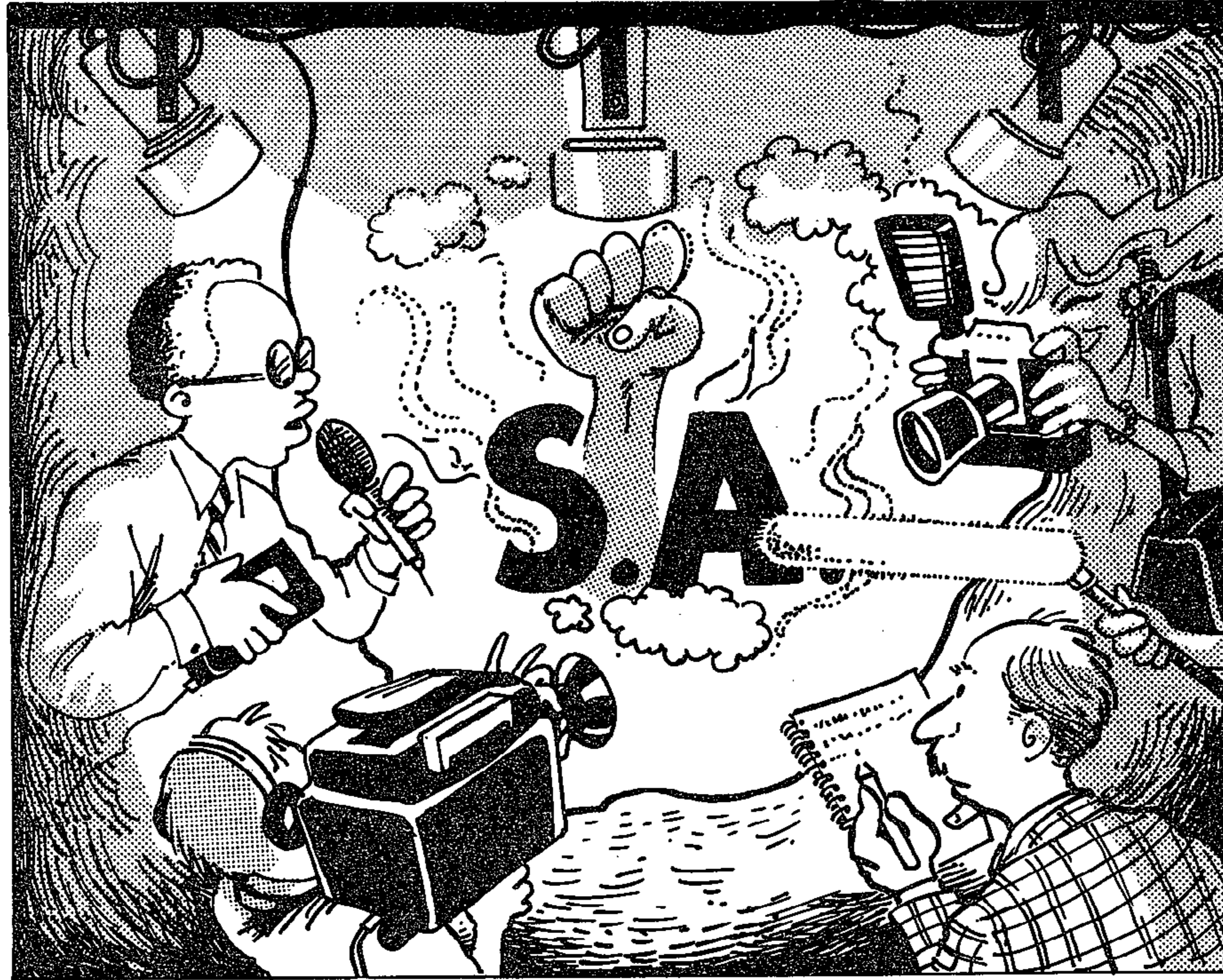
IVORY COAST: The pro-Government *Fraternite Matin* warns that "radicalism and intransigence are beginning to regain their place" in South Africa. However, "the responsibility for putting negotiations back on the rails lies mostly with the South African Government, which will have to restore its good faith and give security guarantees..."

KENYA: There is a curious difference between the opinions of the independent *Standard* and the ruling-party-controlled *Kenya Times*. The *Standard* says "one is excused for suspecting that there are forces within the South African Government using the security organs (to) oppose the talks".

The *Times*, under the headline "South African blacks their own worst enemy", says "it is totally annoying that ... blacks should turn their weapons on one another. Both the ANC and IFP are seeing political leadership landing in their hands soon, and as they jostle for leadership, they are stopping at nothing to proclaim their supremacy ... They will painfully delay the handing over of power, much to the amusement of the ruling whites."

UGANDA: The independent *New Vision* takes a hard line: "Mandela has done the right thing to suspend the democracy talks," says an editorial. "They are a mockery if the Government still maintains a hidden agenda of sponsoring township violence. De Klerk should realise that the time

Boipatong and the crisis in constitutional negotiations have ensured that developments in South Africa are again fascinating other nations. The conclusions being drawn about the state this country is in reflects an interesting array of conflicting opinions, writes The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.



has run out for apartheid. He can co-operate gracefully in the democratisation, or he can run the risk of being tried as an accessory to murder."

GERMANY: The conservative *Die Welt* asks: "Why, whenever De Klerk offers to share governmental responsibility during transition, do Mandela and Buthelezi refuse?" *Die Welt* suggests they "might be

afraid of not getting their followers under control even then".

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* says the Government must back off from its plan for a minority veto: "One cannot put too many chains on the ANC, which is likely to be the strongest political force in the country after elections."

The centrist *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* says the ANC will have to learn that "De Klerk is no Shah whose peacock throne has feet of clay ... If the ANC wants to form a government it will have to take the route of negotiations, and the price to be paid for power will be moderation."

FRANCE: *Antenne-2 TV* says South Africa, the "multiracial

laboratory of the world", is "about to explode". The problem is that "the whites, on one side, fear they may lose power — as in Zimbabwe — (while) the blacks are stubborn."


AUSTRALIA: The liberal *Sydney Morning Herald* says "the ANC must accept that there is a place in the new constitution for checks and balances

... Mr de Klerk must purge those people in the security forces who are determined to sabotage the reform process ... Both sides will have to share some power with Chief Buthelezi, if only in recognition of his present ability to cause mayhem in the townships."

BRAZIL: The conservative *O Estado de Sao Paulo* says Nelson Mandela has "asked for the interference of the UN Security Council" in South Africa, but adds that though "the appeal is basically rhetorical, it's moral content has made a deep impression".

BRITAIN: The BBC says the withdrawal from Codesa "has grave dangers for the ANC. By pulling out, the organisation has sent its supporters a signal: that the way forward is in confronting the State and not in compromising." The *Financial Times* says "a convincing demonstration of Government good faith is needed if negotiations are to resume and South Africa is to pull itself back from the brink". The tabloid *Daily Express* asks the question: "Mandela captured by radical elements?", while *The Independent* suggests that the UN appoint a "special representative" to facilitate negotiations and monitor violence. The *Guardian* calls on Western governments to "speak clearly to De Klerk" and tell him to compromise in Codesa and make sure the perpetrators of violence are caught. "De Klerk may need a revolution in his party," says *The Guardian*, "but that is far, far better than a revolution in the country."

The vast majority of commentators concur that there is no rational option to the resumption of talks between the Government and the ANC, and most favour increased international involvement. There is also a unified demand for the restructuring of the security forces, and their removal from Government control — but there is generally opposition to the reimposition of sanctions. □



ANC denies blame for ^(30/11/92) deadlock

Political Staff

ANC 7/1/92

THE ANC has denied allegations it "precipitated the present deadlock" in negotiations to show the government would not "give in easily".

The allegations were contained in notes leaked to a Johannesburg newspaper of a meeting addressed two days after Codesa 2 by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

According to the notes, Mr Ramaphosa told delegates from the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, the Transport and General Workers Union and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union: "We should not abandon the process in Codesa. There is no alternative."

"We knew the enemy would not agree. We wanted to deadlock so our people could see we are dealing with an enemy that will not give in easily."

Disclosure of the notes follows government accusations the ANC planned to deadlock the talks.

Mr Ramaphosa denied making the remark and said "what he would have said is that the deadlock was inevitable as the regime refused to agree to a constituent assembly".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the notes quoted in the report were not an accurate reflection.

He said the notes seemed to have been a repeat of a report about what ANC head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki would have told African diplomats at the United Nations. Mr Niehaus noted that that report was also based on notes of a meeting that did not reflect the discussions.

Mass action puts business in tight spot

Star 9/19/92

WITH THE collapse of constitutional negotiations at Codesa, the business community is again being caught in the crossfire as the Government and the ANC alliance knuckle down to a test of strength.

As with previous alliance mass actions, Cosatu has placed itself at the cutting edge of the onslaught on the Government. After a meeting of Cosatu's leadership last week, it reaffirmed its commitment to "rolling mass action" which would culminate in a general strike early next month.

It tabled the following economic and political demands, which are to be backed by mass action: Government agreement to an elected constituent assembly by December, an end to Government corruption and "State-sponsored" murders, an end to political violence, a moratorium on retrenchments and a halt to economic restructuring.

Cosatu also demands lower food prices and above-infla-

tion wage increases, and labour rights for all workers, including State workers.

The mass action could not have come at a worse time for relations between capital and labour. Many sectors of the economy are in ferment over wages and working conditions. Thousands of metal and textile workers have already taken to city streets to back their demands.

In the metal and mining industries, employers and unions failed to reach wage agreements before the July 1 implementation date.

Cosatu has made no bones about its intention to force employers to play a more active role in helping to break the Codesa deadlock.

Secretary-general Jay Naidoo says employers have three options: they could victimise and discipline workers; they could adopt a no work, no pay policy; or they could join Cosatu in its peace and democracy campaign.

The first prize for Cosatu is to isolate the Government by persuading employ-

The ANC alliance's campaign could not have come at a worse time for relations between capital and labour, writes MIKE SILUMA. (30/9/92)

ers to support at least some of the alliance's core demands, such as constituent assembly elections and an end to political violence.

It is not, however, as though employers have washed their hands of SA's political problems. The alliance would concede that business had played an important role in the peace process.

After the collapse of negotiations in the wake of the Bolpatong massacre, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the Afrikaanse Handelssentrum met President de Klerk to convey business's "deep concern" about the violence and the negative impact of the Codesa breakdown on business confidence.

Separate talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to follow.

But, with the National Peace Accord not being very effective and Codesa moribund, Cosatu is expecting more of business. Letters are being submitted to management this week demanding that they take a stand in the alliance's fight with the Government.

Some within Cosatu want employers to join mass action by taking part in marches, and by withholding PAYE deductions from the Treasury and putting the money in a "Fund for a Democratic South Africa".

Cosatu also wants employers to close their businesses in solidarity with workers

who stay away. It is hoping to gain the support of the National Council of Trade Unions, the country's second biggest worker body.

Although the alliance's campaign is aimed at the Government, it could put employers and Cosatu on a collision course.

The general position among employers is that they will not get involved in "party political" actions, or those which could increase violence, or harm the economy in business's view.

The SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, representing employer organisations, swiftly rejected the call for a general strike as "unnecessary". Sacob said the economy and the business community were suffering the most severe recession since World War 2 and could not "sustain indefinitely the added burden of repeated stayaway action".

Employers would take a hard line in dealing with strikers, Sacob warned.

Non-payment of PAYE to the Government could lead to conflict between employers and the Government.

But despite business's position of not getting directly involved, there are differences among employers. Privately some agree with the alliance's demands, especially on violence and corruption.

They believe that after winning the reform referendum in March, Mr de Klerk may have become arrogant and that he mistook business's support for endorsement of the NP's political programme.

Others, though, are more inclined to sympathise with the Government and its allies, such as the IFP.

Under such circumstances, a co-ordinated political intervention by business, going beyond playing the role of a facilitator, is unlikely. But if the Codesa impasse continues, accompanied by damage to the economy, self-interest might force business (or sections of it) to play a more direct political role. □

Govt inaction caused tragedy, says Naidoo

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

It was "preposterous" for the Government to state that a national tragedy was looming as a result of the ANC's refusal to discuss the deadlock in negotiations, Co-

STAR 7/7/92
satu general-secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

The National Party's chief Codesa negotiator, Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, said at the weekend that ANC leader Nelson Mandela's first remarks on the Government's

memorandum on ANC demands were "not very encouraging" and "if this is their final position, it will be a tragedy for South Africa".

Mr Naidoo charged that it was the Government's inaction in relations to political democ-

racy" that had created the national tragedy.

Such a tragedy could be removed if the Government accepted that it was only one of the players in the negotiating process, as well as a transition involving one man, one vote elections, Mr Naidoo said.

focus on Codesa

Sowetan 1/7/92

304A

POLITICAL developments in the past few weeks have proved of high consequence.

First, the Government's bloody-mindedness in Codesa 2 and the subsequent threat of mass action by the ANC.

Second came the Boipatong programme, an organised massacre with the victims claiming the attackers had the overt or covert support of the police or the military.

Third is the ANC's ambivalent withdrawal from the constitutional talks.

What led to all this?

Quite clearly the collapse of Codesa 2 and the Boipatong programme exacerbated the situation. However, even these developments seem to be based on underlying developments. This current crisis stems largely from a major shift in Government perception of what would be its best strategy.

At the outset, the Nationalists operated on a best and worst case scenario. Their worst scenarios involved a majority ANC Government and a coalition of a "moderate", that is right wing multiracial opposition. The Nationalist solution was an extended transition with an emasculated black majority government powerless to remove white privilege.

Their best case scenario involved a NP dominated multi-racial alliance with the ANC as the main opposition.

Both assumptions had an impact on Government strategy. Under the worst case scenario, the Government advocated a "liberal" solution. Its target was to entrench strong individual rights and a weak State.

Originally, De Klerk operated under the worst case scenario. However, he grew over confident after his resounding referendum victory, and the red carpet reception he enjoyed abroad. His ill-conceived visit to Boipatong was illustrative of his switch to the Nationalist best case scenario.

What are the implications of the impasse? In one sense, not much. Negotiations collapse periodically, even for long periods at a time. This was certainly the Rhodesian experience, not to mention the Anglo Boer War. As a result, on the face of it, there is nothing unusual about the current deadlock.

Furthermore, it is not even clear what the ANC has withdrawn from. The organisation reiterates, quite explicitly, its commitment to the negotiations process.

In fact, the ANC response is quite nuanced. It breaks off talks, but is willing to talk about the resumption of talks.

The organisation has pitched its demands at goals mostly unobjectionable to the liberal establishment of media, churches and business. In fact, some of the demands are a reiteration of positions already accepted at Codesa or earlier bilateral talks.

University of Western Cape political scientist, Professor **Vincent Maphai**, looks at some of the shortcomings of Codesa. He argues that the Nationalists hijacked the forum for their own ends, adding that De Klerk grew over confident



ANC President Nelson Mandela addressing the first Codesa meeting on December 20.

Furthermore, several ANC spokespersons have intimated that they would not insist on the demands being met in full before negotiations resume.

The ANC has made the concept of international participation look reasonable. After all, international monitors are much in the news from Bosnia, Cambodia and other areas of conflict.

There is a deeper reason why it would be too hasty to write the obituary for negotiations. At the top echelons at least, between the ANC and NP, there is a shared perception of an existing stalemate. They believe that their options have narrowed considerably.

In other words, each is more powerful to destabilise the other, but, for now at least, both sides remain too weak to proceed unilaterally. Of course, the success of the process does not depend on the goodwill of the ANC and the Nationalists alone. This would have been the case if these parties were in full control of the

transitional process.

There are suggestions that the Government has lost control of sections of its security personnel. At the same time, if the townships continue to grow disillusioned about this process, then the implications are quite profound.

While it is possible to initiate mass action, it is not always possible for any organisation to control it. The spectre of the mid-eighties loom large should the negotiations process grind completely to a halt.

In the short term certain measures are essential to minimise tension. The arrest, conviction and imprisonment of the Boipatong murderers is imperative. The actions and inactions of the police in this programme should be investigated - and not by the South African Police themselves.

A mutually acceptable role for the international community should be defined as a matter of urgency. Quibbling about the sovereignty of the South African state is as helpful as agonising over the definition of cultural weapons!

It's time for FW to go, say callers

Sowetan

30/4

Sowetan & Radio Metro Talkback



with Tim Modise

THE Government should step down and give way to an interim authority, a caller to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

The caller, Sammy, said the ongoing violence was proof that State President FW de Klerk was unable to rule the country.

Sammy was one of scores of Sowetan readers who called host Tim Modise to express their views on current issues.

Another caller, Mr. George Matsimbe of Moutse, called on all liberation movements to revive the Patriotic Front. He said the Government was incapable of running the country.

Johnson of Mophakeng, urged Radio Metro disc jockeys to support the workers on strike at the SABC.

Mr Mandla Dube said the national

executive committee of the ANC was "too soft on the Government."

He said: "The problem is that the executive changes positions too often to be relied upon."

"Those responsible for the deaths of the Boipatong people should be publicly shot as a deterrent."

Mr Mzinkhulu Dube said De Klerk had abused power for too long and should therefore step down. Dube advised the Government to negotiate in good faith. He called for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Mr Haroon Casoojee of Eldorado Park, said South Africa's main problems was unemployment.

Mr Chris Baloyi of Diepkloof, said the struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique were eventually resolved through negotiations.

"Those responsible for the deaths of the Boipatong people should be publicly shot as a deterrent."

Mandla Dube

"Pressure must be put on the Government until it relinquishes power."

Chris Baloyi, Diepkloof

"South Africa's main problem is unemployment."

Haroon Casoojee, Eldorado Park

"De Klerk had abused power for too long and should therefore step down."

Mzinkhulu Dube

"Radio Metro disc jockeys must support the workers on strike at the SABC over wage increases."

Johnson, Mophakeng

"Liberation movements must revive the Patriotic Front. The Government is incapable of running the country."

George Matsimbe, Moutse

Mandela encouraged by meeting

Business acts

to draw ANC back to talks

B10209 8/11/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER
and RAY HARTLEY

A FLURRY of mediation efforts are under way to rescue negotiations and bring the ANC back to the negotiating table ahead of its response to government's memorandum tomorrow.

In separate mediation developments:

- Business leaders yesterday met an ANC delegation headed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and agreed to a "small group" to maintain lines of communication between business and the ANC on matters of national economic importance. The business leaders have already held similar meetings with President F W de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi;
- Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort said that while he did not think UN mediation was required in the dispute, "the situation will be more clear when we receive the ANC's response". He said government would accept an "international presence" but drew a line between control and observing; and
- It is reliably understood prominent political figures attached to neither government nor the ANC have been shuttling between the two camps in an attempt to engineer a restart of talks.

The two parties are divided over mass action and its effects as well as a transitional constitution.

Disagreement over the content and duration of an interim constitution will be spelled out when the ANC replies to De Klerk's constitutional proposals.

The ANC's national working committee meets today to formulate a detailed response to the memorandum in which De Klerk proposed a transitional constitution

which would determine regional powers and boundaries ahead of decisions on the issue by an elected constitution-making body and which would be in place for at least three years.

The ANC was unlikely to reject out of hand a transitional constitution drawn up by Codesa, but would argue for a less comprehensive document to ensure "orderly, legal and constitutional continuity" during the transition, an ANC source said. This could take the form of amendments to the present constitution or the passage of a "Transition to Democracy Act" through Parliament.

Delpoort said yesterday government was concerned at recent statements by ANC leaders that the organisation opposed a transitional constitution.

"There is a compelling argument against moving into a constitutional void," he said. Government would oppose the "sovereign" constituent assembly proposed by the ANC on the grounds that its powers would be virtually unlimited.

Disagreement over an interim constitution arises from the ANC's analysis that it would be almost impossible to amend. De Klerk said last week a constituent assembly elected along party lines was not best suited to drawing up a new constitution that satisfied the needs of all South Africans.

Mandela said after the meeting that the gap between the ANC and business had been narrowed and they were now closer

□ To Page 2

TALKS

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□ From Page 1

to "a common attitude". He said that his organisation would consider a "small group" to maintain lines of communication between itself and the government.

He was speaking after a meeting with Sacob, AHI and Seifsa leaders. He did not elaborate on the composition of the group or say when it would be convened.

He said positions on both sides of the negotiating table were "hardening" due to the government's refusal to "move towards a new dispensation". But he was "very encouraged indeed" by the meeting with business leaders, describing it as a "very fruitful exchange of views".

Sacob president Henrie Viljoen said the meeting had given business a "better understanding of the impasse that has arisen".

Concerns about the state of the economy had also been discussed. AHI president Attie du Plessis said business had to "make sure that the negotiation process must carry on".

A joint AHI, Sacob and Seifsa statement emphasised business was involved "not in a party political spirit" but because of concern at the "human, social, economic and business implications" of political confrontation. There was a rising "groundswell of opinion" against actions which would further damage the economy.

"We must emphasise that any future government which inherits an economic wasteland will find it impossible to meet the promised expectations of all South Africans," the statement said.

● Picture: Page 3

Chikane raps govt 'iron fist'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Government's determination to deal with the threat of mass action with an iron fist showed it was prepared to let SA slide into civil war rather than let people participate fully in their country's government, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said yesterday.

He told the SACC conference that "the ease with which they mobilised the army to deal with the threat of mass action reminded me of what government said at one stage last year — that they had the capacity to stop any negotiated settlement which fell outside their bottom lines".

Chikane said the deadlock at Codesa II proved that government feared democracy in SA. The constraints the NP tried to put on the democratic process showed it was not yet ready to allow a democratically-formulated constitution produced by an elected constitution-making body.

Chikane said the deadlock was possibly the result of a government "double agenda" of de-stabilising its opponents while entrenching white power.

Government was using violence to destabilise its opponents, Chikane said.

If this failed, he said, government's "Plan B" involved portraying a changed SA to the world.

Sapa reports that Chikane told a news briefing the SACC had been perceived to be ANC-aligned because it had been fighting for the same goal.

He said the church should not take party political sides but could not be neutral when it came to justice.

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ANC ponders its response

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 8/17/72 (304A)

The ANC national working committee meets today in Johannesburg to discuss its reply to the Government memorandum on the crisis in the negotiation process.

It is likely that the ANC's response will redirect attention to its initial demands as some ANC sources believe that the Government's memorandum has "side-tracked" the issues.

In his initial response, ANC leader Nelson Mandela also concentrated on the demands, saying his organisation had submitted "specific and concrete demands to Mr F W de Klerk as a means of finding a way out of the impasse".

Mr Mandela dismissed for a second time on Saturday the Government's proposal of a two-day summit between the two sides.

Mr Mandela said "no good

purpose would be served at this stage" in meeting Mr de Klerk and there was no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the seriousness of the crisis.

"He (Mr de Klerk) has chosen to ignore the gravity of these demands. He seeks to channel them into endless negotiations and discussions," Mr Mandela said.

The Government's memorandum did not respond directly to the demands and heavy emphasis was placed on the alleged influence of the SACP and Cosatu on ANC decisions. The Government offered three compromises in its memorandum.

- A senate based on proportional representation.
- Lowered special majorities to adopt a constitution by a constitution-making body.
- A maximum three-year life-span for a constitution-making body.

UN chief suggests goodwill mission

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has proposed sending a "goodwill mission" to South Africa to establish what role the UN might play either in reducing the violence or in getting negotiations started again.

He made the proposal yesterday during a closed meeting of the Security Council where he reported on his consultations with the South African Government and the African National Congress in recent days, following the ANC's request for a UN role in resolving the deadlock in negotiations.

His consultations, he said, had been inconclusive since it was not clear to him what specific role was envisaged for the UN. Proposals varied widely from sending observers to monitor the handling of political violence to direct mediation in the negotiating process, and the UN needed clarity before it could proceed.

Earlier, Dr Boutros-Ghali spoke by telephone to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Piko Botha, and ANC president Nelson Mandela to inform them of his proposal and to invite their comments. Both have undertaken to get back to him once they have had a chance to review the proposal. He also suggested the "good-

will mission" be headed by a diplomat of international repute such as Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as a UN envoy in Yugoslavia and other countries.

Mr Vance was not available for comment yesterday, but UN officials said his name had been proposed by Dr Boutros-Ghali "merely to indicate the stature of the person he has in mind for the job."

● The UN Security Council will meet in an emergency session next Wednesday to discuss the violence and breakdown of peace talks in South Africa, Sapa-AP reports. Council president Jose Luis Jesus, the ambassador of Cape

Verde, told reporters after closed consultations yesterday that the 15-nation council agreed to the request from the Organisation for African Unity for a meeting. The OAU was to send a delegation.

He did not know whether African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would attend. Mr Jesus said only that the meeting would be held to hear views on the deteriorating situation. He refused to say what action, if any, the council might take.

On Monday, African nations called for an urgent council session to help end the violence and create conditions for peace talks.

Goldstone attacked

STAK 81192
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and United Nations' Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday came under attack from Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said he took exception to their reported statements.

In separate statements, Dr Treurnicht took issue with reports that Goldstone Commission chairman, Mr Justice Goldstone, had expressed himself in favour of "full transition to democracy", and also with reports that Dr Boutros-Ghali had said all political parties in South Africa wanted a United Nations presence in the country.

Dr Treurnicht said the statement by Mr Justice Goldstone was "a purely political expression which can harm the commission's political neutrality."

"The creation of a unitary

state along the recipe of the National Party-ANC-South African Communist Party cannot be described as a transition to full democracy.

"It contains precisely a serious infringement of democracy and nations' rights to self-determination," he said.

In his statement on Dr Boutros-Ghali, Dr Treurnicht said the Conservative Party had always expressed its opposition to a UN presence in the country, and would now inform the UN directly in writing about this.

He said it was clear that the ANC and certain African countries had embarked on an orchestrated campaign to get external interference in South Africa's domestic issues.

"The continuing allegations of the Government's and the security forces' organised involvement in violence is clearly a part of this campaign," Dr Treurnicht said.

Goldstone attacked

STAK 8119
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and United Nations' Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday came under attack from Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said he took exception to their reported statements.

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"The continuing allegations of the Government's and the security forces' organised involvement in violence is clearly a part of this campaign," Dr Treurnicht said.

ANC, govt words' war goes on

By BARRY STREEK

ON the eve of the ANC's formal response to the government on constitutional negotiations, the war of words continued yesterday with the government claiming the ANC was running away from agreements reached at Codesa.

The ANC's memorandum, which was to be finalised yesterday at a meeting of its national working committee, is to be handed to President F W de Klerk's office today.

Mr De Klerk will almost certainly discuss the issue in Stellenbosch tonight

when he opens a National Party youth congress there.

It will be his first public speech since the Boipatong massacre, the release of the Goldstone Commission statements in which the government was criticised and the announcement that a UN goodwill mission could visit South Africa soon.

It is clear, however, from both the statements made on Sunday by Mr Nelson Mandela and at a media briefing yesterday by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport, that the dead-

lock between the government and the ANC stands.

Dr Delport could not give any indication about a resumption of talks and said the government was still awaiting the ANC's response to Mr De Klerk's letter.

The government document to the ANC had been indicative of the government's willingness to negotiate he stated.

Asked if the government would consider a "reformulated" Codesa, he replied: "We are willing to talk and we are willing to consider all sensible proposals."

304A CT 9/7/92

Govt backs UN mission to revive talks

Bl Day 9/17/92

30411

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT yesterday agreed that a UN-sponsored mission could visit SA to help get stalled constitutional negotiations back on track.

The visit is one aspect of an attempt at international mediation in the SA conflict. The attempt will get under way in earnest next week when the UN Security Council meets in New York to hear views on the violence and the breakdown in talks.

The session — the result of weeks of diplomatic activity initiated by the ANC, the PAC and the OAU — will likely be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, among others. The Security Council also traditionally affords an opportunity for behind-doors discussion among protagonists.

It will hear views on violence, the negotiations breakdown and suggested forms of a UN presence which range from government's support for UN observers, to the PAC's call for a UN peacekeeping force.

The security council debate was initially opposed by the SA government, which favoured a UN mission and even UN involvement in violence monitoring activities, a diplomatic source said.

Botha informed UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday of government's decision to accept a UN good-

will mission headed by former US secretary of state, Cyrus Vance. Botha said the visit had been proposed by Boutros-Ghali and urged that it take place before the Security Council convenes on Wednesday.

"I assume that the mission will consult all relevant parties, organisations and experts during its visit. It was my understanding from our telephone conversation that this was also your view," Botha told Boutros-Ghali in a letter released last night.

Botha said government "considers it of the utmost importance that the negotiations should be resumed urgently and that the leaders of the major parties should jointly accept responsibility for further steps to curb violence".

President F W de Klerk opened the way for international involvement in reviving talks when he said in reply to the ANC's breakoff of talks that government was prepared to allow an international presence on a joint violence monitoring mission. The concession went some way towards meeting ANC demands for international involvement in violence monitoring.

Government's view was relayed at a meeting at Abuja, Nigeria last month to

□ To Page 2

UN mission

Boutros-Ghali who subsequently canvassed the views of other parties, including the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha.

Diplomatic sources said SA received support for its opposition to a Security Council debate from at least one permanent member. The five permanent members are UK, US, Russia, France and China, any one of which may veto the passage of a binding resolution on SA.

ANC leaders were last night locked in discussion with local diplomats on what form UN intervention in SA could take.

TIM COHEN reports that Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort said government was open to any reasonable proposal for the resumption of negotiations but accused the ANC of backing off from its Codesa commitments.

Delpoort said government was open to businessmen playing a mediatory role, to a reconstituted Codesa and to international

monitoring of the process.

However, he accused the ANC of wanting a simple majority to have the full and final say over a new constitution. Government believed it was imperative that substantial minorities should have guaranteed participation so that they cannot be ignored. To describe this as a "minority veto" was a gross simplification.

RAY HARTLEY reports that ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC was "very keen" to restart negotiations once the government had taken steps to curb violence.

It would be "the simplest of things" for the government to end the violence he told the AGM of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg.

Mbeki hinted talks would resume if government fenced off hostels and guarded their entrances; prosecuted those involved in killings; and removed special forces like Koevoet from unrest duty.

□ From Page 1

30411

2/11/11/92

Summit Of Lost Chances

STAR 9/17/92

304A

AFTER ALL the speeches and the interminable motorcades, did the Organisation of African Unity's Dakar summit achieve anything?

The simple answer is, very little, if anything. Except with regard to South Africa, the summit failed to take concrete steps to resolve any of the contentious issues facing the continent.

A glance through the resolutions shows that the OAU has learnt over the years to be a skilled passer of the buck. The resolution on South Africa is the only one which tied the OAU to some sort of programme of action: to dispatch foreign ministers to the UN Security Council meeting and investigators to SA.

As far as the South African Government is concerned, there is no doubt this was a summit of missed opportunities.

Established

One left Abuja, where last year's OAU summit took place, with a feeling that, despite the decisions on sanctions, it was only a matter of time before some form of official contact

between South Africa and the continent was established. The avalanche of African visitors to South Africa, signing all sorts of agreements, seemed to support that view.

Dakar therefore held great promise for the South African Government, many observers thought. SA would be accorded some status, or given an honourable mention and encouraged to do more.

Informed sources said countries sympathetic to South Africa had come ready for a show-down if this did not happen. But it was not to be.

Well-laid plans were sabotaged by events within the country, especially the massacre in Boipatong, which completely dictated the tenor of all discussions on South Africa.

The ANC and PAC had a good summit. The OAU simply closed ranks. When the chips are down it is a brave African leader who will want to be seen lining up alongside President de Klerk

against Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu.

The ANC's Joe Modise conceded that the Boipatong massacre had helped the organisation to bring into line those who were sitting on the fence ready to join the other side.

If the events of the past three weeks in South Africa have not as yet led to the unravelling of all the friendships the South African Government has made on the continent, they have at least instilled some doubt in some of these new-found friends.

Some of them are beginning to ask themselves whether they have not been a little too glib in accepting what the Government says at face value, and are wondering whether the Government is not leading them

up the garden path, using them in its game of one-upmanship against the ANC.

The violence — the uncertainty about who is behind it and the Government's reluctance or inability to stop it — is inflicting heavy damage on Pretoria's new-found credibility on the continent.

The question asked at Dakar was what the Government was doing about the violence. And the answer seemed to be: pretty little.

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, the outgoing OAU chairman, while calling on blacks to unite and not to allow themselves to be divided, made the point that it was the primary responsibility of any government to protect the lives and

property of its citizens.

What many found surprising was that days passed after the Boipatong massacre without a single arrest having been made, despite the fact that the source of the violence was known to the authorities. This gave credence to charges that the security forces were involved.

Assertions by the Government that it cannot stop the violence did not seem to wash. One delegate said, for instance, that during the days of the pass laws no black person without proper papers could walk the streets without being nabbed by the police.

"Now they tell us they can't apprehend murderers, and they want us to believe that."

South African diplomats will

find it difficult to make any headway in Africa unless the situation improves. African countries are hoping that the UN Security Council will be able to agree on some form of international involvement in the monitoring of violence, and that negotiations will then resume.

For the moment, though, the OAU has decided to stand, officially at least, by those it has supported down the years during what it sees as their hour of need.

As for the other issues confronting the Dakar delegates they were simply dodged. An appeal was made to the international community, the UN — anybody but the OAU — to do something about them.

Africans, a Russian diploma

remarked with some exasperation, did not understand "the new situation". For instance, he said, they want to be forgiven the huge debt they owe the former Soviet Union because they say the empire is no more. But they also want Russia, as the inheritor of the Soviet State machinery, to continue honouring the commitments made to them by the deceased empire.

Creation

The one issue which we were told would be the benchmark of this summit was the creation of some mechanism to contain or stop civil wars in Africa. Such a measure, if accepted, would have changed the whole character of the OAU: it would have given the organisation some teeth. At the moment it is a toothless dinosaur sitting with some ancient problems which it cannot solve because it lacks the mechanism to do so.

Some countries felt such a change would require an amendment of the OAU charter, which meant that the organisation's most sacred doctrine — non-interference in the internal affairs of member states — would have had to go. This they were not prepared to entertain.

The resolution was "accepted on principle". Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim was asked to make a thorough study and prepare a report for the next summit. Which means they have a year to come up with another subterfuge. The issue is effectively dead.

Mr Salim put on a brave face, declaring the outcome a victory. He had lobbied hard for the resolution. But some countries suspect that he may be trying to build a soapbox for himself. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's age may not allow him to stand for another term as United Nations secretary-general. That would allow Mr Salim a second stab at the job he wants more than any other. With the Cold War over, the Americans, who thwarted his bid a decade ago, may relent this time round. □

Pik welcomes 'goodwill visit'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
917192

It was of the utmost importance that negotiations were resumed and that all political leaders jointly accepted responsibility for further steps to curb the violence, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday.

Welcoming a planned UN "goodwill visit" led by former US politician Cyrus Vance, the Government suggested the visit took place "as a matter of urgency" before the meeting of the UN Security Council next week.

In a letter to Mr Boutros Ghali, Mr Botha said the Government had made the suggestion for the following reasons:

- "After their return, the mission can apprise you of their observations and the factual situation in South Africa.
- "You will be in a better position to advise the Security Council.
- "Your report will facilitate a better-informed discussion in the council."

"Should a visit by the goodwill mission not be feasible before the Security Council meets in open ses-

sion, my Government would support a council meeting to authorise the secretary-general to send a goodwill mission which will report to you and to council as soon as possible," Mr Botha said.

He reiterated a proposal made during a meeting with Mr Boutros-Ghali in Abuja, Nigeria, last month that all Codesa participants should be heard by the Security Council.

"In my opinion the council will not be in a position to conduct a balanced debate on the situation in South Africa unless it has all the facts and points of view before it," Mr Botha said.

Mbeki remarks could boost Govt hopes

Violence curbed is 'key factor'

STAR
91792
By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

304A

If steps are taken to curb violence in South Africa, "everyone could be quite keen to go back (to negotiations)", senior ANC official Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

His remarks — which will fuel optimism in Government circles that Codesa may yet be salvaged — came as the ANC's 22-member national working committee met to draft its long-awaited formal response to last week's letter from President de Klerk to ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

It is widely expected that the ANC will refuse to rejoin negotiations in the short term, but there are hopes that possible ways out of the impasse may be suggested.

Publication of the ANC's detailed response to the Government memorandum was expected yesterday, but an official said no firm date had been decided upon.

Addressing the South African branch of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki, the ANC's head of international affairs, said constitutional talks had been broken off by the ANC because of the Boipatong massacre and it was impossible for the ANC to resume negotiations until the Government had taken several steps to curb the violence.

But, he said, if these steps were taken, "everyone could be quite keen to go back".

He appealed to all South Africans to explore ways of ending the violence. The Government should be sending out a clear message that one of its responsibilities was to end the violence.

Mr Mbeki said some of the violence came from ANC members and that the ANC

had an obligation to ensure its members did not take part in the violence.

He said the Government's current response to the ANC's demands was to suggest "discussing them" — but the ANC saw no need for talks on issues that had been agreed to long ago. He referred specifically to the disarming of people carrying weapons in public.

The ANC had believed there was a common assumption at the start of the Codesa process that all delegates broadly saw the ultimate outcome of the negotiations as the creation of a nonracial democracy. But, he said, the organisation had discovered at Codesa that views on democracy differed widely.

The Government wanted the majority party to govern with the consensus of the minority parties, while the ANC wanted minority parties to become the opposition. He said it was not a matter of protection of minorities, but the protection of a minority party.

At a briefing in Pretoria yesterday, senior Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delport said the Government's revised constitutional proposals — contained in the letter to Mr Mandela — were an attempt to persuade the ANC to resume negotiations.

Dr Delport said the Government's compromises on three key constitutional issues which led to the breakdown of Codesa 2 were "indicative of the flexibility of our approach and of the fact that we are saying: Let's get back to the negotiating table".

He accused the ANC of "running away" from the compromises regarding an interim government that it had agreed to at Codesa.

NEWS Government in bid to put talks back on track ● The faces



Brrrr... It's real cold and the mercury is way below zero. Sowetan photographer Mbuzeni Zulu captured three coal men at the back of a moving truck with their heater . . . which is really a brazier. And it sure warmed their hands, feet - and hearts.

Codesa: Govt changes tack

■ ANC says the Government is not addressing issues that led to talks breakdown:

Sowetan 9/17/92

By Monk Nkomo and Themba Molefe

THE Government would consider reformulating Codesa to get talks with the African National Congress back on track, deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

But the ANC immediately dismissed this as not addressing the causes that led to the breakdown in negotiations.

Addressing a Press briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Delport said the Government was prepared to consider "all sensible proposals" from the ANC in an effort to have the talks resumed.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the organisation would be responding to State President Mr FW de Klerk's proposals on resuming



Tertius Delport

negotiations today.

Referring to Delport's statement, Macozoma said restructuring Codesa was not the issue, but the Government's commitment to majority rule and addressing the violence as stated in the ANC's 14-point memorandum to De Klerk on June 26.

Delport said there was no need for outside

mediation as the Government and the ANC were communicating with each other to express their differences.

He said they differed fundamentally with the ANC on two issues:

- The Government rejected the idea of State power being transferred to a body that is not subject to a Constitution; and
- It also rejected the idea that a simple majority should ever be placed to decide finally on the contents of a new constitution.

Delport was, however, optimistic that talks at Codesa would resume when emotions had finally cooled. He did not believe that the proposed mass action by the ANC was an alternative to negotiations.

He said the real reasons for the deadlock at Codesa was that the ANC was not willing to accept the principle of an interim or transitional constitution agreed upon at Codesa.

ANC

3047

CT 10/7/92

'no' to talks

By BARRY STREEK
and PATRICK BULGER

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has again rejected face-to-face talks with the government — but President FW de Klerk says he believes the damage can be repaired.

It was also disclosed yesterday that the government and the ANC have held discussions at a senior level at least once this week in an attempt to restart stalled constitutional talks.

In tones more conciliatory than the two groups have used with each other in recent weeks, Mr Mandela urged Mr De Klerk to

JSE prices in tailspin

JOHANNESBURG. — Share prices were cheaper for the fourth successive day on the JSE yesterday to send the overall index tumbling 1,8% or 65 points to 3 449, representing a decline of 4,1% so far this week. "It is looking pretty grim. Economic rules are being played out on top of worries about the political situation, deepening despondency," a dealer said. The devastation as institutional investors and private clients offloaded scrip was reflected in share-price losses outnumbering gains by 167 to 16.

● Panic plunge in share prices — Page 7

"find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis".

In reply the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said: "The ANC has raised a number of matters of justifiable

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concern to all parties.
In Stellenbosch last night, Mr De Klerk told about 500 delegates to the National Party's youth congress that the seriousness of the situation should not be underestimated.

Although the government was prepared to negotiate and compromise, it would not be threatened into making concessions that young people would have to endure for the rest of their lives. CT 10/7/92

The government would continue to pursue every avenue to revive negotiations.

In Durban yesterday, the national conference of the SA Council of Churches drew back from making a decision on supporting a moratorium on further talks with the government.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed last night that he and Mr Meyer had discussed memorandums exchanged by the ANC and the government.

Mediation

The ANC yesterday unveiled its response to Mr De Klerk's memorandum. Government sources said it offered no compromise in the dispute.

Mediation on violence-related problems could provide an opportunity to restart constitutional talks.

Next week Mr Mandela and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha are to address a special sitting of the UN Security Council which could decide to support proposals for mediation.

Mr Mandela said yesterday that the way out of the impasse depended on "how the NP government responds to our efforts to break the negotiations deadlock and take practical steps to end the violence".

He urged the government to concentrate on a constitution-making body rather than putting its efforts into a transitional phase.

ANC 'no' to talks

304A
CT 10/7/92

By BARRY STREEK
and PATRICK BULGER

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has again rejected face-to-face talks with the government — but President F W de Klerk says he believes the damage can be repaired.

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● Panic plunge in share prices — Page 7

"find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis".

In reply the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said: "The ANC has raised a number of matters of justifiable

To page 2

The ANC wanted an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution and fully supported "constitutional and legislative measures to ensure there is no constitutional void".

Mr Mandela cited government support for Inkatha and security force involvement in violence as reasons for his refusal to meet M De Klerk.

Mr Meyer said serious differences between the two groups included the ANC's refusal to co-operate on violence and its strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation.

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CONSTITUTION

Something to discuss

Though referred to as a transitional constitution, President F W de Klerk and government say it must be a "complete constitution" that must replace the principles of the current Westminster system with those of a "constitutional State."

Outlining government's proposals on a transitional constitution (TC) in his reply to ANC president Nelson Mandela's memorandum last Thursday, De Klerk also said that the "diversity of interests" in the SA community must be accommodated in the TC which, in addition, must "facilitate the further restructuring of the second and third tiers of government, as well as underpin the maintenance of law and order."

The main features of government's idea for a transitional constitution are:

- A parliament consisting of a national assembly and a senate;
- An Executive Council directly elected by all the voters;
- A Cabinet appointed by the Executive Council;
- An independent judiciary, with judges being appointed by a nonpolitical body;
- A justiciable charter of fundamental rights;
- Autonomous regional government;
- Autonomous local government;
- Special provisions to safeguard against political manipulation of the following: SA Defence Force, SA Police, an independent auditor-general, independent ombudsman and independent Commission for Administration; and
- The entrenchment of constitution-related legislation (such as electoral laws and laws concerning the courts and the public service) and of other laws such as those relating to existing pension rights and standards for public office and professions.

To amend or substitute the transitional constitution, De Klerk proposes a majority of 70% will be required and 75% for the charter of fundamental rights. This, incidentally, is what the ANC acquiesced to on the eve of Codesa 2, so it should not be a hurdle, even though the ANC pulled back to 67% after the failure.

Another sign of movement by government and a possible new opening to the talks is De Klerk's proposal that "if the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution.

The TC will be amended or replaced only within the framework of general constitutional principles as agreed at Codesa and the Constitutional Chamber of the Appellate Division must certify this to be the case. This is basically acceptable to the ANC.

Among the general principles government wants enshrined are:

- The autonomy of civil society — that is, the exclusion of interference by the State in the affairs of the civil society, such as sport,

culture, professional life, religion, trade unionism and traditions; and

- Democratic standards to which political parties must conform.

The TC must itself also be drafted within the framework of the agreed general constitutional principles.

Turning to the structure and functions of a new parliament, De Klerk proposes that the TC will provide for a National Assembly vested, together with a Senate, with legislative powers as well as the power to amend and replace the TC by special majorities.

The national assembly shall be elected proportionally by universal adult suffrage according to the party list system.

The senate will comprise of an equal number of members elected from each electoral region, to be delimited using the development regions as a starting point. (The ANC's regions are roughly similar.) Seats are allocated to a region in proportion to party support in that region. This is a significant concession by government, which had wanted the senate to be based on equal representation in what the ANC called a "house of losers."

Regional muscle

However, De Klerk goes on to propose that legislation may be initiated in the Senate and all laws must be approved by both houses. The TC will provide for mechanisms to resolve differences between the Senate and Assembly, as well as for exceptions over specific subjects in respect of which the powers of the Senate may be upgraded or downgraded — for example, financial laws, laws on education or specific regional matters.

Bound to be controversial is the proposal that "when the TC is amended or replaced, the boundaries of each region and its functions, powers and form of government will also have to be approved by a majority of the representatives from each electoral region that will be affected in each case."

Government's regional government proposals include the transition period. It wants agreement to be reached on the powers, functions and boundaries of regions and regional governments prior to the TC coming into operation. Should this delay establishment of the TC, it may be left to the transitional parliament.

The autonomy of regions as derived from the TC will not be subject to amendment without the agreement of the authorities of the regions concerned. This has been dubbed the "Buthelezi clause" since the IFP leader also wants such a provision.

It is of course a strong federal proposal, which would tend to entrench existing authorities. Arguably, however, it's a good idea from the point of view of diffusing centres of power, though the ANC, a would-be interventionist government, will have problems with it. These may not be insurmountable. The ANC had, reluctantly, acquiesced in a significant measure of regional powers at Codesa. ■

UN to Codesa:

APR 10/7/92
 (304A)

Come talk to us

HUGH ROBERTON, The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council has decided to give a hearing to all participants in Codesa who wish to address its meeting on the situation in South Africa on Wednesday.

This unusual decision, made subject only to the Security Council's rules of procedure, was taken at a closed session late yesterday and emphasises the UN's determination to be non-partisan in its approach to South Africa.

If parties other than just the government and the ANC decide to take part in the debate, it would for all practical purposes be the first full exchange of views among members of Codesa since the ANC pulled out of negotiations.

After confirming that it would hold its debate on South Africa on Wednesday, the Security Council also decided that the proposal of Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send a "goodwill mission" to South Africa could not be implemented before then.

"It is just not possible to scramble together a goodwill mission under the aegis of someone like Mr Cyrus Vance in the few days we have at our disposal," a UN official said.

"Even if we were able to do so, and Mr Vance was able to get to South Africa, it would take his mission some time to do its work and report back to the secretary-general."

Meanwhile, South African diplomats confirmed that Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Piik Botha would be in New York to put the government's case to the Security Council.

Mandela contact
 It could not be established

Crowded refugee ship slips out

The Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — The small Taiwanese ship crammed with 146 Asian refugees, detained within PE's harbour limits yesterday, slipped out of Algoa Bay during the night.

Mr Steve te Stege, first officer for the marine division of the Department of Transport, said today: "She just took off after dusk at about 6.40 pm."

Earlier, engine spares were delivered to the Chin Wing 18. Mr Te Stege said he could not say where the ship was heading, but it was last seen passing Cape Recife.

The 19-ton ship was ordered to lie at anchor off Port Elizabeth because of gross overcrowding and lack of safety equipment.

The last ports of call of the



PREMIER GATE

GOAL: Mark Anderson, the South African goalkeeper, is beaten by this shot from grounded Cameroon striker Jacob Ekwelle Ewane. Also in the action are Roger Milla, the Cameroon star player, and South Africa's Sam Khambule (5) and Steve Komjela. Cameroon, reduced to nine players, won this

Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus

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Mandela contact

It could not be established who would represent the ANC, but the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, requested the UN meeting and has been in contact with Mr Boutros-Ghali on the UN's role in South Africa.

Some in the ANC expressed surprise at the Security Council decision to open its debate to all parties in Codesa. They had assumed the UN would maintain its long-standing support for the ANC and use the meeting as an opportunity to hammer the government.

But UN officials reiterated a warning: the Security Council, and Mr Boutros-Ghali, were determined not to allow any party in South Africa to use the international body as a battering ram in disputes with other parties.

It is likely that at least three of the five permanent members of the Security Council — the United States, Britain and France — will address Wednesday's meeting and that several African states will also ask to speak.

If this proves to be the case, and several Codesa members choose to speak, the debate could continue on Thursday and possibly Friday.

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CT 10/7/92
Not enough
blacks in (304A)
NP — Rabie

Political Staff

THERE were too few blacks in the National Party, the party's leader in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, said yesterday.

He also said a formal organisation between the NP and its allies might have to be formed, similar to the Patriotic Front, so that they could work together.

Mr Rabie was speaking at the NP's national youth conference in Stellenbosch on the NP's role in "a potential winning alliance".

Govt, ANC meet in move to revive talks

B/DAY 10/7/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC held discussions at senior level at least once this week in an attempt to restart stalled constitutional talks — but ANC president Nelson Mandela last night again rejected a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

However, in tones more conciliatory than the two groups have used with each other in recent weeks, Mandela urged De Klerk to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis". And in reply to Mandela, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said "the ANC has raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night confirmed he spoke yesterday to Meyer and that they had discussed memorandums exchanged by the ANC and government. He would not comment further on the discussions.

The ANC yesterday unveiled its response to De Klerk's memorandum and government sources said it offered no compromise in the dispute.

However, the ANC and government are relying on mediation on violence-related problems as an opportunity to restart constitutional talks. Next week Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will address a special sitting of the UN Security Council which will decide what form mediation should take.

Mandela said yesterday there was a way out of the impasse. "There is a way forward. It depends on how the NP government responds to our efforts to break the

negotiations deadlock and take practical steps to end the violence."

He suggested that in the light of his denial of blame for the violence, De Klerk take over the portfolios of Defence and Law and Order.

Mandela urged government to concentrate on a constitution-making body rather than putting its efforts into a transitional phase.

"The manner in which you have elevated the transitional arrangements to the central focus of negotiations betrays your pre-occupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the NP, which you recognise will remain a minority party in the event of a democratic constitution," Mandela said in his letter to De Klerk.

Mandela said the ANC wanted an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution and that the ANC "fully supports constitutional and legislative measures to ensure that there is no constitutional void".

"There should be a clear understanding that all interim arrangements relating to the administration and governance of regions shall be such as to not pre-empt the decisions of the constitution-making body," Mandela said.

Government has proposed a comprehensive transitional constitution drawn up at Codesa and making provision for regional boundaries and governments which could exercise a veto over constitutional changes affecting them.

To Page 2

Negotiations From Page 1

The ANC is proposing that half a constituent assembly be elected on a national list, and half on regional lists. Changes in regard to regions would take place by a two-thirds majority of both national and regional representatives.

Mandela yesterday highlighted alleged government complicity in violence, its support for Inkatha and security force involvement in violence as reasons for his refusal to meet De Klerk.

Meyer said in response to the ANC that government would study Mandela's response and reply to it next week.

He said, however, there were serious differences between the two groups, which included the ANC's refusal to co-operate on violence and its "strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation".

Meyer said a government meeting chaired by De Klerk took place yesterday at which negotiations and Judge Richard Goldstone's criticisms of government were discussed. A similar meeting will be held next week to reply to the Goldstone report and the ANC document.

Comment: Page 8

FW lashes out over 'three lies'

B. Day TIM COHEN 10/7/92 304A

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday lashed out at three "lies" perpetrated by the ANC — that government was implicated in township violence, that it was clinging to power and that it wanted a white veto.

He made the comments in response to questions by media representatives yesterday after a meeting with Cameroon Energy Minister Rene Owonu.

The meeting marked the first official visit by a member of the Cameroon government to SA.

Asked whether he was irritated that the ANC kept making allegations about government involvement in the violence, De Klerk said irritation was an inappropriate description.

He said the three allegations were repeated almost daily, but "they remain lies no matter how often they are repeated."

"I am not playing games with the ANC," he said, adding that all parties would have to return to the negotiating table.

He said he hoped that the ANC would show restraint and responsibility in its response to his memorandum.

"We are not writing a constitution for the ANC or the NP," De Klerk said.

Government was not negotiating a constitutional dispensation to last for five or 10 years.

"We are working for a new constitution which must withstand the stresses and

□ To Page 2

'Lies' B. Day 10/7/92 304A

strains of a period of a 100 years and 200 years. That is what I'm working for."

De Klerk said he and Owonu had discussed expansion of trade between SA and Cameroon as well as the constitutional process in SA.

"Cameroon is also in the midst of a period of constitutional change and we can learn much from them."

304A □ From Page 1
He said he had received a message of "strong encouragement" from Cameroon President Paul Biya concerning the constitutional changes in SA, and looked forward to expanding relations with Cameroon.

Owuno said Biya had sent him to SA to express the president's "full support" for De Klerk in his endeavours to build a new society.

STATE OF THE NATION

304A

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Keep your nerve

FM 10/7/92

The most serious sin of all, it is said, is despair. For once you despair you have no hope; and without hope there is no point in carrying on. We detect a mood verging on despair, in particular, among the business community.

Naturally the only reason to ride out tough times is the belief that, eventually, the tough times will pass; without that belief, despair is unavoidable. And it is this belief, which has sustained us through many a dark period, that finally appears to be crumbling at the edges.

The gloom is understandable. After the Convention for a Democratic SA was launched last year, there were grounds for cautious optimism about a settlement which would be binding on all the main political players.

The National Party was prepared to ditch its insistence on racially defined group rights and accepted the principle of universal suffrage in a united SA. President FW de Klerk made it clear that he would be prepared to serve in a government headed by someone else. Some Cabinet Ministers went about apologising for the damage and hurt caused by apartheid; others were moved out of sensitive security portfolios.

The African National Congress, for its part, shifted away from revolutionary rhetoric and toyi-toyi economics and began to demonstrate an appreciation of the intractability of problems. It elected a tough but respected trade unionist as its secretary-general. The sport boycott was lifted.

It was the delirium of the cricket World Cup which seemed to confirm just how far we had come since the dark, repressive Eighties. After all, if the ANC's Steve Tshwete could be photographed hugging the Afrikaner cricket captain Kepler Wessels after a thrilling defeat of Australia, could a political solution be far behind? And with it, growth, better profits and a start along the High Road.

Unfortunately, no. We forgot that Codesa was not running along rails that stretched to the horizon; it was dependent daily on its members to keep up the momentum. And those members were, after all, politicians.

Codesa went wrong when the National Party introduced the idea of a Senate veto in a future parliament, which the ANC quite rightly rejected. And the Nats refused to soften their demand that a new constitution would have to get 75% support in a future elected constituent assembly; the ANC wanted a two-thirds majority, then moderated this to 70%.

The view that government miscalculated is supported by the fact that, in its latest offer to the ANC, it has given way on both counts — which suggests that it was complacent, that it had come to take both Codesa and the ultimate acquiescence of the ANC for granted.

But why has the ANC not accepted the fullness of the Nat concessions and come back to the table to help set up an interim government? There are several reasons.

The violence, and especially the horrific massacre at Boipatong, has caused emotion to outweigh reason, strengthening the hand of the radicals. We must also remember that the ANC, despite its carefully fostered image as the dominant political grouping, has never been tested electorally. It

is nervous that its support base might be eroded on the Right by De Klerk (witness what is happening in Indian and coloured politics) and on the Left by the PAC and unlettered, vengeful revolutionaries.

The ANC badly needed to rally support, to give itself the same kind of popular boost that De Klerk received from his stunning referendum victory. Let down by the Nats at Codesa, the ANC capitalised instinctively on Boipatong — but there are signs that the ANC has gone too far. This can be seen in its embarrassing behaviour over sport tours.

The ANC leaders appear at present to be driven by the mob, which may be a reflection of their political naivete. After all, if De Klerk's resolve had been shaken by the barbarism of white rightwingers at the Battle of Ventersdorp, where would we be now?

But he was not shaken, because, as an elected leader, he knows that the mob is seldom a reflection of the people as a whole. It is possible that the ANC leaders are paying excessive attention to the mob, precisely because they have no experience of being judged by a broad electorate. Outrage at Boipatong was justified, but it appears to have swamped (for the moment, anyway) any awareness of broader needs.

It is not only the ANC's massive sulk that is depressing. Trade union leaders and communists — both allies of the ANC — talk lightly of destroying the economy in order to attain freedom. Hospitals are reduced to desperation by strikers who also viciously intimidate volunteers. There are threats of a general strike, of bringing the government down. Rugby tours are in the balance.

This is certainly all very depressing — but we do not believe it is grounds for despair. Progress since February 2 1990 had been too smooth. When we came to the crunch — the manner of handing over power — disagreements and tantrums were inevitable.

Despite the current deep unease, we must admit that we have progressed much further than we ever dared imagine during the grim days of the Angolan war, the Rubicon speech, the hit squads and the State of Emergency.

What shrewd observers have said all along remains true: in the transition to a new order, the ANC and the National Party cannot do without each other and they know it (though the ANC is pretending it has forgotten). This truth will regain its force as the memory of Boipatong recedes — and, crucially, as long as there are no more Boipatongs.

The whites know in their hearts that political power must eventually be given up; the Nats must stop trying to wangle some kind of veto in a future government. And the ANC knows in its heart that De Klerk is not deliberately killing blacks; it must stop calling him a Nazi. Above all, they must all start listening to the Goldstone Commission, whose existence in itself is reason for hope.

We can get through this bad time, even if it does come to a test of strength with mass action and strikes. Some nasty things may happen — but we did not vote "yes" in the referendum in order to panic when the going got tough. It is essential that we all keep our nerve. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

304A

FM

10/7/92

Sparring with our future

The outlook was not promising ahead of the ANC's considered response to President F W de Klerk's proposals for resuming direct negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's initial reply, last Saturday, said that "by responding in the manner that he has done, Mr De Klerk has chosen to drive SA into a collision course. I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country." No purpose would be served, Mandela added, in meeting De Klerk "at this stage."

The stock market dipped, potential foreign investors took fright and there seemed to be a rise in the numbers seeking to emigrate.

The guess was that the ANC would probably announce a qualified rejection of De Klerk's July 2 reply to its post-Boipatong demands of June 26 — but leaving room to manoeuvre. This prognosis depended on

wiser, pragmatic counsels in the ANC (identified with the likes of Thabo Mbeki) prevailing over its insurrectionist wing (thought to include Ronnie Kasrils of the "Leipzig option" ilk), and acceptance that there is no realistic alternative to negotiations. An uprising of

1990 East European proportions hardly seems likely in SA — quite apart from the fact that the army is unlikely to switch in support of mass action aimed at evicting the government.

The next six to eight weeks are therefore likely to be rugged politically, as stepped-up mass action, led by Cosatu, threatens to raise the tension and the death toll.

A positive spin-off of Boipatong, following the Goldstone inquiry, though, could be better policing and security arrangements at potential flash points such as hostels.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week admitted that the cause of township violence lay in rivalry between his supporters and the ANC's; the ANC maintains that the root of it all is in apartheid policies and government's direct involvement in fuelling black-on-black violence, not least in cahoots with Inkatha (see Goldstone report).

The ANC-led mass action campaign could, however, be subject to diminishing returns, given the bleak economic climate and the tough line being adopted by employers. Toyota and the hospital authorities, who last week fired strikers, seem to reflect this approach. Just how serious Cosatu's threat is

of a general strike on August 3 — still subject to discussion with its alliance partners — remains to be seen.

Few believe such a strike could be sustained for more than a couple of days in these times. The possibility still exists that a face-saving formula could emerge before then to resuscitate the talks process, leaving mass action to peter out. But this must be set against the stated commitment by some ANC-alliance spokesmen that the action will roll on until full democracy has been achieved.

However, the reaction of sporting bodies — especially soccer on the eve of the Cameroon tour — to the ANC's muted call for reimposing the sports boycott, indicated that the mood among blacks is not uniformly in favour of mass action. The same may apply to a general strike. Some observers wonder whether mass action, which was on the ANC's drawing board before Codesa 2



crashed, is not in the first instance an ANC exercise — part catharsis and part mobilisation practice.

Interestingly, the DP's Colin Eglin observed recently that government had had its equivalent of mass action in the white referendum campaign, enabling the NP to ginger up its support base — and that now it's the ANC's turn.

But the key issue remains deadlock in the negotiations and whether government and the ANC can establish mutual trust in order for the process to go forward. Trust is required both for ending the violence and for reaching constitutional compromise on the basic problem — that is, two radically different conceptions of what democracy is. These are the NP government's notion of "power sharing" democracy, and the ANC's more classical, majoritarian version.

Where the two sides evidently failed at Codesa was in tackling this fundamental difference head on.

In his reply to Mandela's memorandum, De Klerk, noting that an exchange of memoranda is no substitute for face-to-face talks, rejects the ANC's reasons for withdrawing from negotiations — government's alleged

involvement in violence and its lack of commitment to genuine democracy in the negotiations process.

"The fundamental difference" between their approaches to the purpose of negotiations, says De Klerk, "lies, on the one hand, in our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible; and, on the other hand, in the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power (to a constituent assembly) before a proper Transitional Constitution is negotiated." The ANC insists there can be no movement on a transitional government until government accepts that a sovereign constituent assembly will draw up a new constitution.

While government "firmly believes in democracy," said De Klerk, which "entails universal adult suffrage and majority decision-making procedures," the ANC's suggestion "that simple majority decision-making is the sole essential feature of modern democracy is over-extending the notion. A far more fundamental feature of modern democratic states is the extent to which all citizens enjoy meaningful participation and fair representation in government institutions." Government did not accept the ANC's reduction of SA politics to a battle between black and white; this "ironically exposes the ANC's approach to be founded upon outdated racial considerations."

It was dangerous to think that the road to democracy was simple, he went on. Mere majoritarianism was not sufficient to bring peace to SA. The "exclusion of significant minority political parties from decision-making regarding a matter as fundamental as the terms of a future constitution would be courting disaster," said De Klerk, who presented government's proposals for a transitional constitution.

UCT political scientist David Welsh, a DP adviser on constitutional affairs at Codesa, believes the NP should forget about a constitutionally enjoined coalition on the grounds that they do not work. He advises the ANC to show statesmanship, plus acceptance of a "pact" with the NP and other major players, which embodies a broad-based coalition for a period of about 10 years. In that time, says Welsh, the country could settle down and hopefully become a political system in which normal competition could occur.

The problem with this approach is that the ANC says there is no successful precedent for it; and there is no example of such a pact working in acutely divided societies, says the NP. Solemn pacts can simply be torn up afterwards. Trust is unfortunately not something that can be guaranteed in a constitution. ■

Strategy is of grave concern, says Meyer

STAR 10/7/92
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The ANC's response to the State President's letter contained matters representing serious points of difference which would have to be dealt with at great length and discussed multilaterally, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In his initial response to the ANC's memorandum to the Government yesterday, Mr Meyer said matters such as the ANC's refusal to co-operate with the Government and other parties on the subject of violence would have to be discussed multilaterally.

"A further cause of grave concern is the ANC's strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation, rather than continuing the search for acceptable and inclusive solutions through negotiations."

On a more conciliatory note, Mr Meyer said the exchange of letters and memoranda between the Government and the ANC was useful because it

helped to identify points of difference as well as a possible basis for further discussions.

He said that from an initial analysis of the letter, it appeared that the ANC had raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties. These matters were receiving attention from the Government.

"Other matters which were raised in the ANC's letter represent serious points of difference and will be dealt with at greater length in the Government's response next week."

● The Government would discharge its duty at all costs and not allow South Africa to slide back into isolation and helpless stagnation, President F W de Klerk told the federal youth congress of the National Party in Stellenbosch last night.

"We will make certain that we use every avenue to get negotiations back on track, to ensure progress and do our duty in ending violence and fighting radicalism," he said. — Sapa.

Inkatha dragged into fray

3041

STPAC 10/7/92

IN AN important annexure to his letter to President de Klerk, Mr Mandela goes further than ever before in confirming the ANC's conviction that the Government and the IFP are in political cahoots.

He also launches a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk for condemning ANC involvement in violence, but maintaining silence on the IFP.

In his letter to Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela says: "The Government and the IFP have always acted together. We have yet to see a single condemnation of the IFP even though there are numerous cases of the IFP planning and instigating violence."

The annexure, entitled "SA Government support for the IFP", charges Pretoria with "supplying, arming and training Inkatha in order to foil and extend violence (and)", as indicated in the Trust Feed case, security forces have deliberately acted to extend Inkatha control over territory and people.

"The failure of the Government to implement agreements and recommendations regarding hostels, and their actions concerning so-called traditional weapons, serve the same purpose."

The newest element of the ANC's line of attack is that regarding Mr de Klerk's perceived inconsistency in "failing to condemn IFP violence or the public display of dangerous weapons by IFP supporters". Mr de Klerk is taken to task for never having condemned the activities of two Kwazulu members of parliament, Samuel Jamile and David Nkombela, who were charged with serious crimes of violence.

The document also asks why Mr de Klerk, who spoke in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, "made no comment on inflammatory remarks made by the leader of the IFP". □

It's up to Govt to break the deadlock, says Mandela

ANC takes harsh line

STAR
10/7/92

304A

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

The ANC declared last night the "war of memoranda" was over, and said only "practical steps" by the Government to address the organisation's demands could get negotiations under way again.

The ANC released a strongly worded letter from Nelson Mandela to President de Klerk, which suggests that formal negotiations can resume only once one side or the other has been forced to give considerable ground.

While saying there was "a way forward" for negotiations, the ANC placed the responsibility for breaking the deadlock squarely on the Government.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that if there was no positive response to the organisation's latest communication, the ANC had "no options left other than mass action... Already a number of forces are massing to ensure we win democracy. In a few weeks we will be hearing these voices much more forcefully."

In his letter the ANC president warned Mr de Klerk: "You may succeed in delaying, but never preventing, the transition of South Africa to a democracy."

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The 10-page letter, in response to a letter from Mr de Klerk released on Thursday last week, was accompanied by three detailed annexes. At a media conference in Johannesburg Mr Mandela read out a short statement, after which he left and Mr Ramaphosa and other senior ANC officials answered questions.

Mr Mandela rejected out of hand Mr de Klerk's earlier response to ANC demands, and said the ANC no longer believed the Government was committed to a demo-

P.T.O.



"You have not addressed the issues" . . . Nelson Mandela talks at yesterday's press conference.

Picture: Stephen Davimes



ANALYSIS Talking tough on the ANC's request for peace and democracy armbands on the field

Tuning in to the Luyt show

SITTING in his spacious oak-panelled office at the Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg, Transvaal rugby chief Louis Luyt shoots straight from the hip: "Nobody is my master".

"Five years ago when the ANC was still banned I went to see its leaders in London, all over the place in fact. I know them very well. I was castigated for this in front of television cameras by the present State President who was then a Minister.

Put me in jail

"I told him, 'Look nobody's my master.

"Are you gonna put me in jail, take my passport or put me under house arrest for this? You must tell me what you want to do about me because I want peace much the same as every-

■ CONTROVERSY From the scrum

rugby supremo Louis Luyt passes

some tough talk to **Themba Molefe:**

Some of an
10/7/92

body else'.

Luyt insists that he does not like making political statements and that what he says is not political.

"Don't ask me to make a political statement because I do not want to make one.

"But I'll tell you this: If you pacify the ANC or the PAC then you have Inkatha against you, the AWB against you. And that is not defusing things.

"You will recall that I am a founder of the Democratic Party because

while I am apolitical I got upset with what was going on. I called the three leaders - Denis Worall, Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin - to my house and told them we had to have some way to get peace back in this country.

"So, that's how the State President, FW de Klerk, has taken a lot of our philosophies and why he has done what he has done."

Of the ANC, which he says he has no intention of fighting, Luyt says: "I met them because I wanted peace.

"I undertook with Thabo Mbeki (ANC foreign affairs director) to try to arrange - at a neutral venue - a meeting with Pik Botha (Minister of Foreign Affairs) to resolve the problem so that they could come back into the country.

My private jet

"That's true because I even wrote a memorandum to the Government on this.

"I even said to Mbeki that I would make available my private jet to fly them to Zambia or Botswana or wherever.

"I was castigated by PW Botha: And rugby, I have done my bit, at least," says Luyt.

He says there is no battle between him and the ANC.

"Ask Nelson Mandela why he always asks me to come and sit next to him during our meetings at She' House (ANC headquarters in Johannesburg)."

Whites have constituencies

However, Luyt says the ANC should not believe it is the only party with constituencies. "Even the whites have constituencies."

Democracy, he says, is not telling someone what to do or dictating to him.

About the current controversy surrounding him, the ANC and sporting bodies' call to sportspeople to take a stand on violence, peace and democracy, Luyt says politics and sport do not mix.

Massacre victims

"What should I do if the State President asks me tomorrow to wear a National Party flag?

He was referring to the decision that rugby players should wear "peace and democracy" stickers or armbands at forthcoming matches against New Zealand and Australia.

"Boipatong massacre victims should not be separated from other victims of violence nationally."



He has spoken ... Louis Luyt lays down the law from the 'pulpit'.

“But I'll tell you this: if you pacify the ANC or the PAC then you will have Inkatha against you, the AWB against you. And that is not defusing things”

“Boipatong massacre victims should not be separated from other victims of violence”



Scrumming down with Louis Luyt

Place of birth: Karoo, Northern Cape, 60 years ago.
Education: Master of Business Administration, lawyer, Doctor of Philosophy and currently studying for a doctorate in law.
Hobbies: None but loves history.
Likes: Peace
Dislikes: Poverty. Father was peasant farm labourer earning equivalent of R3 a month.
Involvement in rugby administration: Purely accidental but played for Western Province in younger days. Also shareholder of Moroka Swallows Limited Football Club.
Present position: President of the Transvaal Rugby Union.

Codesa is UN bound

Sowefaw 10/7/92

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FRESH IMPETUS Codesa participants gear up to voice their views to world body next Wednesday:

ALL 19 participants at Codesa will address a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council next week.

And, in another development, the UN is not sending special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance on a goodwill mission to South Africa, according to Security Council chairman Mr Jose Jesus.

The emergency meeting in

New York next Wednesday to discuss possible UN involvement in South Africa was requested by the Organisation of African Unity after being asked to intervene by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Mandela and Makwetu are scheduled to address the UN.

See story page 2

Codesa parties will address UN council

Sowetan 10/7/92

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1/10

By Themba Molefe

■ UN CALLED emergency meeting to discuss

SA negotiation crisis brewing at Codesa:

ALL 19 participants at Codesa, including major players the ANC and the Government, may address a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council next week.

And, in another twist in the South African negotiations crisis, the UN is not sending special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance on a goodwill mission to South Africa, according to the chairman of the Security Council, Mr Jose Jesus.

The emergency meeting in New York next Wednesday to discuss possible UN involve-

ment in South Africa was requested by the Organisation of African Unity after being asked to intervene by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu last week.

Mandela and Makwetu are scheduled to address the UN meeting.

In a letter to UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Wednesday, Foreign

Minister Mr Pik Botha requested that all parties in Codesa be allowed to present their views to the Security Council's emergency sitting.

He also welcomed Boutros-Ghali's proposal to send Vance to South Africa.

Jose said Boutros-Ghali had not decided to send Vance to the country as it was not clear if "all parties" in South Africa agreed on such a mission.

ANC rejects talks with Govt

Sowetan 10/7/92

304A

By Themba Molefe

■ TOUGH STANCE

ANC LEADER Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected President FW de Klerk's call for face-to-face talks to break the negotiations deadlock.

Instead, the organisation has issued an ultimatum, demanding that open elections be held before the end of the year.

In a snap response, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer rejected allegations by the ANC of security force collusion in the violence.

In an optimistic note, Meyer said the memorandum "floating" between the two parties was "useful because it helps to identify points of difference and the possible basis for further discussions."

"However, it is not a satisfactory substitute for direct negotiations, which remain the best way of dealing with the current impasse," Meyer said.

The ANC president, however, told an international Press conference yesterday that De Klerk's response to the organisation's 14-point demands did not address reasons leading to the negotiations

Mandela makes urgent

call for open elections :

crisis.

He said the reasons were fundamentally the National Party's refusal to accept majority rule and end the violence.

"The essence of the crisis is that the ruling National Party keeps looking for ways to exercise power even if it loses a democratic election.

"The main task of the ANC is to bring democracy to the nation as a whole," Mandela said.

Mandela said the Government had refused to acknowledge its complicity in the violence. The Government, he said, had also ignored the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that Koevoet and 32 Battalion be disbanded.

He said members of hit squads remained unpunished and had been reintegrated into the South African Defence Force.

Both President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela have claimed democracy as their mistress, in the blizzard of words that has passed between the ANC and the National Party in the past weeks.

Perhaps the public can hardly help the fact that they do not share this avowed passion, or even understand what is going on.

The newspapers and political analysts don't always help. Almost to a man, they told us to ignore the harsh rhetoric of De Klerk's radio and television broadcast last Thursday night and read the fine print instead.

Embedded in the proposals were supposed to be concessions that in the long run could lure the ANC back to the negotiating table.

Alas, there was no such thing. De Klerk's updated proposals merely put flesh on the NP's constitutional plans and offered nothing significantly new since the deadlocked Codesa II talks.

They are proposals that would permanently entrench the NP in government, and provide the party with a veto on the constitution: the right to say when and if majority rule can come into being in South Africa.

In fact, in offering so little, in such a gung-ho manner, De Klerk's political body language was to tell the ANC to do its damndest.

The 70 percent special majority that is required to approve a final constitution, regarded as one of the NP's concessions, involves both the national assembly and the senate sitting together.

While the NP has agreed that the senate will be elected, it will not be by straight proportional representation and hence will have an inbuilt distortion.

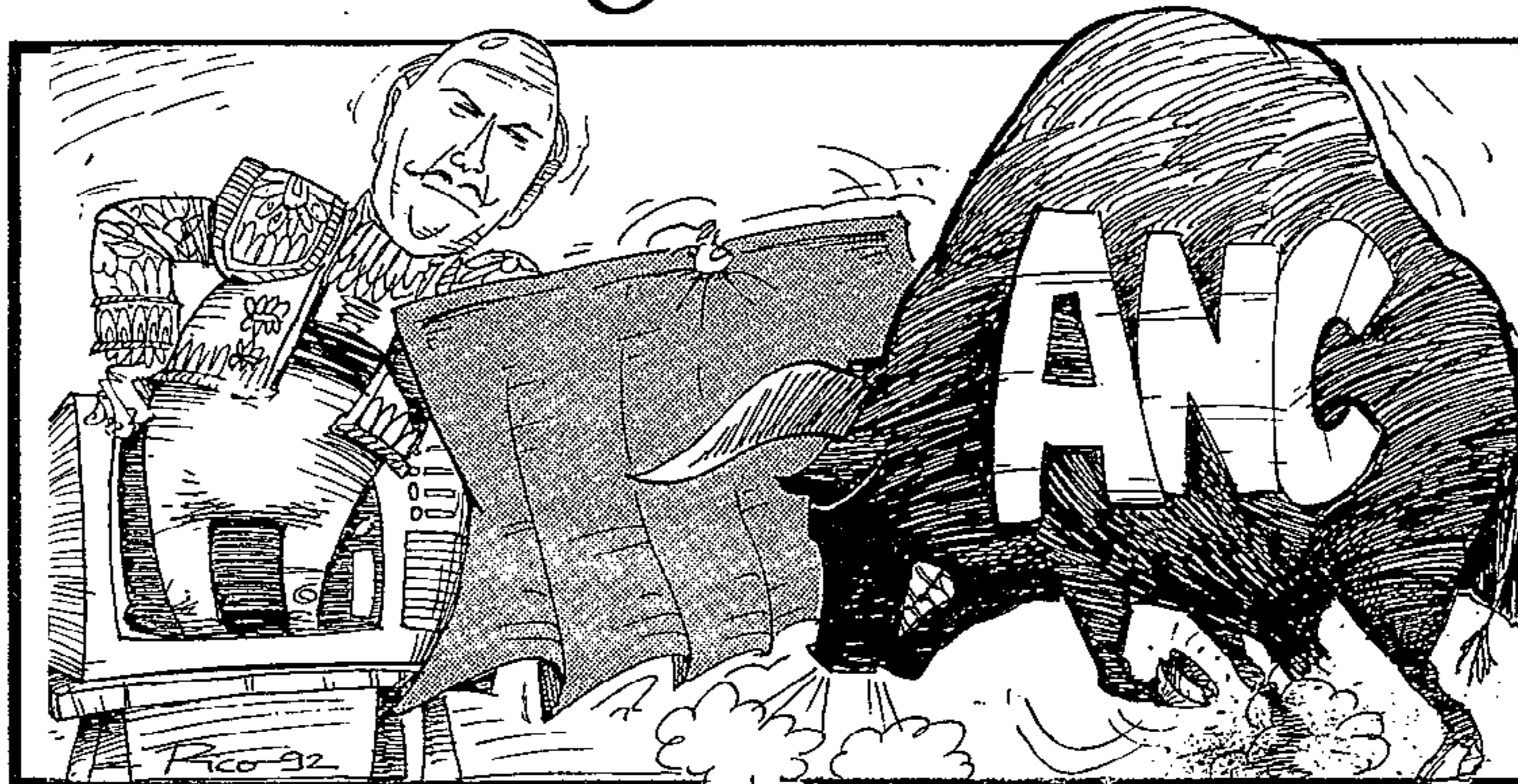
Every region (and the regions will be based on the country's 10 development regions) will have an equal number of seats. The inevitable effect of equal weighting of all the regions will be to load the more rural, more conservative parts of the country with a disproportionately high representation in the senate.

Thus, the northern Cape with perhaps half a million voters will have the same number of seats as the PWV with, say, eight million voters. The ANC, with a hypothetical 70 percent support in the PWV, will earn the same number of seats with 5,6-million votes as the NP with 350 000 votes in the northern Cape.

Maybe there is a rationale for that in the final constitution as there is for the similar composition of the United States senate. But is it fair to incorporate its distortions into a constitution-making body that already has a threshold mark of 70 percent? It could mean that the mark is really closer to 75 percent.

The ANC and its allies would have to win more than 70 percent of the vote merely to achieve a final, democratic constitution at all. That is a tall order.

What FWV was really telling Mandela:



Do your damndest!

w/mail 10/7-16/7/92

304A

In his television address last week, FW de Klerk presented himself as the reasonable man. But beneath the benign tone lay a much harsher message



**By
PHILLIP VAN
NIEKERK**

De Klerk's memorandum says that "for the amendment or substitution of the transitional constitution, a majority of 70 percent will be required and 75 percent for the Charter of Fundamental Rights".

The crucial point is that the memorandum mentions no deadlock-breaking mechanism, no time-frame within which a new constitution has to be agreed upon.

Instead De Klerk says: "If the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution."

In a second general election the ANC, having been rendered impotent and unable to deliver by having to share power with the NP for three years, could fare even worse than in the first.

Thus, the ANC's worst fears of being trapped into legitimising an interim constitution that would remain the final constitution until such time as the NP decides it has had enough of power and agrees to relin-

quish its minority veto are confirmed.

Nothing is said in De Klerk's special annexe on constitutional proposals about the composition of the government, the most controversial of the NP's interim constitutional proposals. Here one has to take a clue from an earlier part of the memorandum.

Note the language in which De Klerk couches his proposals: "Universally acknowledged constitutional mechanisms like bi-cameralism, regional autonomy (federalism), effective proportional participation in government by all significant parties ... serve precisely the purpose of curbing majority domination."

What this gobbledygook amounts to is that no single party can form a government. Any party with "substantial" support will automatically be part of the executive.

Behind the high-minded language of political science, De Klerk is attempting to do what the NP did in their previous failed experiments of

grand apartheid and the tri-cameral parliament: to defy the arithmetic of democracy and to maintain minority control, all at vast expense to the country.

The effect of the NP's proposals is government as a permanent dictatorship of all the leading political parties. In short, you will not be able to vote it out of power, and there will be no opposition.

Let us be practical for a minute. Would you like to see the combined arrogance of the NP, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party carving up the spoils of office? Who will be outside the government serving as a watchdog? The Black Sash?

Will an ANC member of the national assembly attack an ANC minister for a rise in the bread price? Or will his criticisms only be heard when an IFP minister raises the bread price? But what if the decision to raise the bread price was taken by the cabinet on the basis of consensus?

The ANC has acknowledged that a form of power-sharing, a government

of national unity, will have to be formed as a temporary first step in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country. The movement has also been open to discussion on the question of minority protections in the constitution and other democratic guarantees.

None of these questions can really be dealt with in a forthright way until the end product — majority rule — is guaranteed.

But there is something even more dangerous in the proposals.

While the day-to-day running of government will be a form of consensual government by cabal, the constitution of the country, far from being a uniting force, is ultimately rendered the most divisive area in politics. It is the arena where political parties will squabble over power, attempting to overcome or resist the threshold of 70 percent.

This has less to do with political science than with a bad habit of messing with the constitution that the NP developed back in the 1950s, when they loaded the senate to disenfranchise the coloureds, and refined in the 1980s to bring in the gerrymandered tri-cameral parliament.

If one follows the proposals literally, the first election in this country will be fought over what kind of constitution we will have.

In Namibia, many South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) activists hoped that their party would not get the two thirds needed in the November 1989 election to write the constitution on their own. They wanted the constitution to be as inclusive and non-controversial as possible, which it is, and which is why the Namibian transition has been relatively so easy.

One of the most disturbing features of the NP proposals is their slippery, eel-like quality. There is more in what they don't tell us than in what they do. But they tell us enough to be deeply bothered.

What is equally disturbing is the absence of voices, particularly from within the liberal press, raised against them. Instead, one has the sense that the ANC, by rejecting De Klerk's proposals, is being an unreasonable party-pooper.

White liberals have fallen for yet another clever sleight of hand by De Klerk. The motherhood and melktert concept in our politics is negotiations, not majority rule.

The desired outcome of the constitutional negotiations, in this perspective, is a compromise between the NP and the ANC, not a constitution that enshrines the will of the people.

Which raises the most dangerous facet of De Klerk's proposals. No matter how many eminent professors from Harvard tell us otherwise, there is ultimately only one explanation for the rejection of majority rule, and it is a racist one.

Mandela puts the ball in FW's court

W/MAIL

10/7 - 16/7/92

30/4/92

THE African National Congress has rejected President FW de Klerk's hard-line response to its preconditions for the resumption of talks and smashed the ball back into the president's court, urging him for the sake of the country to "find a way to address the demands we have placed before you."

The tone of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's memorandum to the state president released on Thursday was sober and measured, eschewing the emotional rhetoric that has accompanied much of the political squabbling between the country's two major political parties. But it was in deadly earnest, warning that in charting a way out of the crisis there are "hardly any points of convergence" between the National Party and the ANC.

De Klerk last week accused the ANC of fabricating a crisis to sabotage negotiations and launch a mass mobilisation campaign to seize power undemocratically. He alleged that the ANC had fallen under the sway of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mandela is straightforward in his rejection of De Klerk's claims, which his memorandum says was made worse by a number of "factual inaccuracies, distortions, and blatant party political propaganda" in the manner in which he raised the issues.

He also rejects NP calls for talks about talks to get the negotiations up and running again.

"The call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable," the memorandum says. "We would sit down to no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and eliminating violence."

The battle between the government and the ANC is now on centre court, but no one appears to be serving up the aces.

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

The memorandum, drawn up after an ANC National Working Committee meeting this week, continues the dialogue by document that has replaced the bilateral and multiparty Codesa talks suspended by the ANC in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

This has meant that for the first time the full debate between the ANC and the government is in public, clearly exposing the parameters of a basic deadlock between the two parties.

It also means the ping-pong dialogue is couched as much with an eye on the international and domestic community, and at securing the moral high ground, as at responding to one another.

The ANC's response yesterday details and motivates charges that the NP is holding out for an undemocratic constitutional solution, of government complicity in violence, of the involvement of the security forces in the fomenting and escalating of violence and of government support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is likely to be an effective counter-smash to De Klerk's attack on the ANC last week, prompting an inevitable further riposte from De Klerk and his party.

The dialogue is not a substitute for negotiations. The NP and ANC memoranda make it clear that there has been no movement towards resolution since the breakdown of talks.

Rather, they are statements of position in advance of the increasingly inevitable showdown on the street, specifically the strike next month.

Yet at the same time, the ANC memorandum offers De Klerk a way out by once again appealing to him to "recognise the gravity of the crisis".

He asks De Klerk to "find a way to address the demands we have placed before you with regards to the negotiations deadlock and those relating to the violence so that negotiations can become meaningful and be vested with the urgency that the situation requires".

Mandela takes De Klerk to task for the undemocratic nature of his proposals, elevating the transitional proposals to the focus of negotiations, thus betraying a "pre-occupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the NP".

He says De Klerk's statement that the purpose of negotiations according to the NP is "our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible" is a "novel description of the purpose of negotiations ... and bears very little resemblance to the Declaration of Intent" adopted at Codesa I in December.

He says that in the light of the ANC's proposals, outlined in the document, it is hard to understand "why your party persists in seeking to impose undemocratic solutions".

Mandela makes it clear that its offer at Codesa II, that the constituent assembly should take decisions on the basis of 70 percent, has been rescinded and taken back to the original position of two thirds. The ANC is demanding that the constituent assembly be a sovereign body and not subject to a veto by the senate or upper house.

The ANC president again sets out what he sees as the government's blame for the township violence.

Mandela concludes that failure to respond by dealing with the demands can "only exacerbate the crisis" and that: "You may succeed in delaying but never in preventing the transition of South Africa to a democracy".



Nelson Mandela ... 'Hardly any convergence' Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Next Steps In S. Africa

TOWNSHIP political violence rocks South Africa, constitutional talks have collapsed, and bitter recriminations go on between the white minority government and the African National Congress. These events stand in bold relief to the optimism that prevailed in the country only months ago. But it would be wrong to conclude that a full regression into civil disorder or worse is under way. South Africans committed to the peace process and a reconstructed nation are trying to ensure that the slide is reversed.

It helps to look to that future moment when South Africa's staggering economic problems and the legacy of racial disparities fall to a new multiracial democratic government. Measured against that prospect, the current political turmoil begins to lose resolution. As dismaying as things are now, they shrink against the necessary job of undoing apartheid's deeply embedded injustices and building a truly democratic and equitable order. That is reason enough for leaders on all sides to turn from incendiary rhetoric and seek to resolve the crisis.

That means first that the government must go beyond condemnation of township violence. President Frederik de Klerk must credibly guarantee all South Africans that his security forces will be brought under control and will no longer serve as accomplices in the continuing murders and revenge killings. Given the poisonous relations between the government and ANC supporters, it may take an international presence or body to help bring about that result.

But ending the persistent black-on-black violence is hardly the responsibility of government forces alone. Blame for the carnage must be shared by all the factions, including Zulu supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the police, and even grassroots sympathizers of the ANC. They all share responsibility for what happens next.

Resuming the transition to democracy also means removing all impediments to a resumption of constitutional talks. Some accommodation to power-sharing during the transition period, once a distasteful prospect to Mr. de Klerk's government, is an alternative that can no longer be avoided. Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali has signaled the United Nations' willingness to play a role as mediator, observer, or fact-finder in getting the process on track. All sides, if they wish to claim a legitimate place in the next South Africa, should accept his offer.

We're building higher walls — when what we need is a bridge

STAR 117192

POPLE are talking about leaving again. This time around there are many middle-class blacks among them. The hope that blossomed in 1990 has wilted. The trust in each other's intentions that was developing is gone. Those who came back from London, Sydney, Houston, Toronto and elsewhere now ask themselves quietly and disbelievingly whether they have made a terrible mistake.

Not even an historic international tour — involving the one sport which could truly capture the hearts of all South Africans — has made any impact on our free-fall into depression and acrimony. Instead, it has itself become a symbol of our mean-spirited crisis of confidence. Vicious exchanges about plastic armbands serve the same purpose.

In the townships, people are sick of the system and sick of the struggle. They will stick with the struggle if they have to. In the suburbs, the builders are at it again, adding additional metres of concrete to walls which were first raised in the 1980s. Even when the walls are painted over, you can see where the lines of fear join. It is like reading the inside of a tree trunk: it tells our history.

People are hoarding what little money they have, at a loss to know what a "safe investment" is in the new South Africa. Estate agents plumb the depths in trying to reinvigorate a teetering property market. "Look Ma, No Squatters!" they blare. They might as well say "no dogs".

How did we get here? It seems so very, very stupid. A negotiated settlement is still the most likely political outcome in South Africa. We are not yet on the brink of the Yugoslavia option.

What has happened is that we have retreated headlong, in a wake created by the politicians, to the attitudes and circumstances of South Africa pre-1990. On the surface, the exchange of accusatory memoranda between President de Klerk and Mr Mandela differs from what went before

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN

Johnson



WHILE the killing continues, there will be no negotiations. Here the primary onus falls on the Government.

only insofar as Mr Mandela is out of prison and Mr P W Botha is out of action.

It is below the surface that we must look in order to reach a cool, reasoned assessment of our situation, rather than surrendering to blind panic. From where I sit, I proceed on the assumption that the truth of our situation lies at a point somewhere between what the ANC is saying and what the Government is saying. That point shifts from day to day, and the challenge is to keep up with it.

In terms of this analysis, there are two fundamental, interrelated causes of the current crisis. They are the violence, and the erosion of belief, on both sides, in the sincerity of the other.

To deal with the second first: the ANC emerged from Codesa 2 in shock, suddenly convinced that the Government was not after all committed to a truly democratic outcome in negotiations, but rather a gerrymandered constitution which allowed it to retain power beyond any electoral support it could hope for. The ANC believed it had come close to being suckered, and the suspension of talks coupled with mass action is the result. It now believes it will have to force,

rather than talk, Pretoria into a deal it (the ANC) can live with.

From the Government side, it believes that the ANC is reverting to fighting for a classical all-or-nothing transfer of power *a la* the decolonising Africa, with no reference to South Africa's peculiarities.

The magnetic force that will bring both back to the table is the certainty that neither has the power to secure its ideal solution, however much it would like to. But this force can only be unleashed when a degree of trust has been re-established. This is not trust in the sense of fondness for one another, or friendship. It is trust based on the knowledge that both sides' options are limited, and directly reliant on one another. This brings us to the violence.

It, unlike arguments over special majorities, senates and regional legislatures, is non-negotiable. While the killing continues, there will be no negotiations. Here, at this particular point on the truth-continuum, the primary onus falls on the Government. President de Klerk does not have the power to put a stop to all the violence, just like that. No one does, either jointly or severally — South Africa is too far gone.

What he does have the power to do, however, is to take the unambiguous practical steps which many of us in the media, and more recently the Goldstone Commission, have been begging for since mid-1990. These steps, including the banning of weapons, solving the hostel tragedy and punishing State miscreants, will certainly save some lives immediately, and have a very good chance of beginning to rebuild shattered trust. They are the key to reconvening Codesa.

The uniqueness of our situation is that an agreement is still possible — even probable — whereby one leader gives more than he is forced to, and another takes less than he is able to. That is a shining, noble and deeply hopeful prospect. We the people can't allow it to be thrown away.

We're building higher walls — when what we need is a bridge

STR 117192

30441

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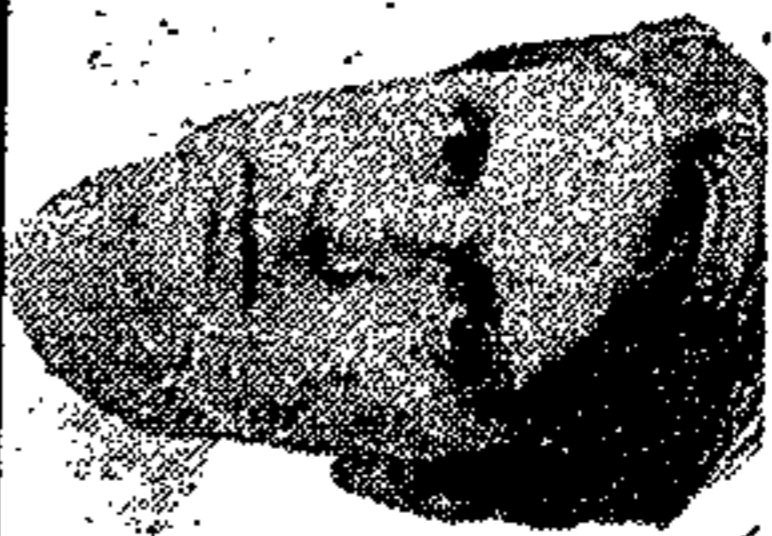
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Govt must end crisis - Delport

POLITICAL STAFF

A TOP Government negotiator yesterday accepted it was the responsibility of the De Klerk administration to take the initiative in breaking the negotiations deadlock. This comes after ANC president Nelson

Mandela, in a strongly worded letter to F W de Klerk, said negotiations could get under way again only if the Government responded with "practical steps" to the ANC's demands. Mandela refused De Klerk's request for a face-to-face meeting until such steps had been taken.

Speaking in Stellenbosch at the National Party's youth congress, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Tertius Dr Delport said: "The Government is the trustee of constitutional government in South Africa, and must therefore see that there is progress. It is the Government's responsibility to take the initiative to get out of this stalemate situation."

Emotional

However, Delport had harsh words for the ANC. He said the Government was being accused of causing the deadlock, but it had consistently asked the ANC to continue talks and to table its differences.

"The so-called deadlock we are in is due to the fact that the ANC has not been able to move away from emotional politics."

He said 1992 could not be allowed to end without a further step along the negotiations road. The ANC's latest communication with the Government was being considered in this light.

STAR
11/7/92

30/11

Codesa (304A)
is dead, SOUTH
rally told (117-1577/92)

By Mluleki Gantsho

CODESA is dead and President FW de Klerk is a horned devil. So say the thousands of protesters who marched to the Lingelethu Town Council on Saturday.

SACP, Cosatu and ANC supporters attended the march led by Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP, and Mr Sam Shilowa, secretary general of Cosatu.

Speaking at the rally at the Site C Stadium, Shilowa said Cosatu had at first supported the decision to negotiate because "we thought the regime was genuine. But since the March 17 referendum, De Klerk has grown horns".

Regional ANC executive member Mr Vincent Diba also addressed the crowd, saying: "Codesa is dead; let us continue with rolling mass action."

Hani and Shilowa also addressed a rally in Mossel Bay on Sunday.

Break free from fear ^{304A} Stoffel

STELLENBOSCH. — The National Party could win the next election if it mobilised everyone who thought the same as it did, the party's secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night.

"That is the target we shall set ourselves," he said at the NP federal youth congress. "That is why our opponents are using their present tactics, because they realise they will not win as easily as they thought they might."

Dr Van der Merwe said intimidation, not violence, was the biggest enemy in South Africa.

"It is bad enough when thousands of people die, but worse

when this results in millions being afraid. Intimidation is dehumanising and takes away one's dignity when one lives in fear."

The only way out was for the community to resist intimidation from small groups.

"The NP's task is to find a way out of this yoke."

"The irony is that the so-called freedom movements are enslaving the population in fear and people are waiting to be freed from this."

"This is the huge task waiting for the NP, which is at present the only party standing in the way of total chaos."

Replying to a question whether the NP should not

change its name, Dr Van der Merwe said history did not provide good examples of parties in South Africa changing names.

"The party's name may be changed, but the character stays the same. People know the NP will do as it promises and can be trusted."

"Our reputation is not altogether bad and there is much good, too, so I think we should think carefully before deciding to change our name."

■ Minister of Agriculture Dr Kraai van Niekerk said the youth had to ask itself whether it had the guts to rise out of the ashes of discrimination and build a new South Africa.

"Sometimes I doubt if they have the guts because there is too much talk and too little action," he said when closing the congress. "Sixty percent of the country's population is under 20 and we have a chance to turn them round and bind this generation to democracy."

He said the question asked would be how many African National Congress members had been signed over to the NP, "or we may not have another congress like this next year. We do not have time to waste".

The youth was living on the eve of new visions and possibilities and should take up the challenge. — Sapa.

304A
AR 11/7/92

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Codesa 'futile, dangerous' (304A)

PRETORIA. — As long as Codesa tried to reconcile a hotch-potch of differences and clashing interests with central powers, it could be nothing but "futile and even dangerous" Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday the government should decide whether it wanted to recognise the independent regions or states claimed by various black leaders, or whether it wanted to go ahead with one constitution in which the rights and freedom of the people were not acknowledged. — Sapa

Cobwebs still choking Codesa

SOUTH

11/7-15/17/92. 1192

304A

By Quentin Wilson

NO INDICATION was given this week that the cobwebs choking Codesa would be cleared. According to ANC and NP sources, the "waiting game" in the negotiations deadlock continues.

And it looks set to continue for some time.

Mr Roelf Meyer, chief negotiator for the government, says Pretoria is holding its breath until the AN/C/Cosatu/SACP mass action campaign loses its momentum.

"We have to sweat it out until the end of August," Meyer said. "We will probably only be able to proceed with negotiations after the mass action campaign."

Speaking in his personal capacity, Mr Jacko Marce, chief director of NP publications, agreed and said he did not think the government could meet all of the ANC's 14 demands.

"A lot of the demands are nothing more than pure rhetoric. Of course, some of the demands are valid but we have to negotiate them," Marce said.

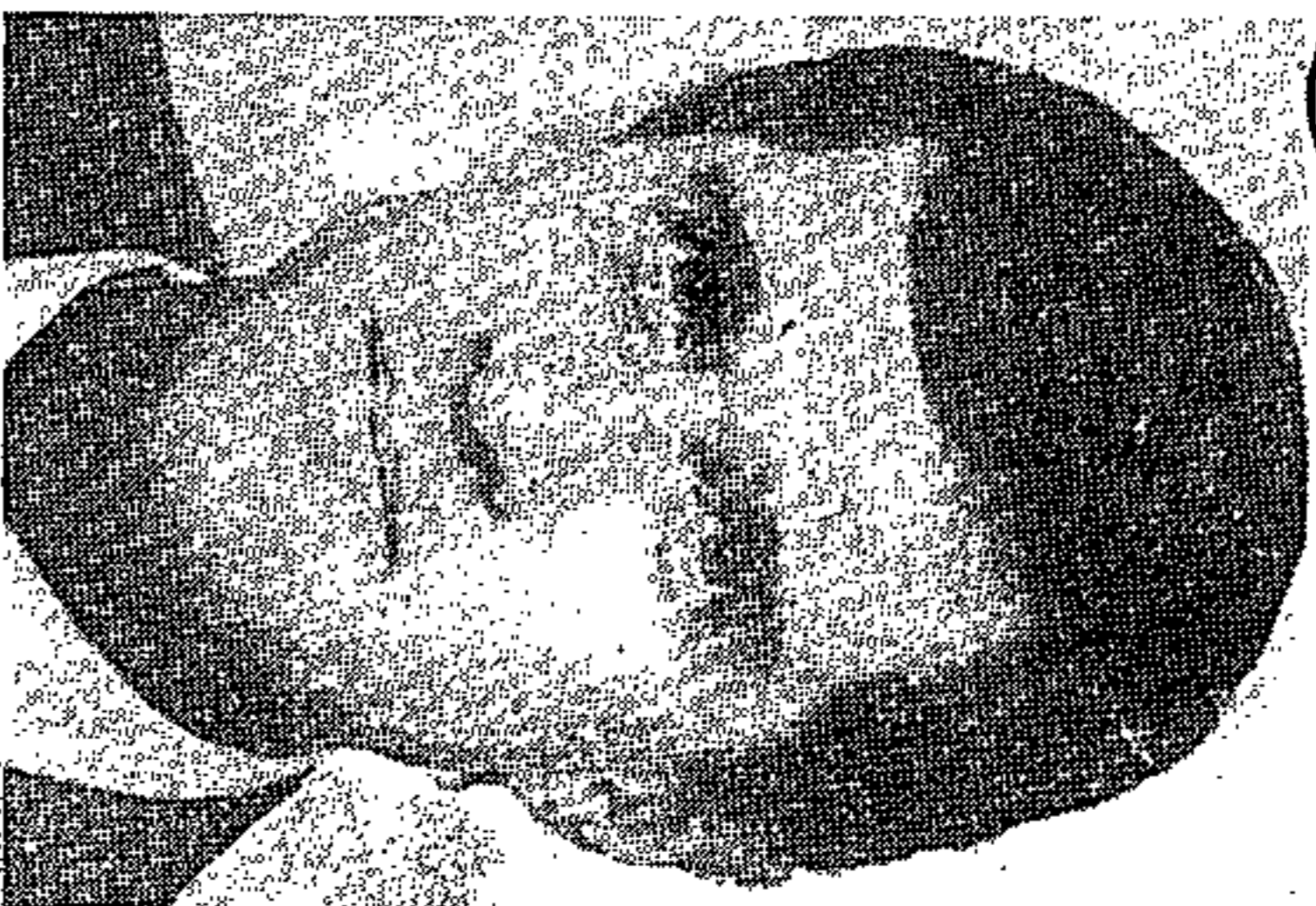
"There is a lull in talks as the ANC has decided to use extra-mural activities to try and twist the government's arm and force them to make concessions they would not have wanted to make.

"We will have to wait until their mass action campaign ends. By that time, they would have played their trump card, and, whatever the outcome, we could go from there. Until then, we have to sit tight," Marce said.

A week has passed since the ANC suspended its involvement in Codesa. So far, the conditions laid down for the government to meet, which include an international commission of inquiry into the massacre at Boipatong, have largely been ignored.

Mr Saki Macazoma, ANC spokesperson, repeated the steps to be taken before the ANC is prepared to resume talks.

"It is perfectly clear. We have put to them a number of demands that are intended to move this country towards peace. If they decide to implement these demands, then there will be talks."



Roelf Meyer

factions within the SACP and the ANC were not happy with what was being negotiated at Codesa and that they initiated, before Codesa II, a strategy to abort the negotiation process by deliberately creating a deadlock."

According to another ANC spokesperson, Mr Carl Niehaus, the ANC is convinced the government is not taking their demands seriously.

"Unfortunately, the prospect of getting meaningful talks back on track seems to be more and more unlikely.

The SACP's Mr Chris Hani likened De Klerk's response to "an exercise in sabre-rattling" and said "it is only sustained mass action that will bring about a properly-elected government now."

The attempts of business groups to shuttle between the ANC and NP have not produced an end to the deadlock. Despite cajoling each camp to back down from their incompatible stances, a long winter of street confrontation is widely expected until one side is forced to budge.

Macazoma said.

In his response to the ANC demands, President FW de Klerk proposed tri-lateral talks with the ANC, Inkatha and the government where they would discuss the demands but added: "All the information at our disposal points inevitably to the conclusion that



Cape Town
SOUTH 11/7-15/7/92
voters wise up
for elections

304A

THE WESTERN Cape's "don't vote" tradition switches track soon when 15 local organisations take part in a voter education course.

The voter training programme, hosted by the Peninsula Technikon's Centre for Continuing Education, forms part of a national programme training 320 people.

The programme is being run by the Johannesburg-based Matla Trust, formed in 1990 to help provide material and financial assistance to prepare for a democratic society in South Africa.

The Western Cape training course will run for two weeks starting on Monday and for another two weeks in August.

It will cover aspects such as canvassing, polling booth organisation, election day strategy, principles of electoral law, proportional representation, publicity, voter registration, budgeting and finance.

By SEKOLA SELLO
and SAPA

THE government has slightly opened a window of hope that it may embark on fresh efforts to get the constitutional talks back on track.

This is the view of political observers following a statement by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort on Friday that "it is the government's responsibility to take the initiative to get out of this stalemate we are in".

Delpoort remarks signal hope

"The government is the trustee of constitutional government in SA and must therefore see that there is progress," said Delpoort.

Delpoort's statement follows this week's rebuttal by ANC leader Nelson Mandela for an urgent face-to-face meeting with State President FW de Klerk about the crisis in the country. Rejecting De Klerk's

proposal for an urgent meeting, Mandela reiterated his earlier stance that such a meeting would not serve any purpose. He went on to say: "We would sit down to do no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and

eliminating violence."

Mandela added: "To call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable." The ANC leader's response was contained in a 24-page memorandum addressed to De Klerk.

This was in reply to De Klerk's response to the original demands of the ANC when it announced it had pulled out of the negotiation process.

"It is unfortunate that your reply has not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum of June 26," Mandela said. "Instead, you deliberately obscure matters."

Mandela said it appeared there was agreement SA faced a "serious crisis".

"When it comes to charting a way out of the crisis, however, it is clear that there are hardly any

points of convergence." He said this was because De Klerk had chosen "to elevate a number of peripheral issues to the status of 'fundamental' ones, while relegating those of critical significance to a secondary place".

"Reaffirmations about your commitment to a negotiated resolution to the South African conflict need to be supported by stating positions which offer the potential to break the deadlock," said Mandela.

This is the second in a series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy such as 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 procedure.

Different strokes for different folks

Cliffers 12/1/92

3044

intimidated by those who do not like these views.

Similarly in a democratic system of government people who hold similar views on any given issue(s) organise themselves into a political party. They then recruit others who think alike, and together they attempt to lobby the whole nation to accept their views.

The more successful a party is in selling its views to the nation, the more powerful in terms of support the party becomes. It is important to remind readers that in selling its views to the nation, a political party must use democratic means and not coercion or violence.

Democratic means could be holding meetings, visiting people in their homes and places of work, distributing pamphlets, which explain the policies of

the party or advertising in the media.

The key to successful party organisation is democratic persuasion and not violence or coercion.

When various political parties have been established in a country and are free to operate, we then speak of a multiparty democracy or democratic pluralism. In the event of an election taking place in the country, all parties are free to canvass support for their policies.

It is important that parties be given free and equal access to print, radio and television media so they can inform voters about their policies. Voters are then able to vote for a party whose policies they feel must be supported.

A party that polls more votes than all the others in an election forms the

government and its leader assumes whatever title that particular country gives to its head of government.

A party that polls the next highest number of votes becomes the official opposition party acts as a watchdog and ensures that the governing party does not abuse its powers.

If the governing party abuses its powers, the official opposition exposes the abuse and demands an explanation from the governing party.

The official opposition party does this either through debates in parliament or by calling for a vote of no confidence in the governing party. If the governing party loses a vote of no confidence - that is, if the majority of the members of parliament indicate by means of the vote that they no longer

have confidence in the governing party - it resigns and elections are held to choose the new government.

Other smaller parties in parliament also have a duty to act as watchdogs. In other words, it is not only the official opposition party that has the duty to oppose the government.

Similarly, it is not compulsory for the opposition parties to oppose the government when there is nothing to oppose.

Therefore there are some cases where opposition parties support the governing party on a specific issue.

A recent example of this was the recent referendum where the ruling NP was supported by the smaller opposition party, the DP, in calling for a "yes" vote.

Political parties are the life blood of any democracy. Besides acting as vehicles for the promotion of divergent views they also act as vehicles for the expression of the democratic principle of freedom of association.

HERE is a Zulu saying, *Abantu abayi nganxanye bengemanz'i*, which means "people do not always follow the same direction like water in a stream".

This means that on any given issue people will most probably not think alike.

The strength of democracy is that it encourages and protects the right of people to hold divergent views and to express these divergent views without fear of being harassed or

Society must mobilise for peace

STW 12/19/2.

PETER WRIGHTON, chairman of the Premier Group, argues that politicians alone cannot decide South Africa's future


304A

ALL South Africans are deeply concerned about the deadlock in negotiations, the rise in violence and the possible repercussions of mass action. There is concern that South Africa may revert to an era of confrontation and conflict.

This is too serious to leave to political leaders alone to solve: society and, in particular, business have a crucial role to play in supporting the process of establishing a non-racial democracy through negotiations.

We at Premier would support that role. We believe the fundamental issue remains what is right, rather than who is right.

Business mobilised to ensure a "yes" vote for a negotiated settlement to achieve lasting peace and prosperity. The breakdown in negotiations is preventing the settlement which is so desperately needed to ensure a speedy and successful transition to a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

An urgent solution is necessary before further disruptive measures are taken which could preclude all hope of an early settlement. At the heart of the dead-

lock lie two different concepts of democracy. The legacy of apartheid has made it difficult for political leaders to overcome the decades of mistrust. This, combined with the inability of political parties to emerge with a unifying concept of democracy, has led to the impasse.

Violence has compounded the problem, but it is ultimately only through a political solution that lasting peace and security can be achieved. Long-term political stability requires the concern of a broad range of people to be considered.

Democracy is universally accepted to mean that both the will of the majority prevails and that minorities are able to participate effectively. Furthermore, individual rights with checks and balances are entrenched in a bill of rights and in a democratic constitution.

We are all, I am sure, anxious to see rapid progress towards stability, peace, security, prosperity, growth and democracy. As soon as possible, we wish to be able to participate in a democratic election for a constitution-making body and a joint gov-

ernment authority to oversee this transition.

It appears to be vital that a body which enjoys credibility and legitimacy draws up a constitution, applying universally accepted democratic principles and procedures.

We all have a profound desire for peace. Accordingly, the Peace Accord needs to be respected and strengthened.

The urgent steps necessary to bring about an end to the violence include:

- All political parties and the government heeding the recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone commission;

- Government acting responsibly to correct the crisis of confidence in the ability of the security forces to prevent violence and to provide protection to citizens. It should also accept responsibility for preventing human rights abuses by the security forces and ensuring the perpetrators of violence are effectively dealt with;

- Fulfilling the provisions of the Peace Accord and implementing its structures and public funding;
- Monitoring parties to the

violence, including international monitors working in conjunction with the network of credible, independent South Africans;

- The responsibility of political leaders to act to create a positive climate for peace and democracy.

South Africans should come together to discuss what peace and democracy are all about and to plan a programme to achieve this.

Constructive initiatives, including meaningful participation in the Peace Accord's structures, are also necessary. The opportunity to display support for peace and democracy by way of responsible and peaceful public actions should be considered.

We believe in this course of action to enable an effective and lasting solution to be arrived at. If a negotiated settlement is not urgently achieved, it is likely that a cycle of protests, stayaways, repression and bloodshed will follow and the economy could be irreversibly damaged.

We appeal to all South Africans to co-operate in bringing about an equitable transition to a democratic society.



The democratic idea gets lost in the squabbles

304A

S/Times 12/17/92

THE essential idea of democracy, that the just powers of government derive from the consent of the governed, seems to have been lost in the nauseating squabbles between the ANC and the National Party over the possession of power.

Those who are governed without consent, like black people in South Africa, have a right to resist, and if they have no other recourse, to rebel. The Germans, made wise by terrible suffering under Hitler, entrenched the right to resist tyranny in Article 20 of their constitution. The Americans, of course, are insufferably condescending on the subject, but they are right: power wielded without consent is tyranny, and tyranny is to be overthrown.

Where people are ruled without their consent, the result is disorder. Even minorities rebel, and they tend to win international sympathy: the IRA in Ulster, the Palestinians in Israel, the Basques in Spain, the southern peoples — the Bari and the Dinka — of the Sudan, the Aborigines of Australia and the Maoris, and hundreds of others.

South Africa is heading for a damaging confrontation in the coming weeks, perhaps months, simply because the idea of consent has been lost in the power struggle, the ANC trying to bully everybody else into giving it the power to behave more or less as the Nationalists have behaved in the past, and the Nationalists, knowing their own past, trying desperately to thwart rule by majority.

The National Party's position seems to me simply indefensible. The idea that a minority can thwart the will of the majority — hence exercising power over the majority which does not give its consent — is not merely unacceptable, but dangerous. Any such system built into a constitution will not be worth the paper it is written on.

Sooner or later, as the Nationalists must recall from their determined campaign to override English and coloured minorities when they felt themselves thwarted by the entrenched clauses of the 1910 constitution, a thwarted majority will rape the consti-

tution that perpetually frustrates its will.

The ANC position is rather better, but not much. Mr Mandela is right to demand acceptance of majority rule as being inseparable from democracy. There is, after all, no other practical way of determining the consent of the people.

However, majority rule is simply an unavoidable technical device; it is not a substitute for the principle that a government may wield no powers unless it has the consent of those whom it governs. In deeply divided societies, especially if they have powerful and cohesive minorities, the use of majority votes to impose rule on unwilling minorities also invites disaster.

Some members of the ANC constitutional team, to my knowledge, are sensitive to the danger. They have made good-faith efforts to incorporate in their constitutional proposals a variety of liberal principles which are intended to make the constitution palatable to liberals. Among these principles are the separation of powers, the sovereignty of the constitution, the independence of the judiciary, and so forth.

However, in adopting what it calls "checks and balances" the ANC has carefully excluded anything that might seriously limit the power of a majority government to do more or less as it pleases. Its view of democracy — a view that underlies its attempt to force agreement in Codesa by taking to the streets — is rooted in the idea of conquest, of a majority crushing dissident minorities.

SOME highly intelligent black people are beginning to lament the lack of a culture of tolerance in the townships, where the mere fact of belonging to a minority party may be a death sentence. Black editors increasingly lament the lack of a culture of free speech, noting that they and their reporters come under deadly threat when they strive for objectivity.

This climate of intolerance, enforced by vicious methods such as the neck-

lace or the petrol bomb through the window, is no accident: it was fostered by the ANC during its Stalinist phase. Now Stalinism has become an epithet, even in ANC ranks, and socialism is almost universally acknowledged to be a failed idea, but the notion persists that a nation can be successfully engineered from the top.

There was a time when socialists might be respected as the victims of excessive idealism, tiresome perhaps but well-meaning; that is no longer possible. They know that the consequence of giving to bureaucrats the control of all resources and the power to coerce is atrocity, as it has been in South Africa under apartheid, in Cambodia, the Soviet Union and everywhere else.

THE dream has died, the idealism has turned to cynicism, and what remains is the lust for power. Therefore, the ANC will not accept a strong federal system, despite its advantages of flexibility and dispersion of power; it will not abjure nationalisation, because private property is a means of frustrating the power of bureaucrats.

What the ANC wants, so far as I could tell from listening to a brilliant private briefing by one of its leading members, is the power that the National Party had in the past, provinces and all, to be wielded this time by the bureaucratic representatives of the majority, not of a minority. It is a formula that virtually guarantees minority rebellion, and the failure of the state.

The misery that lies ahead, tragic though it will be, may not be entirely wasted if it demonstrates to the National Party that it cannot keep power, and to the ANC that it cannot seize power. When both parties have wrestled themselves into another futile deadlock, it may be possible to revive in this country the democratic idea: that neither majority or minority can exercise any powers for which it fails to win general consent.

KEN OWEN

De Klerk must clear the logjam

SOUTH Africa has two possible routes to democracy — the quick and easy route or the long and arduous one.

The choice is in the hands of FW de Klerk — but his choice will affect all of us.

Unlocking the political logjam he has created is the key to finding solutions to the socio-economic issues needed for stability: jobs, food prices, housing, electrification, growth, education and so on.

Cosatu has put forward demands to resolve the logjam, which are not unreasonable by any standards. We face a government which:

- Insists on an interim government which includes the ANC to give credibility, but in which the NP retains almost all power;

- Insists on entrenching that government for many years;

- Insists on writing most of the new constitution at Codesa, which is packed with non-representative and unpopular parties;

- Insists on constructing a decision-making process for the "constitution-making body" which guarantees a blocking vote for the NP and its allies;

- Insists on entrenching regional autonomy so that its cronies can at least hope to hold on to their jobs.

None of these demands is acceptable to the huge majority of South Africans. Cosatu is speaking for a much wider constituency than its own membership when it says we will not accept a de-

lay in electing a constituent assembly beyond December. It is also not unreasonable to say that a constituent assembly which is democratically elected should be sovereign.

Principles

Codesa tried to proceed from intricate working group discussions behind closed doors to attempt agreements on principles in public plenary sessions. Cosatu believes:

- Negotiations must have a clear time frame, in particular that De Klerk should go by December;

- The principles must be agreed first in public, mandated negotiations;

- Details can then be

worked out, but again must be open to public scrutiny.

- The people must be involved so that the end product is credible and legitimate.

The process of transformation must itself be transformed to one which people feel they "own". Cosatu membership has become increasingly unhappy with a Codesa process which was inaccessible, hard to understand and very difficult to influence.

In the late 70s, the Wiehahn Commission eventually persuaded the government it had to accept the existence of trade unions with African membership. Government and business wanted to recognise unions only as a tool for communication. They failed. Few would now expect to negotiate with unions on a basis of communication only — strikes and lockouts are accepted as an integral part of the bargaining process.

This industrial relations system has succeeded only because there is a credible process of negotiation which gives rights and imposes responsibilities. However, busi-

STimes 12/7/92

BERNIE FANAROFF puts the unions' case for mass action

(304A)

ness, government and much of the media are asking us to agree to a political negotiation process in which the government retains all state power, business retains economic power and its power to influence the media, and the ANC and its allies are reduced to asking politely for something to be given to them.

That is begging, not bargaining.

Violence

A political solution will help to unlock the negotiation processes on socio-economic issues so that we can get down to the business of reconstruction. The government does not seem to have the will to negotiate solutions or to root out corruption, mismanagement and waste.

It also allows violence to flourish, which is a greater disincentive to investment than Jay Naidoo could ever be. Cosatu has fully backed the ANC's demands for effective action against the violence. This, more than any-

thing else, is driving people to desperation. The recent Goldstone findings are really, in many ways, a non sequitur: it would be extremely difficult for the ANC or anyone other than a proper police authority to produce documented proof of high-level government or SAP/SADF involvement in the violence.

However, there is ample proof that the state or its servants are involved — witness Trust Feed, Inkathagate, the CCB and a mass of other evidence. At the very least, government has not ensured neutral and effective policing.

The attitude of business in all this is highly questionable. If business lined up with the rest of civil society and the majority of South Africans to demand a rapid transition to real democracy, there is a much greater likelihood that we would see a quick and relatively painless transition. But most of business seems determined to dodge the issue or to line up with Mr De Klerk. That posture guarantees that the route will be the long and arduous one.

● Dr Fanaroff is national organising secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

Mombberg referendum challenge

STIMES

CAPE MENTU 12/11/97

Sunday Times Reporter

3044

THE chairman of the Simon's Town Constituency of the Democratic Party has challenged former MP Janine Mombberg to test his decision to remain in Parliament after his decision to join the ANC in a referendum involving all the residents of the area, irrespective of race.

The challenge by constituency chairman Mr Keith Gurney came after Mr Mombberg wrote to him following

the disruption of a meeting, when tear gas was thrown into the hall, at which he planned to explain his decision to join the ANC.

Mr Mombberg said he would be quite prepared to explain his decision, but he made this conditional on the

meeting being open to DP members only.

Mr Gurney replied, saying he could not agree to this condition as Mr Mombberg had a duty to explain to all his constituents, and hold a closed meeting would

be "undemocratic". "Would you be prepared to subject your staying in Parliament to a referendum among all adults in the Simon's Town constituency - black, white, coloured?"

Mr Mombberg replied (on June 30) that since I joined the ANC nine weeks ago, I

have come to know the hearts and minds of black people very well."

He concluded by writing that he did not "have time for your petty politics. I regard all negotiations with you and your committee as terminated."

The final response in the flurry of letters came from Mr Gurney, who repeated his challenge for Mr Mombberg to hold a referendum.

Crisis week for SA

304A
CT13/7/92

But Pik visits NY with 'open mind'

JOHANNESBURG — Foreign Affairs officials are optimistic about Wednesday's UN Security Council debate on South Africa, called at the request of the OAU to discuss the breakdown in negotiations.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday that Minister Mr Pik Botha would go to New York "with an open mind".

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is also due to speak at the hearing.

Government sources predicted that the ANC would cross swords with government's black allies in an international forum for the first time. Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope are expected to address the hearing.

● Sapa reports that at Jan Smuts Airport last night, Mr Botha said: "We welcome fact-finding missions from all over the world."

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa faces a week of bitter political and social conflict with relations between the government and the ANC and its union allies at their lowest since the start of negotiations last year.

The antagonism between the camps will be played out on the world stage at two international forums.

The ANC and PAC will again blame the government for the unrest at a London meeting tomorrow, sponsored by the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and arranged by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. On Wednesday the ANC, the government and other Codesa participants will put their views on the violence and the constitutional impasse to a special meeting of the UN Security Council.

At home, the government fears political tensions will be raised by a Cosatu march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

On the strike front, the Transvaal Provincial Administration has refused to bow to threats by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) to occupy offices and barricade hospitals if dismissed workers are not reinstated.

A REFERENDUM IS NOT ON — NP

Report — See PAGE 7

Sapa reports that Nehawu general secretary Mr Philip Dexter threatened on Saturday that the union would occupy Transvaal and Free State provincial buildings to demand the reinstatement of 7 000 strikers.

Mr Dexter said the administrations' managers would be chased out of their buildings.

In another development reflecting hardening union attitudes, Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association president Mr Kgabisi Mosunkutu at the weekend threatened that Telkom workers would disrupt telecommunications in white areas.

Mr Mosunkutu said the struggle would be brought to white areas unless the government conducted a full investigation into the death in a car accident last week of senior ANC PWV official Mr Floyd Mashele.

To page 3

From page 1

Crisis week

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba was reported yesterday as saying mass action was intended to take townships back to the era of "ungovernability" which characterised the mid-1980s.

He said the league would march on the homes of policemen "who killed our people during riots. We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street committees and people's courts".

Another ANC Youth League official was reported to have said "comrades" in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle had defence units which provided residents with arms.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said police would deal "severely" with people who attacked them.







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New bid to avert general strike

Crucial debate on SA crisis

STAR
13/7/92
By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

South Africa's political leaders jettied out last night to present their cases to the United Nations, while business and trade union chiefs at home pushed ahead with an emergency joint plan to avert a period of unprecedented strike action and protest.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki left Jan Smuts Airport for New York last night to prepare for Wednesday's vital meeting of the UN Security Council. ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to depart today.

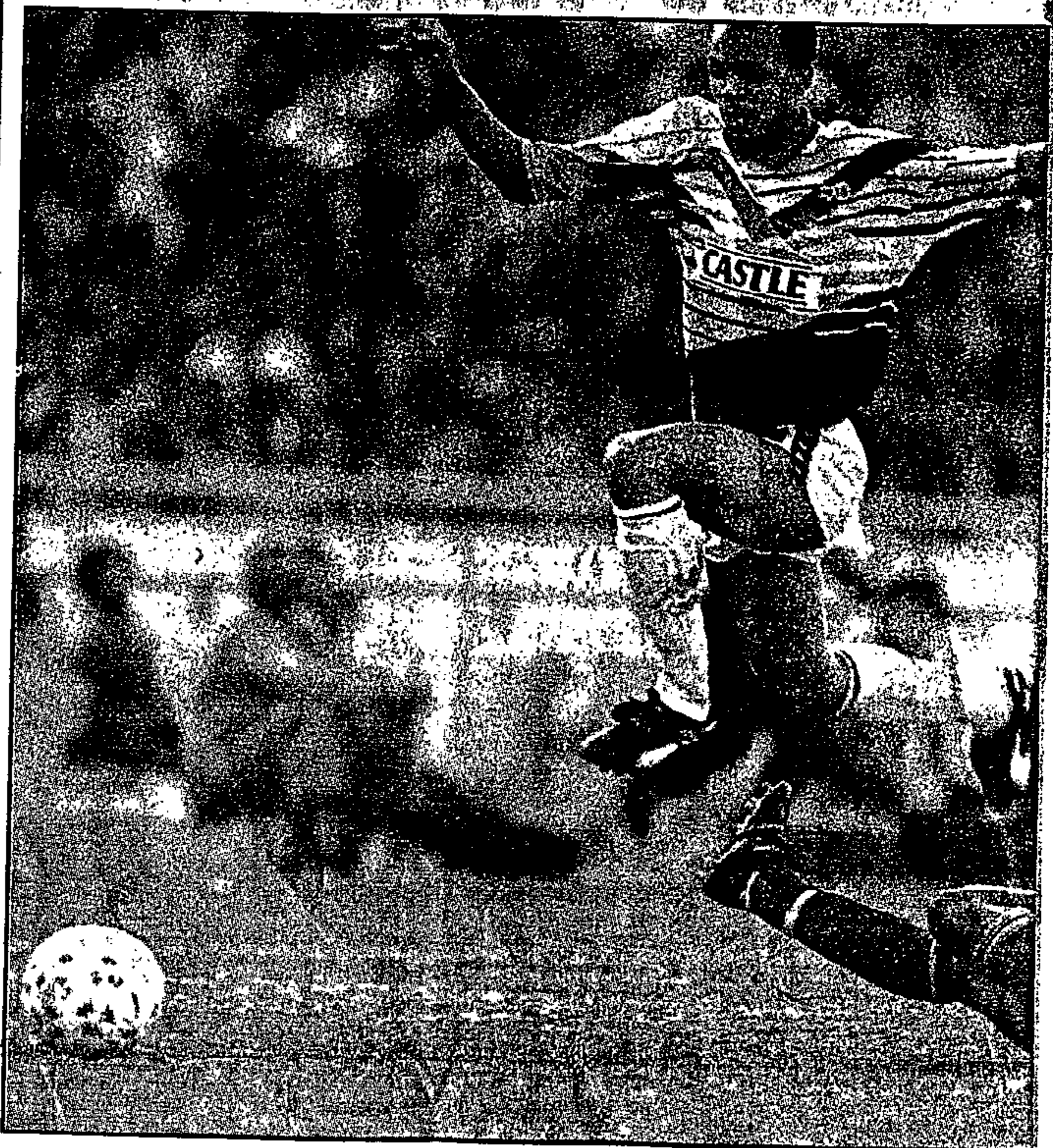
Before flying to New York Mr Botha said South Africa's political crisis would not be solved at the UN Security Council. The answers had to be found internally.

He said he expected the meeting would concentrate on the violence but hoped it would return an even-handed verdict urging all parties to take responsibility.

Mr Botha believed South Africa would be told to go back to the negotiation table. "If we have to go to New York to hear that, it would be worth it," he said.

He said he hoped the meeting of President de Klerk and the Cabinet early this week would "give me some ammunition" in relaying the Government's viewpoints and the facts at its disposal to the Security Council.

Last week the UN issued an eleventh-hour invitation to all Codesa participants to give their views in New York, but there was no clarity last night on how many of the 18 groups would be attending. It was confirmed that President Lucas Man-



Just what the fans ordered . . . classy South African midfielder Doctor Khumalo hurtled third soccer International against Cameroon at the FNB Stadium near Johannesburg, secure a 2-2 draw and level the three-match series.

Soccer City fans show the way to a new South Africa

304A (12)

Leaders jet off for vital UN meeting

STAZ

● From Page 1 13/7/92

come within "a specified, short-term time-frame of, for example, six months".

It also holds out the possibility that business and labour could jointly convene "assemblies for peace, economic reconstruction and progress to democracy" on August 3 — the date on which a general strike is expected to begin.

The draft document proposes that "the support of all our members and the broader public" should be sought for the goals outlined, and says the document should be presented to "a broadly representative meeting or convention to be held before the end of July".

It is understood that Cosatu wants Saccola to declare its commitment to "the need to move as speedily as possible to political settlement based on one person, one vote, elections for a united South Africa". The draft document says "an elected constitution-making body or interim parliament will be central to the transition".

The labour federation also wants a commitment to "an effective interim government to ensure elections held during the transition are indeed free and fair", and the possibility of business mediation in disputes.

Wednesday's UN meeting will consider a resolution submitted by the Frontline states, which argues that the primary responsibility for curbing violence lies with Mr de Klerk's Government. It is understood that Mr Mandela's representations will be based closely on the contents of his letter to Mr de Klerk, delivered last week. The Security Council is also likely to be asked to take a view on possible international involvement in South Africa's transition.

Africa would be told to go back to the negotiation table. "If we have to go to New York to hear that, it would be worth it," he said.

He said he hoped the meeting of President de Klerk and the Cabinet early this week would "give me some ammunition" in relaying the Government's viewpoints and the facts at its disposal to the Security Council.

Last week the UN issued an eleventh-hour invitation to all Codesa participants to give their views in New York, but there was no clarity last night on how many of the 18 groups would be attending. It was confirmed that President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana would be there, but an Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman told The Star he did not know whether Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had reached a final decision.

In Johannesburg, business leaders and top Cosatu officials were set to forge ahead with talks on how to help speed up South Africa's transition to democracy, and thereby limit the damage to the economy which is expected as a result of scheduled protest action. Trade union leaders and their allies have been trying to persuade the business community to pressure the Government to move swiftly towards transitional arrangements and democratic elections.

This week marks the beginning of "phase two" of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign — which includes the possibility of the "occupation" of Government buildings, according to suggestions in an unratified draft document drawn up by the campaign's organising committee.

The business-labour talks are taking place within the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), made up of 10 major employers and Cosatu. Prominent figures in Saccola include businessmen Bobby Godsell, Bokkie Botha and Johann Liebenberg, and trade unionists Jay Naidoo and Sam Shilowa.

A draft document, in the possession of The Star, was drawn up last week and is now awaiting Cosatu approval. The draft document expresses deep concern at the breakdown of negotiations, rising violence and economic hardship, and sets out practical steps to be taken on violence, poverty, conflict mediation and political transition. It suggests that key stumbling blocks in the transition process could be over-

● To Page 3

Start of new era for French-SA relations?

304A

ARC 3/7/92

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — The departure of Mr Jean-Christophe Mitterrand as chief presidential aide on African Affairs is seen here as signalling an improvement of France's relations with South Africa.

For in his 10 years in the Elysee Palace, Mr Mitterrand showed little interest in Pretoria, though he made at least a dozen trips to Africa.

Recent reforms and developments there do not appear to have sparked any interest, according to French officials close to his office.

Mr Mitterrand, 48, is President Mitterrand's younger son — the other is a National Assembly deputy (MP).

He joined the Elysee staff in 1982, a year after his father came to power, after several posts in West African capitals as correspondent for the Agence France-Presse news agency.

Within a year at the Elysee, he was being referred to by African presidents as "papa-mamadit" — which in French means "papa told me". The French media have unfailingly used this phrase to deride

him ever since.

In fact, this was in no way his fault. African leaders saw no point in using normal diplomatic channels through embassies to the foreign or co-operation ministries if they could appeal direct to the son of the President.

In this way, Mr Mitterrand found himself, willingly or unwillingly, on first-name terms with a dozen leaders of former French African colonies, and was particularly close with the governments of Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast and Madagascar.

One commentator noted here: "So far as African leaders were concerned, the son of the French president, always in close contact with him, was their best and most direct link with Paris."

"Often, rightly or wrongly, he was regarded as their last chance. Thanks to him, they could have their problems taken direct to President Mitterrand without official intermediaries."

Mr Mitterrand's successor as chief presidential aide on African affairs is Mr Bruno Delaye, 40, the former French ambassador to Togo.

Democratic hoopla

Aug 18/1992

304A

Mandela to be honoured at convention

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — ANC president Nelson Mandela will be a guest of honour at the Democratic Party's national convention in New York this week, but will probably not see much of the political action since he will also be attending the United Nations Security Council meeting on South Africa.

The convention starts on Thursday and ends on Saturday, while the UN debate is scheduled to start on Wednesday and may also last until Saturday.

Mr Mandela will be attending the Democratic gathering as the guest of the party's national chairman, Mr Ronald Brown, who met the ANC leader during a visit to South Africa last year.

As the South African participants in the debate began arriving in New York — Foreign Minister Pk Bohra will represent the government — the debate and the Democratic convention emerged as the two major political events in the US this week.

But in terms of media attention, the South African debate is but a sideshow compared with the hoopla and frenzied activity surrounding the Democratic convention.

New York is festooned with banners and balloons to welcome some 12,000 Democrats from around the country, as well as thousands of observers and guests.

Although most of the issues to be raised at the convention have already been agreed upon — the nomination of Arkansas governor Bill Clinton as the party's official candidate in the presidential election was decided in primary elections that began in February — the event is crucial to the party's showing in the November election.

It will be up to delegates at the convention not only to create an atmosphere of solidarity around Mr Clinton, but also to engender enthusiasm in the party's rank and file across the country.

The Republican Party's convention is from August 20 to August 23 in Houston, Texas.



TM YOUR MAN: Democratic presidential candidate Mr Bill Clinton, left, and New York City mayor Mr David Dinkins acknowledge the crowd after Mr Clinton arrived in New York for the Democratic Party National Convention beginning today.

Star-studded tribute to Bobby Kennedy

NEW YORK. — A memorial reception for Mr Robert Kennedy turned into the Democratic convention's most star-studded party as more than 300 movie stars and other celebrities joined the Kennedy family in remembering him.

Tickets were a hot commodity for the ceremony at New York mayor Mr David Dinkins' home because of a guest list that included actors Warren

Beatty, Annette Bening, Carol Channing, Glenn Close, and Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Writers Norman Mailer and Art Buchwald, movie and music mogul Mr David Geffen, former Democratic presidential candidate Mr George McGovern and nearly the entire Kennedy clan, including Senator Ted Kennedy and his new wife Vicki, also showed up.

The party celebrated the 25th anniversary of Mr Bobby Kennedy's campaign for the presidency, and the mood among the partygoers was upbeat for this year's Democratic ticket of Arkansas governor Mr Bill Clinton and Senator Albert Gore.

"It looks awfully good," said singer Judy Collins. Actress Glenn Close, when asked if she was a supporter of Democratic candidate Mr Clinton, gave a thumbs up sign. Schwarzenegger, a devout Republican, was at the reception because his wife Maria Shriver is a Kennedy relative.

The movie musician, an ardent supporter of President Bush, only smiled when asked how he felt about being surrounded by Democrats. — Sapa-Reuter.

ment had decided to reduce the size of the bureaucracy, the number of civil servants having risen to 181 402 in 1990 from 62 035

never mediocre to poor results and we will see the country placed in danger of forfeiting support at every level," the report says.

NP 'could win next election'

STELLENBOSCH — The NP could win the next election outright if it mobilised everyone who thought the same as it did, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said at the weekend.

"The NP can win the next election outright, and that is the target we shall set ourselves," he said at the NP federal youth congress.

"That is why our opponents are using their present tactics; because they realise they will not win as easily as they thought they might."

"If ever there is an instrument that can make the difference between a reasonable or a disastrous future, it is the NP."

Speaking at the same conference, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said SA's youth had to ask itself if it had the "guts" to rise out of the ashes of discrimination and build a new SA.

"Sometimes I doubt if they have the guts because there is too much talk and too little action."

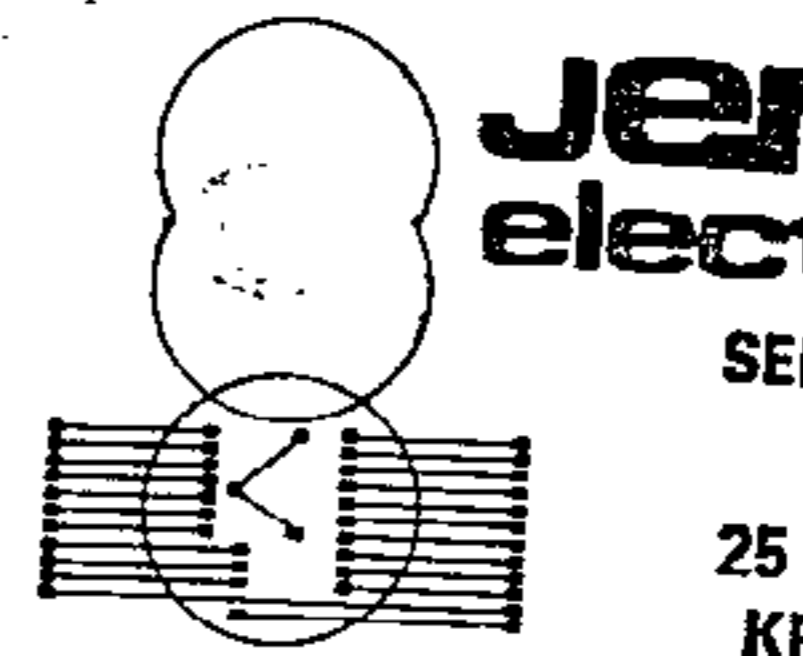
"Sixty percent of the country's population is under 20 years old and we have a chance to turn them round and bind this generation to democracy." — Sapa.

SMUG

Boyd Starne, a technical analyst from First National Bank is to address the Stock Market User Group at the JSE on Wed. 15th July 1992 at 7.15 pm — cost R10.

Private investors invited. Parking available.

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Govt gears up to process 20-million voters

PRETORIA — The Home Affairs Department has launched a detailed programme to prepare for a general election which could involve more than 20-million voters of all races.

In terms of a contract between Home Affairs and the Correctional Services Department, hundreds of prisoners in Pretoria and Pollsmoor are making polling booths and ballot boxes.

A Home Affairs source said there could be up to 17-million eligible voters, and if the four independent states were reincorporated into SA by the time an election

was held, the total could rise to more than 20-million.

The Central Statistical Service's 1991 population figures indicated SA and the independent homelands had a total population of 26 288 390.

There are more than 15-million people above the age of 19, of whom 9,3-million are black. Registering white, coloured and Asian voters should not present a problem as voters' rolls are regularly updated. At the last count there were about 3,2-million

white voters.

However, the task of registering black voters presents a daunting challenge to the department and political organisations seeking their votes.

Sorting out the eligible from the ineligible and getting proof of age from thousands of younger blacks, many without ID documents, is part of the challenge.

The Home Affairs source said it would be unacceptable for the implementation of an electoral agreement to be delayed because the department was unprepared. It had therefore started work some time ago.

8 DAY 13/7/92
GERALD REILLY

304A

Codesa parties gear up for UN Security Council debate

FOREIGN Affairs officials are optimistic about Wednesday's UN Security Council debate on SA, and predict it will have a positive outcome.

The debate has been called at the request of the OAU, to discuss the breakdown in constitutional negotiations in SA.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday Minister Pik Botha would go to New York "with an open mind". He said it was too early to say what government would lead the council.

ANC president Nelson Mandela is also due to speak at the hearing. Government sources predicted the ANC would cross swords with government's

RAY HARTLEY

black allies in an international forum for the first time. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope were expected to address the hearing.

The sources said the Security Council was likely to approve an international monitoring team on violence in SA.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation would use the hearing to reiterate its view that government was involved "by omission or commission" in the violence.

Sapa reports that Mangope, who left yesterday for New York, would tell world leaders his country could not cope with the influx of refugees fleeing from political uncertainty in SA.

Mangope told the national congress of the Bophuthatswana Christian Democratic Party in Mmabatho he would say his state had not been created by apartheid.

He said the political uncertainty in SA had caused people to flee to Bophuthatswana from SA, and Bophuthatswana could no longer cope with this influx. Mangope will attend the New York meeting as one of the 19 groups represent-

ed at Codesa, who have all been guaranteed a hearing.

Sapa AFP reports from Dakar that Senegalese Foreign Minister Djibo Ka will chair the OAU group. It will include Egypt, Nigeria, Congo, Algeria and Uganda, which formed an OAU delegation to SA, Zimbabwe and Cape Verde as non-permanent members of the Security Council, and Namibia, representing the Frontline States anti-apartheid group. Cape Verde Ambassador to the UN Jose Luis Jesus stressed that Wednesday's meeting would be open to all 19 groups that had been taking part in Codesa. — Sapa AFP.

Business backs ³⁰⁴¹¹ANC ^{CT 14/7/92} call

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business yesterday threw its weight behind key ANC demands for an interim government before the end of the year and an elected constitution-making body in an attempt to avert a general strike and break the negotiations deadlock.

The call was contained in a document agreed to yesterday by Cosatu and Saccola, the employers' association.

Saccola said it saw no reason why democratic elections for a constitution-making body should not be held within six months.

And it plans, together with Cosatu, to convene joint assemblies for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction on August 3 — the first day of Cosatu's planned week-long general strike.

It is the first time that employers have come out in support of a transition to democracy within a specified time-frame. The ANC and Cosatu are insisting that elections for a constituent assembly be held by the end of the year.

The document also supports the idea of an independent electoral commission to ensure elections are free and fair.

According to an employer source, the agreement means Saccola is likely to ask its members voluntarily to close their factories on August 3 so the joint assemblies can take place.

He said employers would be reluctant to discipline workers — other than the standard "no work, no pay" — for taking part in the mass action campaign when Saccola supported one of its key political demands.

However, another source said employer organisations were still discussing the document. He said the aim of the document was to try

to persuade Cosatu to call off its general strike "which will cripple the economy which is already seriously ill."

But Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said its mass action campaign, including the planned strike, would not be affected.

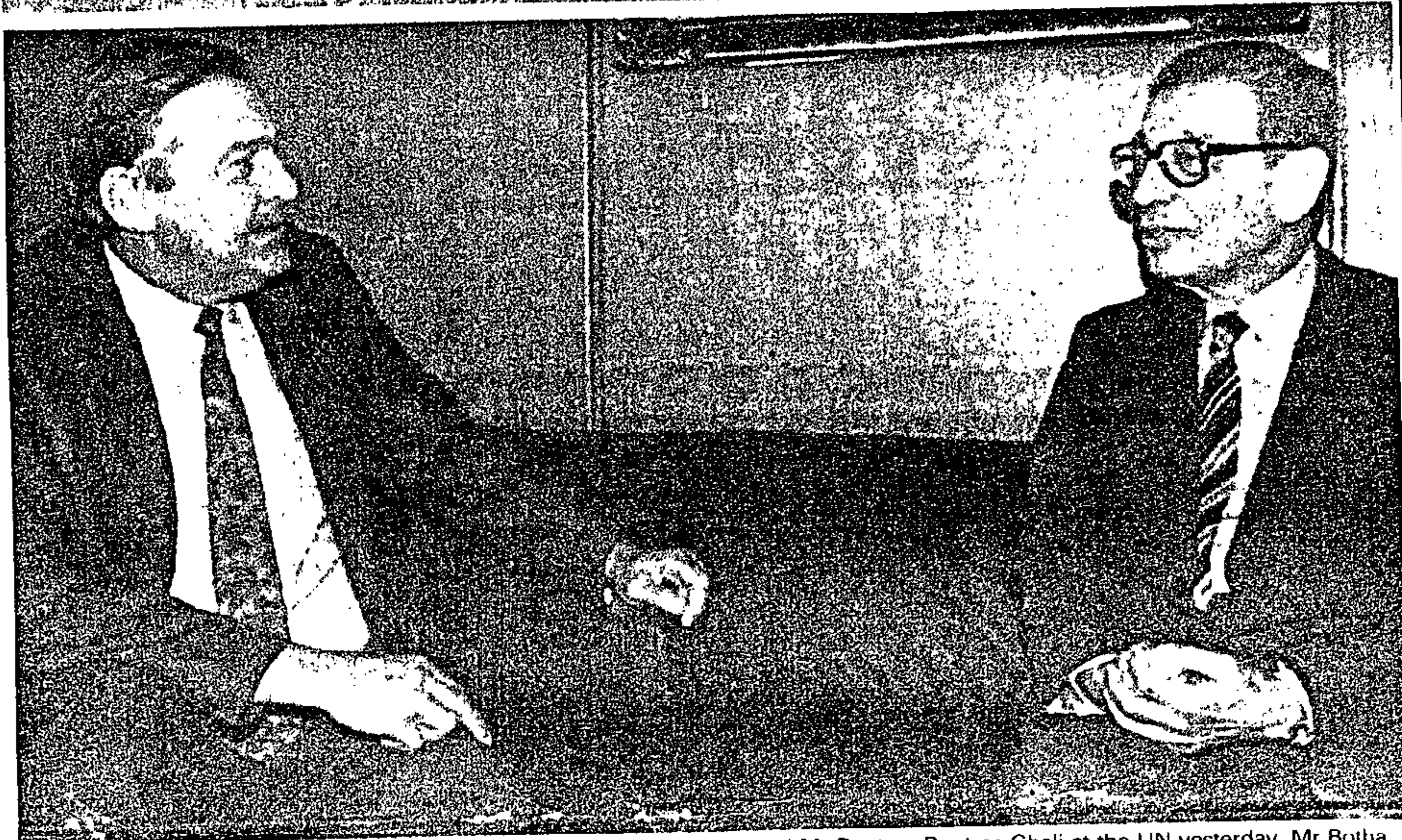
He said the agreement was a step forward in breaking the political logjam and part of Cosatu's attempt to "find solutions with all parties" committed to peace and democracy.

● Cosatu calls for mass action tomorrow — Page 5

SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD

— PAGE 3 — and disorderly behaviour.

Pik pulls out stops for UN talks



PIK AT UN . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha with UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali at the UN yesterday. Mr Botha heads the South African government delegation to the Security Council meeting on the violence in South Africa which starts tomorrow.

Picture: AP

PRETORIA. — The government has geared up to present a strong case at tomorrow's critical United Nations Security Council meeting, sending not only the top four Foreign Affairs officials but also a high-ranking policeman and the senior civil servant in charge of hostels.

Major-General Andre Pruys of the South African Police's crime investigation and research section will advise Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, along with the chief director of Local Government and Housing, Mr Neville Karsens.

Mr Botha, director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, and two deputy directors-general will head

the delegation.

Codesa participants will also be well represented. The session will be attended by Bophuthatswanan President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and probably also Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The ANC will be represented by the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, while other National Executive Committee members will also attend.

Mr Botha paid UN Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali a courtesy call just hours

after his arrival in New York last night.

Emerging from talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali, Mr Botha said he hoped the council would adopt an "even-handed" resolution demonstrating that the international community stood firmly behind negotiations and would not tolerate an alternative approach.

Such a resolution could bolster "those elements and persons in the ANC who feel that mass action is the wrong move and that it might lead to more violence for which the ANC would

To page 3

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From page 1

Pik at UN

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be blamed", he said.

Mr Botha also hinted that by the time the meeting convened, the government might announce major steps to deal with the criticism levelled at it by the Goldstone Commission.

UN spokesman Mr Francois Giulliani said Mr Mandela would see Mr Boutros-Ghali today.

The ANC would ask the Security Council to appoint a special representative to visit the country, Mr Mandela said at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for New York.

"A representative who will come to South Africa to make the necessary investigations on violence and thereafter to report to the secretary-general," Mr Mandela said despite the "excellent work done so far by the Goldstone Commission investigating violence, it might be necessary "to consider measures to strengthen the Goldstone Commission".

Mr Mandela also said the ANC had no intention of postponing its mass action campaign even if the UN became involved in South Africa's problem of violence. "That programme must go on. It will only be called off if the government responds to our demands to our satisfaction," he said.

The Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC last night appeared to agree on what the UN should do about the violence.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makevhu said he expected the international community to send a commission of experts to find out who was behind the violence.

Mr Makwetu made the announcement at a separate press conference before leaving for the security council meeting.

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday appealed to Mr Boutros-Ghali to allow the organisation to address the Security Council meeting. Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadineng said Azapo was one of the "dominant forces inside Azania" and should be consulted. — Own Correspondents, Sapa

Dutch leaders' visit off

THE HAGUE. — Dutch Prime Minister ~~Mr. Lubbers~~ ^(304A) and Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek have called off a planned visit to South Africa next month, an official at the South African embassy in The Hague said yesterday.

The visit, scheduled for August 10-11, would have been the first to South Africa by a Dutch premier since the 1950s and would have reciprocated an official visit by President Mr F W de Klerk to the Netherlands in October 1990.

The Dutch leaders again came under pressure from their own politicians to cancel the visit when the ANC pulled out of constitutional negotiations. — Sapa-Reuter

CT 14/7/92

SA political rift shifts

■ **CODESA IMPASSE** Political leaders go to

Security Council to present views on how to

resolve the negotiations deadlock at Codesa:

By **Themba Molefe**

Political Reporter

LEADERS of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party left for New York last night for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council tomorrow.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo left for the same meeting on Sunday.

Addressing journalists at Jan Smuts Airport before their departure, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the special session of the Security Council was to solicit a resolution which would make for the appointment of a UN representative to monitor violence and report directly to the UN.

He said the UN would be asked to strengthen the Goldstone Commission in its investigations and findings. Mandela praised Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for his efforts so far.

Mandela, however, warned that the ANC's mass action programme would not necessarily be suspended.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leading a three-man delegation, said he would present an 88-page document detailing attacks against IFP members since the signing of the National Peace Accord last September.

He said Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu had a case to present to the UN following what he termed an ANC's plan to destabilise those territories.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his delegation would tell the session that the violence was orchestrated from outside the townships and was not just a black-on-black faction

fighting. Sowetan 14/7/92.
He said an external solution was long overdue and was even more urgent now. PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will also take part in the UN debate.

Mandela said the fact that an external solution was being sought was an indictment on South African leaders to find solutions.

He said this was regrettable.

Buthelezi said he opposed foreign intervention but was going to the UN after its Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, assured him he would address the meeting.

● Mandela will also visit the United States, the Middle East and Spain. He will also attend the US Democratic Party's national convention in New York.

According to an itinerary released by the ANC, Mandela will fly to Teheran, Iran, after addressing the UN, and on July 21 will travel to Kuwait.

He is scheduled to leave the Middle East on July 29 to arrive in Johannesburg on July 30.

Meanwhile, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander left for London yesterday where he would speak at two-day seminar on violence in South Africa.

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~~304A~~ (304A)
New envoys
S (M) 1417/92
announced

The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday announced the appointment of several officials to foreign missions.

Michael John Farr has been appointed consul-general in Hong Kong; Roel Hendrik Goris has been appointed consul-general in Bangkok, Thailand; and Peter John Botha, currently consul-general in Hong Kong, has been appointed consul-general in Singapore.

Abraham Andre Brink has been appointed Pretoria's trade representative in Harare, Zimbabwe. — Sapa.

Momberg rules out own poll

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, has turned down a Democratic Party challenge to let residents of all races in his constituency decide via a referendum whether he should stay on as their parliamentary representative.

The MP dismissed the challenge issued by the DP chairman of the Simon's Town con-

stituency, Mr Keith Gurney — as an attempt to play "petty politics" and has broken off all further negotiations with the committee.

Mr Gurney has in turn accused Mr Momberg of behaving like "an arrogant public figure who does not know the basic meaning of democracy — that of being accountable to the people".

In an angry letter sent to Mr Momberg at the weekend, Mr Gurney said that Mr Momberg —

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a former member of the National Party, was showing his "Nationalist colours".

Mr Momberg had told the committee in a letter that "since I joined the ANC, I have come to know the hearts and minds of the black people very well. I know the pain of our people".

In his reply, Mr Gurney wrote: "Do not presume to preach to us, you who were an active Nationalist most of your life, knowingly and happily inflicting the pain."

SA sends top govt team to UN meeting

81 DAY
14/7/92 (304A) (25)
PRETORIA — Government has pulled out all the stops to present a strong case at tomorrow's critical UN security council meeting, sending not only the top four Foreign Affairs officials but also a high-ranking policeman and the senior civil servant in charge of hostels.

SAP liaison officer Capt Burger van Rooyen yesterday confirmed that Maj-Gen Andre Pruyss from the SAP's crime investigation and research section would advise Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden and two deputy direc-

tors-general would lead the delegation.

The ANC would be represented by its president, Nelson Mandela, and other national executive committee members.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will also attend.

Sapa reports Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa is to accompany Mandela to the meeting.

Solidarity leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Dele-

gates J N Reddy is also going, while it is likely Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo will attend.

RAY HARTLEY reports that Botha paid UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali a courtesy call just hours after his arrival in New York last night.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek have called off a planned visit to SA. The Dutch government did not comment but said a statement would be issued today.

● See Page 6

ANALYSIS Security Council to assess views of SA leaders and help end logjam



ANC president Nelson Mandela



PAC president Clarence Makwetu



Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe

Most of these organisations are agreed on International Involvement, but differ on the form it should take

UN to hear views on SA

Sowetan 14/7/92

304A

POLITICAL BODIES

favour international

help but differ sharply

on the nature of its

extent and functions:

By Themba Molefe

SOUTH Africa's disparate politics unfold at the United Nations headquarters tomorrow where the Security Council listens to views the country's politicians.

The emergency meeting was requested by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Leaders from the ANC, PAC, Government, Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana have left the country and are due to address the world body.

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders, and then decide what to do to help the country's transition to democracy.

Tomorrow's sitting is an initiative of the ANC and PAC after presidents Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Clarence Makwetu asked the OAU to step in as a broker between the liberation movements and the UN as a matter of urgency.

Most of these organisations are agreed on international involvement, but differ on the form it should take.

Present views

Azapo has sent a memorandum to UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressing its desire to present its views.

These would be that the UN send a peacekeeping force immediately to take over security operations while South African forces are confined to barracks and quarantined.

The UN should arrange a neutral venue and chairman for negotiations to take place and that all agreements reached should be enforceable.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe summed up the organisation's stance: "Agreement should be binding on all negotiating parties. This will ensure that participants do not renege on decisions they were party to."

The ANC believes in international monitoring rather than involvement.

Said Mandela: "It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening."

The ANC also wants an international peacekeeping force deployed at unrest areas.

The Government and the IFP are opposed to involvement - what the Government terms international control.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha reiterated this before he left for New York yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed foreign advice, but "it is not outsiders but South Africans who should determine the country's future".

Last month Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the findings of a panel of international jurists that the IFP was largely responsible for the violence in the country.

Patriotic Front

The PAC wants the international world to help the liberation movements form a Patriotic Front.

In the short term it wants the UN to send a team to monitor the violence in the country and in the long term wants its intervention, and that of the OAU, in chairing talks between Government and the liberation movements.

The PAC believes negotiations should take place at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

Makwetu has told OAU heads of states and Boutros-Ghali that unity of the "organisations of the oppressed" was paramount and that the world bodies should help reconvene the Patriotic Front the PAC initiated jointly with the ANC in 1991.

PAC director of information Mr Waters Toboti said: "Now that the Codesa farce is over the need has never been so urgent for a neutral chairman and venue so that genuine negotiations can begin."

World body

The UN Security Council is regarded as the "inner Cabinet" of the world body because it has veto powers and at the end of the debate will decide whether the "South African situation" warrants its intervention.

For decades the UN's respectability waned to

an extent that cynics called it "the theatre of the absurd".

The tide turned when its peacekeeping force Untag was highly successful during the Namibian independence transition in 1989.

The UN Security Council's stature was enhanced even further in 1990 when it reached unanimity in agreeing with President George Bush that Iraq could not annex Kuwait.

Presently the UN is engaged in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict where it has deployed more than 1 000 troops in and around Sarajevo airport and continuing to send supplies in spite of UN carriers being attacked.

The Security Council comprises 15 permanent member nations. Five of these are drawn from the European Community and the Security Council is dominated by African and Asian countries. The current monthly chairman is Jose Jesus, UN ambassador to Cape Verde.

UN directory

The UN recognises the ANC and PAC as legitimate South African liberation movements who have permanent observer missions and are listed in the UN directory.

The South African Government was unseated from the UN General Assembly in the 1970s for its apartheid sins and has yet to be readmitted.

Bophuthatswana and other homelands are regarded by the UN as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body has declared a crime against humanity. So, essentially, the homelands and the Government attend the meeting as participants in Codesa.

Botha last week requested the UN to allow Codesa participants to air their views at the special sitting.

Bophuthatswana and the other homelands are regarded as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body regards as a crime against humanity



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304A

CT 15/9/92

plan

for UN

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and SIMON BARBER

MAJOR new steps by the South African government — details of which were still being kept secret last night — are expected to be announced by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at the United Nations Security Council today.

It is expected the proposals will contain plans to curb the violence and breathe new life into negotiations.

Late last night President F.W. de Klerk and key cabinet members were still locked in discussions at the Union Buildings after starting their meeting at 9am.

All week Mr De Klerk and his senior advisers have been working on the proposals Mr Botha is expected to announce today.

Yesterday the ANC and the government lobbied furiously in preparation for the session, which is being held at the request of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Diplomats yesterday predicted that the permanent members of the council would concentrate on three major issues during the debate:

- The condemnation of the violence in SA — without placing exclusive blame on any one party.

- A plea for Codesa participants to resume negotiations as soon as possible.

- The dispatching of former United States secretary of state Mr Cyrus Vance as UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali's special representative to SA.

Finger-pointing . . .


Sources said the ANC could not expect to get unqualified support from countries like China and Russia for its position that the government is primarily responsible for the violence in SA.

A number of African bloc countries have also indicated that they would not necessarily join the ANC bandwagon if it came to finger-pointing over the causes of the violence and that they would instead urge all parties to return to the negotiation table as speedily as possible.

However, concessions from the government are expected to come too late to put off the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's campaign for rolling mass action which gets under way in earnest today.

Mr Botha believes that now that the

To page 3



Move
Ultimate Lig
that stays v

P.T.O.

R W Johnson wants a referendum that generates a great gust of grass roots reality



Time for the people to rule

STAR 15/7/92

AS THE gloom, violence and demoralisation of the winter of 1992 rear on, it is important to remember that such a period was always likely, almost necessary, in the midst of the constitutional negotiations.

There is a sort of pre-ordained ritual in these matters, a dance of the scorpions in which both sides, having grappled and fought, pull apart, circle one another furiously, threatening to sting, each knowing, just as we know, that they must come back to grips again.

The concessions just made by President de Klerk — acceptance of a 70 percent majority for constitutional amendment, an elected Senate and a limited time-frame for an interim government — may seem reasonable, even conciliatory, but they will not bridge the gulf between the two sides now.

Indeed, these very concessions are a source of exasperation: the stupidity and greed of the Government in allowing Codesa to founder over the difference between

70 percent and 75 percent now looks even worse when, not many weeks later, that and more can be so easily conceded.

One of the enduring problems of African politics is the belief that there is something clever and praiseworthy about being "stirred" about promising to play straight and then cutting corners. But it is the very opposite of clever.

The Government's concessions now reveal that it knew it was being offered a good deal at Codesa, but decided it would be "stirred" to look that gift horse in the mouth. As a result, the whole country is being held to ransom.

But had that deal been done it would only have been because the Government had managed to disguise the clash of two very different visions of the future South Africa of a power-sharing government in a federal state versus a majority rule government in a centralised state.

The result is a complete standoff, with the ANC demanding that "the people shall rule" via straightforward majority voting,

and the Government mandated to a power-sharing solution by the white referendum.

The situation is hardly helped by the fact that in most African languages the same word is used to denote both "democracy" and "majority rule", so that for the Government to say it wants democracy without majority rule literally makes no sense in many black areas.

The way out is surely obvious: the mainly non-elected allies at Codesa have got as far as they can and it is time for the people to choose. The Government should call a one-person one-vote referendum on these two issues (which could be presented separately or rolled into a single question), and all parties should accept in advance that a simple majority of the popular vote would be taken as binding on all future constitutional negotiators.

In order to stop the sort of nonsense which went on with the whites-only referendum, it would be best if all questions relating to the phrasing of the question(s), the

impairment of the broadcast media, fairness in campaign expenditure and the role of international monitors, were handed over to a special Electoral Commission.

Such a referendum would have many advantages. It would not only authoritatively settle the central issues before the country, but would begin the essential process of popular political education. A new, wider electorate would be given a sense of its own empowerment, would learn what it was to be courted in a campaign, would become acquainted with the concepts of federalism, power-sharing and constitutional politics in general.

A relatively lengthy campaign would be fairest, not only to allow a full presentation of the issues but to level the playing field for parties such as the ANC who have no experience of running an electoral campaign. It would be a valuable learning experience for politicians too.

It would do no end of good to many an NP parliamentarian or

radical-urban activist to have to go and humble themselves to seek the good opinion of poor rural folk in Lebowa, the Transkei or elsewhere, listen to their grievances, and start to feel the real push of constituency pressures.

As a dress rehearsal for elections the whole experience would be invaluable for the parties and voters alike — and at last South Africans could start getting used to deciding important matters not by killing one another, demonstrating or striking, but by voting.

Given that the opinion polls routinely show huge majorities of all races preferring a power-sharing solution, the Government might be tempted to see such a referendum as another "stirred" trick — and the ANC might be tempted, on the same grounds, to call for a boycott.

Both would be wrong. It is difficult to see how one can call for "power to the people" and then boycott the first real attempt to give them that power — and the Government would no doubt find the poll figures changing as the

ANC threw its weight into the campaign. The IFP, Ciskei and Hop would doubtless form a block behind De Klerk — as would other considerable agonising, the IFP and CP.

The PAC and Azapo would presumably form a full Patriotic Front with the ANC — so both sides would have some uncomfortable bedfellows. The real danger would lie with coloured and Indian politicians and with the remaining homelands leaders, who might well find their personal interests and their voters going in opposite directions.

The fact is that no one knows how such a referendum would go — it would be a wide open race and all the better for it. The cynical world of Codesa would suddenly feel a great gust of grass roots reality. The people would rule — and a jolly good thing too. □

R W Johnson is a former South African Rhodes Scholar now a political science don at Magdalen College, Oxford, and a columnist on international affairs.

Momberg: Poll far too costly

Political Correspondent

ET 15/7/92
THE ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Janie Momberg, said yesterday that a referendum of all races in his constituency would be prohibitively expensive and difficult to verify.

The DP has challenged the former DP MP to test whether people want him to stay on as their representative. (3047)

SA flag must go, say Boers

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boerestaat Party will — as the African National Congress probably will — do away with the South African flag and national anthem, Die Stem, in the new South Africa, BSP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday.

The anthem was not symbolic of the Boers, but rather of the country, and the flag was a compromise. **CT 15/7/92**

The Boerestaat, to be recreated in the new South Africa, would use the Vierkleur and "Ken Jy die Volk" as its flag and anthem, he said. — Sapa **(304A)**

SA accused of negligence

Sowetan Correspondent
15/7/92

LONDON - Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, yesterday accused the South African Government of "gross negligence" in the "appalling violence" in the country and the security forces of complicity.

Blaming the international community for indifference to the "carnage" in South Africa, he said: "The loss of lives in South Africa is no less deserving of world attention than those in Sarajevo."

Gambari addressed a two-day conference on SA violence, whose aim, according to convener Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was to rouse the world to realise that there could be no peace in South Africa until State President FW de Klerk's Government was forced out of office.

Boerestaat
(BOFA)
opposes Die
S 147
Stem, SA flag
157772

The Boerestaat Party would — as the ANC probably would — do away with the South African flag and national anthem, Die Stem, in the new South Africa, BSP leader Robert van Tonder said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said the anthem was not symbolic of the Boers, but rather of the country because it was concerned with mountains, rivers, clouds and cliffs. 157792

Mr van Tonder said the flag was a compromise and the Union Jack could never be accepted by the Boers.

The boerestaat, to be recreated in the new South Africa, would use the Vierkleur and "Ken Jy Die Volk" as its flag and anthem respectively, he said. — Sapa.

NEW YORK — Foreign Minister Pik Botha is expected to announce major new steps by government to get negotiations restarted when he addresses the UN Security Council today.

He and government seem determined to use the unusual session, which is being held at ANC president Mandela's request, to line up the international community behind a return to negotiations.

Botha believes that the Security Council can act as a useful and even-handed "facilitator" for change in SA.

He is not overly concerned that the council will insist on playing an over-intrusive role, since the permanent members are ex-

Pik poised to unveil govt talks initiative at UN council meeting

810AM

15/7/92

SIMON BARBER

tremely skittish about getting too involved in what UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has privately stated is not a threat to international peace.

Botha has hinted that the initiatives he will announce will be designed to demonstrate that government is serious about controlling the violence and has heeded the recommendations of the Goldstone commission.

"The government is giving the most serious consideration to Judge Goldstone's criticisms," Botha said after meeting Boutros-Ghali on Monday.

Botha is not taking the view that the session is a contest between government and

the ANC.

To the contrary, he is hoping that what will strengthen the hand of those in the ANC who favour negotiations and believe heightened mass action can only be counterproductive.

This helps explain why Pretoria conceded to Mandela's demand that he be allowed to present his case to the council before Boutros-Ghali dispatched his special representative, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on a fact-finding mission.

Botha yesterday briefed US Assistant

Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, who was also expected to see Mandela and other representatives of Codesa parties who are in New York.

In addition to Botha and Mandela, the scheduled speakers include Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, Ciskei president Brif Oupa Gqozo, Solidarity leader J N Reddy and DP national chairman Ken Andrew.

Andrew was already in New York as part of a large SA contingent observing the Democratic Party convention.

The group includes Essop Pahad of the

SACP and homeland party officials.

Today's meeting, which will also be addressed by nine African foreign ministers representing the OAU, is likely to be protracted.

Democratic Party presidential nominee Bill Clinton plans to meet Mandela today, his chief spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, said yesterday.

Mandela, who arrived in the city with little fanfare yesterday, may also attend tonight's session of the Democratic convention at which delegates will formally vote on Clinton's nomination.

But he will not address the convention.

'Govt could avert strike'

DURBAN. — The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would reconsider its planned three-day national strike next month if the government met certain conditions, ANC national executive member Mr Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday.

These conditions were that the government agree to an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly this year, Mr Kasrils told businessmen at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA forum

here.

However, the alliance would continue with its plans for "rolling" mass action in spite of such a government undertaking.

The ANC had not resorted to mass action merely because of the negotiations impasse, but because of violence, corruption and other government scandals.

The three-day general strike, however, was aimed at trying to break the Codesa deadlock. — Sapa

Day of mass action promises conflict

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Confrontation between authorities and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance looms today when the alliance stages sit-ins at government buildings.

Targets are all government buildings — including police stations, courts, and buildings owned by local and provincial authorities. According to the ANC's campaigns' committee chairman Mr Mandla Dhlamini, the sit-ins will be staged "right in the offices where their effects will be felt the most".

Mr Dhlamini said although the alliance was aware that police would "arrest and harass protesters", the protest action would go ahead as planned.

"We have put our lawyers on standby to deal with possible arrests," he said.

Police said in a statement yesterday they had taken note of the planned sit-ins and had taken precautions to pre-

vent them, as they were bound to disrupt essential government services.

"We call on organisers to refrain from the planned action as it would lead to confrontation with the police who have a duty to maintain law and order," police said.

CT 15/7/92 CT 15/7/92
Unrest areas

Responsibility for deaths and injuries resulting from the confrontation would have to be taken by the organisers of the protest action, police said.

They added that it should be remembered that many townships where the planned sit-ins would be staged were unrest areas. "Those taking part in such actions could, therefore, find themselves in serious breach of certain laws and regulations," they said.

Today's mass action is part of the build-up to the three-day general strike scheduled to begin on August 3.

Stem snubbed

THE Boerestaat Party will - as the African National Congress probably will - do away with the South African flag and national anthem, Die Stem, in the new South Africa, BSP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said the anthem was not symbolic of the Boers, but rather of the country because it was concerned with mountains, rivers, clouds and cliffs. The flag was a compromise and the Union Jack could never be accepted by the Boers. The Boerestaat, to be recreated in the new South Africa, would use the Vierkleur and Ken Jy Die Volk as its flag and anthem, he said. (304A)

2/11/51
South Africa

UN draft resolution urges renewed talks

NEW YORK. — The draft of a United Nations Security Council resolution on South Africa expected to be adopted today has been issued here.

The draft, which is still subject to revision, states:

The Security Council

● Recalling its resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984),

● Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in South Africa, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa,

● Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,

● Recalling the consensus declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session on 14 December, 1989, which called for negotiations in South Africa to

take place in a climate free of violence,

● Emphasising the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,

● Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,

● Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial democratic society,

● (1) Condemns the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on 17 June, 1992, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;

● (2) Strongly urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

(304A)
● (3) Calls upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;

● (4) Invites the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a Special Representative in order to recommend after, inter alia, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;

● (5) Urges all parties to co-operate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate; and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations; AR416712

● (6) Underlines in this regard the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible.

Middle ground exists if there's a will to compromise

CUT through all the rhetoric and there are just two core issues which have caused the breakdown in negotiations.

One is the issue of violence, which includes the collapse of the credibility of the police in the townships and the perception that they are part of the problem rather than its solution. The other is the difference between the African National Congress and the Government over whether there should be majority rule or not.

Both are resolvable. Given a little more flexibility on both sides, and less politicking — particularly by the Government, which seems to have started its election campaign already — I see no reason why the main negotiating table will not be back at the negotiating table within a month.

The failure of the police to deal effectively with the violence remains the most baffling feature of the negotiating crisis. The catalogue of failure to arrest and prosecute culprits is now so long that the assumption of complicity becomes inescapable. The only question is, what is President de

Klerk's role?

That he has vicarious responsibility as head of state there can be no doubt. Yet I cannot believe he is directly responsible for directing a campaign of destabilisation, as ANC accusations sometimes imply. It cannot be in his interests to destabilise a negotiating process which he himself initiated and on whose success his whole future and place in history now rests.

Yet he does nothing to bring the security forces under tighter control. The obvious solution, as this column has repeatedly pointed out, is to change the command structure of the security forces and appoint someone from outside the National Party who can command trust across the political spectrum as Minister of Law and Order. But President de Klerk shrinks from doing this and, until yesterday, even from implementing the eminently sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

Whether his belated efforts to respond to those recommendations will be effective remains to



Allister Sparks

be seen. In the light of past experience, one cannot count on it.

Clearly, what is needed is a team of international monitors who can see and expose the abuses when they occur. Not a large peace-keeping force like the one the United Nations sent to Namibia for that country's transition to independence, but a small monitoring team to keep watch on key flashpoints and report what they see. It is to be hoped yesterday's Security Council debate ultimately results in one being sent here.

It could be strikingly effective. According to the Human Rights Commission, 90 percent of the violence on the Witwatersrand either emanates from the migrant workers' hostels or is a retaliatory attack against them. There are only about 30 of these hostels in the area. A permanent watch over

each could easily detect whether an attack was being mounted either way.

Similarly an international monitoring team could keep watch on all train stations and detect imminent attacks being staged there. Police responses to warnings could be assessed, and their actions in dealing with protesters monitored — such as the incident I witnessed in Boipatong after De Klerk's visit when the police opened fire with lethal buckshot into a packed crowd without orders and without warning.

Relentless exposure will end these abuses, whoever is behind them. Equally, impartial monitors can expose those responsible for the growing number of retaliatory attacks against the police. In this way the vicious circle can be broken and effective policing re-stored.

At the very least, the deployment of an international monitoring team would provide the kind of concrete action to control the violence that the ANC needs to placate its followers before it can return to the negotiating table.

This brings us to the second core issue — that of majority rule. De Klerk says he cannot accept majority rule, the ANC says it cannot settle for less.

De Klerk says majority rule would mean black domination and he has no mandate from his white constituency to agree to that.

He demands "power-sharing" which means a system of permanent compulsory coalitions that would give the majority parties — notably the National Party — an equal share in power and a veto over all key decisions, thereby effectively entrenching the gross inequalities produced by apartheid.

The ANC says this is undemocratic and to accept it would be political suicide in the black community. In a sense it would be the same act of suicide Bishop Abel Muzorewa committed in Rhodesia when he accepted Ian Smith's parity plan of power-sharing between white and black.

How to find a compromise between these two positions is what lies at the heart of all the negotiating difficulties. Solve that and

you solve everything.

It is not easy, of course. Simply to state the issue is to show how incompatible the two positions are. But negotiation is about compromise, which means that if there is to be a solution it must be sought on middle ground between those positions.

That, I suggest, means a deal that provides for power-sharing now and majority rule later.

The formula, in fact, has already been advanced, in a proposal put forward by the ANC some months ago but which seems unfortunately to have got lost in the dust of confrontation. The proposal was to have "sunset clauses" in the constitution — by which is meant clauses that provide for power-sharing but which will fall away after an agreed period of time, whether that be two, five or 10 years, so providing a gradual but uninterrupted transition to majority rule.

The idea has not been taken up and developed, but it seems to me that it points to the terrain where a compromise can be found.

UN council meeting on SA kicks off

By Esther Waugh ^{SRM}
Political Reporter 16/7/92

South African political leaders last night began addressing a crucial United Nations Security Council meeting in New York, called to focus on the ongoing violence in this country.

The special meeting, requested by the Organisation of African Unity, is expected to be a marathon affair with 40 speakers scheduled to take part.

At the time of going to press, it was planned that the meeting would be addressed first by nine OAU foreign ministers, followed by members of the Security Council. Thereafter, there would be addresses from representatives of countries which are not members of the Security Council, and finally the South African lead-

ers present.

In addition to Foreign Minister Pik Botha, those who will address the meeting include ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo, Transkei ruler Bantu Holomisa, Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew and Dr J N Reddy of the National People's Party.

The meeting is expected to continue at least until tomorrow, but it could spill over into Friday.

It was reported earlier that a tentative consensus had been reached among the 15 members of the Security Council, whereby a resolution would be proposed that was acceptable to both the Government and ANC.

● More reports — Page 17

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Mandela comes out with guns blazing

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — ANC president Nelson Mandela delivered a ringing indictment of the government at a crowded meeting of the United Nations Security Council today.

He accused the government of a campaign of "state terrorism" against the ANC and alleged that the Inkatha Freedom Party had become an "instrument and surrogate" of the government in its "campaign of violence".

But he did not produce new evidence to support his allega-

● See page 3.

tions, or to back ANC claims of government complicity in the Boipatong massacre, and he relied on already published court evidence, and the findings of commissions and of South African and foreign investigators, to support his claims of security force complicity in the violence.

The Security Council chamber was so crowded for the meeting that some UN personnel were forced to stand. The public galleries were packed to capacity with delegations from Codesa and their supporters in the United States.

At least 35 speakers have requested a hearing, although

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

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World body sees 'racist regime' in new light

30 JUL 1992 STAR 16/7/92

The South African Government stands before the UN Security Council this week to try to convince the world body of its bona fides. PHIL MOLEFFE reports.

THE decision by the United Nations Security Council to invite all groups taking part in CODESA — including homeland leaders — to address the world body signals a significant softening of attitudes and the adoption of an apparent neutral approach towards the South African conflict.

The UN had hitherto regarded homeland governments and leaders as products of apartheid — an ideology the world body considered to be a crime against humanity.

Only the PAC and ANC enjoyed some legitimacy and were accorded permanent observer missions at the UN.

But yesterday, leaders from the liberation movements, the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, among others, attended the Security Council emergency meeting on the continued violence which has claimed more than 7 000 lives in two years.

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders and then decide what to do to help South Africa's transition to democracy.

This is a shift from the Security Council's past practices when it used to listen only to liberation movements and their

pass a resolution against the apartheid regime.

Professor Robert Shirre of the department of political science at the University of Cape Town said the United Nations was adopting a new style of trying to be neutral and listen to all the parties involved.

"While the end of the Cold War, the UN, and the Security Council in particular, have been trying to be impartial towards regional issues," he said.

Human rights lawyer Professor John Dugard said the Security Council was viewing South Africa in a different light because of the political changes introduced since February 1990.

"South Africa has met the main demands of the Security Council by repealing discriminatory and repressive laws," Professor Dugard said.

He predicted that the UN would still condemn the Government for failing to bring the violence to an end, would send

former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance to South Africa as a special representative, and would try to get all parties back to the negotiation table.

Professor Dugard said an interesting aspect of the meeting in New York was the presence of Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei.

The world body has consistently refused to recognise homeland governments, let alone invite them to speak at the international forum.

Professor Dugard singled out Mr Mangope as using the United Nations meeting as a "strategic" on his part to secure a belated recognition for his independent state.

He said the UN mediation could prove to be to the advantage of both the Government and the ANC as neither party would appear to have given in to the other's demands. "The head of the department

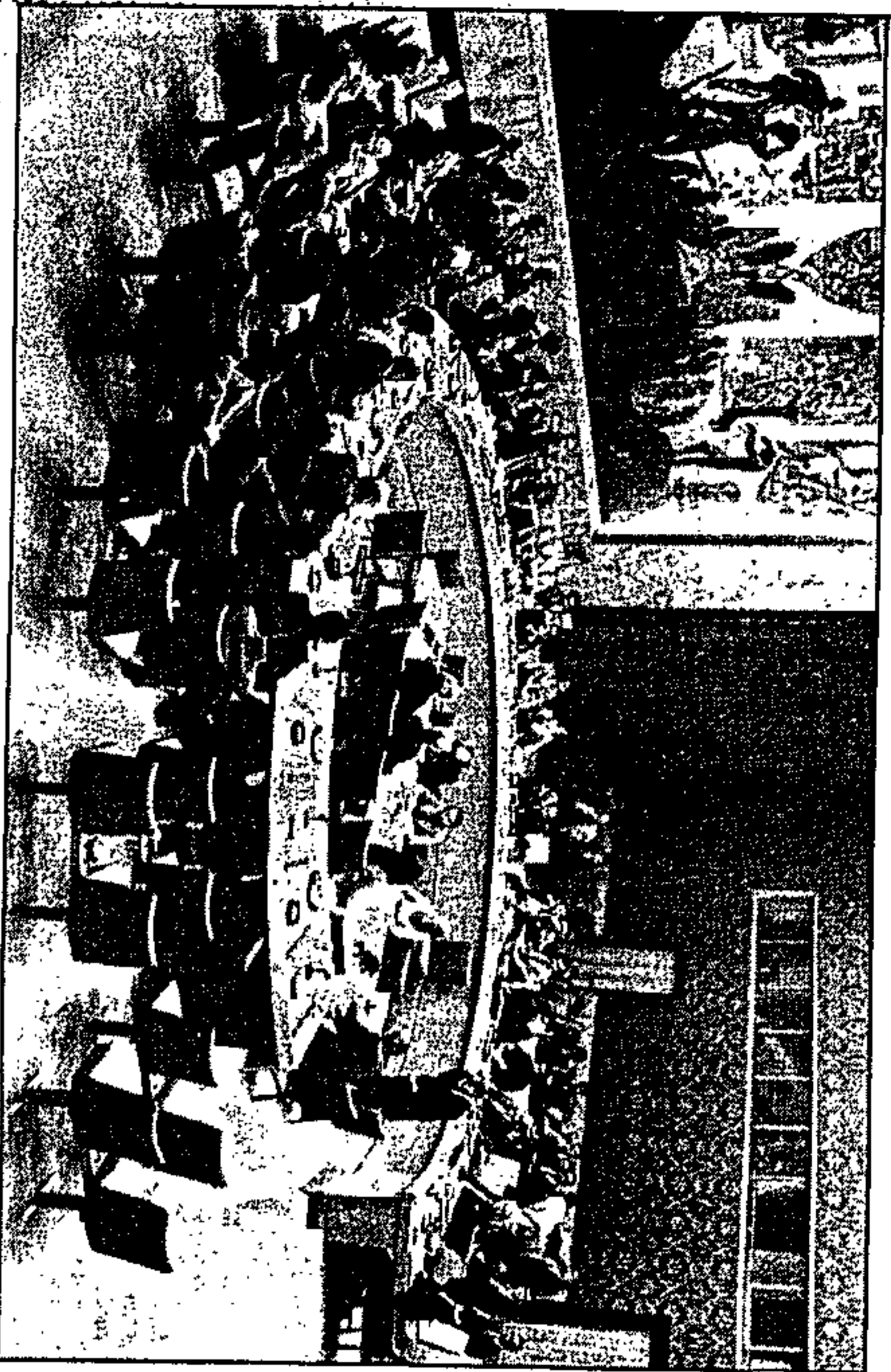
of political studies at the University of Cape Town, Professor Herman Gilmore, said that while it was very good that the "international avenue" was being pursued, the scope for foreign intervention was fairly limited and at the most would be of a symbolic nature.

Professor Gilmore said there were unrealistic expectations about what foreign intervention could deliver.

South Africa, which was expelled from the world body in the 1970s, will appear before the Security Council meeting standing on a different platform.

While in the past the regime had stood in the dock to plead not guilty before world opinion, this time South Africa will attempt to convince world leaders that the Government is committed to democracy and that everything possible is being done to bring an end to the violence.

"The ANC and PAC have already indicated they would ask the world body to send a special representative and a monitoring group to SA," said ANC president Nelson Mandela. "It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening." □



Flashback . . . the UN Security Council in the 1970s when South Africa was expelled.

Perfect timing — then along

Came Coetzee

CABINET members, who expected to be enjoying a traditionally restful July, instead met in a marathon session in the Union Buildings on Tuesday. Their task was to respond to Mr Justice Goldstone's recent criticisms of Government inaction and State unhelpfulness regarding his commission's proposals for practical measures to combat the violence.

The issues — controversial battalions, hostels, dangerous weapons, hardy police investigations — had been knocking around in South African political circles for quite some time. The reason that they required and received an immediate response was that the violence debate was about to shift to New York. Mr de Klerk and his strategists decided that they could not let Foreign Minister Pi Botha go into the emergency UN Security Council meeting and face a savaging on the Goldstone criticisms.

He certainly would have been savaged, although the ANC was sure to raise similar complaints. Judge Goldstone's carried the weight of neutrality simply because they came from a judge and not a political party.

But the Government, a tactical past-master, imagined spin-offs beyond protecting its veteran international spokesman.

By promising action on the very eve of the UN meeting, Pretoria would seize the initiative and be seen to be responding positively to the current impasse. The focus could then be shifted to the ANC, which would be asked why, in the face of manifest movement by the Government side, it refused to return to the negotiating table.

Further, the Government announcement would achieve the ANC's latest demands while avoiding the political embarrassment of responding directly to the ANC. It was a clever tactical

President de Klerk's latest moves on violence were cleverly and carefully timed. But, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, even the best-laid plans can't take fate into account.

And most important of all from the ANC point of view, the latest intrigue occurred weeks, rather than years, ago.

This suggests that the Government will not get as easy a ride as it might have hoped for. A relatively safe prediction for the outcome of the UN encounter is a score-draw. The Security Council was in any event never expected to make a clean, "one-side-or-the-other" finding — now it is likely to be overwhelmed by a cacophony of traded accusations.

But when the last flashbulb has popped after what now promises to be a particularly long-drawn-out session, even by UN standards, the action will inevitably shift back to home soil — and the Government will be expected to act on its promises regarding the violence.

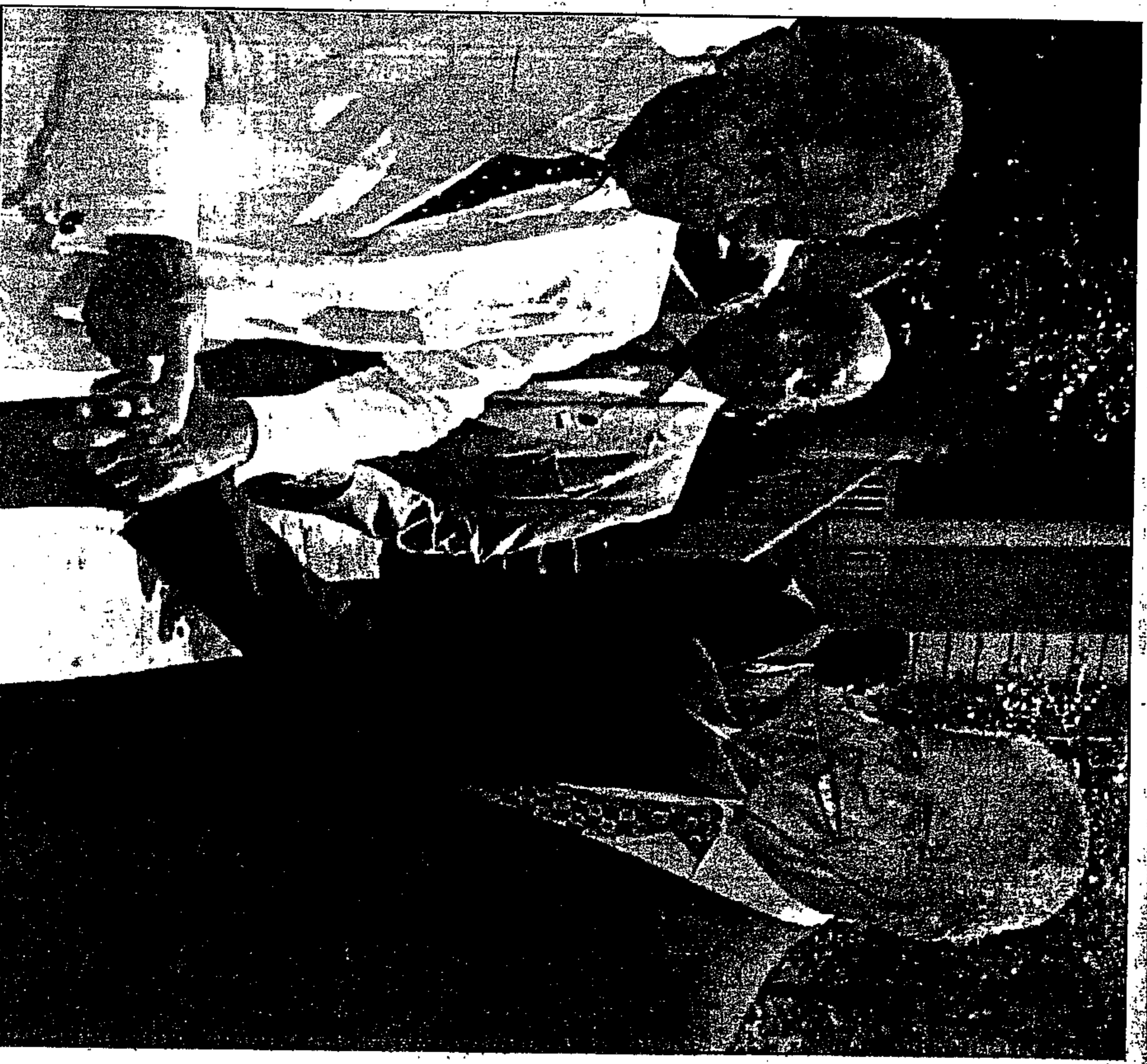
Those promises, notwithstanding the ANC's view that they are insufficient in themselves to get negotiations restarted, could well get things moving again in the anti-violence campaign. The disbandment of controversial SADF battalions and Kooveet might, at least partially, serve to lower the confrontational temperature in the areas in which they have been operating. Similarly, visible movement on the prosecution of policemen implicated in illegal activities might begin to restore a modicum of trust in the State's intention to root out miscreants in its own ranks.

On the hostels, although Mr de Klerk's undertaking is vague, there is a chance that the intolerable delay in taking action might be drawing to a close. And on traditional weapons, there is the promise of firm legislative action at last.

For these and other reasons, an intervention which might have been born of tactical considerations and tailored for international consumption could yet serve to provide much-needed impetus in the search for peace at home. □

STAR 16/7/92

(26/4)



Warm encounter . . . Nelson Mandela meets New York mayor David Dinkins this week. While in New York, Mr Mandela is to ask the UN for a representative from the world body to investigate township violence.

Picture: AFP

Support FW, urges rightwinger ^(304A)

5 MAR 16 17 12
Pretoria Correspondent

Independent MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe has called on whites — including right-wingers — to cast aside their differences and support President FW de Klerk to defeat the ANC in an election.

Addressing the Pretoria Press Club yesterday, Mr van der Merwe,

who was ousted from the CP recently for failing to abide by party policy, said Mr de Klerk stood "head and shoulders" above other white political leaders.

He urged rightwingers to become part of the political mainstream by entering the negotiation process and working for a federation in which Afrikaners would be able

to express their cultural identity within internationally acceptable norms.

"The right wing needs a new strategy. We need to put aside our small differences and support Mr de Klerk to take on the ANC and win a general election.

"There is no other other way forward for the right wing."

ANC occupies NP offices in Cape

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — At least 15 ANC Youth League members and two senior ANC figures occupied the offices of the National Party in Burg Street yesterday in an action which brought hundreds of people to central Cape Town.

The occupation of the NP offices was preceded by a mock trial, attended by thousands of ANC Youth League supporters, during which President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha were given "life sentences".

Among those who entered the D.F. Malan Building as part of the ANC's mass action

campaign were the organisation's western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni and regional executive member Christmas Tinto.

It is understood that the NP's offices were unoccupied when the group entered with a document demanding an end to NP rule; and end to the "low-intensity war" against the ANC and its allies; and an interim government and a constituent assembly.

After they occupied the offices, policemen entered the building and closed the iron gate at the entrance. Standing on the steps in front of the gate, they refused to allow reporters, except a journalist from Die Burger, into the building. Hundreds of people stood

chanting behind a row of khaki-clad marshals outside the building, who allowed the drivers of vehicles parked in Burg Street to remove them.

A Youth League spokesman said plans for a sit-in at the Department of Manpower's offices were called off because of a large police presence.

The occupation of the NP's offices followed a mock trial by the Youth League on the Grand Parade yesterday of President de Klerk and some of his ministers.

There was a strong police presence on the Parade, about a third of which was closed off for parking.

Before the "trial", ANC MP Jan van Eck said the Government was illegitimate because it had no mandate from the

people of South Africa.

"When President de Klerk made his speech in February 1990, we were all very hopeful when he said he would take South Africa to democracy. He lied."

Mr van Eck said the country was in turmoil since the breakdown of Codesa.

The present violence proved that the Government was illegitimate.

"President de Klerk's disbanding of 32 Battalion was good timing because he was trying to fool the international community that he was in control of the country."

"The people of South Africa and the ANC campaigned for the disbanding of 32 Battalion

and this is a victory for them."

He criticised Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who, he said, had "completely repoliticised the police force" within a few months, allowing them to launch vicious attacks on the ANC. He called for Mr Kriel to be replaced by his predecessor, Adrian Vlok.

Mr van Eck said that if those killed in Bolpatong had been white, the Government would have demolished the hostels and would not have waited for Mr Justice Goldstone to tell them to do something about it.

"The inaction of the Government means it is indirectly guilty of the murder of the people in Bolpatong."

New body to focus on aspirin

An organisation that seeks to highlight the benefits and risks of using aspirin, as well as recent discoveries of new uses for it, was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

Harry Seitel, Wits University professor of African diseases and honorary president of the SA Aspirin Foundation, said preparations of salicylates, of which aspirin was an example, had been used for centuries for relief of pain.

"But it was only in the latter half of the 20th century that the new science of molecular biology discovered how aspirin works."

Federalism the answer

By Mkeed Kotlole
Pretoria Bureau

Federalism is the solution to South Africa's political problems, according to retiring South African ambassador to Bophuthatswana Dr Willem Koize (61).

Dr Koize is also author of the recently published "Voetspore in die Kalahari".

The ambassador, who is retiring at the end of this month, was speaking at his farewell party in the Bophuthatswana capital, Mmabatho, yesterday.

Acting State President T M Mofokeng and Mafikeng

mayor Sidney Gordon were among the dignitaries who attended the function.

Dr Kotze, former MP for Parys in the Free State, was appointed ambassador to Bophuthatswana in 1982.

He said the "peace, harmony and co-operation in the nonracial society of Bophuthatswana" could form the basis for federalism as a way of life in South Africa in the future.

Dr Koize said he could find no reason why Bophuthatswana and its neighbours could not unite to make a better future for themselves.

The foundations of racial harmony had already being

envoy

firmly laid in both of these countries, the outgoing ambassador went on to say.

"Federalism and power-sharing will bring about an undivided South Africa, devoid of political warlords and violence," Dr Koize said.

Such a government would bring about one nation, sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty.

Dr Koize is retiring to the Cape where he plans to spend most of his time writing.

"Voetspore in die Kalahari" published by Tafelberg about a fortnight ago, tells of his experiences in the Kalahari, where he grew up.

Krishnas told not to feed children

MBABANE — Members of a South African Hare Krishna group have been told to stop distributing food to hungry children in Swaziland by the country's Interior Ministry.

A ministry spokesman said no one could distribute food — even in a drought — without registering as an organisation.

The Hare Krishna mission has alarmed some Swazis who are unfamiliar with their shaven heads.

After they distributed food at one primary school in Mbabane, the headmistress forbade them to return.

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Former CP MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday confidently predicted that President F W de Klerk would win a majority in the inevitable democratic elections, and called on conservatives to throw their weight behind him.

"You can't play rugby from the grandstand," he told members of the Pretoria Press Club. "You have to be on the field to win."

When a reporter pointed out that he predicted, equally confidently, a majority of "no" votes in the referendum, Van der Merwe conceded he had been wrong but added that there was concrete evidence that the NP could win one person, one vote elections.

With the support of almost all whites and 70% of coloureds and Indians, De Klerk needed

Support FW says ex-CP MP

could then decide whether they should trek to one of the regions and become a majority.

The demarcation of a regional structure was inevitable, encouraging Afrikaners to get involved in the negotiations that would define the nature of this regional structure.

He would not comment on his future, saying only that he had not yet made up his mind, although he spent much of his speech speaking of De Klerk in glowing terms.

His current role was to encourage right-wingers to join the negotiation process and support the NP — the lesser of two evils. He repeated his claim that there were irreconcilable differences between factions of the CP.

ANC preparing blacks for future public service

PRETORIA — The ANC has started intensive preparations to equip blacks to take up middle and senior management posts in the public service under a new government.

ANC senior spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC was committed to a more integrated and representative public service and this policy would be implemented soon after a

change of government.

He said eight blacks were in the UK undergoing training in public administration in a programme prepared by the UK government.

Another 14 were in France studying the basics of international relations after which they would undergo training in the UK.

Offers to train blacks for public administration had also been received from Australia and from New Zealand. So far these offers had not been taken up.

Macozoma said certain senior public servants would have to retire to make way for black entrants after installation of a new government. However, their benefits — including pensions and gratuities — would be unaffected.

Public Servants' Association GM Hans Olivier said the body had no objection to black postings, provided incumbents had the required qualifications and were appointed on merit.

"But as soon as you start artificially pushing people into jobs for which they are not equipped, you have serious problems."

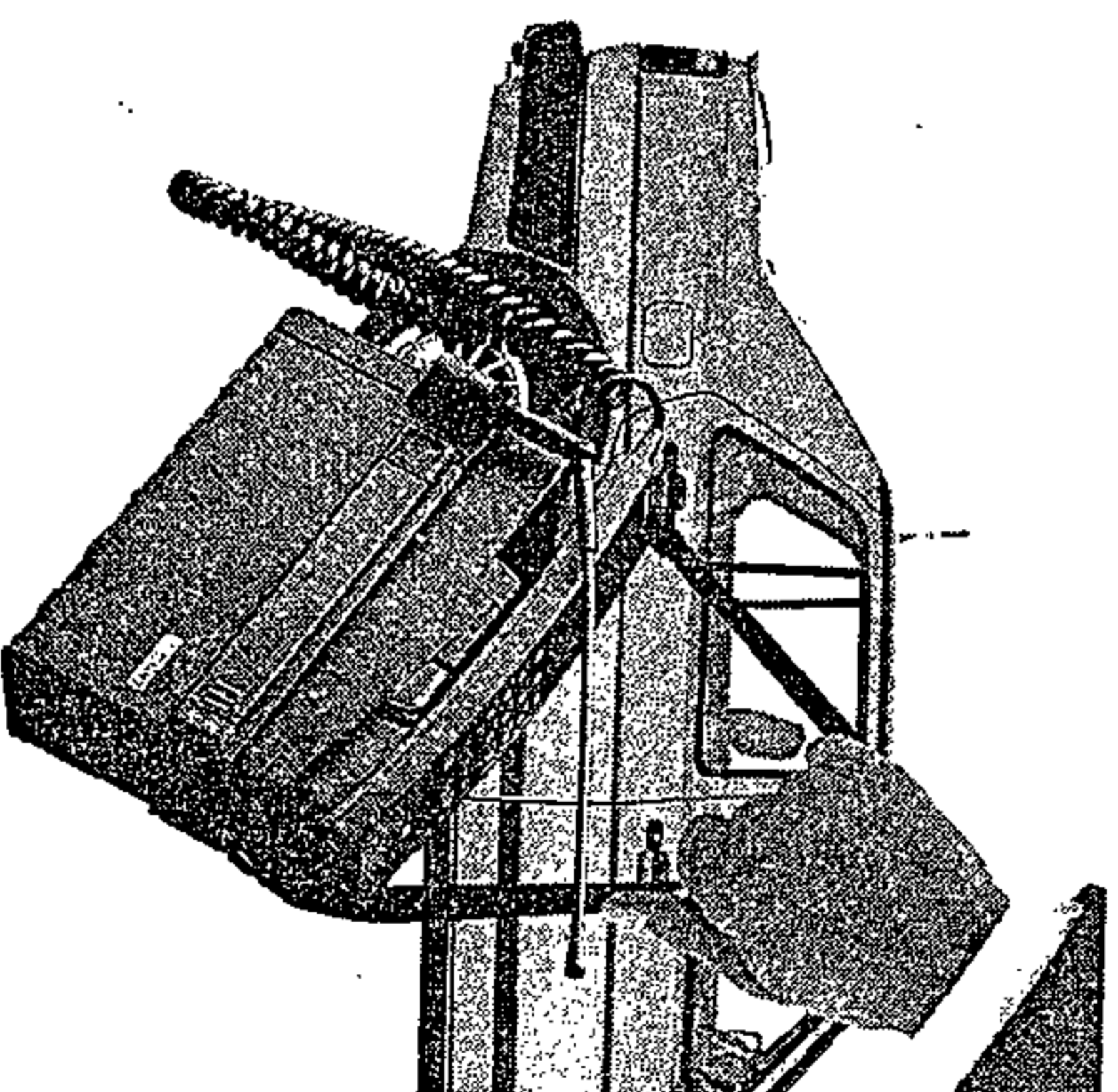
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Police seek power to halt protests

CAPE TOWN — The police yesterday called for powers to prevent demonstrations which threatened violence, and said any new legislation on demonstrations should not limit them to taking action only when lives were actually threatened.

The SAP proposal, presented during a public session of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the lawful control of mass demonstrations, would restrict the absolute right to demonstrate which an international panel of experts insisted on in their report.

The report said force should be used only when demonstrations turned violent, and that the subjectively perceived threat of violence should not be grounds for prohibiting a demonstration.

The Justice Department also felt that the panel had overemphasised the right to demonstrate at the expense of the protection of the public.

But the ANC and Cosatu called for tough legislation prohibiting the carrying of weapons at demonstrations and suggested that the police be given measures to prevent demonstrations which threatened the rule of peaceful assembly.

ANC-Cosatu legal representative Fink Haysom said weapons should be totally prohibited, police should have the right to forcibly remove weapons and participants in demonstration who carried weapons should be liable for prosecution. "Such measures could include harsh restrictions and prohibitions on organisations which

LINDA ENSOR

continued to indicate that they will not or cannot control weapons at gatherings."

Inkatha legal representative Louis Visser SC called for a distinction between cultural weapons and dangerous weapons, saying that only weapons which created the opportunity or propensity for violence should be prohibited. Cultural weapons should be allowed at cultural gatherings, and special arrangements could be made to have the weapons transported to the venue.

SAP legal representative David Gordon SC said it was the responsibility of the organisers of a demonstration to ensure people did not carry arms — forceable disarmament by the police should be only the second option. Gordon conceded that cultural weapons should be allowed and said that while the legislation should contain an absolute prohibition on all weapons, the Supreme Court should have the power to grant permission for cultural weapons to be carried in certain instances.

Other issues raised by the legal representatives of the SAP, Justice Department, the ANC-Cosatu alliance and Inkatha were the penalties to be imposed on the failure to give the authorities notice of a demonstration, or on the breach of its conditions, and provision for spontaneous demonstrations.

Haysom said Cosatu and Saccola were negotiating an agreement on peaceful picketing on private premises.

Poll: few believe govt is in control

PRETORIA — Almost two thirds of respondents in two recent HSRC surveys believed government had little or no control over political violence.

Results of the polls, released yesterday, showed that most respondents felt "unsafe or very unsafe" *BIDAY 14/7/92*

Each survey, undertaken by researchers I C Rhodie, Chris de Kok and Charl Schutte, involved samples of 2 000 people — 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians.

The surveys were conducted in February and April. In the February survey 68% of all respondents supported ANC president Nelson Mandela as SA leader. In April his support stood at 62%.

President F W de Klerk received the support of 65% of Indian respondents in both surveys.

His coloured support increased from 70% in February to 78% in April, while 56% of white respondents supported De

GERALD REILLY (304)

Klerk in February and 53% in April.

The majority opposed private armies.

Support for De Klerk's interim government proposal in February came from 45% of coloureds, 47% of whites, 55% of Indians and 53% of blacks. In April the proportions were 58% coloureds, 55% whites, 66% blacks and 73% Indians.

In February and April 64% of respondents thought government had little or no control over the violence.

In the total sample 46% felt unsafe or very unsafe and 37% felt safe or very safe. And 85% of those who felt unsafe or very unsafe believed the government had little or no control over violence.

The researchers said the results confirmed the expectation that a feeling of insecurity went hand in hand with a lack of trust in the state's security forces.

UN to urge renewed negotiations

Govt guilty of state terror, says Mandela

8/10A 16/7/92

SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — Charging that the SA government "has never relented in its war against the democratic movement", ANC president Nelson Mandela asked the UN Security Council yesterday to provide "continuous monitoring" to help restore peace.

At the same time, he submitted to the council documents he said would prove the "criminal intent" of government, both in instigating violence and in failing to curb it and to prosecute those responsible.

Mandela accused government of conducting a "cold-blooded strategy of state terror" to impose its will in negotiations. He also stressed that even if the violence was controlled, the ANC, while still committed to negotiations, would return to the table only if gov't was prepared to accept "majority rule" according to "internationally accepted standards".

The council was meanwhile preparing to adopt an even-handed resolution that stopped far short of endorsing Mandela's condemnation.

The text which will probably be adopted today, emphasises "the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible" — language that was understood to have been insisted on by the Russian representative on the instructions of President Boris Yeltsin.

The only explicit criticism of the government is directed at the shooting of unarmed protesters after Boipatong.

The government is "strongly urged" to take "immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to

bring those responsible to justice".

US ambassador Edward Perkins said the Bush administration had full confidence in the Goldstone commission and supported the efforts of the national peace accord.

"The UN stands ready to help these efforts but they will only bear fruit if the parties themselves resolve to control the violence."

British representative Sir David Hannay said a troika of EC foreign ministers would visit SA later this year to explore ways of restoring momentum to the negotiations. "We would expect such help to be aimed at reinforcing the peace structures that South Africans have already built."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, invited to sit at the council table, listened impassively. He and Mandela had earlier greeted each other with apparent warmth.

Mandela, who at a news conference before the session had vowed to prove to the council that incidents like Boipatong were government orchestrated, devoted most of his speech to detailing the findings of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the recent OAU fact-finding mission and such groups as the Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

He made clear that in his view the Security Council would have to go beyond sending a special envoy to SA and should provide "continuous monitoring" once the envoy had reported back.

There were signs that the ANC might oppose UN Secretary-General Boutros

To Page 2

UN hearing

8/10A 16/7/92

Boutros-Ghali's choice of former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for the task in favour of a more prominent figure such as former president Jimmy Carter.

Senegalese Foreign Minister Djibo Ka, who led off the debate for the OAU, advocated only that the secretary-general dispatch a special representative "with a broad enough mandate" from the council.

He said the UN could help "consolidate the measures for combating the violence" and relaunching Codesa.

He was at pains to justify the council's involvement suggesting that while the violence had not thus far spilled over SA's borders, it might become a threat to regional peace if it remained unchecked.

Botha has postponed addressing the council until today. He will speak first, followed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, Ciskei president Brig Oupa Gqozo, the DP's Ken Andrew and other Codesa parties.

At a news conference before the debate, Mandela noted that far more people had died in SA's violence than in Yugoslavia. He dismissed President F W de Klerk's

From Page 1

announcement that government would implement many of the recommendations of the Goldstone commission as a "raw manoeuvre" to win support from the council.

Earlier in the day Mandela met Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton privately. He said he could not attend last night's convention session because he would be busy at the UN.

Mandela was careful not to impose himself on US electoral politics. While he implicitly criticised President George Bush for having lifted sanctions prematurely, he also praised Bush for his willingness to consult on a regular basis and for supporting his call for a Security Council meeting.

Meanwhile Sapa reports from London an international seminar on political violence in SA ended yesterday with a call for the international community to be given the means to end the fighting.

The two-day hearing, convened by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, found that the primary responsibility for the continuing violence lay with the SA government, "since it has failed to take effective measures to end it".

FW warned he may be killed

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Former "death squad" policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee, who is being hunted by his former colleagues, yesterday warned that President FW de Klerk was the prime target of "third force" assassins.

"President De Klerk is in great danger — from within, from the same set of people who have just failed to murder me . . . I used to be one of them. I still have my contacts," he said.

Mr De Klerk was leaving himself and South Africa exposed to peril by being slow to purge suspect elements from the security forces, Mr Coetzee said.

The warning was given after Scotland Yard and the Foreign Office yesterday confirmed that two South African agents were arrested in April on suspicion of recruiting Northern Ireland Protestant terrorists to silence Mr Coetzee by murdering him.

The South African and British governments, up to the level of the offices of Mr De Klerk and Prime Minister Mr John Major, are co-operating on the case.

Captain Pamela du Randt and Mr Leon Flores, identified as military intelligence agents, were detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act late on April 14 along with an Ulster extremist with known terrorist links.

They were released and expelled from Britain

SADF deny bid to murder ex-policeman

THE SA Defence Force yesterday denied that it was trying to assassinate Mr Dirk Coetzee, the former security policeman turned ANC supporter.

"It's not true," spokesman Colonel John Rolt said. Captain Pamela du Randt and Mr Leon Flores were sent to London to confirm a possible link between uMkhonto weSizwe and the IRA, he said.

"During the visit one member, acting without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SADF or any other government authority allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Mr Dirk Coetzee."

The British and SA authorities had embarked on a "thorough investigation". The probe included "the possibility of collusion between the individual in question and any individual or individuals who are not members of the SADF", he said.



WARNING . . .
Dirk Coetzee

after three days of interrogation, during which they made statements to the police. The Ulsterman was ordered back to Belfast.

Scotland Yard were tipped off by "concerned, respectable" South African policemen.

The two suspect agents were under Special Branch and MI5 domestic intelligence surveillance from the moment they landed at Heathrow.

Special Branch put out a red alert that Mr Coetzee's life was in danger after the two agents and the Ulstermen were bugged as they met three members of an Ulster paramilitary group at a London pub.

Mr Major, who was being regularly briefed, was profoundly disturbed by the contact between South African agents and suspect Ulster Protestant terrorists, and has been given assurances by Mr De Klerk's office that the link will be investigated.

Govt steps to curb violence under fire

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk's new steps to combat violence have been criticised across the political spectrum, and the ANC says the moves are not enough to lure it back to the negotiating table.

While political groups conceded that the steps on controversial SADF battalions, hostels and dangerous weapons could produce positive results, the reception has been generally uncharitable.

Mr de Klerk announced the initiatives in a statement timed to coincide with the start in New York of the UN Security Council special session on violence. The move followed criticism from the Goldstone Commission.

Yesterday the DP attacked the Government for not taking action earlier, and

CP spokesman on law and order Moolman Mentz said the latest moves wrongly placed the police under suspicion.

In the ANC's preliminary response, spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr de Klerk's announcement contained "positive elements" but does not go far enough.

The ANC national working committee met yesterday to consider Mr de Klerk's announcement. The ANC welcomed the disbanding of 31 Battalion, 32 Battalion and Koevoet, but said their integration into other SADF and SAP units was still to be clarified.

The violence moves came after a meeting of top Government negotiators in Pretoria chaired by Mr de Klerk. Observers interpreted the timing as a Government attempt to seize the initiative at the UN meeting.

Codesa deadlock costs SA taxpayers a fortune

STAR 16/7/92

Political Reporter (304A)

The deadlock in Codesa negotiations is not only expensive in political terms — it is also costing South African taxpayers a packet.

The World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, refurbished and adapted especially to house regular working group meetings and plenary sessions of the negotiating forum, is now standing all but empty.

The wait for the return of the negotiators has cost R400 000 so far.

Since the suspension of Codesa's myriad activities on June 23, the Government has had to continue forking out for the offices of administra-

tive staff and the 19 participating parties.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development told The Star that the Codesa Management Committee had decided to reserve the space until at least the end of September.

The only personnel who are still at the conference centre are those who are employed on a "temporary-permanent" basis dealing with enquiries and filing Codesa documents.

For each month that the deadlock drags on, the Government pays R43 000 in salaries, R100 000 for the rental of equipment and R250 000 for office and parking rental.

Unite against ANC — ex-CP man

PRETORIA. — South Africans had to choose between a future with President F W de Klerk and his moderate allies or ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his radical partners, expelled Conservative Party member Mr Koos van der Merwe said yesterday.

Addressing the Pretoria Press

Club at a luncheon, the independent Overvaal MP said South Africans had to stand together as never before to defeat the radicals.

He predicted that the United Nations' decisions on South Africa would urge Mr Mandela to go back to the negotiation table.

He also said he did not expect one percent of whites to support

the ANC, and that more than 70% of Indians and coloureds would vote against the ANC.

Asked about the accuracy of his predictions, in the light of his predicted "no" vote victory in the recent referendum, Mr Van der Merwe admitted that he had been wrong, but believed the ANC would lose the vote. — Sapa

MP retains status (304A)

CP MP Fanie van Vuuren's status within the CP would not be affected by his arrest for allegedly murdering his wife, the CP said yesterday. *BIDA 1617197*

Van Vuuren, 39, is on R200 bail after appearing in the Carletonville Magistrate's Court on Tuesday. He was charged with the fatal shooting of his wife Hermiena on April 25. (2)

NOBODY appears to have been able to come up with a solution or constitutional model for SA which takes full account of perhaps one of the most complex societies on earth.

The best brains have tussled with the problem and produced a variety of models based on various systems, but to no avail.

SA is beset by too many "cart-before-the-horse" type of detailed solutions. People are too concerned with the detail before the broad concepts have been debated or agreed upon. Power politics is trying to dictate events. A logical approach and concern for the best longer term interests of the population as a whole should guide the process.

SA, with its diversity of ethnicity, language, culture and creed, requires a unique global solution, and the only one which man has been able to devise is the United Nations.

While the UN model is fraught with problems and deficiencies, it is clearly the only model that has stood the test of time, spanning nearly 50 years. The advantage of using it as SA's future model is that the world body would hardly be able to reject it as non-democratic, as it is based on the UN itself.

Adoption of the basic UN model can be applied in a number of ways. For instance, use of the Security

SA could try the UN model

15/08/94 16/1/92

3044

Council model could be developed to elect the negotiators for a new constitution.

Since there are a large number of "interest groups" in SA, I suggest the following procedure:

All groups who wish to be represented at the negotiating table would be required to prepare their manifestos and stand for election on a one-man one-vote universal franchise basis. Any interest group could stand for election. If it polled, say, at least 1-million votes, it could be represented at the negotiating table.

Since SA has a total population of about 37-million of which there are probably about 20-million potential voters, this would mean that even if one group polled 5-million votes and another only 1-million, they would have an equal say at the table.

This process could theoretically produce a maximum of 20 interest groups and perhaps a minimum of eight or 10.

Because of the polarisation in SA over the past 40 years, and indeed since Union, the initial voting is like-

TREVOR WOODBURN

ly to go along racial or tribal lines and follow current political ideologies. Only after these interest groups have interacted in a UN-type forum will race and culture give way to more practical issues.

Eventually all groups will become "colour blind" as the system evolves into a decision process that benefits all groups through compromise.

In defence of this concept, it should be noted that the UN Security Council comprises 15 members, some permanent and some by rotation. Each member represents a country. Permanent members such as Britain, with a population of 56-million has one representative. So have the US (population, 260-million), Germany (80-million) and China (1-billion).

In the SA model of the "security council"/"negotiating table" each

from each "canton" or group of cantons should that approach be adopted.

The general assembly in turn would elect the "Security Council"/"President's Council", where guidelines would be laid down for representation on this council. Such a model would provide for many hundreds of interest groups across the entire spectrum. There could be UN-type rules with permanent members and lesser groups being represented on a rotational basis.

The key to the concept is in the permanent members representing the key elements in SA society — the extreme left, centre or extreme right, where capitalism, socialism and communism could each have a say. Such a model would prevent another "African Marxist disaster" where a simple majority enables the winner to take all.

Most groups in SA accept the UN credentials, so how could any group reject these concepts? By adopting the UN model, SA would be able not only to meet the aspirations of its diverse interest groups but finally fall in line with the democratic principles embodied in its most vociferous critic — the UN.

The writer is MD of Woodburn Mann.

ETERN

Most feel Govt can't halt bloodshed

Staff Reporters **EN4**

Almost two-thirds of respondents in two recent Human Sciences Research Council surveys believe the Government has little or no control over the violence ravaging the country, the HSRC said yesterday.

Conducted in April and February this year by political experts Dr Nic Rhoadie, Dr Chris de Kock and Dr Charl Schutte, the surveys showed that the greater

proportion of respondents "felt unsafe or very unsafe". Both surveys involved samples of 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians. **STAR 16/7/92**

One of the findings was that perceptions had changed little since February. **304A**

The HSRC said 85 percent of those who felt unsafe or very unsafe also believed the Government had little or no control over the violence, con-

firming expectations that a feeling of insecurity went hand-in-hand with a lack of trust in the State's agents for maintaining law and order.

"It can also be deduced that a feeling of insecurity will correlate with self-arming and the founding of mechanisms for self-defence (eg private armies). As such, a feeling of insecurity can be regarded as a primary factor in promoting violence," said the HSRC.



PENSIVE PIK . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi share a pensive moment before the UN Security Council meeting in yesterday. Pictures: AP

ANC infiltrating arms to SA, Pik tells UN

From SIMON BARBER
NEW YORK. — ANC members, operating with the complicity of the Zimbabwean army and perhaps without the knowledge of the movement's leaders, were attempting to infiltrate weapons into South Africa. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiously even-handed resolution calling on all parties to return to the bargaining table, Mr Botha asserted the government's desire to end the violence and negotiate a new constitution.

Throughout his speech he referred to "the ANC/communist alliance". Answering points raised by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, Mr Botha:

- Offered to hold immediate bilateral talks with the ANC on resolving the organisation's lingering claims that political prisoners are still being held
- Hotly contested Mr Mandela's assertion that the government was determined to keep a veto for



LONG DAY . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela stifles a yawn at the meeting.

its Zimbabwe representatives to transfer assault rifles and grenade launchers stored at Masinga to the Northern Transvaal border for infiltration into South Africa.

This illustrated the difficulty of creating a climate for negotiations but was also "all the more reason for us to talk about these matters".

Mr Mandela was not present while Mr Botha spoke.

whites, arguing that the National Party had every intention of becoming a majority party under a new constitution;

- Urged both the ANC and Inkatha to join the government in setting up a "joint monitoring body", possibly with international observers, to defuse flashpoints, and

- Supported the establishment of a code of conduct under the auspices of the Goldstone Commission to ensure that mass action was peaceful.

He said that shortly before his departure he had received information that the ANC/South African Communist Party (SACP) alliance had instructed

27/17/92 (304A)



LAF

Mandela's claims on violence 'an insult'

Pik offers 'package deal'

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, struck a largely conciliatory note in the United Nations Security Council yesterday, saying that he would welcome a UN fact-finding mission to South Africa to investigate political violence — but he also described as "an insult" ANC claims of Government complicity in the violence.

He also offered the ANC a "package deal" aimed at disposing of a number of outstanding issues, among them the dispute over allegations that political prisoners were still being held in South Africa — a charge made yesterday by ANC president Nelson Mandela in his speech to the council.

Mr Botha's speech appeared to accurately anticipate the mood of the Security Council, which circulated a draft resolution yesterday proposing a representative of the Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, be sent to South Africa to investigate the violence and consult the parties to Codessa on the role the UN might play.

On SABC-TV's "Agenda" programme last night Mr Botha said the UN draft resolution that parties should "get back to the negotiation table as soon as possible" was a strong vindication of the Government.

He said the ANC's quest at the Security Council meeting had been a "total failure and they know it".

Replying to the Security Council to Mr Mandela's claims that the Government was promoting violence, Mr Botha said it was beyond his comprehension that anyone could accuse the Government of fomenting violence when its consequences at

home and abroad were disastrous.

"To accuse the Government of fostering violence is an insult," he said.

In private consultations before the debate was resumed yesterday, the Security Council decided to allow all parties which had requested a hearing the opportunity to speak. This means that at least 54 speeches will be heard — a near record for a UN meeting — including those from representatives of 48 countries, and leading members of Codessa.

In his address, Mr Botha alleged a conspiracy by the ANC to smuggle weapons, including AK-47s, into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

"It hurts me to be accused of fomenting violence between ethnic groups when we have at last removed ourselves from apartheid. We have every intention of making the National Party a majority party. That can only be done if we succeed in gaining a substantial number of votes from every section of the population.

"To entrench a white veto would alienate voters, deny us a majority and repudiate the referendum result.

"I urge this council to accept once and for all that my party is not a white party any longer. We offer a political home to every South African subscribing to the party's principles."

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had taken many initiatives to end the violence, often without the support of other parties. He said one such initiative involved his efforts to arrange a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, so that the public could see their leaders united in an effort to stop the violence. So far, all Mr de Klerk's efforts had failed, including a proposal for a meeting made on

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Pik offers 'package deal'
STAL 17/7/92
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July 2, which had been rejected by Mr Mandela. Mr Botha said the Government recognised that in any investigation of the violence "painful revelations may come to the fore as regards excesses and irregular actions by individuals in official agencies. But that was the purpose of an open society.

Later, when asked about the acceptability of former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance as a UN envoy in South Africa, Mr Botha told a press conference: "I would welcome Mr Vance in South Africa tomorrow."

Sapa reports that Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the Security Council.

While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to kick-start the stalled negotiations, Chief Buthelezi repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech to attack the ANC.

"My people are being killed by operatives of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe)," charged Chief Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity.

The ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally, he charged.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial stick of office and said he would carry it "to the end of my days".

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said he had no choice but to ask the Security Council to condemn "the South African regime for its involvement in the violence".

He formally invited the UN to send an international commission to South Africa to investigate and recommend measures to end the violence.

UN told of 'Harare's complicity'

ANC cadres

smuggling

arms

Pik

SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — ANC elements, with the complicity of the Zimbabwe National Army and possibly without the knowledge of the movement's leadership, were attempting to infiltrate weapons into SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha charged before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiously even-handed resolution calling on all parties to return to the bargaining table, Botha asserted government's desire to end the violence and negotiate a new constitution.

Throughout his presentation, Botha pointedly referred to the ANC as "the ANC-Communist Party alliance".

Answering points raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, Botha: Offered to hold immediate bilateral talks with the ANC on resolving the organization's lingering claims that political prisoners are still being held and that government had failed in its undertaking to repeal all repressive legislation; Hotly contested Mandela's assertion that government was determined to keep a veto for whites, arguing that the NP had every intention of becoming a majority party under a new constitution by aggressively competing for black votes which would only be alienated by the entrenchment of a white veto;

Urged the ANC and Inkatha to join government in setting up a joint monitoring body, possibly with international observers, to defuse township flashpoints; and Supported the establishment of a code of conduct under the auspices of the Gold-

stone commission to ensure that mass action remained peaceful.



Picture: AP

● **BOTHA**

In what seemed a direct retort to Mandela's claim that government was conducting a campaign of "state terror", Botha countercharged that the ANC had publicly admitted the existence of arms caches both inside SA and in Angola.

He said that shortly before his departure he had received information that the ANC-Communist Party alliance had instructed its Zimbabwe representative to transfer assault rifles and grenade launchers stored at Mashvinga to the northern Transvaal for infiltration into SA.

This, Botha said, illustrated the difficulty of creating a climate for negotiations, but was also "all the more reason for us to

To Page 2

Pik

B1DPH 17/1/92

talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process."

Mandela was not present as Botha spoke.

At a news conference after his address, Botha said he would be "very much encouraged" if the council adopted the draft resolution before it, since it put the international community on record as believing that SA had to solve its own problems without outside interference and "telling all parties to hurry and get around the negotiating table."

He hoped the UN secretary-general would send his special envoy to SA as soon as possible. All outside assistance was well, so long as it was done in consultation with all parties and did not constitute an effort to "run the show" — a level of intervention, Botha added, that the Security Council would not support either.

In an interview with SABC TV last night, Botha said the ANC would "get a resolution they do not want".

"The ANC is going to get a resolution telling them to go back to the negotiating table."

"The UN has said 'the SA government is quite right. We have listened to all of you and you had better all get back to the negotiations table.'"

Botha said the hearing was a victory for government. "The political attempt by the ANC to get at us was a total failure."

B1DPH

From Page 1

kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial he would carry it "to the end of my days".

He said his party would welcome a "strong, effective" international fact-finding mission to SA. But unless it was unbiased and fair, it would only exacerbate the situation.

In his address to the council, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday accused the ANC of destabilising its political opponents.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo also stated the ANC in his address, alleging it was no longer a progressive liberation movement, but had changed into an oppressive organisation bent on seizing power "through the barrel of a gun".

And PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Wednesday told the council it should empower the secretary-general to identify a neutral venue where the modalities of a constituent assembly for SA could be thrashed out.

He supported a draft resolution before the council empowering the secretary-general to send a UN mission to the country to investigate and make recommendations on the violence.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew told the council the international community could play a constructive role in resolving the crisis in SA, but in the end a new constitution would have to be drawn up by South Africans.

● Comment Page 8

Six to speak at UN on role of women in SA

Sowetan 17/7/92
■ Fast-paced developments at Codesa highlight the need for rural women's voices to be heard in changing world:

By Lulama Luti

IF you ever thought the happenings at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa are going too fast for your comprehension, take heart - you're not alone.

There are thousands of rural women in a similar position and are presumably worse off.

This is the reason why the Border Council of Churches' Ms Xoliswa Tom did not think twice about accepting the invitation to speak at the United Nations in a fortnight on the role of women.

"Our main concern is that Codesa is going too fast for them (rural women). They need empowerment more than ever before. And we need to tell the world that these women are there and they need help," she said.

Tom is one of six women who have been invited to address the United Nations on the role of South African women in the current

political situation.

The six prominent women leave the country on July 26 and will spend two weeks addressing and meeting other women's groups in New York and Washington DC.

The women are human rights campaigner and the Democratic Party's Ms Gill Noero; ANC research unit head Dr Frene Ginwala; PAC official Ms Patricia de Lile; head of the Women's Development Banking Ms Zanele Mbeki; and the Institute of Contextual Theology's Sister Bernard Ncube.

The trip has been organised by the African-American Institute; the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The co-ordinator of the tour, Mr Frank Ferrari, said the visit would enable the women to "underscore the role and voice of South African women within the current changing context".



Dobsonville Police Station commander Captain Isak Ludick addresses rival taxi drivers operating in the area yesterday after a confrontation which has caused tension in the township. PIC: SELLO MOTSEI

Pik, Buthelezi hit back at the ANC

Sowetan 17/7/92

■ FIGHTING BACK

Botha defends NP's constitutional proposals:

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha launched a stinging counter-attack against the ANC during his address to the United Nations' Security Council in New York yesterday.

The organisation also came under heavy fire from Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Responding to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's allegations of State terrorism, which Mandela made to the Security Council on Wednesday, Botha said the ANC was not the only victim of the violence.

He said investigations into the Boipatong massacre had indicated the violence could often be traced to a conflict between the ANC and IFP.

Reports of movement of ANC arms caches from Zimbabwe to South Africa were also a source for grave concern.

Defending the Government's constitutional proposals, Botha denied they were designed to

enable the Government to cling to power or to give whites a veto on a new constitution.

While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the ongoing violence and to kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech to attack the ANC.

"My people are being killed by operatives of MK," Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity, charged.

He said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

"There will be no solution to the South African problem unless at least the South African Government/National Party and the KwaZulu Government/IFP as well as the ANC alliance are party to the solutions attempted," Buthelezi said.

The IFP was not opposed at present to any international peace-keeping function by security or military forces.

A proposal before the Security Council requests that UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali send an envoy to South Africa to investigate the violence.

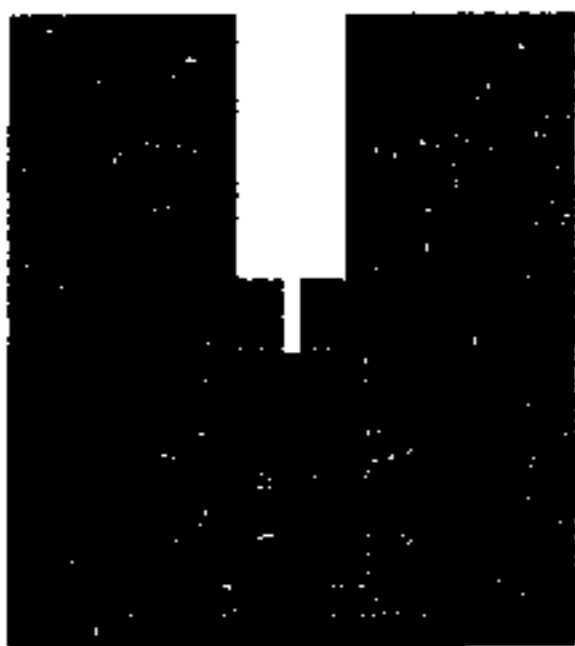
"We also have no serious objection to the establishment of some monitoring machinery to observe, on a continuous basis, developments in South Africa and to make recommendations," Buthelezi said.

304A

Staying power

304A

A return to negotiation will lighten gloom and renew economic confidence



Our cover picture is one used to illustrate the psychological principle of ambiguity. Depending on how you look at it, it shows a young woman or an old crone. This duality of image is intended to convey a little of the

conflicting feelings that present themselves to many people when they consider the future.

Is SA worth living in? The question has peculiar relevance for those who advocate an open society, democracy and free markets. These values are under intense stress.

As recently as March, white voters overwhelmingly endorsed the process of constitutional negotiation which would have led to SA's first one-man-one-vote election. The spirit in which the private sector canvassed for support for President F W de Klerk — and the sense of upliftment that ensued — indicated that most whites had thought things through, committed themselves to nonracialism, and accepted the consequences of the end of minority rule.

What has changed since then is that whites now increasingly wonder whether it is time to leave.

The answer lies in the debate surrounding the referendum itself — in which the ANC asked whites to support De Klerk against the segregationists. The *FM* crystallised the thinking of many people when we suggested on our cover of February 28, and in successive articles, that a "no" outcome would lead to the kind of social and political chaos to which emigration would be a rational alternative.

Specifically, it was reckoned that a poll defeat for De Klerk would mean:

□ Escalating instability as a minority sought to cling to power against a popular will expressed in stayaways, strikes, marches and, inevitably, violence;

□ Forgone growth as overseas bankers determined that SA did not meet the normal criteria for investment;

□ Deteriorating standards as education, health, telecommunications and other services fell from the limp hands of a corrupt State into an abyss of incompetence; and

□ A further breakdown of all systems of law and order as starvation and poverty forced the country into a state of feudalism and banditry.

Within four months — very soon after the euphoria of the referendum — these spectres have materialised. The goodwill that many were counting on has proved, if only temporarily, evanescent. Now the former partners in Codesa — since that is what they became by signing the Peace Accord — abuse each other and appeal to the UN, of all places, for moral vindication.

What makes the current situation appear worse than anything that has gone before is a simple fact. Since Sharpeville, the way out of the racial impasse has seemed to be negotiation; yet now the ANC spurns negotiation. So where now? Will the antagonists fight each other to a standstill before they talk to each other again?

Mistrust lies at the heart of the problem and elements of the ANC appear determined to exploit this regardless of the damage to the economy that "rolling mass action" is going to bring.

On April 1 1960, the *FM* published a leader in reaction to the Sharpeville shootings: "South Africa is on the road of crisis. The road may be mercifully short. It may also be long and paved with still more corpses. But of the presence of crisis there is

no doubt. The whole behaviour of the markets, of all the thinking men of affairs in every section of the community, proclaims it. So does opinion abroad and the reaction of investors abroad."

That was the mood after Sharpeville. A wave of emigration ensued and a feeling arose — particularly given the spread of independence throughout Africa — that "the revolution" was inevitable. But revolution did not occur. Instead there was a massive crackdown on dissent, security trials, the jailing of the Rivonia trialists — and growth in the economy ameliorated at least some of the immediate hardships of blacks.

In the Seventies, Portugal precipitately abandoned Africa and Ian Smith made his last stand in Rhodesia. The geographical bulwarks against insurrection had thus caved in. And in 1976 nearly every township rose up against oppression — giving the lie to the argument that separate development was working. Further emigration of skills and capital occurred.

By 1985 despair over township violence and the state of emergency was deepened by the Rubicon rand and an unprecedented world outcry against apartheid.

Reacting to the news of the day, many people see SA as heading one way — into the morass of shattered economies and failed democracies that litter Africa. Witness the state of education, health, housing, pensions, even the slow crumbling of the nation's road network. Desperately poor squatters have invaded the towns and cities posing health and crime risks. Political rivalry in black communities has reached a level of intolerance where disputes are settled by death rather than debate. Democracy under such conditions seems a long way off.

The inability really to understand the dynamics of what is happening heightens the

Continue →



Pensioners, schools, hospitals . . . widespread concern over falling standards

THE ECONOMY

FM 17/7/92

Fortitude before recovery

Our misfortune at present is that we are at crisis point in the fructification of two vital political initiatives. Their satisfactory convergence could be decisive.

The dominant one is, of course, negotiation to broaden the franchise to include the majority of the population so that all can share more equitably in the fruits of prosperity. If that should fail, nothing much else matters. For we shall all, without exception, be plunged into anarchy — the hell so feared by Thomas Hobbes.

The other important initiative is the long battle to stabilise prices and squeeze inflation out of the economy. Inflation here had its roots in the profligacy of a government desperate to sustain an apartheid policy inimical to economic growth, socially divisive and morally reprehensible.

The combination over time of inflation, which erodes savings and inhibits investment, and apartheid, which prevents the optimum allocation of resources through the marketplace and undermines initiative, is pretty near lethal.

Since the heyday of apartheid in the Seventies, when inflationary pressures intensified and became entrenched, the SA economy has moved from 25th place among the richest nations to 39th last year, according to the World Bank's latest development report. It lags also behind Libya and Gabon as the third richest in Africa.

GDP per capita here was R6 325 last year against a world average of R10 500. Yet in the Sixties this economy was one of the fastest-growing in the world.

We knew from experience elsewhere that getting rid of inflation was going to be extremely painful. And so it is proving to be. Unemployment is high and rising, so are company liquidations. No-one is shielded from the impact.

But there are encouraging signs. Consumers are no longer spending in anticipation of higher prices. Often they do not have the disposable incomes to spend. Wage demands are moderating with remuneration on some gold mines increasingly being linked to profitability.

Aggregate demand is in greater equilibrium with the economy's ability to supply; the balance of payments is in surplus; there is only modest international debt; there is spare productive capacity and inventories are low. Simply put, the economy is in good nick for recovery.

What is needed now more than anything else is fortitude, especially in the face of what is probably an inevitable campaign of civil disruption. For if negotiations resume, and if inflation is curbed, the euphoria among the economically active could be as high as it was among whites after the referendum. If that happens, a return to sustainable economic growth could be both swift and decisive. ■

PEACEKEEPING

No job for Martti

FM 17/7/92

The calling of an emergency UN Security Council debate on the breakdown of negotiations in SA this week was a tribute to the ANC's capacity to mobilise external support for its political position. This capacity has been considerably weakened since the collapse of communism, doubts over the nature of the emergent SA, and the Gulf War — which assured American dominance in world politics.

The ANC's anger over what it sees as "premature" relaxation of sanctions — including access to foreign loans — has partly arisen because it has seen its influence abroad wane. As in sport, it wishes South Africans to believe that the good things in life come with its blessing. This is why Nelson Mandela will attend the opening of the Barcelona Olympics.

Though the UN has changed its nature since the Sixties and the heyday of the Afro-Asian bloc, it evidently remains a potent symbol for the ANC of a forum to which appeals for justice — and justification — can be made. Now it wants a UN special representative appointed to SA in much the way one was appointed to Namibia to oversee the transition to independence in terms of the world body's Resolution 435.

Of course, a special representative need not have such theoretically far-ranging powers as Martti Ahtisaari, the Finnish diplomat, enjoyed in Windhoek. Such a figure would act for the secretary-general according to specifically dele-

gated powers. And the situation in SA is markedly different to that which prevailed in Namibia since there is no colonial power to surrender sovereignty.

The fact that the UN itself requested all Codesa parties to state their viewpoints suggests it will not pass anything as sweeping as Resolution 435 on SA. The organisation has its hands full with the civil war in what was Yugoslavia. And the government is also set to speak in New York.

Given the constraints, the UN could be expected to recommend a resumption of Codesa — with a greater or lesser degree of international involvement in assessing and monitoring the violence. This government appears ready to accept — and if the UN can produce the magic formula which will re-start negotiations, it will have fulfilled an important task.

Unfortunately, if it is true that the underlying factor in violence is the nascent civil war between the ANC and Inkatha, as the Goldstone Commission has suggested, no magic formula will end the killing. It would then be of paramount importance that any UN presence in this country be in a position to testify to the truth of what begets violence.

If government is sure of its position that it does not — in any of its areas of authority — shield elements of a third force, it has nothing to fear from such a presence. If it is not sure, it has misled the white electorate. ■

tendency to panic. In previous times of crisis critics blamed the uprisings on government's intransigence. Urban opposition groups, release their leaders and negotiate — and our problems will be solved, they argued. For two years after De Klerk opted for this course, everything seemed to be going according to forecast, but then the wheels came off.

To a large extent, we are witnessing an ANC power-play based on its need to consolidate a wavering constituency — but there is also the familiar Nat reluctance to surrender control. The old doomsday scenarios — which most believed had been laid to rest — have returned.

It is extremely important to state the case for optimism — however guarded. For one thing, unlike 1985, world opinion is with SA as a whole. The West desperately wants negotiations to succeed and to bring about peace and democracy. It wants to invest in this country and provide aid funds to pull the economy off the floor. This is not wishful thinking.

Much of sub-Saharan Africa's future depends on SA's political and economic success. If it can be assured, a great aid burden will be lifted off the developed nations. Hence the unprecedented step of inviting all parties at Codesa to state their case at this week's UN Security Council meeting in New York. Indeed, it is possible that the UN meeting will provide a face-saving formula for the parties to return to Codesa, or an equivalent forum.

Codesa, after all, was simply a means. Negotiations can be called something else, and smell as sweet. The ANC in particular needs a face-saving way out to talk again — and a dramatic gesture of some kind from De Klerk. Can we believe he has nothing up his sleeve this time?

There's no doubt that the world takes SA seriously and will hopefully play an active role if necessary in bringing about a settlement. It doesn't want another Sarajevo.

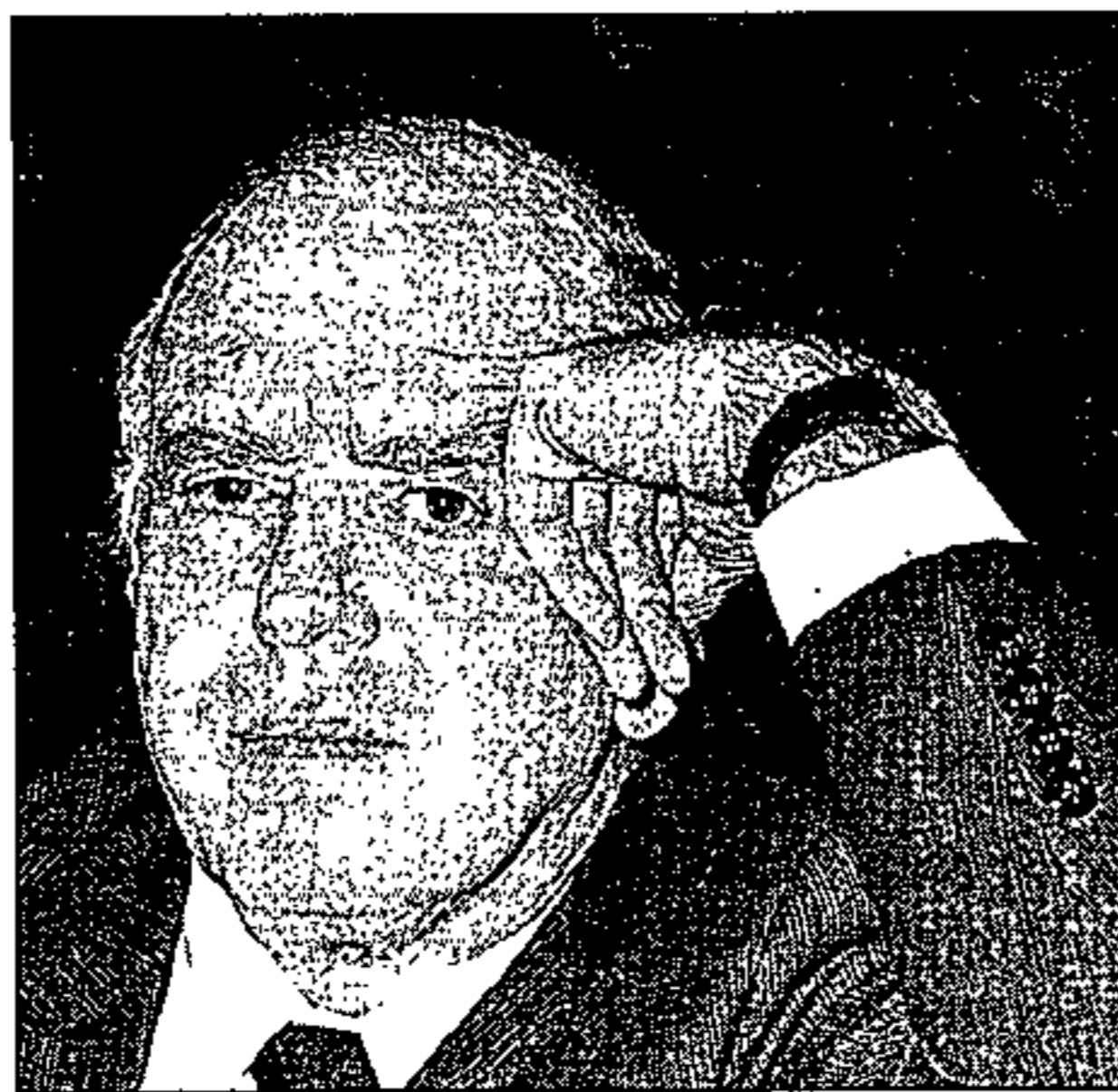
A second important reason for hope is that government is at last starting to manage the economy in a manner that should cut State spending, encourage exports and make more money available for essential infrastructural spending. If Finance and Trade & Industry Minister Derek Keys can make a significant mark in the relatively short time available to him, it's possible that the next government (most likely ANC dominated) will retain him — or at least his policies. In other words, the new SA will welcome those with skills that contribute to the national wellbeing.

That is why statements by trade unionists about destroying the economy for the sake of political freedom — and academic papers by radical ANC-biased economists who learned their trade in the failed economies of eastern Europe — shouldn't be taken too seriously at this stage.

Far more important are the views of people like ANC chief economics spokesman Tito Mboweni. In the latest issue of *Leadership* magazine he displays an understanding of the complex realities of SA's economy and

a balanced approach to meeting conflicting demands. The question is whether such ANC leaders will lose control over the "mass action" process that they have themselves been encouraging. If mediation can succeed in returning the ANC to the negotiating table, the answer is that mass action will not evolve into anything like the "Leipzig option" — direct seizure of power by the people from a decadent State.

It is important to remember that many people who might otherwise emigrate simply cannot afford to do so. This of course is a result of coercive exchange controls — but also has the effect of concentrating minds on a solution. As these people are aware, the worldwide recession has tightened immigration policies in three of the most favoured



P&P's Ackerman ... positive commitment to staying

havens for South Africans without claim by birth or descent to other passports: Australia, the US and Canada.

Unless a prospective immigrant is highly skilled (a professional qualification or technical training), fairly young (generally under 40), has been offered a job, and has immediate family living in the chosen country, there's little hope of getting in.

The global quota of immigrants to Australia — the most popular destination for South Africans in recent years — has been cut from 111 000 last year to 80 000 this year in response to a deep recession and 11% unemployment.

In the year to June 30, 1 335 South Africans emigrated to Australia, a significant reduction from the mid-Eighties when the figure was around 4 000.

The vast majority of South Africans without access to foreign passports are therefore effectively locked into SA for the foreseeable future.

But a massive minority — possibly as many as 2m — do have access to foreign citizenship. Most, between 500 000 and 1m, could claim British citizenship. There are also about 500 000 who could go to Portugal, 120 000 to Israel, 100 000 to Germany, 50 000 to Italy, 40 000 to the Netherlands and 25 000 to Belgium.

Econometrix director Azar Jammine be-

lieves this is the category where there could be wholesale flight if it comes to the crunch. However, at the moment he says there seems to be a wait-and-see attitude.

"But it could change virtually overnight if mass action and a general strike prove to be worse than people expect," he cautions. He believes the point may be reached where the economic hardship of leaving will be less than that of staying. "We are not there yet, but we're getting very close to the point where all hope will evaporate."

Jammine believes people will stay in SA as long as there is a "faint hope" of a negotiated political settlement and economic recovery. The ANC needs to realise this. A massive migration would mean almost certain disaster for the next government. The outflow of skilled people in the mid-Eighties was a major blow to the economy and it is unlikely ever to recover from the loss of even more skills.

The financial cost of leaving must also be considered. Emigrants can take R200 000 per family (R100 000 for single persons) in financial rands plus normal holiday travel allowances of R17 000 per adult and R8 500 per child under 12 which can be taken out in commercial rands. Household and personal effects and a motor car to the value of R50 000 each can be taken. The household effects and car must be owned for at least a year prior to emigration.

The balance of assets are put under the control of an authorised dealer (usually a bank) and can be released only with Reserve Bank approval and only for particular uses. Income from blocked assets not exceeding R300 000 a year can be transferred abroad in commercial rands.

Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman, a staunch crusader for staying in SA, concedes that the country is going through "a hell of a time" and that there is cause for concern. "But I believe we will see it through. I believe the confidence that was there after the referendum will return."

This week his son Jonathan (25) started work at Pick n' Pay after four years of study in the US. He turned down a job offer and returned to SA. "It was a good offer he had in the US, but we talked it through and he decided to come home. We have confidence in the future," says Ackerman.

Some people don't share that confidence and will leave. Others will not be able to. They will have little choice other than to make the best of it. But they need a sign, no matter how faint, to lift them from the depths of despair and encourage them to look ahead and see what contribution they can make towards preventing the very scenario that makes them fear for the future.

This sign is a return to negotiation. If it happens, the national mood will lighten — quickly, though perhaps more cautiously than in the immediate aftermath of the referendum. And with that burden reduced, the outlook for the economy will very quickly take on a different and more encouraging hue.

CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATION

Breaking the deadlock304A ~~304A~~
FM 17/7/92

The ANC would welcome any substantive new government initiative to deal with the violence. However, it seemed that on its own such an offer would be unlikely to make the ANC return to the negotiating table.

The ANC wants President F W de Klerk to take personal responsibility for the security and police forces. But it is also insisting that government must accept majority democracy in principle, at all stages. This would mean the acceptance that an elected constitution-making body would draw up a new constitution, without any regional or second house veto power.

National gloom deepened with last week's formal dismissal by ANC president Nelson Mandela of De Klerk's lengthy July 2 reply to ANC demands for rejoining the Codesa talks (*Current Affairs* July 10). It seemed that unless government caved in to the ANC's demands, there would be escalating and possibly uncontrollable civil strife. Some hope seemed to be offered by meetings between business and Cosatu.

We have argued that the ANC and government are like Siamese twins: at least until a new constitution is in place, they cannot get very far without each other — at least not if the country is to be preserved in working order. Government is visibly and acutely aware of this mutual dependence; the ANC has decided since Boipatong and the Codesa breakdown to ignore it, or is pretending to.

One ANC spokesman noted this week that "government can't govern the country without us," and indicated "an ungovernable State" when asked what would happen if government refuses to bend. Of course this is romantic, and the wiser heads in the ANC know it: there would be no point in the ANC inheriting chaos. But it must also keep its wild men placated. What it needs, therefore, is a face-saving measure that would enable it to return to the table. Whether this would be under the banner of Codesa, or some other acronym, is irrelevant. Such a way out could result from involvement in some way by the UN.

On the ANC's demands, listed above, they have a strong case on the question of democracy: there is really no chance of a white veto at any stage. It is not clear why they want De Klerk to take personal charge of the security forces, unless they hope that he would be discredited if the violence then continued.

Mandela says in his letter to De Klerk: "It is unfortunate that your reply has not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum of June 26. Instead, you deliberately obscure matters. It is clear there are hardly any points of convergence" over charting a way out of the crisis.

De Klerk, adds Mandela, has chosen to

elevate a number of peripheral issues to "fundamental" ones while "relegating those of critical significance to a secondary place." Worse, Mandela says, were the "factual inaccuracies, distortions and blatant party political propaganda" in De Klerk's memorandum. De Klerk's call for face-to-face talks in such a situation was "entirely unacceptable." It was not good enough for him to reaffirm his commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict; this needed to be backed up "by stating positions which offer the potential to break the deadlock."

De Klerk's transitional constitution proposals are rejected as a stratagem. "Unless the question of the constitution-making body is dealt with as the primary focus of negotiations, issues relating to transitional arrangements are deprived of their proper relevance," Mandela says.

If there is to be a way out of this impasse "then it is imperative that we isolate the question of transitional arrangements from that of the constitution-making body (constituent assembly)." A democratic constitution will be "fatally flawed" if the body charged with drafting and adopting it is itself undemocratic, either in its composition or function, he argues.

"It is the authority of the people, through their elected representatives, that gives a constitution its fundamental legitimacy," Mandela states, adding: "Your response to our position is therefore critical."

The ANC's position was "founded on the

basic features of any democratic-structure charged with the task of constitution making," Mandela says. The features of a constitution-making body/assembly (CA) demanded by the ANC are:

- That it shall be sovereign;
- Bound by the general constitutional principles agreed upon at Codesa, with the necessary checks to ensure that these are adhered to;
- Be democratically elected on the basis of one person, one vote in the context of a multiparty democracy where each party would be represented in proportion to the votes gained;
- Be a single chamber and not subject to the veto or overseeing powers of any other body; and
- Constitute a unifying and legitimising process which must however not thwart the will of the overwhelming majority. Therefore, it shall arrive at decisions by a two-thirds majority.

Further, to ensure that regional differences, whether they arise from ethnic factors or vested interests nurtured by apartheid fragmentation, are fully accommodated, Mandela adds, the CA shall:

- Be composed of 50% of delegates elected by means of a national list and 50% elected on the basis of a regional list, both on proportional representation and one person one vote; and
- In deciding those aspects of the constitution which deal with regional structures,

Cont →

FM
17/7/92

CLUTCHING AT STRAWS

Any accord reached between organised business and labour will be welcomed if it helps to curb violence, combat poverty, help mediation in industrial conflict or spur the resumption of political negotiations. Those are certainly some of the broad headings under which exploratory talks were held between the employers' consultative conference on labour affairs, Saccola, and Cosatu on Monday.

However, certain reports of the indaba appear to have jumped the gun. They suggested, for example, that next month's general strike may now last only two days instead of seven; that business and labour might jointly convene "peace assemblies" on August 3 (the day the strike is due to start); and that employers were throwing their weight behind Cosatu's demand for a general election within six months.

These reports have created "danger-

ously wrong impressions," says Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha. There has been no agreement whatsoever thus far. The leaked document purporting to be an agreement, and which appeared in the press, was "an unmandated exploratory draft" which had in any case been overtaken by events.

"Saccola will not take sides with any political party in respect of the current political impasse," explains Botha. This would serve no purpose and is, anyway, outside Saccola's scope and competence. Saccola's "sole purpose" in seeking these discussions is to persuade Cosatu that progress in relation to peace, the economy and constitutional talks "can be made only through discussion and compromise and not through disruption or confrontation." To this end, Saccola will continue its discussions with Cosatu.

P.T.O



powers and duties, the CA would take decisions first by means of a two-thirds majority of the entire assembly and, further, that such a decision would require the endorsement of a two-thirds majority of that half of the CA delegates elected through a regional list.

To ensure a speedy transition to democracy, which is essential given the depth of the crisis, Mandela calls for effective and timely deadlock-breaking mechanisms in the CA. "We cannot accept three years as a time frame for the CA to discharge its duties."

Mandela told De Klerk that his reply evaded these questions. "The composition and function of this sovereign body is the acid test of your commitment to democracy. You deliberately distort our proposals to constitute 'simple majoritarianism'. You falsely accuse us of wanting the CA to function in a constitutional void. At the same time, you seek to preempt the work of the CA by the Codesa process.

"Besides subjecting the work of the CA to the veto of a regionally elected senate, you seek to entrench federalism by subterfuge. This becomes clear by your requirement that the boundaries, powers, functions and form of regional government will have to be approved by the majority of the representatives from each electoral region that will be affected in each case."

It is necessary, Mandela continues, that there should be a "clear understanding" that all interim arrangements relating to governance of the regions "shall be such as not to preempt the decisions of the constitution-making body . . . The question of the form of government, be it federal or unitary or whatever, is a matter that should be left to a democratically elected constitution-making body."

De Klerk's elevation of transitional arrangements to the central focus of negotiations "betrays your preoccupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the National Party, which you recognise will be a minority party in the event of a democratic constitution."

There was no truth in De Klerk's allegation that the ANC wants an unstructured, immediate transfer of power, said Mandela. The ANC had proposed, long before Codesa started, that there should be an interim government of national unity "to ensure that no party occupies the position of player and referee."

The agreements reached in the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements had, Mandela points out, stated: "The following agreements were reached with regard to the first stage of the transition. These agreements and their implementation are dependent upon agreement being reached by Codesa in respect of the second stage of the transition."

The records of the working group show that the ANC "fully supports constitutional and legislative measures to ensure that there is no constitutional void," says Mandela.

In the light of these proposals "we cannot understand why your party persists in seeking

to impose undemocratic solutions. All parties, including yours, are assured of a place in the executive in the interim period. To carry such interim arrangements into a future constitution . . . is to deny the principle of majority rule and vest minority political parties with veto powers. Furthermore, this would place minority parties in a conflicting situation with the majority and undermine the security minority parties seek." ■

3 nation

Cabinet to consider crisis

If the United Nations Security Council meeting does not break the deadlock in South African negotiations, the next serious attempt will be made at a six-monthly Cabinet "bosberaad" next week. The Government's top negotiators will meet at a secret venue to consider the deadlock and the contents of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's letter to President F W de Klerk.

STAR 17192

UN mission to SA is on

Sowetan 17/7/92.

■ **SPECIAL TASK** United Nations gives go-ahead
for a special envoy to visit South Africa: *(30/11)*

CONSENSUS has been reached among members of the United Nations Security Council and South African political groups on the dispatch of a special envoy to the country to revive talks.

This was decided by an unanimous vote on the second day of the Council's historic debate on the violence and stalled

negotiations in South Africa.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, also gave the Government's approval for such a mission in his address to the Council yesterday.

He rejected claims about the Government's role in violence.

See story page

2

What experts see in the crystal ball

171-2317192

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In this heady time of momentous political change, hardly a day goes by without history being made: the political temperature is more conducive to frenzied debates in corridors than calm, composed analysis. *The Weekly Mail* asks several political experts in search of a perspective. All agreed that negotiations resume, most speculating that talks would back on track within two months. Here are summaries of their predictions and opinions:

Negotiations will be back on track within a couple of months but with more liaison at grassroots — that's the consensus on South Africa's short-term future from political experts. By PHILIPPA GARSON

each other's strongholds. This is unlikely to happen sooner than 1994.

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TOM LODGE, political science lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand: Negotiations will most likely resume after, rather than before, the period of intensified mass action. Talks will first take the form of bilateral discussions between the ANC and government, possibly with United Nations facilitation, followed by multilateral talks. There may be a forum to succeed Codesa, but talks will resume where Codesa 2 deadlocked, rather than start afresh. "Codesa did make significant progress



Tom Lodge

and was by no means a failure." The current impasse has margin-alised the other players, including Inkatha, whose ability to act as a spoiler at the constitutional table will be much reduced. Elections are unlikely to take place by the end of the year — they could follow four months after agreement is reached at renewed talks. A compromise on the deadlock over different conceptions of democracy is likely "with a set of arrangements that one group will call majority rule and the other, power-sharing".

EUGENE NYATI, economist and director of the Centre for African Studies: Negotiations will resume within six weeks, with

the government meeting no more than 30 percent of the ANC's demands. "They will clutch on to any crumbs President FW de Klerk will throw them." Mass action will flop as a result of the deterioration over the past two years of ANC-aligned structures on the ground. Intoxicated with the idea that delivery is around the corner, the ANC has alienated its most committed supporters — those active in United Democratic Front structures in the 1980s. By June 1993 agreement will be reached at Codesa and by the end of 1993, elections for a constituent assembly will take place, with the ANC having accepted a settlement that renders black majority rule impotent and favours the government's concept of federalism. The ANC will win the next elections and although there'll be a black majority in cabinet existing power relations won't change. After two to three years ANC leader Nelson Mandela's "moral authority" will wane and the ANC moderates will be discredited. By 1997 the ANC will remerge as a more radical organisation dominated by its trade union allies and with a strong black consciousness identity.

M BOOYSE, risk consultant who advises foreign investors: current impasse and the strategic mudslinging between the government and the African National Congress has polarised attitudes on the one hand, with whites becoming more conservative and blacks more militant. Whereas Codesa made it difficult for grassroots militants to come to identify the "enemy", this no longer applies. However, bilateral talks between the government and the ANC will take place by the end of August, followed by trilateral talks with Inkatha Freedom Party. The new forum will be the same as Codesa, and "back-patting" between negotiators will cease. Key parties will remain with the fundamental issue: power sharing and transfer of power. With trust destroyed, it'll enter an era of pressure cooker politics. Each side bickering over every agreement. An interim government should be in place by March 1994, and constituent assembly elections by November at the earliest.

Centre for Policy Studies:

Negotiations will resume, but only when President de Klerk makes credible moves to curb violence. The effect of the government's recent concessions will depend on their visibility on the ground and may help to shift the deadlock. The violence, not the constitutional deadlock, is blocking the resumption of talks between the two groups. Clearly the biggest problem of Codesa (among both whites and blacks) was that it was a "clique of politicians making deals no one faintly understood". Forthcoming agreements will have to be accessible to general citizens and political activists on both sides. Mass action will fail to the extent that it won't significantly tip the balance of power in the ANC's favour. For this reason the ANC moderates will have renewed legitimacy to return to the table. Negotiations are likely to resume some time after August.

ALLISTER SPARKS, director of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism:

Talks between the government and the ANC will resume within the next three months — precipitated by an agreement on international monitors in the country and government concessions to the ANC's demands. Elections for a constituent assembly could take place within a year. While the August 3 general strike may fall away, mass action will be "a continuous on-off phenomenon" to pressurise the government. Codesa will continue to be the negotiations forum but there may be structural adjustments to stave off further deadlocks. Bilateral talks will become increasingly important. Crises and breakdowns in the process are predictable, but the current impasse has not had irrevocable consequences — "the pressure driving both sides to negotiate remains unaltered". Breakdowns however cause each side to lose fringe supporters and the biggest danger is that by the time a deal is struck there will be no support for it. Once a compromise over majority rule is reached the rest will run smoothly. The ANC has already shown a willingness to compromise with its proposal earlier this year of "sunset" clauses — allowing for a defined period of power-sharing.

KEHLA SHUBANE, researcher based at the Centre for Policy Studies:

Talks will be back on track, possibly within the next two months. Given the government's violence concessions, and the important step taken by business this week, the general strike may be averted. This would mean that talks could resume even sooner, and an interim government could be in place by the end of the year. Though the Codesa talks will be more "two-sided" than before, the more peripheral parties will continue to play a role. "It would be difficult to get rid of them at this stage." Elections will only take place once violence has been curbed to the extent that the ANC and IFP can campaign peacefully in

A NEW National Party, using "struggle" language and projecting a vision which it believes has the support of the majority of South Africans, has been on show in Stellenbosch.

And — if the first national congress of NP youth was anything to go by — the ruling party is quietly but determinedly preparing for an election within a year.

While democratic organisations are concentrating their resources, funds and energies on mass action and protest, the NP is concentrating its considerable resources, funds and energies on a bigger prize: victory in South Africa's first democratic elections.

It is also using its "coloured" support to demonstrate that it is non-racial and is geared for the "new" South Africa.

In doing so, it is warning its members that their fellow workers and domestic servants are voters and potential NP members, expressing concern about the plight of the poor and the urgency of addressing their needs, and accepting that the constitution has to have majority support.

Some 600 delegates of all races packed into the HB Thom Theatre at the University of Stellenbosch for the two-day conference. A significant number of the delegates were coloureds, some of whom played a major role in the proceedings.

One of these delegates, Craig Morkel, spoke a number of times and was used to thank one of the speakers. He said the youth felt the need to build up a base for voting in an election and for the NP to extend its support base. Allies, he added, had to be identified "so that we will come out as the majority".

There was even a sprinkling of African delegates, including Jerry Moloi, who has been the junior mayor of Soweto. He called for trust and reconciliation, but warned about "suspicion" of the NP.

The new veneer was occasionally broken, such as when President FW de Klerk lashed out at communism and Marxism — and received loud applause. But, whatever its history, there is clearly a new NP and it believes it can transform itself into the political vehicle for the aspirations of the majority.

"If we could mobilise all the people who feel the way we do, we can win the next election outright," the party's secretary general, Stoffel van der Merwe, told the congress. "And we can win without alliance partners."

These bold claims may be dismissed as wishful thinking, but ask anyone who has actually fought the NP in a ballot and they will warn that its election machinery should never be underestimated, particularly in elections.

It was the unlikely figure of Minister of Agriculture Kraai van Niekerk, not known for making bold political statements, who bluntly told the young Nationalists, at the end of the congress, that they had less than a year to trans-

New Nats blow the 'struggle' trumpet

w/mant 17/11-23/1/92

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The new National Party, on show at its national youth congress in Stellenbosch, is gunning for the big prize.
Weekly Mail Reporter

form themselves much further than merely incorporating some "brown people" into their ranks.

"From our old enemies, we must make friends," he stressed.

"How many ANC members have you signed up for the NP? That is the question you will have to answer. If you do not do so, we won't have another congress. If we do not do so in the next few months, when will there be time for another congress? Have we got time for another year? Have you heard the urgency?" Van Niekerk asked.

It was the strongest hint yet that the government is preparing for elections within a year, despite the Codesa deadlock. Van Niekerk's challenge was not simply a political gesture: it was saying that unless the NP converts current African National Congress members and supporters within a year, it won't win that election.

NP overtures among the coloured community have already begun, as illustrated by the recent Mitchell's Plain rally and Diamant by-election.

Its campaign among black people is less obvious. Indeed, as Van der Merwe said at the congress, it is "low-level". The party is moving cautiously among this community, he explained, although "where the opportunity exists, you sound people out and sign up everyone who wants to join the party".

Even if the NP is moving cautiously among

black voters, the implication that the party has to change came out clearly in speeches made at the congress.

NP leader in the House of Representatives, Jac Rabie, said he believed the Diamant by-election showed that coloured people were "sick and tired of anarchy, intimidation and violence".

He challenged the delegates to assess their relationships with black people at their workplace and servants in their homes because they could be signed up as members of the NP. "You must make sure they don't still think of the NP as oppressors," Rabie said.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont emphasised: "We must get away from skin colour as a basis of trust ... Everyone must feel they are part of the country."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha also supported the theme: "In our thoughts and actions and our psychological attitude, we can think and recruit South Africans wholeheartedly on basic values where race plays no role whatsoever."

De Klerk set the pace by saying millions of South Africans were suffering but the interests of the poor had to be served by ensuring that there would be economic growth and development.

"You have to strike a balance, therefore, between the interests of those who have much to lose and those who suffered and suffer as a result of backlogs.

"Only if we can get a real convergence of interests between the haves and have-nots will we have long-term stability and peace. Any party's policy must make provision for this.

"Our country needs the NP. It needs a party with a conscience and a clear vision, and with a morally defensible policy and philosophy — that is what we try to be — and for our party to play the proud role we are playing and we want to play in this country."

De Klerk added that he hoped members of the NP, "which is a party of liberation", would turn the party into a mighty and powerful instrument so that it could give "hope, certainty and security, humanly speaking, to all the moderate and ordinary millions who are tired of violence and who are striving for a calm life, where those who work hard can progress and those who want to, will get opportunities to use".

The message of the congress was clear: a new, revamped NP is being marketed to win support from South Africans of all races, despite apartheid and 44 years of mismanagement and human suffering.

It is also one of the ultimate ironies of apartheid that coloured people are stimulating the transformation of the NP and, at the very least, putting it in a position where it thinks it could win the support of the majority in a free election.

UN urges De Klerk to end violence

■ This is the United Nations Security Council resolution which was adopted last night after a two-day debate on South Africa:

Sowetan 17/1/1992

GRAVELY concerned by the escalating violence in South Africa which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa,

CONCERNED that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,

RECALLING the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth Special Session on December 14 1989 which called for negotiations in South Africa to take place in a climate free of violence, EMPHASISING the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans, EMPHASISING also the need for all parties

to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,

CONCERNED at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial democratic society,

1. CONDEMNES the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17 1992, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;

2. STRONGLY urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

3. CALLS upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;

4. INVITES the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a special repre-

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sentative in order to recommend, after, inter alia, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;

5. URGES all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate; and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations;

6. UNDERLINES in this regard the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;

7. URGES the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in South Africa;

8. DECIDES to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa is established."

Softly, softly UK tones down resolution

1717-2317192

BEHIND the United Nations scenes, Britain effectively hijacked an African initiative for vigorous Security Council action to defuse the explosive South African crisis.

In the week before the council met on Wednesday, British diplomats persuaded key member-states to rewrite a resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity. Backed by the US, they argued for the elimination of any passage that could be construed as an attack on, or criticism of, President FW de Klerk's government.

With the co-operation of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, a new version emerged that would give the world body no mandate to investigate the origins and effects of the years-long violence or to monitor the performance of the South African security forces.

In line with what the British Foreign Office officials call its "softly, softly" approach, the final resolution will do little more than to:

- Empower Boutros Ghali to send a personal emissary to the Republic for consultation with all parties involved in the stalled constitutional talks.
- Arrange for that emissary to report back to the secretary general.
- Invite Boutros Ghali to make rec-

ommendations for action, or inaction, by the council.

● Urge the contending groups in South Africa to get back to the negotiating table again and avoid inflammatory or provocative acts.

Britain's role, widely perceived as protective of De Klerk, has also earned the condemnation of speakers at this week's international hearing on political violence in South Africa in London, sponsored jointly by the UN Centre Against Apartheid and Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

The two-day meeting attended by more than 200 academics, lawyers, churchmen from 27 countries and by South African black victims of violence, ended on Wednesday with this three-point call:

- International intervention to monitor and to investigate political violence with powers to end it.
- Maximum international pressure to ensure that the De Klerk government effectively uses its security forces to stop the killings, massacres, maimings, and the destruction of homes.
- International action "to prevent the South African regime from continuing to frustrate the process to establish a new democratic order", this action to take the form of full international

Britain's intervention to tone down the UN resolution on South Africa took away the world body's mandate to investigate violence.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON
in London

participation in the negotiating process.

In a wind-up statement, British AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said public opinion around the world is to be rallied to support these aims. In particular he accused the South African authorities of subverting the National Peace Accord process and the Goldstone Commission by ignoring their work and recommendations.

In campaigning to protect Pretoria against a full-scale onslaught within the Security Council the British used a variety of arguments and tactics and won the help of Boutros Ghali, who had visited London about 10 days ago. The secretary general, for instance, was persuaded to permit a long council session — possibly of three days, with more than 50 speakers listed including some of the minor Codesa

participants.

The calculation was that such a cacophony would have the effect of drowning African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's central demands for De Klerk to shut down the hostel system, to ban the carrying of lethal weapons, to introduce international monitors and investigators.

"We don't want South Africa's domestic arguments injected into the Security Council setting," one Foreign Office official told journalists. "That would result only in megaphone diplomacy."

Other British officials took time out to call the attention of journalists to published articles generally disparaging of Mandela, including assertions by *London Times* columnist Woodrow Wyatt that the ANC president today "is not the man he was when he stepped out of Pollsmoor jail".

The widely-advertised preference for a special UN emissary to visit South Africa on behalf of Boutros Ghali has been Cyrus Vance, secretary of state when Jimmy Carter was US president.

But a challenger has emerged from Africa. He is General Olusegun Obasanjo, who with Australia's former prime minister, Malcolm Fraser, co-chaired the Commonwealth Group

of Eminent Persons who visited South Africa in 1986. Obasanjo headed a federal military government in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979 when he handed over to civilians.

Meanwhile, another general, Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei, flew into New York on Wednesday to support Mandela in the Security Council if needed. Before doing so, he submitted a statement to the two-day international hearing organised in London jointly by the AAM and the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

In that submission Holomisa advanced the view that "the political fortunes and settlement of the South African dilemma are tied to Angola and Mozambique". He went on: "The armed Unita and Renamo bandits, equipped and funded by South Africa and some of its Western allies, must, it appears, be safely ensconced in power before our country is propelled to a non-racial democracy."

The meaning of the scenario he was offering seems clear: a South African government led by the ANC would act to halt new military and other aid reaching Unita and Renamo and thus "foil the entire grand strategy" mapped by Western powers to install their political pets in positions of power in neighbouring states.

Dutch reassurance over cancelled visit

FRANK DE JONG

Weekend Argus Correspondent

304A
ARC 18/7/92

THE HAGUE. Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek has reassured South Africa that the cancellation of his government's high-level visit to the Republic is not intended to leave the De Klerk administration in the lurch.

He told an Amsterdam newspaper that he and his South African counterpart, Mr Pik Botha, had "come to the conclusion that under the present alarming circumstances, postponement was the best decision".

Mr Van Den Broek was to have visited South Africa with Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and his deputy, Wim Kok, on August 10 and 11.

Mr Van Den Broek said he had also consulted Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who confirmed that he and two other ministers from the EC would visit the country in September to assess the need there for legal and police expertise from Europe.

Mr Van Den Broek said discussions were now underway to decide a new date for a visit.

al Congress continues with its campaign of mass action, it will be in direct contravention of United Nations Resolution 765 on South Africa.

That was the view expressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night, in what may signal the beginnings of a wrangle over the precise interpretation of the Security Council's resolution.

Speaking on his return from New York, Botha said that if the ANC continued with its campaign in a way that caused disruption, it would be in conflict with the spirit of Resolution 765, which called on all parties to work for peace. STAR 18/17/92

● See Page 2 and Editorial, Page 10

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who met France's Junior Foreign Minister Georges Kleinman in Paris yesterday, afterwards said violence had to end before talks with the Government could resume.

Mandela said the Security Council had emphasised the question of halting violence. "As long as this violence continues to ravage the country, it is going to be impossible for us to go back to negotiations," he said.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday announced that Cyrus Vance, a former United States secretary of state, would head the organisation's mission to South Africa. Vance will leave for South Africa early next week.

Botha said the UN's envoy was not coming to South Africa "to interfere in the country's internal affairs, but to assist. His mandate is open. He is not coming himself to write the constitution, to curb the violence." He hoped the envoy would meet "the widest possible spectrum of South Africans."

Botha, who addressed the Security Council for the eighth time, declared himself "more than satisfied with the turn of events". He said 765 was the first Security Council resolution passed that did not condemn South Africa. "There was no condemnation, no apportioning of blame," Botha said. He said the clause which said the Government had a responsibility to end the violence was not an accusation but an acknowledgement that the problems had to be resolved by South Africans.

Botha said that while he had reservations about the "factual basis" for the special session, "nothing better could have happened to this country". He said it was now clear that the world expected South Africans

to resolve their problems, to stop apportioning blame, and to stop putting the burden on other countries and international organisations. "It will do all of us a lot of good to reflect on that sentiment," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also returned last night, said the UN session made it possible "for the

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

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JOHN PERLMAN
ESTHER WAUGH and SAPA-AFP

STAR 18/17/92

Mass action 'in defiance of UN'

Resolution commits all to peace - 1K

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE gets a new chief, a new building

and a whole lot of new functions along with all the old ones

Spooks still a-haunting

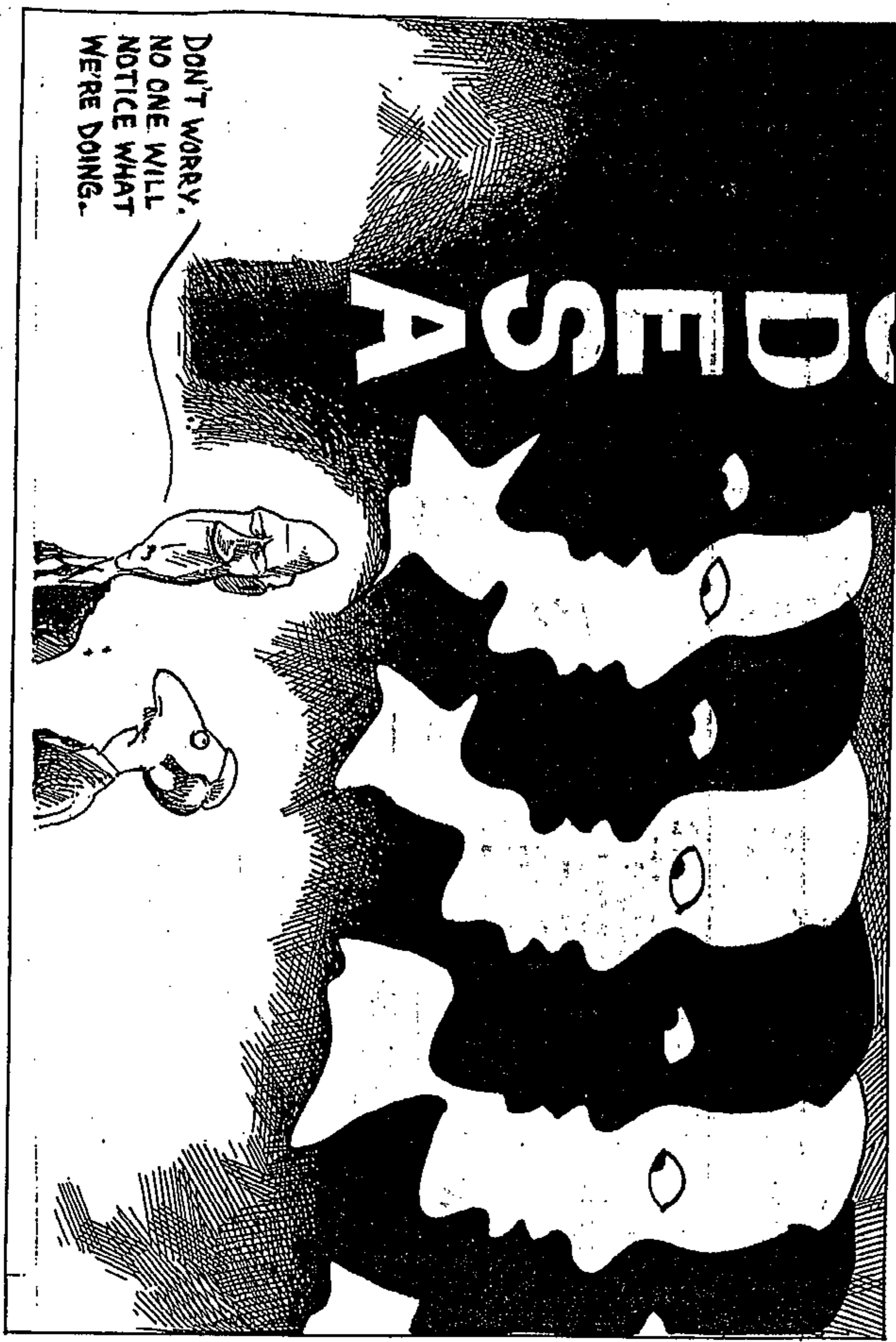
STYL 18/11/72

WITH the onset of F W de Klerk's reforms, the shadowy people of the National Intelligence Service would become less important, right? Wrong, writes political analyst IVOR SARAOKINSKY. NIS is right at the centre of things.

IN JANUARY this year, Dr Niel Barnard was moved from the directorship of the National Intelligence Service to become Director-General of Constitutional Development Services.

Observers were taken by surprise. His move from the publicity-hungry NIS office to a much more open position in the constitutional domain was baffling. But the change is not as strange as it initially appeared. The Government faced a problem. Finding itself for the first time having to strike hard gains instead of issuing decrees, it discovered it was very thin on the ground in terms of seasoned negotiators.

Barnard's skills in this area, however, were unquestionable. Along with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and former Chief of



Ranking NIS official, was also transferred to CDS. He is now chief of support services in the negotiations, chaired by Dr Gerrit Viljoen with Roelf Meyer as secretary. The answer lies in the important changes in the political Party recently exposed the activities of NIS agents in its internal opposition. Repression would create an environ-

IN JANUARY this year, Dr Niel Barnard was moved from the directorship of the National Intelligence Service to become Director-General of Constitutional Development Services.

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Barnard's skills in this area, however, were unquestionable. Along with Foreign Minister P.W. Botha and former Chief of the Army General Jannie Geldenhuys, he was responsible for negotiating the complicated settlement in Namibia.

There, the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola was seen as a major bargaining victory for South Africa — and the obvious conclusion was that a way should be found to feed Barnard's expertise and expertise directly into Codessa.

As head of NIS he clearly could not fulfil this role. So he simply swapped caps and offices as head of Constitutional Development Services (CDS), his role at Codessa would be unquestioned.

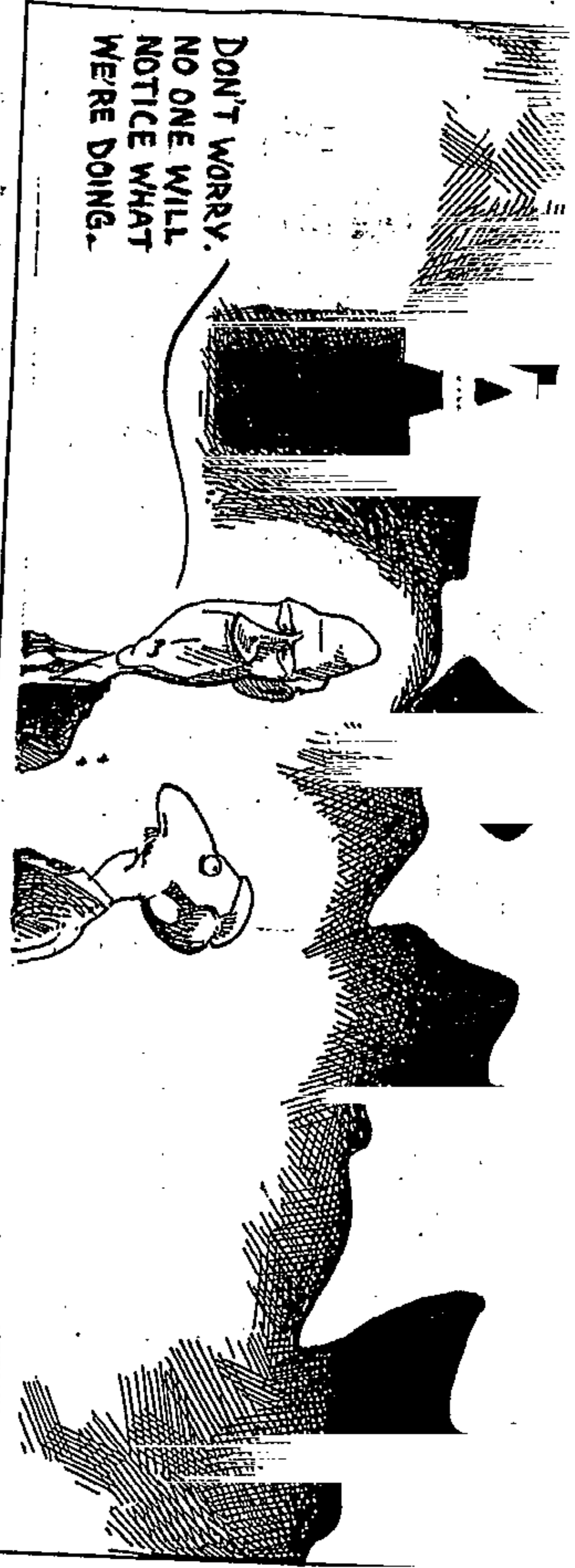
However, Barnard has not significantly changed his style. Dr Tertius Delport, deputy director of CDS, appears in public while Barnard stays behind the scenes.

Whatever claims have been made to the contrary, the activities of NIS have been overtly political. In a rare interview, Barnard claimed that the service played a key role in financing the Government to urban organisations.

It also held secret meetings with Nelson Mandela in prison, and met exiled members of the ANC from as early as 1987/8. This coincided with attempts by Fanie Cloete and Kobus Jordaan, officials under former Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, to keep channels with the internal opposition movements open despite the State of Emergency.

In the latter half of 1991, Maritz Spaarwater, a high-

DON'T WORRY. NO ONE WILL NOTICE WHAT WE'RE DOING.



ranking NIS official, was also transferred to CDS. He is now chief of support services in the department and, with Barnard, played an important role in preparing the ground for negotiations and setting up Codessa.

The historical overlap between the work done by the NIS and the Constitutional Development officials means the interchanging or secondment of personnel is possible without there



BUSINESS AS USUAL: President de Klerk's recent remarks about differences within the ANC executive suggested strongly that his spooks were busy.

being a quantum leap in policy. Furthermore, there are two other State structures that are crucial in co-ordinating the sources and personnel in the negotiations arena. One is the Committee of Directors-General. It consists of 19 State department heads — and is chaired by Barnard. The second is the Ministerial Committee on

Negotiations, chaired by Dr Gerrit Viljoen with Roelf Meyer as secretary.

These structures liaise closely, while the latter is responsible for constitutional proposals and negotiating strategy. The functioning of these co-ordinating structures means that the specific positions held by individuals are not particularly important.

Barnard's replacement as head of NIS, Mike Louw (also a political science graduate from the University of the OFS), has announced that the service will henceforth fill a strict "research and analysis" role. The claim is reinforced by the NIS's tendency to recruit graduates in political science and strategic studies to its ranks. But Louw also insists that it is necessary for NIS to continue with its counter-intelligence activities.

Louw echoes his predecessor's other claim — that the intelligence service should be apolitical — although the boundary between State security and legitimate political activity is porous. With the restructuring of the top management, there appears to be an attempt to change the image of the service by emphasising its more acceptable research and analysis functions, as well as counter-espionage.

But these attempts to achieve a less controversial image for the NIS have not been received uncritically. Why, sceptics ask, is it necessary for the service to be relocated to new, larger and expensive quarters if its tasks are to be limited and clearly defined?

The answer lies in the important changes in the political control of the service. Previously, it was under the exclusive control of the State President's office. Now, it falls under the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Theo Alant.

This is an indication that President F.W. de Klerk has de-legated security functions, relying on top-level briefings instead of being directly concerned with the mechanics of intelligence-gathering, as was his predecessor, P.W. Botha.

MORE important, NIS has taken over the Secretariat of the State Security Council and its functions in the Council increased. In effect, NIS has been allocated new tasks in addition to its surveillance, espionage, counter-espionage, research, analysis and strategy formulation functions.

This means, crucially in terms of the transition under way, that NIS still plays a pivotal political role, especially in the surveillance of political organisations.

De Klerk's recent remarks about differences of opinion within the ANC executive suggested strongly that his spooks were alive and well — and busy. At Codessa 2, the ANC angrily alleged that telephones in its offices at the World Trade Centre were bugged.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the Conservative

Party recently exposed the activities of NIS agents in its ranks. Obviously, all information gained in this manner would give the Government considerable advantages over its numerous opponents.

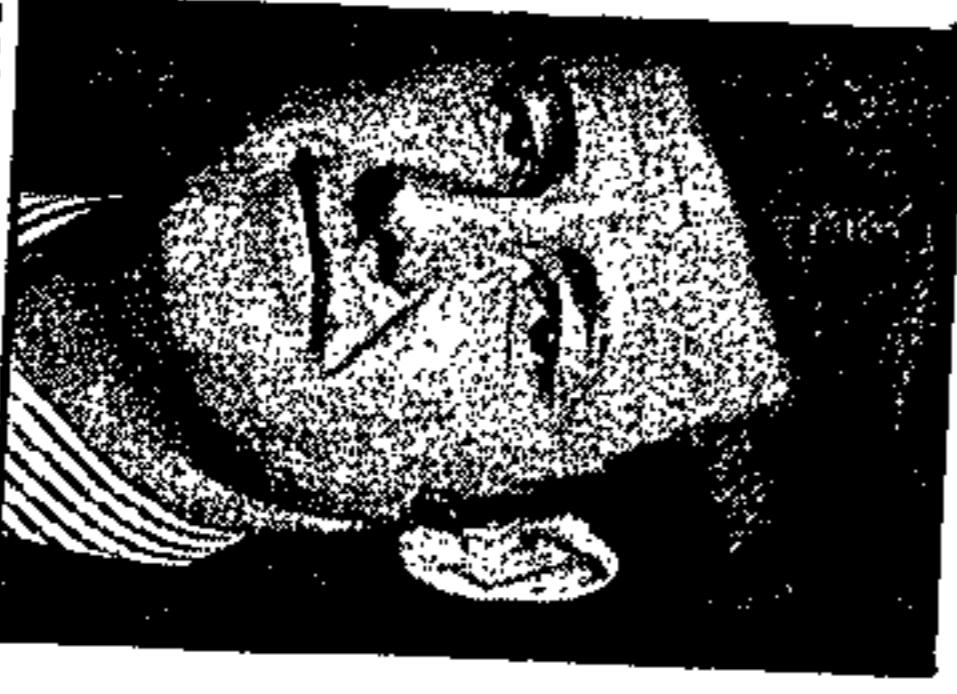
A look at the past role of NIS suggests that it would be naive to assume that the service has backed out of the party-political arena. Perhaps the most significant political role played

the internal opposition. Representation would create an environment for socio-economic upliftment and political reform that would draw people to the Government. This thinking still appears to hold sway in the light of the Government's attempt to extend transitional arrangements as long as possible. This would allow it to form an effective alliance to challenge the ANC in an election.

Related to this thinking is a Central Intelligence Agency report that had to be made public with the passing by the United States Congress of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986. This Act prohibited contact with South Africa in a range of spheres, excluding intelligence co-operation.

The report argued that the continued ban on resistance organisations meant that underlying cracks could be papered over — allowing for the formation of a strong, united opposition. The corollary was that by unbanning organisations, the Government could rely on internal differences to weaken the ANC and its allies. This would create a basis for securing considerable concessions in negotiations. Events since February 1990, and strategic initiatives from the Government, conform convincingly to this scenario.

NIS is continuing to monitor political organisations, and continuing to make strategic inputs into Government thinking. It has vast funds and considerable expertise. Far from being sidelined, the spooks are still at centre-stage.



FORMER NIS CHIEF: Dr Niel Barnard, a main player in the settlement in Namibia and now of Codessa as Director-General of Constitutional Development Services.

by the service was its input into the decision to urban political organisations. However, the reasons for such a move go beyond the fact that in 1987/8 a coup de sac in existing policy had been reached.

With the State of Emergency in 1986, NIS presented a three-pronged strategy to deal with

Survey: FW loses black support

By BARRY STREEK

BLACK support for President F W de Klerk has dropped dramatically since February 1990, but white support has steadily increased, a new opinion survey has revealed.

In February 1990, 86% of black people thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, when he unbanned the ANC and other political organisations.

But by May this year, this had dropped to 55% — 51% for black men and 58% for black women.

Research Surveys have surveyed political attitudes in black and white households regularly since November 1989.

In results released this week, it showed that 60% of white people said in May this year Mr De Klerk was doing a good job.

However, in November 1989 only 51% of white people thought he was doing a good job and this dropped to 46% shortly after his speech on February 2, 1990.

There were also declines in white support in the middle of 1991 as well as at the end of last year, but this increased during the referendum campaign this year.

Among black respondents, however, there has been a steady decline over the 2½ years, although there was a spurt of support in April this year.

However, the poll in May 1992 showed the least black support for Mr De Klerk since his February 2, 1990, speech.

In February 1990, only 5% of black women and 7% of black men did not think Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, but by May this year it had risen to 27%.

The highest white opposition was in April 1990, when it reached 39%, but had dropped to 26% by May this year.

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204A

Quentin Wilson SOUTH staff reporter

SOUTH 18/7-22/7/92



'The mass action could be described as the 304A people's referendum - referendum where skin colour is no criterion for participating'

IT HAS been four months since I grudgingly voted Yes in the white referendum. The global joy at the result has turned into hopeless despair and the question needs to be asked: What did it achieve?

When I first heard President FW de Klerk announce his referendum plan, I was sickened.

Here he was again, dictating the agenda for transition, setting up a national political framework where white fears were the "national priority" - everything else was secondary. Codesa debates around an interim government and an elected constituent assembly were put on hold.

His earlier mumblings about a white minority veto were not just harmless pouts aimed at preliminary Codesa rounds, he actually believed he was going to get away with it.

A handful of whites would supposedly decide whether blacks, coloureds and Indians were clever enough to play establishment politics.

The referendum scheme reeked of unbelievable arrogance and blatant racism. Surely Mandela and Co would not let this pass on by. I was waiting for the call that the referendum would be fought on all fronts.

The response from the ANC axis was not only startling, but embarrassing in the extreme. It became clear there would be no resistance and that De Klerk had won the go-ahead wink from the ANC leadership. They had thrown him a life-jacket in his time of crisis.

The ANC even suggested that whites who felt uncomfortable participating should bite the bullet and cast their vote. As someone who fell into this category, I had to make a choice.

With hindsight, it was irrelevant white lefty angst, but at the end of the day, because De Klerk's framework had not been challenged, there was no alternative to voting Yes.

So the big day neared. The commercial dailies went wild with panic-stricken predictions about how close it was going to be and how important it was that "we all do our bit" for De Klerk.

Though their language once again assumed that South Africans were all whites, it was a

beautifully executed media operation that must have surprised even the NP.

The mainstream press focused on the No scenario. All attention was on the possibility of a dreaded Treurnicht regime - No equalled tyranny, therefore vote Yes.

Little attention was paid to the potential consequences of De Klerk and his cronies getting their way. No real analysis was given to how they would be able to manipulate their victory in future negotiation battles.

The big day itself was a nauseating experience. Throngs of patronising white liberals flocked to polling booths armed with ID books. This was their day of mass action and big business was doing the marshalling.

I joined the queue with them. A neatly-dressed DP type with rosette flashed me a smile and nodded his head. He seemed to be saying: "You'll do the right thing my lad, don't let the side down. The blacks will be so pleased. I can't tell you how grateful they'll be."

A minibus taxi drove past while we were waiting outside and blacks in the taxi shouted that we should vote Yes. The DP man nodded knowingly to them - "Don't worry about a thing. We've got it all under control. We whites will handle this one."

As it turned out, De Klerk came out tops. It was clear for all to see. He had single-handedly dealt with the white right wing.

Once again he had "closed the chapter of apartheid" and cemented further his image as South Africa's liberator.

Lauded again from all over the world, his integrity as regards negotiations was seen as unquestionable.

In the end, the Yes scenario came through, but it certainly has not brought forth its promised fruits. Instead, negotiations are further off track now than they were before the referendum white-wash.

Why? Because De Klerk has been allowed to call the shots, to define the pace of change. His ideas were not humble contributions at Codesa. Rather, they became the agenda itself. De Klerk used his win to continue this unashamed arrogance and looks set to carry on until he is pulled into line.

NP conduct during Codesa 2 was disgusting. The debate around percentages exposed them once and for all - they were simply not ready for meaningful change. While 50 percent plus one was enough for a white referendum, 70 percent consensus in a constituent-making body was not good enough for them.

The hidden stalling in the working groups finally surfaced at Codesa 2. The world could finally see how the NP was defining democracy. "Power-sharing" they called it - a euphemism for a minority veto where those with little popular support could sabotage the plans of a properly elected majority.

What is going to have to happen to make the NP camp realise that simply to talk is not enough. Democracy must be the product of negotiations, otherwise the exercise is pointless.

The indication is that mass action will be the lever. The action in coming months could be described as the people's referendum where skin colour is no criterion for participating.

This time around, the question is not whether talks should continue, but whether meaningful talks about democracy should begin.

The ANC has thrown enough life-jackets to De Klerk, allowing him to stay afloat in the country's pool of blood. It's time to take back this lifeline.

'Liberation' talk shows Nats preparing for poll showdown

SOUTH 18/7-22/792

3049

Special Correspondent

THE National Party is preparing for an election that could be held within a year — and is using its "coloured" support to show that it is nonracial and ready for the new South Africa.

To demonstrate that it has changed drastically, the party has adopted struggle language and expressed concern about the plight of the poor and the urgency of addressing their needs. And it has accepted that a new constitution has to have majority support to "work".

This was made clear at the party's first national youth congress. Some 600 delegates packed the HB Thom Theatre at the University of Stellenbosch last week for the two-day event.

A significant number of delegates were "coloured", some of whom played a prominent role in the proceedings.

One of these delegates, Mr Craig Morkel, spoke a number of times and was used to thank a speaker.

He said there was a need to build up a base for voting in an election and for the NP to extend its support base. Allies had to be identified "so that we will come out as the majority", Morkel added.

Another coloured delegate thanked President FW de Klerk for opening the congress and was lavish in his praise for the NP leader.

There were even a sprinkling of African delegates, including Mr Jerry Moloj, who was the junior mayor of Soweto. He called for trust and reconciliation but warned about "suspicion" of the NP.

Win outright

But, whatever its history, there is a new National Party emerging.

The new NP believes it can transform itself into the political vehicle that will realise the aspirations of the majority of South Africans and it is determinedly working towards victory in the country's first democratic elections.

"If we could mobilise all the people who feel the way we do, we could win the next election outright," NP secretary general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told the congress.

"We could win outright, without alliance partners," he added.

Some people may dismiss these statements as wishful thinking, and they could be just that.

Blunt message

But ask any political party that has fought the NP in an election, such as the Labour Party, whose confidence of a walkover in the recent Diamant by-election was shattered by the Nats, and they will say: "Never underestimate the NP, particularly in an election."

It was the unlikely figure of Dr Kraai van Niekerk, the Minister of Agriculture, who is not known for making bold political statements, who had a blunt message for delegates at the end of the congress.

They had less than a year to transform the NP further than incorporating some brown people in their ranks, Van Niekerk said.

"From our old enemies we must make friends. How many ANC's have you signed up? That is the



FIGHTING SPIRITS: State President FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha

question you will have to answer. If you do not do so, we won't have another congress. If you do not do so in the next few months, when will there be time for another congress? Have you heard the urgency?" Van Niekerk asked.

It was the strongest hint yet that the NP is preparing for elections within a year, despite the Codesa deadlock.

Van Niekerk's challenge to delegates to sign up ANC members was not simply a gesture: he was saying that unless the NP converts ANC members and supporters within a year, it won't win that election.

The NP onslaught on the coloured community has begun, as demonstrated by the Mitchells Plain rally and the Diamant by-election.

Its campaign among Africans is less obvious. As Van der Merwe said: "It is low level."

He said the party was moving cautiously among Africans. Although where the opportunity exists, "you sound people out and sign up everyone who wants to join the party".

Domestic workers

Concern that the NP is moving too slowly was evident in some speeches which stressed the party's need to change.

The NP leader in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, said the Diamant by-election had shown that coloured people were sick and tired of anarchy, intimidation and violence.

He challenged delegates to assess their relationship with African people at work and their coloured domestic workers because they could be signed up as members of the NP.

"You must make sure they don't still think of the NP as oppressors," Rabie said.

Rissik MP Mr Chris Frismer said the NP was a nonracial party.

"There is only one NP with one membership and one structure, with everyone united around the same principles. But the needs of squatters are different from people in other areas. We must see what is being done for the people.

"The government built 142 clinics last year to bring health to the

people and was not allocating resources to sophisticated things like heart transplants. The NP does not merely talk, but delivers," Frismer said.

Van der Merwe's tone was similar: "The ending of apartheid is part of the NP's search for justice. That policy was bringing injustice and that is why it had to go. Injustice could not endure.

"We must create a life in South Africa where everyone can live in justice, freedom and humanity. The NP can make people feel free."

Economic growth

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha supported the theme: "In our thoughts and actions and our attitude, we can recruit South Africans on basic values where race plays no role whatsoever."

De Klerk set the pace by saying that millions of South Africans were suffering. But the interests of the poor had to be served by ensuring that there would be economic growth and development.

"You have to strike a balance between the interests of those who have much to lose and those who suffered and suffer as result of backlogs.

"Only if we can get a real convergence of interests between the haves and have-nots will we have long-term stability and peace in this country. Any party's policy must make provision for this.

We care

"The NP, through you, says we care. We care about the lot of the poor and the needy. We care about unemployment and poverty — and the need for housing.

"We care about each and every South African.

"And we accept the responsibility and duties, now and in the years to come, to play a constructive role to unlock the potential of our country — to make this a country of opportunities," De

bers of the NP, "which is a party of liberation", would turn the party into a mighty instrument so that it could give "hope, certainty and security to the moderate and ordinary millions who are tired of violence and are striving for a calm life, where those who work hard can progress and those who want them will get opportunities to use".

The message from the congress was obvious: a revamped NP is being marketed to win support from South Africans of all races, despite apartheid and 44 years of mismanagement and human suffering.

Determination

The NP is attempting to go beyond mass action, which is largely aimed at the old NP, and is concentrating on the fundamental issue of winning votes in a democratic election whenever that may be.

That determination should not be ignored. Particularly if the election is held within 12 months, or by the end of the year as the ANC is demanding.

It is one of the ultimate ironies of apartheid that coloured people are provoking the transformation of the NP and, at the very least, putting it in a position where it thinks it can win the support of the majority in a free election.

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Violence under the spotlight as ministers meet

304A

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A TOP government group is today considering new initiatives on violence to back up Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the United Nations debate on South Africa which begins in New York tomorrow.

The government's policy group on negotiations — in effect the ministers who form the negotiating team at Codesa under the chairmanship of President De Klerk — meets in Pretoria today.

The aim is to plan strategy for the Security Council meeting and to try to get the negotiations back on track.

A government source in Pretoria said that the main aim would be to respond to the recent Goldstone Commission report and to consider how to curb violence.

More powers could be granted to the commission and the government is also likely to respond to criticism by it.

The commission found that allegations were unfounded of any direct complicity by the President, any minister or the security forces in the violence.

It was at the same time critical of aspects of police investigations into murder threats against ANC members, the lack of action against the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, the use of 32 Battalion in unrest areas and the deployment of ex-Koevoet members by the police.

It also criticised the government for lack of action on the hostels question.

Plans to upgrade hostels are to be stepped up.

Decisions taken today are likely to be announced by Mr Botha in New York.

More leaders fly out to address Security Council

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More political leaders have jettied out of Jan Smuts Airport to address the United Nations Security Council's special session on violence tomorrow.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said on his departure last night that the most important decision the Security Council could take was to send a monitoring mission to South Africa.

He added that the ANC would not immediately press this demand on the UN.

Instead, the movement would ask for an independent investigation of the violence.

Mr Mandela claimed the special session had come about through ANC requests.

But Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu, addressing the media an hour earlier, said his organisation had initiated requests for such a session.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had no intention of postponing its rolling mass action campaign should the UN become involved in the problem of violence.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also left last night.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha left for New York on Sunday night.

It is believed that Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo also left, possibly last night.

BY JOAO SANTA RITA

SA must be prepared to negotiate and democratise and

must not count on others to solve its problems - that is the message the UN Security Council has sent to SA politicians who this week flocked to New York to press for help.

In blatant terms the president of the Security Council, Cape Verde ambassador Jose Luis de Jesus, told City Press that neither the Security Council nor the UN could solve SA's problems.

"It is not the duty of the Security Council or the UN to solve the political deadlock in SA. Our duty is to analyse and help the process of democratisation," he said.

In an interview De Jesus said, however, the UN could not ignore the situation in SA because "stability is very important not only for the country itself but for the whole of Africa."
"SA is a very important country in the region to be ignored," he said.

SA, you're on your own, says the UN

Claren 19/7/92

De Jesus, who for days walked the corridors of the UN to reach a compromise on the resolution that was finally adopted, said the contrast he held made it clear to him that negotiations was the only way forward towards democracy in SA.

"Neither the government nor the opposition are able by themselves to solve SA's problems. Nobody is able by itself to maintain peace and stability," he said.

Ambassador de Jesus made it clear that long before SA's political leaders took the stage at the UN to make their speeches everything concerning the resolution had already been agreed in background discussions.

In fact, he said, by Wednesday morning the only thing that remained to be agreed was the specific mandate to be given to the Secretary General's envoy.

Another diplomat involved in the debate said the public speeches which drew the attention of the media "were nice colour but of no real importance to the debate."

"Everything had been agreed before," he said. There were, however, so many people wanting to speak that the meetings had to be prolonged for another day before the resolution was formally adopted.

Diplomats contacted by City Press said there had generally been a conciliatory attitude by both the SA government and the ANC towards the Security Council debate.

The ANC, it said, had abandoned its demand for an international mission, at least for the time being.

The SA government had agreed to allow a UN envoy to be sent to SA, but had made it clear it refused to allow any international supervision of its security forces.

Western diplomats acknowledged that the resolution was much closer to what FW de Klerk's government wanted than what the ANC had in mind, but pointed out that after the envoy's mission to SA the ANC could then again press for a much greater international involvement in the SA crisis.

They said De Klerk's announcement that he was willing to disband 32 and 31 battalions was already the result of some international pressure and also a show that De Klerk

was ready to look for some compromise.

The diplomats said that two weeks ago ANC president Nelson Mandela had held a telephone conversation with President George Bush and had asked for US support in the Security Council debate.

At the UN the US played a leading role in achieving the compromise resolution and President Bush had offered to send Secretary of State James Baker to SA to help solve the crisis, they said.

The sources pointed out that at the UN the countries represented in the Security Council were mainly concerned with getting all the parties back to the negotiating table.

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"Everybody agrees that there is no other solution but negotiations," De Jesus said.

One diplomat praised De Jesus' role, saying with tongue in cheek: "With Jesus chairing the meeting and serving as a go-between we couldn't go wrong!"

Pik's Jour De

FORCED AT U.N.

STW 19/7/92

SIMON BARBER judges Pik Botha to have emerged as the victor of the Security Council debate on South Africa in New York this week

ANC president Nelson Mandela came to New York this week to ask the UN Security Council to take his side on the question of violence. The council, a different animal entirely from the General Assembly, where the ANC has generally prospered, chose instead to address the issue of peace.

In so doing, it handed a substantial moral victory to President FW de Klerk and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, whose performance before the council was widely judged masterful and which did much to revive Mr. De Klerk's image after the beating it has taken in the wake of Boipatong.

With peace and the resumption of negotiations at centre stage, Mr. Mandela failed to justify the ANC's withdrawal from talks to the council's permanent membership, most of whom made it clear, albeit in exquisite diplomatic terms, that they believed the ANC president was overplaying his hand.

For the first time in decades, Mr. Botha managed to portray his government as sincere and genuinely aggrieved. One of his most extraordinary strokes was to raise allegations that elements of "the ANC/communist alliance" were trying to infiltrate arms into South Africa, and then say that this was "all the more reason" for getting back to the table — particularly since Mr. Mandela and other senior ANC leaders might not be aware of what was going on.

A senior deputy to American permanent representative Ed Perkins passed a personal note to a colleague in the South African mission calling Mr. Botha's speech one of the best and most moving he had heard in the council. It ended: "Anyone who has a horse like that has an easy

time being a jockey." Mr. Botha spoke with supreme confidence. He had reason. After lengthy haggling, the council had already agreed on a consensus resolution which represented a substantial victory for the government and which rendered hollow Mr. Mandela's impassioned, but seemingly defensive, catalogue of the regime's complicity in the violence at the opening of the debate.

The final text was a far cry from the original draft submitted on Mr. Mandela's behalf by the OAU. Its one concession to the ANC was a giveaway: a call for whatever sanctions that now remained in place — and as Mr. Botha observed, the array is scarcely imposing — to be maintained "for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid".

The only act for which the government was specifically condemned was the shooting of protesters after Boipatong. And, while the council agreed, uncontroversially, that the government (no longer, note, "the regime") had the responsibility for protecting life and property, it pointedly declined to assign blame for the broader violence.

The General Assembly would almost certainly have been more open to Mr. Mandela's point of view, and indeed would have let ANC representatives participate directly in the drafting of a resolution. But the council is different. Its job is peace (even if that means having to go to war as in the case of Iraq), and it could have no other justification for getting involved in South Africa.

If he failed to understand this, Mr. Mandela miscalcu-

lated badly. On the other hand, he, too, has gained if his purpose was to return to his followers with the news that the ANC's international stature is being undercut by its boycott of talks.

The council took the view that the key to resolving the violence was getting the parties back to the negotiating table.

IN A CLAUSE insisted upon by the Russian representative, Mr. Yully Voronov, on express instructions from Moscow, it emphasised that the parties must resume talks "as speedily as possible".

The Secretary-General's special envoy was to try to be helpful in this regard, the resolution implied, but there should be no prevarication in the expectation that his report to the council might tip the scales in favour of one party or the other.

This point was reinforced by the US representative (a former ambassador to South Africa). Using the phrase favoured by Pretoria, he said he envisaged the Secretary-General's envoy leading a small "goodwill team" to South Africa to help the council get a "better perspective" and to "enhance the complex negotiations" but not "seek to supplant that process".

As far as the council's key members are concerned, the role of the international community must be to augment existing institutions such as the Goldstone commission and the National Peace Accord, and add legitimacy to new ones.

When Mr. Botha said Mr. De Klerk was anxious to discuss with Mr. Mandela and ITP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez the creation of a "joint monitoring body" with international observers, both

Mr. Perkins and the British representative, Sir David Hannay, nodded appreciatively. This was precisely what they wanted to hear.

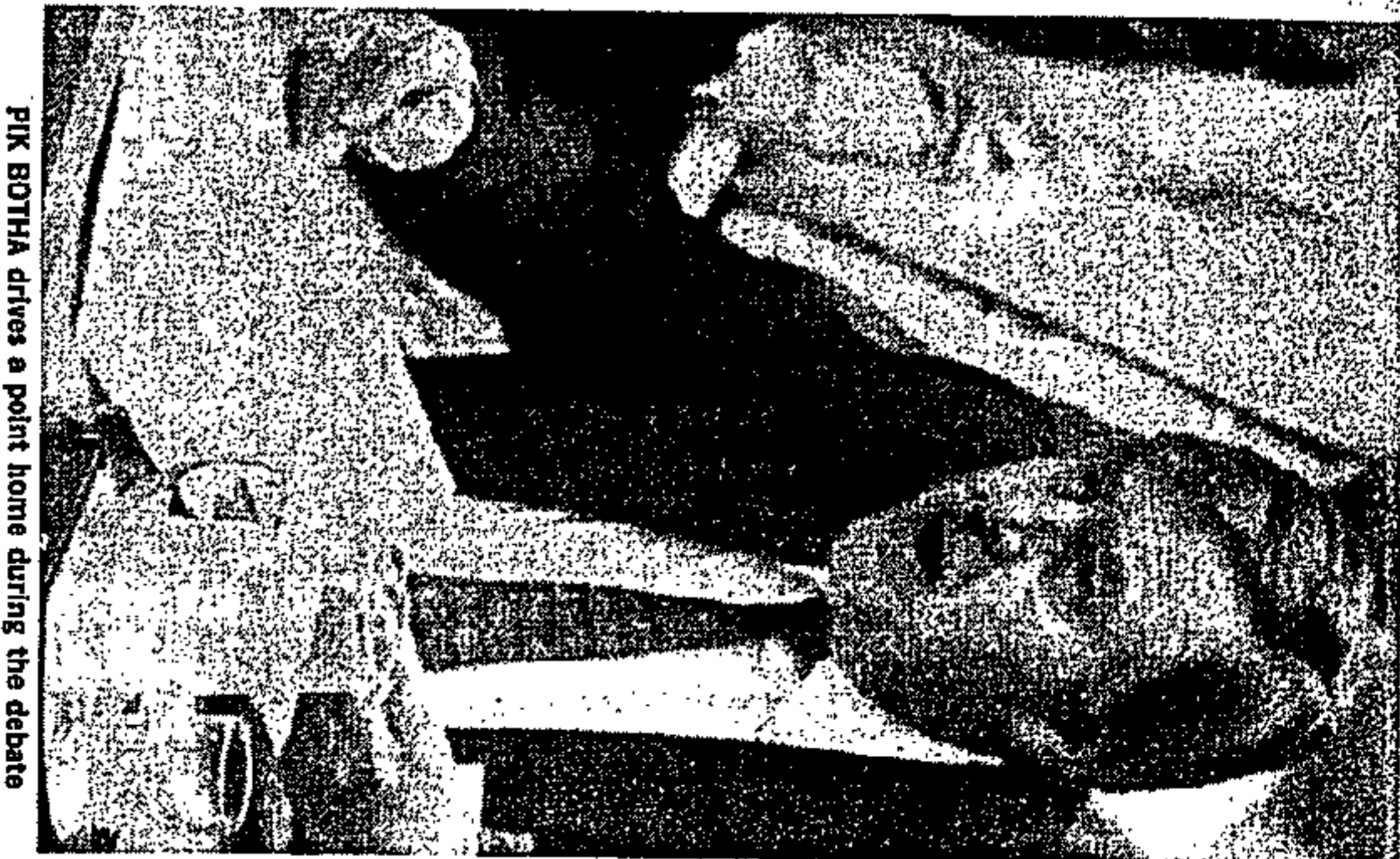
It was difficult to gauge the impact of Chief Buthelez's presentation and those of the other Codesa parties. Many of their spokesmen, including the SACP's initially reluctant Essop Pahad, were on hand by accident, brought over by the National Democratic Institute to watch at the Democratic convention.

The speakers' list was long even without them, a fact alluded to by the Spanish ambassador when his turn came on Thursday afternoon. As

per the ritual, he began by congratulating the president of the council (this month the representative of Cape Verde) for his statesmanship, political acumen and other qualities. To these he added "patience".

Nonetheless, the Codesa parties were there. And by that very fact the council was giving its de facto blessing to the Codesa process, whether individual speakers liked it or not. Some, most notably Mr. Pahad, did not. He thought Codesa was supposed to be dead. He spoke anyway.

After all, it's not often that one gets an opportunity to address the high priests of the New World Order in their inner sanctum.



PIK BOTHA drives a point home during the debate

Vance faces tough SA test

SITTING 19/7/92

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UNITED Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali has given special representative Cyrus Vance the power to use his discretion during his mission to South Africa next week, diplomats have said.

His mandate is to "recommend measures" to help end the violence and restart negotiations, and there is likely to be much dispute over how the word "measures" is defined.

Having lost the first round over the wording of last week's Security Council resolution, the ANC is expected the push hard to get its way on "measures".

However, it will have a tough time convincing the Council's permanent members to accept anything that might be seen as "intrusive".

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said it

By SIMON BARBER and MIKE ROBERTSON

Pik wins over UN

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha returned to his old stamping grounds at the United Nations last week and did something he had not been able to do the before. Instead of being forced to tell the outside world to do its worst, he won it over.

His speech to the Security Council earned unprecedented acclaim among the permanent members. "Substantial" and "statesmanlike", said Sir David Hannay's British mission in a note to its South African counterpart.

A senior deputy to the American representative, former ambassador to South Africa Edward Perkins, was even more effusive.

In a personal note to the South African mission, he said: "Your Minister's speech not only was the finest one I heard at the UN but one of the best that I have heard anywhere. Moving, honest, sincere, full of facts and yet full of hope."

● Pik's tour de force at UN — see Page 19

was his impression that the Security Council did not want to interfere in South Africa's affairs.

It was for this reason that it deliberately left "a lot of room" in the wording of the resolution. It was his

impression that Mr Vance's visit would be a "facilitating, fact-finding, goodwill mission".

Mr Botha described the resolution as historic. The Security Council had emphasised that all parties

should co-operate in ending violence, and had not blamed the South African government.

The ANC's deputy head of international affairs Aziz Pahad also welcomed the resolution, but for different reasons. He said his organisation was pleased that, for the first time, violence in South Africa had been discussed in an international arena.

Resolution 765, he said, placed the primary responsibility for ending the violence on the South African Government, and also urged it to bring those responsible to justice.

Monitors

Mr Pahad said that when Mr Vance visited South Africa next week, the ANC would attempt to persuade him to recommend to the UN that it appoint a group of international experts to serve as monitors to complement the work of the Peace Accord.

The US and Britain, meanwhile, feel that the ANC must respond positively if the government proposes negotiating joint mechanisms designed to defuse tensions and check violent outbreaks before they happen.

The resolution, in their view, means that the ANC's contention that negotiations cannot restart until the violence has been dealt with, and the government has made concessions on "majority rule", is unacceptable.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has said that if there is any hope of the government accepting it, he would opt for some kind UN peacekeeping force, but would be satisfied with a "continuous-monitoring" presence.

Sins of Commission

CHARGE ONE: The government uses violence to strengthen its position and weaken the ANC's

Mr. Mandela based the charge on a survey by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry. Case — which by its own definition serves "mass-based, anti-apartheid movements" — took a prominent role in advocating sanctions and produced surveys, often hotly contested, concluding that most black South Africans supported sanctions.

The Consolidated Case Reports on the Reef Violence compiled by Dr David Everatt present graphs and statistics indicating that violence increases with heightened political activity.

The reports do not, however, even attempt to present concrete evidence of a direct link between individuals in the government and incidents of violence.

CHARGE TWO: The ANC is the most frequent victim of violence.

De Klerk in the dock: Consider

STW 11/1/92

The ANC held court at the UN this week to accuse the De Klerk government of two major sins: clinging to power and failing to control the violence in the country. Mr Mandela charged that President De Klerk was guilty of acts of "commission" and "omission" and held him directly and personally responsible. **BRIAN POTTINGER** examines the charges

30/1/92

carrying of dangerous weapons in public.
This, Mr Mandela said, created a situation in which "hordes of men would spill out into the streets and enter public places with dangerous weapons".

The government insists the amendment to the proclamation was intended to clear up ambiguities in the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968.

Two days before the UN Security Council meeting, Mr De Klerk announced that new measures would be promulgated making it an offence to carry any weapon of any kind in an unrest area.

CHARGE FIVE: The government continues to employ security hit squads.
Mr Mandela said a covert security

Mr Mandela quotes Case in reporting 13 attacks on funerals or funeral vigils on the Reef between July 1990 and July 1991. These reflected an "overwhelming predominance of acts of aggression carried out by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. These attacks, moreover, were carried out with the active or passive support of the SAP."

only four percent in the first 12 months of Reef violence. The figures have been criticised for not taking into account numerous "unclassifiable" individual murders of Inkatha supporters.
CHARGE THREE: The government armed, supported and directed Inkatha.
Mr Mandela raised the now confirmed training of 200 Inkatha supporters in Namibia in 1986.

the rule of his predecessor, and that all such actions ceased under his administration.
This is not strictly correct. Some funding of Inkatha did continue and the investigation of the Trust Feed case in Natal proved that there was an unsuccessful attempt by investigators to protect police murderers during Mr De Klerk's term.
CHARGE FOUR: The government issued specific proclamations legalising the

suspected of crimes to remain uncharged.

Mr Mandela referred specifically to two cases:

● General CP van der Westhuizen, head of Military Intelligence, who allegedly sent a message in 1965 saying that four Eastern Cape militants should be "removed from society". The four were later murdered.

● General Lothar Neethling, head of SAP Forensics, who was found in a Supreme Court defamation action possibly to have been responsible for providing poison for use against opponents of the state. His appeal against the finding is pending.

The charge is largely valid. Very few prosecutions, and no convictions, have been recorded against officers allegedly involved in unlawful actions during the state's "dirty war" in the 80s.
General van der Westhuizen is still at his post and General Neethling has retired.

unit had recently been operating in the Boipatong area and 10 more in other regions to suppress the democratic movement.

Mr Mandela's reference was to the discovery of a unit of Kooeet, a paramilitary police unit, on mine property near Witbank. An informant told the ANC a unit member had admitted to taking part in the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC leader may also have had in mind recent Weekly Mail disclosures of police "safe houses" from which, claimed one ANC informant, hit squads were dispatched.

The ANC leader's charges are based on somewhat shaky ground. The Kooeet member supposedly involved in the killings at Boipatong denied before the Goldstone commission that he had ever

confessed to the ANC informant. The SAP, meanwhile, claim the safe houses were part of a lawful undercover police operation to track down arms smugglers.

Acts of Omission

CHARGE ONE: No one has been convicted in connection with political massacres.

Mr Mandela is correct, although a number of people have been charged. Recently, seven men charged after a massacre in Sebokeng were acquitted after the judge accepted their confessions had been extracted under duress. The SAP, for their part, insist that intimidation of witnesses by political parties makes it very difficult to secure convictions.

CHARGE TWO: Mr De Klerk allows security force officers

Your verdict



PART OF THE SOLUTION . . . Free State farmer Cas Human on his farm near Harrismith. He believes the ANC offers the only home for those who believe in a non-racial South Africa

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

A DIRECT descendant of President Paul Kruger is the latest true-blue Boer to join the ANC.

Free State farmer Cas Human, 37, left the Democratic Party — for which he once stood as a parliamentary candidate — and joined the ANC a few months ago “because I’m a democrat, not a liberal”.

“There is a role for liberals to play in South Africa, but if you support a non-racial society, there is only one organisation for you, and that’s the ANC,” he believes.

Born in Pretoria and raised in a traditional Afrikaner home, Mr Human — a devout member of the NG Kerk — took a BSc degree in agriculture at Stellenbosch University.

“It was at university that I began to realise apartheid was wrong. It was 1976, and politics formed an important part of student discussions, sometimes right through the night.

“After ’76, the Afrikaner lost his vision. The ‘swart gevaar’ propaganda took hold, total onslaught became the watchword.

“Now the Afrikaner has had a new awakening. My generation is slowly but surely becoming part of the

Free State Boer signs up for ANC

By CHARLES LEONARD

STW 1917192

solution again. The difference is that my father’s generation solved the poor white problem by looking after themselves — perhaps a little too well — whereas we are part of a broader South African solution,” said Mr Human.

The path that led him to the ANC was via the public service — as an agricultural information officer in the Bethlehem district — and post-graduate study at Pretoria University.

He started farming part-time near Harrismith in 1981.

“That’s when I began to realise something was wrong with our economy, and with our politics. Almost daily, I was being confronted by people asking for a place to live, a bag of mealie-meal, anything, just to stay alive.”

In 1989, Mr Human stood as the DP candidate in Harrismith.

“We didn’t do too well — pulled in only 400 votes — but the spin-offs were important. I didn’t really want to stand for office, but a man from the district told me I should, as it would let him use his vote for the first time in 65 years.

“The DP enrolled quite a few active black members in the eastern Free State, especially from

Qwaqwa. At the beginning of 1990, when the homeland government called an election, the DP and the ANC were part of a broad alliance opposing the election.

“That was my first encounter with mass meetings and grassroots democracy, and it became clear that the ANC and I were talking the same language.”

But it was not until five DP MPs joined the ANC this year that he

switched his allegiance.

“Pierre Cronje is a good friend, and when he told me they had been kicked out of the DP for joining the ANC, I knew the right thing for me to do was join as well. I went to the local township office of the ANC the very next day and signed up.”

Mr Human’s political affiliation is common knowledge among his friends and neighbours.

“I’ve made no secret of it, but ev-

eryone seems to have accepted it. Recently, I was elected chairman of the soil conservation committee despite my politics. No one discriminates against me, my wife or our three children.”

One thing Mr Human and his neighbours are in full agreement on is the effect of the drought.

“It doesn’t matter if you’re NP, CP, DP or ANC, the drought is taking its toll on all of us, but with drought relief, we’ll probably survive.”

“I just hope the economy recovers, and agriculture along with it. Once that happens, there’ll be room for more people on the land. What we have to guard against is the trap of concentrating on particular kinds of farmers. There should be land and state support for all,” he believes.

Mr Human’s relations with the labourers who till his 3 700ha farm are interesting to an outsider.

This week as they planted wheat, some called out “dag Cas” while others opted for the time-honoured “dag baas”.

Mr Human said: “We’re all facing the crisis in farming together.”

Citizens have rights – they also have responsibilities

C/PRES 19/7/92

304A

IT is common practice that when we talk about life in a democratic society we tend to stress the rights of a citizen in such a society.

Seldom do we emphasise that the rights of a citizen go hand-in-hand with responsibilities.

For example, if citizens have a right to vote but never take the opportunity of going to the polling stations to exercise this right on election day, this right would be rendered meaningless.

Therefore democracy affords citizens rights as defined in the constitution, but citizens themselves have the responsibility to exercise these rights.

Some citizenship rights may require that citizens tax themselves to make these rights available to other citizens, for example payment of old age pensions and the improvement of health, education and housing facilities.

When citizens pay these taxes in a democracy, they are exercising their responsibilities as citizens.

It is important that there be

This is the third in a series of articles by the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy such as 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 procedure.

peace, harmony and stability in society if citizens are to enjoy their rights without hindrance.

If there is instability or anarchy, the state may be forced to temporarily take away some of the rights of citizens by declaring a state of emergency or martial law.

Hence one important responsibility of the citizen in a democracy is to be law-abiding and to assist

the State to maintain law and order.

In some democracies like the USA, citizens are expected to assist in judging the conduct of fellow citizens through the courts and they even participate in deciding how fellow citizens who break the law should be punished by the courts.

This is the so-called jury system, which SA abolished many years ago.

It is also the responsibility of the citizen in a democracy to contribute to the defence of the territorial integrity of his country.

Some countries allow citizens to volunteer for military service for specified periods, while others make use of permanent military forces consisting of citizens who have chosen careers as professional soldiers.

It is therefore important that whenever a citizen thinks about rights he/she should always couple these rights with responsibilities that go hand-in-hand with them.

Good luck, SA, I won't forget you

Sunday Times 19/7/92

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German ambassador IMMO STABREIT reflects on his term in South Africa, on the eve of his posting to Washington

FIVE years ago, on June 1 1987, the huge plane descended towards Johannesburg, basking in the morning sun. We had just witnessed one of those strikingly beautiful African sunrises which I know now I will never forget. Moments later I set foot on African soil for the first time, full of mixed emotions but looking forward to a job I knew would be complicated.

Now my wife Barbara and I are about to leave South Africa. Five years is a long time in a human life. It is a very long time in a diplomatic career. Five years can be a decisive period in the history of a country. A year ago the last of my colleagues who were here to welcome me upon my arrival left, making me the longest-serving ambassador in South Africa.

South Africa has been kind to us. But that is not the only, not even the primary reason why it hurts to say goodbye. The overwhelming beauty of its landscapes, the special

quality of the light and of colours; the variety of its climate and the often destructive impact of nature are matched by the dynamism of its people, their admirable vitality, their cultural wealth and their many talents.

Over the years we have met thousands of people from all segments of the population; without exception they have been friendly and hospitable. We have met people I would not hesitate to call great. And we have made friends, true friends.

This country has all the potential for greatness, even in its present sad political, economic and social state. All

those who leave it for safer shores will probably never be able to erase it from their memories or their hearts.

South Africa has not always been kind to its own people, the majority of whom are fighting for their rights as equal citizens. The country is paralysed by this internal conflict, which is all the more difficult to solve as political, racial and social factors are interlocked, and the burden of its violent history weighs heavily on the main players at the negotiation table.

I have been asked time and again whether I am optimistic or pessimistic about the

future of South Africa. I have always been optimistic and, by and large, I continue to be so. I know that on both sides there are leaders who know there is no acceptable alternative to a negotiated settlement. However ugly the mood may be among the deprived youths in the townships, the vast majority of blacks and whites are tired of the conflict and loathe the carnage caused by it. There is a deep desire for peace. Let us come to an agreement and get on with the real problems of the country, they say.

And yet the balance will be difficult to strike.

I must admit that I am

deeply worried, now perhaps more than at any time since 1987. There is a time factor involved. The breakdown of Codesa we hope will be temporary. But if the violence is not finally stopped, if the confidence so essential to successful negotiations continues to erode, if the economic depression deepened by political strife continues to throw people out of work and thus increase the army of unemployed, bitterly poor people, a point of no return may come.

The responsibility of those leaders who have embarked on the path of negotiations is



STILL OPTIMISTIC: Immo Stabreit

that much greater, as it can hardly be denied that there are forces on all sides which prefer conflict to the painful and unspectacular search for common ground.

I have kept my faith in the

future of this country. It is hard to imagine that reason will not prevail. But coming from a continent where, notwithstanding the fact that it was the cradle of modern civilisation, reason did not always prevail, there are doubts.

I wish, therefore, that politics here would cease to be regarded as a zero-sum game, in which the gain of one side would automatically be the loss of the other. I wish that things would not get out of hand, forcing one to go back to square one.

South Africa has all the human resources and talents it needs to advance rapidly. But it is now high time to make everybody pull in the same direction, to unite people towards a common goal.

My successor's contribution to this process lies ahead. For us, it only remains to say to South Africa: "Auf Wiedersehen" and "viel Glück".

Yesterday's foe is today's VIP

By SEKOLA SELLO

CIPRES 19/7/92

THE government will lay out a welcome mat for one of its former harshest critics, Cyrus Vance, when he arrives in SA next week as a UN special envoy.

Vance, a strong critic of Pretoria while Secretary of State in the Jimmy Carter administration, heads a mission to this country to try and end the current political crisis and the violence.

Soon after his arrival from addressing the Security Council on the problems of SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday night that the government would be comfortable with Vance heading the mission.

"I have already told my office to issue them with visas," he said jokingly.

While Botha expressed the hope that the present political impasse could be resolved soon, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Paris that violence would have to stop before the organisation could think of resuming talks with State President FW de Klerk.

Strained relations

Mandela addressed the Security Council this week before leaving for France where he held a meeting with Junior Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman. Mandela said the ANC found it unacceptable "to continue to talk with a regime which has the capacity to put an end to violence but which is not doing so, simply because it is black lives that are being affected".

Mandela's latest statement is likely to strain relations further between his organisation and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha. The ANC leader was very critical of Inkatha at the UN hearing and accused it of being backed and funded by Pretoria.

Buthelezi, who also addressed the Security Council for the first time, said the tone of Mandela's speech in New York did not augur well for a reconciliation between the two.

The three main parties which addressed the UN - Inkatha, the ANC and government - expressed satisfaction with Resolution 765, which Botha described as the "best we ever had".

In a statement released to Sapa, the ANC said: "The Security Council reaffirmed the commitment of that international body to the creation of a united, nonracial, non-sexist and democratic SA and called upon the De Klerk government to take immediate measures to end the violence which has cost thousands of lives."

APR 20/1992

304/A

Peace mission

New bid to get talks restarted

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MOVES to rescue the ailing peace and negotiation processes move into top gear this week as key local and international players launch fresh initiatives to break the cycle of escalating conflict.

In a crunch week for South African politics developments will include:

- An extended three-day cabinet "boseraad" at which the government plans to produce a new package aimed at restarting the stalled Codessa negotiations.
- The ratification of a far-reaching "social charter" forged between business and labour leaders aimed at scaling down the mass action campaign, broadening the negotiation process and rebuilding the country's battered economy.
- The arrival of United Nations special representative Mr. Gy...

cial representative Mr. Gy... who will spearhead growing international efforts aimed at curbing violence and kickstarting talks.

- Talks between the deputy secretary-general of the ANC, Mr. Jacob Zuma, in Harare tomorrow with King Zwelithini will offer a view on a possible meeting between the Zulu monarch and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela.

With the eyes of the world firmly fixed on South Africa after last week's momentous UN Security Council debate, there will be increased international pressure on all parties to show the flexibility needed to end the current stalemate.

The government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer, was confident last night that the boseraad from Wednesday to

To page 3

- Inkatha wants to charge Nelson Mandela — Page 2



ROYAL ROMANCE ... Lady Helen Windsor, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Kent, and her new husband, Mr. Tim Taylor, leaving St George's Chapel in the grounds of Windsor Castle after they were married on Saturday at a service attended by most of the royal family — with one notable exception.

Picture: AP

De Klerk,

Chissano

(30/4/92)

renew friendship

By Ken Vernon 20/1/92

MAPUTO — Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and South African President F.W. de Klerk took advantage of their joint opening of the refurbished Polana Hotel at the weekend to hold talks on the stalled constitutional negotiations under way in both countries — and renew their warm friendship.

According to sources at the talks, President Chissano offered to do all he could to help resuscitate South Africa's Codesa talks, and President de Klerk in turn pledged that South Africa would take a more active role in promoting peace in Mozambique.

The sources said President Chissano had indicated that African leaders were "disappointed" at the breakdown of talks in South Africa, but were confident that talks would resume soon — especially after last week's UN resolution urging both sides to return to the negotiating table.

On ANC charges that Mr de Klerk was responsible for promoting the violence that had led to the breakdown, President Chissano said African leaders still regarded President de Klerk as sincere in his reform efforts.

At a press conference after the hotel opening, President de Klerk denied that the SA Government or defence force still supported the Renamo rebel movement in any way.

HARARE — President Chissano said yesterday he had agreed to meet rebel leader Afonso Dalakama, signalling a breakthrough in his country's 16-year civil war. Mr Chissano, speaking after talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, said a date for the meeting with the Renamo leader was still to be arranged.



Here's to peace . . . President de Klerk and President Joaquim Chissano drink a toast outside the refurbished Polana Hotel in Maputo. Picture: Joao Silva

Trust will bring us out of darkness

STAR 20/7/92

30/A

The United Nations has revived hopes for a negotiated settlement after the Boipatong massacre. But its constructive intervention will come to naught if South Africans themselves do not abandon their sectarian agendas. PATRICK LAURENCE interprets the situation since Codesa became deadlocked in May.

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha close to end his address to the UN last week with the moving words of C Louis Leipold: "Out of the darkness comes the dawn." His choice was prescient.

Hopes for a negotiated settlement, did emerge from last week's UN meeting, called after the terrible bloodletting at Boipatong and the recriminatory exchanges it precipitated.

The UN, once the target of bitter denunciation by the National Party, provided the ember which rekindled hope.

The Security Council's special debate on South Africa, the constructive approach of the committee, members and its decision to send a special representative to South Africa, underlined a simple message: South Africans must resolve their differences at the negotiating table.

As the prospect of a new round of negotiations came into focus at the weekend a central question commanded attention: how far apart are the main interlocutors, the De Klerk administration and the African National Congress?

From one perspective, a mere silver seemed to separate them and the prognosis for a durable agreement appeared good: from another vantage point, the differences appeared to be vast and almost insurmountable.

When Codesa ended in deadlock in May, the narrow margin of difference between the De Klerk bloc and ANC axis was dramatised by a mere five percentage points. The two sides had agreed that the final constitution should be drafted by a popularly elected constituent-making body or constituent assembly. They could not agree, however, on the size of the majority required for acceptance of the new constitution.

Eventually, after much haggling, they agreed on the majority needed for all clauses except one. They agreed that in general the majority should be 70 percent, but 75 percent for clauses relating to the proposed bill of rights.

They differed, however, on clauses relating to regionalism: the ANC would not budge beyond a 70 percent majority, while the De Klerk administration would not accept less than 75 percent.

On July 2, however, the De Klerk administration, in a bid to induce the ANC to return to the negotiating table, offered to accept a 70 percent majority for regional issues. The ANC had meanwhile retreated to its original offer of a two-thirds majority for all clauses except those relating to the bill of rights, where it still sought a 75 percent majority.

Even so, the difference was less than 5 percent — 3,3 percentage points — although it was spread over a wider range of constitutional clauses, instead of being concentrated on those pertaining to regionalism.

Moreover, the De Klerk administration, jolted by the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations after the Boipatong massacre of June 17, had moved to meet ANC objections on two further issues which divided them at Codesa.

The ANC, understandably fearful that the "De Klerk regime" would use the high majority to delay adoption of a final constitution indefinitely, had insisted on a deadlock-breaking mechanism. It wanted the constitution to be adopted by popular vote in a referendum if the constituent assembly could not meet the prescribed majority within six months.

The De Klerk administration, after stalling at Codesa in May, offered its own time-frame: if after three years, fulfilment of the required majority still eluded the constituent assembly, a general election should be held under a (not yet drafted) transitional constitution.

The De Klerk administration originally proposed that the upper House or senate should be elected under a system of what it described as "disproportionate representation" — an arrangement which would give all parties achieving a low percentage of the poll an equal number of representatives.

The ANC, sensing a bid to thwart majority rule, balked at labelling the proposed senate a "loser-takes-all" system.

But in the wake of Boipatong, the De Klerk administration modified its stance: it belatedly agreed that the upper House, like the lower house, should be elected by proportional representation. Thus, in a sense, the seemingly small differences which divided the two sides at Codesa had shrunk even further. It was not quite as simple as that, however.

The ANC remained determinedly committed to the immediate installation of a government of national unity to oversee free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

The De Klerk administration agreed as Mr Botha made clear in his UN address, that a transitional government should be established as soon as possible, but insisted that there could be no "constitutional vacuum". It wanted Codesa to draft a transitional constitution, in terms of which all South Africans would elect a transitional government.

Under these proposals, a popularly elected lower House or national assembly would function as a constitution-making body for the final constitution.

Each side distrusted its adversary. Differences of terminology and approach had not yet been eliminated as major impediments to progress.

The ANC suspected that the De Klerk administration wanted to ensure that the transitional constitution would become the final constitution, except for a few frills.

As SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo put it, the strategy of the "De Klerk regime" after Mr de Klerk's July 2 reply to the ANC was to marginalise the popularly elected constituent assembly. Under the plan of the "regime", the function of the constituent assembly would be confined to choosing a short title for the final constitution and selecting a new flag, he remarked.

As the ANC saw it, the De Klerk administration wanted Codesa — an unrepresentative body composed largely of discredited "bantustan leaders" and "collaborators" in the present tri-racial Parliament — to usurp the role of the constituent assembly and become the de facto constitution-making body.

The De Klerk administration, however, had its own fears: that the ANC was manoeuvring to establish an interim government unimpeded by constitutional restraints and that its "deadlock-breaking mechanism" was a subterfuge to ensure the final constitution was adopted by a simple majority.

Even as both sides edged back from the brink, mistrust and fear — rather than divergence on constitutional detail — remained the real obstacles to a negotiated settlement.

The ANC still saw Mr de Klerk as a devious politician, seeking to establish a white minority veto, but trying to conceal his plans in "intricate formulae".

The De Klerk administration still suspected the ANC of striving to monopolise power rather than share it, and even of flirting with "insurrectionist thinking".

As the UN prepared to send an envoy to South Africa, it was clear that one of his primary tasks would be to free South Africans of all colours and all ideological hues from the bonds of suspicion and distrust.

Failure to rise above their fears would cause South Africans to recall the words of Sol Plaatje, first secretary-general of the ANC: "Alas my country! Thou will have no need of enemy to bring thee to thy doom." □



President FW de Klerk and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano toast the reopening of Maputo's Polana Hotel on Saturday.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Talks strengthen ties with Mozambique

MAPUTO — SA and Mozambique moved closer to establishing stronger diplomatic ties following talks between President FW de Klerk and President Joachim Chissano on Saturday.

Following the discussions, both presidents emphasised the need to bring about regional economic integration and peace.

Chissano said the reopening of Maputo's Polana Hotel, which was a joint SA-Mozambique enterprise, was a significant beginning to economic co-operation between the two countries.

He and De Klerk officiated at the reopening on Saturday following the completion of a R44m refurbishment of the hotel.

De Klerk said southern Africa had to redouble efforts to bring about regional economic integration but emphasised that peace was an essential prerequisite for growth.

De Klerk said he and Chissano had agreed that progress was being made to bring peace to the region and a positive environment was being created in which problems could be addressed.

"This part of Africa should be seen as a safe haven for investment where the natural treasures of our sub-continent can be unlocked and used to improve the quality of life of all our people," De Klerk said. — Sapa.

IFP wants guarantees

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TOP PRIORITY Party wants

to prevent talks being held to ransom:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday resolved to call for a National Multiparty Conference of Review charged with reviewing the peace and negotiation processes.

A resolution adopted by delegates to the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi said this conference should be given statutory powers. It could then prevent the recurrence of a situation where "any one party could hold negotiations to ransom and urge the Government to introduce the agreements reached in Working Group 3 in Codesa, once the negotiation process has resulted in broad consensus about constitutional principles and an interim constitution".

In a separate resolution adopted at the conference, the IFP said it would call for regional negotiations about regional boundaries and regional

autonomy.

The IFP would call upon all of its structures and other regional governments to make their input to constitutional negotiations in close harmony with one another.

"Federalism as an option should be given the widest publicity in our region and throughout the country," the conference resolved.

Meanwhile IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned on Saturday if the stalled negotiation process was unable to restart the violence would escalate, and it might have to "run its course".

He also gave notice the IFP might pull out of negotiations if the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, continued to be discussed exclusively between the Government and the ANC.

"If violence escalates much more than it is doing, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations," he warned.

"If the ANC precludes the possibility of negotiations, then it is the ANC which will have to take the consequences."

Buthelezi called for the immediate formation of "community defence units" in areas which past experience had shown were violence zones.

More whites now back FW but black support wanes

(304A)

3/00-1 20/7/92
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Black support for President F W de Klerk has dropped dramatically since February 1990, but white support has steadily increased, a new public opinion survey has found.

In February 1990, 86% of blacks thought De Klerk was doing a good job, when he unbanned the ANC and other political organisations. But by May this year, this had dropped to 55%.

Research Surveys has polled political attitudes in black and white households door-to-door on a regular basis since November 1989. In results released last week, it reported that 60% of whites said in May this year they felt De Klerk was doing a good job. In November 1989 only 51% of whites thought he was doing a good job and this dropped to 46% shortly after the February 2 1990 speech.

There were also declines in white support in the middle and towards the end of 1991, but this increased during the referendum campaign this March — to 63% in the case of white women

and 61% in the case of white men — and dropped back slightly in May.

Among black respondents, however, there has been a steady decline over the two-and-a-half years, although there was a spurt of support to 68% in April this year after the referendum campaign.

In February 1990, only 5% of black women and 7% of black men did not think De Klerk was doing a good job, but by May this year, this had risen to 27% of all blacks.

The highest white opposition was in April 1990 — at 39% — but by May this year this dropped to 26%.

□ Sapa reports that a survey by Gallup International has shown that, in spite of extensive television and Press coverage, the reform initiatives taken over the past two-and-a-half years in SA have not registered fully among Britons.

However, a statement in Johannesburg by the Markinor Research Group, the local affiliate of Gallup,

said one in five people believed De Klerk's reforms to be serious, compared to one in 12 in 1986 regarding former President P W Botha's reforms.

About 56% of the respondents believed normal day-to-day life to be impossible for blacks and whites because of unrest. Forty-eight percent believed the lives of whites to be in daily danger, and 41% thought foreign tourists should fear for their lives.

Sixty-two percent believed blacks were not allowed into white hotels and restaurants, and 26% believed blacks and whites were not allowed to work in the same room. According to 46% of respondents, blacks and whites were not allowed to mix socially, and 37% thought blacks and whites were not allowed to marry each other.

The survey was conducted in the last week of June — one week after the Boipatong massacre.

"The timing could have affected the findings to some extent," the statement said.

Neil van Heerden praised by ANC

ADRIAN HADLAND

FOREIGN Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, who was reported at the weekend to be leaving his post to become SA's ambassador to the EC, would be welcome to serve as a diplomat in an ANC government, an ANC official said.

ANC international affairs department deputy head Aziz Pahad said Van Heerden would "always be useful in the new SA".

"Clearly Van Heerden has been a diplomat of high standing and will always be useful in the diplomatic world in the new SA," Pahad said. B/D/AF 20/7/92

He said Van Heerden had built a reputation as a diplomat of standing and had always had a positive attitude towards change in SA. (234) (304A)

He said his decision to step down reflected confusion in the Foreign Affairs Department in particular and in government in general on a number of key issues.

Van Heerden has been in government service for more than 30 years.

He played a pivotal role in SA's negotiations with the US, Cuba and Angola to end the Angolan war and put Namibia on the road to independence.

He was also prominent at Codesa, where the negotiating skills he put into practice for the Angolan deal were highly valued.

A spokesman for Van Heerden's office declined to comment on reports of Van Heerden becoming SA's man at the EC in Brussels — a post he would probably take up in September or October.

UN special envoy arrives today

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor



Cyrus Vance, newly-appointed United Nations Special Envoy to South Africa, touches down at Jan Smuts Airport this afternoon to start a 10-day fact-finding mission into violence and the negotiations impasse.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and other senior Government officials will meet Mr Vance. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said officials from the organisation were also likely to be on hand to welcome the former US Secretary of State.

Mr Vance is scheduled to meet politicians, church leaders, businessmen and unionists.

According to the head of the UN High Commission for Refugees office in Johannesburg, Kallu Kalumiya, Mr Vance will depart on July 30.

UN Resolution 765 instructs Mr Vance to consult all South African political parties and to report back to the Security Council urgently with a set of recommendations that would "assist in bringing an effective end to violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading to-

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wards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

Four senior UN officials will accompany Mr Vance on his mission: former "Chef de Cabinet" of the UN Secretary General, Indian national Virendra Dayal; UN director of political affairs, Hisham Omayad of Ghana; political affairs officer Shola Omoregie; and Carole Davis, secretary in the department of political affairs.

● While most parties have welcomed Mr Vance's visit, the CP and HNP have condemned UN "interference".

Vance's team arrives today

PRETORIA — Veteran troubleshooter Cyrus Vance arrives in SA today with four assistants in an attempt to broker peace talks and jumpstart the stalled negotiations process.

Government and the ANC yesterday welcomed Vance's mission, the product of a UN Security Council resolution which invited the UN secretary-general to appoint a special representative.

Vance has been given a broad mandate by the resolution, which calls for the representative to recommend measures which will help to end the violence and create conditions for negotiations.

Responding to suggestions that the ANC was averse to Vance's appointment, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was happy with the decision.

The ANC expects Vance to investigate violence and although he will not be directly involved in discussions on resuming ne-

gotiations, the issues are related. Government has said it is satisfied with the appointment, although it sees Vance's mandate being wider than the ANC does.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that Vance will be met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and senior government officials, before starting on his schedule of meetings with political, religious, business and labour leaders.

He is expected to remain in the country until July 30. Details of his itinerary are expected to be released at a news conference immediately after his arrival.

He is expected to meet government ministers and President F W de Klerk tomorrow and the ANC, PAC Inkatha and DP on Thursday. It is understood his discussions

TIM COHEN

□ To Page 2

Vance

will also include Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Saccola, Cosatu and other national peace accord signatories.

Vance, who was US secretary of state under Jimmy Carter, is renowned as a troubleshooter and mediator.

Vance played a key part in negotiating the Camp David agreements on the Middle East and assisted in transforming Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. Most recently he has been involved in negotiating the cessation

of hostilities in Croatia.

A Time magazine article said Vance's recipe for arbitration was: "Master the facts of the situation: listen exhaustively to both sides; understand their positions; make sure they understand the principles that must dictate a solution and don't give up."

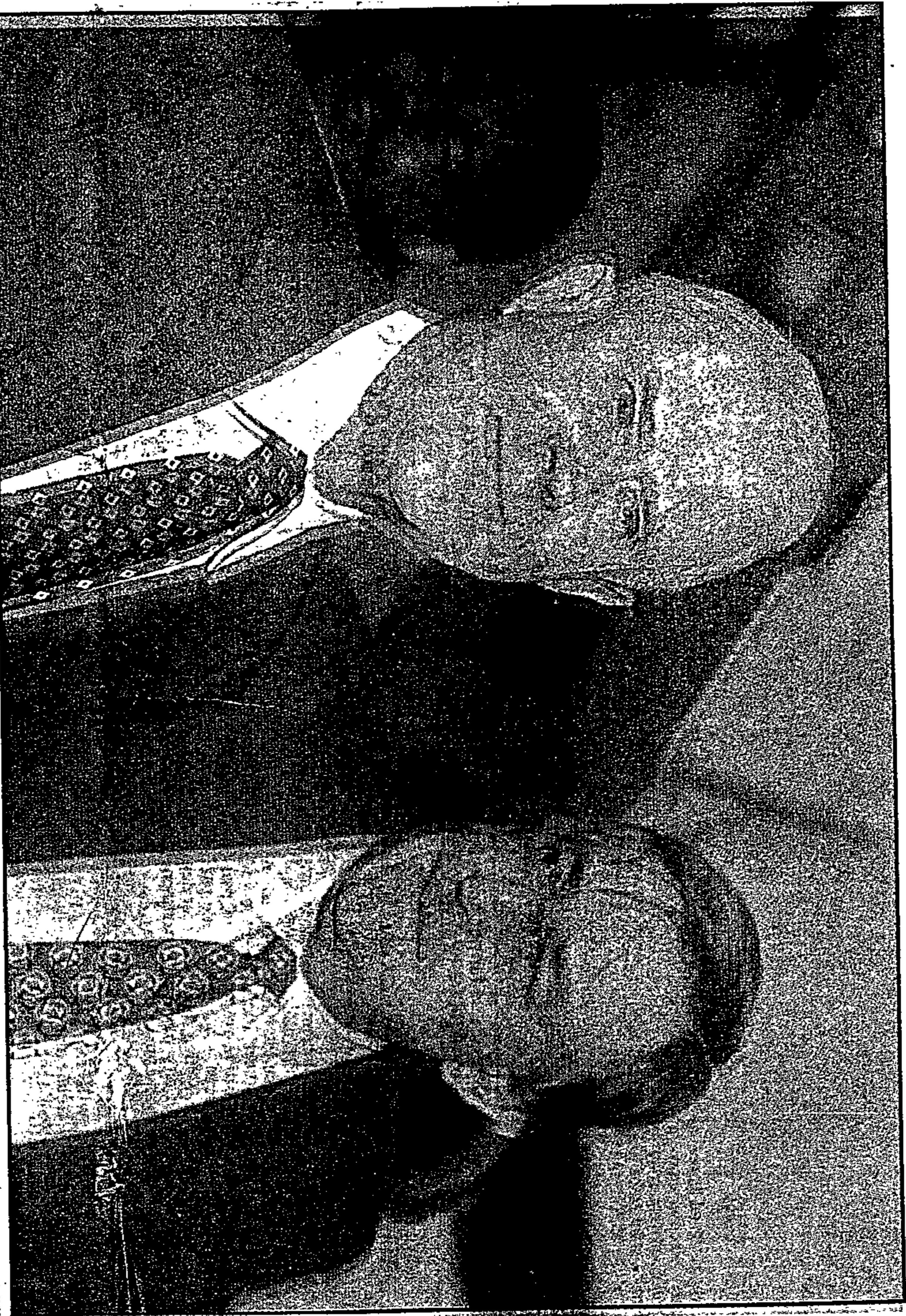
Vance will be accompanied by UN officials Virendia Dyal, Hisham Omayad, Shola Omoregie and Carol Davis.

□ From Page 1

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BIDAM 21/7/92

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Welcome . . . Pk Botha meets UN special envoy Cyrus Vance at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: Jacob Ryliff

Vance to meet FW ministers

By Kalzer Nyatumba
Political Reporter 221 7192

United Nations special envoy to South Africa Cyrus Vance will spend today locked in a series of meetings with President F W de Klerk and some members of his Cabinet; he said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday evening.

Mr. Vance (75), who is here as a special representative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is on a 10-day fact-finding mission into violence and the negotiations impasse.

His appointment follows last week's emergency session of the UN Security Council.

UN Resolution 765, adopted during last week's emergency session, instructs Mr. Vance to consult all South African political parties and report back to the Security Council. Urgently with a set of recommendations which would "assist in bringing an effective end to violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa".



Van Heerden may desire quality time

STAR 22/1/92

3044

Neil van Heerden's decision to bow out of his job as South Africa's top diplomat — and take an effective demotion as ambassador to the European Community — has astonished and even dismayed many of his colleagues and admirers.

"That is a job he could do before breakfast and spend the rest of the day playing golf — I'm really surprised," one diplomat friend of Mr van Heerden told The Star this week.

Why would a healthy, highly intelligent 53-year-old, respected in the world's diplomatic corps, seek a position in which he will probably end up reporting to someone junior?

That mystery has bred rumour and speculation. Some say he fell out with Foreign Minister Pik Botha, others say the long-sighted strategist realised he could not hope to keep his present position under an ANC-dominated future government.

Those close to him reject both theories, although they seem circumstantially plausible. He and Mr Botha have very different personalities and styles.

But diplomats around them insist that the two personalities have mostly been complementary rather than competitive. Mr Botha greatly respects Mr van Heerden's professional skills and Mr van Heerden has ensured that many of his achievements have accrued to the credit of the department. They point out that Mr van Heerden was hand-picked as a "new-wave" diplomat.

The second theory is more sophisticated, and consistent with

Neil van Heerden's diplomatic demotion has caused speculation but, Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS says, the truth may be simple.

Mr van Heerden's realistic approach to problem-solving.

But friends and colleagues offer a simpler explanation: a desire to "change down gear" to something which would give him more time to spend with his wife and on his other interests in music and architecture. The EC job in Brussels will suit Mr van Heerden on this score.

Mr van Heerden's reputation as a diplomat really blossomed in the complex negotiations in 1988 which led to Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Where South African diplomacy had often been characterised by intransigence, Mr van Heerden's credo was to keep cool, to understand the other side's point of view and to find a solution.

His coolness was legendary. A negotiating team member recalls an anxious moment when the Cuban delegation threw a tantrum. Mr van Heerden kept smiling — but slipped his aides a hasty note saying "What the hell do I say now?"

"That was Neil. All cool on the surface, frantic paddling beneath." Mr van Heerden once summed up his approach thus: "In the Angolan negotiations it

is like life. You are not going to get 100 percent of what you want. There are trade-offs, compromises. In order to make the right ones, you must understand the other man's point of view."

This sensitivity and trust led to Mr van Heerden agreeing to South African troops withdrawing from Angola, and Namibia getting independence — while Cuban troops were still in Angola. He and his minister needed great persuasive powers to sell the deal to then-president P W Botha and the military hawks.

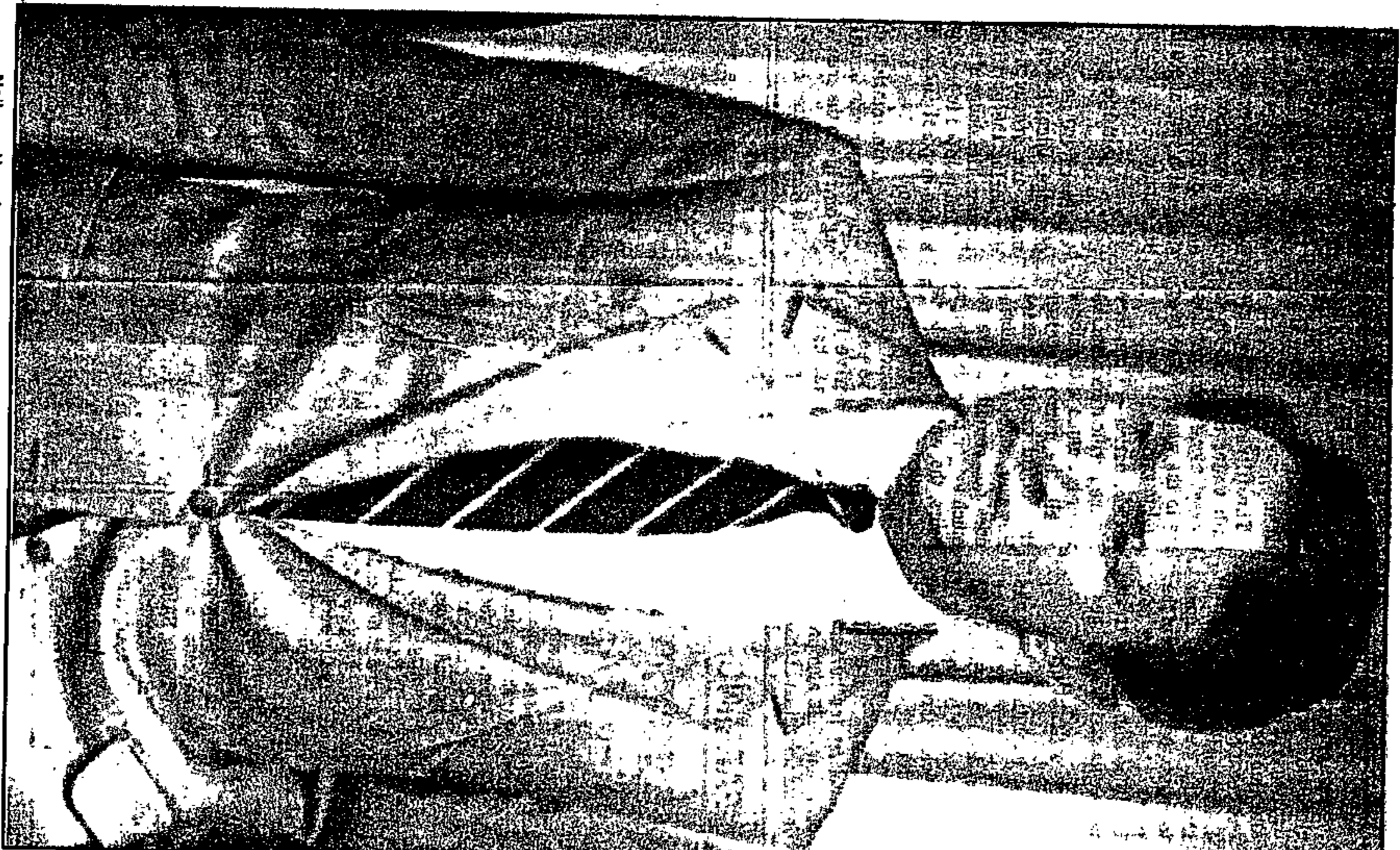
"He often stuck out his neck at the negotiating table by going beyond the Government's mandate," said a colleague.

It is possible that, having guided the country through the most turbulent of foreign waters, Mr van Heerden now simply feels bored at the prospect of navigating through the rather more tranquil sea of international respectability.

Born in East London in 1939, he was schooled in Pretoria and attended university in Pretoria — first trying architecture, but emerging with degrees in law and political science. He joined Foreign Affairs in 1959, aged 20. Three years later he was appointed vice-consul in Tokyo.

He occupied the West Africa desk and in 1970 opened the embassy in Tehran. After a Washington posting he was appointed ambassador to West Germany in 1980. Five years later he was promoted to the top job.

His move to Brussels depends upon the agreement of the 12 nations of the EC. Given his reputation, this must be considered a mere formality. □



Neil van Heerden . . . rumour and speculation over his effective "demotion".

Goal is a climate for negotiations

Vance arrives expecting 'full co-operation'

UN SPECIAL envoy Cyrus Vance arrived in SA last night for talks with political leaders aimed at ending violence and restarting constitutional negotiations.

He was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos.

Vance will meet President F W de Klerk today and the ANC, PAC and Inkatha by the end of the week.

His visit flows from last week's UN Security Council meeting. It takes place as government prepares for a "bosberaad" this week at which new proposals aimed at restarting talks will be formulated. These proposals could include a major role for the international community, a senior government source said yesterday.

Vance said last night: "I intend to meet the SA authorities and parties concerned and listen to their views most attentively on how best the purposes of the Security Council can be met."

He would strive to make recommendations to contribute constructively to peaceful transition in SA.

He said he would also look at measures to assist in ending the violence and create conditions for negotiations. He expected the fullest co-operation from all parties.

"The people of SA have in their endeavours the best wishes and support of the international community," he said.

He said he hoped his visit would render

an escalation of international involvement unnecessary. He would not comment on government claims that mass action was contributing to the impasse in negotiations and was contrary to the UN resolution.

A senior government source said the bosberaad would involve all three of the recently formed pre-Cabinet committees — finance, social services and constitutional affairs.

He said government, which considered itself not only a participant but also the custodian of the negotiations process, was duty-bound to counter the disintegration of negotiations which might occur as a result of the ANC's mass action campaign.

The source indicated government was not opposed to a large UN monitoring group of up to 3 000 people who would observe political gatherings and police under the auspices of the peace accord.

However, government was against the process of negotiations being placed under pressure to reach fruition as constitutional negotiators believed ANC members must be given time to vent their frustrations.

The Constitutional Affairs Department, Foreign Affairs and the State President's office are expected to meet Vance today with the main objective of providing him with a thorough understanding of the state of the negotiations process.

304A
B/DAY 22/7/92

RAY HARTLEY and
TIM COHEN

Envoy's tough task starts

■ DIFFICULT MISSION UN special representa

tive Cyrus Vance today kicks off a series of meetings to try to get negotiations back on track:

**By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter**

UNITED Nations special envoy to South Africa Mr Cyrus Vance arrived yesterday on a fact-finding mission intended to end political violence and get negotiations back on track.

He was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and other senior Government officials before starting on his schedule of meetings with political, religious, business and labour leaders.

"I've come here to listen," Mr Vance said shortly after his arrival.

He said he would meet the Government first and then the African National Congress and Pan

Africanist Congress.

He would then decide on his programme for the next 10 days to carry out the mandate of a UN Security Council special session on South Africa last Wednesday.

Mr Vance declined to speculate on his findings but said UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali would respond to that.

A former Secretary of State in the Jimmy Carter administration, Mr Vance (75) will remain in the country until July 30.

He is expected to meet President FW de Klerk today and the ANC, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party and Democratic Party tomorrow.

Discussions will also be held with religious, business and trade union federations and signatories of the National Peace Accord.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said yesterday it would meet Mr Vance tomorrow.

Azapo's international affairs spokesman Mr Mbulelo Rakoena said the organisation's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, would lead the delegation.

The organisation would not have anything new in its discussions with Mr Vance. "We will inform him that according to our own investigations into violence, the culprits are not hard to identify. Their leader is De Klerk," Mr Rakoena said.

The special emissary's appointment by Boutros-Ghali follows a special Security Council debate on South Africa last week.

According to Resolution 765 passed by the Security Council, Mr Vance is charged with consulting all South African political parties and reporting back to the council as soon as possible with a set of recommendations that would "assist in bringing an effective end to violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa".

* See Focus Page

Donald Simpson previews yet another 'last white election'

Sunshine for National Party in Florida

STAR 22/7/92

304A

PRACTICALLY every House of Assembly by-election of late has been declared by political pundits to be the "last white election", based on the expectation that some form of interim government or transitional rule would be in place this year.

Observers are no longer so sure about the timing of the transition, but still the battle for the seat vacated by former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is being viewed as possibly the last old-style white by-election.

The Florida by-election on August 12 will differ from those much-reported events in Potchefstroom and Virginia, because the Conservative Party has decided not to contest it. After concentrating its political fight with the National Party on 10 by-elections in the past two years — with considerable success — Dr Treurnicht's party has decided discretion is the

better part of valour as far as Florida is concerned.

The Florida constituency, including its 8 000 railway workers, will be fought for by the incumbent party, the NP, and the Herstigste Nasionale Party — which persists with its challenges in spite of lamentable past results. The NP by-election machinery, relentlessly pursued for so long, is mightily confident this time around.

The hundreds of zealous CP volunteers, who used their annual leave to marshal thousands of Conservative special votes in previous by-elections, appear to have melted away after Dr Treurnicht's political Waterloo in the March 17 white referendum.

This led the CP leader to write to the HNP, concerning Florida: "It is unrealistic to try to swing a majority of 7 000 against us... so we cannot put up a candidate."

It is revealing that the Conservatives have decided not to contest a constituency with a 55 per cent Afrikaans-speaking vote.

The calamitous referendum result, problems with Dr Treurnicht's leadership, an openly split party, CP MPs implicated in violent acts... all of these factors have contributed to the CP decision not to risk a defeat in Florida, and a possible split between the Andries Beyers "realist" faction and the Ferdi Hartzenberg "romantics".

Into the void has stepped the indefatigable HNP. Jaap Marais's candidate is Oscar Hartung, a Zulu-speaking, six-foot farmer who was a founder member of the party in 1969 and speaks for the HNP on matters of law and order.

With little money, he is nevertheless an enthusiastic and passionate candidate.

He is a keen ANC-basher.

"There is a third force," he says, "but it is within the ANC. These people kill, maim and burn their own people for their own political ends."

Mr Hartung has fought six parliamentary elections. In his last outing he garnered 371 votes. His platform this time round is to insist that President de Klerk must go back to his voters.

"De Klerk only has a mandate to negotiate, he must go back to the voters once again. The country is mired in corruption, pensioners have been made destitute. The rich have taken their cash out of the country because there is no security, and who else will invest?"

He says 60 percent of his canvassers are English-speaking, but does not put a figure to them. He admits to few campaign resources, but says he hopes that all anti-Government whites — not just HNP supporters — will use

the opportunity to register a protest vote. He worries that the CP will call on its supporters to abstain.

Nevertheless, he makes the numbers work for him. Barend du Plessis had 2 000 "personal" votes, he says, and they will fall away. Given swings in previous by-elections, Mr Hartung insists that he can pull off a shock win.

The facts suggest that his expectation is unreasonable. Florida is the 24th safest NP seat, on 1989 figures. Moreover, the NP's Jan Bredenkamp is a dream candidate for the NP: a former NGK dominion who still preaches in a township at the constituency's edge, Coronationville, he holds degrees from three universities — Pretoria (theological), Stellenbosch (BA Hons), and Potchefstroom (an MBA). He was born near the constituency, was president of Stellenbosch SRC in 1976, and won an

open but fierce nomination battle. He is currently a "super" railway worker — assistant general manager for Spoornet — and previously held several high profile "human resources" management jobs in private industry.

He is a fast-speaking, ever-smiling, new-Nat liberal technocrat. He might, in fact, deliver the Nationalists' best result in an election for many years.

The result in Florida in 1989 was NP 7 566, DP 3 684, CP 3 529. Next month, the NP will win overwhelmingly, and Mr Hartung may well lose his deposit. He can draw comfort from one certainty, however — he will win more votes than the last HNP candidate to try his luck in a by-election. In Vasco in 1989, the HNP candidate got 24 crosses next to his name. □

● Donald Simpson is an independent electoral analyst, based in Potchefstroom.

US man on SA mission

■ **SPECIAL TASK** Cyrus Vance and four United

Nations Security Council officials arrive:

Sowetan 22/7/92.
MR CYRUS Vance and four other senior officers of the United Nations Security Council flew into South Africa yesterday following the organisation's debate last week. Mr Vance, who is accompanied by Mr Virenda Dayal, Mr Hisham Omayad, Mr Shola Omoregie and Ms Carole Davis, was met at Jan Smuts

304A *304B*
Airport by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and senior officials of his department. The UN envoy will, as from this morning, meet with leaders of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, Democratic Party and the Government.

See story page

2

Vance told Govt view of impasse

STAR 23/7/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

UN special envoy Cyrus Vance held an intense round of meetings with President de Klerk and his Cabinet ministers yesterday on the first leg of his mission to end political violence and restart constitutional negotiations.

Today he will meet the ANC, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party and the Codesa management committee. He will be in South Africa until Wednesday and has been inundated with requests for meetings.



Cyrus Vance . . . many hope to meet him.

Official sources said the Government presented its views on political violence and the breakdown in negotiations. Mr Vance has made it clear he will give no hint of his

response until he has gathered all the facts.

The ministers he met included Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, State Affairs Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel, Finance Minister Derek Keys, National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter and Defence Minister Gene Louw.

Mr de Klerk and the Cabinet left last night for a two-day "bosheraad" where they are expected to decide on steps to break the negotiations deadlock.

Vance talks with FW, meets ANC, IFP today

304A

CT 23/7/92

PRETORIA. — United Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance met President F W de Klerk and several cabinet ministers yesterday.

Mr Vance is in the country on a 10-day fact-finding mission following United Nations Resolution 765, mandating him to recommend measures to end the violence and to create conditions for negotiations.

Mr Vance is expected to meet African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party officials today, and Mr

Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday to discuss the Boipatong massacre.

The chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Mr John Hall, and Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu will also meet Mr Vance on Friday.

● The Pan-Africanist Congress would have nothing to do with that part of the UN Security Council resolution which called for the resumption of negotiations if this meant reviving Codesa, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said. — Sapa

Government briefs

Vance delegation

810#4 23/1/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — UN envoy Cyrus Vance spent all of yesterday at the Union Buildings being briefed by a full panel of Ministers involved in the negotiations.

Meanwhile the Vance delegation, which is rapidly becoming the focus of the negotiations process, has been inundated with requests for meetings from organisations, including two unnamed right-wing groups.

Vance and three advisers met President F W de Klerk and several foreign affairs and constitutional development officials early yesterday morning.

A lunch with De Klerk developed into an extended working session.

Also present were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Vance, accompanied by UN Secretary General staff member Virrendia Dayal and UN political affairs department members Hisham Omayad and Shola Omoregie, also met Finance Minister Derek Keys and Health Minister Rina Venter.

No official government comment followed the discussions, although it is understood that no concrete proposals for a physical UN presence in SA were discussed.

Government sources said yesterday they gained the impression that Vance intended to discuss the SA situation in broad terms

before coming to a conclusion about any possible UN involvement.

Vance made it clear that the measures envisaged in the UN resolution were positive. The resolution calls for the special representative to recommend measures which would assist in ending violence and encourage negotiations.

The discussions included an exchange of ideas on the SA economy.

There are increasing indications that possible UN involvement in SA will be more modest than has been suggested, particularly because of the UN's unhappy experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although this was not directly discussed yesterday, the former Yugoslavian states, which Vance visited recently, have involved the UN in a seemingly intractable and expensive commitment.

Vance will meet the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha today and members of the Goldstone commission tomorrow.

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC president Clarence Makwetu warned yesterday that any attempt by Vance to revive Codesa would be futile and would be rejected out of hand by the PAC.

Makwetu told an Idasa forum: "Our message to Vance is that negotiations should be held at a neutral venue and must be conducted under the chairmanship of a neutral person."

Comment: Page 6



UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, left, President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: AP

Riotous Assemblies Act alive and well

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

PROSECUTIONS under the Riotous Assemblies Act continued, despite pending recommendations on illegal gatherings and demonstrations by the Goldstone commission, police confirmed yesterday.

Although most of those arrested this week for taking part in the ANC's campaign to occupy government buildings were charged with trespassing, several protesters were charged with staging illegal demonstrations.

Perpetrators were charged in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 was still in force, and was used if demonstrators caused disturbances or refused to disperse.

In January, commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone established a special committee to look into mass demonstrations.

Sapa reports that Goldstone said yesterday the Justice Department would promulgate regulations within days to give the commission powers to offer adequate witness protection.

The SAP confirmed that the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 was still in force, and was used if demonstrators caused disturbances or refused to disperse.

Pick up the tab

BIDAY 23/7/92



YET another ANC economic policy briefing — in this case delivered by Trevor Manuel at the Centre for Policy Studies — has passed without the organisation facing up to the budgetary implications of its ambitious social spending plans.

In the wake of various ANC policy documents this year which have referred to the "elimination of poverty" and the state's "primary responsibility for responding to the basic needs of the population", the organisation's spokesmen have been noticeably bereft of explanations as to how these commitments will be financed.

Making undertakings about improvements in the quality of life of the poor and loading up the state with extra welfare functions is the prerogative of any movement that expects shortly to canvass for votes. But those same movements owe it to the electorate and to the economy at large to cost these social programmes and to propose how they are to be funded. The ANC has displayed hard evidence of neither costing nor funding at its policy roadshows to date.

By and large, the organisation's social spending proposals are laudable in intent and responsible in scope. The present government has conceded that there are backlogs to be made up in extending welfare benefits and social services to the whole population, and is already diverting resources accordingly. The ANC's proposals extend and accel-

erate this process.

But whereas the present government has several specific upliftment programmes up and running, and has set up fund-raising operations to finance them, the ANC has been less specific. Worse still, the ANC has been in the forefront of efforts to frustrate the very fund-raising whose proceeds were dedicated to upliftment spending. The extra-parliamentary opposition has tried to prevent Eurobond issues and has obstructed further privatisation, despite the precedents set by the allocation of most of the Iscor flotation billions and the Deutschmark bond issue millions to social spending. The opposition movements duly oppose such fund-raising, citing tendentious ideological constraints, while the poor whose votes they seek wait for shelter, subsistence and services.

The Eurobond issues will probably resume if and when the constitutional negotiations start again. Government and public sector paper is well received in Continental Europe and no amount of ANC badmouthing will alter its acceptability. Privatisation, however, is more vulnerable to the organisation's spoiling tactics.

World governments raised \$50bn from privatisation last year. Italy and Germany intend to reduce their budget deficits by launching new sales of state assets throughout the 1990s. It would be no climbdown for the ANC to accept that a similar strategy could finance its own worthy intentions.

A united nation



THE visit by United Nations special representative Cyrus Vance, and the UN debate which authorised it, demonstrate South Africa's return to the international fold. BIDAY 23/7/92

Vance is here to help. He is an emissary of a world body keen to promote a peaceful, negotiated settlement and to help find ways to end the violence. He is welcomed by government, and by all opposition groups except the far right.

It was not always so. The UN was founded in 1945; within a year it was in conflict with the Smuts government over the treatment of Indians, and within three it was in opposition to Malan's Nationalists. From then on there was repeated confronta-

tion over apartheid and South African rule in Namibia.

Namibia's independence was achieved with willing South African assistance, and apartheid is dead. The end of the cold war means South Africa is no longer a pawn in the ideological battle between East and West. We are just another trouble spot in a fractious world.

Vance has been sent to try to stop South Africans killing each other and to get them talking again. That may lump us with the Middle East, Yugoslavia and other tormented regions where outsiders are currently seeking to mediate, but we are no longer outcasts. We have been readmitted to a world family ready to do whatever is needed to help us help ourselves.

ANC. 25/7/92

Vance in talks with De Klerk and Ministers

Political Staff (304)

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance has held an intense round of meetings with President De Klerk and senior Cabinet Ministers on the first leg of his mission to end political violence and re-start constitutional negotiations.

Today he meets officials of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party and the Codesa management committee.

Mr Vance is here until next Wednesday. He has made it clear he will not indicate his response until he has gathered all the facts.

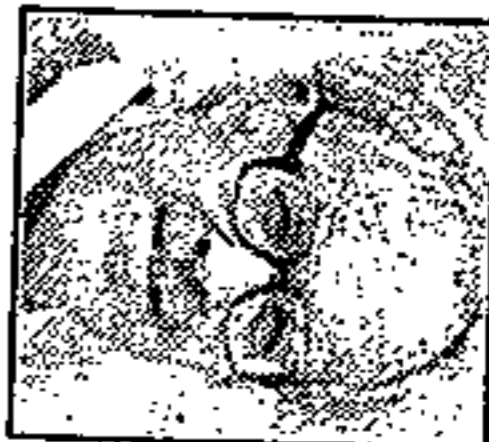
Locked in 'a balance of

STAR 23/1/92

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THIS article will attempt to set the agenda for a reassessment of the conflict. It suggests four areas for re-consideration: rediagnosing the nature of the conflict, curbing the violence, finding compromise constitutional solutions and exploring ways of making a settlement stick.

The Pattern of Politics
HERMAN GILLIOME



No negotiations can succeed unless there is some common understanding of the nature of the conflict. This is an area where the Codesa talks have fallen woefully short. Analysis in general have not fared much better. For instance, one of South Africa's prominent journalists, Phillip van Niekerk, has made the comment that there is only one explanation for the NP's rejection of majority rule, "and it is a racist one".

Such an "explanation" is more likely to poison negotiations than facilitate it. Intractable conflicts arise because one group enjoys a historic advantage regardless of whether privilege has been associated with religion, ethnicity or race. But divided societies do change as ruling groups lower their bottom line.

Over the past 10 years, white South Africans have become less and less fixated on racial supremacy or ethnic exclusivity. Instead they overwhelmingly want a new constitution to guarantee public order, physical safety and freedom from discrimination on account of ethnic or racial background. They have little or no confidence in the protection of individual rights under majority rule and they expect civil war, anarchy and chaos if no generally accepted constitution is negotiated.

This, and not any hidden racism, is the reason President de Klerk keeps saying no to Mr Mandela's demand for an "ordinary democracy". Mr de Klerk has no intention of selling out his constituency, reneging on all the commitments he has publicly given. South Africa's conflict is in fact rather similar to those in the rest

of the continent. In his 1989 book, "Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa", the respected American scholar William Zartman concludes with respect to post-colonial Africa that "the right and ability to control one's own identity is the highest political value, and it is natural that there should be fierce competition and manoeuvring among domestic groups and parties to participate in controlling the process by which it is achieved."

Zartman adds that power sharing as a prelude to self-government is rare; instead it is "far more normal to expect each party to be busy knifing the others in order to dominate the process and outcome". Yet attempts to set up power sharing are not worthless for, as Zartman concludes, "the way in which the power struggle is handled in preparation for independence is important in establishing the future rules by which power will be used."

This striking passage highlights the vexed issue of violence which is bedeviling the negotiations in South Africa. The Government on its own can do little to curb the

violence accompanying this power struggle; however it can intensify its efforts to demonstrate impartiality. Given the State's poor record of securing convictions in cases of political violence it could consider the establishment of the office of a Special Prosecutor.

This would assign to South African lawyers of high standing, backed by efficient staff, the task of investigating specific cases. It was an office such as this which in the Watergate scandal did so much to restore Americans' belief in their system.

This leaves the issue of majority rule versus power sharing. It is here that the UN's emissary Cyrus Vance could play a major mediating role in the search for a compromise. The first task of a mediator is to spell out in brutal terms to the parties the balance of power. In South Africa it is more proper to talk about a balance weakness for no party is strong enough to prevail over the other.

The second important task of the mediator will be to explain to the parties that their policy proposals (or what in negotiations jargon is called "Track One" posi-

tions) are blocked and that they will have to be shelved regardless of the degree of ideological commitment to them. He must also help them to find a Second Track which could resolve the conflict. Some concrete proposals will be made in this newspaper series.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, a mediator must instill a sense of urgency. If there is no resolution the economy will decay further; however, as noted economist Adam Smith once said, "there is a lot of ruin in a country". Experience shows that crises are best resolved when there is an imminent, unavoidable deadline.

Finally South Africa needs a much more wide-ranging and informed debate about our future constitution. If there is one warning that South Africa must heed above all, is that one coming from Sudan. Here a civil war was terminated in 1972 by superb mediation efforts. However, nine years later the agreement collapsed and the civil war resumed.

An authority on the subject, Hizkias Assefa, noted that although the mediation process had succeeded in finding solutions and

generating reconciliation among the negotiators, the agreement did not permeate society; it was not institutionalised. Assefa added that one cannot talk of a resolution unless "one addresses intense animosities and bitterness and penetrates to deeper levels than mere interest-based mediation would allow". Translated in local terms this means that unless an agreement here penetrates to the level of ordinary policemen or shop-stewards it has little hope of surviving. The most critical task facing all South African leaders is to explore ways in which the idea of a settlement can be brought home to the middle-level and grassroots of all political organisations. If Codesa's breakdown dispelled any myth it is that a resolution of the conflict could occur by way of a nice and cosy elite settlement. This is the first of a series of articles on "Breaking the Log-jam", to which several political analysts and observers will contribute to stimulate public debate on getting negotiations back on track. Professor Gilliome teaches at the University of Cape Town. □

Weakness

The UN's resolution on SA complete and unabridged

THE Security Council:
Recalling its Resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984),
Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in SA, which is causing a heavy loss of human life, and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united SA,
Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,
Recalling the consensus declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its 16th special session on December 14 1989, which called for negotiations in SA to take place in a climate free of violence,
Emphasising the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,
Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,
Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society,
 Condemns the escalating violence in SA and, in particular, the massacre at Bolpatong township on June 17 1992 as well as subsequent incidents of violence, including the shooting of unarmed protesters;
 Strongly urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

We publish, at the request of a number of readers, the full text of UN Security Council Resolution 765 adopted in New York last week.

- Calls upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;
- Invites the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a special representative in order to recommend, after, inter alia, discussions with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;
- Urges all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate, and to remove the obstacles to the resumption of negotiations;
- Underlines, in this regard, the importance of all parties' co-operation in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;
- Urges the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in SA; and
- Decides to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united SA is established.

UN envoy meets FW

■ **BUSH RETREAT** FW de Klerk and his Cabinet go to secret venue after meeting top level UN group:

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance met President FW de Klerk and several Cabinet Ministers in Pretoria yesterday for about two hours.

De Klerk said he had informed Vance of the Government's attitude to violence and constitutional negotiations and the steps it had taken in this regard.

Vance, a former US Secretary of State, is on a 10-day fact-finding

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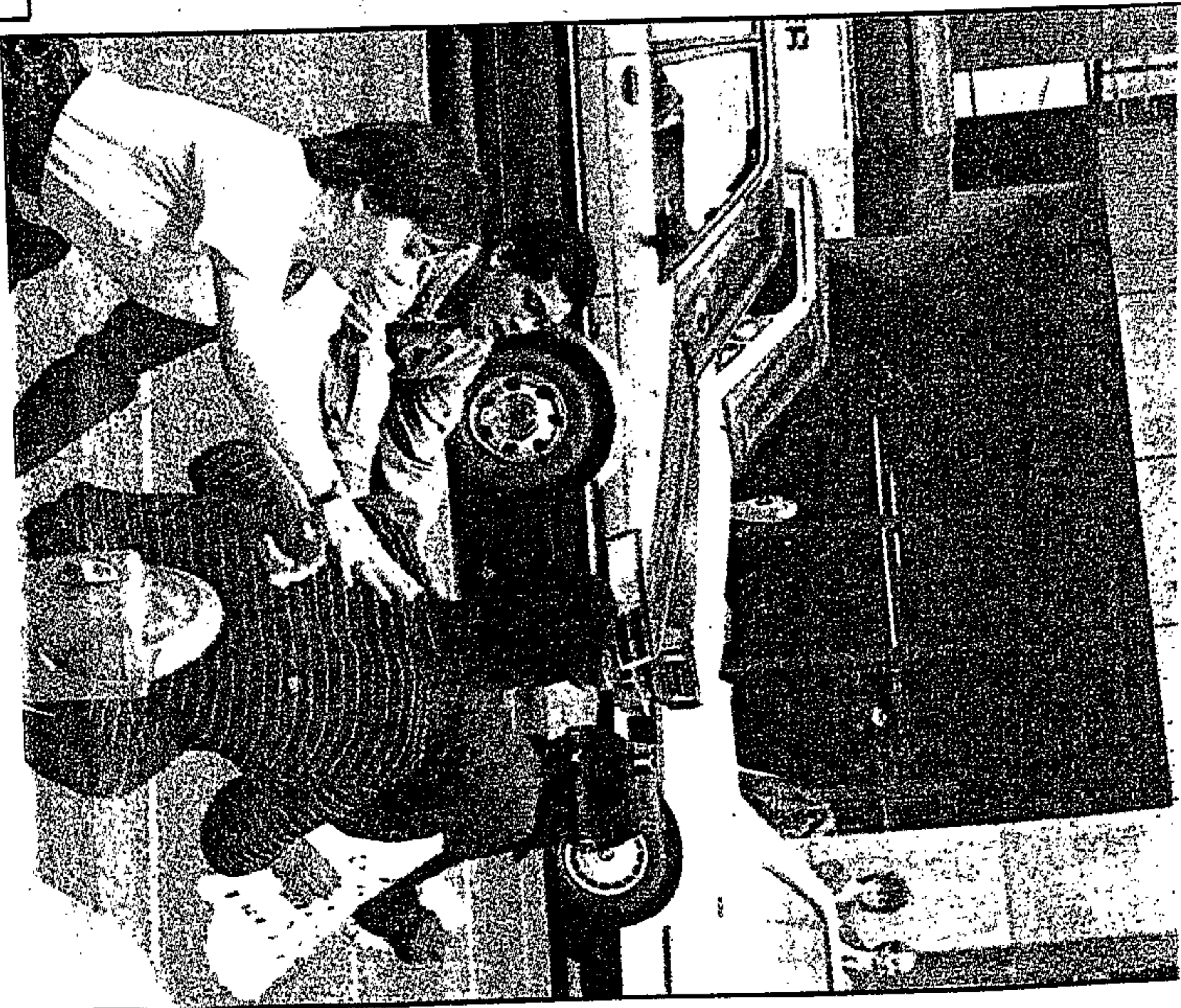
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mission following United Nations Resolution 765 mandating him to recommend measures to end the violence and to create conditions for negotiations.

He will meet the ANC, PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party today while the Cabinet retreats to an undisclosed venue for a two-day "bush summit".

See story page

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Vance meets main players

■ **FW de Klerk** briefs Vance on the Government's attitude to violence, negotiations and steps taken to reach a solution: 3315 304A

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

Sowetan 23/7/92

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance meets liberation movements and Inkatha today after spending nearly two hours with President FW de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday.

Vance meets the ANC and PAC delegations separately from noon and the IFP in Johannesburg later.

PAC secretary for publicity and information Mr Barney Desai said the organisation would emphasise to the envoy that his goodwill mission would bring temporary solutions to the coun-

try's problems.

"We need international involvement to secure a permanent settlement," he said.

The ANC's national working committee was yesterday locked in a meeting, apparently to prepare for discussions with Vance.

Meanwhile, De Klerk told journalists at the Union Buildings he had informed Vance and his delegation of the Government's attitude towards violence and constitutional negotiations and the steps it had taken in this regard.

"I used the opportunity to focus on the issue of violence and on the issue of constitutional negotiations to inform Mr Vance and his delegation of the Government's broad attitude, points of view and steps that we have taken and are

taking," De Klerk said.

Vance, a former US Secretary of State, is in the country on a 10-day fact-finding mission following United Nations Resolution 765 mandating him to recommend measures to end the violence and to create conditions for negotiations.

This is his second trip to South Africa.

Vance and his delegation, consisting of four senior UN officials, met several Cabinet Ministers yesterday.

Also present at the Union Buildings were Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, Minister of State Affairs Gerrit Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden.

De Klerk chairs a two-day "bush summit" of his Cabinet outside Pretoria from today.

Vance is also expected to have discussions with other political, religious, business and trade union leaders, and other signatories to the National Peace Accord.

When there is doubt, the 'Red Threat' helps, writes Esther Waugh

Dusting off a useful old bogey

STAR 24/7/92

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THE Government's latest tactic — to charge that the Communist Party and Cosatu have lured the ANC back on to a "revolutionary" political path — is a low blow, and a calculated one at that.

In his recent letter to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President de Klerk said he had "information" that the SACP and Cosatu were "redirecting" ANC policies away from "realism" in the negotiations process and towards an insurrectionist approach.

In his confrontational response to the ANC's demands, Mr de Klerk once again demonstrated that while the NP might change its policies, it does not change its tactics: when under attack, it attacks right back. Repeatedly, as the Government has come under pressure in the stop-start negotiations, it has fought back by hitting the ANC in its soft underbelly: the alliance with the SACP. In so doing, it portrays the ANC as an organisation which is not its own master, and is susceptible to relatively easy manipulation.

The Government's response to the latest and most serious impasse is no different. In the first of six detailed annexures to his letter — titled "The current influence of Marxism-Leninism within the ANC" — Mr de Klerk taunted the ANC openly. He said:

- SACP members in the ANC "constantly" influence ANC strategy.

- The ANC has become captive to "outdated" SACP and Cosatu doctrines.

- The SACP persuaded the ANC to make the crucial decisions on the implementation of the programme of mass action, "attempts to deadlock Codesa", and to break off negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said: "Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the SACP and Cosatu. These elements undermine the attempts of many ANC realists to

negotiate in good faith and also induce within the ANC the spirit of radicalism and militancy of the insurrectionist school, which was evident at the SACP's 8th congress in 1991."

The trouble with the allegations, from the ANC's point of view, is that they are not demonstrably implausible. The Government is quite correct in detecting a hardening of attitude towards negotiations in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu. But by resorting to a conspiracy theory, the Government by implication fails to take into account the many and complicated reasons underlying that stiffening of resolve.

Many who President de Klerk would categorise as "realists" within the ANC believe that the organisation and its allies simply had no choice but to adopt a more militant approach.

What the Government does not understand, they say, is the level of township anger at the ongoing violence and the dearth of concrete benefits resulting from months of negotiations, as well as the effect this has on the ANC.

Ordinary people have not been privy to the detailed discussions going on behind closed doors at the World Trade Centre, and they are disillusioned.

The intentional focus of the Government response to the ANC was on "militant manipulation". Attention was thereby deflected from the constitutional concessions which were included in the same document. The result of this tactic is certain to delay the negotiations process: though the Government concessions might prove constructive in the medium to long term, the "Commie bashing" has ensured that the ANC cannot — even if it wants to — come back to the table quickly without losing face. The Government tactic therefore affords it short-term propaganda advantage, but at the cost of the timeous reconvention of Codesa. □

Continue world involvement, Vance urged

STAR 24/7/92



Reaching out . . . special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Representations for continued international involvement in South Africa were made to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday by both the ANC and PAC.

Mr Vance separately met top delegations of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo in Johannesburg to gain insight — in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 765 — into political violence and the stalled democracy talks.

Mr Vance's mandate is to draw up a set of recommendations to the UN on how to end violence.

Yesterday's talks were described as positive by the various parties.

At a press conference after its 2½-hour session, ANC international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki was cagey on the ANC's exact representations to Mr Vance.

However, Mr Mbeki revealed that the ANC's

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detailed proposals were in the "context of looking at the best and most effective ways by which the Security Council could intervene to help us address these various questions".

At an earlier press conference, PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said his organisation had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in South Africa. — Sapa.

Area	Place of residence	Hostel		House in black township		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Petersburg	Married	February 1992	231,34	372,45	5,7	244,71
		August 1992	393,63	377,95	5,8	238,82
Port Elizabeth	Married	February 1992	785,17	390,92	5,8	249,20
		August 1992	833,30	413,49	5,3	271,33
Pretoria	Married	February 1992	835,52	441,68	5,5	257,98
		August 1992	885,43	466,03	4,3	246,51
Richards Bay	Married	February 1992	778,19	387,42	4,9	238,08
		August 1992	822,75	406,22	5,0	282,74
Roodepoort	Married	February 1992	815,54	421,20	5,8	272,02
		August 1992	861,87	441,87	5,6	262,43
Rustenburg	Married	February 1992	778,19	385,53	4,7	222,42
		August 1992	827,73	409,51	4,7	214,44
Springs	Married	February 1992	805,03	415,27	5,9	248,43
		August 1992	850,06	434,98	5,9	246,02
Uitenhage	Married	February 1992	776,30	380,59	5,6	223,35
		August 1992	819,46	397,85	5,6	228,01
Vanderbijlpark/ Vereeniging	Married	February 1992	816,48	420,19	4,7	272,04
		August 1992	866,38	444,36	4,2	287,01

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS FM 24/7/92

Pik's merry-go-round (304A)

Riaan Eksteen — former UN ambassador, ex-SABC chief, incumbent ambassador to Geneva and, more important, one of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's closest confidants — could be the man to succeed our top diplomat, Neil van Heerden.

Van Heerden, who for most of his stint in the East Wing of the Union Buildings had to endure SA's years in the diplomatic wilderness, has indicated that he wants out — preferably to become ambassador to the European Community in Brussels.

Among diplomats, the choice would be lauded — not least because Botha has admitted that he first unsuccessfully offered it to former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. Van Heerden, probably SA's most ac-

Continue — D

complished diplomat ever, will fit in well with the EC envoys.

That Du Plessis was offered such a sensitive posting demonstrates that the FW de Klerk government is far from free of its predecessor's tendency to stumble over its diplomatic shoelaces. Du Plessis — whose given reason of fatigue for his sudden resignation fails to satisfy curious minds — was a failure at Codesa. He is first and foremost a P W Botha protégé and lacks negotiating skills.

From inside Foreign Affairs, the *FM* learns that the EC posting is regarded as of the highest importance. SA has friends and influence there at a time when violence and bumpy constitutional talks dominate the political scene. Van Heerden could maintain the delicate balance in relations with the EC.

It is also said that Van Heerden's choice may be linked to his family life, which has suffered enormously under the strain of being SA's public defender number one.

There is also the matter of deputy Director-General Rusty Evans, head of the North American desk, who is a Pik Botha man. It is no secret that Van Heerden has never been close to Pik Botha.

FM sources say that Van Heerden has lately been less than happy with the way in which Evans has been hopping around the globe. At one stage the department traced Evans to Kenya through the Reuters news agency. Allegedly, Evans's chartered flights into Africa (when he headed the Africa desk) cost huge amounts — up to R75 000 a time.

According to these sources, Evans was occasionally accompanied by General Neels van Tonder, a relative of his wife, Gerda.

Evans also has a close relationship with Lonrho's Tiny Rowland, which started during Evans's stint as Minister in SA's London embassy. During one of his many chartered flights into Africa, Evans first jetted out to London for a day of talks with, among others, Rowland, before he joined up with his team in Nairobi en route to the Comores.

The sources say that a recently exposed publishing scam, which cost the department millions when Foreign Affairs was hoaxed by



Ambassador Eksteen ... close to the Minister

a Nigerian conman, occurred while Evans was at the Africa section. In the end, Van Heerden, as DG, had to face a barrage of criticism.

Pik Botha's choice within the department of a successor to Van Heerden is limited to Evans, former UN ambassador Jeremy Shearer and junior deputy DG Derek Auret. Herbert Beukes, who had been Van Heerden's senior deputy, has left the department (some say because of Evans's appointment).

It is known that Auret and Evans are not on speaking terms. An Evans promotion could trigger other resignations. Outside the department, former deputy DG Glen Babb is a remote possibility, though he is not popular with Pik Botha.

Eddie Botha



Foreign Affairs' Evans ... among the contenders

Fully democratic govt 'in two years'

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA could have a fully democratic government following free and fair elections in two years, the head of secretarial services at Codesa, Dr Theuns Eloff, said last night.

Addressing the Western Cape branch of the Institute of Personnel Management, Dr Eloff predicted that transitional executive councils — to prepare the way for elec-

tions — could be installed by November this year following the brief October parliamentary session.

Dr Eloff is highly respected by both the government and ANC camps and both sides have approached him to work for them — offers he has refused.

He said the first phase of the transition would take at least nine months, making it possible for elections for an interim

government to take place by September next year.

He said there were good indications that despite the latest impasse between the ANC and the government both sides were prepared to go back to agreements already reached at Codesa.

He said he was hopeful that the government and the ANC would begin talks in the next two weeks.

504A

CT 24/7/92

Vance hears new ANC terms

JOHANNESBURG. — Two new conditions for the resumption of talks — the release of 400 political prisoners and the scrapping of security legislation — were presented to UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance by an ANC delegation yesterday.

ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki described the pre-conditions as "additional to the ending of violence".

Mr Vance separately met top delegations of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo to gain insight into political violence and stalled democracy talks under UN Security Council Resolution 765.

His mandate is to draw up a set of recommendations to the UN on how to end violence and jumpstart constitutional negoti-

ations.

Representations for continued international involvement in South Africa were made to Mr Vance by both the ANC and the PAC.

Mr Vance would not comment on the meetings.

A UN source said he would probably only talk about his meetings with SA leaders towards the end of his visit.

Another ANC delegation including Mr Nelson Mandela will meet Mr Vance early next week, said Mr Mbeki.

After his meeting with Mr Vance, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had told Mr Vance there could be no effective international intervention in

SA until the violence had been ended.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said he had informed Mr Vance of his organisation's rejection of Codesa and told him the government was behind the violence.

"We said that the issue of violence that is confronting us is beyond our control. We need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence."

Mr Vance meets Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and a delegation from the Democratic Party today.

He will visit one of the strife-torn Vaal townships over the weekend. — Sapa
● Mass action 'obstacle to peace' — p5



MEETING THE ANC UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, right, meets the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki, left, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, centre. Picture: AP

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DP MPs lash at ANC

Political Correspondent

THE ANC campaign of rolling mass action came under fire from the Democratic Party yesterday.

The DP MP for Grooten Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, told a meeting of the League of Jewish Women in Cape Town last night the campaign was "sheer recklessness" and invited violence.

And at a public meeting in George last night the DP MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, said the ANC had painted itself into a corner since its withdrawal from constitutional negotiations at Codesa.

Mr Bester said: "If mass action fails, which it inevitably must do, to deliver the promises which they (the ANC) hold out — the demise of this government and the installation of an interim government — they have no alternative that they can translate into pressure at the bargaining table."

Economists warn of strike's toll

BIDAY 24/7/92
GERALD REILLY
 PRETORIA — Cosatu's general strike next month would push the economy deeper into recession, Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research economist Nic de Jager said yesterday.

This year's first quarter had had negative growth of 0,6%. The bureau's forecast for the second quarter had been -0,3% and for the third quarter 0,7%. However, the strike would almost certainly mean three consecutive quarters of negative growth.

Pressure on the economy, already stressed by drought and a deeply disturbed political climate, would intensify in the three days, he said.

Econometrix director and chief economist Azar Jammine said the loss of output over the three days could amount to 40%. Hardest hit were likely to be the manufacturing, mining and construction industries. The work stoppage over the three days could chop half a percentage point from the year's growth rate. Jammine said the three days had the potential to explode into widespread violence and intimidation, degenerating into chaos and a massive decline in black workers' confidence in the trade union movement.

The consequences of the strike — wage losses and a growing disillusionment with the trade union movement — would be a severe test of Cosatu's support, especially if there was no benefit for workers.

He said August would be one of SA's most damaging months.

US's Cohen warns of civil war in SA

BIDAY 24/7/92 *(304A)*

WASHINGTON — SA faced civil war unless ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were willing to put aside their differences, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said in Congressional hearings yesterday.

He emphasised that any attempt to force the government out of power through mass mobilisation was "unacceptable".

He also flatly rejected any attempt to use the violence as a reason for breaking off talks: "We oppose linking continued negotiations with an end to violence ... Negotiations are even more essential precisely because there is violence."

In the Bush administration's toughest statement on US policy towards SA, Cohen outlined in unusual detail what was expected of the three major parties to get negotiations back on track.

Step one had to be "a moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" by all parties, as "inflammatory rhetoric" was serving only to fuel violence.

Government's willingness to investigate the Boipatong killings was "a crucial test of its credibility", he stressed.

In addition, government had to implement more fully the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, in particular its calls for increased police accountability and stepped up security at hostels.

The ANC had to be "receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations".

SIMON BARBER

The movement had to ensure that its mass action campaign did not lead to further violence, and had to "exert greater influence over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence."

While the administration was "neither for nor against mass action" and recognised that it provided a means for black South Africans to "express themselves politically", "it must be done peacefully".

He called on the ANC to "dispose safely" of the arms it had "not denied" having cached both in and outside the country, and warned that transferring weapons into SA would violate the national peace accord.

Inkatha had to do more to ensure that its members were committed to peace, and had to tell its members that "carrying weapons in public is unacceptable".

Citing the Goldstone commission's finding that a common thread to the violence was conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, he warned that the "impasse" between Mandela and Buthelezi "contains the seeds of civil war which neither leader will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

He was "confident" that UN special envoy Cyrus Vance "will come up with a series of compromises that are useful for both sides", but stressed that "it is up to South Africans themselves to find their way back to the negotiating table".

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UN envoy for townships and hostels

Sowetan 24/7/92

304A

■ Weekend itinerary under wraps after Vance meets IFP, ANC, PAC and Azapo yesterday before a session with Judge Goldstone today:

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who is in the country to assess violence, will visit townships and hostels on Sunday after meeting black political organisations yesterday.

Full details of the tour and the townships Vance would visit are being withheld for security reasons, according to UN High Commissioner for Refugees Mr Kallu Kalumiya.

Vance held in-depth talks with the PAC, IFP, ANC and Azapo in separate meetings throughout the day in Johannesburg yesterday.

Today, the UN envoy meets Mr Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence; a delegation of the National Peace Secretariat led by chairman Mr John Hall; Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu;

and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a press conference after meeting Vance yesterday that he told him:

"The United Nations can send as many missions to South Africa as it wanted, but there can be no peace as long as the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance continued its mass action campaign."

"It is quite clear that the Codesa deadlock is complete for now, and therefore it is clear to us that the thing to do now is to call this multi-party conference of review so that we can go into the whole issue of Codesa."

The Pan Africanist Congress told Vance that only international intervention could end political violence in South Africa.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told journalists: "We said that the issue of violence that is confronting us is beyond our control. We

need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence."

He said the PAC had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in the country.

The Azanian People Organisation told the UN representative that any future negotiations must be anchored on the transfer of power, president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told journalists.

"We said the Government must indicate the desire to resign.

"The security forces must be quarantined and an international peace-keeping force be sent to the country on a monitoring role and the UN Security Council preside over the transitional phase and transitional authority."

The ANC's delegation was headed by deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

Vance leads a five-person delegation in terms of Resolution 765 of the UN Security Council and will leave the country on July 30.

He meets the South African Communist Party and homelands leaders tomorrow.

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The only game in town

304A

Cyrus Vance symbolises world concern that constitutional talks resume soon



There are a few spring-like signs that the crisis sparked by the impasse at Codesa 2 is abating. For the foreseeable future, any outbreak of violence — or further revelations of government complicity in as-

sorted dirty tricks — must dampen optimism. But the complex elements which were the fuel of the crisis are beginning to play themselves out.

The major participants in this drama — President F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the troika of leaders shown on our cover — may all be nearer a way out than only a week ago. Generally, prospects for coming to grips with the violence and resuming direct constitutional negotiations have improved markedly following the historic special hearing on SA before the UN Security Council.

There the main Codesa underwriters — and some not party to the deadlocked convention — were afforded the opportunity to state their case before the world body, or merely to let off steam. They were, in effect, pursuing negotiations through another, rather more lofty forum. The proceedings were televised live and widely viewed at home and this international airing of the SA burden seemed to lift the despondency that had descended over the country since the Boipatong massacre. The debate seemed to offer the best hope of a way forward since Codesa 2 floundered on May 15, precipitating the

ANC walkout.

It remains up to the troika to demonstrate true statesmanship if peace is to prevail — and for a workable democratic constitution to be attained. Mandela and Buthelezi especially have to find ways to instil into their followers a culture of tolerance of political opponents.

The first tangible result of the Security Council's concerned but low-key involvement — reflected in the even-handed

wording of Resolution 765 — is the arrival in SA this week of former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance as the special representative of the UN Secretary-General. Vance, relatively fresh from one of those doomed peace missions to the altogether more intractable ethnic conflagration of Yugoslavia, should find this assignment far simpler — by comparison with a nightmare.

Resolution 765, passed unanimously by the Security Council, sends a message to all South Africans. In essence, it is that the main international powers believe "Plan A" — negotiation — remains the only game in town for the new SA. The resolution's tactful avoidance of any apportionment of blame was intended to have three main effects, according to foreign ministry sources in Britain and Germany.

Paramount is the urgency attached by the international community to a resumption of the Codesa process, even if it has to be under another guise. In that context, the axis of De Klerk and ANC president Mandela is con-



Mbeki

sidered essential.

To this end, 765 was designed to:

□ Get the ANC off the hook posed by its impatient militants and give it something which may help prevent the mass action programme running out of control; and

□ Lean gently on the Nationalist government over its former intransigence on a veto prerogative — and put pressure on it to get to grips with township

violence and suspect elements in the security apparatus.

Preoccupied by the intractable horrors of Bosnia-Herzegovina — where a substantial UN presence on the ground, sanctions and international diplomacy at the highest level have not yet stopped the killing — any deeper involvement in SA by the UN or the European Community is not on the cards.

"Ideally, none of us wanted to intervene, apart from encouragement to help sustain the momentum, but if it is likely to help, we will," said a UK Foreign Office source. Hence the likely follow-up to the Vance visit will be a phalanx of European Foreign Ministers — from the UK, Portugal and Holland — which will probably not take place until after the Goldstone Commission reports on Boipatong.

At present, there is no sign of any serious Western disenchantment with De Klerk. Though the evident inability of the SA Police and other security forces to prevent violence does raise questions, the President's credibil-

ity is not in doubt, especially among the conservative governments which predominate in the West.

"He is still regarded as the only white politician capable of keeping the process moving towards peaceful resolution," says Professor Jack Spence, director of studies at the Royal Institute for International Affairs.

At the same time, there is a strong element of sympathy for the ANC and Mandela. The harder line adopted by De Klerk at Codesa 2, especially over the majority required for constitutional change, meant that the ANC had to take action to bring negotiations back on track or lose the support of its constituency. That is understood.

According to one German foreign ministry spokesman in Bonn: "It is unfortunate that the government failed to recognise Mr Mandela's problem as quickly as the SA business community has done. The difficulty with mass action, however, is that it works best as a negotiating lever only if kept under control.

"In the present climate in SA, mass action is a high-risk tactic which could set off terrible violence and backfire dangerously on the ANC leadership. This is why we hope that by sending an international statesman of the standing of Mr Vance, the ANC will feel more supported by the international community and go back to the table."

So Vance's arrival is very much on a wing and prayer. His broad mandate is to "recommend measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA."

This injunction is clearly seen as part and parcel of the broader desire to kick-start negotiations. It was, therefore, unfortunate that, on their return, Foreign Minister Pik Botha — who made his finest speech ever to the council in New York — and the ANC's international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, engaged in hair-splitting arguments over which side had "won." Such point-scoring recalls what happened over a recent report of the Goldstone Commission, whose findings were selectively used for petty political one-upmanship. But the important thing is that government, the ANC and Inkatha welcomed Resolution 765.

What kind of role can Vance play? He represents a UN whose standing has been greatly enhanced by Operation Desert Storm last year. It is not so easy to deride the UN these days. While the UN's involvement in SA is essentially symbolic, it may well be the catalyst for securing a return to the negotiating table.

Despite this week's arrests, mass action has so far also been largely symbolic in character — much of it nothing out of the ordinary for this time of year, when wage bargaining is in full flood. The ANC may be

trying to scale down, if not end, a campaign which it knows it cannot sustain. Spokesmen are suddenly pointing out that the ANC has always said that "political developments" would be taken into account and that there is no rigid programme of action.

Thus, it is explained, next week's general strike may be called off or scaled down, though other forms of action will continue. Talk of some kind of apocalyptic general mobilisation is receding.

The ANC's basic demand on government now comes down to a requirement that the Nats accept majority rule and an elected constitution-making body with sole responsibility for writing the new constitution.

In this, it has received less help from the UN than it wished. The ANC hope that Vance will "assist the international community in devising the appropriate forms of intervention to ensure a swift transition to democracy" may be in vain.

Resolution 765 does not take sides. It "underlines . . . the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiation process as speedily as possible." What the ANC must do is decide whether this is compatible with a campaign of civil disobedience and the dislocation and violence it brings in its train.

Happily, Vance's mission coincides with other propitious developments. This week could see the adoption of the important

accord hammered out between the employers' organisation, Saccola, and the trade unions led by Cosatu. And a meeting of all signatories to the Peace Accord is scheduled to take place next week.

Most significant of all is that on the eve of the Security Council debate, De Klerk moved substantially forward in meeting the ANC's violence-related demands. The notorious Battalions 31 and 32 were disbanded and suspects in the Boipatong atrocity made their first court appearance.

De Klerk's sudden ability to act, of course, vindicates Mandela's constant allegation that not enough was being done about violence, a charge which always had the ring of truth when one recalls the zeal with which the security police acted under John Vorster and P W Botha. However, the ANC has to recognise that government cannot on its own stop all violence, that not all of it is instigated by policemen and that Inkatha is not simply a catspaw of the Nats. Violence in SA has become endemic and all parties have a role to

play in trying to end it.

The ANC can plausibly claim that government's acceptance of international involvement is a victory — even though the Security Council stopped short of meeting Mandela's call for much greater UN intervention.

Furthermore, its withdrawal from Codesa has had the desired effect. From the ANC's point of view, says Wits University's Tom Lodge, it was necessary to get government in a more flexible frame of mind. It also may have brought De Klerk down a peg or two after his remarkable domestic and international triumphs this year.

Can Codesa simply resume now? Though the convention as such has not been functioning since May 15, negotiations have not quite broken down, says the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin. But the process has undoubtedly taken a different form.

It includes, for example, the exchange of memoranda between De Klerk and Mandela — and, indeed, last week's UN debate — which gave various parties, including the PAC and Azapo, who are not Codesa signatories, a platform for their views.

The negotiation process has expanded to include the business-Cosatu accord, adumbrating new and constructive approaches to industrial peace and economic policy. The business-labour talks are another example of the continuity and expansion of negotiations, says Eglin.

Violence, as Lodge observes, is by no means an unusual phenomenon in societies on the eve of transformation: indeed, at such times, political rivalries intensify. With the possibility of containing the violence now better than it has ever been, the chances of negotiations being resumed within months are immeasurably better than since the collapse of Codesa.

It is, therefore, logical for the ANC to be preparing to re-enter the talks, rather than pinning its hopes on escalating mass action. Its demand for a sovereign constituent assembly — like the question of regional powers — is the kind of issue best pursued at the negotiating table.

On a practical level, government and the ANC should perhaps consider separating the issue of an interim government from that of the constitution-making body.

The divide over these questions can be bridged.

The fact that the UN has provided it with a major face-saver in the form of Vance

means that the ANC can accept De Klerk's concessions in reasonably good faith — and rejoin negotiations.

But we must all pray that there is no further outbreak of evil and orchestrated terror. ■



Botha



Vance



Eglin

WHAT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 765 SAYS

3048
3049

The wording of UN Security Council Resolution 765 is:

Recalling its resolutions 192 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984);

Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in SA, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united SA;

Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region;

Recalling the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its 16th Special Session on 14 December 1989 which called for negotiations in SA to take place in a climate free of violence;

Emphasising the responsibility of the SA authorities to take all necessary measures to

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stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans;

Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint;

Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society (the Security Council):

1. Condemns the escalating violence in SA and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;
2. Strongly urges the SA authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;
3. Calls upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective

implementation of the National Peace Accord;
4. Invites the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a Special Representative in order to recommend, after, *inter alia*, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;
6. Underlines, in this regard, the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;
7. Urges the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid;
8. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united SA is established.

Waking up to a new order

3047

STAR 2417192

BOTH the Government and the ANC are claiming victory in last week's UN Security Council debate on South Africa when, in fact, both of them received a sharp whack on the derriere from the international community and, what is more, there can be no doubt that they both know it.

For the Government, the whack took the form of a severe admonishment over its handling of the violence and its failure to take some of the most elementary steps recommended by the Goldstone Commission.

And for the ANC, there was a somewhat brutal demonstration that the world really has changed, no matter what contrary notions fill the heads of some on the ANC's executive, and that accordingly the UN has changed too.

It is no longer the ideological arena of yesteryear, where liberation movements could count on the support of a Third World majority to ensure the passage of shrill resolutions and where the superpowers could be played off against one another.

While the ANC miscalculated badly in rushing to the UN for success, and ended up with a resolution that both sides could arguably claim as a victory, there are some signals for all South Africans in the ANC's experience.

The first is that the South African debate showed more starkly than any event since the Gulf War how pervasive is the influence of the only remaining superpower, the United States.

America's new power, indeed, is being felt in most international forums. After the G-7 summit, US newspapers reported German and French leaders complaining that it really was a G-1 summit: what the US decided almost invariably became a G-7 decision because of Washington's economic clout.

And those in the know will testify to the fact that the resolution on South Africa last week largely was crafted by the Americans. It reflected the meticulous neutrality of the present US administration, and Washington's desire to be a constructive "facilitator", and it prevailed in spite of attempts to



At the Security Council . . . Mandela and Botha.

be intervention, or some peace-keeping mechanism, or the international supervision of elections, or whatever, it will probably be planned and executed from New York, even if the crunch decisions are made in Washington.

And for the ANC, or other parties, the fact has to be faced that embroiling the UN in South Africa's problems does not mean the same thing as it meant a scant 24 months ago. It now means embroiling, by extension, the US first and foremost.

No doubt US policy will change as new presidents come to power. But any new president will discover the same realities President Bush has been quick to recognise — that in using the UN, there is a need to seek consensus. While Washington can — and does — throw its weight around, there are limits beyond which it cannot go if it wishes the world at large to follow its lead and help pay the bill.

Thus the starry thoughts that came to some in the ANC delegation at the UN last week of a benevolent Clinton presidency prob-

ably were misplaced. The factors that shape US policy towards SA, and at the UN, are not whimsical choices. They are deeply entrenched and by and large their thrust is towards precisely the neutrality and consensus that mark the Bush administration's policy.

Every indicator trend points to the strong likelihood that Americans would have no stomach for the extremes of the Cold War and that the UN will not readily take sides when consensus everywhere is proving to be a more potent strategy.

If the world is asked to play a role in SA's domestic disputes, it will probably be limited to merely helping South Africans themselves find the solutions. That certainly is the limit of the charge given to UN envoy Cyrus Vance in last week's resolution. He cannot take decisions that South Africans themselves are not willing to take, or serve as the bridgehead of some force from abroad that will side with the angels and bring peace and harmony forever. □

THE uncompromising performance of Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the recent United Nations Security Council session, where he defended his government's indefensible record on violence, must have surprised many people at the UN.

Less than four years ago, also in New York, the same Botha, tail between legs, had had to sign a document forcing South Africa to pull out of Namibia after its army had taken a hammering in southern Angola. The white minority regime, notorious for its intransigence, was, at the time, also snared in an elaborate trap set by the world-wide movement for economic, financial, cultural and diplomatic sanctions.

When, at the end of 1989, Pretoria was handed the African National Congress-designed and Organisation of African Unity-approved Harare Declaration, it had no choice but to agree to undo its apartheid laws, legalise all previously banned organisations and start talking to them about a different future for the country.

After more than two years of intense bargaining, the constitutional negotiations are today in a deeper quagmire than at any stage since the process began in May 1986 with an exchange between ANC leader Nelson Mandela, serving a life sentence, and then state president, PW Botha. Judging by the aggressive tone of recent memoranda fired at Shell House from the Union Buildings, the NP regime appears to have bounced back from its punch drunk state of a few years ago, no doubt because of the collapse of sanctions.

The question facing the country is how to get out of the quagmire and back on the road to a new constitution for South Africa.

The emissary of the UN secretary general may be the man to do the job, but evidence suggests otherwise. The burden thus once more falls on South Africans to save themselves and their country. But who should make the first move or, more accurately, who is likely to make the first move to unblock the process?

The hard logic of the imperatives of power dictates that the ANC will have to make the first move.

The NP is in power and wants to stay in power as long as it possibly can. Whatever delays the negotiations therefore works in the NP's favour. This is why the NP is not particularly perturbed when the ANC pulls out of negotiations. Several observers have noted that the NP would have used anything to stall the constitutional principles negotiations at Codesa II — had it not been a quibble over percentage points it would have been something else.

This is also why the ANC's tactic of suspending negotiations to pressure the NP regime to do something about violence is

ANC MUST clamber out of the quagmire

w/ mail 24/7-30/7/92
The African National Congress
needs to make the first move to
get negotiations going — such
as withdrawing the demand for a
constituent assembly



By **MOELETSI MBEKI**

largely self-defeating — it unwittingly hands over a veto on the ANC getting power to the very people, the perpetrators of the massacres, who do not want the ANC to get into power.

The ANC, on the other hand, is out of power and wants to get into power as soon as possible. Any delay in the negotiations process therefore works against the ANC's overriding objective — to get into power now and stay in power for as long as possible.

The difficult question that confronts the ANC is how it should leverage the NP into relinquishing power soon, given that the NP says it now accepts the principle that it will not rule South Africa forever. Force was, of course, one way to leverage the NP to relinquish power. The ANC gave this option its best shot between 1961 and 1990 but has, for all practical purposes, now given it up.

The only remaining option for the ANC is therefore negotiations and compromise, perhaps in combination with peaceful mass action as need arises. This, in effect, is the only formula with which to unlock the constitutional crisis that has dogged this country for so many years.

The trouble with this formula is that it is unpalatable to the ANC because it demands that in negotiations, the ANC, as the party out of power, makes more concessions than the NP, the party in power.

This therefore brings us to the thorny questions in the current negotiations: what is meant by compromise and, secondly, when is a compromise a compromise and not a sellout or capitulation. The answer to both questions is: when compromise leads to democracy.

What is it then that the ANC can compromise on that could lead to democracy without constituting capitulation — or co-option, to use a more evocative term in the South African lexicon? The answer is the elected constituent assembly.

By any calculation the whites comprise a tiny fraction of the adult population of this country. If the constitution is drawn up in an elected body, however elaborate the safeguard for minorities, that body will be made up of blacks. An elected constituent assembly as the body drawing up a new constitution is thus putting in polite terms a demand that only the blacks should write the future constitution. This is tantamount to calling for an unconditional surrender from the NP.

In the world of practical politics this is unlikely to happen and, in any case, unconditional surrenders take place only on the battlefield.

On the other hand, the ANC loses nothing by compromising on the constituent assembly and agreeing that the constitution be drawn up at an all-party conference. According to all studies, the ANC is the single largest party in this country. This is known to all, including its strongest opponents. This is why when the ANC pulled out of Codesa the process came to a standstill.

An all-party conference, however, would allow the constitution to be drawn up in a give-and-take situation, thus reducing the fear that the ANC alone would write it.

The ANC should not, however, give up the constituent assembly without concessions from the NP. These could include acceptance of the principle of election by electoral district or constituency rather than through party lists.

A constituency-based system gives ordinary voters control of MPs. Proportional representation means MPs are elected because they are on a party list — and therefore answerable only to party bosses.

Because South Africa still has effective geographic racial segregation, a constituency system also means that both racially-based and regionally-based parties will be assured of representation in parliament. This will have the added benefit of giving these parties a say without preventing the majority from governing.

● Moeletsi Mbeki is a consultant to the ANC and Cosatu on a project to set up a daily newspaper.

Vance gets to hear it all ... again

Wmvd 24/12-30/12/92.

UNITED NATIONS special representative Cyrus Vance this week faced the unenviable task of having to listen to South Africa's political parties restate the cases they made to the United Nations Security Council last week.

The seasoned diplomat and United States secretary of state in the Carter administration met leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization yesterday to hear their proposals on how the UN can help control the township violence and advance the peace process. He met President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

If he allows himself the luxury of a whisky after the briefings, it will have to be a stiff one to help him start figuring out what recommendations he will make to the UN on the role it can play. He could reflect that since his arrival the stalemate has, if anything, grown staler.

With mass action looming and the cabinet heading for the bush for a think-tank, special envoy Cyrus Vance faces a formidable task to figure out what role the UN can play in South Africa.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

The collapse of the Congress of South African Trade Unions-Saccola pact has closed an avenue that was starting to open up for talks to be restarted. One ANC official conceded this week that if the pact had succeeded, negotiations would have been back on the rails within three weeks.

The private sector having failed to find the path for the political parties, the onus for an initiative goes back to De Klerk who has taken his cabinet back into the bush this week for yet another group think-tank. They have a lot to put their minds to.

De Klerk's people have let it be known that concessions on the core issue of democracy are coming. But with a two-day general strike looming, the very last thing that De Klerk will want is to appear weak.

The fog that usually accompanies new moves on the constitutional front might help disguise a significant concession, offset by thundering rhetoric about mass action and signalled in Morse code to the ANC, but this does not ease the drum. The ANC will have to take a visible gain back to its constituency if it is to explain why it is willing to accept De Klerk's bona fides and go back to the table. The general strike, now restricted to two days, is to go ahead anyway.

De Klerk has already taken the first real strides towards meeting the ANC's 14 demands that are linked to the resumption of talks. Last week, he announced the disbanding of Koozeb and 31 and 32 Battalions, moves towards guarding and upgrading the hostels and tougher measures

against the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. Couched as responses to the Goldstone Commission recommendations, it was no coincidence that they were simultaneously designed to meet demands on the ANC shopping list.

The ANC kneejerk public rejection of De Klerk's moves, on the basis that counter-insurgents would be accommodated elsewhere in the security forces, is not necessarily the private reaction. In their submissions to Vance yesterday, the key ANC request was for a UN monitoring force in the townships. But there was also a request that military personnel be included in the UN team, with one of their tasks being to monitor former combatants of 31 and 32 Battalions and Koozeb.

None of this adds up to a breaking of the deadlock. But it does give Vance something to swallow, after two days of listening to South African politicians, that could provide the basis for a marginally more hopeful deal than his last diplomatic foray, in Yugoslavia.



Battle-lines ... Tempers flare as policemen and protesters struggle



Scuffle ... A man tries to rescue a fellow protester being arrested

Bosberaad 'breakthrough'

THE Cabinet has returned from a two-day think tank in the Transvaal Bushveld with new initiatives aimed at breaking the negotiations deadlock.

An announcement is expected soon, possibly as early as today, after the "bosberaad" attended by the Cabinet and other key Government players.

Under President F.W. de Klerk's administration, such councils have produced several landmark decisions, including the one to unban the ANC and release Nelson Mandela.

A Cabinet source would not divulge details of the new initiative, but said the Government thought it could break the negotiations deadlock.

Asked if the ANC was likely to accept the new approach — given its stand on majority rule before re-entering negotiations — the source said the new initiative contained a commitment to a government of na-

tional unity. It embodied principles which would be acceptable in any Western democracy in the world.

The source indicated that the initiative would not be surrendering to the ANC's desire "to grab all the power for itself". The world was beginning to understand that this was the ANC's ambition and it was not acceptable.

Interim limit

The initiative could well take the form of placing a definite limit on the duration of an interim government. This would address a central concern of the ANC: that the Government's intention was a National Party-dominated interim government which was impossible to dislodge.

In his proposals of July 2, De Klerk suggested that if a final constitution could not be drafted within three years, a general election should be held in terms of the transitional constitution. This represented a tentative advance on the Govern-

Cabinet think tank produces

new plans to break logjam

STAR 25/7/92 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

start the stalled political negotiation process.

Negotiations for a joint commitment to the charter by business and labour organisations broke down at the eleventh hour this week, after showing promising signs of succeeding.

There is a strong belief in business and political circles that this may have been the result of Government intervention.

spurred towards a new political initiative by the prospect of business throwing its support behind the Saccola/Cosatu draft charter for peace and democracy this week.

The charter would have entailed businesses agreeing to a voluntary shut-down on August 3 in place of a five-day Cosatu strike. Business would also have had to commit itself to certain principles, which might be regarded as implicit backing for the ANC approach to the transitional problem.

One of the major business motives was to try to jump-

of the members of a constitution-making body.

He reduced this to 70 per cent — the figure which the ANC agreed to at Codesa 2 but has since retracted. In place of the 75 percent overall requirement for regional matters, De Klerk's proposal substituted veto rights over such matters for regional legislatures.

The new initiative could involve a softening of these veto powers, which many observers believe are too great.

Business and political sources believe the Government may have been

ment's position at Codesa 2 that the interim government should be open-ended, although the proposal was not absolutely clear.

New proposals for a definite interim lifespan could tally to some degree with ANC thinking in favour of "sunset" clauses, allowing enhanced minority protection which would fall away after a set period.

On July 2, De Klerk also dropped the Government's Codesa 2 bottom-line proposal that changes to the final constitution regarding regional powers would have to be approved by 75 percent

Misleading

It is understood that the Government was extremely concerned that by agreeing to the charter, business would effectively have sided with the ANC/SACP alliance against the Government in the negotiations contest.

Businessmen said this week that the initial impression that Government was in favour of the charter was misleading. Government had only expressed its support for the general principle of labour and business establishing dialogue.

The sources believe that

the Government may have intervened late in the negotiations by putting pressure on key businesses not to back the Saccola/Cosatu charter.

This might explain why, after early signals of a breakthrough, the negotiations fell apart at a crucial meeting of the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) mid-week.

They say the quid pro quo may have been that the Government should undertake constitutional and political initiatives at the "bosberaad" which would break the negotiations logjam.

Part of the Government's motivation may have been a fear that the negotiation process was being wrested from its hands and transferred to the economic field.

Sources told Saturday Star that the Government's new initiative could include some economic announcements on the effects of the ANC alliance's campaign of mass action on the economy.

Cabinet plans ²⁰¹⁹ drastic ^{CT 25/1/92} action

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE cabinet last night wrapped up its two-day "bosberaad" amid mounting pressure on the government to take drastic steps to boost the ailing peace and negotiation processes — as well as the economy.

It is understood that the extended cabinet task force was presented with "jaw-dropping" proposals to slash the budget.

One source said that Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys was keen to see government departments cut their budgets by up to 20%, with a drastic austerity programme being introduced well before next year's budget.

Rapid growth

In terms of the proposal, one of the key savings would be effected by wielding the axe among white-collar civil servants.

Despite repeated government assurances, the public service bureaucracy has continued to burgeon, outstripping by far the growth rate of the private sector.

If the plan is accepted, it could be politically explosive, as President F W de Klerk has in the past repeatedly assured public servants that their jobs are safe.

Well-placed observers expected the government to brief the ANC privately about any fresh initiatives aimed at breathing new life into the negotiation process before going public.

Miles from nowhere, on the islands, there's a lesson for us

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UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

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SOUTH Africa, according to President de Klerk, must discover for itself a political accommodation unique in world history. He could do worse than look at the Seychelles to see how such a thing is done.

The people of Seychelles seem to be enjoying what an airport porter, speaking in the lilt of Creole tones of the islands, described to me as "this politics ting".

Islanders happily plaster their windows with posters declaring loyalty to one of the eight competing parties, apparently secure in the knowledge that such a declaration of political fidelity will not lead to their houses being burnt down. One small house perched on an overgrown hillside near Port Glaud showed that tolerance reigns, even within families: Some windows pledged allegiance to President Rene's ruling SPPF and others bore posters of Rene's arch-rival, Sir James Mancham.

The active electioneering is largely good-humoured too. Rene's campaign slogan is "Winning for you" and his posters show him smiling, at the wheel of an impressive deep-sea fishing boat. Posters adorn every street-lamp and pylion, and most have survived. One, of Mancham, high on a palm tree, has been the recipient of several well-aimed mudballs — but no one has bothered to tear it down or deface it.

There is every reason to believe, in spite of whispers about military action tomorrow if the president finds his people have had enough of him, that things will come to pass in peace and tranquillity appropriate to one of the most charmed lands on the face of the Earth.

South Africa, according to President de Klerk, must discover for itself a political accommodation unique in world history. He could do worse than look at these islands to discover how such a thing is done.

The Seychelles is on the brink of spurring communism, capitalism, socialism and all the other tired old -isms, and inventing a new one of its own. It is called Seychellism, and I think it's going to work.

YOU probably didn't notice, but elections for the constituent assembly began on Thursday morning. International observers, their presence finally agreed to by the government, accompanied electoral officers to the furthest-flung parts of the country. The president and the opposition parties were still fighting like mad over bias on the government-owned TV station and the misuse of taxpayers' money, and there were nagging fears that the security forces were taking sides. But still the elections got under way. On Thursday morning, after all those years of one-party rule, democracy began to make its long-awaited debut.

In the Seychelles.

This nation of scattered bits of land (geographically speaking a sort of Bophuthatswana in the sea, but one shouldn't press the comparison any further), is way ahead of South Africa in its transition to democracy, even though it started the process much later.

The parallels between the political processes in Seychelles and South Africa are quite startling. The all-powerful President Albert Rene, like President de Klerk, finally responded to international and internal pressure and agreed to a transition towards multiparty democracy.

Exiles have been allowed back, parties have registered, and by tomorrow night the nation will have elected a constitution-making body. It has not been easy and the outcome is not certain — the opposition still suspects Rene might renege on his promises if he loses — but here, in microcosm, is a model for South Africa of a modern-day, peaceful political revolution.

Would, though, that our problems at home were on the Seychelles scale. The islands' voting population totals about 48 000 — or a single big constituency in South Africa. A diligent candidate in the Seychelles could canvass a good slice

You just cannot trust a Nat'

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ARGE-SCALE success in the National Party's current "Seduce a Coloured" campaign will not be achieved if coloureds

remember how the NP repeatedly used them in the past.

The complete absence of an NP apology to the people they have brutalised over the years is a clear indication that they show no remorse for the horrors of the apartheid era, says Professor Roy Pre, a political historian at the University of the Transkei.

"The abolition of apartheid in 1991 appeared to be a sign that the 'had repented of their sins'. The serious step then would have been to take their victims aside, express sincere regret for the way they had treated them, apologise for the atrocities perpetrated by them for the past 43 years, and ask sincerely for forgiveness," Du Pre argues.

But they have not, and, according to Du Pre, it proves the NP "felt nothing for the misery they caused". "It is now apparent that they did not abolish apartheid because it was not Christian, civilised, or the moral thing to do."

Du Pre recognises that attempts have been made by government ministers to appease the insistent calls for an apology. The quotes Dr Andrius Vilijus, leader of the NP in the Western Cape, as saying in a recent interview: "It was not the intention to deprive other people of their rights and to contribute to their

In his forthcoming book, 'The rape of the Coloured People: the Political and Social onslaught on the Coloured People in the 20th Century', Professor Roy du Pre spells out how the National Party has doggedly tried to use coloureds for its own political ends. **QUENTIN WILSON** reports:

misery, but eventually the policy of separation led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it."

Du Pre argues that for De Villiers to claim that the NP did not intend to promote the interests of whites at the expense of other people, "is downright dishonest".

"Imagine Adolf Hitler confessing in 1945: 'It was not the intention of the Nazi Party to kill six million Jews, two million Slavs and Poles, and cause the death of five million other people, but eventually our policy led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it.' Can you imagine the world's response to such a confession?"

"After conducting a reign of systematic, cold-blooded and premeditated terror for over 40 years, the NP has the gall to make such a claim," he says.

"The NP not only refuses to apologise for its brutality but also refuses to give back what it stole and plundered. How convincing is De Villiers' half-hearted attempt at

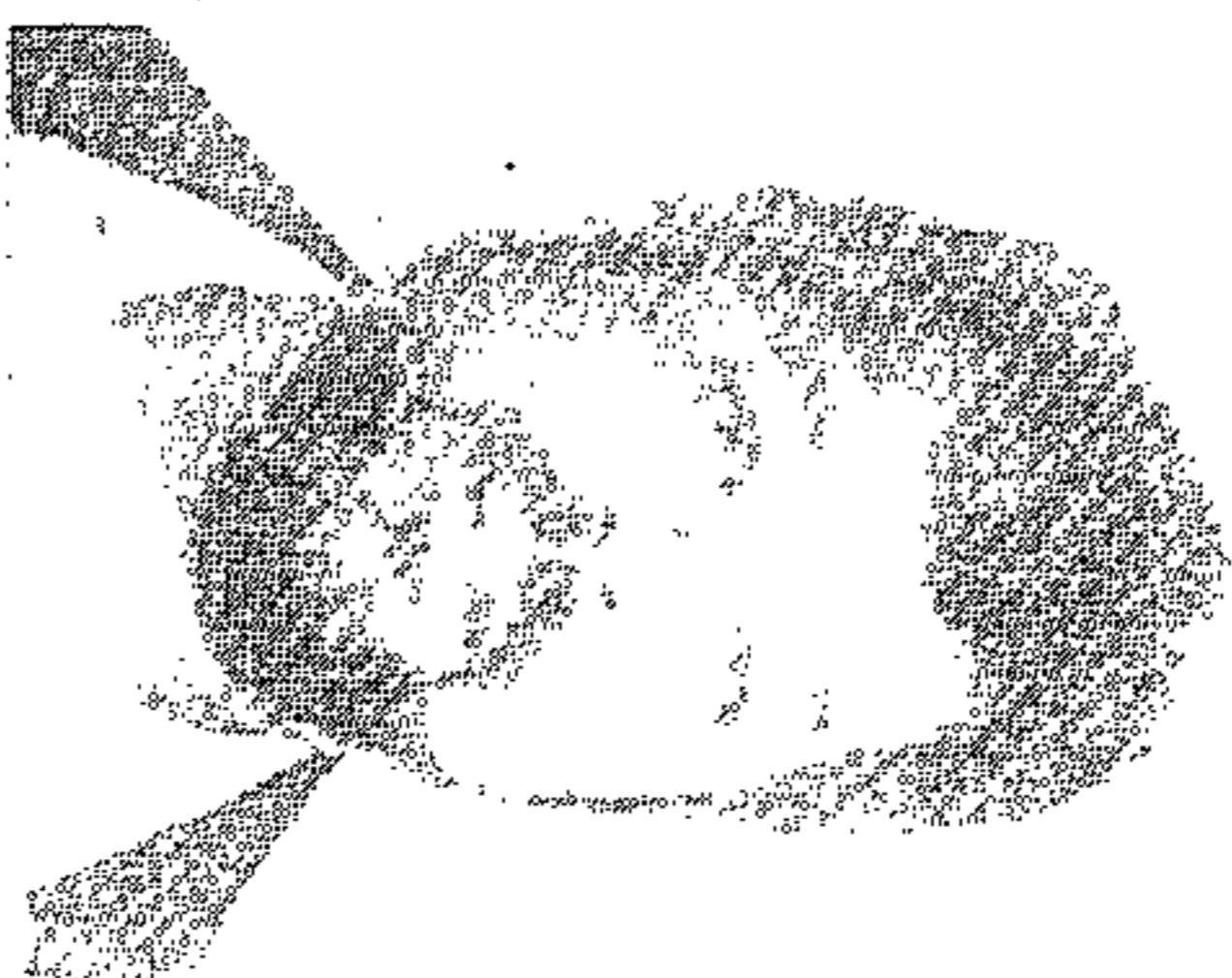
an apology if he and his people hang onto all the wealth and privileges which their policies provided?"

"If the government considers compensating the oppressed for losses suffered under apartheid, the victims of apartheid may begin to consider forgiving the NP. Sadly, it does not seem as if either of these will ever happen," comments Du Pre.

Thus, in 1991 and 1992, the unapologetic De Klerk and the remorseless NP vigorously set out to pursue the coloured voter to bolster a planned "Christian Democratic" alliance which would attempt to thwart the ANC at the polls.

"Just before the 1924 election, the NP promised the coloured people a 'New Deal' if they supported the NP. Although the NP won the election, the 'New Deal' never materialised, says Du Pre.

"The NP was also instrumental in the formation of a coloured party, the Afrikaner Nasionale Bond, and gave backing to the Cape Malay Association. The task of



Roy du Pre

these coloured organisations was to woo the coloured people from the South African Party (SAP) to the NP," he claims.

Thus, between 1924 and 1929, the NP made an all-out effort to attract coloured voters (who were at the time enfranchised in the Cape). Hertzog wanted to gain a large enough majority in 1929 so as to "deal decisively" with the African peoples.

"As a result, the 1929 election came to be known as the 'Swartgevaar' election as the NP tried to scare the coloured people into the NP fold. However, when the coloured voters rejected NP overtures and voted overwhelmingly for Smuts' SAP, the NP turned nasty.

"Hertzog's Coloured Bills were hastily dropped; the white electorate was quickly bolstered by the enfran-

chisement of white women. In addition, a law was passed making it possible to challenge the qualifications of coloureds to vote."

The NP no longer needed the coloured voter when Africans were removed from the Cape Common Roll in 1936, but the NP certainly needs them now.

Du Pre argues that the "NP took revenge" on coloureds because of the latter's rejection of them in 1929, and that the same will happen again "if the NP gets the opportunity to use them once more."

He says: "The NP wants the coloured vote so that it can withstand the ANC at the polls in the first and subsequent elections. When that has been achieved, the NP will dump the coloured people as it has done in the past.

"Anyone who thinks the NP has suddenly had a change of heart, realised the error of its ways and 'turned to loving' is in for a big shock. The single-minded NP is a devious, untrustworthy, immoral party which will use the coloured people to achieve its own nefarious ends and then discard them when they have outlived their usefulness.

"The NP wants to form a white-led bloc and it needs the coloured people to assist it in frustrating the majority and deprive them of access to the reigns of power," he predicts.

"The coloured people must open their eyes to the danger of the NP fox which has infiltrated the coloured chicken coop. History has given them ample warning."



King rules, or barons, or the upstarts take over

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THE breakdown of Codesa has claimed two important victims: President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Both have been diminished in stature, in their political authority, and in their control of their own followers.

Their weakness has been vividly demonstrated in the range and variety of interventions by other, lesser players: Cosatu and Saccola, the United Nations and Mr Cyrus Vance, the Goldstone commission and Dr Peter Waddington of Reading University. Also, on both sides, the hardliners are back in action, and the moderates have been put on the defensive.

A line from TS Eliot sums it up: "King rules, or barons rule." Neither President De Klerk nor Mr Mandela can heal the rift between them, or stop the violence, or bring order, or carry the process of negotiation forward, so other people try. Where Codesa breaks down, Cosatu and Saccola try to step into the breach.

The scattering of authority shows itself in a dozen ways. President De Klerk cannot keep his police under control, so he calls on Mr Justice Goldstone, who in turn calls on Professor Philip Heymann from Harvard and Dr Waddington to tell us what we have known for years: that our police are untrained, undisciplined, and at daggers drawn with the society in which they try to operate.

Mr Mandela cannot find ways to protect his followers against the consequences of the war between the ANC and the police, on the one hand, and between the ANC and Inkatha on the other. So he appeals to the United Nations, which condemns the violence, immediately hands the responsibility for stopping it back to President De Klerk, but sends Mr Vance anyway to monitor the situation and recommend solutions.

Upstarts clamber to prominence, so that television viewers, passively bewildered, find themselves constantly lectured by Brigadier Gqozo or threatened by General Holomisa, leader of a wing of the ANC which is entirely sustained by the South African taxpayer.

Weakness seeks to pacify, not to control or dominate. When the embassy in Umtata is besieged and invaded, the Department of Foreign Affairs whimpers and hands over more money to General Holomisa, like a defeated mother bribing a brat with candy.

King rules or barons rule... Actually, it's not quite so simple. Saccola, moving into the vacuum created by the collapse of Codesa, has tried valiantly to tie Cosatu into a relationship based on a social charter; Cosatu has tried as hard to win Saccola over to the cause of "mass action" aimed at bringing President De Klerk to his knees.

In the end, President De Klerk's allies in Saccola were hardly likely to sign an agreement that would enable Cosatu, and perhaps even the ANC, to claim that "big business has joined our struggle". There is a limit to how much power the barons can usurp, and the pact between the bosses of labour and the bosses of industry was stillborn.

A year ago, conventional wisdom held that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela depended on each other for survival, and that they would therefore stick together. The first part of that equation has proved true, the second proved false when Mr Mandela, reacting to an ill-advised speech at Codesa 1, demolished the president's character — and the relationship between them.

Codesa 2 was doomed in the closing hours of Codesa 1.

So now comes the show of strength for which the SACP hardliners and the labour barons have lusted ever since Mr Mandela agreed to the suspension of armed struggle, and for which the securocrats have been praying ever since President De Klerk clipped their wings.

THE instruments of ungovernability — the block committees, the comrades, the kangaroo courts, the barricades in the streets, the massing of young bucks — are back. The strikes, the obstruction of normal life, the sit-ins, the occupation of public and private spaces, are still to come.

So far, most of it has been street

STimes

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theatre, albeit street theatre of a peculiarly violent South African kind. As communist guru Jeremy Cronin has tried to warn his less intelligent allies, the Leipzig option — the forms of mass action that brought East Germany, and indeed Poland, to a halt — is not a viable strategy in this country.

Nor can industrial action be turned on and off like a tap. The foreign investors are scuttling off, the financial rand has weakened, the local businessmen are in despair, and economic depression is gnawing at the very sinews of industrial South Africa. The jobs destroyed today won't be back for years.

THEREFORE, street theatre is inescapable. The theory is that turmoil, or even the appearance of turmoil, will somehow generate pressures on President De Klerk which will, in due course, compel him to sue for peace. After all, the argument runs, "ungovernability" forced a retreat from apartheid and from the militaristic policies of President Botha; so why should it not force another retreat?

There is no need to dwell on the folly of this argument. President De Klerk still presides over a powerful bureaucracy, though at the cost of dispensing patronage on a ruinous scale. Could he but stop the corruption in his government, he might easily double the size of his police force and send all its officers to Germany or Britain for advanced training in crowd control. He would not need to call in Dr Waddington.

King rules or barons rule, Eliot wrote, the strong man strongly, the weak man by caprice. Last year's strong men have made themselves weak, and they have put the country into the capricious hands of those who waited off-stage during the time when hopes ran high — the anarchists of street theatre, and the militarists who watch the rising disorder with lip-smacking anticipation.

KEN OWEN

FW is ready for a show

SfTimes 26/7/92
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PRESIDENT FW de Klerk emerged from the government's two-day "bosberaad" this week determined to face down the ANC on the streets.

down

But at its strategy session held near Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal, the cabinet did produce a new set of proposals designed to break the negotiations logjam.

Government sources indicated yesterday that the government has resigned itself to a two-day national strike, beginning on August 3, and a further three days of work disruptions. It has done so in the belief that the ANC alliance's campaign will have only limited success and that once the strike and street theatre have played themselves out, new opportunities to resume negotiations will emerge.

One such opportunity, sources said, could come from the visit of United Nations representative Cyrus Vance.

He has been asked by the UN to find ways in which the international community could help end violence in South Africa and get constitutional talks back on track.

Success

Acting on its assessment that the general strike would have only limited success, the government was this week instrumental in scuppering an initiative by employers and the trade unions to avoid the week-long showdown and break the negotiations deadlock.

The key element of the initiative was that Cosatu would call off the general strike and work disruptions in return for employer body Saccola delivering a total shut-down of industry and commerce on August 3.

In addition, the Charter for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction, proposed by the bosses and

By MIKE ROBERTSON

unions, set out a timetable for constitutional change roughly equated with that proposed by the ANC.

Had the bosses accepted the wording, the ANC would have been in a position to trumpet that it had won the support of big business on this key issue.

Mr De Klerk and his ministers are understood to have persuaded major figures in industry to reject the deal.

And when business leaders took the agreement to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer for his approval on Tuesday, he told them the government would not be prepared to shut down the public sector on August 3.

Explore

He made it clear the government could not accept a stipulation in the charter that an elected constitution-making body be in place within nine months.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr De Klerk said that following the bosberaad's comprehensive

assessment of why negotiations had broken down, the government was ready to explore possible initiatives in discussions with other parties.

"The government is convinced that the current impasse can be resolved through negotiations and is ready to take the necessary steps in this regard."

Urgent

He added: "The need to have an election for a transitional government of national unity and for the establishment of a constitution-making body is becoming more urgent by the day. However, this process can only follow on the resumption of negotiations."

Government members reiterated their call for a meeting with the ANC to discuss new proposals.

A senior government member said: "We have worked out clearly for ourselves what we want. We now have to work out jointly with other parties how we get it."

By SEKOLA SELLO

'De Klerk torpedoed shop-floor pact'

COSATU this week accused the government of torpedoing what would have been an historic agreement which could have averted a general strike by the labour movement.

Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo said they have "concrete proof" that State President FW de Klerk told businessmen not to endorse the agreement which was hammered out between Cosatu and the employer body, the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola).

However, Sapa reports that Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha laid the blame on the collapse of the talks squarely on the shoulders of Cosatu because of its inability to unequivocally commit itself to temporarily ceasing all action which could foster violence or harm the economy.

Naidoo said representatives of big business were prepared to go along with the agreement "until the government intervened" and told them not to sign it. The two groups were expected to sign a charter and programme for peace, democracy and economic restructuring aimed at breaking the current impasse in the constitutional talks between the government and the ANC.

Had the two signed the charter, Cosatu would have suspended the general strike it has called for August 3-5, although it would still continue with other aspects of mass action. Talks between the two deadlocked over Cosatu's proposal that big business should voluntarily shut down industries on August 3.

After the collapse of the talks, a Saccola statement said: "... the deal did not fail as a result of insurmountable differences on the principles in the draft charter dealing with the urgency of a resumption of national negotiations for a new political dispensation, joint employer and employee actions to reduce the unacceptable levels of violence and measures to combat poverty."

(Sella)
Saccola remains of the view that it and Cosatu have established a basis for future dialogue on these issues and certainly does not regret the time and effort that was put into an attempt to reach this agreement.

However, subsequent to this statement, Botha laid the blame for the collapse of the talks at Cosatu's doorstep. Naidoo said they were open to suggestions from Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu on ways of

breaking the logjam. However, he said: "The ball is now in the court of the government." Tutu, in an indirect appeal to the government to help restart the stalled talks, urged all sides to commit themselves to a sovereign constitution-making body. The Anglican archbishop, speaking to the press after meeting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, also expressed fears that mass action could lead to severe strife. At the time of going to press, comment from government and Saccola about Naidoo's allegations was not available.

CP Press 26/7/92

CP among groups on Vance's schedule

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

UN special envoy Cyrus Vance is to meet right-wing parties; human-rights, business and labour organisations; academics; editors; and personalities during the last week of his mission to South Africa.

He would see Conservative Party leaders, a UN spokesman confirmed yesterday. The CP has already made clear it would express strong opposition to the UN playing any role in South African politics.

Mr Vance will return to New York on Friday to report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the outcome of his mission to try to find ways of ending political violence and resuming negotiations.

There is broad consensus among the main players that the UN should play a role in the transition, with differences of

emphasis.

The Government and the ANC are agreed that the UN should not send a peace-keeping force. The ANC would like a permanent UN presence to monitor negotiations and the handling of political violence. It sees the UN acting as a referee or arbitrator.

The Government would prefer a lower UN profile with officials taking part in a joint violence-monitoring body on which the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party would be represented.

President de Klerk has already proposed talks with the ANC and IFP to establish this body.

Government sources said the role of UN representatives on this body could be similar to the role of international jurists in the Goldstone Commission — the principal participants would be South Africans.

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Govt 'not to blame for talks failure'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has confirmed that it met the SA Consultative Conference on Labour Affairs last week and expressed its objection to key aspects of the draft Saccola-Cosatu agreements designed to avert an extended general strike.

But the Government was not responsible for the failure of Saccola and Cosatu to reach agreement on the proposed accord, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend.

He disclosed that the Government met Saccola twice during the course of the negotiations over the last few weeks.

It is understood the meetings took place on July 14 and a week later on July 21. The second meeting occurred a day before Saccola decided it could not back the accord and the negotiations broke down.

Mr Meyer said the Government had two main objections to the draft agreement; one was that Cosatu was demanding that civil-service workers take part in the proposed voluntary shutdown on August 3; the second was that the draft agreements proposed elections for a constituent assembly within too short a period.

The Government could not agree to its workers taking part in the shutdown when it had not been consulted by unions.

The draft agreement originally proposed that elections for a constituent assembly should be held within six months.

The Government pointed out to Saccola that this was not possible as it would take about 12 months to arrange the logistics for an election once it had been agreed upon in negotiations.

Saccola then changed this to nine months, which the Government also found unacceptable.

Mr Meyer said he did not believe the Government's intervention had been decisive as Saccola had indicated that it had problems with the Cosatu demand for a total shutdown of SA businesses on August 3.

Mr Meyer stressed that Saccola had requested the meetings. He said his own remarks about the negotiations last week had been distorted.

Minority veto must go — ANC

304A

CT 27/7/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government would have to go a great deal further than it had with specific proposals, and abandon any form of minority veto, before the ANC would talk about negotiations, a senior ANC executive member said yesterday.

This came after President F W de Klerk and cabinet colleagues said at the weekend the cabinet had formulated new initiatives aimed at breaking the negotiations deadlock.

The ANC source said of the government statements: "From what we see there is nothing new in what they are saying and there has to be a lot more than has come out up to now before we are prepared to agree to their two-day meeting." The ANC had not seen details of the proposals yesterday.

Government sources said they were sure the talks impasse could be resolved, but were not prepared to say what the new initiatives involved.

They said channels for communicating with the ANC would be used to convey decisions taken at the cabinet's "bosberaad" meeting last week.

One senior negotiator said the cabinet was optimistic of a resolution through bilateral and multilateral

Week's grace before new arms crackdown

PRETORIA. — The government yesterday granted temporary and conditional indemnity from prosecution to people illegally possessing weapons and ammunition.

But the indemnity will last only until Friday when a new act will implement a drastic clampdown — including up to 25-year jail sentences for the wrongful use of illegal weapons and detention for questioning over the possession of certain weaponry.

This was confirmed yesterday by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

The new Criminal Law Second Amendment Act 126 of 1992, to be implemented on July 31, is the culmination of an initiative announced by President F W de Klerk on April 23. — Sapa

talks. He said the cabinet had worked out ways of resolving the impasse in the three major areas of difference — a constitution-making body, a transitional executive and a transitional parliament.

However, he warned that the "time frames" debate, with the ANC wanting elections within six months, was impractical.

The ANC source said that when the government communicated its decisions and proposals they would have to be measured against the ANC's demands.

● Plan to axe govt spending — Page 9

● Govt 'blameless' for failed strike talks — Page 9

ANC wants more from Cabinet

Proposals on talks 'don't go far enough'

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BIDAY 27/7/92

GOVERNMENT would have to go a great deal further than it had with specific proposals, and abandon any form of minority veto, before the ANC would sit down and talk about negotiations, a senior ANC executive member said yesterday.

This came after President F W de Klerk and Cabinet colleagues said at the weekend that Cabinet had formulated new initiatives aimed at breaking the negotiations deadlock.

The ANC source said of government's statements: "From what we see there is nothing new in what they are saying and there has to be a lot more than has come out up to now before we are prepared to agree to their two-day meeting." The ANC had not seen details of the proposals yesterday.

Government sources said they were sure the impasse could be resolved, but were not prepared to say what the new initiatives involved.

They said channels for communicating with the ANC still existed and would be used to convey decisions taken at the Cabinet's "bosberaad" meeting last week.

Government would no longer allow negotiations to be conducted through public memoranda, one senior negotiator said.

The Cabinet was optimistic about achieving a resolution through bilateral and multilateral talks.

He said the Cabinet had worked out ways of resolving the impasse in the three major areas of difference — a constitution-making body, a transitional executive and a transitional parliament.

However, he warned that the "time frames" debate, with the ANC wanting

BILLY PADDOCK
and ALAN FINE

elections within six months, was impractical. He said practical considerations meant that even if agreement could be reached immediately it would take a year before elections could be held. He urged the ANC to stop employing delaying tactics.

The ANC source said that when government communicated its decisions and proposals they would have to be measured against the ANC's demands. The organisation would then decide whether to meet government.

"But it appears to us that government wants to keep things vague and flexible in the hope that the mass action campaign fails," he said.

He said government's apparent flexibility on a three-year period for a transitional government was interesting, but insistence on a senate being involved in transitional legislature was questionable.

He said government was happy for a constitution to be drafted without the senate, but he was sure it would insist on the senate having veto power when the time came to adopt such a constitution.

He said there was also no clear indication government was prepared to forgo minority veto powers, which would result in the regional question not being settled and the whole process becoming bogged down.

"There is no move from De Klerk's memorandum of last month on the regional question. What they are effectively saying is that when deciding functions, powers

□ To Page 2

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□ From Page 1

and duties in a specific region that region should have an extra vote regardless of how it affects the neighbouring regions," he said.

For example, no arrangements could be made with regard to the Natal region unless KwaZulu agreed, and this gave KwaZulu a veto right.

He also said government was aiming to give regional authorities an effective minority veto in some instances.

The ANC's position was far more democratic and internationally acceptable in

that the organisation insisted the national assembly, comprising 50% of regional seats, take decisions on a two-thirds majority, with the senate or second house approving these decisions with a two-thirds majority, he said.

The ANC source questioned government's proposal of weighting regional representatives to the senate.

He added that the future of negotiations would also depend on what practical steps government had taken to end violence and create conditions conducive to talks.

Monday July 27 1992 SOWETAN

UNIVERSITY
NEWS Department of Law and Order responds to damning reports on prison deaths

Calls for overseas arbiters in talks

Sowetan 27/7/92.
3049

■ **Holomisa and Gqozo expound their views to UN representative Cyrus Vance:**

TALKS on democracy should not resume without the involvement of the international community, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"It is our view that such negotiations should not resume without the involvement of the international community as permanent observers or arbiters," he told United Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

Vance is currently on a 10-day visit to South Africa to search for ways to get negotiations back on track.

"The process was undermined by the fact that negotiations were being conducted with a regime that was still in power...The regime is not committed to democracy in the accepted sense," he added.

Holomisa also said that some "serious" political problems needed to be solved before negotiations for a non-racial democratic constitution resumed.

These were:

- "State-sponsored violence;
- "Repression and lack of free political activity;
- "The use of mercenary formations in the townships and their disbandment and repatriation to their countries of origin;
- "The release of political prisoners, and
- "The repeal of security legislation".

The Transkeian leader said that despite agreements between the African National Congress and the Government, 400 political prisoners were still behind bars.

Holomisa told Vance that state security forces had allegedly used the Inkatha Freedom Party "as cannon fodder" in the internecine violence which had caused the death of at least 6 000 people since ANC president Nelson Mandela was freed from jail two years ago.

"Unless the South African regime clearly demonstrates its bona fides there can be no peace in South Africa," Holomisa said.

In Bisho Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told Vance that the ANC's programme of mass action presupposed dispute.

Gqozo blamed the ANC for 25 acts of violence in the past fortnight. - *Sapa.*

Southern Africa Labour & Development Research Unit

Research Division · School of Economics
Robert Leslie Building · University of Cape Town
Private Bag · Rondebosch 7700
Telephone: 650-2750
Fax No: (021) 650-3726



Colin Legum writes it has taken 16 years to heed Tutu's bloodshed warning

Violence major threat to Codesa

STAR 27/7/92



3044



BECAUSE violence and its insidious companion, political intimidation, are the major threats to finding an agreed solution for South Africa's racist society, it is timely to recall what the Rev Desmond Tutu (as he was in 1976) wrote to the then Prime Minister, P W Botha:

"I am writing to you, Sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that, unless something drastic is done very soon, then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa, almost inevitably. A people can take only so much, and no more. A people made desperate by despair and injustice and oppression will use desperate means."

It took 16 years for his warning to be heeded by President F W de Klerk, and for the last two and a

half years promising progress has been made towards finding a peaceful settlement. But the cloud that has hung over the negotiations has been that of violence, with the Government, the ANC and Inkatha all blaming each other for it.

While it is clear that none of the parties has been entirely free from blame, the onus for dealing with the violence must rest with the security forces.

The Government has put the blame on the ANC for the current violence because of its decision to embark on a campaign of resistance to try and force a resolution of the deadlock in the talks at Codesa. This accusation overlooks the fact that the beginning of the campaign was peaceful, and that the violence was triggered by the

attacks for which Inkatha supporters are clearly responsible.

The question remains whether the Inkatha attackers were aided by elements in the security forces. It is this dispute over whether one or, more probably, several "Third Forces" involving elements in the security forces are engaged in attacks on the ANC. So long as the Government continues to deny the possibility, despite evidence to the contrary, there can be no hope of resolving this issue.

The answer is to reach agreement about an independent international team of observers with authority to monitor the sources of violence as they occur.

The Government has already taken a step in this direction by agreeing to have observers present from the United Nations, the

Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity at the Codesa talks. It has also not ruled out the possibility of international observers.

The ANC has argued in favour of observers being brought in to monitor the sources of violence. There would thus appear to be little difference between the two major parties in Codesa over observers.

All the parties engaged in Codesa know that there is no alternative to the process of negotiations since none of them has any fallback position and all have a shared interest in preventing the total collapse of law and order. It is this shared interest in making a success of the negotiations which, in the end, holds out promise for the future. □

STAR 2 717/92

HNP ahead of NP in Florida

The right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party was narrowly ahead of the National Party on the number of special votes cast in the Florida by-election, where residents will cast their votes on August 12.

By Saturday, nine days into the campaign, only a few hundred special votes had been cast in the West Rand constituency.

Political analyst Donald Simpson said that at this stage of the 10 previous by-elections, "the party holding the lead has always won on the day". He said, however, that the NP should win the poll. — Sapa.

(Report by M A Farquharson, Sapa, 141
Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Nonracialism is a dangerous myth

BIDAY 27/7/92

KIERIN O'MALLEY

A commitment to nonracialism has become virtually synonymous with the much talked about, little seen "New SA". Everyone from radical socialists and modern-day successors to Biko's black consciousness tradition on the left to white nationalists, who until recently would have gone to the wall for apartheid, pledge allegiance to nonracialism. Only those on today's right who remain huddled, confused and directionless, refuse to accept the term.

The problem with terms which are used frequently and by a wide range of political actors — democracy is another — is that they become little more than empty slogans.

Nonracialism has become such a term in SA. Since having been popularised by the United Democratic Front — the de facto internal wing of the ANC during the '80s — it was adopted first by formerly multiracial liberals and subsequently by De Klerk's new NP.

To the ANC, and those who together with it constitute the SA left, nonracialism means not only the rejection of all race-based legislation and discrimination but also that voluntary ethnic mobilisation has no place.

Government's understanding of nonracialism, on the other hand, is that race-based legislation and discrimination be eliminated, but that social space within which ethnic minority groups can operate be promoted, not eliminated. Hence government's support for — and the ANC's opposition to — a regional or federal solution.

There is thus a major difference between the government and the ANC's understanding of nonracialism. The answer to Nelson Mandela's Codesa II question whether all participants at Codesa were committed to a "nonracial, democratic SA" is thus a categoric no — at best a heavily qualified yes.

These divergent understandings of nonracialism reflect an even more fundamental cleavage between today's left and centre in our politics, namely whether SA is essentially an

ethnically divided or plural society or an essentially homogenous one.

To put the question simply is not a popular thing to do in the current political climate. Ethnicity as a concept has been thoroughly tainted by its misuse by apartheid ideologues. The difficulties in defending a plural or ethnic perspective in SA are highlighted by what occurred within the old liberal centre.

In spite of their well-documented opposition to apartheid, the DP's Progressive predecessors who recognised the ethnic reality of SA were unable to articulate a sufficiently strong plural perspective in the face of pressure by the "nonracial" left during the '80s.

There can be little doubt that the issue of whether SA is ethnically plural remains submerged and was not faced head-on by Codesa. The stumbling block that deadlocked Codesa's working group II superficially involved differences about the degree of consensus needed within a constitution-drafting body but essentially reflected the dichotomy between the ANC's "non-racial", non-plural majoritarian perspective and the NP's "nonracial" but plural and hence powersharing perspective.

The NP's view that SA is a plural society has been weakly and sporadically articulated, among other reasons because the governing party fears the political costs of articulating a strong ethnic perspective.

The ANC's view that SA is essentially not a plural society is reflected in the ubiquitous use of the term "nonracial" (a term which was rather carelessly adopted by liberal political players who have a plural perspective), and in the ANC's rejection of powersharing as a political paradigm.

In simplified terms, the ANC or Charterist

perspective is that apartheid has caused SA's ethnic plurality and that once apartheid is abolished the "artificial" ethnic divisions of the apartheid era will disappear.

The American Donald Horowitz — a leading scholar of ethnicity — showed up these kinds of arguments for the wishful thinking that they are in his tragically underread 1991 book *A Democratic SA? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*.

In the author's own words, "the struggle against apartheid has created illusions about the homogenous character of a future SA". The recent survey findings of the HSRC which estimated white support for the ANC at less than a quarter of one percent reflect an ethnic reality which the SA left unwisely refuses to recognise.

There was undoubtedly a sober recognition of the sensitivity and potential explosivity of the issue of ethnic plurality at Codesa (Codesa's refusal to use what David Welsh has referred to as the f-word — federalism — illustrates this), but one must surely guard against the dangers of ignoring the issue.

If the political transition is to result in a constitution suited to the nature of our society and not a nonracial myth, which has been little more than a convenient notion to mobilise opposition to apartheid and to downplay the reality of a patently plural society, the issue of ethnic plurality needs to be honestly addressed.

Handling it half-heartedly — or worse still pushing it under the constitutional carpet because it is widely, albeit incorrectly, perceived as "apartheid-related" is the worst thing that SA constitutional engineers and politicians could do.

A highly plural society like Malaysia which recognised its ethnic plurality at an early stage and created appropriate institutions and structures has done far better than a less plural state like Sri Lanka which failed to do so.

□ O'Malley is a lecturer in Unisa's political sciences department.

BOOKS

Cabinet in bid to resolve impasse

■ De Klerk says Govern-
ment ready to move
forward after Bush
indaba: 304A

STATE President FW de Klerk at the weekend expressed the Government's readiness "to explore possible initiatives in discussions with other parties" to break the deadlock in talks on the country's future.

Speaking on Saturday after a two-day Cabinet brain-storming session in the Bushveld, De Klerk said: "As a result of these deliberations and a comprehensive assessment of the situation the Government is now ready to explore possible initiatives in discussions with other parties."

"The Government is convinced that the current impasse can be resolved through negotiations and is ready to take the necessary steps in this regard."

"The need to have an election for a transitional government of national unity and for the establishment of a constitution making body is becoming more urgent by the day. However, such a process can only follow on the resumption of negotiations."

He said the Government was ready, able and willing to move forward immediately.

"Every day lost through the breakdown in negotiations therefore delays the process of moving forward to the goal of a fully democratic South Africa which all South Africans are yearning for."

He said the Cabinet conference also examined the economy and the "negative impact" on it of violence and the threatened mass action.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that the Government could not be blamed for the collapse of the agreement between the employers' body, Saccola, and labour federation Cosatu on the planned nationwide strike.

Meyer said although the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs informally consulted the Government on two occasions, the Government had not been prescriptive. - Sapa.

**NP trailing
HNP** (304A)

THE rightwing Herstigte Nasionale Party was ahead of the National Party on the number of special votes cast in the Florida by-election, where residents will vote on August 12.

By Saturday, nine days into the campaign, a few hundred special votes had been cast in the West Rand constituency.

Sowman
27/7/92

Intervention by non-politicians could ease SA's crisis, argues Lawrence Schlemmer

Needed: a council of the wise

STA-28/1192

304A

SINCE before the turn of the century, South Africa has been foremost among the world's deeply polarised and pathologically stressed societies. The negotiations that started from February 1990, comparatively speaking, were a near miracle. With the wisdom of hindsight one might say we should have expected phases of deadlock and crisis.

Yet South Africa has a substantial potential to reach a settlement. However, just as the addressing of violence has required the special institutions that flowed from the Peace Accord, so the political and economic negotiations will need some special support.

The potential for a settlement lies precisely in those abhorrent realities that political leaders are currently trying to evade. The realities add up to the stark fact that neither the ANC alliance, nor the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party nor any other party can govern this country in the foreseeable future without the active co-operation of the others. The Government has a clear ad-

vantage in terms of coercive force, but it cannot govern the townships or restore confidence to the economy on its own.

The ANC alliance has the legitimacy of numbers, the symbolism of a righteous mission of liberation and the emotional energy of protest, but it cannot establish authority over the still cohesive State machine without establishing a partnership with the parties in the present Parliament. Nor could it govern the hinterlands of Natal and KwaZulu without Inkatha and the National Party.

The brute reality is that our negotiations arose out of stalemate, not out of anyone's defeat. The stalemate means walls of ultimate constraint around all the parties and these constraints are our main guarantee of a reluctant settlement in the end. In the meantime, however, we must expect the parties to kick at the walls and at each other until political penalties become too great. Codesa was suspended for various reasons, some of them genuine commitments to democratic

ideals. In part, however, it failed because of unrequited determination to test the constraints that the opponents represented.

The Government is doing exactly what the textbooks say it should: playing it fairly cool, standing firm and making measured offers. The ANC has sharpened its excellent media campaign to project righteous anger, and the IFP is exploiting mass action to its advantage. Hence the walls of constraint appear to be as solid as ever and we are back to where we were before February 1990 — in deep stalemate, with negotiation the only way out.

Our critical problem is not whether we will find some ultimate resolution — there is really little alternative. Our problem is the damage to the economy that all the kicking on the way to the eventual result will incur.

Perhaps there is one more critical danger. If Mr de Klerk's power base in the party and the civil service starts crumbling in this or the next crisis, forces could

be unleashed that will make this phase of mass action look like a Sunday school outing. Without the constraint of cohesive parliamentary authority the well-armed, hardcore far-rightwingers will see their chance to start kicking too.

It is small consolation, therefore, that the fundamentals favour a stabilising compromise in the end. The process of getting there is costly enough, and a new cycle of negotiation followed by collapse could be even worse. Special measures have to be tried.

Some parties tend to think first of international intervention — a sort of muscular extension of the role of Cyrus Vance. Mr Vance's quiet facilitation will be useful, but any active intervention will be perceived to favour some parties and will almost certainly increase violence. The international community cannot afford and will not volunteer the kind of peacekeeping force that South Africa's conflict will require. Oil supplies are not at stake, as in Iraq. We have one tenuous resource

in South Africa that has to be exploited to a greater extent: the record of statesman-like mediation from the non-political sector.

The "peace initiative" and the role of business in facilitating the administration of Codesa are two examples. Neither initiative can claim to have succeeded, but conflict would almost certainly have been a great deal worse without them. One must consider extensions of this kind of initiative.

Perhaps we need to think of a form of scrupulously impartial "council of wise people" as some kind of internal referee. If such an agency can be established with the support of the media it could be given enough visibility and status to begin to "blow the whistle" on political tendencies that run counter to negotiation and constructive compromise.

Such a council might be funded by a trust established by local and overseas funding agencies but should be independent thereafter. The council would have to equip itself with a small professional staff and consultants to make

analyses of the situations the council would have to address.

Its role would be to exploit the local and international image-sensitivity of all the major ex-Codesa parties. It might examine emerging problems before they result in deadlocks and offer firm warnings or corrective assessments.

Obviously such a council would be ignored some or much of the time. However, its status and the quality of its assessments should make it more difficult for political groupings to rationalise and make excuses for their various delinquencies after the event.

This particular kind of initiative would not be an instant panacea. It could with time, however, become a powerful mouthpiece for the majority of ordinary, unmobilised South Africans who want a reasonable settlement in order to get on with the business of living in an improving economy. □

● Professor Schlemmer is head of the social dynamics unit of the Human Sciences Research Council. This is the second article in our "Breaking the Logjam" series.

CP softens stance to hold talks with Vance

B/DAY 28/7/92

(304A)

US SPECIAL envoy Cyrus Vance would meet CP leader Andries Treurnicht and other officials today, a UN source said yesterday.

The meeting represents a dramatic about-turn by the CP which previously rejected Vance's mission out of hand because it said it constituted meddling in SA's domestic affairs.

The encounter, which has been confirmed by the CP, will probably discuss the CP's refusal to participate in formal negotiations at Codesa.

Vance would also meet a Cosatu delegation and Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder today, the source said.

Arrangements were still being finalised for meetings with ANC president Nelson Mandela and business leaders.

Vance met renegade former CP MP Koos van der Merwe, Afrikaner Freedom Foundation head Carel Boshoff, the Labour Party, the Natal Indian Congress and several prominent lawyers yesterday.

A memorandum handed to Vance by Van der Merwe called on the UN to force

RAY HARTLEY

the ANC back to negotiations. Van der Merwe described the ANC's mass action campaign as "graveyard politics" and called on the UN to ask the organisation to call it off.

"I am an Afrikaner and I am representative of the modern Afrikaner who rejects racism and apartheid and is keen to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem," he said in the memorandum.

In an interview after the meeting, Van der Merwe warned of possible right-wing violence if a new constitution was not drawn up speedily.

"Under the right-wing umbrella hides a military power of many hundreds of thousands of trained soldiers with an intimate knowledge of every aspect of modern warfare," he said.

Van der Merwe described Vance as well-informed and open minded.

Among the legal experts Vance met were John Dugard of the Independent Board of Inquiry and Brian Curren of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Hospital strike 'unnecessary'

B/DAY 28/7/92

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE tragic consequences of the hospital strike could have been averted if adequate dispute resolution mechanisms existed in the public sector, the Medical Association of SA (Masa) said yesterday.

In a statement Masa chairman Dr Bernard Mandell said an urgent meeting between Masa representative groups over the weekend resolved to call for the immediate establishment of a negotiating structure in accordance with international labour standards.

"Every possible effort must be made to avoid deadlocks, as nobody benefited and thousands of people have suffered," Mandell said.

He said public sector employees' rights and obligations should also be entrenched in appropriate

labour legislation.

The call for a dispute resolution mechanism was among key demands made by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) during the two-month hospital strike.

As vacancies in hospitals were filled and health services returned to normal, dismissed hospital strikers continued with their protest action yesterday.

Nehawu regional secretary Bongani Tsimo said about 600 dismissed workers marched on the Manpower Department's regional office in Johannesburg.

The union plans to march on John Vorster Square at midday today in protest against alleged police victi-

misation during the strike.

Nehawu members who occupied the superintendent's office at Natalspruit hospital on Friday were joined by ANC NEC member Winnie Mandela.

Over the weekend several reports of intimidation and crime were received from GaRankuwa and Natalspruit hospitals, a TPA statement said.

At Natalspruit a nurse's husband was shot dead on his way to work, while another employee was attacked with a knife.

Dismissed workers at Ga-Rankuwa Hospital threatened to burn down the houses of several hospital employees. On Saturday two hospital workers were admitted and treated for burn wounds after their houses were petrol bombed, the TPA said.

Drive to revive peace charter

Clerics push to restart negotiations

B/DAM 28/7/92

304A

PATRICK BULGER

CHURCH leaders yesterday launched a major initiative among business, labour, government and political groups to restart negotiations and help create a more favourable political climate ahead of next week's general strike.

The initiative follows the failure of Cosatu and employer body Saccola to reach an accord to avert next week's two-day strike and church concern that mass action and the standoff between government and the ANC could irreparably damage political and economic prospects.

A church delegation headed by Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference presiding bishop Wilfred Napier is due to meet President F W de Klerk today and will meet the ANC later in the week. The church delegation includes all the major religious denominations and the meetings are being facilitated by the SA Council of Churches (SACC).

Yesterday, the church leaders met delegations from Saccola and Cosatu as part of an attempt to revive aspects of the failed charter for peace, democracy and reconstruction which the two bodies could not agree upon last week.

An SACC source said the church leaders impressed on the business and labour delegations that the accord should be revived. In particular the church leaders felt those aspects of the charter dealing with political transformation should be built upon.

However, the meetings delivered little chance of next week's general strike being called off. Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman, while describing Cosatu's meeting with the churchmen as constructive, said it was unlikely the strike would be called off.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said negotiations with government would remain on hold and mass action would go ahead until the ANC's demands were met.

He confirmed that a meeting was being arranged between the church leaders and ANC president Nelson Mandela, who arrived back from overseas yesterday.

It is understood that the church leaders will hold an early morning meeting among themselves today before meeting De Klerk. They will present him with a brief memorandum dealing mainly with the draft charter's proposals for political transition.

These include speedy movement towards a political settlement based on universal suffrage, a transition period governed by democratic principles, an elected constitution-making body which will serve as a transitional parliament and the need for an electoral commission.

The church leaders feel agreement on these political principles are prerequisites for a resumption of negotiations.

"We feel that the crisis is so desperate that we cannot afford not to have another effort to try and rescue the situation. A positive spinoff could be that the general strike takes place in a better political climate," one church leader said.

He said the church leaders would make suggestions that might break the deadlock.

The church initiative is similar in tone to the successful attempts last year by business and religious leaders to help set up the national peace accord which led several

□ To Page 2

Church leaders

months later to the formation of Codesa.

At the weekend the church leaders said they would call on government to initiate discussions on multiparty control of the security forces. They would also ask government to allow international, political and non-political monitoring groups to assist the national peace accord and would ask for the Goldstone Commission to be strengthened.

Church leaders said political parties had to accept the consequences of their choice for democracy.

"This will include acceptance of the fact that democracy means that both the will of the majority prevails and that minorities have effective participation, with effective checks and balances contained in a bill of rights," they said.

□ From Page 1

ONE GOOD thing can be said for the American policy of attempting to apportion congressional seats on the basis of race. The deliberate effort to increase black and other minority access to elected office by gerrymandering voting districts into ethnic bantustans has meant that some white politicians have found themselves forced into early retirement, among them Michigan's congressman Howard Wolpe.

Wolpe's departure at the end of the present session is good news for all who seek a swift transition to non-racial democracy in SA. Even now, the former chairman of the House Africa subcommittee is attempting to impede that goal by spreading the falsehood that there is mounting support in Congress for the reimposition of federal sanctions should Pretoria fail to meet ANC demands for ending the violence and resuming negotiations. This is dangerous nonsense.

It is dangerous because it may encourage the ANC alliance's more maximalist elements to shun compromise on the theory that Wolpe's Democrats may relapse the White House and shift the international balance of forces back into the ANC's favour. It is nonsense because even though the House Democratic caucus granted politely when Wolpe recently resurrected the sanctions option, the old sanctions coalition is dead and the votes needed to pass new legislation are not there.

More importantly, however, the days of unilateral US action are over. SA, thanks in large measure to ANC president Nelson Mandela's decision to appeal to the UN Security Council last month, is now a multilateral issue. The US is drafting its policy in concert with other powers among whom, for the first time, there is remarkable unanimity on what needs to be done. November's presidential election may determine which instrument and in what section of the orchestra the US plays — currently it is somewhere between conductor and first violin while a Clinton administration might prefer the brass — but it will not change the music.

Right now, the orchestra is playing the overture, elaborating on the opening chords struck by the recent

SA parties which flout new rules will be out in the cold

BDAW 28/7/92

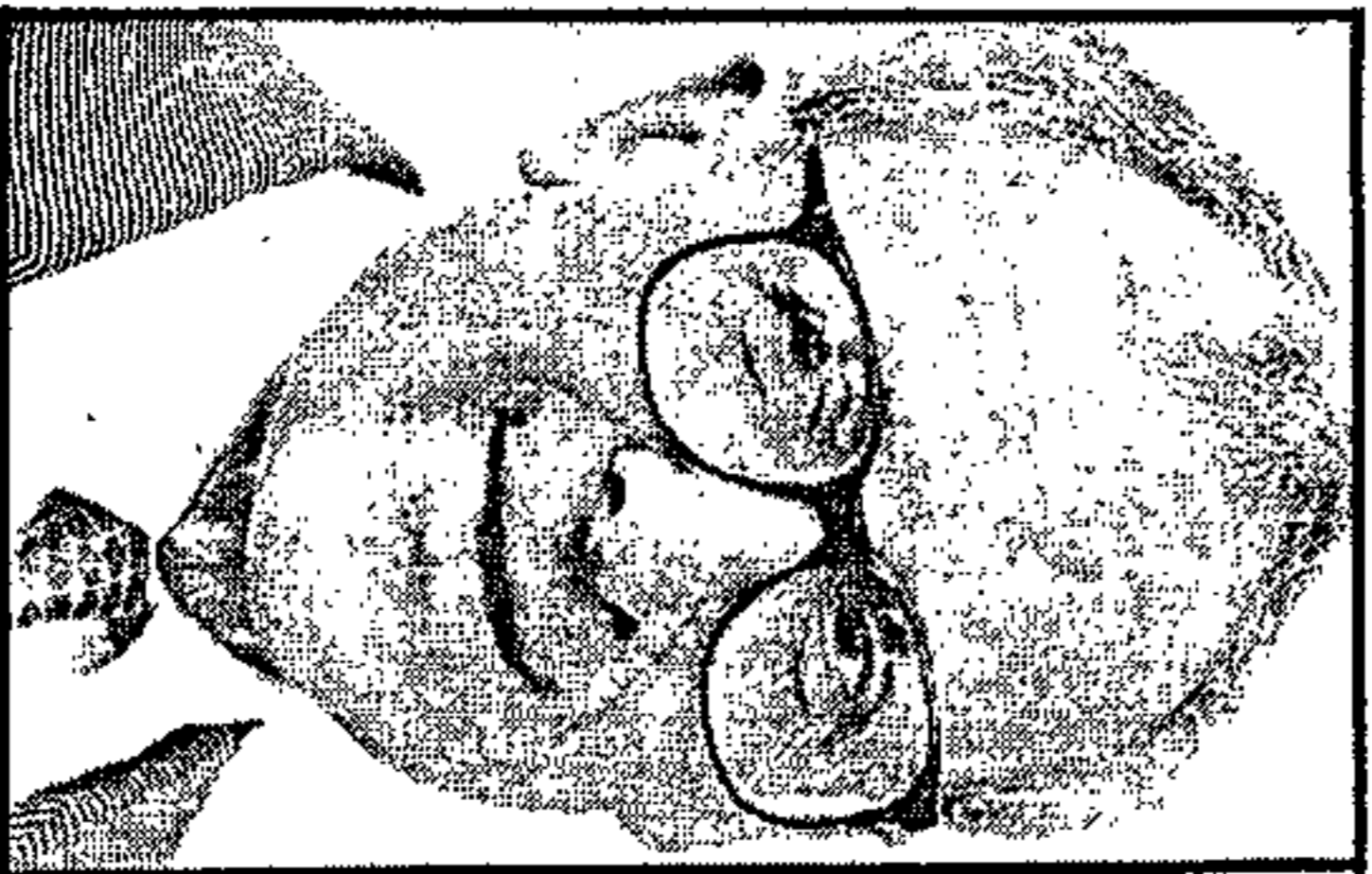
SIMON BARBER in Washington

Security Council resolution. Lest anyone has misunderstood those chords, they were restated with fortissimo clarity by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen in hearings before the House Africa subcommittee last Thursday. In explicit and unusually prescriptive terms, Cohen laid out what the international community believes each party must do in order to get negotiations for an interim government back on track and to avoid a descent into outright civil war.

First, all sides must begin by recognising they all share the responsibility for the collapse of talks and for the climate that has led to episodes like Boipatong. All must be willing to make concessions. All must refrain from "inflammatory rhetoric" which serves only to fuel the violence. A "moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" must be called.

Next, a set of explicit instructions for each of the major parties.

Government must address the allegations of security force complicity in violence and build confidence in the impartiality of the police. That it has already moved to implement some of the Goldstone Commission's recommendations is welcome, but more must be done, especially regarding security force accountability and the hostels. The Boipatong massacre must be fully and transparently investigated and the findings acted upon. This is a "crucial test" of government's credibility.



□ COHEN

As for the ANC, the international community will tolerate mass action only so long as it does not lead to further violence. The alliance must exert greater discipline over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence. The movement's leadership must impress upon those who believe the government can be ousted through "mass mobilisation" that their project is "unacceptable" — as are calls to make the townships ungovernable and for the reactivation of "people's

courts". Arms caches, both in and outside the country, must be disposed of "safely".

Above all, the ANC "must be receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations". In this regard, it should be noted that when Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the Security Council that government wanted to sit down with Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of a joint monitoring body with international observers, both the British and American permanent representatives nodded vigorously.

For its part, Inkatha must do more to ensure its members are committed to peace and to ensure that its members are not involved in incidents like Boipatong. The cultural weapons prevarication must end. Carrying weapons in public is "not acceptable" and Inkatha's leaders are responsible for making sure their members get the message. Buthelezi himself must see his way to participating personally once negotiations resume.

Jointly, the ANC and Inkatha must recognise — as they are already supposed to have done in terms of the national peace accord — the right of all parties to conduct lawful political activity wherever they so choose. "No go" areas are "unacceptable".

The international community accepts the Goldstone commission's finding that ANC-Inkatha rivalry is at the root of much of the killing and therefore remains "puzzled and trou-

bled" by the continued refusal of Mandela and Buthelezi "to put aside their differences". So long as it continues — and here Cohen really pulled out the stops — this impasse "contains the seeds of civil war which neither side will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

On getting negotiations restarted, it will not do to link talks with an end to violence since this only gives extremists opposed to negotiation "a veto over the process". The time to get back to the table is now. The only way to peace is through dialogue and the rapid installation of an interim government.

The ANC's other objection to reviewing the talks — that government is insisting on heavily weighted majorities which will effectively grant a minority veto on a new constitution — is not without validity. All sides must recognise "the right of the majority to govern while assuring that all South Africans have a stake in their government". Nor will it be productive for one side to insist on "overly complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups which will frustrate effective governance. Minorities have the right to safeguards; they cannot expect a veto."

The best approach is federalism, a device which has served America's diversity well and could readily be adapted to SA's own special circumstances. Unfortunately, the word has become heavily loaded in SA's debate, "despite the fact that none of the regions under discussion would have a white majority". South Africans should "overcome this hurdle" and "actively consider the degree to which devolution of power might address many of the tensions inherent in... their society".

Also sprang Cohen.

Such are the parameters within which the rest of the world, having been called in by Mandela, now expects South Africans to sort out their mess. All who stick within these parameters can expect sympathy and support, including the mediation services of UN special envoy Cyrus Vance and resources, human and financial, to strengthen indigenous peacemaking institutions. Those who stray outside will have the force of international opinion against them, regardless of who wins in November.

No overtures on fresh proposals

304A 28/7/92
Sowetan
■ Government has maintained silence and kept their distance after "bush indaba" to break deadlock:

By Themba Molefe Political Reporter

THE GOVERNMENT has not forwarded new proposals on negotiations to the ANC, both the State President's Office and the organisation said yesterday.

The ANC said there had been no contact with the Government since it responded to Mr FW de Klerk's proposals to end the negotiations impasse early this month.

A spokesman for De Klerk said other than his statement on Saturday re-committing the Government to negotiations, there were no other overtures to the ANC he knew of but "probably the two would not disclose it".

De Klerk and his Cabinet emerged from a two-day "bush retreat" with what was described as new initiatives to break the deadlock.

In his statement De Klerk said: "Discussions in this regard will be continued next week during the Cabinet conference which had been planned earlier."

UN envoy to meet FW today

CT 22/7/92

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance arrived last night to begin a 10-day mission aimed at getting constitutional negotiations back on track.

He was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha representative Ms Suzanne Vos.

He is to meet President FW de Klerk and other government ministers today.

before he begins talks with representatives of the ANC and the IFP tomorrow.

It is not known whether any right-wing organisations have asked to meet him.

Asked on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport if international involvement in South Africa would increase following his visit, Mr Vance said he "would certainly hope not". Four senior UN officials are accompanying Mr Vance on his mission.

They are former "Chef de Cabinet" of

the UN secretary-general, Mr Virendra Dayal; UN director of political affairs Mr Hisham Omayad; political affairs officer Mr Shola Omoregie, and Ms Carole Davis, of the department of political affairs.

● On the eve of the government "bos-beraad", Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said negotiations must be resumed and the ball was firmly in the ANC's court. — Sapa, Political Staff

The ANC is reaffirming its credibility at a high cost, argues Heribert Adam

Fallacy of the Leipzig

STAR 29/1/192

304A

Option

WHAT would be the worst scenario for negotiations in South Africa? If a compromise promising ANC leadership were rejected as sell-outs, the eventual historic accord would not be worth the paper on which it is written. Mandela perceived as a co-opted stooge would share the fate Muzorewa in Zimbabwe.

The deadlock of Codesa II has prevented this nightmare. An elitist ANC leadership that was out on a limb in its pace and scope of accommodation, aligned itself anew with its sceptical constituency and power base.

In as much as the Nationalists could not be sure of their mandate before the March referendum, so the ANC had to renew its legitimacy through its walkout of Codesa. In the absence of the franchise, the ANC is left with the street to gauge support, to mobilise and to discipline an increasingly undisciplined grassroots.

The heterogeneous ANC alliance had never reached an enthusiastic consensus about abandoning confrontation in favour of negotiation. The unconvinced insurgents among the youth found

a golden opportunity to make up for lost ground during the two-year-long demobilisation. The secret deals had not brought any tangible benefits to the townships.

Therefore, neither unsolvable disagreement over constitutional percentages nor the much-exploited tragic Boipatong massacre stalled negotiations. Codesa developed into a pre-election campaign where both sides needed time to consolidate support. Tragically, they also squandered an historic moment of unprecedented possibilities.

The ANC leadership's newly reaffirmed credibility among its constituency has been acquired at a high price: the risk of discrediting violence and further economic decline. If the "Leipzig option" of massive street demonstrations, the occupation of factories and city centres could "topple the regime", it would have been replaced long ago.

The ANC expects world applause for its street theatre in the same way as the West supported the pro-democracy movement in eastern Europe. However, the capitalist West backed an anti-communist upsurge in east Ger-

many. In South Africa, on the other hand, a communist-aligned opposition aims at transforming an arch-capitalist order.

The denunciation of De Klerk as a Nazi by Mandela, the mock trials and murder charges not only poison the negotiation climate but discredit the ANC among informed observers. The demonstration of the opponent is also short-sighted because it will backfire on its originators: the more the ANC leadership peddles the Nazi label, the more Mandela will be perceived as a sell-out for even talking to fascists, let alone compromising with them.

Two new trends have emerged: the political role of business, and Government-accepted international intervention. Their impact on breaking the logjam is over-rated.

A long overdue business-Cosatu accord would pave the way for a welcome future social-democratic order. However, unionists deceive themselves if they expect conservative South African bosses to bring real pressure on a Government whose policies already are favouring business. Furthermore, the Afrikaner political class will

not allow the initiative to pass to Anglo-American.

Since the sovereign South African State will not allow international control over its wilder security operatives, foreign missions are reduced to monitoring, facilitating and pleading. The new feature of this outside involvement is its balanced, impartial exhortation, compared with the former automatic endorsement of the apartheid victims.

Given this experience, the legalised ANC overestimates its current international standing and clout. The world is disillusioned with Africa and has more pressing problems in eastern Europe. Foreigners of whatever political hue are likely to lean more on the ANC to be "reasonable" than the Government to abdicate.

It is also doubtful that any foreign monitoring can influence the township violence. Only a political accord, which includes acceptable provisions for the hostel migrants — and, regrettably, perhaps a general amnesty for the killers among all factions — can achieve a more lasting peace. The sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission on how to han-

dle demonstrations civilly and professionally can lead the way toward curbing the violence. Nonetheless, as long as every policeman is considered to be an enemy of the community, impartial policing would seem beyond the human capacity of equally brutalised uniformed youngsters.

The most dramatic breakthrough would be a Government-initiated non-racial referendum on power sharing versus majority rule. It would need the support of the ANC and other parties. International opinion could persuade the contenders to travel along this route in their own interest.

The limits to majority rule in a stalemated ethnic confrontation have not been comprehended by the advocates of a transfer of power. On the other side, many National Party sympathisers have not yet understood that they cannot keep ultimate control with mere constitutional devices but without majority consent. However, as surveys have indicated repeatedly, a majority of black South Africans favour blacks and whites (ie Nats and the ANC) ruling together, not a white minority regime displaced by a predominantly black majority party.

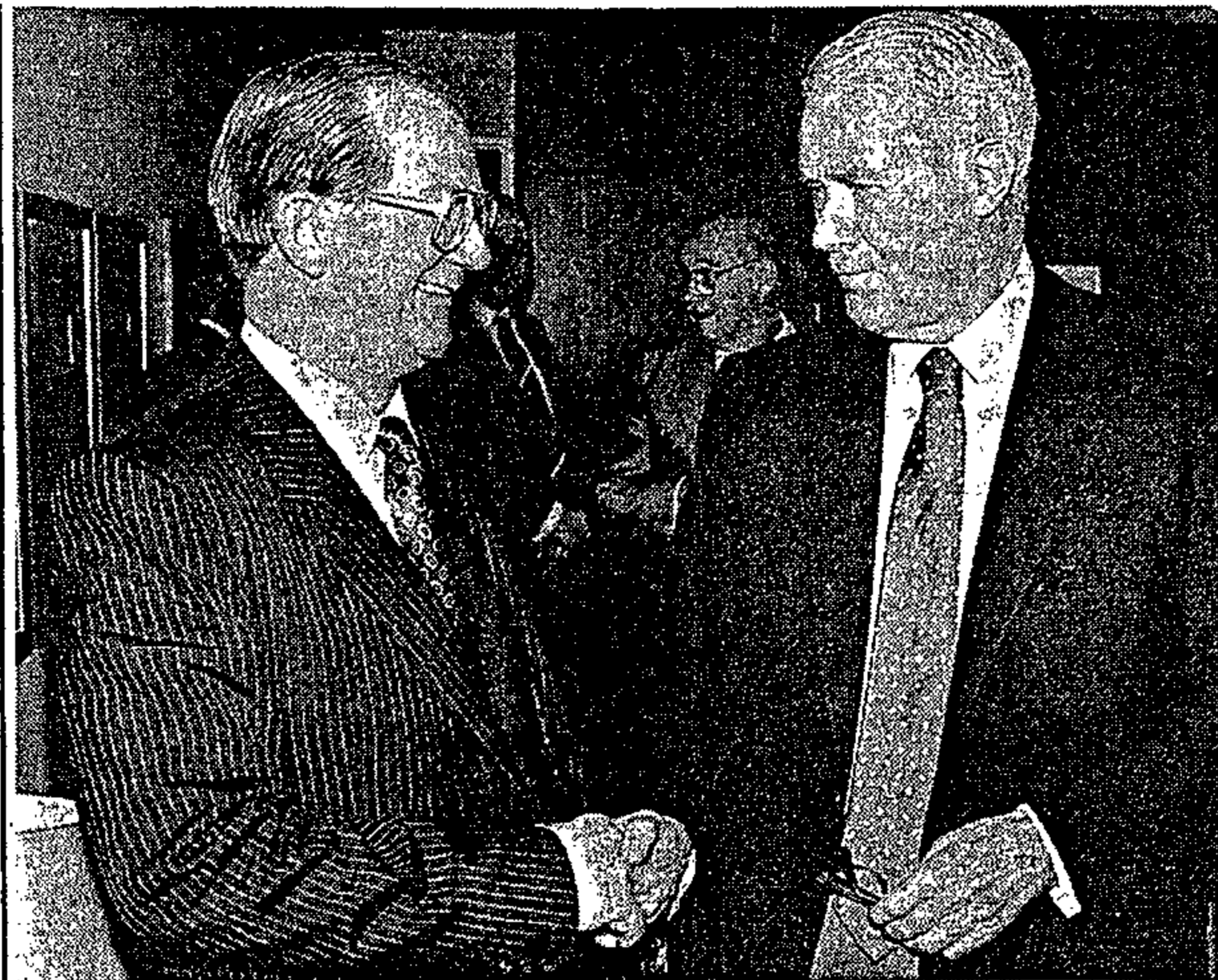
A referendum would for the first time empower the disenfranchised to cast an equal vote, the campaign would educate everyone in the complex constitutional issues, test the tolerance for opponents and prepare the ground for general elections.

The National Party has stalled a possible constitutional compro-

mise about a minor percentage difference, which it has conceded in the meantime. Pretoria also wanted time to build up its black support beyond the estimated 15 to 20 percent at present. Ironically, the option of turmoil and inevitable intimidation may well play into the hands of the Government by discrediting the ANC among the mass of law-abiding voters.

Instead of retaining the moral high ground, a remarkably moderate liberation movement will be associated with anarchy and economic decline. Only advocates of violence without victors can hope to benefit from such

● Professor Adam of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, is a leading analyst of South African affairs. He teaches at UCT's Graduate School of Postgraduate Studies.



CP leader Andries Treurnicht meets UN special envoy Cyrus Vance at the Carlton Hotel yesterday to convey to him the CP's call on government to set up an alternative negotiating forum to Codess. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

CP softens its opposition to UN role after meeting Vance

BLOOM 29/7/92
 THE CP yesterday indicated a softening of its opposition to UN involvement in monitoring violence in SA after its meeting with UN special envoy Cyrus Vance.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said after the meeting his party did not question the UN's interest in SA nor did it object to it monitoring or playing an observer role. What he did question was the extent of the involvement, saying he had doubts about direct UN interference with the SA Police.

Cosatu, however, took a harder line and insisted on active UN monitoring of the violence, with full access to police investigations and reports.

It said the UN monitoring force should complement local initiatives but should be completely independent of the national peace accord structures while liaising closely with these.

Its brief should be to observe and report on the conduct of the security forces in their attempt to deal with violence, the conduct of investigations and prosecution of offences and the dismantling of all covert operations.

In addition, the UN should take steps to ensure that the obligations of government and political organisations were complied with and the recommendations of the Goldstone commission implemented.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said his organisation believed the only way

to end the political impasse was for negotiations to progress and win public endorsement. Negotiations should focus on establishing majority rule in a realistic and limited time frame.

The Cosatu-Saccola sponsored charter for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction had identified the prerequisites for negotiations. They endorsed the need for these to be in place within six to nine months.

Cosatu, Naidoo said, believed that if government accepted the prerequisites and the time frame, a basis for genuine negotiations would be found.

He also invited the UN to monitor its stayaway on August 3 and 4 and its demonstrations on August 5.

The CP told Vance that it had reservations about UN resolution 765, containing Vance's brief, as it was prejudiced in favour of a unitary SA.

Treurnicht said the resolution favoured some parties and was against the CP belief in self-determination. It also went contrary to the UN's views on this issue.

He said he had proposed to government and Vance that government set up an alternative negotiating forum, including the ANC, on the basis of self-determination of communities in a federal structure.

BILLY PADDOCK

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An outsider's view of SA's turmoil

BJDA 29/7/92 204A

BEYOND the hurly burly of the immediate political debate, South Africans face a more fundamental existential question, says outgoing German ambassador Immo Stabreit.

At the root of the political and social instability lies a more essential problem: what kind of people are South Africans? Who are they? What do they really want?

Confusion over these questions has resulted in what Stabreit calls zero-sum politics — a tendency toward conflict-orientated methods of resolving problems.

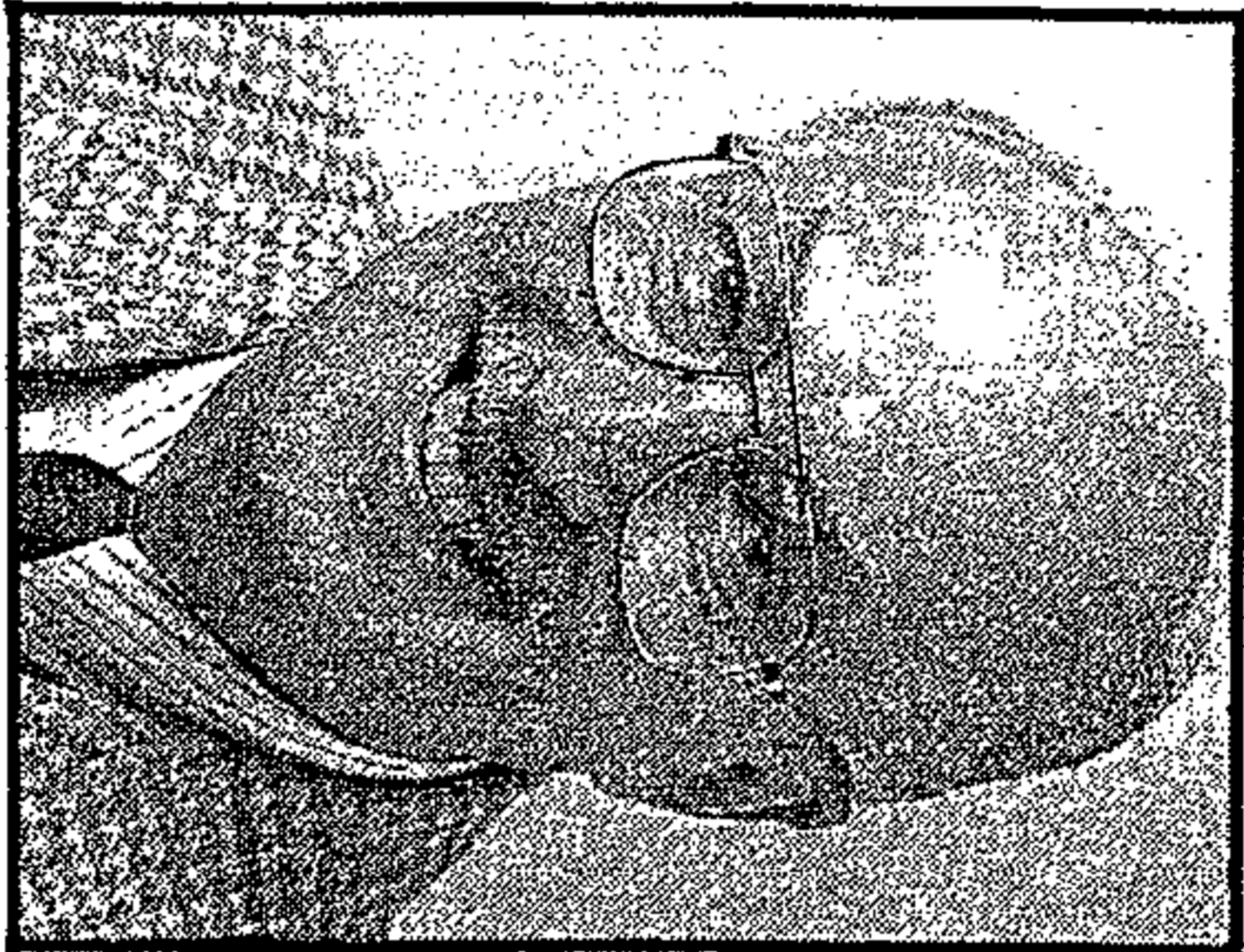
This has left South Africans — like Germans — depressed about their circumstances. Both nations have tended to become obsessed with the internal issues in their countries recently, quite understandably because of the enormous changes taking place, he says.

But often outsiders see the problem more clearly.

Germans are depressed about seemingly insurmountable political problems and complain that their government is not quite coming to grips with them.

Outsiders are surprised by these complaints, and point to huge possibilities for the future and the astounding success achieved so far.

For similar reasons, he says he remains confident that there is a good chance that the transition in SA will take place



□ STABREIT . . . remains confident

successfully.

The air of depression is understandable, Stabreit says. "You are under pressure; you open the paper in the morning and the blood is dripping from it." But beyond that there is a very strong commitment by SA to get on with it, he says.

What is necessary is the establishment

TIM COHEN

of "rules of the game" — a mutual understanding or working relationship needs to be established between political groups about what constitutes acceptable politics.

The major political players need to get used to working with each other and come to terms with each other. They need to develop a common understanding which occupies an area beyond their differences.

As far as his government is concerned — and other European governments for that matter — Stabreit says they could live with any outcome that is accepted by the majority of South Africans.

Europe does, however, have certain expectations. It would like to see an open and pluralistic society with a social market economy.

"If this takes place, I can be very reassuring," he says.

Private enterprise will invest and beyond that, European countries will be willing to help SA. The stakes are very high. SA is a key part of the subcontinent. If SA fails, it will take the economies in the region down with it, he says.

Asked what advice he would give to a new government, Stabreit says he would tell it to tread very carefully and not be

tempted to rush into new programmes. Clearly, though, some problems need urgent attention.

The immediate priorities include job creation, education and health care.

On the form of new constitution for SA, Stabreit says it is clear that there is not only one type of political system that would justifiably fall under the heading "democracy".

All countries have adapted their constitutions to suit their local conditions.

He uses the example of his own country, where members of the small Danish community in Schleswig Holstein are guaranteed a representative in the regional parliament.

However, all democracies have one thing in common: all voters have votes of equal weight. There is no escaping one person, one vote, although this does not mean ways should not be found to accommodate everyone.

This is not impossible to engineer, and at Codesa the outlines of what could become the new constitution of SA are becoming visible, he says.

"I do not think it is hopeless."

Stabreit, who has been in SA since 1987, will be succeeded by Hans-Christian Ueberschaer. Stabreit leaves SA in August for a post in Washington DC.

focus on Africa

WHILE much of Africa is eagerly awaiting South Africa's return to the continent, most people here prefer to remain largely ignorant about the rest of the land mass to which the country is inextricably attached.

They prefer to associate with countries like Germany, Great Britain or the United States, rather than acquaint themselves with the shambles in Africa, ignoring the fact - sad to some, but real nevertheless - that we are Africans in Africa.

Our future lies more than ever before with the African continent. And the sooner we accept that the better for all of us.

More and more businesses are sending teams into African countries to investigate business opportunities.

A future government is sure to have much closer ties with Tanzania than with Great Britain and the political or economic developments in Zimbabwe and Angola are much more likely to affect South Africa than internal political developments in France or Israel.

Ask the average South African where Burundi is and he is likely to tell you it is in the Himalayas or in South America.

Strike conversation

South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family.

On the other hand it is quite possible to strike up a conversation with a taxi driver in Lusaka (that is in Zambia, just north of where Rhodesia used to be) about the crisis facing Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi.

He will know who Babangida is and that Sierra Leone has just experienced yet another coup. He will happily chat about the Renamo-Frelimo war and Dos Santos' moment of truth at the end of September.

Good luck

And above all he will have a pretty good idea about what Mandela and FW have been up to.

Back in South Africa, it is rare to find even a well-educated person able to display the same range of knowledge - besides, of course, the tiresome fascination with which we examine our own navels.

While most Africans north of the Limpopo remain abreast of developments on our continent, South Africans are allowing themselves to be left shamefully behind.

Possibly the changes have been too sudden, and most of them are still too busy wiping the sleep out of their eyes to notice that the once impregnable laager on the Limpopo River has all but disappeared.

Maybe the newspapers must share some of the blame. Newspapers in Nairobi and Dar es

Hans-Peter Bakker of the *Sowetan Africa News* 304A
Sowetan 29/7/92
Service takes a cynical and personal look at South Africans - especially those of the white variety with apparently indissoluble links with more distant parts of the world:



South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family.

Salaam are every day filled with news and features on the African continent.

No exceptions

In contrast South African newspapers, virtually without exception, are so fixated by our own crisis and by the latest romps of the British Royal

family that articles on African issues are sadly few and far between. But the fault also lies with a society - especially the white society - which prefers to think of Africa as an unfortunate failure. And the less they know about it the less chance there is of it coming down here to sully their little bit of pseudo-Europe.

Clerics meet FW in peace bid

310A-4 2917192
CHURCH leaders met President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday in a continuing bid to restart constitutional negotiations.

A church delegation presented De Klerk with a memorandum which in part attempts to get government's view on an elected constituent assembly.

De Klerk's office said no detailed statements on the meeting would be released at this stage, but that talks concentrated on the negotiations impasse, next week's mass action and the violence in general.

"The President indicates he appreciates the task of the churches in assisting to create a climate for recon-

PATRICK BULGER
ciliation based on justice and peace."

On Monday the clerics met Saccola and Cosatu to try to revive aspects of the charter for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction which the two organisations failed to agree on. An SACC source confirmed the meetings were not aimed primarily at averting the strike, but were a long-term effort to restart negotiations.

Mandela yesterday welcomed the church leaders' intervention. He said the churches were concerned that negotiations should resume and that mass action should be disciplined.

304A 117
Mandela said next week's strike would go ahead as planned and it would be peaceful. He said the ANC was concerned over business threats to take disciplinary action against workers.

Sapa reports church delegation leader Catholic Archbishop-elect of Durban Wilfred Napier told a news conference it had been decided to make Sunday "a special day of prayer" for a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Other church delegation members included Alexandra cleric Beyers Naude, SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane and Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan.

news

in brief

Meet demands first - ANC

Sowetan 29/7/92 (304A) (12)
THE African National Congress will not resume negotiations until the Government addressed its demands, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg on his return from Barcelona, the Middle East and the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

Asked to comment on reports that the Government had come up with new proposals at its secret strategy meeting last week to break the negotiations deadlock, Mandela said it was better to wait until the ANC had received the Government's latest proposals.

He said, however: "We would be relieved if the Government has addressed the demands we put forward, because we are keen to resume negotiations."

Sanco softens bond stance

Sowetan 29/7/92
IN an apparent softening of their stance on the rent and bonds boycott, the South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) said yesterday it was up to individuals to choose whether they would support the boycott.

Reacting to criticism by various organisations, Sanco vice-president Mr Moses Mayekiso was, however, adamant that his organisation was independent and would go ahead with the boycotts. He said Sanco would press ahead with the boycott since far too many people could not get bonds because of the high costs and prices involved.

"Several organisations which criticised our decision are out of touch. The simple fact is that the people are affected by high interest rates while others will never have access to bonds because they are not within reach," he said.

Cops search ANC offices

Sowetan 29/7/92
POLICE searched the ANC's offices in Alexandra, Johannesburg, and the nearby M1 Hostel yesterday morning.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed the searches and said the action was a continuation of the police's efforts "to stop violence and the high rate of crime in Alexandra".

It was part of the "intensifying of policing in the area which was started in June". Much of the violence in the township has been blamed on conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and dwellers of the hostel, who are allegedly members of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

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Rationalisation mooted to curb State spending

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet is planning to rationalise the three racial "own affairs" departments in a new effort to curb spiralling government spending.

And most other government departments are also to suffer staff and budget cuts of up to 20 percent in an effort to keep the 1993 Budget increase down to a nominal 10 percent.

It is understood that the staff of the triplicated "own affairs" departments which administer white, coloured and Indian education, health, housing and welfare are to be rationalised into

single departments in each functional area.

The decision was taken in principle at the two-day "bosheraad" which the Cabinet and other senior members of the Government held in the bushveld last week.

Finance and Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys presented the "bosheraad" with figures showing that government spending for the 1992 financial year was running well over target while revenue was falling short of projections.

It is not clear what the exact implications of the "own affairs" rationalisation will be and, in particular, whether it means that white, Indian

and coloured education will at last be brought under a single authority.

The Star understands the decision will affect civil servants rather than politicians. Many civil servants could lose their jobs in the rationalisation programme.

The only departments which will not suffer cut-backs are those concerned with upgrading black social spending, such as black education.

The Cabinet also decided on a possible transitional scenario in which the present Parliament would continue during an interim period while a constituent assembly drafted a new constitution.

CP on Resolution

THE CONSERVATIVE Party yesterday told UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance that it perceived Resolution 765 as prejudiced in favour of a unitary South Africa and against self-determination.

"We told him we believe Resolution 765 is prejudiced in favour of a united South Africa and favours a certain type of democracy," said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht. The alleged prejudice of the document meant it was favouring some parties and was contrary to the CP belief in the self-determination of peoples and also went against the UN views on this issue, said Treurnicht.

30419

Sowetan 29/7/92

Vance to suggest observer team?

304A

CT 30/7/92

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance is expected to tell President F W de Klerk at a meeting today that he will propose a modest UN observer mission to bolster existing peace structures.

Mr Vance met ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday and senior diplomatic representatives on Monday to hear their views on possible roles the UN could play.

One of the most popular ideas being mooted is the suggestion that a team of UN observers attend local dispute resolution committees to boost their importance.

Another suggestion is the establishment of "flashpoint groups", consisting of one representative each from the ANC, Inkatha, the government and the UN, to observe trouble spots and report to either the National Peace Committee or the Goldstone Commission.

The size of the observer group is unclear, although it is likely to be far smaller than the 3 000-strong body ANC-aligned groups have mooted. The figure of about 30 has been suggested.

Yesterday, after his meeting with Mr Mandela, Mr Vance went



ANC WELCOME . . . ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, welcomes UN special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, yesterday.

Picture: AP

on a low-key tour of Boipatong and Crossroads with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

Today he meets Sacob, the business organisation, and in the next two days will probably also meet SA Institute of Race Relations director Mr John Kane-Berman, a Boerestaart Party delegation and newspaper editors.

Dr J N Reddy, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House

of Delegates, in a memorandum sent to Mr Vance yesterday, said a moratorium on all mass action, stayaways and strikes should be declared during the negotiation phase.

He also called for the debriefing, retraining and reorientation of the police force and for an international monitoring group under UN auspices to be sent to the country.

Church delegation plans last-ditch bid to cool political tempers

SA 1974 30/11/74

PATRICK BULGER

CHURCH leaders want President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet in a last-ditch attempt to cool political tempers ahead of next week's general strike.

A church delegation will meet senior government constitutional negotiator Gerit Viljoen today to relay details of its talks on Tuesday with Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

A church source said the clerics were pushing for a meeting between the two leaders. Failing that, they wanted Mandela and De Klerk to make statements to cool

the political climate.

The source said that while the two parties had serious constitutional differences, these could be bridged in negotiations.

But the breakdown in trust between De Klerk and Mandela was a serious obstacle to negotiations. And the ANC told the churchmen something had to be done to bring the violence under control before negotiations could resume.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday there were no plans for a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk, our political staff reports from Cape Town.

Church leaders from all major denominations under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches have been trying to restart constitutional negotiations and lessen the detrimental effects of mass action. They have met employer body Saccola, Cosatu, government and the ANC and are attempting to arrange meetings with Inkatha, Azapo and the PAC.

The meetings are intended to produce a code of conduct for the two-day strike. The church leaders said although there

were serious differences between government and the ANC, they sensed a desire to move towards renewed negotiations.

They said they had urged Cosatu and Saccola to take up the issues raised in a draft charter on peace, democracy and economic reconstruction that the two groups failed to agree on last week.

They said they urged De Klerk to act on the violence and clarify constitutional issues causing the deadlock. They discussed their concerns with the ANC that mass action could lead to violent action.

"We were informed that it was the wish

of the ANC to take part in negotiations but that the continuing violence and the constitutional deadlock caused the withdrawal and led to the choice of mass action."

They said the constitutional differences separating the parties were that government wanted Codesa to decide on a constitution that would be difficult to change, while the ANC wanted Codesa to decide only on the principles of a new constitution and rules governing an interim period.

They also pleaded for immediate action from government on the recommendations of the Goldstone commission.

Mediation's an art, says Ron Kraybill

Bringing accord to changing SA

STAR 30/7/92

304A

SOUTH Africa has been the scene of the world's most rapidly developing "conflict resolution movement". This nation has accomplished in less than ten years what it took the United States several decades to develop; an active network of mediators and conflict resolution experts capable of assisting in conflicts in industrial, community, and political settings.

The Independent Mediation Service of SA has successfully mediated hundreds of conflicts between unions and employers in recent years. Numerous other organisations are at work in the community and political sector: Wilgespruit in Roodepoort, Community Dispute Resolution Trust in Johannesburg and now opening centres in other areas; the Vuleka Trust in Natal; the two decades-old Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town, which recently mediated a settlement in a major "taxi war". Additionally, there are the dozens of new Local and Regional Dispute Centres now springing up as the National Peace Accord structure is slowly put into place.

But the conflicts facing this nation have deep roots and the resources of the conflict resolvers are slender. The parties involved in the most difficult and complex conflicts remain poorly educated about the field of conflict resolution and often reject mediation.

One common reason for this appears to be that one or both parties to a conflict believe that involving a mediator implies failure or inadequacy on their part.

The truth is that the more knowledge of conflict resolution that leaders have, the more they recognise the need for impartial facilitators.

Impartial facilitators and mediators engage in a range of tasks that are difficult and often impossible for anyone associated with either side to accomplish:

- Get negotiation going. Getting a commitment to begin is often one of the most delicate parts of negotiation. If the side goes to the other and says: "We want to negotiate," this may be viewed as a

sign of weakness.

- Work out the framework for the negotiation before it begins. How many representatives will each side send? What issues will be discussed?

- Facilitate meetings. Good negotiators function like good meetings, with a sense of purpose, order, and structure. Like any good meeting, negotiations need a leader to start things off.

- Deepen the level of analysis and reduce adversarial posturing. Almost never do both parties grasp the full realities of the situation that brings them to the bargaining table. They see the legitimacy of their own concerns, of course, but rarely do both parties understand the concerns that drive the other side.

- Expand the range of options available for resolution. "Never let the parties begin negotiating with only two options on the table," a veteran mediator once told me. "Let each side put out their favourite solution, then help them come up with some additional possibilities to consider as well before they start negotiating."

- Serve as "agent of reality". One or both parties often get locked into battle, and lose sight of the real issues in a blind commitment to win at all costs. When this happens, mediators must work with each side in reviewing the benefits of co-operating.

- Use impasse-breaking tools. The most powerful tool for breaking impasse is the caucus, a private meeting with each side.

- Find face-saving ways out. Sometimes both sides have invested so much in the battle that they cannot withdraw or admit a miscalculation to the other side.

- Anticipate and guide the parties in addressing strategy issues before they become problems.

Resolution of any conflict depends in the end on the commitment of the parties themselves to addressing the issues at stake. But skilled mediators can greatly increase the odds of finding a satisfactory resolution. □

- Ron Kraybill is Director of Training at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Cape Town.

Vance likely to suggest modest UN mission

(3047) ~~211~~ TIM COHEN ~~211~~

PRETORIA — UN envoy Cyrus Vance is expected to tell President F W de Klerk at a meeting today that he will propose a modest observer mission to bolster existing peace structures.

Vance and his team are likely to inform De Klerk, and possibly senior ministers, of the nature and thrust of talks they have had with a variety of groups since their arrival last week.

Vance has given no public indications of what he intends reporting to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, preferring to use the trip to collect information rather than to suggest options.

He met ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday and senior diplomatic representatives on Monday to hear their views on possible roles the UN might play.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday the discussions were underpinned by the vital importance of the UN playing a non-partisan role. *BIDAM 30/7/92*

Vance is also constrained by the parameters of his UN Security Council mandate, and by his desire not to do anything which does not have the support of all parties.

One of the most popular ideas being mooted is the suggestion that a team of UN observers attend local dispute resolution committees to boost their importance.

It is believed this will bolster structures which are rooted in the negotiations process and avoid the establishment of competing structures.

The creation by the UN of structures that would, in effect, compete with existing peace structures might weaken the peace process and could result in an open-ended commitment to a presence in SA — something the UN wants to avoid.

Another suggestion is the establishment of "flashpoint groups", consisting of one representative each from the ANC, Inkatha, government and the UN, to observe trouble spots and report to either the national peace committee or the Goldstone commission.

However such action involves the danger that UN representatives might become embroiled in political disputes which could

□ To Page 2

Vance *BIDAM 30/7/92* ~~211~~ ~~211~~ (3047) □ From Page 1

result from incidents of violence.

It has also been suggested that the UN set up a "letterbox" system, where victims of violence lodge complaints if they do not achieve satisfaction elsewhere, although this might engender conflict because of the establishment of a competing structure.

The size of the observer group remains unclear, although it is likely to be far smaller than the 3 000-strong body ANC-aligned groups have been mooting. The figure of about 30 has been suggested.

Vance is likely to submit his report next week, when there will also be behind-the-scenes consultations with other parties, including the OAU and the EC, which is due to send its own delegation to SA in early September.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Vance yesterday held only one meeting — with Mandela — before going on a low-key tour of Boipatong. He rescheduled all other appointments, including a Sacob lunch, for today.

Apparently Vance wanted to spend the rest of the day reviewing the discussions he had in more than 18 meetings with a variety of political, diplomatic and social groups.

In a statement Sacob said its delegation of top executives led by deputy president Spencer Sterling would give Vance an economic and business perspective on developments in the country.

Vance would probably also meet SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman, a Boerestaart Party delegation and newspaper editors in the next two days.

Reuter reports that in Boipatong Vance said he had had the chance to see some of the houses of people who were hurt and killed in their homes. Asked for his reaction, he said: "It's tragic."

Vance was accompanied by Judge Richard Goldstone and ANC regional leader Tokyo Sexwale.

focus on Negotiations

SOUTH Africa will be faced with the problems of expectations. The black majority have reasons to expect an improvement in their circumstances in the often-talked about "new South Africa".

The problem though is that the most probable political settlement this century is unlikely to deliver on such expectations. Apart from the inability of the economy to underpin the settlement reached, the subsequent government will not have the power necessary to effect the needed structural transformation.

Growth, measured in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for this year is forecast at near zero percent. The population in the meantime continues to grow at 2,5 percent a year.

Clearly the country's inability to support its inhabitants can only worsen in the short to medium term.

Rubber stamp role

The current Codesa negotiations are meant to resolve the political power issue and hopefully set the country on a course of majority government and domestic and international legitimacy.

The problem with Codesa is that it is structurally flawed. Most participating parties do not have any support whatsoever, a fact that robs the convention of the very legitimacy that it is supposed to deliver.

The South African Government and its allies at Codesa have an influence out of proportion to their numerical following which explains their preference that Codesa, rather than an elected body write up the constitution.

Evidence appears to suggest that the African National Congress (ANC) is prepared to drop its earlier demand for such an elected constitution-making body.

But as a face-saver for the ANC leadership in the eyes of its domestic constituency and the international community, Government is prepared to accede to an elected Constituent Assembly whose role will be to rubber stamp a Codesa-authored constitution. The emerging compromise between Government and the ANC on the issue amounts to an agreement to preempt democratic constitution-making.

Ruthless assassination campaign

Simultaneously, security agencies of the state accelerated the process of decay by unleashing a ruthless campaign of selective assassination of scores of civic, community and other leaders.

The strategic reality these days is that when the ANC leadership talks of sustained mass action, they just do not have the organisational infrastructure to deliver on the threat and Government must know this! The liberation movement remains both vulnerable and exposed.

Barring any miracles, and despite the current

Well known political analyst **Eugene Nyathi** addressed a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban. These are excerpts from his address:

Sowefan 30/7/92

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Codesa ... seriously flawed.

interruption in the negotiation process, South Africa seems headed for settlement in 1994.

The Government is keen to conclude a settlement during the current parliamentary term, while the preponderant group within the ANC leadership is in such haste to reach agreement that they are prepared to accept almost any settlement.

In 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change.

While the country will have a majority black cabinet, the effective power relations between the races will not change much.

Overall, the most the settlement will do is create a black elite that will be too small to threaten white control of the economy, but hopefully be conspicuous enough to serve the purpose of being a psychological buffer between white interests on one hand and the

radical demands of the hungry black masses on the other. For the majority, conditions will remain what they are or quite possibly get worse.

While numerically small, the black elite (political and professional) is very visible and because its aspirations are closer to those of whites than the majority of blacks. They can be co-opted. They take money!

Given its inequitable nature, the settlement is unlikely to stick longer than three to four years.

Public disillusionment and the lack of improvement in their quality of life will galvanise resistance against the settlement.

Civil and labour unrest will resume and render the country ungovernable once again. At that point, the moral authority of leaders like Mandela (assuming he is still alive) and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge.



Cabinet ready to scrap key demands

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

STAR 30/7/92

The Cabinet is ready to scrap key elements of its negotiation position — including its insistence on an interim constitution — in a new initiative to get negotiations back on track.

Accelerating the timetable of change — and conceding a key ANC demand — the Government is now prepared to hold elections for a constituent assembly as the next step in the transition, sources said.

This constituent assembly would draft a final new constitution while a government executive drawn from Codesa parties ran the country, supervising the present Parliament, possibly in adapted form.

The new approach could considerably shorten the transition by cutting out an interim constitution drawn up by Codesa — and an interim legislature

which also functioned as a constitution-making body.

These were key elements of the Government's previous bottom line.

Instead — as also envisaged by the ANC — the constituent assembly would do nothing but draft a new final constitution.

The present constitution would remain in force until the new one replaced it.

This would satisfy the Government's insistence on constitutional continuity while the supervising executive which would include members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would — the Government hopes — satisfy the ANC demand for an impartial administration of elections for a constituent assembly.

The new initiative addresses the ANC's key criticism of the Government's old plan that its intention was to install an interim constitution — in which minority parties like the NP had an equal say — which would be almost impossible to dislodge.

news

in brief

Sowetan 30/7/92
Cops in 'peace' operation

AN estimated 5 000 policemen and soldiers will conduct a "peace and stabilisation" operation in 16 violence-wracked Witwatersrand and Vaal triangle black townships from yesterday.

Announcing the renewed effort by police to restore peace and stability in the townships at a Soweto news conference, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel cited the success of the recent police stabilisation operations in Phola Park on the East Rand, and Alexandra, northwest of Johannesburg.

The 14 new townships to be affected by the police action are: Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville. Police operations at Alexandra and Phola Park will continue. - Sapa.

Cosatu warns business

WITH four days left before the start of a week-long period of rolling mass action the Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned employers from intimidating workers. *Sowetan 30/7/92*

Yesterday, Cosatu briefed editors of several Johannesburg morning newspapers on the threats levelled at workers by employers if they stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday next week.

Cosatu, which is part of the African National Congress-South African Communist Party tripartite alliance, said: "To now victimise workers from participating in a peaceful protest action contributes an abuse of employer power."

NP 'like a black banana'

THE National Party is like a banana - the older it gets the blacker it gets, Herstigste Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais has charged in a letter to NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha. *30UA*

The HNP will contest the Florida seat, vacated by former Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, in a coming by-election. *Sowetan 30/7/92*

In his letter, Marais also accused Botha of making it a precondition for NP members to recruit their black domestic servants as NP members.

Marais cited a letter from a cabinet minister's wife, who allegedly wrote that, "In our wards, domestic servants are an obvious target group to recruit as members".

Marais challenged Botha to debate this "policy" of recruiting domestics with Marais on television or in the Roodepoort Town Hall on August 10. - Sapa

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Govt 'firm on negotiating stand'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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Speculation in The Star this week about a change in the Government's negotiating position is "essentially wrong", says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

An article quoted Government sources saying the Government was ready to drop its insistence on an interim constitution and proceed with the present one until an elected assembly drafted a new one.

Mr Meyer hinted last night that the Government intended sticking to the idea of an interim constitution. Its departure point for continuing negotiations was that existing agreements should be built upon.

Alliance pledges itself to the code of conduct

STAR 3/17/92

By Esther Vaughn and Kaiser Nyatumba Political Reporters

UN watch on mass action

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to send representatives to monitor next week's mass action.

The move comes after UN special representative Cyrus Vance had conveyed Mr. Boutros-Ghali's "serious concern". In meetings with President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that the mass action could lead to violence. Speaking last night on TV's Agenda, Mr. de Klerk said the constructive approach by the international community could help to some extent, but South African leaders had to negotiate the country's future.

Full text of code — Page 3
No job protection — Page 10

Although the Government accepted the right to peaceful protest, mass action in a volatile atmosphere increased the risk of violence.

After next week's events, the resumption of negotiations was still the only option, Mr. de Klerk added. Areas of disagreement were "narrow and bridgeable".

He reiterated his proposal for a meeting between himself, Mr. Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence, and said an additional delegation nominated by the National Peace Committee could be included.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night the Government had no objections to the presence of UN observers.

The State President had strongly urged observers to act in co-ordination with the National Peace Secretariat. As mass action preparations, headed by the work stayaway on Monday and



Down the middle . . . a visitor to the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg leads his son between policemen and members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union. The protesters want private hospitals to recognise their union. Picture: Gary Bernard

Tuesday went ahead, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said invitations to send monitors would, besides the UN, also be issued to the Commonwealth and Organisation of African Unity.

The decision to send observers comes after letters from Mr. Boutros-Ghali expressing concern about the disruptive effects of mass action were delivered by Mr. Vance to Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, which said it was convinced there was "massive" support for its "campaign for peace and democracy", called on its followers to ensure the stayaway was peaceful and that there would be no intimidation.

The alliance committed itself to the "Code of Conduct for Mass Protests" devised by church leaders together with other parties including the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs.

The ANC has assured the National Peace Secretariat that the mass action campaign will take place within the guidelines of the National Peace Accord.

Mr. Ramaphosa said it was disappointing that Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel had not issued guidelines to the police.

The ANC alliance said that after "extensive consultations" with students' and teachers' organisations, it accepted their decision to take part in the stayaway. The PAC, Azapo, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions have criticised the stayaway, and urged that students and teachers be exempted from it.

Van Zyl Slabbert asks if SA leaders have the political will to compromise

Where are our statesmen?

HERE is not much that can be said of the current state of affairs that can be absolutely original. Our transition, impasse and immediate future have been dissected and proclaimed upon by partisans and commentators across the spectrum.

There seems to be general agreement that the two options that will determine our transition are confrontation and negotiation. Some would argue that a bit of both will reflect the actual dynamics. The modalities of both have been thoroughly analysed with reference to the key political participants.

In the case of confrontation — whether of the hard (violence) or soft (mass mobilisation) variety — it is a matter of relative resources, sustainability and the capability to inflict the maximum damage.

Should confrontation become the dominant mode of transition, there is no doubt that we will re-

gress to a new form of repressive domination.

For example, if confrontation is successful in effecting the transfer of power (and all available evidence points to the contrary), then it could only be at the expense of a truly damaged economy. And where a highly charged, populist-supported new regime comes in on rhetoric it will very quickly go out on its performance, because it is not able to meet the expectations of those who helped it make confrontation successful.

If confrontation is not successful, it will be because it would have been repressed. In both cases, repressive stability will characterise our national situation.

However, if negotiations are to be successful it will only be because there is a demonstrable political will on the part of the major political leaders to persuade their own constituencies and each other to settle for compromises.

If they use negotiations as a ploy to improve their own positions at the expense of their opponents, then we will vacillate between confrontation and pretence at negotiations. This will increase instability and uncertainty and in any case damage the economy, which in turn will feed confrontation and undermine serious negotiations.

At the moment the major protagonists are playing "spot the spoiler" to the international community.

Each is trying to present a reasonable facade to the UN envoy at the expense of their opponents. Nothing is sacrosanct: commissions reports, days of prayer, charters, etc, are being appropriated to polish political marbles. All this is done in public in transparently sanctimonious declarations.

Unilateral "breakthroughs" are proclaimed without any of them having been cleared by the "other side".

When the "other side" then re-

jects or questions the "breakthrough", they can then be represented as "the spoilers".

How will we (SA) escape this desperate situation where power mongers keep on playing politics with our future? We have been almost over-analysed, over-prescribed and over-advised. It is now seriously a matter of political will.

If it is really so that we are in the grip of some powerful, irremediable social, economic and political forces that have to run their course and where our politicians are simply the unintentional puppets playing out their predetermined roles, then let us scrap this pretence at negotiations and bunker down for the fight.

But there are many recent, and current, examples where very serious and ostensibly intractable conflicts have been cooled down and negotiated: USSR-USA, Chile, Nicaragua, Poland etc.

Why not us? It is finally a matter of political will.

Is there the will between De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi, Mankhetu, Hani, Holomisa, Mangope, etc, to privately, confidentially and earnestly engage each other and thrash out the bare bones of a compromise that can be made public?

It is more than useless to offer "unilateral breakthroughs" in public to upstage your opponents — if anything this is a simple act of bad faith. It is more than useless for church leaders to pray and ask for reconciliation, for peace commissions to work for peace accords, if the leaders have no inclination to be reconciled and make peace with each other.

This does not mean that when they actually exercise such a will, all our problems will be immediately solved. There are deep and fundamental differences that continue to exist, major problems of economic inequality and political power conflict that have to be addressed.

Negotiations in such circum-

stances are always second best options. They become necessary because first preferences are not viable. But to engage in negotiations with the idea that somewhere down the track your own preference will become viable is to play partisan politics with the future of the country.

It takes a special kind of political will to make negotiations of this kind work. It is the will that distinguishes statesmen from hack politicians.

All the props to support serious negotiations are in place: committed church, business, labour and community leaders, an army of facilitators, mediators and bridging organisations, a more than willing international community standing by to assist.

Where are the statesmen who can stride on to this stage and give new life to our drama?

● Dr Slabbert, formerly Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, teaches at the Wits Business School.



Vance gets ANC, govt talking

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CT 31/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations' special representative Mr Cyrus Vance has brought the ANC and the government together again for face-to-face talks.

On Tuesday the two parties met to discuss the release of remaining political prisoners — raising hopes of a talks breakthrough.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday confirmed that the meeting had taken place. But he added a crucial government communication to the ANC on the issue was still awaited.

The government delegation was led by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and ANC director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Botha said Mr Vance had told President

F W de Klerk yesterday that UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali was concerned that the ANC's mass action campaign would turn to violence.

He also said that Mr De klerk had made a new attempt to launch top-level talks on violence by "broadening" his invitation for a meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to include a National Peace Committee-nominated delegation. — Sapa

'No cabinet concessions'

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday dismissed reports that the cabinet was ready to concede to key ANC demands in a bid to get negotiations restarted.

The government also appeared to rule out an early election for a constituent assembly.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said reports that the government was prepared to scrap key elements of its negotiating position — including an insistence on an interim constitution — were wrong.

ANC ready to back US plan

Political Staff

THE ANC has given qualified approval to the announcement that the United States has plans for initiatives to support an interim government in South Africa.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "We will have to

study what is being proposed before we respond. Anything that will bring the government to the realisation that we do need full democracy is obviously to be welcomed."

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer's office said the government might react to

the plan today.

Details of the US initiative appear in a letter from President George Bush's national security adviser, Admiral Brent Scowcroft, to Congressman Howard Wolpe.

It includes housing guarantees, loan guarantees for black-owned businesses, high-

level trade and investment missions and banking support. SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that the letter means the White House is holding back on its earlier promise to back South African access to IMF support until "the transition process in South Africa permits".

30/11/92
CT 31/7/92

Govt, ANC meet for first time since talks suspended

STAL
Political Staff

31/7/92
The ANC and the Government held talks in Pretoria this week to discuss the release of political prisoners — the first official meeting since the ANC pulled out of all negotiations in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Release of political prisoners is one of the ANC's conditions for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disclosed yesterday that United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance — who leaves today after a 10-day mission to investigate violence and help get negotia-

tions restarted — had facilitated the meeting.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha led the Government delegation and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki headed the ANC team.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC had always been committed to ensuring the release of all political prisoners, of whom more than 440 still remained.

He said the organisation had raised the question during its presentation to the recent UN Security Council hearing. Mr Vance had therefore facilitated contact between the ANC and the Government to

ensure political prisoners' release "on the basis that the Government accepted the need for this matter to be finalised immediately".

Mr Ramaphosa said the meeting, which took place on Tuesday, would be followed by a further meeting soon.

He said the ANC had expected the remaining political prisoners to be released on Wednesday, and was yesterday expecting communication from Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Mr Vance yesterday held talks with President de Klerk to discuss the issue.

"We expect success will be achieved," Mr Ramaphosa said.

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FW confident that talks will be resurrected

~~TOP~~ BILLY PADDOCK ~~BOYA~~

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk predicted last night that government-ANC talks would resume shortly after next week's work stayaway. **BIDAM 31/7/92**

Speaking on TV1's Agenda programme, he said that after Wednesday there was "no other option for all the parties, but to resume talks".

He said important agreements had been reached in principle and following the bosberaad last week government was ready to resume exploratory talks to see how negotiations could be put on track again.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa announced yesterday that government and the ANC had met on Tuesday — further raising hopes that the impasse could be broken within weeks.

Ramaphosa said the release of remaining political prisoners was discussed. Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki led the respective parties.

Ramaphosa said more than 400 prisoners were still behind bars and after the talks Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was meant to deliver a crucial communication to the ANC. By yesterday he had still not done so.

The ANC had asked Vance to convey the importance of the matter to De Klerk during his meeting with him yesterday.

Tuesday's ANC-government meeting was facilitated by UN special representative Cyrus Vance and by yesterday government had approved UN monitoring of mass action.

It was also announced yesterday that US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen would arrive in SA next week on a routine visit.

De Klerk said last night the bosberaad was not an urgent response to the crisis, but had been planned long before the Codesa II impasse. However, the Cabinet had devoted substantial thought and discussion to the breakdown in talks.

He did not want to divulge details of the discussions, but said government believed that to continue negotiations the parties should continue to build on existing agreements arrived at earlier.

CODESA's deadlock in May catalyzed federalism to the centre stage of SA's political debate.

Embraced in the US, Germany and Nigeria to accommodate regional differences and secure a political settlement where the central focus of power would be contested, perhaps violently, by competing political interests, federalism has become both answer and problem in SA's political debate.

Centre for Policy Studies researchers Richard Humphries and Khehla Shubane argue that "the contest over regionalism is a function of the central conflict over majority rule and minority participation — it is likely, therefore, to be resolved by the way in which the parties settle this issue."

So central has the regionalism debate become to SA politics, the authors argue in a paper entitled *A Delicate Balance: Reconstructing Regionalism in SA*, that its outcome could revolutionise SA politics.

A decade ago, the federalists were confined to SA's liberal opposition

Federalism SA's answer and problem

By Day 31/7/92

PATRICK BULGER

who saw it as a check on central government and as an insurance of diversity and a political say for minorities. But, as the deadlock at Codesa II demonstrated, federalism has become a contentious issue.

Although agreement was reached in principle at Codesa that regional institutions should exist in a post-apartheid order, it was partly over the future of the regions that the major parties at the convention deadlocked.

The authors argue that the NP previously opposed federalism, but now "regionalism or federalism have become central planks in the NP's negotiating platform".

The NP's 1991 constitutional principles propose regional governments as an important element of "self-determination".

"It also argues that regional governments facilitate 'nation building'.

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while the principle of bringing government closer to the governed is supported by regional authorities.

Homeland administrations themselves have argued for regions to reflect ethnic groups. Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu have all proposed extended boundaries. Government in turn has suggested that its nine development regions serve as the basis for the demarcation of regions.

The homelands' territorial ambitions aside, both government and the ANC's thinking on regions is determined by technical criteria. "Where the demarcation of regions is a point of political contest, this will have far more to do with the broader context than with the details of where and how the boundaries will be drawn."

The authors write that the key objection to regionalism — namely the encouragement of parochial ten-

dencies which might frustrate efforts at nation building — is not necessarily valid.

Regional political contests would force parties to accommodate different alliance partners. This is especially true in the case of the NP, which is likely to be in a minority in most regions. For the ANC as a possible majority party, regionalism would put pressure on the national structure to accommodate regional ANC interests.

The authors argue that there is no necessary connection between the extent or range of functions given to regional authorities and conclusions as to their strengths and weaknesses. What is more important is what precise powers regions will be afforded under a new constitution.

"Policy preferences for either a regional or federal structure are presented as though they are east-west iron opposites of each other. Within both there are gradations which have important policy and practical implications."

Roxburgh Trust

US puts SA's economic aid on hold

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has decided to defer any economic assistance for SA — beyond the \$80m-a-year package already in place — pending the installation of an interim government.

In particular, the White House is holding back on its promise to endorse SA's access to IMF balance-of-payment support. It says it will wait "until the political transition process in SA permits".

The administration is also suspending efforts to persuade state and local authorities to repeal penalties on firms that do business with SA until an interim government is in place.

This is the thrust of a July 18 letter sent by US President George Bush's national

~~SECRET~~ SIMON BARBER ~~SECRET~~

security adviser Brent Scowcroft to former House Africa subcommittee chairman Howard Wolpe. Scowcroft was replying to a letter sent to Bush and co-signed by Wolpe and 174 colleagues asking the administration to put pressure on Pretoria to meet the ANC's demands on violence and constitutional voting majorities.

The shift is designed not only to head off any new sanctions drive by Wolpe, but to increase the leverage of those who desire a speedy resumption of talks on transferring power to an interim government.

The letter outlines economic carrots

To Page 2

Aid deferred

which Scowcroft says "could serve as a further incentive to move quickly to implement nonracial democracy".

The only new item on the list is a proposal to augment the US Agency for International Development's existing five-year, \$30m black housing programme with official loan guarantees to encourage US private lending for low-income home construction at competitive interest rates.

A similar guarantee programme to reduce the risk of lending to black-owned businesses is also under consideration.

In neither case has the amount of the guarantees been decided.

Once an interim government is in place, the US government will take the following steps, many of which Bush announced as a "done deal" at the time of the white referendum last March.

The Treasury Department will be notified that SA no longer "practises apartheid" so that the US representative on the IMF's board will no longer be bound by the 1983 Gramm Amendment to veto SA borrowings from the fund automatically.

Likewise, the US will actively encourage the World Bank to "increase its involvement" in SA and "assume the lead in co-ordinating an international effort to provide assistance to the country".

~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~ From Page 1

The US Overseas Private Investment Corporation will enter negotiations on a bilateral agreement with the new government to enable the corporation to provide insurance cover for US investors against expropriation and related losses.

Although SA firms may already seek loans from the US Export-Import Bank to purchase US capital goods, a number of restrictions still apply to SA borrowers. These may be eased.

US officials are at pains to stress that, in real terms, the assistance will be relatively limited and that the US will not be significantly expanding the budgeted \$80m.

"It's very dangerous for any party in SA to assume that the world is going to come swooping in and take care of their material needs. Their best hope is still the private sector," a White House official said.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the ANC has given qualified approval to the announcement that the US plans initiatives to support an interim government in SA. While ANC information and publicity spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC would study the proposals before responding, he added anything that would bring government to realise full democracy was needed would be welcomed.

US plan to revitalise SA

■ **GREAT IDEA** US support for the new

South Africa includes endorsing World

Bank involvement and black housing:



Sowetan Foreign News Service

Sowetan 31/1/92

WASHINGTON - The White House has disclosed details of a bold international plan to support an interim government in South Africa.

The plan includes housing guarantees, loan guarantees for black-owned businesses, high-level trade and investment missions to the country.

It also envisages US backing for greater World Bank and International Monetary Fund involvement.

The plan was outlined in a letter from President George Bush's national security adviser, Admiral Brent Scowcroft, to Congressman Howard Wolpe of Michigan, who has been one of the strongest critics of the administration's policy on South Africa.

"We are convinced that establishment of a nonracial interim government in South Africa will occur. When it does, it will be watershed event and we must be prepared to move rapidly to support further positive evolution. This will call for new steps by the US and our allies," the letter says.

- Consideration of "a housing guarantee project which builds on our current R150 million five-year Agency for International Development housing programme";
- Discussion of "a loan guarantee programme with selected private financial institutions to support the credit needs of black-owned business";
- Support for the granting of IMF facilities to the new government, and an effort inside the US to persuade state and local governments to lift their sanctions against South Africa.

WHATEVER new constitutional concessions President FW de Klerk is about to unveil after last week's "bosberaad", one can only pray that he uses good common sense and is not swayed by the verbiage of political scientists.

One such is Professor Herman Giliomee, of the University of Cape Town, who recently justified De Klerk's rejection of the African National Congress' demand for "ordinary democracy" on the basis that whites have "little or no confidence of their rights under majority rule..."

This, Giliomee tells us, is not racist. It is only natural that whites should be afraid of a future in which they will be losing their exclusive hold on political power in a country where political power has been used crushingly to the disadvantage of those who have not had it.

That these fears need to be faced squarely and dealt with imaginatively is beyond question. But ethnic fears cannot be a fundamental guiding principle of a new constitution. They certainly cannot serve as a justification for the National Party's proposals that would keep their party in government forever in defiance of the will of the electorate.

Depriving other people of their rights in order to protect an already privileged minority is the worst way to protect that minority.

Safeguards for minorities will only work in South Africa if they do not amount to a constitutional retention of privileges.

Giliomee's task, no less than that of De Klerk — not to mention the ANC if it ever accepts such a half-baked notion of democracy — would be to persuade the people of Sebokeng, Soweto, etc, that their rights to full democracy have to be tempered because whites are scared of majority rule. He would also have to convince them this is not racist.

Both Giliomee and Oxford don RW Johnson have alluded to opinion polls that have shown that most South Africans, of all races, want power sharing. Johnson has even forwarded the ludicrous suggestion of a referendum to test whether South Africans want power sharing or majority rule.

Such a call could only be based on a misconception of what the conflict in South Africa is about, not to mention what the polls mean. We don't need polls to tell us that most South Africans are not racists and want power-sharing between whites and blacks as opposed to white minority rule or black majority rule. Except for the parties on the extreme left and the extreme right, one cannot think of a party that opposes this conception of power-sharing.

What most South Africans would find a lot harder to stomach is permanent power-sharing between the ANC and the NP, which is what De Klerk is proposing. That is the power-sharing that is at issue.

But if there is a misconception about power-sharing, it has not been helped by the government's grotesque caricature of the ANC's position as "simple majoritarianism".

What the ANC and its allies have put forward is not the Westminster system, which has permitted Conservative governments in Britain to win four elections in

a row with well below 50 percent of the electorate, but proportional representation which forces a coalition if no party wins a majority of the votes.

Furthermore, the concept of sunset clauses, which would have the effect of forcing a period of power-sharing going well beyond the transition phase and the implementation of a final constitution, was already put forward as a suggestion by the ANC during the referendum in March.

Instead of being seized on by the government as an imaginative way to construct a gateway to democracy that would meet the concerns of both parties, De Klerk held out for a minority NP veto. If he had not, the deadlock at Codesa II and all the misfortunes that have followed could have been avoided.

Given the government's sanctimonious claims that its proposals are in line with international norms, it was like a breath of fresh air to hear US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen say last week that "all sides must recognise the right of the majority to govern while assuring that all South Africans have a stake in their government".

He commented that it was "not productive for one side to insist on overly complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups which will frustrate effective governance".

By holding out for the indefensible, what the NP has done is to frustrate a healthy debate on a future

constitution. As anyone who has followed the debate over a unified Europe will note, there are persuasive arguments that strong regional government is good for democracy and development in a world where the two forces threatening to undermine it are technocratic globalisation, on the one hand, and ethnic, religious or ideological fundamentalism, on the other.

What is not acceptable is that the country be divided up into fiefdoms to accord with the political ambitions of those who now realise they will never win a national election. A new South African constitution, if it is to last, cannot be shaped by such petty political cynicism.

Giliomee believes that the principle that should guide a settlement is the power relationship between the ANC and the NP, which he describes as a "balance of weakness". A mediator such as Cyrus Vance, he suggests, should go and spell this out to both parties.

What he fails to understand is that the struggle in this country has been constantly fought from a position of weakness: people without the vote, without union rights, without the right to protest. If they were to have accepted the balance of power as any kind of long-term basis for their lot in life, we would still be in the Verwoerdian era.

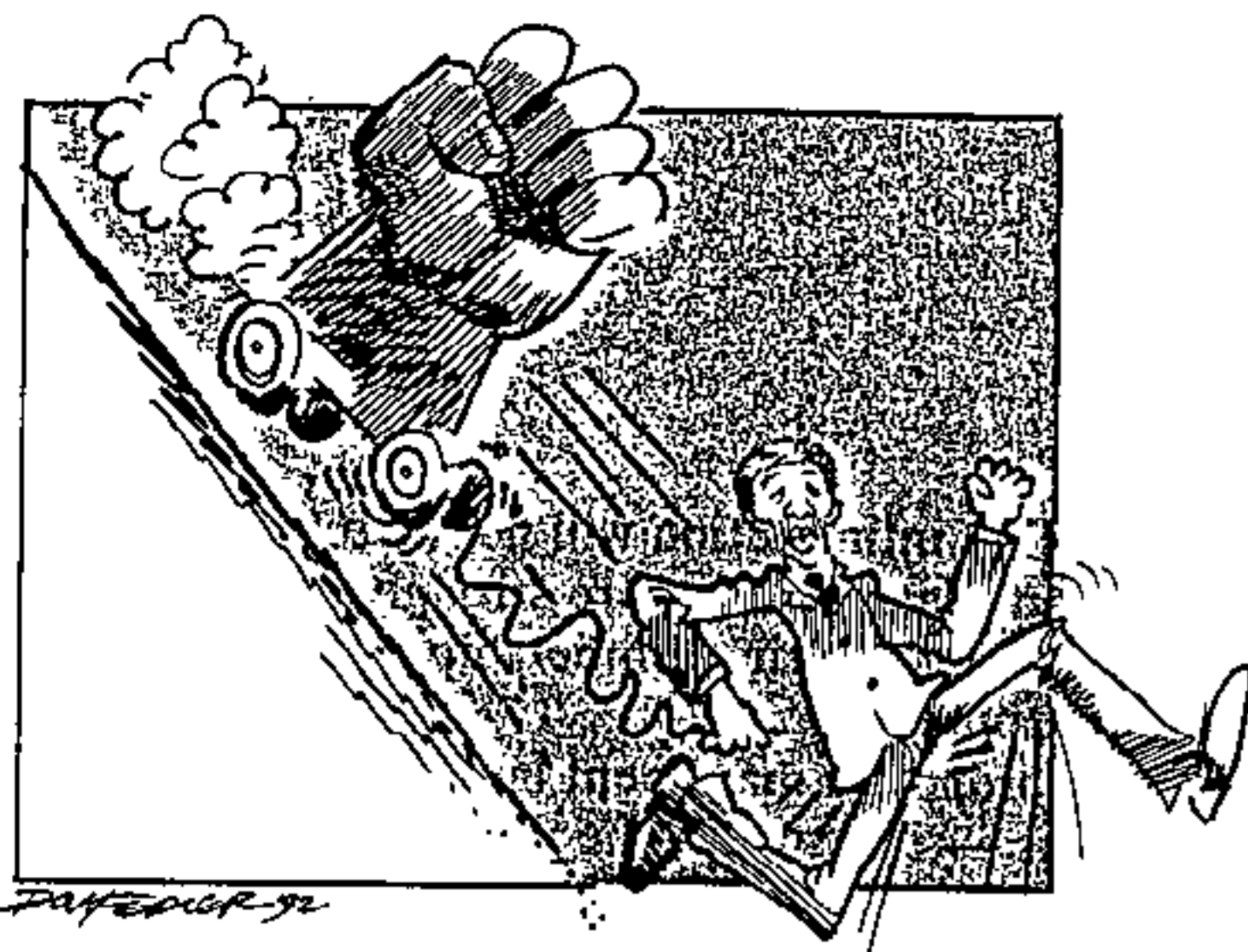
Besides, what we are searching for in South Africa is not a truce on a battlefield or an annual wage agreement between a trade union and an employer. We are searching for a non-racial democracy and a lasting constitution that, like the constitution of the United States, enshrines the highest ideals of the nation, acts as a unifying force and inspires the loyalty of all.

Sharing power doesn't mean keeping status quo

Debates over power-sharing are clouding the political process. President FW de Klerk must keep the ultimate goal — a democratic constitution — in mind and not be swayed by political scientists, argues PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

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talks aimed at breaking the logjam.

Government believes it is critical to restart negotiations as soon as possible to undercut a new, more militant initiative expected from ANC alliance radicals in the wake of the lack of support for mass action. But this time agreement will have to be reached and implemented quickly, to ensure a perception in the townships of meaningful progress towards a new social and political order.

While welcoming the inability of organised mass action over the past two weeks to do little more than disrupt traffic, a senior source says government is extremely concerned at the level of violence related to mass action — but not part of official programmes. Government accepts that ANC

leaders needed to consolidate their constituency after the collapse of Codesa 2, but believes the flagging enthusiasm for mass action and increasing township violence is now becoming counter-productive.

The ANC leadership must also be worried: the destruction of private property, township anarchy and increasing strike-related violence is clearly not part of mass action as envisaged by leaders of the alliance. It may be difficult to stop.

The government source says there's concern that the ANC has "over-extended" itself. Though the failure of mass action may vindicate the moderates, it could also weaken them: further radicalisation of some township groups means the ANC may return to the negotiating table in a weaker position than when it walked out of Codesa 2. "Under such conditions it may be difficult to make a proper deal," said the government source. "Obviously we're in competition with the ANC, but it's not in their interest or in the interest of SA that the ANC loses control over its constituency."

However, Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town's Institute for Study of Public Policy, believes mass action is "overrated." He says negotiations centre on "elites and organisation." The question now is whether the ANC leadership feels sufficiently strengthened to push ahead with talks.

Rather than undermine ANC leaders, he

believes the failure of mass action will strengthen their position because they won't be handicapped by the potential threat of militant mobs in the streets — which may have been the case had mass action brought people out in giant rallies and processions.

Schrire believes there's a considerable threat inherent in the inability of the negotiating "elites" to reach agreement while chaos reigns around them. "The danger of a slide into anarchy is the reality, not always perceived, that elites at some stage lose the ability to restore order even if, belatedly, they finally agree to co-operate with each other."

Though mass action is due to roll on for some time still, next week's two-day strike could be decisive in determining the alliance's strategy. The collapse of the proposed Cosatu/Saccola accord was seen as a blow to the alliance, which had hoped to pull organised businesses on to its bandwagon.

Government, on the other hand, was determined not to allow business to be hijacked by what it sees as a blatantly political campaign, particularly in the light of the failure of mass action and the possibility of an unenthusiastic response to the strike.

Instead, government wants mass action and the strike to run its course, after which it is confident the ANC — bolstered by the new concessions about to be announced — will be willing to resume negotiations.

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 31/7/92

~~2715~~ (304A) the point where we could consider making a viable deal stick without their participation."

The situation may change if the ANC splits into moderate and radical factions, but, says the source, the NP doesn't see that happening in the medium term. "We know there's a great deal of tension within the ANC and even disarray on some issues, but a split seems highly unlikely." Schrire believes a settlement excluding the ANC could be considered if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise enough non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal option. As long as the elections are democratic, nonracial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate, if not fully accept, the new government.

through would be a government-initiated nonracial referendum on power sharing vs majoritarianism. "It would need the support of the ANC and other parties. International opinion could persuade the contenders to travel along this route in their own interest."

But what if negotiations don't resume, or collapse irretrievably soon after they do? Could government push ahead with a settlement excluding the ANC? Such a scenario has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but is not a serious option at this stage, according to a senior party source. "I can't foresee the ANC being weakened to

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Veteran SA watcher Heribert Adam, of Vancouver's Simon Fraser University and currently teaching at UCT's business school, believes mass action may play into government's hands by discrediting the ANC among the "mass of apolitical, law and order-orientated voters. Instead of retaining the moral high ground, a remarkably moderate liberation movement will be associated with anarchy and economic decline. Only the advocates of violence without victors can hope to benefit from such a course of events."

Adam believes the ANC overestimates its current international standing and clout. He says what's happening in SA can't be equated with the overthrow of authoritarian governments in eastern Europe, where the West backed anti-communist uprisings. In SA, a communist-aligned opposition wants to overthrow an "arch-capitalist order. Why would Kohl, Bush or Major empathise with 'left' experiments of redistribution in SA? A like-minded, 'reasonable' De Klerk strikes a far more amenable note."

The Vance visit, though unlikely to provide any new answers to SA's crises this time around, could be the peg on which the ANC hangs its decision to talk again. So far, according to groups that have seen him, Vance has done a great deal of listening and not much talking, which is precisely what he was expected to do. The difficult task will be

assessing a situation based on such a range of conflicting claims and allegations and then suggesting generally acceptable ways of breaking the logjam.

It may be that the feuding parties will be back at the talks table of their own accord before that happens. Once there, they have a number of options.

At this stage, Schrire sees three possibilities — he cynically calls it his "late July perspective" because next week it may be overtaken by new events.

Firstly, the ANC and government could fail to agree on key issues, such as power-sharing versus majoritarianism and federalism versus a unitary State. Negotiations collapse, leading to further socio-economic decline, more violence, an authoritarian government and international isolation.

Secondly, a coerced outcome is possible, as almost happened at Codesa 2. But the consequences could be that leaderships are repudiated by their constituencies, or accept deals as the best possible at the time, but later renege on them.

Thirdly, a new agreement is reached that all parties can live with.

Idasa's Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert sees four possibilities:

- Pacts among the elites, who then try to drive the transitional process;
- Unilateral imposition of transition, including co-option and the creation of an

1 FCTIONS FM 31/7/92

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Spreading their wings

The National Party in the Transvaal, headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, has drafted a detailed strategy aimed at diverting support from the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance and winning a future general election. The plan is set out in a confidential directive to President's Council members and regional chairmen.

Despite the terse aim described at the top of the document — "to ensure that the NP becomes a majority party" — many Nats who have been told about the plan have doubts. The party is apparently in disarray; some structures in Johannesburg have collapsed. Supporters say the NP *hoofraad* (head council) does not appreciate the reality that members must face on the ground.

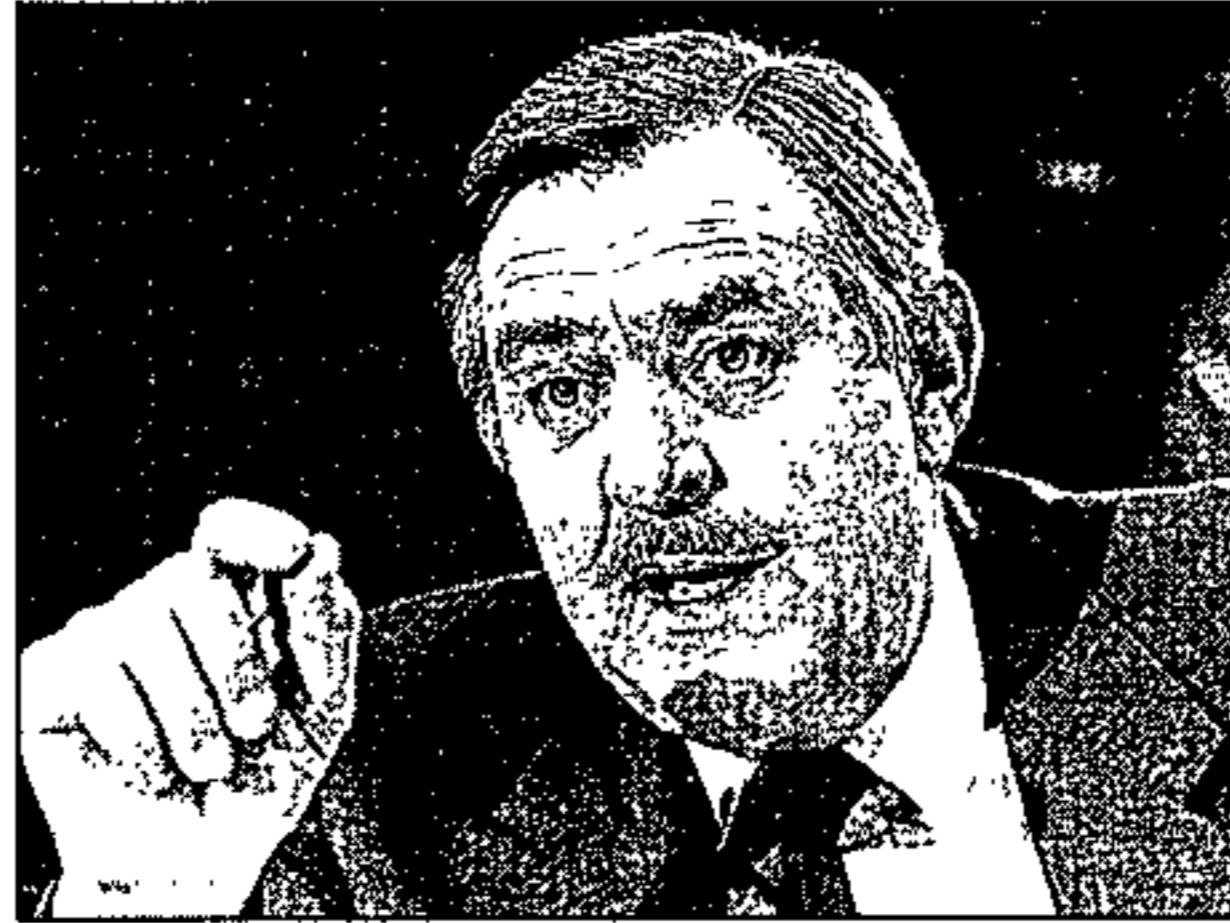
What the plan does indicate is that the government has ditched any hope of retaining a minority veto. It also reveals an understanding of where the endorsement for political power will lie in the near future — and an acceptance that the independent "national States" will be absorbed back into SA.

The document starts with cold population statistics — 18m people live in the Transvaal, with the following breakdown: blacks 80%, whites 17%, coloureds 2% and Indians 1%. "It is thus clear (that) we should focus on the 80% as our highest priority," the directive notes. It then sets out the administrative structures that had to be in place by the prescribed implementation date later this week (August 1).

Eight additional NP staff are to be appointed to head teams which will recruit members in the black homelands and townships. This will be done by making "personal contact with new Nationalists." The party has budgeted R240 000 for these staff salaries, up to July 31 1993 — which implies that the Nats are not expecting to call a general election for at least the next year. (In terms of the present constitution, there must be a general election before the end of 1994.)

The scale of the intended preparations is massive. "Based on the 80% target market," says the document, "specific provision must be made for infrastructure," which includes establishing and equipping an NP office in each of seven designated Transvaal areas. Each area includes major black townships, as follows:

- Pretoria (Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Atteridgeville, Hammanskraal);
- East Rand (Tembisa, Daveyton, Alexandra, Katlehong, Vosloorus);
- Southern Transvaal (Sharpeville, Boipatong, Sebokeng);
- Johannesburg/West Rand (Soweto, Dobsonville, Kagiso);
- Northern Transvaal (Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and townships);



Botha ... ditched the veto concept

- Eastern Transvaal (KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and townships); and
- Western Transvaal (Bophuthatswana and townships).

Each of these target areas is to have a standing committee which will "render specialist support" and "training modules" will be provided. Progress in each area must be reported at the next Transvaal *hoofraad* meeting on September 17.

Attached to the basic document is an appendix offering guidelines to recruitment in black townships. The key to building a mass party, it advises, is the old Nat concept of "winning hearts and minds." The NP must be "marketed in a convincing way as the party of the future (winning image)." Other points from the section on propaganda and information are:

- "Everywhere the NP message is the same";
- "Propoganda must be created and developed for local circumstances";
- "Establish perceptions — 'the NP is open for everybody'"; and
- "The different languages used by the SABC can be used — consult with local leaders."

Most intriguing are the suggestions as to how the present white membership can go out and recruit: "Combat tension and suspicion among potential members through personal contact ... relaxed, friendly social intercourse with potential supporters (the human touch) ... identify the leaders in the different communities — well-intentioned ministers, teachers, business leaders and other leading figures — and make them part of the NP's activities ... show interest in sporting activities."

It would be interesting to know how, in the present political climate, Nat members from the Roodepoort, Sandton and Vereeniging branches feel about the prospect of door-to-door canvassing in Dobsonville, Alexandra and Boipatong. The document does vaguely acknowledge such fears: "It must clearly be

stated that intimidation will not be tolerated ... " But Nat branches are strongly encouraged to make their membership reflect the whole population.

The proposals may seem laughable at the moment — but so was the thought that Jan Smuts' United Party might be voted out of office in 1948. The National Party has for decades been among the world's most formidable electioneering machines — and its future opponents in the field, the ANC and the SACP, have no experience at all. If the violence is brought under control and a culture of tolerance can somehow be established, the Nat strategy may have to be taken seriously. ■

MASS ACTION FM 31/7/92

Ways of escape

The failure of mass action so far and growing concern that next week's planned general strike will push blacks further apart rather than unite them, is strengthening the hand of ANC moderates who are keen to get back to the negotiating table.

Added support for their position is expected within days — probably before the strike — when government discloses a new plan to get talks back on track. The package, finalised at a meeting of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials at a secret venue in the Transvaal bush last week, is believed to go further than ever towards meeting ANC demands for the transitional phase.

It is expected to include plans to cut government spending, in part by reducing the size of the bureaucracy; further beef up the maintenance of law and order; and provide for increased international participation in assisting with and monitoring the transition.

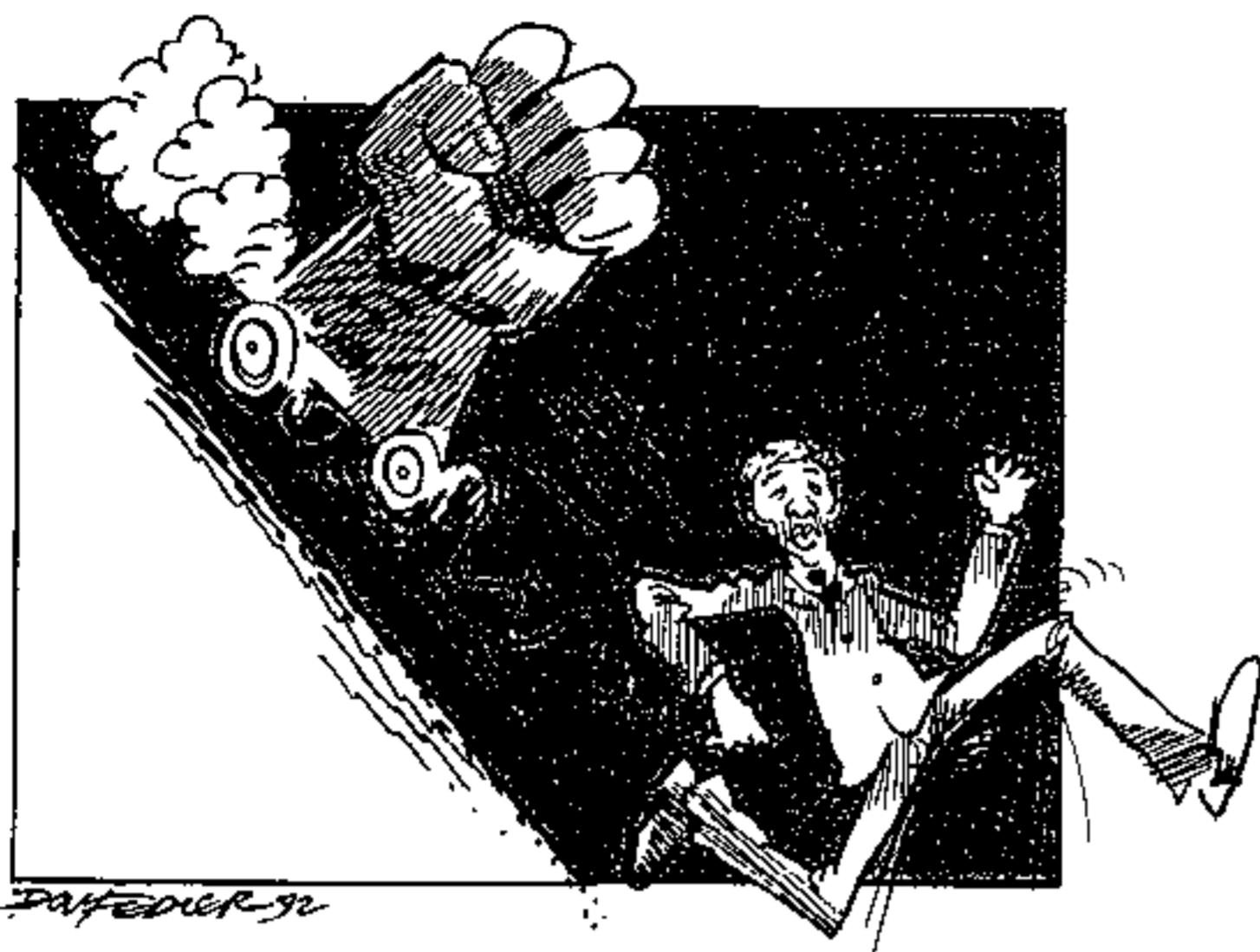
In addition, church leaders met government this week to put forward proposals for the resumption of negotiations and UN envoy Cyrus Vance continued wide-ranging

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TRANSNET TROUBLES

Transnet has asked the FM to point out that it did not regard the financial practices of the Railway Commuter Corporation as "market practice".

On July 3, the FM stated: "Transnet and other money market sources say that the financial investment procedures followed by the Commuter Corporation had been normal market practices."



talks aimed at breaking the logjam.

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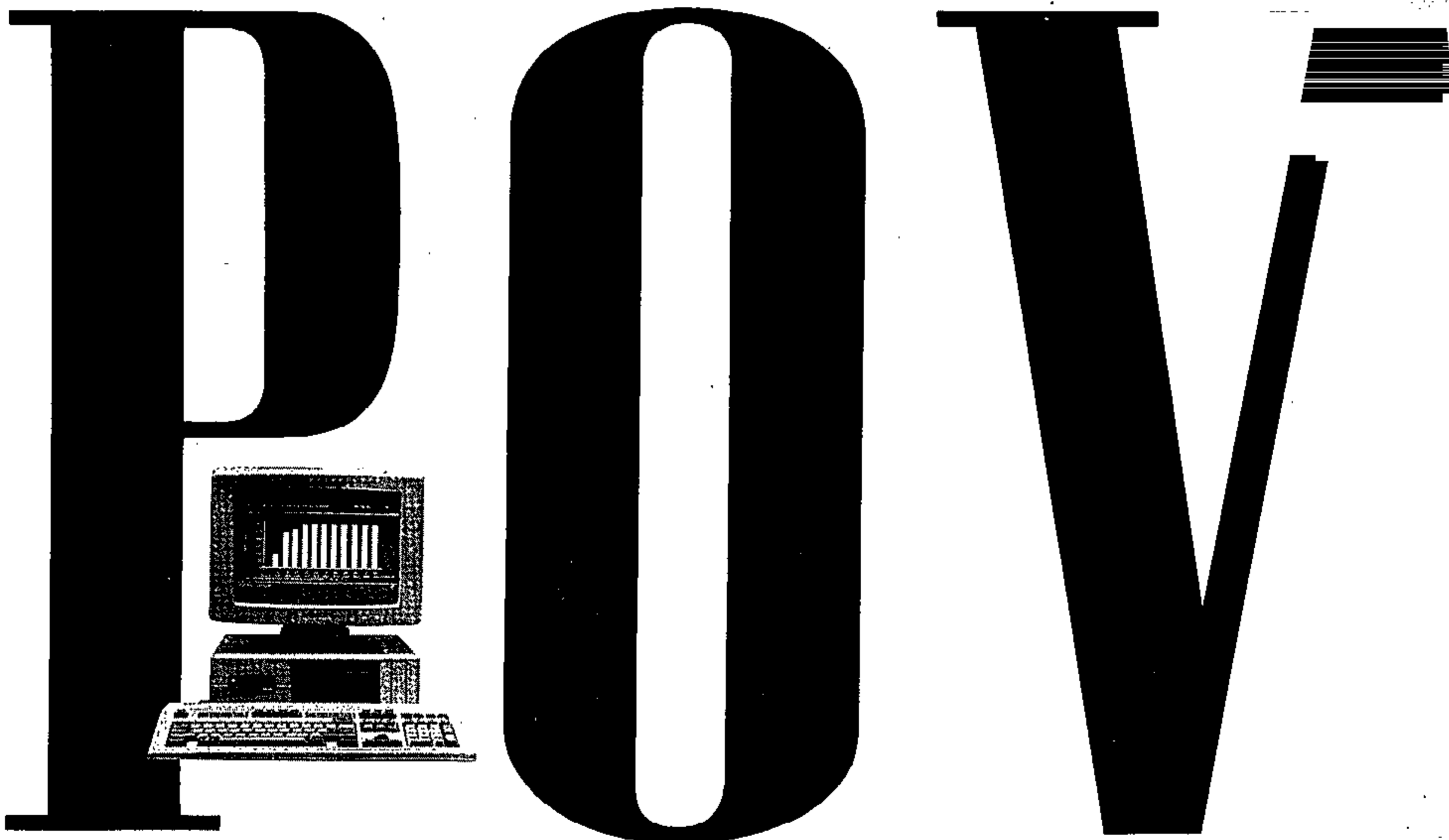
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NEWS Accused man killed his father in 1984 • Catholi

Nafcoc set on talks

Southern 3117192.

BLACK BUSINESS YESTERDAY COMMITTED itself to playing a major role in curbing violence and getting negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa back on track.

CONFERENCE DECISIONS Pledge to

help revive negotiations process:

This was one of the resolutions of the 28th annual conference of the National Federated Chamber of Commerce at Sun City in Bophuthatswana.

The conference condemned the violence currently gripping the country, adding that millions of rands had gone down the drain.

The outgoing president, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said black business must expect take part in efforts to resolve problems of South Africa.

The problems he identified included the political impasse, unemployment, poverty and the economy.

He said Nafcoc members should be seen to be playing a meaningful role in bringing about change in South Africa.

Nafcoc had taken part in attempts to formulate an economic policy for the country.

Motsuenyane said the mass action spearheaded by the African National

Congress and its allies would destroy the country's economy.

The newly elected president of Nafcoc, Mr Archie Nkonyeni, said the businessmen's organisation would have to play a major role in bringing about peace and stability to the country.

He said issues to be addressed included housing, education and the acquiring of skills and technology for the development of black business.

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ANC

Sawejan

304A

must change image

31/7/92

By MONK NKOMO

THE had arrived for the ANC to transform itself into a conventional political party and shed its image as a "violent organisation", Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel, said last night.

Addressing an international Press conference in Pretoria shortly after the Government had presented the ANC with a memorandum replying to its demands, Kriel accused the organisation of "blatant propaganda" in implicating government forces in the violence.

In the memorandum, State President FW de Klerk, said information received by the Government indicated that the South African Communist Party and Cosatu "have played a dominant role in redirecting the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontation which are inherent in mass mobilisation".

Kriel, who was accompanied by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, reiterated the Government's commitment to negotiations.

In reply to a question, Kriel stressed that the Government would not impose a State of Emergency as there were only a few "hot spots" of violence in the country.

The government wanted to meet the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss and resolve problems of violence. Referring to ANC's claim that the Government was involved in the orchestration of violent acts, Kriel said the ANC had a history of murdering innocent people.

The ANC, he added, was also well-known for its "barbaric necklance executions and total disregard of the consequences of mass action".

A way through the fog

FM 31/7/92

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THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert (*Penguin Forum Series, 107pp, R19,79*).

is impossible to summarise the content of a masterful book like this. It tangles with complicated political problems, but in a way that hides the grappling and seems to reveal only common sense.

Distilled from Slabbert's awesome grasp of academic theory and his considerable practical experience of politics and politicians, the book is both depressing and cheering.

Depressing when Slabbert notes that there is nothing inevitable about the achievement of democracy in SA: "Often one kind of domination is replaced by another. There are very few coups that do not use democratic rhetoric to legitimise their actions 'on behalf of the people' or 'for getting rid of a corrupt regime.'"

I thought of this when I was watching Cosatu's Jay Naidoo on the SABC's *Agenda* programme last Sunday. Naidoo appeared to be defending "mass action" on the grounds that the government is corrupt and must be overthrown.

"Surely we all agree with that?" was the question he seemed to be asking innocently. Well, yes and no; it's not so simple. Much of the resentment generated by the ANC/Cosatu/Communist leaders is not caused by their rhetoric, but what is disturbing is that they seem to believe it.

But, just as democracy is not inevitable, neither are revolution and chaos. "South Africa," asserts Slabbert, "is the largest graveyard of political predictions in the world. She has been condemned, cursed and dismissed more often than she has been understood. The complexity of her problems has undermined the confidence of many competent analysts."

Slabbert asks awkward questions which

should make the ANC uncomfortable — not because he is biased, but because the ANC is inheriting the problems.

He points out that, whatever happens, SA "is going to be a country run and administered largely by blacks. Can the State structure be run efficiently and competently to meet the needs of a democratic constitution? This is a far more serious challenge to democratisation than the agonising about a future constitution."



Slabbert

Like the scenario planners, Slabbert examines actions and omissions and their possible consequences. He is at pains not to make predictions. This is just as well: his book was overtaken both by the March referendum (which he deals with in a brief postscript) and the breakdown in Codesa. But these events only serve to illustrate the power and flexibility of his analysis.

It emerges more clearly than ever that our greatest problem will not be negotiations but meeting expectations. *David Williams*

A tall order

NATIONAL LIBERATION by Nigel Harris (*Penguin, 285pp, R24,95*).

This book combines a full-length study of nationalism with the demand that nations should, in the interest of economic growth, be prepared to accept completely unrestricted immigration.

This is a tall order, as it strikes at the root of what nations, in recent centuries, have conceived themselves to be and which has been endorsed by important thinkers.

The philosopher Rousseau proclaimed the nation, as a body of persons, invoked "the right of every people to express its national character through the exercise of political sovereignty in a government of their own."

A people to whom this right was denied was entitled to wage a struggle, if necessary by arms, to achieve its national liberation. Mazzini, to whom Harris does not refer, believed harmony between nations would prevail once all such claims that were well-founded, were admitted.

A people as envisaged by Rousseau would normally be united by a supposed common descent from previous holders of their lands. Just as individuals inherited land by descent, so nations inherited not only land but values and traditions for which their ancestors fought.

Harris says — wrongly — that the Dutch were the first people in Europe to become a

true nation through a liberation struggle. The Swedes beat them to it by more than half a century.

The Dutch succeeded without setting in motion any liberation struggle against themselves. The Frieslanders spoke a quite different language but have never had any quarrel with the Dutch. In the words of a Frisian MP: "If I were to address parliament in Frisian, only the handful of Frisian members would understand a word I said. But I have the right to do so."

Like the Venetians before them, the Dutch were prepared to receive strangers into their midst who could contribute to their success, notably Jewish refugees from Portugal.

Harris shows how formidable nationalism has been as a competitor with other modes of thought. Neither the Tsars nor their communist successors won out against it. In theory, the Russian Revolution should have freed the national minorities — but in practice these had to wait for that Revolution to be reversed. The Marxist ideology may have been a tough nut to crack, but nationalism has proved to be tougher still.

At least one Marxist thinker tried to come to terms with this ideological clash: this was the Austro-Marxist, Otto Bauer. Bauer saw that the 1866 Compromise (*Ausgleich*) which placed Hungary on an equality with Austria had stimulated claims from the Czechs and others.

Bauer argued that to save the political and economic unity of the empire, each of its ethnic components should be given linguistic and cultural autonomy.

Harris shows nationalism to be a tragic British importation into India. At first Hindus and Muslims lived side by side in British India without communal violence, as they had done and continued to do in the Indian princely states. It was only in the state of shock caused by the Mutiny of 1857 that the British "came to choose religion as a key to the all-India principle of division." In 1857, Muslims and Hindus alike would have been astonished to learn that they belonged to separate nations. By 1947, Muslim leaders took this separate state to be self-evident and the massive antagonism between the two communities made partition inevitable.

Harris does not deal in any detail with the political changes that would be needed for the adoption of unrestricted immigration. He makes no mention of AIDS or of the need for restricting entry into a country to persons who constitute no serious health hazard.

Nor does he acknowledge that placing a check on unrestricted world population growth ought arguably to precede the dismantling of immigration controls. Another issue is that of unemployment in the country into which entry is desired.

The book is challenging rather than convincing. *Radford Jordan*

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Some books reviewed may not be readily available. If you have difficulty obtaining a title from a bookshop, we suggest you contact the publisher's representative. Prices can fluctuate due to exchange rates. The telephone number for both books reviewed this week is (code 011):
☐ Penguin — 496-1730.

Things fall apart, the CP cannot hold

THE rightwing hoo-hah that gathered momentum before the March referendum, rekindling long dormant Verwoerdian nightmares, has rapidly dissipated into nothingness.

The splintering and backbiting that characterises rightist politics is more evident than ever. A mere four months after the Conservative Party's pyrrhic Potchefstroom victory, the right is tearing its innards apart like a baboon that's been shot in the guts.

Immobilised by internal division over the "volksstaat" issue which is threatening to split the party in two, rumours of the impending resignation of leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, and a couple of scandals involving well-known MPs, the Conservative Party is in crisis. Some even say its on the way out.

This is despite the fact that the National Party, plagued by a series of far greater corruption-related scandals, an ailing economy and deadlocks at negotiations, has long since fallen out of favour again and referendum euphoria is distant history.

Analysts point to renewed, increased racial polarity brought on by the negotiations deadlock. Certainly the many more whites joining unemployment queues, losing all their savings in the Masterbond affair or being ripped off by other government corruption, no doubt regret they ever voted "yes" to reform.

Yet the CP is incapable of nurturing growing white disgust to its advantage. The triumphant clapping of hands at the impending general strike and expected cries of "You see what happens when you try to negotiate with a bunch of communists?", are nowhere to be seen. A few months ago the CP looked set to become the new government. Now, it's not even in a position to contest the Florida by-election in early August and has left it up to the politically insignificant Herstigte Nasionale Party to gauge the level of white rejection of reform.

The most compelling rightwing news since the referendum concerns the renegade activities of a couple of CP MPs.

●First, MP for Wonderboom Koos "Bomber" Botha, was arrested on April 29 on charges relating to the bombing of Hillview school in July last year, shortly after being expelled from the CP for his pro-negotiations stance. He then resigned from parliament as an "independent" after admitting his guilt.

w/maif 3117 - 6/8/92 (304A)
 Like an injured animal the rightwing is tearing itself apart over the 'volksstaat' issue.

PHILIPPA GARSON looks at the conservatives in crisis

●Barely had the dust began to settle over the bombing affair, when Ventersdorp MP Fanie van Vuuren was arrested on charges relating to the murder of his wife, Hermien. At the time of her murder — which seemed at first to be the work of robbers — Van Vuuren blamed the government's policies of allowing blacks in white areas. A cousin of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, Van Vuuren allegedly planned to run off with ex-army official Vicky Kellman, after taking out an insurance policy on his wife.

And since the Rand Show bomb blast in April, resulting in the arrest of seven rightwingers, there hasn't been a single show of force. AWB leader ET is back in the news over his alleged affair with journalist Jani Allen — triggering images of bare bottoms and holey underpants, rather than military prowess and rightwing "gevaar".

Meanwhile, the split within the CP is fast coming to a head as the party frantically pushes to resolve the crisis over the "volksstaat" debate, before its August 21 special congress.

This week a special committee of all executive members of the CP's provincial councils met in Bloemfontein, in an attempt to get hurried agreement on proposals relating to the volksstaat, which caused havoc at the CP's June 27 congress, and generated the need for the second August congress.

The aspirations of the "new right", led by Andries Beyers (recently elected MP for Potchefstroom), which has outlined boundaries for its volksstaat and are keen to start negotiating for it, are linked to those of a new rightwing pressure group, Eenheidskomitee 25, a united front think-tank comprised of about 50 influential right wingers across the spectrum (excluding the AWB), which has steadily been gaining influence since the referendum.

In May, several of the CP's "new right" joined the ranks of EK 25. The central figure in EK25 is ex-military intelligence general Tienie Groenewald.

At the June congress, the "new right", which is closer to the moderates in the extra-parliamentary arena



Portuguese patriot ... Jose Ferreira in full cry Photo: KEVIN CARTER

AWB wants 'cream of Europe'

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is set on drawing "the cream of the white people in Europe" into its ranks these days.

In his first public appearance since the Jani Allan courtroom saga, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche told a crowd of about 1 500 supporters in Turffontein's Portuguese hall that the creation of a new "volk" of whites with different origins was in the offing.

Among the AWB banners draping the hall were a couple with English and Portuguese slogans. AWB henchman Jose Ferreira, who leads his own Portuguese unit, addressed the crowd before Terre'Blanche. Speaking mostly in Portuguese he made an emotional appeal to all Europeans in this country to "stand together".

A row of sinister-looking armed men wearing black balaclavas, a

who support the boerestaat option than to "hardliners" within the CP, found surprising support for its volksstaat option, says right-wing expert Jan Taljaard.

contingent of the AWB's elite military unit, the Iron Guard, stood to attention in front of the speakers throughout the rally.

The AWB's tigerish leader, greeted with rousing cheers and an enthusiastic banging of drums, lashed out at the witnesses in the London libel case, calling them "all liars", who had caused great harm to his mother, wife and child.

He slated former AWB secretary Kays Smit, who recently gave evidence in support of allegations that Terre'Blanche had an affair with Allan, as a traitor and a thief. Smit not only hated his country, but had also stolen an AWB car radio, claimed Terre'Blanche.

In an earlier, more militant speech AWB commandant-general Servaas de Wet accused the government and the "liberal press" of trying to destroy the AWB. "They cannot destroy the Afrikaners," he said.

Before the March referendum the faction saw itself as representative of a mere 10 percent within the party but, after the June congress, discovered that support for its ideas of getting on

with the process of negotiating for a much-reduced volksstaat with fixed boundaries had grown to about 40 percent. At the very least, a growing proportion of CP members seemed eager to put their weight behind a concrete goal and discard the idea of using existing parliamentary channels to secure white self-determination in most of the country.

Nominated MP Clive Derby-Lewis, who backs the CP "hardliners" led by Ferdi Harzenburg and Schalk Pienaar, says the only division plaguing the CP is a strategic one. The majority in the party is not against the separate state option, but believe the new right has simply seized on the idea of a small volksstaat without consulting its constituencies. "They are blocking things at the moment. On what basis do they accept that territory?"

"That territory" constitutes a large part of the Free State and Transvaal, and save for Pretoria, excludes the PWV area.

Derby-Lewis says the CP must first ascertain where most of those whites wanting their own homeland are situated, before drawing the boundaries.

He claims that another united front of rightists, the Blankeregsvolksfront "who believe in the self-determination of whites and don't accept a small white homeland", is far more influential than EK 25.

In Taljaard's view, the "new right", with increased confidence, is now set on taking over the party, rather than breaking from away from the "hardliner" camp.

Taljaard, like many others, believes that the ageing Treurnicht — whose tenuous leadership seems to be holding the two factions together — won't last out the year and will either resign at the August congress or at a special parliamentary sitting in October. However, given the "hardegat" sentiment bekown to rightists, Treurnicht may show resistance in the face of growing pressures to resign.

Potchefstroom political analyst Donald Simpson says: "The party cannot hold together without him. The choice of a new leader will split the party into 'soft' and 'hard' factions headed by Andries Beyers and Schalk Pienaar respectively." Simpson predicts that the Florida by-election is a "no-hope in every way for the right" and may provide the "adrenalin for a split between Beyerists and those supporting Pienaar".

Simpson predicts the HNP could lose the by-election "disastrously".

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992 - AUGUST.

Action stations' for the DP

■ A nonracial election within 12 months — that is the target set by the Democratic Party for plans under the spotlight at its Western Cape congress today.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is to set up an action plan today to expand its support base to all communities in the Western Cape.

The aim is to set the party on an election footing for the country's first nonracial parliamentary elections — expected by the DP to be held within the next 12 months.

The action plan — and the DP's future role — are among major issues under discussion in Mowbray today at

the annual congress of the party's Cape Western region.

The plan will include a recruiting drive and a major fundraising campaign.

Western Cape DP chairman Mr Jasper Walsh told Weekend Argus:

"We reject the notion that all South Africans support either the establishment or the liberation camp.

"We believe that neither of these groupings appeals to tens of thousands of people who will be left without a political home.

"Many of these people belong in the Democratic Party.

"We are firmly committed to expanding our support and influence among all people in this region.

"Our specific aim is to obtain majority support in the next election."

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...all times and were not only relevant to the current salmonella outbreak.

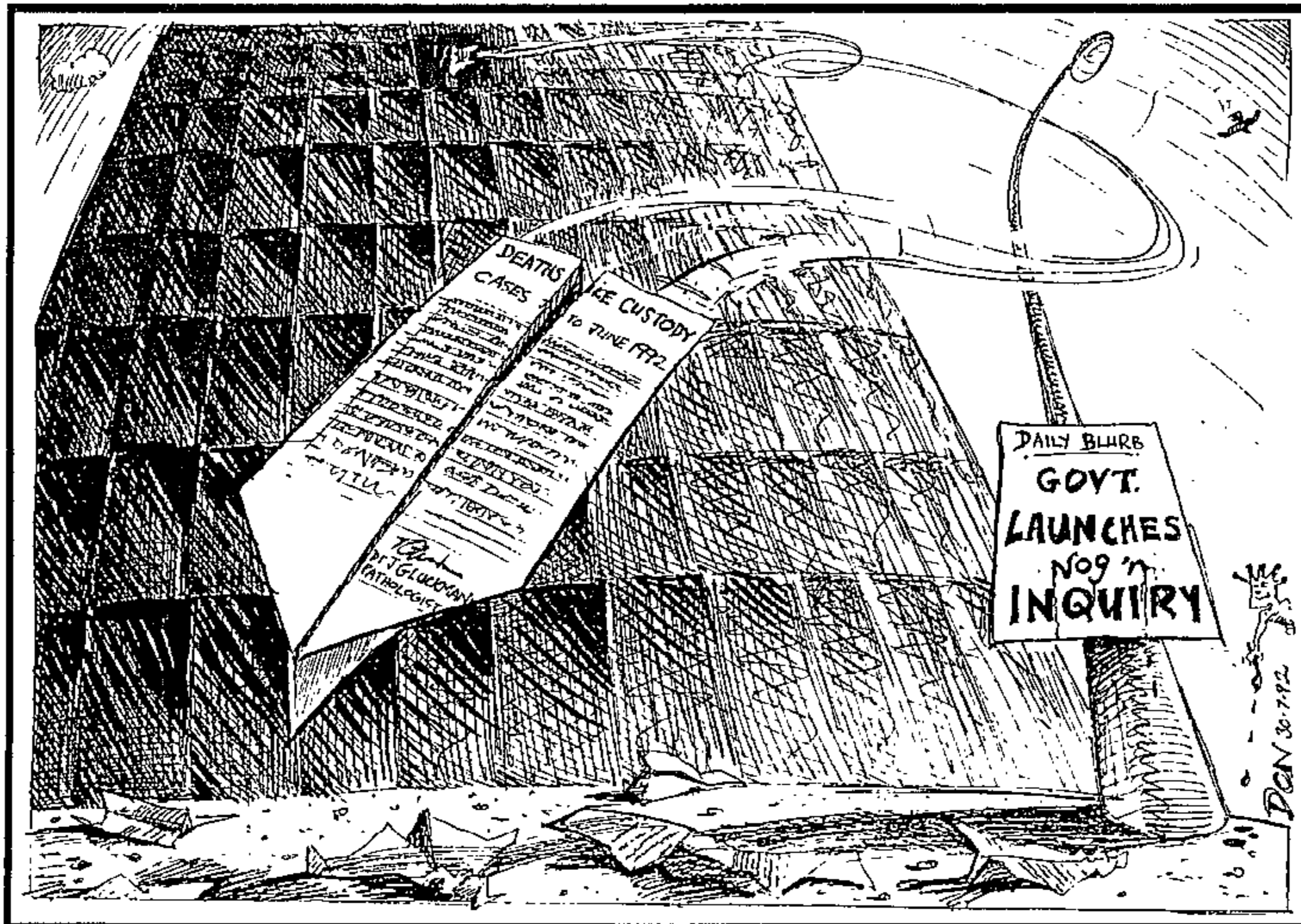
MARTIN SHORT - D

Cape, says Cape Town medical officer of health,

braai-ing it as it is often half-cooked on the inside.

...all times and were not only relevant to the current salmonella outbreak.





MY VIEW

SOUTH Associate Editor **Peter Vale**, Director of the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape

SOUTH 118-5/8/92

304A

I spent last week in Tanzania as a guest of the Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar-es-Salaam.

Same, as they might say in a Western, is not the kind of place you would wish on your mother-in-law. It is a desolate truck-stop midway between Moshi at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro and Korogwe on the road to Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

In the searing East African heat, Same seems a little like the surface of the moon: fine dust and endless craters stretching out to the horizon.

When I first looked over Same's landscape, a Tanzanian colleague pressed a Coke in my hand. He seemed to feel instinctively what I was thinking.

"You see," he said, "we, too, have paid a hell of a price for the ending of apartheid. This place should have been developed but we have tried to give as much support to you as we could. It has cost us dearly, as you can see, but all foreign policy should rest on principle."

Despite the sheer hopelessness, that day in Same I learnt one of the strongest lessons an analyst of international affairs can.

In Tanzania this sacrifice seems set to continue until there is an interim government in South Africa. As Ahmed Hassen Diria, the country's foreign minister, said in a recent interview: "Why should we be in a hurry? If we have waited for 32 years, we can wait for another 20."

This modulated position is conspicuously at odds with Tanzania's northern neighbour, Kenya, which over the past three years has established close ties with South Africa. The intensity of these links was symbolised, of course, by President FW de Klerk's visit to Kenya during 1991 and the reciprocal visit by Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi to Cape Town last month.

As the global order has changed over the past three years, the international cry for pragmatism has been powerful. This view argues that the end of ideology (as we understood it during the Cold War) means the end of history, to use the term coined by American analyst Francis Fukuyama.

So, solutions to complex human and



'We too have paid a hell of a price for the ending of apartheid. This place should have been developed but we have tried to give as much support to you as we could. It has cost us dearly, as you can see, but all foreign policy should rest on principle'

political problems are to be found along the carefully-crafted contours established by, at best, development experts and, at worst, accountants.

The potency of this position and its global appeal seems well understood by those who have traditionally made South Africa's foreign policy. Their argument is as economically sound as it is simple to understand — South Africa is close to most African countries; it is also more technologically developed than these countries.

It makes perfect sense for African states, therefore, to trade with South Africa, especially during a time when wider international

changes — particularly the World Bank's policy of structural adjustment — have made things more difficult for individual African countries.

And yet, Tanzania seems capable of resisting the urge to take this, the easiest, option.

In Arusha last week, foreign minister Diria returned again to the theme of political change in South Africa.

He seemed to gently chide his Kenyan neighbours by saying: "Meaningful co-operation in Southern Africa is only possible after apartheid has ended. We reaffirm our unconditional political, diplomatic and material support for the anti-apartheid forces."

In Africa an intense struggle is taking place. In a narrow sense, it turns on the question of links with Pretoria, distinguishing those states which have opted for the dominant pragmatic view, who are co-operating with South Africa irrespective of political outcomes. These are arrayed against those, like Tanzania, who argue principle over pragmatism.

But in a wider sense, the contest is between two approaches to the emerging world order. One is a utilitarian view which judges economic expedience greater than political purpose: the accountant, it suggests, is wiser than the philosopher.

And against this is a view which regards the present international moment not as history's end, but only as a turn in the endless cycle of events in which people are ultimately more important than profits.

Although the great weight of South Africa's present struggle is focused on domestic questions — the breakdown in negotiations, mass action and the like, democratic South Africans will increasingly be called upon to make a series of international choices. Not the least of these will be which of the two sides of the new global divide we will choose.

Let there be no mistake, it will not be an easy decision to make.

The spectre of Same's gnarled countryside and wasting people will make the temptation to go the easy route

Using democracy to avoid chaos

C/paper 2/8/92

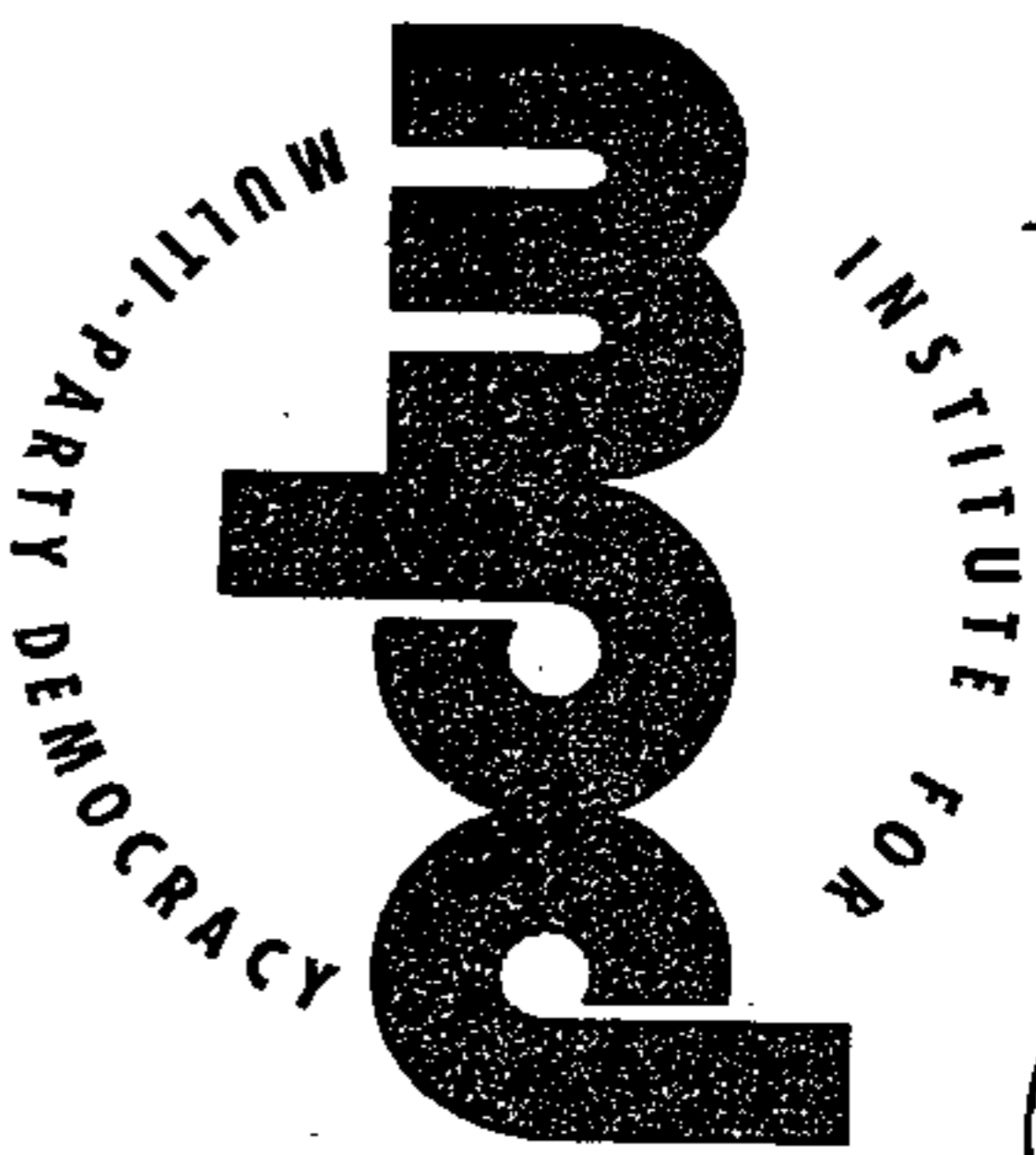
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IMAGINE for a moment a home in which there are no roles defined for the father, the mother and the children and where every family member does what he/she wants to do.

Now imagine a country where there are no rules, regulations or procedures which regulate the conduct of citizens and where there is no parliament to make laws, no local government to provide services like water and electricity, no police force to protect citizens and no courts to punish those who endanger the lives and well-being of fellow citizens.

In both these cases, chaos would be the order of the day and conflict would result.

To avoid this chaos and conflict, countries are therefore governed by constitutions – either written or unwritten – which stipulate what the



This is the fourth in a series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy such as 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 procedure.

■ The third tier: which is in charge of local affairs like the administration of towns and cities through city councils or town boards.

Every head of state on assuming office is expected to swear an oath that he will uphold and defend the constitution of his country. Similarly, citizens are expected to respect the constitution of the country.

government and citizens can and cannot do and how they should go about doing what they are allowed to do.

Most constitutions divide the government of the country into three main divisions, namely:

1. Legislative division: whose function is to make laws, through an elected parliament.
2. Executive division: whose function is to carry out (or execute) laws through an execu-

tive council or cabinet.

3. The Judicial division: whose function is to punish those citizens who break the laws, through the courts. In some democracies, this division also ensures that the government continues to govern in terms of the constitution and does not deprive citizens of their legitimate rights as spelled out in the Bill of Rights.

The constitution also spells out various tiers or

levels of government, through which the country will be governed. Usually there are three tiers of government, namely:

1. The first tier: which is in charge of national affairs like finance, foreign affairs, defence, minerals, energy etc.
2. The second tier: which is in charge of provincial affairs like roads, traffic, parks, recreation, health etc.

Constitutions are normally difficult to amend and most constitutions stipulate that they can only be amended by a two thirds majority of members of parliament.

A constitution is normally written out according to clauses and sub-sections to make it easy for those who use it to refer to clauses and sub-sections instead of pages.

CP expected to split this week

304A

CT 3/8/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Irreconcilable policy differences in the CP will lead to a split this week with at least five members of the "new right" in the party forming a new non-racial Afrikaner Nationalist party ready to join constitutional negotiations.

The behind-the-scenes conflict in the party, which the five signatories of a document entitled "The Road Ahead" say is paralysing the party, finally bubbled into public at the weekend when party secretary Mr Andries Beyers called for a change in CP policy.

His speech to the Transvaal Youth Congress at Naboomspruit was hard-hitting and very critical of the old guard of the CP, claiming they spent too much time criticising and opposing other parties without concentrating on where the CP was going.

He called for a smaller Afrikaner homeland, understood to be a non-racial Afrikaner-domi-

Talks: Youths defy leaders

THE Transvaal Youth Council of the Conservative Party could still be disbanded this week after youth leaders declared their support for the new vision for right-wingers expressed by the MP for Potchefstroom, Mr Andries Beyers.

Mr Beyers spoke out in favour of negotiations with all parties on self-determination for the Afrikaner at a

youth meeting in Naboomspruit on Saturday.

The new chairman of the Transvaal youth council, Mr Moolman Mentz jun, has been asked by the chief secretary of the CP, Dr Lem Theron, to withdraw the declaration of support.

Mr Mentz refused and the majority of youth council members supported his action in a vote. — Sapa

nated region in a federal structure.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht immediately repudiated Mr Beyers's position and announced that a special executive meeting had been called for Thursday to admonish and probably expel Mr Beyers.

However, Mr Beyers got strong support from Free State leader Mr Cehill Pienaar, who said: "There are no legal grounds to expel Andries Beyers and I will fight for him at the executive. And if he is in trouble for what he said at the weekend then so am I

as a signatory to that document and so be it."

Other signatories to the document are Mr Rosier de Ville (MP Standerton), Mr Moolman Mentz (MP Ermelo), Mr Chris de Jager (MP Bethal) and Mr Beyers.

It is understood that the five will meet on Wednesday to evaluate their position in the party and they will leave the CP as the old guard still has too much support among the hierarchy of the party.

However, they have had substantial support for their position document among city councillors and officials and the grassroots.

Amcham setting up regional network

THE American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) is setting up branches in Swaziland, Namibia, Botswana and Mozambique and changing its name to the American Chamber of Commerce in Southern Africa.

Executive director Michelle Cohen said yesterday the chamber was no longer an exclusively SA body. Its role was to facilitate trade and investment throughout the region in a neutral manner.

Affiliation would give members "more voice with government at home and

abroad", Cohen said. The US community had approached Amcham because it felt affiliation with the chamber would be a useful way of gaining greater leverage locally and regionally, and promote US trade and investment.

Fifteen US businesses were joining the chapter and would mount a membership drive to recruit more companies.

Blow 3/7/92 30

SHARON WOOD

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P.T.O

CP faces 'new right' split

B1047 3/8/92
POLICY differences in the CP will lead to a split this week, with at least five members of the party's "new right" forming a new nonracial, Afrikaner nationalist party ready to join constitutional negotiations.

The conflict in the party, which the five signatories of a document titled "The Road Ahead" say is paralysing the party, burst into the open at the weekend when party secretary Andries Beyers called for a change in CP policy.

His speech to the Transvaal Youth Congress at Naboomspruit was critical of the CP's old guard, claiming it spent too much time opposing other parties without concentrating on where the CP was going.

He called for a smaller Afrikaner homeland, understood to be a nonracial Afri-

kaner-dominated region in a federal structure. He said the CP should join negotiations to draft the regional boundaries.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht immediately repudiated Beyers' position and announced that a special executive meeting had been called for Thursday to enable Beyers to explain his position.

However, it is expected that Beyers will be admonished and probably expelled.

Beyers got strong support from Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, who said: "There are no legal grounds to expel Andries Beyers and I will fight for him at the

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BILLY PADDOCK

CP split

B1047 3/8/92
executive. If he is in trouble for what he said at the weekend, then so am I as a signatory to that document."

Other signatories to the document are Rosier de Ville (MP Standerton), Moolman Mentz (MP Ermelo), Chris de Jager (MP Bethal) and Beyers.

It is understood the five will be meeting on Wednesday, to evaluate their position in the party, and will leave the CP because the old guard still has too much support among the party's hierarchy.

However, they have had substantial support for their position document from city councillors, officials and grassroots members, especially since the referendum defeat. They expect many of them to leave the party and join them.

One of the signatories said it was a waste of time to battle with legal technicalities at the executive on Thursday. "We have reached the point where we cannot stay in the party. We are through with the HNP resurrection within the CP," he said.

He said it had been agreed that the five signatories would walk out of the party rather than wait for the executive decision.

It was senseless to remain in Parliament as independents, because the chief whip did not sufficiently recognise independents.

They would form a new party, possibly bringing in Overvaal MP Koos van der

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Merwe, who was expelled for similar reasons earlier this year.

Another of the "new right" members said there was a lot of sympathy among NP members, even in Parliament, for the creation of a party that represented Afrikaner interests.

Another senior CP MP said: "If the CP won't become the bearer of Afrikaner interests, then a bearer will have to be found." There was certainly no plan to join up with the NP.

The new group would look to join the constitutional negotiations to argue for a federal structure for SA divided into 10 regions. One of these would be a nonracial, Afrikaner-dominated region which could develop into a state in 20 to 40 years' time. The five submitted their document to the national congress of the party late in June, and after heated argument it was referred to a committee consisting of the provincial executives. The committee, which met last week, rejected the document.

Pienaar said the CP did not have a policy on the issue of a smaller homeland and therefore could not legally expel Beyers.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday hailed Beyers' speech as a significant development and said a split would come within weeks. The referendum had placed the CP in a dilemma, where it realised its policies had no future.

DP confident of W Cape poll win

By BARRY STREEK

A BUOYANT Democratic Party is convinced that it will be the majority party in the Western Cape after South Africa's first free elections.

The party would ensure that the region was DP territory, the MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, told delegates to its regional congress over the weekend.

A number of DP MPs expressed confidence about the party's future in a democratic SA, and the DP revealed a R13-million funding drive to put it in a position to contest the elections, which it expects within the next 12 months.

The optimistic mood in the party contrasts with the expectations of most

observers that the first democratic election will be a fight-out between the ANC and the NP. But the upbeat spirit is a reflection of the growing feeling within the party that many South Africans will not want to vote for either of the two major parties, particularly in the Western Cape.

Mr Bester said the nature of the party was changing fundamentally and it was now a very different DP.

At its recent national youth congress, which he attended, more than 60% of the delegates were not white.

Party's election debt wiped out

THE Democratic Party in the Western Cape has wiped out a R700 000 debt — and the party is to seek foreign aid to help reach its R13 million election target.

The DP's debt in the region, which at one stage cost almost R12 000 a month in interest, was caused by the 1989 election campaign.

Its outgoing regional treasurer, Mr Rolf Schmidt, told the party's Western Cape congress over the weekend that the DP was now over the debilitating milestone of debt. (SOLYA)

CT 3/8/92

Mandela

gress which together with its labour organisations oppose the planned stayaway, claimed that the ANC was already intimidating people into supporting the strike; Cape townships were relatively quiet.

● A United Nations "A-team" of observers fanned out over the country to observe the mass action — the UN representative who will be based in Cape Town is Ms Joan Seymour of Britain.

It was learnt that in his talks with the businessmen Mr Mandela had informed them of the ANC's desire for the early establishment of an interim government of national unity — an issue to which UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance is understood to have devoted a great deal of attention.

An ANC source said Mr Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were no dismissals today and tomorrow events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions.

An ANC statement late last week claimed that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather they would adopt a "no work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy".

Business sources denied this last night, however, and said that in talks with Mr Mandela, many of the business leaders had insisted on reserving their right to take disciplinary action. This was not because they expected large-scale mass dismissals — they generally had no intention of dismissing workers.

The feeling was that if business waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways as often as they liked without fear of penalty. This could not be countenanced.

"Everyone knows it will be a long hard march to democracy, and there will be many disputes and therefore occasions when people may want to use their right to stay away. For business to accept this would put us on the road

Mandela's new offer on Codesa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has made it clear to top businessmen that he envisages an early return to the negotiating table provided that mass dismissals do not occur during this week's stayaway.

Mr Mandela has met about 30 of the country's top businessmen in Johannesburg.

And in spite of taking a hard line with the government on ANC demands in an SABC-TV interview last night, he proclaimed his confidence in a negotiated future for South Africa.

Replying to questions on his relationship with President F.W. de Klerk, Mr Mandela said that in spite of "hiccups" in ANC dealings with the government, great progress had already been made towards a future settlement.

His tone differed markedly from recent accusations by the ANC against the government and remarks Mr Mandela himself has made about Mr De Klerk.

After a speech at Driefontein

in the Transvaal yesterday, Mr Mandela told journalists that it was not the aim of mass action to cause insurrection.

"All we want to do is to pressure the government into accepting an interim government and democratic elections."

He added: "If the government showed signs of good faith, the ANC would return to Codesa."

On the eve of the ANC's mass action strike today:

● Mr Mandela confirmed SACP leader Mr Chris Hani's stunning statement that the ANC was experiencing major problems with out-of-control self-defence units which fomented violence and terrorised black communities.

● The Pan-Africanist Con-

To page 3

to perdition," a top business source said.

It was possible that, even if there were no or few dismissals, other forms of disciplinary action could be applied extensively. This was particularly the case where special arrangements had not been negotiated between management and workers.

In many establishments, special arrangements had been made which involved taking leave, adjusted and/or short shifts, extra week-end work to compensate for time lost and, in industries where this was necessary, the performance of emergency work during the stayaway.

Mr Mandela had also implicitly expressed the view that business should be more flexible given his and the ANC's softer line on matters such as nationalisation and, more recently, his slapping down of the bond boycott proposed by the SA National Civics Organisation.

CODESA ON STRIKE

Cape women plan charter

Political Staff

A MULTIPARTY alliance, which includes the ANC and the Democratic Party, is to launch a women's charter in the Western Cape this month. (304A)

The charter will be released at a rally in Salt River on Sunday, August 16.

A member of the DP's women's forum, Ms Lois Harley, told the party's regional congress at the weekend that the alliance was mobilising support throughout the Western Cape for the charter. CT 3/8/92

Unity can resolve the crisis

STAR 3/8/92.

3044

THE article by R.W. Johnson in The Star of July 27 is a well-constructed distortion of the purpose and content of the ANC-led Campaign for Peace and Democracy. He meticulously constructs straw dolls and then sets about demolishing them.

His arguments revolve around three assumptions:

● "Radicals" in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu see the campaign as a build-up to insurrection.

● These "planners" of the campaign have either roped in or marginalised the rest of the ANC leadership.

● As the campaign unfolds, these "radicals" are getting cold feet.

South African society has been subjected to enough of such equivocation in recent Government utterances, let alone in the P.W. Botha era.

For a "visiting professor" from Oxford who has never hidden his disdain for the anti-apartheid struggle, Johnson can be forgiven his views on the efforts to resolve the national crisis. But seen against the backdrop of his recent tirade against the Weekly Mail

and New Nation in the same column, his consistency would leave the likes of Jimmy Kruger cold. And there are not a few of them in the apartheid establishment.

South Africans view the current crisis with little humour. The Boipatong tragedy and the subsequent ANC decision to break off negotiations are the bursting of a festering sore.

Most people wish to do something to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. This is because violence affects the lives of ordinary people as much as it impacts on investor confidence and worker productivity. A prolonged transition is as unacceptable to victims of apartheid as it is a red signal of uncertainty to investors. Add to this reports about continued killings in detention, a spiralling crime rate and corruption in Government circles — and you will understand why decent South Africans want speedy movement to the "new South Africa".

The innovative attempts by sectors of civil society — Cosatu, Saccoca and the SACC — to adopt a Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy is one

flicker of the all-in desire to find workable solutions to the crisis.

It may not be possible yet for these forces to find one another on the actions needed to realise common principles. But this should not detract from the agreement on a constitution-making body that is unfettered save for broad constitutional principles, measures to address the violence and proposed socio-economic programmes.

The NP continues to procrastinate and fudge the issues on violence. In constitutional negotiations it still seeks minority vetoes. It wants to impose federalism from the boardrooms of the unelected body that Codesa is. And it prefers a long transition in which it will essentially be in control.

This behaviour fuels the perception that the NP is still bent on underhand methods and "dirty tricks" to weaken its opponents.

If nothing is done to clear this logjam, the frustrations among victims of apartheid will boil over, whether the ANC undertakes mass action or not. If South Africans who want peace and democracy do not act, perpetrators of

violence will perceive this as a licence to continue their campaign. It would be tragic for anyone to recoil from these principles simply because the NP does not approve.

The ANC and its allies have adopted methods they deem most effective in the situation: peaceful mass action and mobilisation of international solidarity with the democratic process.

Their campaign is not premised on some hidden agenda: "a sort of demonstrator's version of 'permanent revolution'" (as Johnson refers to rolling mass action), insurrection or the Leipzig option. The ANC believes united action by South Africans and the international community is capable of compelling the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There has indeed been debate among the ANC and its allies about the purpose and character of the campaign. We would not embark on a campaign of this magnitude without a clear conception about its destination. Such robust debate is critical in the formulation of balanced policy. The disservice Johnson does to readers

is to raise individual views — distorted by his sources — to the level of policy. Yet when policy is so articulated by people he seeks to demonise as "radicals", he elects to interpret it as a sign of "cold feet".

The Week of Action starting today is one high watermark in the campaign. No one has attributed to it the status of be-all and end-all in the process. If the demands are not met, even more decisive actions will be undertaken.

What is not "unprecedented" in the campaign is that actions around community and other grievances will continue, whether or not there is Codesa or even an ANC government. If this is "a demonstrator's version of Trotsky's permanent revolution", then Trotsky's adherents run into billions, including picketers against abortion in the US, French farmers and British doctors.

The UN Security Council resolution that Johnson refers to as a push on the ANC to resume negotiations in fact calls for Government action to end the violence and recalls the UN declaration which urged for negotiations "in a

climate free of violence". The UN special representative is meant to investigate measures to end the violence in order to help "in creating conditions for negotiations..."

Perhaps, like the Government, Johnson has not yet been jolted by these developments. In his view, "much of the conviction has gone from the mass action campaign". Certainly the organisers of the campaign can do better. But his calculation is dangerous because it is premised on the belief that those at the receiving end of apartheid terror will one day tire of struggling.

The ANC will indeed return to negotiations. But this will happen only if the Government takes practical steps to address the violence and accepts a democratic constitution-making process. When — and not if — this happens, there will be jubilation not only within the ANC or among its supporters; but also among all those who did not shun their responsibility when their country required of them simply to take a stand. □

● The author is a member of the ANC national working committee and editor of *Mayibuye*.

MP: Mass action 'will hurt ANC'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC's mass action campaign would work against the organisation because it was daily invoking the spectre of the tyranny of the majority, the Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said at the weekend.

The ANC was trying to consolidate its following with its mass action campaign but was creating a deep-seated anti-ANC vote "as strong and as deep-seated as anti-apartheid sentiments always have been", she said.

Speaking at the national conference of Student Representative Councils in Stellenbosch she said the National Party could not accept it might no longer be part of the system.

"Once you remove the power and patronage, it will shrink into a quite modest party machine."

"There were signs during the referendum early this year that the mighty NP machine had begun to derail at the mere prospect of running out of gravy."

Ms Smuts said the ANC on the other hand could not snap out of the struggle mode.

Progress in negotiations could be slow, as caution and mistrust was in the air, in stark comparison to the wave of goodwill that washed across the country in 1990.

"That wave sprang from what is often called the reservoir of goodwill between South Africans, despite our sad history."

"The goodwill, the glue, is there because we all need each other."

South African politics could not be allowed to repolarise into two huge alliances, roughly system and struggle, because the result would be permanent conflict.

● DP confident of W Cape vote — Page 2

(304A) CT 3/8/92

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Hundreds at MK funeral

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Hundreds of ANC supporters attended the funeral of uMkhonto weSizwe member Mr. Mbusiso Mkhize, who was gunned down with four of his friends in a shoot-out with police at Isipingo Hills about two weeks ago.

Police said Mr Mkhize was wanted for numerous murders including those of policemen.

Addressing supporters including ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala in the Lamontville Community Hall on Saturday, Southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Hadebe said Mr Mkhize had distinguished himself in the struggle for liberation.

He said Mr Mkhize had experienced the "cold-blooded murder" of his father, Mr Siphosiso Mkhize, a prominent Umbumbulu businessman, by members of the KwaZulu Police.

CT 3/8/92

Cosatu brews a lethal cocktail

w/mant 317-917192.

Infuriated by the lack of progress at Codesa, Cosatu has designed an explosive package of action to break the labour and political deadlock.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) this week announced an explosion of mass action plans including city centre occupations, sit-ins at government buildings, factory occupations and a boycott of PAYE tax, leading to a general strike on August 3.

This lethal cocktail is a vote of no confidence in the quiet cognac of percentages and transitional executive councils that characterised Codesa.

Cosatu is demanding a "simplified and less protracted Codesa" mandated only to "establish the mechanism to get us to free and fair elections", said Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

Until this is guaranteed, the federation will not give its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, the thumbs-up to resume negotiations.

The federation outlined its plans after a "living wage" conference on Monday which was given the status of a central executive committee meeting, the second-highest decision making body in Cosatu, in order to pass decisions immediately.

Cosatu's plans are a vindication for those in the federation who pushed hard for non-participation in Codesa. Instead, the labour movement has now taken control of the process and will make the other alliance partners toe its line.

For one, they are demanding greater grassroots participation in negotiations.

Already, the SACP is planning consultations around the country canvassing what the rank-and-file are saying and thinking about Codesa. And Cosatu is holding meetings in every local, regional and national office drumming up support for its mass action and "Exitgate" campaign.

Cosatu will also reassess its participation in the National Peace Accord at the end of July, saying "it is difficult to sit with people like Thembu Khoza and Colonel Gouws who were implicated in the violence".

The federation is planning a range of local and regional action to tilt the balance of power in favour of the alliance. These include: consumer boycotts, the occupation of government buildings and campaigns for the reincorporation of the homelands. After the groundwork has been laid, the federation will spearhead a programme of factory shutdowns and occupations (with the cooperation of employers), marches, stayaways and



Massed for action ... Marches like last week's Numsa action through the streets of Johannesburg could escalate

Photo: GUY ADAMS

city centre occupations.

Cosatu also assessed and integrated the various economic demands of its affiliates in a "systematic and co-ordinated way" at the conference, spokesman Neil Coleman told *The Weekly Mail*.

These demands have brought thousands of workers on to the streets prior to the federation's plans. "There are key issues facing our people like unemployment, hunger and poverty wages," Coleman said, adding that "we can only involve the optimum number of workers if we take up their interests".

Naidoo also charged that Finance Minister Derek Keys, "is fitting into De Klerk's programme of restructuring" — alluding to the announcement of commercialisation of forestry and the airports by Keys this week.

While the federation had been encouraged by earlier meetings with Keys, he had since become "high-handed", said Naidoo. He had "refused point blank" to remove Value Added Tax on basic foodstuffs and would not consider lowering food prices.

The conference also affirmed its support for striking hospital and broadcast workers and threatened to "target" the Transvaal Provincial

Administration and the South African Broadcasting Corporation by next week if they did not take concrete steps to iron out the strikes.

Naidoo said that business had three options with regard to the mass action plans: "Stand in our way by instituting disciplinary measure, stand out of the way with a 'no work, no pay' policy or join us.

"When they voted in the referendum it was a vote for democracy, not for De Klerk," said Naidoo, encouraging business to support the federation's Campaign for Democracy.

From August, the labour movement will force either co-operation or confrontation with big business. It will demand that employers put all taxes into a "fund for a democratic South Africa" which will be spent only when a new government is in power.

Cosatu also said it had lost faith in an international presence consisting only of "friendly visits" by international agencies and endless fact-finding missions". Instead, they want international peace-keepers with more muscle which will give them powers of arrest and prosecution and the power to suspend security force operations.

CP hits at Beyers as split looms

CP 4/8/92

Political Staff

(304A)

TENSIONS in the Conservative Party continued to rise yesterday with the party issuing a statement criticising Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers, the party's former general secretary.

The party's Transvaal management committee meets on Thursday to discuss Mr Beyers's speech over the weekend at Naboomspruit which called for a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

Mr Beyers and four other CP MPs are expected to break from the party this week and form a new right-wing party to participate in negotiations.

The CP statement issued yesterday said the new chairman of the CP's Transvaal Youth Council had been asked to withdraw the declaration of support for Mr Beyers or state that it was only individual youth leaders who supported the MP.

However, Mr Beyers was not only endorsed by a majority at the congress but was given endorsement by youth and constituency branches of the party.

The four other MPs backing Mr Beyers are the CP's Free State leader, Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

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Probe into 'Koevoet action'

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THE police had launched a "high-level" investigation into ANC claims of continued Koevoet police action in the southeastern Transvaal, an SAP spokesman said yesterday. **B/DAY 4/8/92**

The investigation would be headed by Brig Floris Mostert, who was in charge of the specialised SAP units which were supported by former Koevoet members.

The probe followed weekend allegations by ANC president Nelson Mandela at a rally in the southeastern Transvaal town of Driefontein that members of the Koevoet police unit, which is at present being disbanded, had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday investigations by the organisation at this stage indicated that several policemen who "clearly could not speak any of the country's languages" had attempted to intimidate residents in the Driefontein area not to attend Sunday's rally.

The rally was held in commemoration of

STEPHANE BOTHMA

ANC member Saul Mkhize who was shot by police in 1984.

Mandela told the rally he would bring the matter to the attention of the Goldstone commission. A commission spokesman said yesterday it had not yet received a request to look into the matter.

Niehaus said the matter would definitely be referred to the commission.

The SAP Public Relations Directorate said police would establish the facts of the alleged Koevoet actions, and stressed that the process of disbanding the Koevoet unit was well under way.

Dissolving the unit took time because of administrative procedures, a spokesman said.

Koevoet was established in the former South West Africa as a police counter-insurgency unit but was withdrawn to SA after Namibia became independent.

Criticism of Koevoet tactics last month led President F W de Klerk to announce the disbanding of the unit.

Inkatha spurns idea of NP alliance

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha has spurned the possibility of forming an alliance with the NP "at this stage".

This follows indications in a weekend speech by Natal NP leader George Bartlett to the provincial head committee that the party was contemplating a broad anti-ANC front embracing Inkatha.

But yesterday Inkatha's Walter Felgate said that "at this stage we can't think of being allies" because, among other things, the NP was still ambiguous about federalism. **B/DAY 4/8/92**

Government talked about federalism but in its proposals for an interim and new constitution had not come up with a genuine federal model that devolved power from the regions upwards.

The NP proposal was "basically a unitary state with regionalism built in ... and that is very problematic as far as we

(304A) Political Staff

are concerned", said Felgate.

He also criticised government for holding bilateral talks with the ANC on constitutional issues and said this left other organisations uncertain as to what the NP's final model would look like.

Bartlett said the NP accepted a single Natal-KwaZulu state and a "future Natal constitution within a federal system must now receive our urgent attention".

The Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister said the time had come for "those who share common values and constitutional principles to openly meet together to plan for the future, the new constitution, the negotiation process and strategy".

Multiparty discussions between members of the anti-ANC front should start as soon as possible.

Treurnicht tries to stop CP split

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht yesterday moved to dampen the controversy raging in his party, which is threatened by a walkout of five MPs in the next two days.

Meanwhile Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers — who at the weekend made public the controversy and challenged CP policy in calling for a smaller Afrikaner homeland and negotiations with all parties — has claimed he is getting "overwhelming support" from fellow MPs and the public.

Treurnicht said he did not think the events at the Transvaal Youth Congress, where Beyers made his speech, would lead to a split. There were no grounds for a split and the CP hierarchy would try to talk the matter out. He said he would try to reconcile the parties this week and would meet Beyers before Thursday night's executive meeting. **B/DAY 4/8/92**

Treurnicht said the matter was not insurmountable. There was a basic agree-

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK

ment in principle between the two sides but misunderstandings had arisen.

Meanwhile the controversy has continued to rumble at lower echelons of the party with CP general secretary Lem Theron calling on Transvaal Youth Council chairman Moolman Mentz jnr to withdraw his declaration of support for Beyers.

Beyers' remarks were out of place, Theron said, and the CP was looking at the whole issue through the correct channels. An executive committee was considering the proposal by Beyers and four others and it would submit recommendations to the August 22 special congress in Kimberley.

But a source, who is planning to join the walkout this week, said the committee had met last week and had already made its decision to reject the proposals in the document "The Road Ahead".

● Comment: Page 8

... for a judgment ... chief ... were extrapolated

FW meets envoy Cohen

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen held talks with President F W de Klerk and other government officials yesterday.

Cohen is on a two-day "routine" trip to Africa, having arrived from Angola and Zaire on Sunday, a US Information Service official said. **304A**
Cohen is likely to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela and other ANC officials today.

The trip was not linked to the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, and the official said his arrival just before the start of the campaign was pure coincidence. **4/8/92**
A spokesman for the President's office was unable to confirm whether a letter sent by US President George Bush offering assistance in resurrecting political negotiations was discussed.
Cohen leaves this evening.

Talks on political prisoners continue

DISCUSSIONS between government and the ANC on the fate of political prisoners — the only issue still being discussed openly by the two — were continuing, spokesmen for both sides confirmed yesterday.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who held talks with government on the prisoners last week, said yesterday the discussions were continuing. And a Justice Department spokesman said Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was dealing with the matter which had reached a sensitive stage.

With mass action reaching its climax, there was little chance now of any resumption in constitutional negotiations, with government insisting it would not be pressed into making concessions and the ANC saying its demands had to be met before negotiations could restart.

However, talks on the prisoners could cover more than the fate of the actual prisoners themselves.

Government, in a memorandum issued after the ANC pulled out of Codesa, indicated that it wanted "one single agreement with a multilateral effect". It argues that it

has fulfilled its obligations in regard to political prisoners.

"What is now disputed is the release of a number of prisoners who have committed common law crimes such as murder and whom the government maintains fall outside the ambit of the agreed definition of political prisoners." The memorandum added that agreement had been reached at Codesa on a task group to consider the identification of prisoners who fall outside the current definition of political prisoner.

It went on to say that a new agreement with a multilateral effect needed to be finalised which included the lack of indemnity for senior ANC officials, the future of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the arms caches.

However, legal sources said an agreement on political prisoners who committed murder would have to extend to all those who committed murder for political gain, including security force members.

The Human Rights Commission says there are still 353 political prisoners.

PATRICK BULGER

NP leader hints at

5044

MG 4/8/92

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.— A broad front centred on the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party could be formed to fight the African National Congress in the first all-in democratic elections, Natal's NP leader, Mr George Bartlett, has hinted.

He also said the NP now accepted a "single Natal Kwazulu state".

Mr Bartlett's disclosures came in an address at the weekend to the NP's head committee in Durban. Extracts of his speech were released today.

Mr Bartlett said: "It is clear that the time has arrived for those who share common values and constitutional principles to openly meet together to plan the future, the new constitution, the negotiation process and strategy.

"Therefore, multi-party discussions by members of the present anti-ANC front must take place well before a future election. This will not only enhance the possibility of success at the polls but also give more time for this front to broaden itself by attracting still more parties to it."

At Codesa, the NP and IFP stood with Solidarity, the National People's Party, GwaQwa's Dikwankwella Party, Gazankulu's Ximoke Progressive Party and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Mr Bartlett also said that the NP accepted "a single Natal Kwazulu state". The details of "our future Natal constitution, within a federal system, must now receive our urgent attention".

He added: "We will in close collaboration with our Kwazulu neighbours and other people of Natal, investigate and negotiate an acceptable model for our province."

Black people were not the "useful idiots" that the ANC/SACP parties believed them to be. "The backlash is already beginning to become evident."

anti-ANC front

Federalism is the only way to go - IFP

Sowetan 24/8/92

(JJB) 3064A

HISTORICALLY THE aborted negotiations at Codesa represent the second time that this question has been a constitutional issue.

■ HISTORY LESSON Inkatha's

Alastair J Macauley gives pros of a federal constitution:

The first time was in the negotiations between the two Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and the Cape and Natal (which incorporated Zululand) self-governing colonies in 1910.

Natal surrendered its preference for federalism because it was persuaded that separate statehood within a federal structure would make the Orange Free State the poor relation in view of its then perceived lack of resources.

The discovery of untold wealth in the gold reefs of the Free State gold field still lay nearly 40 years into the future.

Thus the Act of Union was an act of faith in the creation of a unitary South Africa bringing together the two streams of Boer and Brit.

Fateful decisions

It was essentially government of, by and for the new white South African nation.

People of colour hardly counted in the equation and therefore like it or not, decisions vital to their future were made for them as though they were persons who were under guardianship.

Blacks today therefore, in rightly denying the legitimacy of the unitary state so created and its successor Republic and tricameral constitutions, are entitled to revisit the fateful decision which created the Union without their participation in 1910 and to reject the perpetuation of the basic unitary structure in favour of a federal structure.

Had the decision then been for a federation, it is undeniable that the history of South Africa would have been very different.

Afrikaner nationalism's drive for

domination over the whole of South Africa would have found a major stumbling block in Natal's predominantly English-speaking majority.

Economic development of the various provinces would, so the argument went, not achieve a balanced growth overall within a federal structure.

Economic research by Mr Peter Christensen of the Inkatha Institute has shown that central Government failed in this regard and in fact redistributed income from the poorer regions to the better off regions.

Could the realisation of such economic objectives ever have compensated for the ideologically inspired, Afrikaner nationalist, ethnic socialism, with its philosophic roots in pre-war Germany, which took flight in 1948 and which not only reduced people of colour to non-persons in so called white South Africa, but also reduced English speakers to an impotent political minority.

Liberation movement

Viewing this history as a liberation movement with a majority black membership, the IFP stands committed to ensure that never again will any new oppressor be able to rise up on the inheritance of a unitary state system of government bequeathed to it by successive Governments which so ruthlessly and so totally used the power of the unitary state to enshrine an evil racist philosophy.

The IFP has learnt that lesson well through its long struggle of successful resistance against apartheid within the country by peaceful means while others chose to adopt as exiles the "armed struggle".

The unitary system of government is fatally discredited in the IFP's eyes as a means of preventing "winner take all" centralised concentration and abuse of power and of preserving liberty.

Stubborn virility

The IFP looks also at the nations of the world and in particular those which have multi-ethnic populations. It finds that many if not most of these have adopted a federal type constitution.

These include Canada, Malaysia, Nigeria and Switzerland. And the mother of federalism, the United States of America, has produced the nation which stands as the greatest power the world has known and as a moral beacon in the defence of human liberty and plural democracy everywhere.

South Africa's natural ethnic diversity, whose stubborn virility has nothing to do with apartheid, cannot be ignored in future constitutional arrangements, although in the determination of regional federal states, economic viability is also a co-determinant in the IFP's view.

The IFP thus favours a federal constitutional model which, like the United States constitution, confers on the federal regional states the residual powers, that is, all the powers which are not specifically reserved to the federal government in the Constitution.

These latter might, for instance, include Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Posts and Railways.

(Alastair J Macauley is an attorney and in the IFP delegation at Codesa).

AN interview with the Washington Post at the weekend, ANC president Nelson Mandela described the internationalisation of SA's transition as a major victory for his movement. Asserting that President W de Klerk had written to five African heads of state asking them to help block last month's intervention by the UN Security Council, Mandela said triumphantly: "We beat him."

At first blush, this was a peculiar assessment. Inasmuch as the government was initially highly leery of Security Council involvement, Mandela had indeed come out ahead in setting the body to meet on his terms. Yet Resolution 765, judged in terms of Mandela's own impassioned pleas to the high priests of the New World Order, seemed to be the last thing he was looking for when he came to New York, a view rubbed in by Foreign Minister Pik Botha's disreputable glowing afterwards. Mandela, it appeared, had wanted the council to endorse the ANC alliance's stated reasons for leaving the negotiating table and to take its side on the questions of violence and the ongoing majorities needed to ratify a new constitution. The council replied by telling the ANC to get back to the table and sending down a wise man, special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Not only was this almost exactly what the government said it wanted, it De Klerk's sudden willingness to cooperate with the UN, after years treating the institution with fear and loathing, helped restore his own standing while further corroborating that of the ANC and its partners. All politicians, of course, claim glory in defeat and Mandela could hardly be expected to concede failure, especially since breaking off negotiations is now believed to have been his idea, and one he insisted on over the surprised objections of an executive committee (NEC). As for resorting to the Security

Mandela helped to appoint the World as referee

B/D/My 4/8/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

304A

Council, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who knows the vagaries of the UN system intimately, is commonly supposed to have argued against it on the grounds that the council, a different creature entirely from the windy General Assembly, could not be relied upon to do the ANC's bidding.

Win or lose, it would have been a pity if Mandela had taken Mbeki's reported advice. It may even be as well that he overrode the NEC's objections in calling a halt to negotiations. Yes, a lot of trust has been squandered in the ensuing rhetoric and street theatre. Further lives have been lost. The ruckus has done nothing for the economy. Yet, for all that, a new and potentially decisive fact has been created: the international community, no longer riven by its own ideological disputes, has officially entered the game to fortify the liberal democratic centre while there is still time for it to be saved. It does not matter if Mandela appealed to the UN specifically to help create that fact. More power to him if he did. What counts is that the outside world is now engaged as never before, consensually and with a common purpose, to achieve a par-

ticular outcome rather than placing any specific party in power.

Precisely what form that engagement will take in the months ahead remains to be elaborated. The Security Council knows about peacekeeping but is new to peacemaking. It has few roadmaps, only a lot of cautionary tales like the one currently being played out in Yugoslavia, a nightmare much on the council's mind when it deliberated on SA. Things may become a little clearer after Vance presents his report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The experience of the UN team monitoring this week's mass action will also be key.

cast off against each other.

Such attempts are unlikely to get far. The major players are reading from the same script — a script which emphasises the centrality of negotiation, the rule of law, market-based economics and a devolved, consensus-based constitutional framework that allows the majority to govern but not to oppress.

At the end of last month's Security Council debate, Zimbabwian Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira observed that the role of the UN and other outsiders should be to act as referees. Although Zimbabwe had hitherto been carrying much of the ANC's water, the suggestion did not seem to sit well with Mbeki and his partisans. Too bad. The word referee sums up much of what the council and others will be doing.

A major function of the foreign intervention Mandela has unleashed is to ensure that SA's parties play by the rules, both those they have agreed among themselves — the national peace accord, for example — and those the referee deems necessary for the completion of the game. Into the latter category fall the basic principles just mentioned and the fairly specific additional in-

structions Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen laid down for the government, ANC and Inkatha in his recent testimony to the House Africa subcommittee.

Strictly speaking, the international community has little concrete power to enforce these rules beyond publicly criticising offenders. The government cannot be made to render its security forces accountable if it does not so wish. By the same token, there is no direct sanction that can be placed on the ANC if it violates Cohen's injunction against seeking to overthrow the government by mass mobilisation, or on Inkatha if it persists in believing its members should be permitted to carry "cultural weapons" and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will not come in person to the table.

It must be assumed, however, that the majority of players want the game to proceed to a satisfactory conclusion and recognise that failure to heed the referee may all too easily result in a self-sanctioning descent into bloody chaos. In a sense, and whether or not they have fully thought through the implications, the players have already struck a bargain with the referee to abide by the rules he brings with him in return for his being on the field.

By insisting on his rules as well as those agreed among the players — and, of course, he will be trying to broker more such agreements — the referee will essentially be strengthening the hands of those who want to play the match out in a decent way against those of their constituents who have other ideas. He will ideally restore trust among the contestants by verifying their compliance with his and their mutually agreed wishes. And he will serve as a useful lightning rod upon whom tough decisions may conveniently be blamed.

Did Mandela really know what he was getting himself into? Given the enormity of what he has done and how out of synch it is with what he feels it necessary to say he is doing, that is a question, perhaps best left to the historians.

Huge CP breakaway expected this week

STAR 4/8/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

3047

Five breakaway Conservative Party members of Parliament and many other party officials are expected to split from the CP this week to establish a new party called the Afrikaner Party.

Insiders said last night that the divisions in the CP were now irreconcilable — despite CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's assurances that a split could still be avoided.

The five MPs expected to walk out are Potchefstroom MP and former chief secretary Andries Beyers, Free State leader and Heilbron MP Cehill Pienaar, Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, Bethal MP Chris de Jager and Standerton MP Rosier de Ville.

It is understood that a large part of the CP youth will also leave to help found the Afrikaner Party, and that the breakaway group believes it could take up to 40 percent of the CP's support base with it.

The new party would be dedicated to negotiations with all parties — including the ANC — to carve out an enclave for an Afrikaner volkstaat. In the meanwhile it would strive for a federal or regional system as a vehicle for goal of an independent Afrikaans state.

The new party would be ready to enter alliances with

any other party which supported regionalism or federalism — and this included the National Party, the Democratic Party and virtually all other parties to the Right of the ANC and PAC, sources said.

Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, who was kicked out of the CP for expressing views similar to those of the new breakaway group, said last night he was keeping his options open about joining them.

He cautioned them to consult deeply among other parties about constitutional options before taking the plunge.

Mr van der Merwe confirmed that joining the National Party was another option he was considering.

The simmering divisions between the CP leadership and the "volkstaters" boiled over at the weekend when Mr Beyers openly expressed his preference for entering negotiations for a smaller volkstaat.

The CP officially opposes negotiations with the ANC at Codedesa and favours either wresting control of the whole of "white" South Africa or at least forming a white state in those constituencies it represents.

Now it seems just a question of whether the CP first expels the volkstaters or they quit. The CP chief executive meets on Thursday and will probably expel them if they have not already left.

An election would ease the transition

STAR 5/8/92

304A

FUNDAMENTAL problem bedevilling our stormy transition from apartheid to democracy is the fact that the major players are electioneering and negotiating simultaneously — and the two activities are not compatible.

As Mr Pik Botha told the Security Council last month, the National Party has set itself the goal of becoming the majority party in the new South Africa. Whether this is a realistic goal or not isn't the point: what matters is that it has been set as a target.

The National Party is campaigning hard to win support among "coloured" people, Indians and supposedly "moderate" blacks, by which is meant elements of the emerging black middle class as well as traditionalists in the rural areas. It is also directing its attention to alliance-building with some of the "homeland" and Tricameral parties spawned by the apartheid system.

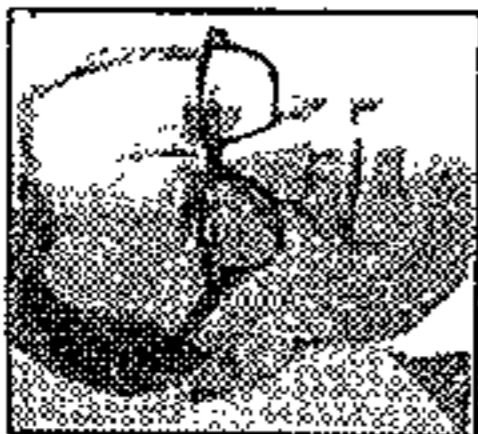
The point is, if the National Party is to succeed in its objective it must win the support of the

moderate centre of our enlarged, all-race electorate. That means it must do all it can to attack and discredit the moderate leadership of its main rival, the ANC — the very people it should be building closer trust with in the negotiating process.

Thus the electioneering requirements undermine the negotiating requirements.

Worse still, the electioneering campaign compounds the constituency problems both movements face. As this column has noted before, the main danger in the negotiating business is not that the major leaders will fail to reach agreement — the lack of viable alternatives will always send them back to the negotiating table — but that in the end they will not be able to carry enough of their followers with them into whatever agreement they conclude.

We saw President de Klerk's constituency problem reach crisis point with the loss of the Potchefstroom by-election last February, which he dealt with, perhaps tem-



Allister Sparks

porarily, by rallying his followers for the white referendum. Now we are seeing Nelson Mandela's constituency problem reach crisis point with the Boipatong massacre and other township violence, which he is trying to deal with by rallying his forces for the mass action campaign.

For both, it's a rearguard action. The contradictory roles they are locked into is making their constituency problems worse all the time. For the National Party to succeed in winning the moderate centre away from the ANC, it must portray the ANC as a radical and dangerous movement still secretly intent on overthrowing the Government by violence and dispossessing the whites and other members of the middle class.

Yet the more President de Klerk succeeds in doing this, the more difficult he makes it to justify negotiating with such people — the more he makes himself look like an irresponsible leader who is jeopardising the future survival of his own people, which is precisely what the rightwingers say of him.

The same goes for Mr Mandela. The more he succeeds in portraying President de Klerk as a duplicitous manipulator who is sending his surrogate forces into the townships to kill people so that the key elements of apartheid can be retained, the more he compounds his left-wing problem by making himself look like a sellout for negotiating with such a monster.

What is the answer? I believe it is essential to have an election as soon as possible, so as to separate the conflicting requirements of electioneering and negotiating. We have to get the election out of the way so that the negotiating can proceed without its destructive effects.

An early election would also

clear up the problem of pervasive illegitimacy which is complicating the negotiations. The country has an illegitimate constitution, rejected by the majority of the population; an illegitimate government not accepted by the black majority; and a set of black political parties none of which has ever been subjected to a test of legitimacy because their followers have not been able to vote.

No-one knows how much support the ANC really has, or the PAC, or Azapo, or the Inkatha Freedom Party, or those funny little parties with funny names that the "homeland" and Tricameral systems produced. No-one knows whether the National Party's claims to growing support in the non-white communities are real or fanciful, or whether the Democratic Party can win enough to survive.

Everyone is a pretender, making claims and strutting and posturing to give the impression he should be taken seriously. It is a farce that must be ended. We have

to establish who is legitimate and who is not. Although I believe even minority parties should have a say in the making of a national constitution, we have to know who is speaking on behalf of whom and how many.

With the election over and relative strengths established, the negotiations could take place in a more relaxed atmosphere. Everyone would know who was who and the posturing could stop. Leaders could concentrate more on the national interest than on their narrow party interests, and there would be less anxiety about whether concessions made would cost them votes.

It would clear the air and make everything easier. And, with a 70 percent majority required for agreement in an elected constituent assembly — a figure now effectively accepted by both sides — there would be ample assurance that minority interests would be taken into account and that no single party would be able to dictate the constitution on its own. □

It's time to rebuild trust

STAR 5/8/92

304A

IF THE impasse in the negotiating process has been calculated as a necessary measure to gauge the level of support for the two major participants — the National Party and the African National Congress — the result so far has been inconclusive, and will remain so as mass action, stay-aways and violence fudge the fundamental issues over which the talks broke down in the first place.

The country has slid back to the bad old days of 1985, when school boycotts, stayaways, consumer boycotts and other forms of "mass action" were the order of the day. We have gone back to the same levels — perhaps even worse — of violence, threats, intimidation, petrol bombing of non-participants' homes, and even the boycott of newspapers.

That there is disagreement between the ANC leadership and the leadership of structures on the ground is a clear indication of the gulf that exists between the two. There also seems to be a widening rift between labour and the ANC, and it is significant that the current wave of mass action is large-

ly driven by Cosatu, rather than political structures. The ANC had no alternative but to support the action — and now are finding they are caught in the sweep of things, instead of leading events.

Two areas of disagreement are evidence of this lack of control: the call by student organisations for school boycotts, with a firm put-down by such organisations of the ANC because, they claimed, the ANC decision to call on students not to be involved in mass action was a "decision from the top", and indicative of "lack of consultation with structures on the ground."

Another is the proposed bond boycott planned by the National Civics Organisation, which has decided to defy a call by Nelson Mandela. This defiance is reminiscent of the defiance of the "throw your weapons into the sea" call by Mr Mandela soon after his release, and the call by Walter Sisulu for an end to the school boycott.

It was inevitable that there would be hiccups in the negotiation process. Indeed, things were going far too smoothly not to have run into a hitch. We were even beginning to pat ourselves on the

back — forgetting the seething, angry masses in the townships. The uneducated, unemployed, unemployable, untrained and marginalised millions. The homeless, the hungry, for whom a solution is a matter of here and now.

Trust between these groups, and the leadership, had broken down — and if the ANC leadership knew it, they did not do much to repair the damage before it was too late. Alex Boraine observed: "The ANC has often taken its eyes off the negotiating ball and looked rather at the goalposts." South African communist Party leader Chris Hani told Newsweek International recently: "We moved too fast ahead of the people", but in reaffirming his organisation's commitment to the negotiation process, added: "We started a movement which was non-violent," adding that this is the course they will stick to.

Mr Mandela stressed there was no question of mass action being an insurrection, and said the ANC was committed to negotiations, but would use mass action to bolster the demands of its voteless members. At leadership level, there was

awareness that the negotiation process was bound to be put under severe pressure from various quarters, not least from the lower structures of their own constituencies. Cosatu, having played a vanguard role in the internal struggle, is anxious to remain a major player, and has to that end sought a seat at Codesa, ostensibly to ensure the protection of worker rights, but more likely to seek a political position.

Similarly, there is disenchantment from a major core of former United Democratic Front leaders who consider themselves badly done in by the ANC — "the exiles have simply taken over all the key positions" is the familiar refrain in those circles — and are seeking to reassert themselves.

White suspicion over the ANC's intentions have heightened because of various statements at lower ANC structures, including the threat of Nuremberg trials and the mock trials of President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, both of whom were "sentenced to life imprisonment". There is no evidence that these acts were sanctioned at executive level.

If it therefore seems that the tail is wagging the dog to some extent, there may be an element of truth in that. And it is to that that the ANC has had to respond. Suddenly, Cyril Ramaphosa has had to admit that Codesa is "one of the most undemocratic institutions in the country." President de Klerk, who seemed to be on a "high" after the referendum, seems to have come back to earth with a big bump after Boipatong and revelations of security force excesses, plus a decline in confidence in his leadership among whites.

The national strike which began on Monday, coupled with today's march to the Union Buildings has been described as the "Black referendum". Previous marches did not attract the numbers that the ANC had hoped for, and it seemed that the townships were suffering from "struggle fatigue".

It seems, therefore, that the crisis can lead to the two major parties beginning to give ground; the ANC with the knowledge that unless they make dramatic progress and deliver reasonably to their constituency, they may face growth in militancy that will

make governance impossible, and the NP hoping that the racial divide will still give them the numbers clout to be able to keep the ANC juggernaut in check.

This balance could ensure that political damage to each other by the ANC and the Nats is limited. But even before that happens, the NP needs to be seen to be committed to cleaning up its apartheid cupboards, so that rebuilding trust can begin and Mr De Klerk, the "man of integrity" can re-emerge. The unacceptably high levels of violence must be reduced. This can be achieved by placing the security forces under an umbrella multiparty control structure emanating from Codesa, and then seeking a more involved role for the United Nations and/or the OAU. Government shift on the issue of a Constituent Assembly may even lead to the PAC, and perhaps Azapo, joining the table — conditional on the restructuring of Codesa into a more democratic body. The future of the country can no more be decided behind closed doors.

● This is another in our series on Breaking the Logjam, to stimulate debate on how to get the negotiations process back on track. □

Hope for early talks resumption

STAR 5/8/92

By Carina le Grange

304A

There was hope for the early resumption of negotiations, US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen said in Johannesburg last night.

He said all parties he had consulted, except the Pan Africanist Congress, favoured the early return to negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela wanted the question of violence to be addressed first, but nevertheless had "a return to the negotiations scenario clearly in mind", said Mr Cohen.

He was speaking at a press conference on his departure after a three-day visit to South Africa.

Mr Cohen said South Africa's economy has moved from stagnation into a downwards spiral — but a concerted effort had to be made to address and reverse the downwards economic trend. This could not start until there was an internal settlement in South Africa.

Although the violence was of great concern, Mr Cohen said he felt it "should not



Herman Cohen . . . economy on slide.

hold negotiations hostage".

Mr Cohen said the US would support an "enhanced international presence" if that was considered useful.

The US would also consider the recommendations of United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance.

In reply to a question on a new format for the negotiation process, Mr Cohen said a less unwieldy mechanism than Codesa was now being sought but he had no knowledge as to what that would entail.

2

HNP to fight votes ruling

PRETORIA — The HNP was considering lodging an urgent application in the Supreme Court in order to have special votes cast in the Florida by-election declared valid, the party announced yesterday.

HNP chief secretary Louis van der Schyff said the party was consulting its legal advisers.

The party rejected the decision by the Home Affairs Department that special votes cast before July 16 in the Florida by-election were invalid.

Meanwhile, the SABC had indicated to HNP leader Jaap Marais that it was willing to host a debate between him and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, the HNP said. — Sapa.

Mangope 'prepared to use force'

BOPHUTHATSWANA would defend its independence — with force if necessary — to safeguard it from SA's political turmoil, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope warned in a speech to the SA Institute of Race Relations last night.

Bophuthatswana was not a puppet but was independent and would take decisions in the interests of its people.

He said Bophuthatswana had been spared much of the turmoil taking place in SA, but added: "We have no guarantee that this wave of bloodshed will not break across our borders, and should that happen, I will not hesitate to use all my available power to exterminate it."

"I say this with caution, hoping that it will not be necessary, but with the firm intent of doing so if compelled to," Mangope said in a speech read in his absence by his senior constitutional negotiator, Economic Affairs Minister Ephraim Keikelame.

PATRICK BULGER

"I will be the last person to advocate violence. I hesitate to fight fire with fire. On the other hand, a free state which does not defend itself against its enemies and is not applying basic law and order is gambling away the freedom of its citizens."

He said notable progress had been made at Codesa. Boycotts, mass action and a unilateral withdrawal from the negotiation process were not constructive.

Mangope ruled out Bophuthatswana's return to a unitary SA with only delegated authority to second and third-tier governmental structures. This was not a feasible alternative, he said.

"All possible scenarios regarding our future position and relations with a new SA have been thoroughly investigated and debated," he said. "One aspect that became predominant is that there need not be a direct rela-

relationship between a political dispensation in a country and the need for economic co-operation and development between countries. In fact, efforts to link these two concepts are nothing other than a form of political intimidation to achieve specific political aims in an undemocratic way."

He said there were three possible scenarios for the homeland. These were a sovereign Bophuthatswana existing in a confederal arrangement; the maintenance of the status quo; and a federal arrangement with constitutionally entrenched responsibilities and powers.

"The only criterion we have is that an alternative constitutional dispensation must ensure our people a better future or a future at least as good as the present situation we enjoy," he said.

Bophuthatswana was already engaged in several exercises of regional co-operation with the northwest Cape and the western and the southwestern Transvaal, he said.

Man charged

head

Statutes purged to make way for a bill of rights

BIDAY 5/8/92
GOVERNMENT was purging the statute book of laws and restrictions which contradicted the formation of a constitutional state with an enshrined bill of rights, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of the new magistrate's court in Vereeniging, he said government was committed to a constitutional state.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was busy working through the statute book.

The bill of rights was another important task that had to be tackled before there could be an independent and sovereign judiciary.

De Klerk believed it was necessary for all those involved in the judicial system to acquire the proper orientation required for exercising justice in a constitutional state.

This was already being done through symposiums nationally where discussions were being held on the establishment of a bill of rights for SA.

Government was constantly watching the increasing pressure being put on the courts, whose workload had increased during the past few years.

De Klerk said that from December 1990 to May 1991 there was an increase of 45,5% in the work of district courts.

Regional courts' workload had increased 28,5%.

In the past year the workload in district courts had increased so dramatically that nationally the total extra court time was 54 411 hours.

304A
BILLY PADDOCK

There were an extra 4 000 criminal cases and 110 000 admission of guilt fines paid.

The current economic climate had also put extra strain on the court, with 80 000 civil cases and 98 000 civil motions dealt with in that time.

The courts were also a major source of revenue for the state, with the system accounting for R5,233bn over the past year, De Klerk said.

However, he warned that pressure on the courts would increase with rising crime and the development of a broader policing function for the SA Police.

Specialise

In order to lessen the pressure on the higher courts and make justice more accessible to the community, government was investigating broadening the jurisdiction of the lower courts.

Proposals emanating from the investigation included that senior civil magistrates be established along the lines of regional magistrates and that they have a higher level of jurisdiction.

This would lessen the load on the Supreme Courts and at the same time offer magistrates the opportunity to specialise in civil matters.

Another issue receiving attention was the independence of magistrates, De Klerk said. He added quickly that there was no suggestion that they were not conducting their work in an independent fashion.

as
AP

Orchestrated bid to divide CP must cease — Treurnicht

PRETORIA — CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday "orchestrated attempts" to divide his party should cease.

He said in a statement in Pretoria there were basic points which united all CP members.

These included talks with the leaders of other nations to achieve a confederation of states, and CP members' willingness to accept a smaller geographical area as their country to promote an honest and fair agreement on borders.

Treurnicht reiterated the CP would mobilise whites to make them resistant in the current revolutionary times, which could become more dangerous.

The CP supported nations who insisted that the

government identified borders for their nations before elections were held and a constitution was drawn up.

Referring to attempts to sow division within the CP, Treurnicht said it was clear that Nationalists and others feared the CP and were jealous of the fact that whites and certain black leaders had accepted the CP's vision of the future.

Meanwhile, a third member of the CP caucus yesterday added his support to Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers.

Standerton MP Rosier de Ville said he fully supported Beyers' views on the need for negotiations, a smaller "volkstaat" and a possible alliance with former political opponents. — Sapa.

DUCKS
27/5/92
**Andries
Beyers**

STANDERTON. — A third member of the Conservative Party caucus has backed controversial Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers.

Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville said yesterday he fully supported Mr Beyers' views on the need for negotiations, a smaller "volkstaat" and a possible alliance with former opponents.

Mr Beyers spoke at a CP youth congress at the weekend.

The other two caucus members supporting Mr Beyers are Free State CP leader Mr Cehill Pienaar and Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager.

Meanwhile, the CP youth branch at the University of Pretoria has re-affirmed its support for CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

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**Vote ruling:
HNP may
go to court**

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HNP chief secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff said the party was consulting its legal advisers.

The party rejected the decision by the Department of Home Affairs that special votes cast before July 16 in the Florida by-election were invalid.

The HNP also said yesterday that the SABC had indicated to its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, that it was willing to host a debate between him and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, in the run-up to the Florida by-election. Mr Marais has challenged Mr Botha to a debate. — Sapa

Vance report could be submitted by weekend

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Special UN envoy Mr. Cyrus Vance's report on his recent fact-finding mission to South Africa could be in the hands of Secretary-General Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali by the weekend, officials say.

If UN custom is followed, Mr. Boutros-Ghali would then transmit the document to the Security Council.

(304A)
Diplomatic sources said they expected the document would be more factual than political. They acknowledged there was much dismay in UN circles over Boipatong and the apparent failure of the government

to control the police.

Mr. Virendra Dayal, former Secretary-General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar's chief-of-staff, who is writing the report, is well known for his political caution and is not expected to take Mr. Vance out on a limb.

But he also carries a racial chip on his shoulder. When the United States and Britain objected to his nomination for the post of High Commissioner for Refugees, he angrily responded that he would have got the job if he were a white European.

A Japanese woman was given the post, with Western backing.

ARCT 5/8/92

Foreign, SA experts try to solve talks deadlock

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The crisis in negotiations will come under the spotlight again when a team of local and international constitutional experts gather today to try to work out a solution to the deadlock.

The breakdown of negotiations and possible remedies are the subject of a report to be handed to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali by special UN representative Cyrus Vance, who has completed his South Africa visit.

Today, constitutional experts from Canada, Israel and the United States — who specialise

in the fields of federalism, human rights and political dynamics — will take part in a workshop organised by the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis. *BOUVA ARGUS 5/8/92*

The South African team will represent the whole political spectrum.

Mr Justice P. Olivier of the SA Law Commission will open the workshop, and Professor Daniel Elazar of Israel, an internationally acknowledged authority on federalism, as well as Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC will launch the discussion. The workshop ends on Friday.

JNAL NEWS Magazine's first attack on Government

'De Klerk is autocratic'

■ Out to defend white power and attitude changed since Boipatong:

Sowetan Foreign News Service

NEW YORK - *Time* magazine has accused State President FW de Klerk of being "a ruthless practitioner of realpolitik, determined to preserve decisive white power and privilege".

This is the most stinging criticism yet of De Klerk by any major American news journal since the Government's release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The influential news magazine said De Klerk's strategy of maintaining white power was now part of the problem. His outlook changed after his visit to Boipatong in June,

where he was surrounded by angry black men who called him a murderer.

De Klerk, says *Time*, fled in the presidential BMW, "consternation written on his face".

It then asks: "What has become of the great white hope - the man who saw the writing on the wall, dismantled the bars of apartheid and promised to shape a new South Africa?"

"The harsh answer dawning on an increasingly militant Mandela and others is that De Klerk, despite his reforms, is not intent on justice and freedom for all; if that were true, he would be doing more to end the township violence."

Sowetan 5/8/92

3047

Govt flexible on interim rule

Key players prepare to resume talks

304A
B/DAY 5/8/92

TALKS to haul constitutional negotiations back on track could take place within two weeks, with government no longer committed to a negotiated interim constitution or to Codesa as a forum.

However, according to a senior government source, it is unlikely that legislation to implement an interim government would be ready for the October parliamentary session. It would be ready by the beginning of next year.

In discussions with businessmen late last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated the likelihood of an early return to negotiations and his desire for the speedy establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In separate talks with DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin and Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, Mandela said he believed once the stayaways and mass action had run their course, talks would resume after a "cooling off period" of about 10 days.

The upbeat prognosis was given further impetus by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who left SA last night after talks with government, Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was confident that negotiations would resume soon. This was, however, on condition that government took certain clearly defined steps relating to violence. Government was prepared to fulfil these conditions.

A senior government source confirmed government was not committed to first

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

negotiating an interim constitution, but — to speed up the process — would happily negotiate amendments to the tricameral constitution for the interim period.

According to government and diplomatic sources, there would first be a period of bilateral talks between the ANC and government on the resumption of negotiations and the forum for such negotiations. It is understood these discussions would attempt to address the constitutional issues — including regionalism — which led to the impasse at Codesa II. There is apparently room for manoeuvre on both sides.

The bilateral talks would result in expanded multilateral negotiations, possibly including newly formed right-wing groups.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport said last night government did not want to be prescriptive about the forum for negotiations.

At a media conference last night Cohen said: "In terms of the configuration of the negotiating forum I have the impression that the very large, complex system of Codesa was quite appropriate for the many issues that have taken them nine-tenths of the way. But for the last, very difficult one-tenth, a more efficient and less unwieldy mechanism is being sought."

He said he did not think negotiations should be held hostage by the issue of violence but there was a real danger that violence could become part of the fabric of SA society. He was also very concerned about the economic situation.

Third CP man backs Andries Beyers

STANDERTON. — A third member of the Conservative Party caucus has backed controversial Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers.

Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville said yesterday he fully supported Mr Beyers' views on the need for negotiations, a smaller "volkstaat" and a possible alliance with former opponents.

Mr Beyers spoke at a CP youth congress at the weekend.

The other two caucus members supporting Mr Beyers are Free State CP leader Mr Cehill Pienaar and Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager.

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BACKS
CF 5/13/92

Andries Beyers

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STAR 5/8/92

Parties need each other - Pik

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

304A

Pik Botha arrived at a Florida public meeting to a standing ovation from a group of several hundred National Party supporters when he addressed them in the parliamentary by-election campaign last night.

Mr Botha, leader of the National Party in the Transvaal and Minister of Foreign Affairs, was guest speaker at a campaign meeting of NP parliamentary candidate

Jan Bredenkamp in the by-election on August 12.

He said the National Party had been through years of strife in which there had been serious differences of opinion and that the party as it now stood was bound together by the expectations of a better South Africa.

Mr Botha said the National Party was the only party with the support of all the people.

The only solution to a better South Africa was through negotiation. "We

- The NP, the ANC, the IFP and all the others - need each other."

Mr Bredenkamp said the special votes cast so far were invalid because of an error by the Department of Internal Affairs.

●The Herstigte Nasionale Party was consulting its lawyers about an urgent application in the Supreme Court to have special votes cast in the Florida by-election declared valid, chief secretary Louis van der Schyff said yesterday.

No reconciliation - CP dissidents

STAR 5/8/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Five dissident Conservative Party MPs were meeting last night under Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers to discuss a potential breakaway from the CP to form the new, nonracial, ethnic Afrikaner Party.

But CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday again stressed that he saw no need for a split and said differences were reconcilable.

He said the CP head

committee had achieved consensus on all issues raised by Mr Beyers on SABC-TV's "Agenda" this week.

However, sources in the dissident group made it clear that they believed the CP leadership was under-emphasising the differences.

They said at least three main differences could not be reconciled: the dissident group believes it should negotiate with all parties including the ANC, but the CP

would not; the dissidents were ready to accept a much smaller territory for an independent Afrikaner homeland, but the CP leadership was not prepared to go further than the present CP-held constituencies; the dissidents were prepared to accept federal status for an Afrikaner homeland as a step towards full independence, but the CP leadership had so far not been ready to go beyond a "confederation" or "commonwealth" of independent states.

Rebel MPs in last-ditch effort

The Argus Correspondent
DISSIDENT rightwingers in the Conservative Party are to meet party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht today in a last-ditch effort to avert a party split.

Dr Treurnicht was confident a split could be avoided — although the dissident MPs believe the differences between them and the CP leadership are irreconcilable.

If today's meeting fails, the five MPs, led by Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers, could walk out immediately, probably to form a new party which would be

called the Afrikaner Party.

It would be dedicated to promoting the cause of Afrikaners — rather than whites — through negotiations with all parties for a smaller Afrikaners homeland.

The new group is prepared to enter an alliance with all parties to the right of the ANC and PAC to advance the federal cause in negotiations.

It believes a federal Afrikaner state could be the means to eventual independence for Afrikaners.

Mr Beyers said last night he expected the issue to be resolved at today's meeting,

after which a statement would be issued.

The other MPs in the dissident group are Free State leader and Heilbron MP Mr Cehill Pienaar, Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager, Ermelo MP Mr Moolman Mentz and Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville.

It was not clear whether all five wanted to form a new party.

Overvaal MP Mr Koos van der Merwe — who was kicked out of the CP earlier this year for expressing views similar to those of the five — has advised them to consider other options before rushing into a new party.

Soal is optimistic that negotiations will resume soon

6/09/92
6/8/92
BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

THERE was little doubt that agreement on the political problems facing SA would be reached soon, and talks to resume constitutional negotiations were on the cards in the very near future, DP media spokesman Peter Soal said last night.

Speaking at the Rosebank Hotel at a report-back meeting to his Johannesburg North constituency, he said his meetings with ANC president Nelson Mandela and US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen last week gave him every confidence this was true.

Speaking of Mandela, he said: "I must say how impressed I was again by his calm appearance to the problems we face and his conciliatory approach."

He said the details of the discussion were private "but I have no doubt the ANC activity during the past month or so was a reaction to the demands of their grassroots."

"Hopefully they have been placated and negotiations will resume soon," Soal said, adding that parties involved were fortunate to have someone of Mandela's patience and vision with whom to negotiate.

Cohen was also hopeful negotiations would resume soon, he said.

Soal said he did not think the negotiations would continue in the Codesa format, as representation at this became suspect.

What started as a round table at which views were exchanged became a long table with the ANC and its supporters on one side and government and its supporters on the other. The DP, he said, was uncomfortably stuck in the middle once again.

"I am aware government and the ANC are grappling with the format to be pursued once bilateral discussions have been successfully restarted. I am optimistic a way will be found to reach agreement between the main players and to include the significant moderate centre," he said.

The DP's role outside the two main groupings remained as essential as ever to promote and protect the values of the dignity of people, freedom of individuals and an economic system which would provide for a social market, he said.

Appeal to Florida voters

PRETORIA -- The Home Affairs Department yesterday called on voters in the Florida by-election to recast their special votes, following an earlier announcement that special votes issued prior to Tuesday were invalid. (304A)

The department said in a statement: "The invalidation of the votes cast does not in any way deprive the voters concerned from once again casting special votes from August 4 onward, provided that valid reasons for special votes can be advanced. (304A)

"Alternatively, voters

can cast their votes on August 12 at a polling station in the constituency."

The department had traced 632 of the 822 voters who had cast special votes before Tuesday, and appealed to those who had cast their special votes before Tuesday and who had not been traced to contact the department.

At a public meeting in Florida on Tuesday night, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said a government of national unity would help rid the country of past antagonisms and foster a spirit of nationalism. — Sapa.

Showdown for CP faction today

BILLY PADDOCK

THE showdown in the CP between the five prominent "new right" members and the old guard takes place today when the five meet to decide whether they will resign.

Bethal MP Chris de Jager yesterday said the five would have discussions with the Transvaal executive.

"If the party does not shift its policy closer to where we stand then we must decide whether to abide by the party line or do the honourable thing and resign," he said.

The other four are Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, who brought the imminent split in the party to a head at the weekend by calling for talks to negotiate a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

The old guard, led by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenburg, is calling for the five to be expelled, and attempts this week by leader Andries Treurnicht to reconcile the two factions are understood to have failed.

According to one of the five, it had become impossible to remain in the CP "which had no policy and is not prepared to shift its position to accommodate changes".

The members had the support of about another 10 MPs but they were unlikely to leave the party as they hoped to reform it from within. However, numerous councillors and officials were behind the five, as was the Transvaal Youth Congress.

'Police alerted before massacre'

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre of June 16 yesterday heard that evidence would be presented during the next eight days claiming security forces in the area had facilitated the attack and that police had been negligent in their investigations.

Senior counsel for the ANC and the Vaal Council of Churches, Arthur Chaskelson, told the commission in his opening statement a number of witnesses made reference to the participation of "white men" in the actual attacks on residents.

None of these men were identified as policemen, but there were numerous statements which confirmed the presence of security force vehicles in the area during the massacre, and in some cases, these vehicles were perceived as accompanying and possibly assisting the attackers, he said.

"Despite numerous and persistent complaints and the presence of armoured vehicles in the township and nearby, none of the attackers was apprehended. The obvious suspects were allowed more than 16 hours to cover their tracks before police entered the hostel," he said.

The ANC's first witness, Meshack Theoane, a petrol attendant at a filling station on Frikkie Meyer Boule-

vard, testified he alerted police when he saw armed men crossing the road toward Boipatong.

Shortly afterwards two policemen arrived, but appeared disinterested in his report and left the area, he said.

With him at the filling station that night was a security guard who radioed his employers. Two white security guards arrived. They said the police had instructed them to take the two men away because it was not safe.

Counsel for the SAP Flip Hattingh denied police had participated in or facilitated the attack, and added any allegation they were informed before the attack of the possibility of it taking place would be denied. He admitted that on the evening of June 16 there had been several police in the area, but at no stage during the attack were they in Boipatong.

Anton Mostert, representing the SADF, said the only SADF members in the township at the time of the attack were members of the Vaal Commando.

He said members had seen large numbers of people moving towards the Kwamadala hostel and had concluded that it was the hostel which was under attack. They later tried to locate the group but failed.

ANC leader 'happy to heal wounds'

Mandela, FW raise hopes about talks

304A
6/DAY
6/8/92

PRETORIA — At the end of a 70 000-strong ANC march to the Union Buildings yesterday, both President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela fuelled expectations of a speedy return to negotiations.

De Klerk, speaking on the steps of the Union Buildings after the crowd had dispersed, confirmed that "certain discussions" had taken place in the past five days between government and the ANC on specific issues. "We need to broaden discussions to other issues," De Klerk said.

Mandela, speaking to reporters after his address to the crowd, said he did not want to say in public whether government and the ANC had been talking but said certain issues were best dealt with in private.

Mandela struck a conciliatory note in his speech. He went out of his way not to score political points from the success of the mass action programme. He said he was happy to heal the wounds that had been opened by the conflict between government and the ANC in recent weeks.

The march was peaceful and characterised by a carnival atmosphere, complete with drum majorettes and a band. It ended in the gardens of the Union Buildings.

Inside, De Klerk was chairing a Cabinet meeting. Outside, Mandela spoke under an ANC flag.

Later, De Klerk invited the ANC to a two-day "session in the bush" to resolve remaining differences. He said legislation on issues relevant to negotiations and agreed to by all players, would be introduced during the October parliamentary session.

Mandela said government would have to

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

meet the ANC's demands before negotiations could resume. He listed these as an acceptance of a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and steps to end the violence.

He said the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance was not trying to score political points, and the government should not do so either.

"We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take SA along the road to peace and democracy. If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process.

"It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy.

"It is time for the government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC and the democratic forces.

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations," Mandela said.

De Klerk said he had noted that Mandela had said in this speech that the day of mass action had struck a blow for democracy.

"We need not to strike blows, we need to strike bargains," he said.

He was glad to see that Mandela had

□ To Page 2

TALKS

recommitted the ANC to negotiations. "I look forward to the day when Mr Mandela will once again see me in my office, as he has done often. He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings," he said.

"Let us go, even to the bush, for two full days and have a fundamental discussion."

Asked whether negotiations would resume soon, De Klerk said: "I am confident that negotiations will be resumed. I am prepared to sit down tomorrow."

The ANC's allegations that government needed to be pressed into accepting full democracy was false, he said.

Commenting on the alliance's marches yesterday, he said government appreciated the ANC's efforts to ensure that the mass action campaign was conducted

peacefully.

On the role of the international community in resolving violence, De Klerk said that the question could not be solved from overseas.

Government had agreed a long time ago that there had to be a transitional government of national unity. "There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us."

The legislation planned for the October session of Parliament would be "basic legislation", aimed at assisting progress in the negotiations process. The legislation would not be unilaterally decided on, said De Klerk. Government was not working on a "go it alone" strategy, he stressed.

● Picture: Page 3

● See Page 6

From Page 1

Political Staff

OPTIMISM is growing that stalled negotiations will soon resume, after ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela's conciliatory speech delivered from the steps of the Union Buildings at the climax of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

And at an impromptu Press conference after the weekly cabinet meeting nearby, President De Klerk cautiously welcomed Mr Mandela's speech — delivered to a crowd estimated at between 50 000 and 70 000 after a march through Pretoria.

President De Klerk indicated that behind-the-scenes talks between the government and ANC, already started on specific issues, would soon be broadened to include the disagreements about a transitional government and violence.

Both government and ANC alliance sources said Mr Mandela's speech had laid the foundation for a resumption of formal negotiations, which faltered after an impasse at Codesa 2 and broke down completely when the ANC pulled out after the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Some negotiators believe formal negotiations could resume within 10 days.

Addressing the peaceful crowd at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's call for the government to respond to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume.

But he told journalists afterwards that the ANC would be "flexible" in assessing the government's response and re-committed the ANC to negotiations.

Asked whether his conciliatory speech was aimed at "healing wounds", Mr Mandela said he would be pleased if that was the way in which it would be received.

President De Klerk told journalists later that while the ANC rally was taking place the cabinet had been meeting in the Union Buildings to consider refinements — aimed at the resumption of negotiations to the fresh negotiations initiative it had discussed at its recent "bosberaad".

He welcomed Mr Mandela's recommitment to negotiations, which he said he took seriously. He looked forward to the day when Mr Mandela would meet him in his office.

"He needn't address me from the lower parts of the grounds. My door is always open to him" he said.

He was confident negotiations would resume and disclosed that the government would present "constructive" legislation to the October session of parliament "aimed at assisting the process".

Optimism grows over fresh talks

6/8/92
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Dissident MPs to see Treurnicht

STAR 6/18/92
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Dissident rightwingers in the CP are to meet party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht today in a last-ditch effort to avert a split in the party.

Dr Treurnicht expressed confidence that a split can be avoided although he believes the differences between the dissidents and the CP leadership are irreconcilable.

If today's meeting fails, the five MPs, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, could walk out immediately, probably to form a new party which they plan to call the Afrikaner Party.

The new group is prepared to enter an alliance with all parties to the Right of the ANC and PAC to advance the federal cause in negotiations.

It believes that a federal Afrikaner state could be the means to eventual independence for Afrikaners.

Mr Beyers said last night he expected the issue would be resolved at today's meeting, after which a statement would be issued.

Draft dodgers: few prosecuted

Staff Reporter

The SADF was charging only a minuscule proportion of servicemen who failed to report for service, the End Conscription Campaign claimed yesterday.

"I would say that in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court about half a dozen cases are going ahead each month," said ECC spokesman David Bruce.

Mr Bruce said this was despite the fact that consistently less than 30 percent of servicemen and sometimes less than 10 percent were reporting for camps.

He said that according to the ECC's records, one person — camper Merrick Douglas — had been charged for refusing to serve in the SADF since June 1991.

Mr Douglas appeared in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court on Monday for refusing to attend a 30-day camp in November.

The case was remanded for trial to September 2.

"This case will be the first 'refusal to serve' charge since charges against Alan Storey and Wally Rontsch were withdrawn in June 1991," Mr Bruce said.

He said the ECC's application to the Transvaal Supreme Court for a judicial finding on the legality of the "whites only" call-up would be heard on September 22.

SADF spokesman Major Charl de Klerk denied that the SADF was carrying out prosecutions on a selective basis against servicemen who failed to report.

"Each failure to report is being investigated and the normal procedures are being followed," Major de Klerk said.

He added that it was not possible at short notice to provide a breakdown on the number of servicemen who were being prosecuted for failing to report for duty as opposed to those being charged for refusing to serve on grounds of conscience.

T A T 111

Mandela sets 'core' demands

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the ANC was committed to the search for a negotiated resolution of the crisis facing the country — but would return to negotiations only if the government heeded its demands.

He told a crowd of 70 000 supporters at the Union Buildings that the resumption of negotiations hinged on action by the government in three core areas:

- "Practical steps" to curb the violence.
- A commitment to an interim government of national unity.
- A commitment to a sovereign, democratically-elected constituent assembly.

"These three categories of demands constitute the 14 we have made to the government. Unless they are met satisfactorily by the government, negotiations cannot be resumed," Mr Mandela said.

"We have engaged in mass action with the clear objective of ensuring that the outcome of the negotiations is a democratic future for our country." What happened next, and what form the "campaign for peace and democracy" took, depended on how the government responded to the ANC's demands.

The general strike on Monday and Tuesday had unquestionably been one of the greatest events in South African history.

"More than four million workers stayed away," and nothing could detract from the fact that the strike had been peaceful.

"Those who still cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation do themselves an injustice.

"Because this could only be true if they believed that the ANC and its allies have the power to intimidate so many millions of people."

Mass action was not a victory for the ANC, Cosatu or the SACP, but of all South Africans who wanted peace and democracy, he said.

No time for minutes

STAR 618/92.

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TODAY will pass unheralded in the book of political anniversaries and commemorations, eclipsed by a week of mass action, stayaways and intensifying friction between political opponents.

On August 6 1990, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela led their delegations in a marathon 15-hour negotiation at the Presidency in Pretoria, finally emerging for a press conference at 1 am on the Tuesday.

With Mr de Klerk were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Flanking Mr Mandela was secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, MK supremo Joe Modise and SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo.

There was much buoyancy. It reflected in the Pretoria Minute: "We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

However, national euphoria at the signing of the agreement and the initial Groote Schuur Minute

three months earlier proved premature and the hope of millions of South Africans for a quick transition to democracy proved breathlessly naive.

The dizzying momentum of Mr de Klerk's sensational six months of politics when he unbanned the ANC in February 1990, freed Mr Mandela afterwards and opened talks with the ANC soon after that, started to bog down at the news conference after the Pretoria Minute's signing.

In what was to be just the beginning of a series of public attacks by the ANC leader on Mr de Klerk, they immediately differed on what they had formally agreed concerning the role of the police. It was the first of many scraps between the Government and ANC over interpretations of the imperfect Pretoria Minute, which was inexact in crucial areas, leaving room for interpretation and differences.

In the Pretoria Minute, the Government and ANC set a target date of April 30 last year for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnities.

But the problem of political prisoners drags on today, in spite of about 1 300 releases and two years of meetings. The ANC is an

noyed and embarrassed because it has not secured the liberty of all people it sees as political prisoners. The Government is suspicious because it believes it has released all people jailed for political offences and the haggling continues.

Another dispute: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement," the Pretoria Minute said, "and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place."

"It was agreed that a working group would be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision, to report by September 15."

Two years later the Government and ANC are still arguing about armed action, with the Government insisting there can be no movement towards a new constitution — no contracts — until all aspects of the armed struggle are dealt with and it is entirely abandoned.

Both sides committed themselves in the minute to a peaceful

solution and to expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of South African politics "in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved".

As it was, the deal was struck against the background of the SACP's Operation Vula, an insurrection contingency plan. Police said they had 2 000 pages of information from an ANC/SACP computer about the deployment of ANC/SACP cadres around the country and the infiltration of arms.

The Government insisted this was a devious plot to overthrow it, being enacted even as the ANC prepared to sit down to talk of peace and settlement. But ANC and SACP leaders described Operation Vula as a mere insurance policy if negotiations broke down.

Today there is virtually no trust between the ANC and the Government. The ANC is, by some accounts, not even taking telephone calls from the Government.

The minute envisaged "mechanisms of communication" at local, regional and national levels to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time to avoid conflict.

Today, apart from the tottering

local regional dispute resolution committees set up in terms of the National Peace Accord, there is no evidence of grievance committees.

The Government did commit itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal, which was duly done. It promised also to review security legislation. This was done.

Senior Government figures today admit to a feeling of pessimism. "I have been pessimistic for the past few months," one top source said. Many like him are fed up with the ANC and SACP.

There is some frustration because the Government knows it cannot act unilaterally, yet does not have a rabbit-in-hat plan to get negotiations going again.

There is suspicion in the Government that Mr Mandela and the ANC want total power and are not prepared to compromise. "If we give in to the ANC demands there will be a white backlash," the source said.

For its part, the ANC has said it would talk to the Government again only if Mr de Klerk accepted an interim government, an elected constitutional assembly, terminated "hit squads", disbanded all special forces, prosecuted

security force members allegedly involved in violence, phased out single-quarters hostels, set up an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, allowed international monitoring of political violence, released all political prisoners, and repealed all repressive legislation.

While there is at present only inconclusive contact between the Government and the ANC at top level, ANC members at grass roots often meet police to discuss political violence and head off trouble at demonstrations.

There is also contact, albeit often acrimonious, between the main parties within structures of the National Peace Accord.

If the negotiation process does start again — and the signs are hopeful — the Government expects the first step would be bilateral talks between itself and the major parties. Ministers do not want another Codesa meeting unless a compromise on contending political programmes is worked out beforehand in bilateral talks.

Nor would they want another vague Pretoria Minute which could trigger years of argument and interpretation as to what it really meant. □

Optimism grows after statements by FW and Mandela

Talks 'within 10 days'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

weekly Cabinet meeting nearby, President de Klerk cautiously welcomed Mr Mandela's speech.

Optimism is growing that stalled negotiations will soon resume, after a conciliatory speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela delivered from the steps of the Union Buildings yesterday, at the climax of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

And at an impromptu press conference after the

STAR 6/8/92

304A

Mr de Klerk indicated that behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and ANC — already started on specific issues — would soon include the disagreements about a transitional government and violence.

Some negotiators believe formal negotiations could resume within 10 days.

Addressing the peaceful crowd at the Union Build-

ings, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC call for the Government to respond to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume. But he told journalists afterwards the ANC would be "flexible" in assessing the Government's response, and re-committed the ANC to negotiations.

Asked if his speech was aimed at "healing wounds", Mr Mandela said he would be pleased if that was the way it was received.

Mr de Klerk told journalists later that while the ANC

rally was taking place, the Cabinet had been considering refinements — aimed at the resumption of negotiations — to the fresh negotiations initiative discussed at its recent "bosheraad".

Saying his door "is always open to Mr Mandela" he disclosed that the Government would present "constructive" legislation to the October session of Parliament "aimed at assisting the (negotiation) process".

Mr Mandela hailed the

two-day national strike as "one of the greatest events in our history" and said the way the rest of the campaign went would depend on the Government's response. The ANC had not come to score points or gloat about the success of the stayaway, but to take South Africa along the road to democracy.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo took a tougher line, saying the mass action was the "first step" in possible intensified pressure.

Right-wing parties reacted

angrily to the Pretoria march and rolling mass action campaign.

The Government's failure to declare a general state of emergency to deal with mass action and its consequences, including those on the economy, could not be excused, the Conservative Party MP Daan Nolle said.

The situation in which the country found itself was "all most hopeless", said Herstigje Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said "the mass action constituted 'se-
dition'".

The rickety negotiat-

STAR 7/18/92. 304A

IT HAS NOT always been like this — and it did not have to be. There was a time, not so long ago, when South Africa was euphoric and self-congratulatory about the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and the considerable progress it had registered in its short life-span since its inception in December last year.

Many a political commentator likened it to a train which had just pulled into a station, and left-wing and right-wing organisations and parties which refused to take part in it were warned of the possibility of being "left behind" by the train.

That train, to extend the metaphor, has since crashed, and frantic attempts are being made here and abroad to repair it and get it going again. This is how we got where we are now. Just as millions of South Africans watched with satisfaction

the proceedings of Codesa 1 on December 20-21, marvelling at the camaraderie among delegates, on May 15-16 this year they watched in disbelief as Codesa — dubbed a "Tower of Babel" by its detractors — dithered and foundered.

Therein lie the seeds of the ANC's mass action campaign. As preparations for Codesa 2 continued, May began with a great sense of optimism. Came the eve of Codesa 2 and things started to look different.

Some politicians tried to present smiling faces at the end of Codesa 2 but ANC president Nelson Mandela warned that a potentially serious deadlock had occurred. At issue was the percentage needed for decisions to be taken by an interim government on regional government, although the impasse went much deeper.

A bitter slanging match be-

Codesa 1 was hailed as a virtual miracle, but after Codesa 2, the rot seemed to set in to the negotiations process. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA traces the events which led South Africa back along the path of confrontation.

tween the ANC and the Government followed, with Mr Mandela blaming Mr de Klerk for violence in the townships, and even likened the killing of blacks to the holocaust in Nazi Germany.

Posters calling Mr de Klerk and some Cabinet ministers "murderers" were displayed, and in a mock trial in Cape Town the State President was "tried, found guilty and sentenced to many years' imprisonment" for human rights abuses.

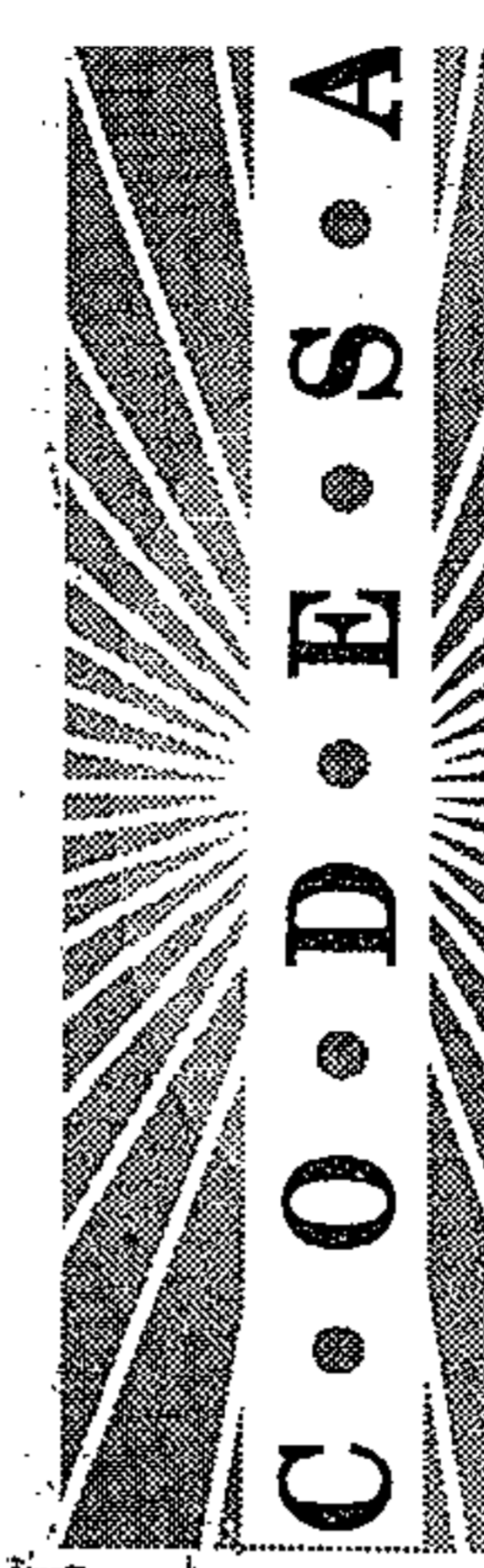
It was a wounded and embittered ANC that met at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, for its national policy conference on

May 28-31, and emerged with a tough stance on negotiations. The organisation also endorsed "unprecedented, rolling mass action".

On June 1 Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said subcommittees dealing with matters in working groups 1 (creating a climate for free political activity), 3 (interim arrangements) and 4 (TBVC states) would resume talks on June 8.

The Government started pushing through Parliament legislation on issues being nego-

ions track



tiated at Codesa, such as unilateral amendments to electoral procedures in the Referendum Bill and the Electoral Bill. The ANC expressed outrage at the moves, saying they revealed the Government's "utter contempt" for the negotiations process.

The last meeting of Codesa's management committee was on June 15. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied any progress had been made, but Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said negotiations were proceeding favourably and constructively.

Further developments came

thick and fast:

- On June 16 Mr de Klerk addressed the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi and was accused of siding with the Inkatha Freedom Party.
- After the June 17 Boipatong massacre an outraged Mr Mandela suspended bilateral talks and the ANC later withdrew from Codesa — listing 14 demands to be met before it resumed negotiations.
- On June 17 Mr de Klerk announced that Parliament would reconvene for a second session in October to impleme

transitional arrangements. The ANC described the announcement as "a ruse" to give the impression that progress had been made at Codesa.

The ANC and the Government resorted to an exchange of memoranda, with the former flatly refusing to meet Pretoria.

The ANC asked the Organisation of African Unity to call for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council.

- On July 2 Mr de Klerk softened the Government's demands for minority protection in a transitional government. He called the ANC an "unreliable negotiating partner".

- On July 15 the Security Council met in special session on South Africa, addressed by a number of South African leaders. UN special envoy Cyrus Vance was sent to investigate

the violence and to help get negotiations back on track.

- On July 30 the Government ordered 5 000 policemen and troops into Reef townships in a "peace and stabilisation" operation as the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance geared up for the August 3-4 stayaway. The stayaway was followed by marches around the country.

In the immediate aftermath of the mass action, voices were heard expressing optimism about the prospects for restarting negotiations.

The formal position is that the ANC still insists that the Government meet its 14 demands, but olive branches were being held out tentatively by both sides. A reversion to something like the pre-Codesa 2 atmosphere seems possible, although by no means certain. □



What we need is three

STAR 7/18/92.

304A

THE breakdown of Codesa 2 is not merely a matter of arithmetic; its deliberations were from the outset haunted by the ghosts of the past. Any attempt to prescribe a solution to this breakdown, without an awareness of the history which helped shape the key actors who sat around the table, is bound to be superficial and therefore doomed to failure.

In 1910 the Union of South Africa was born but this was only possible through the exclusion of blacks. Resentment and resistance became part of the body politic. In 1948, discrimination was codified, legalised and extended. Under successive National Party governments, the politics of domination was entrenched and when resistance increased, repression, through the security forces, was rigidly and often viciously imposed.

When it is borne in mind that the Government for more than 40 years has relied on top-down command decision-making, restricted access to decision-making circles, highly bureaucratic administra-

tive structures and repressive measures to control a restive population, it should come as no surprise that those who seek to shift from domination, repression and resistance to the politics of negotiation face enormous difficulties. There is no quick-fix.

This historic suspicion and distrust is compounded by the grim fact that in spite of the best intentions of Codesa, as well as the signing of the Peace Accord, the setting up of peace committees and dispute resolution committees, violence has actually increased.

The underlying causes of the violence are varied and complex, but as Judge Goldstone has emphasised, at the heart of the current violence is the legacy of apartheid which has brought about not only deprivation but also division. It follows that any ultimate solution to the violence is going to be long-term, constitutional and economic. In the short-term, however, it is imperative that violence is at least curtailed and controlled.

No attempt to achieve this can

exclude the resolution of the controversy which surrounds the security forces. The majority of township residents do not have confidence that the police are there as their protectors and the upholders of law and order. For too long they have experienced the police, and at times the army, as those who are there to implement the policies of apartheid.

Recent court cases, and Dr Jonathan Gluckman's serious charges concerning deaths in prison and detention and his charge that the "police are out of control", indicate that it will take more than a public relations campaign to restore trust.

A dramatic gesture is needed.

As soon as possible, there ought to be joint responsibility for the security forces so that when strong action is needed to be taken, it can be taken with the backing of the major political parties and not just by the National Party Government.

Until this becomes possible, the State President himself should assume responsibility for the portfo-

lio of Law and Order.

This would call forth a positive response from the ANC in particular, who believe that Mr de Klerk is either unwilling or unable to ensure that the security forces are impartial.

A further initiative would be to give teeth to the present dispute resolution committees and monitoring committees which are deeply frustrated by their own impotence. They should operate in tandem with the international monitoring force which will probably emerge from Cyrus Vance's recommendations to the Security Council.

One thing is certain: Unless the current violence can at least be curtailed, it will be impossible to hold elections and this could derail the negotiation process for an indefinite period.

The immediate goal is to get the three leaders, De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi, to sit together around a table so as to break the current deadlock. But the problem is that apart from serious political and constitutional differences,

there are deep personal grievances. Because of their estrangement from one another, a mediator who is skilful and impartial will have to intervene.

It is unlikely, however, that such a person could be found inside South Africa. No time should be wasted, therefore, in requesting Cyrus Vance (or someone of equal stature) to try to bring the three leaders together in order that they can sort out their personal grievances and move on to the much more important task of hammering out a basic agenda they can sell to their respective parties.

With the success of the mass stayaway in terms of the number of South Africans who did not go to work, Mr de Klerk has surely got the message that it is impossible to find a solution to the current conflict without the ANC alliance. Hopefully Mr Mandela and his colleagues will accept that they have made their point and will be equally anxious to return to negotiations.

If, in the initial discussions between the three leaders an acceptance could be reached that the

rights and interests of individuals and minorities, whether religious, political, ethnic or racial, should be protected from the tyranny of the majority and, conversely, that individuals and minority groups should not dominate nor frustrate the right of the majority to govern, a good start would have been made.

History will pronounce as to whether or not Messrs de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi will be viewed as the villains of the piece or the three wise men who enabled South Africa to move relatively peacefully and swiftly towards a new era of reconciliation.

In the meanwhile, the responsibility which rests on their shoulders to re-start the inevitable negotiations is awesome. They deserve the encouragement and support of all South Africans who are committed to peace and justice. □
● Dr Boraine is executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa). This is another in our series on Breaking the Logjam to stimulate debate on how to get the negotiation process back on track.

CP's last-ditch bid to avoid split

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The executive committee of the CP was in intensive discussions yesterday — and will be today — in a last-ditch effort to stave off a split in the party despite “irreconcilable differences”, a prominent CP executive member said last night.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said yesterday CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had chaired a meeting with the five dissident MPs who drafted a position document, “The Road Ahead”, calling for negotiations with all par-

le Roux

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ties to negotiate a federal structure.

He said the meeting was adjourned until today when a decision on whether the five would walk out would most likely be made.

The five — Mr Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Mr Cehill Pienaar (Free State leader), Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal) and Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) — were still intent on leaving the party before the meeting.

After the adjournment one of the five said the discussions were particularly difficult but es-

entially the ball was in the leadership's court.

“They must decide whether they will move towards our position, which is a much more realistic one than the one the party is following currently — which is essentially a resurrection of the HNP in the CP, led by Ferdi Hartzenberg,” he said.

Another member of the group said that after the meeting he felt “more hopeful of some form of reconciliation than before the meeting”.

The executive committee met late yesterday to try to work out some form of compromise but there was little hope of a happy outcome.



Talk hopes rise as ANC rallies forces

304A
07 7/8/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Developments on the political front yesterday gave strong indications that negotiations could be resumed soon.

A day after the ANC's mass action campaign peaked with Mr Nelson Mandela's address at the Union Buildings, it became known that the ANC and its Codesa allies would meet soon to formulate a joint strategy on negotiations.

The group, known as the Codesa Patriotic Front, excludes the PAC. Its participants are the ANC, the Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, the Labour Party, the SACP, the Transkei and Venda administrations and the governing parties of Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Cosatu will also be represented but no decision has been taken on whether it will continue to seek representation at a future negotiations forum.

It is understood that a convening committee is to meet on Monday and the full Patriotic Front a week later to discuss, among other things, a strategy to attempt to secure the ANC's demand for a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

One PF source said: "The way might

Codesa allies to thrash out strategy

be clear to start talking again. The ANC can say it has made its point with mass action and it can now go back and talk."

The source said the resumption of negotiations depended largely on when mechanisms to monitor and prevent violence would be in place.

The source said there were several measures that would constitute sufficient movement by the government on the violence question to allow negotiations to resume. These were: UN monitors accompanying police and army, UN access to SAP communications networks, public access to the UN and the UN's close co-operation with the National Peace Accord.

The president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said in Windhoek yesterday that his organisation believed that, with the UN as convener, there was now a possibility of forming a

new, more representative forum than Codesa. Sapa also quoted him as saying the PAC was striving for such a forum and that, in the event of substantive talks, "the PAC will be there".

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Democratic Party negotiator Mr Peter Soal believes the talks will be resumed "in the very near future".

However, the negotiations would not necessarily take place within the Codesa format, Mr Soal said.

Mr Soal met Mr Mandela last Friday. He also had talks with the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, and Mr Vance.

"I am optimistic that a way will be found to reach agreement between the main players and to include the significant moderate centre. Our role outside the two main groupings remains as essential as ever."

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance is believed to have recommended that the UN Security Council send a small observer force to SA to help "augment" institutions like the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Accord.

Diplomats said Mr Vance's report on his 10-day mission to SA was in secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali's hands yesterday and that it could be distributed as an official UN document as early as today.

11 500 jobs to go as BP losses grow

APR 7/8/92

LONDON. — British Petroleum had its darkest day for decades as it cut its dividend for the first time since World War I, reported a substantial first-half loss and said it was cutting 11 500 jobs.

The loss and redundancies were the result of a cost-cutting and asset sales programme, for which the company made an exceptional charge of £1 billion (R5,3 billion).

The charge transformed a second-quarter net profit of £107 million (R567 million) into an unprecedented £812 million (R4 303 million) net loss. The first-half loss was £717 million (R3 800 million) compared with an £834 million (R4 420 million) profit in the 1991 period.

The second-quarter dividend was halved to 2,1p (11,1c). BP's shares fell 10p (53c) to 196p (R10,39) yesterday.

Last clue today to win R20 000

TODAY the last clue for The Argus/Steers R20 000 in cash Stick-a-Pic competition is on page 7. Clues from last Monday and Tuesday are also reprinted on that page so those who failed to get their copies of The Argus on those days, as a result of distribution difficulties,

Ramaphosa warns of more mass action

APR 7/8/92

The Argus Correspondent DURBAN. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has warned that South Africa would face another lap of "rolling mass action" unless the government heeded the call for an interim government, constituent assembly and embarked on constructive steps to end violence.

Speaking during a visit to Empangeni, Mr Ramaphosa indicated that this week's mass action campaign, "which has successfully brought this country to a standstill", would be taken further unless demands were met.

He was reacting to President De Klerk's announcement on Wednesday that he was prepared to resume talks.

Addressing more than 70 000 ANC supporters who marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk said there was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed.

"I am prepared to sit down tomorrow," he said.

The naked truth?

DIXON (Illinois). — A prisoner is suing for what he says is his freedom under the First Amendment to worship in the nude. The lawsuit by Mr Jesse Loden asks for R3-million from the Illinois Department of Corrections and from 13 people who work at the Dixon Prison. — Sapa-AP.

However, Mr Ramaphosa threw the ball back into the government's court yesterday, saying that any new talks would depend on the government response to ANC demands.

"We will talk to Mr De Klerk only when he is ready to give us our freedom", said Mr Ramaphosa.

Recent reports indicated that the government, the ANC and the IFP might meet under the auspices of the National Peace Commission to discuss violence.

Also speaking at Empangeni yesterday, the secretary-general of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, said organised labour would continue to support the ANC demands.

Expressing Cosatu support for continuing mass action, Mr Naidoo said that being voteless, the black people had no other means to express political aspirations.

SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani told cheering residents at Esikhawini township that democratic elections would soon be held and they should mobilise numbers to ensure a democratic government.

Mr Hani and Mr Naidoo were accompanying Mr Ramaphosa on a fact-finding mission to investigate the killing of 11 people in Esikhawini on Sunday night.

Health strikers take over office

APR 7/8/92

ABOUT 60 striking members of the Health Workers' Union occupied the manager's office at the hospital central laundry in Pinelands today.

The strikers occupied the Cape Provincial Administration premises at 8am, according to union shop steward Mr Isaac Ngame. Police monitored proceedings.

Mr Ngame said they were demanding that management open the staff tearoom to allow the strikers to hold a meeting.

About 80 of the workforce of 309 have been on strike at the laundry for about seven weeks. Mr Ngame said management locked the tearoom because they said it had been damaged by the strikers.

"This is not true. We asked the manager to show us what damage had been caused, but he refused," said Mr Ngame.

At 10am the group was still in the manager's office, singing and chanting, while police, management and union officials negotiated.

Police vehicles were on the premises but the atmosphere was calm.

Non-strikers and workers from other Cape Provincial Administration institutions carried on working. Mr Ngame said strikers would not interfere with non-strikers.

About 20 singing and chanting strikers stood outside the building. They said they would occupy the office until their demands were met.

The Health Workers' Union is demanding permanent status for all workers, a R724 minimum monthly wage and a 15,3 percent increase. The manager refused to comment.

● See page 7.

End of road for chauffeur

NICE. — Police have arrested the chauffeur of a Franco-Lebanese millionaire on charges of stealing four paintings — by Matisse, Degas and Modigliani — from his employer's French Riviera home. Together valued at R100-million, they were snatched a week ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

Vance believed to favour 'observer force'

WASHINGTON — UN special envoy Cyrus Vance is believed to have recommended that the Security Council send a small observer force to SA to help "augment" existing institutions like the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord machinery.

Diplomats said Vance's report on his 10-day mission to SA was in Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's hands yesterday and could be distributed as an official UN document as early as today.

In the document, Vance is said to advocate placing fewer than 200 observers, on a basis that is not intrusive, to help smooth

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SIMON BARBER

the way for agreement on an interim government as soon as possible.

Their function would be to help foster a climate for successful negotiation, in part by acting as an important incentive for all parties, including the police, to refrain from actions that might lead to violence or throw further obstacles in the path of negotiations.

It seems certain that they will work in concert with the Goldstone commission and the peace accord, as well as other peace mechanisms agreed between the parties.

Western officials made clear that the force would be even-handed and that a key part of its brief would be "not to do for the South Africans what they should be doing for themselves".

The Security Council is scheduled to hold consultations on Cyprus today. Boutros-Ghali may take the opportunity to brief the council on Vance's conclusions.

As for formal action on the report, the council is expected to try to reach consensus behind the scenes and then swiftly adopt an implementing resolution, perhaps early next week.

Funding for the operation would then have to be approved.

Laws on interim rule may be ready

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MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

VARIOUS far-reaching "dummy" Bills to pave the way for an interim government are believed to have been drawn up and to be capable of adaptation at short notice to match negotiated agreements among the major parties.

Speculation is that if agreement on an interim government is reached before the brief October session of parliament, the government will be in a position to present legislation almost immediately and have it ratified in the shortest possible time.

The government is known to be entering the next phase of negotiations in a high state of readiness, but sensitivity surrounds its own strategy and the steps it has taken or intends taking to ease negotiations.

The ANC has demanded concessions and it is clear the government has used the present hiatus in negotiations to formulate a strategy to get the process moving again.

The brief session of parliament starting on October 12 — and probably lasting about 10 days — is a key period on the 1992 political calendar.

President De Klerk heightened speculation about legislative preparations when he answered questions from the steps of the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday.

He said: "The government is not working on a go-it-alone option but you can expect at least some basic legislation to be put before parliament.

"It is not just general legislation. It will be constructive and aimed at assisting progress, without us in any way trying to act unilaterally."

The government had been working hard to prepare for the session, at which it hoped to "present ... the results and the fruits of negotiations".

The strongest speculation is that government law writers have been hard at work producing a range of optional legislation — like "dummy" Bills — which can be easily and speedily adapted to negotiated agreements.

This would cut delays in ratifying the results of negotiations.

Already there has been confirmation of fresh dialogue between the ANC and the government and optimism about the resumption of negotiations is growing.

CP battle to avert split ^{304A} continues

^{STAR}
By Peter Fabricius 7/8/92
Political Correspondent

The CP's battle to avert a split will continue today when discussions between five dissident MPs and party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht are resumed.

The two sides failed to resolve fundamental policy differences in a meeting yesterday.

Chief whip Frank le Roux issued a brief statement saying a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Treurnicht had held discussions with the signatories on a document entitled "Die Pad Vorentoe" (The Road Ahead). The discussion would continue today.

Sources in the dissident camp said that although yesterday's discussions had been cordial and both sides had shown flexibility, neither had budged on the cardinal points of difference.

This indicates that a split is still the most likely outcome of the crisis. Dissident sources said earlier this week that they might form a new party dedicated to entering negotiations for the establishment of a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

FM 7/8/92 (304A)

THE WHITE RIGHT FM 7/8/92

Some still searching (304A)

It's been a long time coming, but a split in the Conservative Party seems about to happen.

In what was clearly a carefully orchestrated move, Andries Beyers, the CP's newest MP (elected for Potchefstroom in February) precipitated a showdown with party hardliners with a provocative speech at the CP Transvaal youth congress in Naboomspruit at the weekend. He questioned the party's current direction and suggested choices that went way beyond the official line.

The Transvaal youth leadership backed

him, as did four caucus colleagues: Chris de Jager (Bethal), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron) and Rosier de Ville (Standerton). It is understood that another group of about 10 MPs is sympathetic to the rebels' cause but believes it can still change the party from within.

The hardliners, headed by deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, are insisting that the rebels must be expelled. An attempt last week to reconcile the two factions at a meeting in Pretoria is reported to have failed.

In essence, the Beyers group wants to participate in constitutional negotiations in the hope of winning political and territorial concessions for a loosely defined "Afrikaner nation" which, it seems, includes all Afrikaans-speaking people and not just whites. The Hartzenberg group rejects negotiations the way they are structured at Codesa.

The Beyers group believes the current CP leadership does not appreciate the extent of the crisis the party faces in a rapidly changing political climate. It argues that the CP is neglecting the needs of Afrikaners rather than serving them.

The crisis confirms the severe confusion in the white Right that began the day after the March referendum, which delivered a crushing two-thirds majority in favour of negotiated change and, ultimately, majority rule. More divisions in the CP can only strengthen President F W de Klerk. ■



Talks on 'if govt moves'

304A
AT 8/8/92
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that if "clear evidence" emerged that the government was moving towards meeting the ANC's demands, the organisation would "have no hesitation" in resuming negotiations.

However, he rejected Mr De Klerk's invitation for a "bush meeting" at this stage.

In an interview yesterday Mr Mandela also called for Mr De Klerk to use his "clout" to ensure free political activity in the Ciskei where there have been clashes between security forces and ANC members.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the government and the ANC are already talking about the basis on which full-blown constitutional negotiations can be restarted, sources in both camps confirmed yesterday.

The primary focus of discussions is the release of political prisoners — as well as a possible amnesty for political offenders — including security force members.

Sources close to the highly sensitive bilateral talks emphasised that any agreement on the amnesty issue would have to form part of a broadly based "package deal" which could serve as a mutually acceptable basis for a return to negotiations.

The list of potential items currently falling in the net of a multi-faceted trade-off include:

- The position of the 420 prisoners whom the ANC insist fall into the "political" category;
- Security force members — both police and Defence Force — who took part in clandestine operations against anti-apartheid activists and;
- The status of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, as well as arms caches in the country.

Western Cape religious leaders representing the Christian, Jewish and Muslim faiths met at Bishops-court yesterday to discuss the role they should be playing in response to the current political logjam.

Conservatives survive split . . . for now

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THREATENED divisions in the Conservative Party have been averted for the time being — but, a new crisis could develop within the week.

Developments in the CP heighten the prospect of a rightwing presence in the negotiation process, although it is still too early to speculate on what form this might take.

The party emerged intact af-

ter protracted talks in Pretoria yesterday between the CP leadership and dissenting MPs led by former chief secretary and Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers.

Mr Beyers's document, *The Road Ahead* — which calls for talks with other parties, including the ANC, on a drastically smaller volkstaat, possibly within a federal structure — has the support of four other MPs.

They are Ermelo MP Mr Moolman Mentz, Free State

leader and Heilbron MP Mr Cehill Pienaar, Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville and Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager.

Friction between them and the party's "old guard" burst into the open last weekend after Mr Beyers addressed a CP youth meeting in the Transvaal on his discontent with policy.

In a statement last night, CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said talks with the MPs who had backed Mr Beyers's document had been concluded. The results would be submitted to

the CP executive council next Thursday for a final decision. No MPs had resigned.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht made it clear he was happy with the talks which he described as serious, analytical and critical. "We are one," he said. "The D-day is over".

Meanwhile, about an hour before Mr Le Roux's statement, Sapa reported that all but a few members of the CP's Transvaal youth leadership had resigned.

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ANC vows to keep up the pressure.

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□ The ANC-Cosatu-SACP's mass action is poised to continue until the government agrees to genuine democratic change. This report by **VUYO BAVUMA**, Weekend Argus Reporter.

THE African National Congress has no choice but to articulate the frustrations and fears of people who want a political solution to the country's problem, ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

This is also why hundreds of thousands of people support mass action, he said.

"We are trying to reflect the problems affecting the man in the street. The issues include poverty, gangsterism and violence ravaging their lives.

"People want to vote for their own political parties. They want an end to the endemic violence and tension in the country, but instead crises are getting worse day by day," Mr Yengeni said.

The ANC felt it was imperative to champion the fears and the aspirations of the people in a peaceful way. "Mass action is an attempt to channel the anger of the people in a constructive way, not destructive means. We don't want the people to run amok and explode in anarchy.

"The programme is also to show the regime that we have strength and that it should take us seriously.

The ANC planned to continue with the mass action and would encourage local zones to tackle grassroots issues.

"Mass action won't stop until the government makes a concrete agreement on the principle of majority rule and elections for a constituent assembly.

"We want to mobilise the people for the elections which will be the greatest political event ever seen in the country," Mr Yengeni said.

UN to send 30 observers to SA?

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali recommended yesterday that about 30 UN observers should be stationed in South Africa to work in close association with the National Peace Secretariat set up under an all-party peace accord last September.

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The recommendation was part of a report requested by the Se-

curity Council for ending violence in South Africa and resuming moves towards non-racial democracy. (304A)

They could be supplemented by other organisations such as the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity, he said.

The observer force was one of the main recommendations of a

report based on talks with a wide range of parties and groups held by the UN chief's special representative, former US Secretary of State Mr Cyrus Vance.

● Five of the seven UN observers who spent the past week in South Africa have completed their work and will fly out this weekend, the head of the group, Mr Hisham Omayad of Ghana, said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

CP leader changes tack to avert crisis

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PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

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CP crisis

304A

● FROM PAGE 1.

of their concern not to split the party, the dissidents had walked into a trap by agreeing to have their proposals submitted to the executive committee.

He believed Hartzenberg would use his influence to ensure a rejection, and that an inevitable split in the party had merely been postponed.

Kruger was convinced that the dissident faction would sooner or later hive off to form the separate Afrikaner Party under Beyers which it had been planning.

Other midstream MPs also indicated that the dissident five had been outmanoeuvred.

They said the leadership would probably approve the proposals in broad outline, but not the critical specifics such as negotiating with the ANC or accepting a federal option as a means to Afrikaner independence.

During the two days of talks, the dissidents had not demanded that the party approve negotiations with the ANC, nor a federal option.

The dissidents' policy document "Die Pad Vorentoe" (The Road

Ahead) which they say Treurnicht has now accepted — is not quite clear on these issues. It proposes negotiations "with other leaders who do not subscribe to communism", which could rule out the ANC because of its alliance with the SA Communist Party.

It also proposes that "the minimum condition acceptable to the CP is sovereign independence for our own nation" — which appears to exclude the federal option.

It is clear, however, on the need to accept a much smaller Afrikaner homeland, proposing a region in the north of the country with Pretoria as capital, and another one or two in the south.

Departing from the CP's stress on race and emphasising ethnicity instead, it proposes that the southern volkstaat could include coloured Afrikaans-speakers as co-rulers.

These Afrikaner "homelands" would be part of a South African confederation or commonwealth comprising 10 regions, not all of which would be ethnically based.

The document, for instance, proposes a multi-ethnic state in the Witwatersrand with Johannesburg as capital.

THE Conservative Party could be poised to enter mainstream negotiations with a new policy after its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, averted a split yesterday by provisionally accepting the basic policy proposals of five dissident MPs.

After two days of marathon talks with Treurnicht at CP headquarters in Pretoria, the dissidents, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, last night emerged smiling and said the leader had accepted their proposals.

These included open-ended negotiations aimed at securing a "volkstaat" for Afrikaners — but much smaller than anything the party had hitherto contemplated.

Hartzenberg may lead attack

The dissidents had made it clear this week that they were prepared to negotiate even with the ANC, and to accept a federal system as a route towards an eventual autonomous volkstaat within a confederal South Africa.

Treurnicht said after the meeting that "D-Day" had passed, but he would not elaborate on a brief statement that a submission would be made to the CP executive on Thursday. But the crisis in the party is not entirely over. Some CP insiders predict that hard-line deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg may lead an attack against acceptance of the dissidents' views.

The Transvaal CP youth executive and Pretoria city councillor Gerdus Kruger — who supports the five MPs — resigned from the party yesterday while the talks with Treurnicht and other loyal MPs were still going on. He said he did not believe the dissidents' views could be accommodated in the CP any longer.

Kruger said in an interview he feared that, because

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Becker
y. The
words:

Vance likely to call for extended UN presence

NEW YORK — Cyrus Vance's recommendations following his mission to South Africa were being outlined to the UN Security Council last night in a closed-door briefing by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

They are believed to include an endorsement of the secretary-general's own idea that the UN might usefully maintain a continuing "presence" in South Africa in the hope of helping the Codesa process and keeping it on track.

It is pretty well taken for granted in UN circles that the suspended constitutional talks will be able to resume shortly, now that Nelson Mandela and the ANC have made their point.

Boutros-Ghali first spoke of the possibility of a UN presence during his talks with Organisation of Afri-

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MIKE LITTLEJOHN

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can Unity leaders in June.

What form such a presence might take would probably be determined in consultations with the Security Council and with the parties involved in South Africa. The representative could be a foreign government official or a senior member of the UN bureaucracy.

It would represent UN intrusion in the country's domestic affairs at a level never previously contemplated, but might be the political price for avoiding further disruption of the negotiating process.

A UN spokesman said Vance's report was expected to be released on Monday.

New Foreign Affairs chief geared for change

STN 8/8/92
304A
JOHN PERLMAN

RUSTY Evans, yesterday appointed Foreign Affairs director-general, has no idea how long he'll keep the job. But he won't be spending much time worrying about that.

"I've been a junior official and I've been a senior official, and if a new political dispensation affects my rank I'll be quite happy to accept it. What the heck. We have tremendous opportunity in the future to be part of

the new South Africa. I don't see it as a threat."

Evans, who replaces Neil van Heerden — who becomes ambassador to the European Community in Belgium — on October 1, has been with Foreign Affairs for 30 years. In that time he has had to try to sell some pretty shop-soiled goods.

"I had to go on BBC TV to try to explain the Rubicon speech," he recalls with a laugh. "That was quite an

experience. They televised the speech live."

Evans, who was the senior deputy director in the department and Van Heerden's expected successor, sounds like he quite enjoyed the challenge. But he clearly relishes the fact that the department these days does not have to work off such a defensive footing.

"These must be the most interesting and challenging times for the department,

given South Africa's re-emergence into the world. We are going to be more and more involved in Africa."

Evans insists that this remains a great challenge despite a more accommodating political climate. "You have to be very flexible, very accommodating. African diplomacy is a fascinat-

ing process. I don't think the future is going to be any easier. It will be a question of ensuring we maximise benefits in the new phase."

Evans will not be drawn on whether the Government or the ANC currently enjoys greater standing in the major capitals of the world.

He describes President F W de Klerk as "the best ambassador that South Africa could possibly have. He

has managed to persuade the international community that he is committed to a process that will satisfy all aspects of the demand for democracy both here and outside."

The real issue, Evans says, is that the outside world is strongly committed to the negotiations process.

"Any party that thinks it can pull back from negotiations will find itself on the receiving end of international

pressure to rejoin the talks."

Evans returned to South Africa six years ago after a number of key postings abroad.

"I have had experience overseas but these six years back in South Africa have been the most exciting. We are going through a major transformation in international relations and there is a sense of expectation in the whole department that we are now moving up a gear."

MY VIEW

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert Director, Institute for a Democratic

Alternative for South Africa

SOUTH 8/8-12/8/92

South Africa has to be seen in international terms.

In 1974, it was the coup in Portugal that gave independence to Portuguese colonies Mozambique and Angola — and which in turn led to Pretoria's doctrine of total onslaught and an aggressive regional policy in Southern Africa.

So while the Portuguese coup led to democracy in Europe, it produced the opposite in South Africa.

The Reagan-Gorbachev era also had profound effects on regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola and South Africa. And the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was cited by President FW de Klerk as motivating him to go for transition.

The ANC had lost Eastern European patronage, and was saddled with a discredited ideology. So De Klerk's change of tack was not a road-to-Damascus conversion: it took place in this new international context.

The shift away from authoritarian regimes around the world has spawned a field of academic study called transitional analysis which has produced many generalisations relevant for South Africa.

These highlight different outcomes of transition and different types of transition. They also show up common features, like uncertainty, disenchantment and the tensions in a negotiated settlement.

Even if all the players commit themselves to democracy, the result is not necessarily a multi-party system with an independent judiciary and parties that accept the rules of the game.

The options are:

- A new, softer form of domination — for example, if a post-apartheid joint ANC-NP government instituted a clampdown.

- An interim undemocratic government, like a military junta promising democracy, making itself semi-permanent.

- A democratic order emerging, but being too unstable to deal with social conflicts and problems, as in Argentina.

- A consolidated democracy, as in Spain and Portugal.

Besides these different outcomes of transition, there are different types of transition:

- A pact between elites, who try to drive the process through structures like Codesa.

'Transitions to democracy have disenchantment built into them: there is more pain for the powerful and less delivery than the powerless had hoped for'



- Transition may be unilaterally imposed through a coup or modernising oligarchy, as in South Korea, Taiwan and Chile.

- Massive pressure from below, as in Poland and East Germany, can force negotiations at the top.

- Revolutionary violence.

Chances of stability are better if the method of transition is through elite pacts, for the reason that it is difficult to control mass action.

Uncertainty is also a hallmark of transitions: actors think they can control the agenda, and we on the ground assume they know what they are doing. But they themselves are victims of a process and the agenda is written by their interaction.

Transitions to democracy also have disenchantment built into them: there is more pain for the powerful than they expected, and less delivery than the powerless had hoped for.

People confuse democracy with growth and development. But the early days produce anxiety, inflation and capital flight.

In South Africa, all these different modes and outcomes of transition are punted by different elements. We have the mass action and the threat of the security establishment. But the dominant thrust is still the attempt at a pacted transition, and attempts to get back to

negotiations.

International experience shows:

- Parties negotiating are competitors as well as negotiators. Their constituencies are not fixed — all want to win more support, even as they negotiate.

- There is a tension between power and responsibility. For example, the government wants to give the ANC lots of responsibility, and little power, and vice versa.

Both forces, though, underestimate the civil service as a source of continuity and constraint on transition. Unless the major players can agree on the civil service, there can't be shared responsibility.

- There is usually a tension between compromise and constituency. In South Africa, the ANC feels this more acutely than the National Party leaders, who believe that, having been elected by their caucus, they can subsequently change policy as they like.

De Klerk did not canvass support from the provinces for his policies. The ANC, though, is committed to a consultative process, and hence the anxiety in its ranks about a sell-out in a smoke-filled negotiating chamber.

- There is a strategic ambiguity among all major players.

This government acts at one moment unilaterally, as with VAT, at other times multilaterally. In the ANC there is a strategic tension between negotiation and mass action, and in Inkatha between ethnicity and non-racialism.

Democratic transition requires:

- A pact on stability and violence.

This is probably more important than the reactivation of Codesa, and the international community can play a special role here.

- The same pact should be a pact on security, on dealing with all the different militia. The rules of democracy can't be agreed on without this.

- A pact on growth, encompassing the degree of state intervention, the role of private property and the rights of workers and management.

- A pact on development and redistribution. Codesa has not paid any attention to this, but the Economic Forum (of state, business and labour) might.

- Finally, a pact on a political constitution.

DP must put lid on 'tupperware politics'

Quentin Wilson

attended the DP's regional congress and concluded that the party must sacrifice far more than a rugby match to get back into the political game:

Time for the DP is running short and if their regional congress is anything to go by, they are a long way behind schedule.

For a start, the congress was held in the mostly white suburb of Mowbray and the 150 or so participants reflected the white bias. Apart from a small sprinkling of African delegates (two of whom were elected onto the regional executive), proceedings were dominated by the faithful DP guard of white middle-aged males.

And it was their concerns that were heard most loudly. For example, a DP stalwart from the Constanza constituency rose from his chair and urged congress not to say what the rugby score was between Natal and the All Blacks "because that would spoil it for those of us who have taped the match on video and wish to see it later".

While other organisations on the left can point to members who have served lengthy terms in prison, exile and underground, and their fair share of martyrs, the DP showed its political commitment by giving up a day in front of the television.

DP MP Mr Roger Hulley alluded to this "sacrifice" in his address: "Well, we're nothing if we're not committed. Here we are at congress when we could be at home watching the Olympics or Natal versus the All Blacks. We really can say we are the missionaries."

One speaker, Mr Robin Carlisle, summed up the problem: "We are a white, middle-class, English-speaking, urban phenomenon and this is



COLIN EGLIN: Urges DP to 'get off the political sidelines'

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

what we have to change.

"We have been saying that for three years but we have not changed for a single second of that time. What is needed is a complete change of style. We should consider shouting 'Viva DP' and 'Viva democracy' at meetings. Before we start, maybe we should say 'Molo'."

Carlisle received an enthusiastic response and Mr Jasper Walsh, the re-elected chairperson of the Western Cape, seemed quite overwhelmed at the challenges ahead.

"Well what can I say Robin? I think that was absolutely outstanding. This must be our number one priority," Walsh proclaimed.

But it was not to be. Later in the meeting, someone did in fact cry out "Viva DP!" only to be given a liberal dose of polite laughter.

Speaking on the topic of "Expansion", Carlisle outlined three methods which the DP should use as part of their "oustretch strategy". They included:

- More door-to-door work to bring DP politics into more homes.
 - Recruiting black leadership figures from other parties or organisations to canvass support for the DP.
- Carlisle mentioned Dr Oscar Dhlomo, a disillusioned Inkatha Freedom Party leader, as a potential target.

● More media propaganda such as pamphlets and newsletters.

In the Western Cape, the DP's "oustretch strategy" has borne fruit in the form of two township branches — one in Guguletu set up last month and another in Khayelitsha formed two days before the DP congress. And a few more are on the way, according to Mr Ryan Coetzee, chairperson of the Western Cape DP Youth. Next on the list are Kensington, Mitchells Plain and Grassy Park.

Two things were impressive. Not only did the agenda start and end on time, but the priority given to fundraising was an eye-opener.

The R700 000 debt incurred by the DP during the tricameral election in 1989 has been cleared and it aims to raise R3,5 million for party coffers during the next year.

While they know how to get their hands on money, it is not yet clear how all this money will be used. MP Mr Colin Eglin insisted that the DP "take up issues instead of commenting on the political sidelines", but there was little evidence of an issue-based programme emerging from their congress.

Apart from fundraising and recruitment across the colour bar, there seems to be no clear direction other than vague liberal rhetoric that re-asserts some position between the NP and ANC.

Without a particular programme that goes beyond posturing in a dying parliament or writing letters to newspapers, the DP seems set to go down with the old South Africa.

REALISTS in the Democratic Party are getting understandably anxious about their predominantly white following.

At their regional congress over the weekend, it became clear that the DP, in a final bid for relevance, aims to recruit as many blacks and coloureds as possible into their liberal fold before South Africa's first real election encounter.

Much like the National Party, a worrying realisation has surfaced at the DP: Gone are the days of cosy whites-only party politics where tupperware parties and suburban fetes were strategic organising tools.

DP members are feeling increasingly uneasy about speaking on behalf of the voteless majority. Their mission now is to climb into their middle-class cars and find a township constituency prepared to Africanise the party.

SWEDISH anti-apartheid activists are reinvigorated after their success earlier this year in dissuading their new conservative government from lifting sanctions against South Africa.

After a Swedish parliamentary delegation including conservative MPs visited South Africa in February, many expected that sanctions would be lifted soon after.

Activists anticipated that the Swedish foreign minister would announce the policy change during May when ANC president Nelson Mandela visited Stockholm.

Intensive lobbying of MPs, however, prompted a re-think and sanctions have been retained.

So the Isolate South Africa Committee (Isak) is still in business: It staged demonstrations outside Pretoria's Legation in Stockholm last month in protest against the Boipatong massacre.

The organisation demanded that the South African government act immediately to stop the killings, and allow an international commission of inquiry to investigate Boipatong and monitor the violence.

Isak accepts that sanctions should be lifted once an interim government is set up in South Africa, but believes its own role will continue for a while thereafter.

"We have decided to dissolve Isak only when a democratic constitution is in place in South Africa," says journalist Mr Magnus Walan, an executive member of the organisation.

Isak is an alliance of 64 organisations, including church, student, labour and other groupings that was set up in 1979 as a broad anti-apartheid front.

The organisation has campaigned vigorously for sanctions over the years and ensured that Swedes are kept informed about developments in South Africa.

Sweden stands fast over Solidarity for South Africa

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STOP THE KILLING: Swede's demonstrate outside the South African Legation in Stockholm after the Boipatong massacre.

Photo: Martin Appel, Tidningen Broderskap

Non-Swedes are always surprised at the uniquely high level of knowledge of South Africa among the broad Swedish public.

Sweden's past social democratic governments have also historically been unique among Western countries for their generous aid to the ANC.

That the new conservative government appears to have now decided to retain much of the past policy is an indication of the strength of public sentiment on

South Africa in Sweden.

Many churches in Sweden have seen congregations learning South African freedom songs, and there have been thousands of meetings and demonstrations against apartheid.

There is an Isak-week during the year, where solidarity activities peak, and people collect money to support democratic groups in South Africa.

"I think the fact that a number of Swedish companies used to have

activities in South Africa resulted in some feelings of guilt among Swedes," says Walan.

Unlike other European countries, the anti-apartheid movement in Sweden has received financial support from the state.

"There has been a risk of dependency, but I believe we have avoided this," says Walan.

One of the challenges facing the movement in Sweden is engaging young people in regular activity. Observes Walan: "Recently we

had a big youth-conference against apartheid which was a big success, attracting several hundred people."

"But it seems that young people are interested in music and cultural happenings, and are more reluctant to take part in long-term work"

Isak's main project last year was a travelling exhibition called "The Black Township"; done in co-operation with the Africa-groups association in Sweden.

The purpose was to show daily life in South Africa as experienced by squatters.

A group of Swedes who visited South Africa brought back materials and rebuilt a shack to its original size, complete with newspapers as wallpaper and the characteristic smell of paraffin.

There has been criticism of Isak for concentrating too much on South Africa at the expense of the frontline states.

"It is true that we have focused a lot on South Africa. But we see clearly that the problems of the frontline states are much linked to South Africa."

Walan has visited South Africa several times, and has reported his trips extensively in Swedish papers.

It is Walan's hope that contacts will continue, despite changes in both countries.

"It is important that the organisations inside South Africa do not forget the international solidarity groups.

"Keep contact and make use of the resources we can consolidate."

— ANNA JOHANSSON



Time to lay down the white man's burden

304A

9/8/92

FOR those of us who are bored to tears by the mendacious humbug of what is cynically called "the negotiation process", the week has been rich with distractions: Jani Allan, Miss South Africa, the All Blacks, the Olympics.

Of the Jani affair (if that is a permissible word) I can do no better than echo the one-word comment of a Soweto matron, mother of a colleague: "Sis!" That sums it up.

This kind of white mischief, which seems to accompany the imperial twilight in Africa, held the nation spellbound. At least it was less obscene than the political discourse, but I thought Amy Kleinhans, the first winner of the Miss South Africa title who has not been a card-carrying member of the herrenvolk, was better value: a fresh-faced, small-town Afrikaans girl, as gushingly naive and engaging as the young Anneline Kriel.

Her selection as the embodiment of the South African ideals of grace and beauty was, like the selection of Soweto's Augustine Masilela as her first princess, a small symptom of the tectonic changes occurring beneath our feet. This is no longer the country in which we were all born and raised.

At Barcelona, to extend the argument, we found ourselves competing in the medals table with Slovenia and Peru, struggling to work our way up to the level of Latvia. Until the wondrous Elana, there was nothing to do but cheer for Namibia's double silver medalist, Frankie Fredericks, on the pretext that he had once been a Springbok.

Medals at the Olympic Games, it was made brutally clear to us, go to countries whose people have enough wealth and leisure to indulge in games (or to totalitarian states which achieve the same result by different means) but South Africa is a poor, under-developed, underfed country whose white elite has come down in the world.

Still searching for distraction, my eye fell on a number: 68 754 white babies were born in 1990. In the mid-70s, the number had topped 90 000, but it has been falling steadily for more than a

decade. In 1990 more babies were born to people classified as "coloured" than to whites. That is why the white schools are closing and the teachers are being laid off.

Today's demography, tomorrow's politics. In the 60s the white population grew by roughly 700 000, in the 70s by 650 000, in the 80s by less than 500 000 — and in the 90s it has fallen below replacement level. Soon after the turn of the century there won't even be enough whites to fill the demand for wealthy mugging victims.

The ANC and the National Party, like generals fighting the last war, still see our politics as a matter of wresting power and privilege from the whites and transferring it to the blacks, or of preventing blacks from wresting power from whites. Joe Slovo talks constantly of the need for whites to yield up their riches, President De Klerk of constitutional mechanisms to secure their wealth.

They both live in a vanished past. In 15 years time, the 1990 crop of babies will produce, say, 60 000 white matriculants, of whom only 15 000 will be fit for university training. They will barely be sufficient to fill the first-year places at the major universities.

In a country bereft of doctors, engineers, copy typists and good headwaiters, I have no doubt the remaining whites will be royal game: highly prized, pampered. They will be the most highly regarded citizens of a country struggling — and not only at the Olympic Games — to match the standards of Slovenia and Peru.

THE problem facing Mr Mandela and President De Klerk, had they but the wit to realise it, is not who is entitled to govern the country, but whether anybody is fit to govern. The problem facing the rest of us is to survive the transition.

Some leaders of the business community, I have lately discovered, already grasp the situation, and they are adapting to it. "Imagine," said a luncheon partner, "that you were transferred to India. How would you run your business?"

He proceeded to answer his own question: "Obviously, you wouldn't waste a moment worrying about your race, or about the constitution. You'd simply get close to the people you need to know, and you'd learn how to deal with them.

"And that's the way to go in South Africa."

Quite so. The strength of capitalism lies not in its efficiency, nor even in the possession of capital, but in flexibility, in the ability to adapt to changing circumstances. In Zimbabwe, the massed battalions of the labour movement drove many people to conclude that the ideal business should employ no more than 20 people, five of them family and the rest highly skilled.

SOUTH Africa is heading the same way. The head of a mighty conglomerate tells me that hardly a manager has failed to conclude, thanks to mass action, that his business is overstaffed. While the workers were staging carnivals in the streets for the benefit of politicians, the managers were quietly observing that 80 percent of the work gets done by 20 percent of the people.

The businessmen, at least, are beginning to discern the realities: in the new South Africa, the responsibility for meeting the demands of the masses will fall not on the whites but on the ANC. Already there are too few whites to hire all the gardeners and cooks on offer, too few to run all the businesses, too few to man the police or the army, too few to impose their will. And too few even to fill the coffers of the taxman.

A great transfer from white to black has begun, not of power but of responsibility. The time has arrived to lay down the white man's burden, to learn again to play games and chase medals, to seek distraction from the tedium of politics, and to leave the pointless struggles for power to those who have the appetite and the strength to carry the load.

KEN OWEN

Fancy footwork as Dr No opts for 'yes'

304A
SITIMES 9/8/92

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Andries Treurnicht, after hours of tough bargaining this week, has swung his support behind rebel members of his party who want to join Codesa.

But on Thursday he will face the toughest task of his career — persuading the diehards on the party's nine-member executive committee to go along with him. Dr

Treurnicht succumbed to fierce pressure this week from the five rebel "new-right" MPs and accepted their policy of demanding a smaller Afrikaner volkstaat and open-ended negotiations.

His opponents believe the concessions have been granted to prevent a split in the party, which has seen a major defection by youth members, expulsions and growing unhappiness about the party's refusal to enter negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

Unwilling

The new rightists — Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Free State leader and Heilbron MP Cehill Pienaar, Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, Standerton MP Rosier de Ville, and Bethal MP Chris de Jager — had two marathon meetings with Dr Treurnicht and three party MPs appointed by the four provincial executive councils.

Dr Treurnicht was unwilling to discuss the turn-about this week, but strong opposition to the new line is expected from CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg and other executive members such as Mr SP Barnard, Mr Cas Uys, Mr Frank le Roux, Natal leader Carl Werth and Cape leader Jan Hoon.

Mr Pienaar is the only supporter of the new line on the committee, while Dr Pieter Mulder, another committee member, has not committed himself either way.

"Dr Treurnicht is now

By CHARLES LEONARD

caught between the two factions in his party," said independent MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe.

"He landed there because of weak leadership."

The reason Dr Treurnicht accepted the new rightists' plan was simply to avoid the long-expected split in the party, insiders said.

"A possible split would be damaging for his reputation and stature as party leader," said Mr Pienaar. "The ball is now in the court of the executive committee."

Dr Hartzenberg — who dealt with the crisis at arm's length, remaining on his farm for the week — called the new-right plan "NP policy in miniature".

Unease

"After the results of the referendum, those people (the new rightists) started fiddling with policy instead of strategy," said Dr Hartzenberg. "Now they are presenting the NF's Plan B."

Dr Hartzenberg said he still believed a split could be averted and that "woelinge" (unease) in the Conservative Party could be attributed to "personal ambitions".

On Friday the new rightists got a further boost when nine members of the CP's Youth Council and Pretoria CP city councillor Gerdus Kruger resigned from the Conservative Party.

LAST weekend South Africans were given an overdose of newspaper advertisements related to the week of mass action.

This particular manner of sharing a viewpoint and selling ideas is catching on in our society. It was a method much used during the whites-only referendum, and has now re-emerged again at the time of what some have called the "black referendum".

Among advertisements placed by the government, the ANC and the SAP was one from the NP that made use of our society's current Olympic games fever.

The advertisement invited us all to "get back into the spirit of the Olympic Games, the spirit of peaceful competition."

It declared: "The National Party welcomes political competition in SA - it makes everybody perform at their best. But in the Olympic spirit of peaceful competition, we ask all South Africans and their political leaders to compete in peace."

The analogy is an interesting one and I thank the NP. However, I would contend that the government is not holding up its end of the bargain, and needs to be challenged to move toward making a true analogy possible.

For example, to speak of "the spirit of peaceful competition"

assumes that the competition in SA is a fair one, giving everyone equal chance to "perform at their best". But how can this be when one of the contenders, the NP government, wishes not only to race but act as referee? That certainly is not within the spirit or the practice of the Olympic Games.

Perhaps we need to remind this government that speaks so highly of the spirit of the Games that in Barcelona, international referees are being used to ensure as well as monitor that spirit. Perhaps we need also to remind them that

Let's level these playing fields!

By Rev FRANK CHIKANE,
general secretary of the
SA Council of Churches.

when anyone violates the rules at the Olympics, he or she is disqualified.

And perhaps we need to remind them that investigations into violations are not performed by the team concerned, but by competent international experts. It all helps to get the picture and the analogy straight.

If we look to Barcelona, the makeup of the SA team is an indication of inequality in resources and assets in SA. It is

not a reflection of the total population of the country, but of the privileged minority. To use another game analogy, the dice are loaded against the black majority every time.

Many of those in the "competition" in SA who support mass action take serious exception to a government that uses their tax money to suggest, in another of last week-end's advertisements, that a national strike "is so unnecessary". Taxpayers' money should not be used to advance a government's sectarian viewpoint. It is made worse when the said government repre-

strations.

It is unfair of the NP government to use the assets of taxpayers' money and the security forces for their own particular party political support system. No wonder they can welcome "political competition in SA".

To me there is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of this country, both black and white, want to see fair political competition in what the NP advertisement calls "the spirit of the Olympic Games". But if everyone is to "perform at their best" we need a levelling of the playing fields for all the participants.

Thank you NP for your analogy. Now let us see your government move toward making it possible.

sents only a minority of South Africans.

Not long back the government made an error in using assets at its disposal for its own and not for the benefit of the whole nation. This was when army reserves were called up against the threat of mass action just before June 16.

It seems to many black people that when you undertake a legitimate democratic protest action the government will use the army to stop you.

The army in this case is not used for the security of the state, but to stand by particular political positions. This, of

course, fits into the milieu of the old order when the security of the state was equal to the security of the white minority. It does not fit into the days when we talk of "peaceful competition".

Again, during the era of negotiations, taxpayers' money was used for an exclusive whites-only referendum to test whether or not De Klerk had support for his reform programme. Organisations whose support comes mainly from the disenfranchised majority do not have taxpayers' money to test their numbers. They have to resort to mass demon-

'Mother of the Volk' moves in to Orania

LIKE Brigadoon, the whites-only town of Orania slipped away from the 20th century yesterday, back into Voortrekker times.

Townfolk, neighbouring farmers and visitors from Volksstaat cells in nearby towns donned traditional dress, kappies and kerchiefs to welcome "the mother of the Volk", 91-year-old Mrs Betsie Verwoerd.

She is to take up residence in the main street of the village she considers the logistical extension of the separate development policy of her late husband, former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

Spy, tiny Mrs Verwoerd told the Sunday Times: "I am proud to be here as a symbol of a big idea. "I waited until the town had all the



STIMES 9/8/92

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

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necessary facilities until I moved in. I still consider myself a South African, but we are being overwhelmed by strange nations. We might lose it all.

"I don't think we can have the whole republic as we did in old times — so we have made another trek."

In the traditional grey dress and bonnet she first wore at the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek in 1988, Mrs Verwoerd made a symbolic crossing of the Orange River at the Havenga Bridge.

She travelled to the village in an ancient Chevrolet, and continued through Orania in a horse trap, followed by townfolk dancing

traditional volkspele on a bitterly cold, overcast day. Orania, population 300, celebrated her arrival with a three-day programme of cultural events. These included a breathtakingly racist interpretation of NP van Wyk Louw's classic epic poem *Raka*, by Mrs Johanna Pohl of Philippolis, sister-in-law of Afrikaans theatre doyenne Professor Anna Neehling-Pohl.

Blacks were likened to the evil man-beast Raka.

More than R1-million has been invested in Orania in the 16 months of its existence, according to chairman of the town board, Mr Andre van den Berg. There are now 25 businesses in the town.

Manual labour in the town, a privately owned concern which has effectively priva-

tised apartheid, is performed by residents of the Klein Geluk suburb, a white underclass which found little to celebrate yesterday.

"I've got no time to dance, I've got to work. This isn't for us," said one 25-year-old labourer, a former Pretoria bus driver.

Like the timeless Scottish village of the musical *Brigadoon*, which slipped in and out of the mists once every 100 years, Orania yesterday matched its outward appearance to its time-warp ethos.

Tomorrow its drab pastel prefabricated buildings and windswept concrete streets will once again outwardly resemble a 1932 platteland village with one difference: it now has a first lady, or, as Mr Van Den Berg put it, "Orania has a diamond".

Business backing for interim rule

5/1 Times (BUSS) 7/18/92

BUSINESSMEN back the formation of an interim government as soon as possible. They say it will open the door to large-scale investment.

Anglo American deputy chairman Leslie Boyd says: "We hear that an interim government is coming quite soon."

"We have been talking to several foreign companies about joint-venture projects. They are waiting for the political situation to stabilise. Once an interim government is in place, we expect to consummate some of these deals."

Malbak executive chairman Grant Thomas says the world's view of SA will change dramatically once an interim government is in place.

"Investors will regard this as a sign for lifting the embargo. We have no reservations about it. The country is committed to an interim government. Provided the system of checks and balances is adequate, we do not fear what will happen."

Haggie managing director Chris Murray expects less industrial action when an interim government arrives be-

cause it will seek economic goals in a unified stance.

Mr Murray believes an interim government could take over in six to eight months. Taxes are likely to rise as the call for more social spending increases.

Mr Murray says higher spending should boost the economy.

Upturn

Standard Bank Investment Corporation (SBIC) managing director Eddie Theron says: "Anything that can provide certainty to the political situation will help to restore confidence. The sooner it happens the better. Thereafter we must strive for the appropriate fiscal and monetary policies."

There has been virtually no growth in SBIC's lending book this year, the result of poor business confidence and the recession. Mr Theron says an interim government would help to restore confidence and increase the demand for borrowed money.

Businessmen say the inter-

im government is unlikely to speed economic recovery, but it will have to wait for an upturn in the world economy.

Rand Merchant Bank economist, Rudolf Gouws says: "We have never had an economic recovery before the rest of the world. But it (interim government) will reduce the lag between world and SA recovery."

SA's economy should grow by 3% next year if there is an interim government.

Few businessmen are worried that the ANC will try to implement a hardline redistributive economic agenda once it shares power. They believe that the ANC has discarded nationalisation as a policy option although the call for more social spending will intensify.

There have been worries that the ANC would carry out threats to reintroduce prescribed assets in the insurance business, but these are being discounted.

"The Life Offices Association initiated a scheme to

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channel funds to socially desirable projects and this is now getting off the ground," says Liberty Life managing director Alan Romanis.

Businessmen say economic policy differences between business and the ANC have been narrowed. It is held that nationalisation has been discarded by black opposition groups. *5/1 Times (BUSS)*

"There is a great deal of common ground between the ANC and business on the way forward," says Barlows general manager Ken Ironside. "Where there are policy differences they can be discussed." *7/18/92*

Interim rule

The SA Chamber of Commerce (Sacob) says an interim government will make it more possible to implement economic policies which enjoy consensus among political groups. *(49) 304A*

"It will also encourage co-responsibility for maintaining law and order and reducing violence," says Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons.

But he urges caution: "In our desire and haste to see an interim government we must also be careful not to go from the frying pan into the fire."

UN's blueprint

for peace

S/imes 9/8/92

304A

THE release of United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report this week signals unprecedented international intervention in the resolution of South Africa's political conflict.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has clearly outlined a plan to deal with violence and has told feuding political parties in South Africa what steps need to be taken to break the talks logjam.

Having both welcomed the intervention of the world body, the government and the ANC are now under enormous pressure to abide by its recommendations.

The UN plan to end violence centres on increasing the investigatory powers of the Goldstone commission and beefing up National Peace Accord structures. An initial

By MIKE ROBERTSON

group of 30 UN monitors will be stationed in South Africa to ensure that the peace-accord structures function more effectively. It will also ensure that parties which breach the accord will immediately face international censure.

To ensure that it remains abreast of developments in South Africa, the UN will send a mission to the country every three months.

In his report, which followed the visit of UN representative Cyrus Vance to South Africa, Mr Boutros-Ghali identified the release of remaining political prisoners as a key to breaking the talks deadlock.

The secretary general said he was convinced that this gesture on the part of the government would improve the political climate and create the necessary trust to get negotiations going.

The report, which has already received the backing of the US, Britain, Russia and Zimbabwe, places pressure on the government to take steps to end violence and remove obstacles to negotiations.

In calling for early resumption of talks and by backing the Codesa process, Mr Boutros-Ghali has put pressure on the ANC to

end its talks boycott.

While in South Africa, Mr Vance arranged a meeting between the ANC's international head, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on this matter.

The government has in principle already accepted the need to release remaining political prisoners.

But it is understood that Mr Coetsee is pushing for a general amnesty. In terms of this, policemen and military people involved in actions such as the Goniwe murders would also be granted amnesty.

Mr Coetsee is also said to want to resolve issues relating to ANC arms caches and continued recruitment by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Mr Mbeki said yesterday he expected talks on the release of political prisoners to be concluded within the next few days.

He said the question of a general amnesty would better be handled by an interim government and should not be dealt with by just one of the parties which wished to excuse itself or its agents of misdeeds.

For the major players there are aspects in the report that will both please and trouble them.

The government will welcome the UN's decision to support the work of indigenous bodies, such as the Goldstone commission, to deal with violence. For the moment calls made by organisations such as the PAC for an international peacekeeping force go unheeded.

Also pleasing for the government are: the call for an early resumption of talks; the UN's decision not to interfere in the task of negotiating the details of a new constitution; and the backing from the UN for the Codesa process.

On the downside for the government is the rebuke it received from the UN for not implementing Goldstone commission recommendations.

The recommendations

ON the Goldstone commission on public violence:

- The commission should investigate the operations of the army, police, Kwazulu police, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Azanian People's Liberation Army and certain private security companies;

- The UN should provide help to the commission, including secondment of jurists, etc;

- All Goldstone reports should be released to signatories to the National Peace Accord within 24 hours. (Times) 9/8/92

On the National Peace Committee:

- Thirty UN observers should serve with the National Peace Secretariat in different parts of the country;

- Twenty-four-hour offices should be established at flashpoints throughout

the country, staffed by representatives of all parties to prevent violence.

On negotiations: (304A)

- All parties should return to negotiations as soon as possible. Remaining political prisoners should be released and the state broadcasting services should be impartial;

- Codesa should consider the appointment of an eminent and impartial person (not necessarily a foreigner) to provide cohesion;

- A deadlock-breaking mechanism should be established at the highest political level. (325)

On a future role for the United Nations:

- The UN should dispatch emissaries to assess progress on a quarterly basis — or more often if required.

The system must work for all

MAJORITIES and minorities can be defined in racial terms. For example: African people in SA are a majority while white, Indian and coloured people are a minority.

Another definition which is popular mainly among black political groups includes Africans, Indians and Coloureds under one racial category of "blacks" and Afrikaners, English-speakers and other white groups as "whites".

Majorities and minorities can be defined in religious terms. For example, people in SA belong to various religious faiths such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus and atheists.

Majorities and minorities can also be defined in ideological terms. For example in SA we have communists, socialists, capitalists and so on.

Finally, majorities and minorities can also be defined in political terms. In SA we have a number of political parties and movements, some smaller than others.

In all these cases, those



This is the fifth in a series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy.

who regard themselves as minorities are always conscious of the fact that if there are no adequate constitutional safeguards they could end up being dominated by those who are the majority. In SA, however, we have had an unusual political situation where for many years the white minority dominated the black majority.

The golden rule in a democracy is that all citizens should have equal citizenship rights which are defined and guaran-

teed by a Bill of Rights or a constitution. There are various ways in which minorities are accommodated in the political system in a plural society. Here are some examples:

■ **Racial minorities:** Minorities normally feel concerned about their cultural and ethnic rights. Constitutions or Bills of Rights address these concerns by guaranteeing the protection of cultural, linguistic and religious rights of minorities.

■ **Religious minorities:**

Constitutions or Bills of Rights address this concern by granting all citizens freedom of religion.

■ **Ideological minorities:** All citizens are guaranteed freedom of association and freedom of conscience.

■ **Political minorities:** Constitutions address this concern by devising an electoral system that favours the minority parties.

Some constitutions force the majority party to include representatives of minority parties in the cabinet, while others insist that all decisions are reached through consensus and not through voting. Yet other constitutions provide for a minority veto or a concurrent majority on matters which directly affect the interests of minorities.

It is important to note that in a democracy the bottom line is always that all citizens – regardless of their majority or minority status – should be able to participate fully in governing their country.

Compiled by: Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, PO Box 2811, Durban, 4000.

the nation in brief

Talks are set to resume 304A

THE Government and the ANC appeared to be poised to revive negotiations, it was reported at the weekend. *Sowetan 10/8/92*

Speaking at Sada in Ciskei on Saturday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed he had phoned President FW de Klerk on Friday night but did not disclose details of the conversation.

He said South Africa's fate depended on negotiations between the ANC and the Government and that both parties had contributed to a climate of peace. "Both among the blacks, as well as among whites, there are people who really desire peace and economic stability," he said.

Transkei govt warned 903

TRANSKEI could face food and fuel cut-offs within days if the Transkei government did not step in to restore law and order in the country, SABC radio news reported at the weekend.

In an apparent backlash against the continuing intimidation and lawlessness accompanying the ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign, the Umtata Chamber of Commerce met on Friday night in crisis talks with more than 200 of its members. Following the meeting, a memorandum of demands was sent to the government on Saturday. Unless the demands are met by next Wednesday, business action, including the closure of businesses and the boycotting of taxes to the government, would be considered.

Sowetan 10/8/92

Dike arrives in Kenya

5
week of protests

FOCUS Turbo-charged Codesa in the offing by month's end

focus on negotiations

THERE are strong indications that Codesa, with its many working groups, sub-committees and technical committees, could evolve into a leaner and more effective forum by the end of the month.

This change is expected to come about more out of necessity than any ideological or political programme.

Political analysts and negotiators within Codesa agree that the convention was a necessary but cumbersome exercise which served to introduce South Africa's fish-eyed politicians to a measure of democracy and a chance to listen to others and be heard.

Professor Tom Lodge of the political science department of the University of the Witwatersrand sums up Codesa in a simple sentence: "It did draw people into the negotiations dynamic"

Essentially therefore, Codesa has served its purpose, albeit not the one it set out to. And this happened in spite of bold "predictions" that it would fail.

The fact that it did (collapse) was nevertheless a propaganda windfall for those who, some would argue quite correctly, decried its composition and objectives.

Made up of 19 political leaders who have either never faced a democratic election based on the very principles they were discussing, or who have imposed their fiat over civilians, Codesa was inherently undemocratic.

One was always tempted to ask how people like the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, or Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, could discuss democracy, almost sanctimoniously, when both came to power through military coups?

One was similarly stunned by the almost grand-eloquence of the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

The ruling National Party is no exception. The NP went into Codesa, thinking that it knew democracy like a close confidante. Instead, it landed, with the finesse and grace of a gnat in a tub of salve - and stayed there.

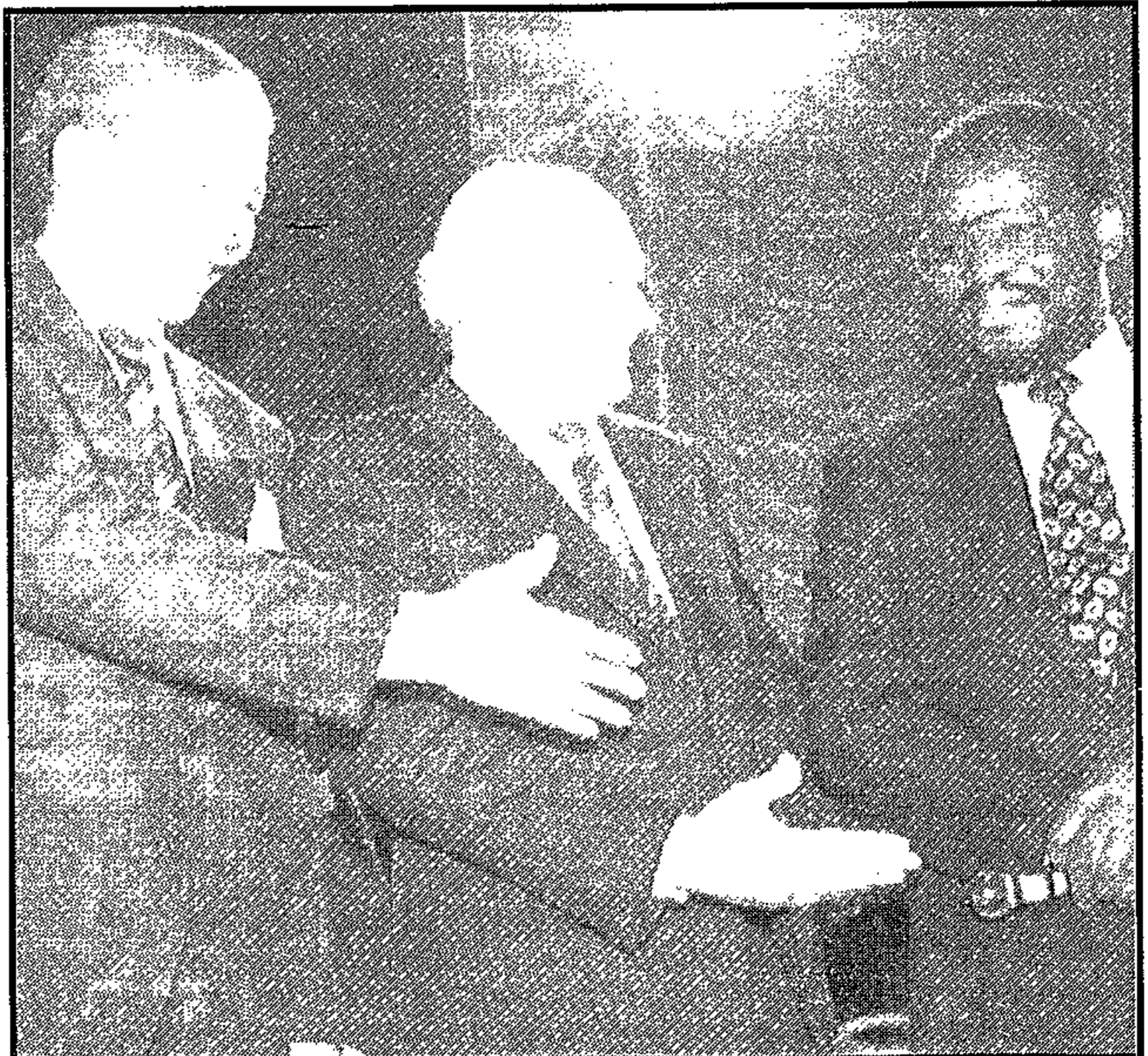
In a holistic way, and as Lodge says, Codesa galvanised political debates and democratic exercises. It exposed people to the negotiations ethic and practice, and most important the convention socialised or acculturised the undemocrats.

The next step then would be to remake the convention, with the objective being primarily lean and effective, the ANC's Ms Gill Marcus said.

A senior Democratic Party negotiator, Mr Tony Leon, said that there was a growing perception among political leaders in the country that Codesa had become cumbersome and needed to be recreated with the sole objective of

Ismael Lagardien, *Sowetan* Political Correspondent, reports that a leaner, more effective Codesa could reconvene this month and political leaders want to make it a more effective forum for change

Sowetan 10/8/92 (304A)



MAIN PLAYERS: ANC president Nelson Mandela, State President FW de Klerk and IFF president Mangosuthu Buthelezi set to resume talks soon.

speeding up the process.

He said the problem with Codesa was that it was made up of awfully pedestrian politicians that, for some perverse and inherently South African reason, all had an equal say in the convention's working groups.

The question which now arises is: What will be the objective of a streamlined and effective Codesa or alternative forum?

If one listens carefully to Government and ANC leaders, indications point to a rejuvenated negotiations forum that will be less an academic

exercise and a talk shop and more the starting point of very real and indeed measurable progress.

In concrete terms, when the ANC has gone through its mass action motions, the two will meet and a new era of negotiations is likely to get under way.

By the time political parties reconvene, and it is expected that they will within weeks, the ground would have already been laid to make the redrawing of this country's social and political landscape possible.

UN chief seeks 'eminent' Codesa referee

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council is expected to vote early this week on a package of proposals designed to speed up moves towards a transitional government in SA. **B1044 10/8/92**

The proposals, drawn up by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and special representative Cyrus Vance, were presented to the council late on Friday for referral to member governments, and include the suggestion that a foreign "eminent person" be named to referee a resumed Codesa, and a call for the Goldstone commission to investigate the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SADF.

Diplomats said the council was almost

SIMON BARBER

certain to endorse the proposals without amendment.

The proposals, however, fall short of the intervention sought by the ANC alliance, which had asked Vance for 400 to 450 military, police and civilian monitors.

Instead, the plan will commit the UN to a presence that is not intrusive, acting with local peacemaking institutions while warning everyone that they are being watched by the international community.

This reflects the wishes of the Security Council's major powers, especially the US and Britain, and the fact that the UN resources are already highly stretched by

crises elsewhere.

On the basis of Vance's nine-day fact-finding mission, the secretary-general is recommending 30 "observers" work "in close association" with the national peace secretariat for as long as necessary.

The observers would be stationed around the country, and could be augmented by "other appropriate international organisations" such as the Commonwealth, the EC and the OAU.

The experience of the 10 observers of last week's mass action could help define the tasks and procedures for the 30 new observers, Boutros-Ghali said.

Following detailed discussions between

To Page 2

UN chief **B1044 10/8/92** **304A** From Page 1

Vance and Judge Richard Goldstone, the secretary-general also wants to increase power and scope of the Goldstone commission — with outside help if needed.

"I believe the efforts of the Goldstone commission must be supported by the international community... It may well be useful in future to have senior personnel seconded to the commission, in addition to a pool of jurists, to sit on committees of inquiry."

Vance and Goldstone have agreed the commission should investigate "the functioning and operations" not only of the police and security forces, but also of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the KwaZulu police, the Azanian People's Liberation Army and "certain private security firms".

Boutros-Ghali stressed that all parties must do more to abide by Goldstone's recommendations, especially regarding dangerous weapons and hostel security — both a matter of "utmost urgency".

Also to be heeded is the commission's code of conduct for mass demonstrations and its plea that major political parties "stop their supporters from participating in acts of violence".

Where the commission calls for further investigations or prosecutions, the relevant law enforcement bodies must respond "promptly".

The secretary-general is asking the Security Council to state unequivocally that "the Codesa process must be pursued and improved".

There is also a "manifest need" for a "deadlock-breaking mechanism at the highest political level".

Confidence-building measures for Codesa should include the release of remaining political prisoners and "fair and objective" SABC coverage.

Parties outside Codesa must be convinced to join.

The secretary-general has several suggestions for enhancing the efforts of the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord mechanisms:

Reports should be given to all peace accord parties within 24 hours of being submitted to President F W de Klerk, to prevent selective leaks or their being misconstrued by the authorities;

The peace secretariat and its 11 regional dispute resolution committees need more money, staff and support at "the highest political levels";

There was "a desperate need" for efficient operations centres at major "flash-points", staffed 24 hours and with a standing group of representatives drawn from government, the ANC, Inkatha and other concerned parties, the proposals said.

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — If crime continues to escalate at its present rate, South Africa will be swamped by a staggering 2.1 to 2.5 million serious offences a year by 2010.

So says criminologist Dr. Lorraine Glanz of the Unit for Crime and Related Studies at the Human Sciences Research Council. She addressed criminology experts here to study ways of turning the crime tide in a new South Africa.

Two themes emerged repeatedly. A political solution is urgently required and relations between the SAP and township communities must be radically improved.

The results of a survey on crime in Alexandra township, conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for the Study of Violence, illustrated the magnitude of community distrust of the police. A huge 94 per cent of Alex respondents alleged that police were involved in political and other criminal violence.

However, the problem of crime and violence in South Africa clearly has numerous other facets, some less obvious.

According to Professor C B Nande of the Criminology Department of the University of South Africa, very few South Africans have a true understanding of democracy — largely because so many black people have had no political rights, are socially isolated and economically abused in many ways.

The poor state of the economy, and subsequent urbanisation, means thousands of oppressed people were enmeshed in an impersonal urban environment feeling socially isolated and helpless — therefore transferring their hostility and anger to visible targets, often in an irrational manner.

The Centre for the Study of Violence has also discovered that criminals have exploited the gap left open by the SAP's involvement in political conflict and commit crimes under the guise of political violence.

Spiralling unemployment is yet another factor in the crime rate.

In the face of this, it became clear at the conference that the SAP feels swamped. SAP Major-General J F Calitz said expansion of the SAP would have to be accelerated to a ratio of police to population higher than that for international standards.

He warned, however, that complete prevention of crime would require such a high degree of authority that the principle of democratic freedom would be jeopardised.

But he agreed that obtaining and maintaining the involvement of the community as an absolute pre-requisite for effective preventive policing.

Connected to the need to improve relations between communities and the keepers of law and order was the need to streamline the judicial system, according to legal experts who attended the conference.

The critical overcrowding of prisons and huge cost of maintaining prisoners required alternative, community-based sentencing to be carefully looked at. Alternatives to the costly and time-consuming prosecution procedure also needed attention.

Professor Anthony Middleton of the Department of Criminal and Procedural Law at the University of SA, felt strongly that fines for crimes deserving less than six years imprisonment should be introduced — based on the Dutch legal system. This would provide prosecutors with cheaper and quicker alternatives.

(South Africa has one of the highest per capita rates of imprisonment in the world.)

On Saturday morning inmates of the Jabulani hostel found a limpet mine in one of the hostel's rooms. Police were called in and defused the device, Colonel Halgryn said.

7 die in Vaal violence

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least seven people were killed in political violence in Transvaal townships, police reported.

Spokesman Major Henriette Bester said two murders took place in Alexandra township, north-east of Johannesburg.

Police also reported that two men were killed on the East Rand, one near Heidelberg, south-east of Johannesburg and two others near Secunda in the eastern Transvaal.

In Alexandra one of the victims — an unidentified man — was forced into a plastic dustbin and set on fire, while another died after being assaulted with a spade.

Yesterday, police found a 60mm mortar launcher, an AK47 magazine and several petrol bombs ready for use in the township.

The discovery was made by members of the Internal Stability Unit who conducted house-to-house searches in Alexandra, Phola Park, Mandela Park and in Vaal Triangle townships at the weekend as part of the joint police-SADF "peace and stabilisation" operation launched by the government 10 days ago.

In Phola Park a suspect in possession of a stolen M-Net decoder was arrested during the operation. Major Bester said the police were receiving "full co-operation" from residents.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said violence and crime had declined by 47 per cent in the township since July 1.

On Saturday the body of an unidentified man was found in Ralanda, Heidelberg. He had back wounds on his head.

In their countrywide unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Saturday, police said at Thandamani, near Secunda, two men were murdered and several others seriously injured when striking workers allegedly attacked people who did not want to participate in a strike.

In other violence mentioned in the report:

Several shots were fired at a police patrol vehicle which was ambushed early on Saturday in Evaton, near Vereeniging. Nobody was injured and no serious damage caused. The attackers fled when police retaliated.

In Botsabelo, outside Bloemfontein, three houses owned by Provincial Administration workers were extensively damaged by petrol bombs. Two nurses returning home after work was forced out of their vehicle which was then set alight. The vehicle was destroyed.

The nurses had not participated in the Ncwano strike, the report said.

A man was wounded and arrested following a shoot-out with the police in Maritzburg after the funeral of Midlands' ANC regional organiser Mandla Zebon Hadebe on Saturday.

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In nearby Kaitleng, police found the body of a man who had been repeatedly shot.

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Crime by Zulu, Xhosa warn

ANC won't talk until demands met

MARITZBURG. — The ANC will not return to negotiations until the government has met all 14 demands made at the time of the organisation's withdrawal from Codesa. ANC national executive committee member Mrs Winnie Mandela told thousands of mourners at an Umkhonto we Sizwe funeral in Sobantu, near Maritzburg, at the weekend.

Mrs Mandela and SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani were speaking on Saturday at the funeral of MK commanders Mr Manjula Ni Hadebe of Sobantu and Mr Bhi Xaba of Imbali, who were both allegedly killed by gangsters known as Amagqala in Imbali last week.

Mrs Mandela, who was given a thunderous welcome by the crowd, said ANC leaders would only resume talks once all 14 demands had been met.

"Therefore, let us not hear the ramblings we are hearing now that we are about to talk, because that will not happen," she said.

She said fewer people died when "we engaged the State openly in the townships in 1976. Since we decided to talk to them, 11 000 have been killed."

"The Boers understand one language. When we talk to them, they kill us, when we fight them, they listen."

Guns blazed around the stadium when MK members greeted Mr Hani as he rose to speak.

He said there would be no negotiations "while the State wages a low-intensity war against people using hit-squads, criminal elements and other surrogates". — Sapa.



CHEERS TO SCHNAPPS! It was third time lucky for Mrs Elizabeth Henning of Bloubaai (better known as Schnapps), won the Best Kitten on Show Prize. Schnapps was one of more than 200 cats at the All Breeds Cat Club's show at the Sea Point Civic Centre.

Picture: WILHELM DE KLERK, The Argus.

PAC to meet Sooner

3044A

AA 10/8/92

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

THE first face-to-face meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and government ministers on South African soil is due to be held at a Johannesburg hotel tomorrow.

President De Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu are not expected to be present.

PAC information secretary Mr Barney Desai said the purpose of the meeting was to prepare for a top level meeting between the PAC and the regime in a neighbouring country under a neutral chairman.

He said the PAC wanted to find out if the government would commit itself to a constituent assembly.

The first official meeting between the government and the PAC was in Nigeria in April.

● Meanwhile Mr De Klerk is to discuss with top security bosses the "sensitive" issue of having the Defence Force and the police subjected to an inquiry by the Goldstone Commission.

The inquiry, proposed by UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has reinforced moves toward a general amnesty, which Mr Justice Goldstone says will assist a probe by his commission.

Agreement

The government and the ANC discussed the question of amnesty last week, and it is understood the government is ready, albeit grudgingly, to release virtually all remaining political prisoners.

The latest developments are interpreted to be a no-holds-barred attempt by the government to get negotiations underway as soon as possible, opening the way for the Cabinet to submit legislation to parliament as soon as October to enact the first phase of a transitional government.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said last night that if agreement could be reached in negotiations, legislation could be tabled at the short session of parliament for a multi-party transitional executive committee.

Hopes that talks will resume

GOVERNMENT and ANC sources confirmed at the weekend that negotiations could resume in a restructured forum within weeks, long before October 12 when Parliament resumes for a short session.

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A series of meetings between the Government and the ANC has already taken place - at least two of which can be confirmed, and which dealt exclusively with the issue of political prisoners.

It is also understood that the PAC was planning a meeting with the Government within days, where the organisation is expected to insist on a restructured forum before starting negotiations.

Other meetings, and a telephone discussion between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk, have reportedly taken place in attempts to resuscitate the collapsed negotiation process.

304A

PAC to meet Government on interim rule

Sowetan 10/8/92

By Themba Molefe

THE Pan Africanist Congress meets the Government tomorrow in Pretoria to prepare for talks on drawing up a new constitution and international monitoring of negotiations.

The PAC said yesterday the meeting would be a follow-up on talks it held with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai told *Sowetan* a future bilateral summit with the Government was envisaged and would be held at a "neutral venue in a neighbouring country under a neutral chairman".

Not a departure

He said the decision was not a departure from the PAC's stance of "no talks with the regime" but in line with their demand to engage the De Klerk administration in discussing a constituent assembly which should draw a new constitution.

The PAC delegation will be led by first deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and will in-

Tomorrow's meeting aims to prepare for a new constitution:

clude secretary general Mr Benny Alexander and Desai.

The meeting comes amid heightened international activity and involvement in South Africa, which included two delegations of the United Nations in the past two weeks.

"It will be recalled that the PAC has consistently said Codesa would not deliver a genuine constituent assembly as the only legitimate path for the transformation of the minority racist regime into a truly democratic order.

"We will discuss the creation of an alternative forum for bilateral talks focused on the modalities for the calling of a constituent assembly and a transitional authority to oversee that elections are fair and free.

"Talks will also involve international monitoring of the negotiations and intervention in the unacceptable level of violence, said Desai.

The PAC said it predicted that Codesa would die and be discredited and called for the unity of liberation organisations.

'Even one death diminishes us all'

STAR 10/8/92

3044

11/11

MID-growing optimism that negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress will resume soon, hopes for peace suffered a setback with the news that two teenage choir girls had died after an apparently random shooting in Alexandra last Wednesday night.

The killings raised the death toll since the eve of the ANC's week-long "mass action" campaign above 40. One 13-year-old girl died immediately and a second girl died in hospital. Ten other members of the Emmanuel and Alexandra choirs were injured in the attack. Surviving choir members said from their hospital beds that a group of men "coming from nowhere" had fired shots from close range.

It was the second unprovoked shooting in Alexandra in a week, six people having been gunned down earlier. The response of

Alexandra residents has been to blame the Inkatha Freedom Party members of Madala men's hostel, the source of continual violence during the past 18 months. More than 10 000 people marched on the Alexandra government offices to call — not for the first time — for the hostel inmates to be thrown out.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Cape Town that the number of deaths during the ANC's mass action campaign had been much lower than feared. But he said that those who had died were "not just statistics". "Even the death of one human being diminishes us all," he added.

Echoing, as he increasingly has in recent weeks, ANC positions, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peacekeeping force and law enforcement agency."

It is movement in this direction that the ANC is demanding from the Government prior to resuming negotiations. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, spelt out once again that the ANC's demands fell into three categories: measures to curb political violence, clear moves towards an interim government, and an elected constituent assembly.

It appears that although the Government is eager not to be seen to be bowing to ANC demands, to a significant extent it will quietly do so.

Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held talks with both the Government and the ANC. Before returning home Mr Cohen said he was confident talks would resume soon. He said he understood the Government to be prepared to take clearly defined steps relating to the violence.

Senior Government sources, meanwhile, have been leaking to

the press suggestions that they plan to speed up the process towards an interim government. Bilateral talks with the ANC, they said, were on the cards. President F W de Klerk himself reinforced the sense that some positive movement was afoot when he told reporters that he expected a resumption of talks "soon".

Most significant of all, two Democratic Party MPs said after a meeting with Mr Mandela that he had told them he expected talks to resume after a "cooling-off period" of about 10 days.

The success of the ANC's mass-action campaign has strengthened the possibility of a return to the negotiating table. An important, if unstated, objective of the campaign was to narrow the gap that had opened up between the ANC leadership and their grassroots supporters during the six months of negotiations with the Government. — The Independent News Service. □

Negotiations for CP possible 304A

■ Beyers' group favour multiparty talks
and moving towards non-racialism:

Sowetan 10/8/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE CONSERVATIVE Party looks poised to enter multiparty negotiations when a restructured Codesa is expected to meet within weeks.

The CP and other far-right wing organisations, along with political parties on the left (Azapo and the PAC) have refused to participate in Codesa.

A split in the CP was averted by party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht during marathon talks with five dissident parliamentary caucus members.

The CP leader provisionally accepted the policy proposals of the five on Friday.

The five, led by recently elected Member of Parliament for Potchefstroom, Mr Andries Beyers, over the past week spoke out in favour of entering into multiparty talks, including the formation of alliances and moving towards non-racialism.

The five - Beyers, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Rosier de Ville and Mr Chris de Jager - will, if necessary, accept a federal system towards an eventually autonomous Volkstaat for Afrikaners.

'Hit list' halts peace talks

Guardian [w/lin w/mail]
PEACE talks in South Africa, scheduled to take place later this week, have been called off amid controversy over claims that the ANC has "sentenced to death" 12 Inkatha leaders and ordered its armed wing to execute them.

The National Peace Committee announced that signatories to the National Peace Accord had asked for a postponement to allow for further consultations.

The Natal Midlands branch of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party claimed in a statement at the weekend that ANC supporters had been given instructions to report any sightings of the 12 "wanted" men — allegedly sentenced to death at a kangaroo court last month — to its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could be killed.

The ANC leader in the Midlands, Harry Gwala, has a militant reputation, having been repeatedly quoted on the need to fight violence with violence. 1017-1617192

Inkatha had no choice but to boycott the proceedings of dispute resolution committees — set up regionally in terms of the peace accord — while this "farical" situation persisted, said a spokesman, Kim Hodgson.

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International beehive ready to swarm

HUNDREDS of would-be peacekeepers are on standby around the world, ready to swarm into South Africa to avert further confrontation between the government and the African National Congress.

Four key organisations which span the globe are urgently consulting on how best to co-ordinate roles for the teams of fact-finders, observers, monitors and intermediaries they hope to send here.

Diplomats at the centre of the talks say the United Nations, Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and European Community face a variety of options. One they clearly want to avoid is undertaking four separate operations.

Among those gaining favour is the idea of a single mission representing all four groupings, perhaps under Commonwealth auspices; alternately, for the Commonwealth and OAU to help bring about an end to the violence while the UN and EC help to get negotiations back on track.

While President FW de Klerk has reluctantly accepted that a degree of international participation is inevitable if the peace process is going to be restored, it is understood that, with the insistence

Amid all the hectic international activity centred on South Africa this week, the world's four key organisations are urgently trying to co-ordinate their roles.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON in London

of some ministers in his government who oppose any international intervention, he is aiming at strictly limiting the roles that outsiders might play.

De Klerk has stressed the willingness of his government to accept only "observers" or "fact-finding missions" from abroad. But the UN, Commonwealth, OAU and the EC want to participate fully in the National Peace Accord as monitors, intermediaries and facilitators in the talks.

In the wake of the Bopatong massacre, however, De Klerk has come under unprecedented international pressure — privately and publicly — to accept outside help. He has already yielded to some extent by authorising the reinforcement of

the Goldstone Commission with the introduction of jurists, academics and policemen from abroad.

A major difficulty seen by international authorities is that De Klerk and Nelson Mandela expect different things from the international community. De Klerk would want it to urge the ANC back into CODESA; Mandela would want it to condemn the government's handling of the security situation and its perceived attempts to perpetuate white supremacy in new constitutional forms.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has scheduled a full-scale Security Council debate on South Africa for next Wednesday. Foreign ministers representing several OAU countries are expected to participate and to bring up allegations of state complicity in the political violence.

Boutros-Ghali called the emergency meeting after consulting with the Security Council's five permanent members — the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China — all of whom supported him. Boutros-Ghali also offered this week to send former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance to meet with all the contending parties in South Africa on the sort of role the world body should

play. South African officials at the UN said Foreign Minister P. W. Botha had welcomed this proposal in a telephone conversation with Boutros-Ghali on Tuesday evening.

James Baker, the incumbent US Secretary of State, has said he too may visit the country soon. Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku is apparently still awaiting a response to his offer to send a team of Commonwealth experts. The team would be led by eminent persons with military and specialist police backup who could fit into the Peace Accord structure.

With all this hectic activity, diplomats say the business of co-ordinating sometimes overlapping proposals from the four organisations is proving complicated. For example, each would like to play a leading role and would like to be credited with any constructive achievements. This, in a sense, explains why Britain, as president of the EC, now intends deferring the planned mission of three EC foreign ministers — British, Portuguese and Danish — until early September, thereby avoiding any involvement in the feuding between the government and ANC.

A T A MEDIA conference shortly before his speech to the UN Security Council last month, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he would ideally like to see UN peace-keeping forces deployed in the townships. If troops could be sent to Yugoslavia — "where they have lost less (lives) than we have" — why not SA?

Answering his own question, he conceded (rather revealingly) that government would never stand for it. True, but as Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his special envoy Cyrus Vance made plain in their report to the council last Friday, scarcely to the point. The overarching reason the dispatch of blue helmets to SA remains out of the question is that they are not needed. Body counts and tribal undertows aside, SA is not Yugoslavia nor, for that matter, Somalia. These are two countries, as new US ambassador to Pretoria, Princeton Lyman remarked at his recent swearing in, which have trespassed beyond "the breakpoints of social cohesion" into a realm of no return. SA, while not immune from the same fate, is headed in the other direction.

However bitterly the various parties and factions may be at loggerheads, they have nonetheless managed to create for themselves a set of consensual mechanisms — the Goldstone commission, the national peace accord and the Codesa process — to guide them through the shoals of revolutionary change to a new order. The existence of such mechanisms, as Boutros-Ghali and Vance have recognised, makes it easier for well-intentioned outsiders to be helpful.

Boutros-Ghali is already a great believer in not letting parties in conflict use the UN as a crutch to avoid tough decisions. He is trying to get the organisation out of the Cyprus dispute on the grounds that it is time the Greek and Turkish governments grew up and settled their differences among themselves. SA is a situation tailor-made to demonstrate the merit of this philosophy.

With strong support from the Security Council's permanent members, the secretary-general has firmly but gently said no to the ANC's

UN aloofness can only benefit SA's quest for democracy

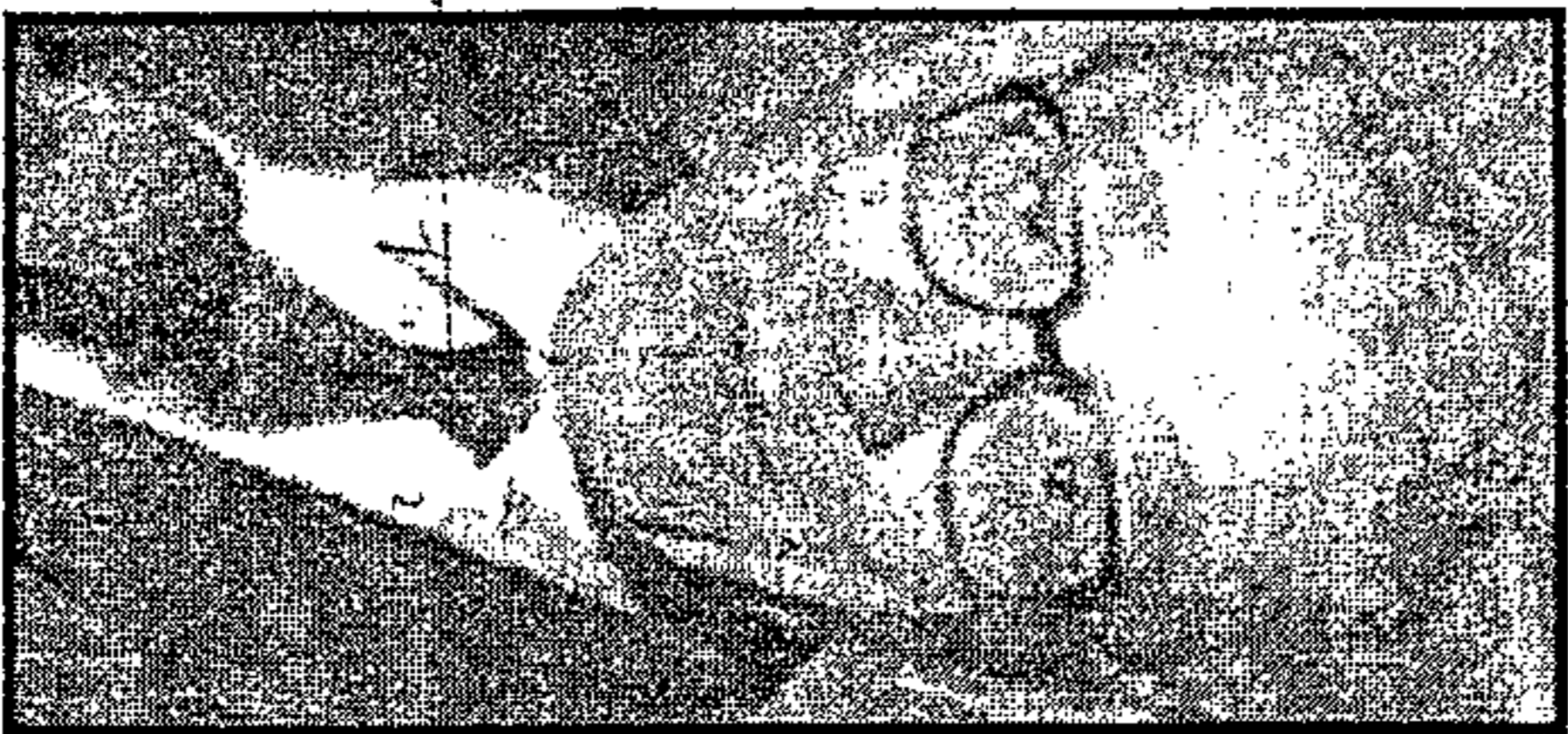
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SIMON BARBER in Washington

request for a substantial, 400-plus, UN presence. Even if the UN's thinly stretched resources allowed, and they do not, he has indicated that such a contingent would not only be superfluous but might well serve to atrophy the peace-making institutions South Africans have shown themselves perfectly capable of developing on their own.

Not only will the UN observer team the secretary-general has decided to recommend be limited to a largely symbolic 30 members, to work "in close association" with the peace accord secretariat, but notice has also been served on the UN system itself that SA is now a Security Council matter. This means that other, more partisan organs of the international body — especially the General Assembly, and its bureaucratic arm, the Centre against Apartheid — are henceforth out of the loop and of no use to those parties who might want their help.

These entities, and "liberation movement" solidarity groups like the Africa Fund and the American committee on Africa to which they give succour, can continue to generate hot air and flaccid commitments so long as their funding lasts, but they are to be accorded no weight. That is the thrust of the secretary-general's comment in his report that "the continuous involvement of the Security Council will be marked by understanding and a readiness to contribute constructive-



□ BOUTROS-GHALI

ly to the process of peaceful change". In place of the UN's own vacuous anti-apartheid machinery, the secretary-general has effectively deputised the Goldstone commission and

the peace accord secretariat. He leaves little doubt that could he transfer to Goldstone and the accord all the money and resources the UN feeding troughs for the otherwise unemployable consume, he would do so in an instant.

The result is that Judge Richard Goldstone now speaks not only with his own considerable authority but with the weight of the Security Council — the people who declared war on Iraq, as ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki noted after the adoption of Resolution 765 — behind him.

Thus, when Goldstone asks for a ban on the display of dangerous weapons, or for the hostels to be properly secured, or issues guidelines for the conduct and policing of mass demonstrations or urges political leaders to get a grip on their supporters, or produces findings that call for further inquiry or prosecution, he does so with the guardians of the New World Order at his shoulder. If there is any doubt of that, consider the one-two punch of past weekend.

On Friday night, Boutros-Ghali released his report, in which he stated: "The longstanding capacity for violence by the various political groups in SA is so central to the lack of trust in the political life of the country that I feel it must be reminded." To this end, he called for the commission to investigate "the functioning and operations" of the security forces, MK, Apla, the KwaZulu police and "certain private security

firms". On Saturday morning, Goldstone announced he proposed to do exactly that and asked all parties to co-operate in return, for an amnesty. A formidable proposal, formidably backed.

Likewise, the national peace accord is now to have the Security Council's imprimatur, in addition to direct support from 30 UN personnel. Through the resolution the council will be adopting this week to ratify the secretary-general's recommendations, the international community will implicitly be demanding that the accord be given "teeth", in the secretary-general's phrase.

On a general level, this means the council will expect the national peace committee and its secretariat to be "consistently and substantially supported from the highest political levels". More specifically, the signatories will be under pressure to ensure that fully staffed and equipped offices are open round the clock at major "flashpoints", each supported by a standing committee representing government, the ANC, Inkatha and other concerned parties.

Finally, the council will be throwing its full heft behind the Codesa process, "improved" perhaps, especially by the participation of those who have hitherto stayed away, but not fundamentally altered. Improvements ought to include "deadlock breaking machinery" of which the secretary-general feels there is a "manifest need", and more "transparency" so that the public is better informed of what has been agreed and where the real differences lie.

The parties might also like to consider "the appointment of an eminent and impartial person, who need not be a foreigner, to draw the strings together and to provide the impetus and cohesion that Codesa needs to accomplish its tasks".

All of which may sound a little prescriptive. If so, it is a prescription synthesised from Vance's discussions with virtually every major actor in the country. This is not an exercise in intervention, but rather in strengthening those indigenous factors in SA's transition which make a Yugoslav or Somali outcome unlikely. The tough decisions remain SA's. The Security Council's involvement may just make them a little harder to avoid and easier to take.

CP will settle for smaller

304A

homeland

STAR 11/8/92

The Conservative Party will settle for a smaller national Afrikaner homeland, without incorporating coloured Afrikaners, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Interviewed on the SABC's news programme Agenda, Dr Treurnicht said, in the final analysis, the Afrikaner homeland would be smaller than originally anticipated.

Dr Treurnicht said the Afrikaner homeland would have to be sovereign and its borders would have to be drawn in consultation with the Government and neighbouring people.

The CP leader rejected any negotiations with the ANC because the organisation was multiethnic and not representative of a single people.

Dr Treurnicht evaded questions about a threatened split in his party by the so-called "new rightwingers", saying there had been points of agreement with the five renegade CP MPs who are under the leadership of Andries Beyers. — Sapa.

CP split healthy — Worrall

Political Staff

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THE split in the Conservative Party, which seemed inevitable, was a very healthy political development, Democratic Party constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the CP in Natal may face a grave dilemma at its weekend provincial congress, depending on the outcome of the dispute between the so-called rebel MPs and the leadership.

If the party leaders buckle to the rebel's demands, the Natal CP will be left out in the cold. Besides probably excluding the province, the volkstaaters are talking about an Afrikaner homeland — which may exclude English-speakers.

CT 11/8/92
Dr Worrall, in a speech at the University of Stellenbosch, said that the CP could not be the vehicle for non-racial Afrikaner aspirations.

Political stability and democracy would only be realised with the participation in the negotiation process of all significant political players.

"A split in the CP, leading to the establishment of a non-racial political party committed to realising Afrikaner national aspirations through negotiation, is a positive development," Dr Worrall said.

CP Natal leader Mr Carl Werth said yesterday: "The dilemma for us in Natal is that, no matter what criteria are applied to drawing the borders of a volkstaat now, the great part of Natal, if not the whole of the province, will be excluded."

Ministers to meet the PAC tonight ^(304A)

Political Staff ANC 11/8/92

THE PAC is to meet the government tonight to discuss the possible entry of the organisation into negotiations for a new constitution.

Top PAC leaders and cabinet ministers will hold a "preparatory" meeting at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to try to arrange a "top-level summit" in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, the PAC announced yesterday.

The government made it clear last night that apart from constitutional issues, it would also discuss the issue of violence and attacks on policemen — for which the PAC's armed wing Apla has acknowledged responsibility.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer would be part of the government delegation, government sources confirmed.

The PAC said its delegation would be information secretary Barney Desai, foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim, national organiser M Nemadzivhanani, legal secretary Willy Seriti and local government secretary M Litheko.

PAC vice president Dikgang Moseneke said at a press conference yesterday that the PAC had been encouraged to enter discussions by concessions to the PAC's negotiating position, including the agreement to involve the United Nations in the transition.

The PAC said in a statement that four items would be on the agenda of tonight's meeting.

- Ensuring the government agreed to convene a constituent assembly;

- Demanding an alternative forum (other than Codesa) to negotiate a "transitional authority" to oversee elections for a constituent assembly;

- Securing the continued involvement of the international community in resolving violence and mediating the negotiating process;

- Arranging a top-level summit between the PAC and the government in a "neutral venue under a neutral chairman."

Viljoen sure there'll be a 'new' Codesa

Political Staff

STATE Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen is certain there will be another Codesa negotiating conference — but in a streamlined and simplified form.

He said in an interview with the government journal RSA Policy Review that he believed the ANC would abide by most of the decisions reached at Codesa 2 in May.

But he feared that the organisation had shifted on at least one crucial agreement at Codesa 2 — that an elected constitution-making

body should be bound by basic constitutional principles negotiated by all parties at Codesa.

Dr Viljoen said he had no doubt there would be a Codesa 3.

"Codesa will have to convene to give further consideration to those issues on which agreement has been reached and to validate them formally.

"I think everybody agrees that a clumsy, complex and cumbersome decision-making structure has developed at Codesa.

"Therefore, its structure and methods will have to be simplified

ARG 11/8/92
and adapted to ensure an effective decision-making body."

He said certain ANC spokesmen had created the impression that the negotiation process was back to square one.

"However, during the bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC after the deadlock, the government got the clear impression that the points on which the various working groups had reached consensus would remain valid and would not have to be negotiated anew."

UN underlines backing for SA reform process

The Argus Foreign Service

ARG 11/8/92
NEW YORK. — The international community owes South Africa friendship and support in its efforts to establish a democratic, non-racial society, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, the United Nations Secretary General, said in a message marking South African women's day.

It was "vital" that South Africans found a way to move ahead together towards that society, he said, reaffirming UN backing for Codesa.

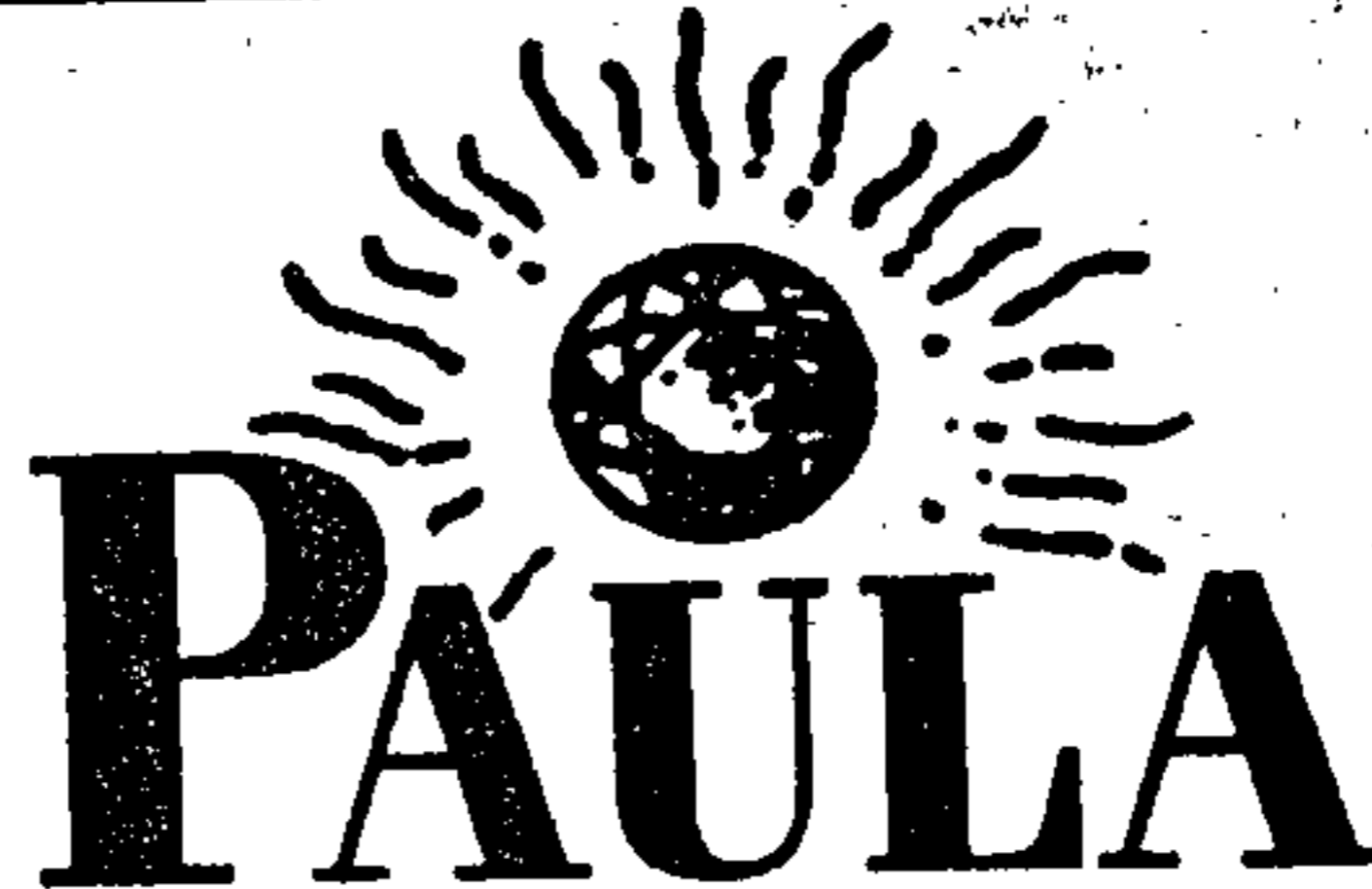
"Codesa currently remains the only forum for a feasible process leading to this outcome and the UN fully supports that process," he said.

His remarks were read on his behalf by Under-Secretary General Mr James Jonah at a special meeting of the committee against apartheid.

Referring to his decision to send UN observers to South Africa during last week's mass action campaign, Mr Boutros Ghali said it was encouraging that the level of violence during the strikes and demonstrations was significantly lower than had been feared.

Building on that experience, he recommended to the Security Council on Friday a much-expanded UN observer mission in South Africa. The plan is being studied by the council.

"The UN system is proud to have been at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid," Mr Boutros Ghali said. "It is ready to assist in any way possible in the emergence of a new South Africa."



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THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1992**

TIME: 9 am to 9 pm

MIKE LEVY, SELWYN JAKOBI, PAT ROCHE
will be in attendance

For further details phone 47 4060

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MEAT

the nation
in brief**Buthelezi slams De Klerk**

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the Government for "its permissiveness" with the ANC.

Addressing a luncheon yesterday, Buthelezi said in unbanning political organisations, State President Mr FW De Klerk "released political threats out onto our streets and onto our politics".

"Never before has there been a white government so permissive of wide-scale disruption and so permissive of action deeply damaging to the economy as current mass action threatens to be," he said.

PAC, Govt to meet for talks today

■ Decision to talk before gains
made by UN can be eroded:

By Ismail Lagardien ^{304A}
Political Correspondent ¹⁴⁷

FOUR issues will feature prominently when the
PAC meets with the Government today.

- They are: ^{Sowfan 11/8/92}
- To ensure that the Government agrees to the election of a sovereign constituent assembly;
 - The setting up of a transitional authority to oversee the elections to a constituent assembly;
 - To secure "the continued involvement" of the international community in the resolution of violence and mediation in the negotiation process; and
 - To arrange a top level summit with the Government at a neutral venue and under a neutral, impartial mediator.

The two parties meet for the second time since Abuja, Nigeria, earlier this year.

Greater Jo'burg sitting on TB time bomb, says Santa

STAR 11/8/92

By Paula Fray
Medical Reporter

Greater Johannesburg, particularly Soweto, is sitting on a tuberculosis time bomb because of a dwindling response to the South African National Tuberculosis Association's mobile x-ray unit due to continued industrial unrest.

Santa's Johannesburg director James Leadbetter said yesterday that while appointments for up to 14 500 people were normally made each month, there were only 3 000 appointments this month, as employers had cancelled visits by the unit.

Money raised by the clinics contributes to the salaries of Santa social workers, he said.

The lack of response to a visit by the mobile x-ray unit was

causing grave concern as this was curtailing case findings.

"The purpose of the visit is to ensure that the health of all employees is safeguarded. Without this unique service, the examination of large numbers — rapidly and economically — will be non-existent; there is no other equivalent to x-ray service."

If the service were discontinued, an average of 16 000 people a month would no longer be screened for TB, he said. Furthermore, an average of 37 positive cases a month, each of whom would have immediate contact with 32 other people in their home and work circles, would not be detected.

According to Mr Leadbetter, it can take as long as 12 months to finally identify a case of TB without x-rays. TB, an infectious disease, was preventable and curable.

Despite the development of

anti-TB drugs and vaccines, official figures showed that the number of TB cases had hardly decreased over 26 years, with 66 701 cases in 1964 and 80 400 in 1990.

Santa's Johannesburg branch was non-profit-making and charges were kept to a minimum. "The net result is that the reserves are limited and if the current climate of labour unrest continues, the mobile x-ray service will be no more.

"Whereas Aids has not yet been brought under control, TB is curable. TB is still the most important infectious disease, not only in South Africa but in the world. It is the number-one killer infectious disease."

However, without the support of unions, workers and employers, one of the great safeguards of industrial health would vanish and, once gone, would not reappear easily.

I have no doubt there will be a Codesa 3 — Viljoen

304A

STAR 11/8/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

State Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen is certain that there will be another Codesa negotiating conference — but in a streamlined and simplified form.

He also said this week that he believed the ANC would abide by most of the decisions reached at Codesa 2 in May.

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"Codesa will have to convene to give further consideration to those issues on which agreement has been reached.

"I think everybody

agrees that a clumsy, complex and cumbersome decision-making structure has developed at Codesa.

"Therefore, its structure and methods will have to be simplified and adapted to ensure an effective decision-making body.

"I believe the chances are excellent that we will finalise consensus decisions that have already been reached or are awaiting validation."

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STAR 11/8/92

PAC and Govt to hold talks

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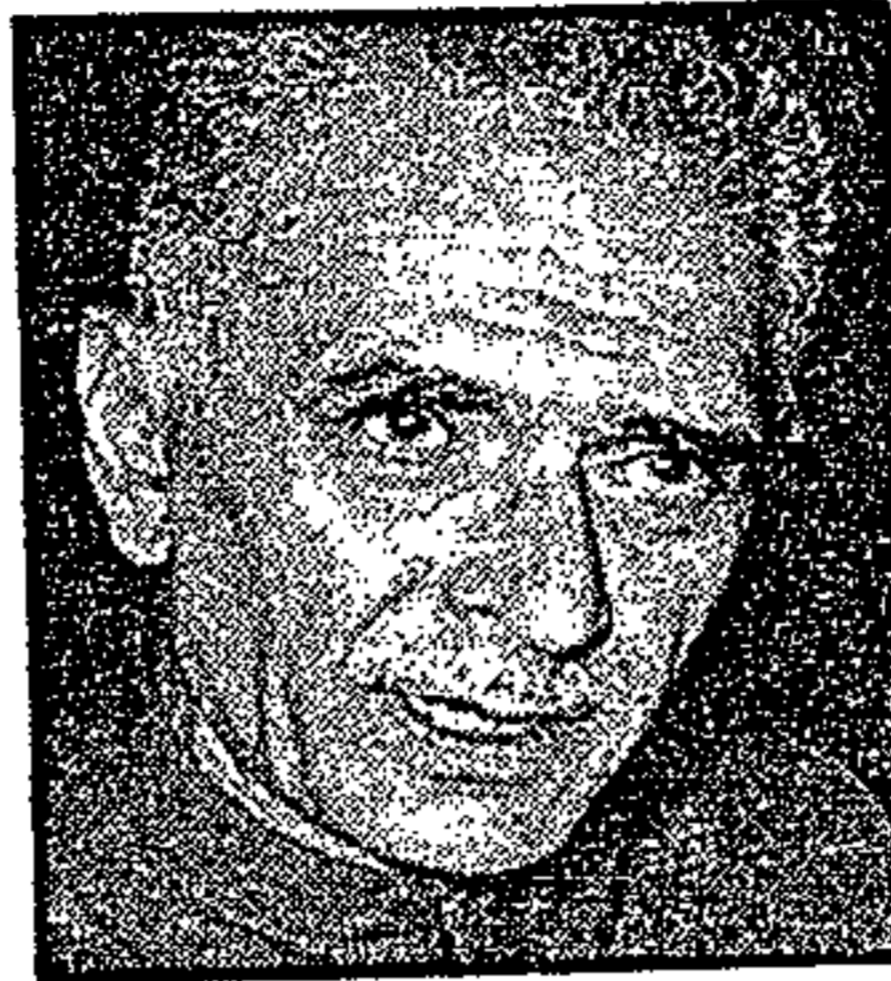
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The Government made it clear last night that apart from constitutional issues, it would also discuss violence and attacks on policemen — for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has acknowledged responsibility.

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Barney Desai . . . part of the PAC delegation.

of information secretary Barney Desai, foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim, national organiser M Nemadzivhanani, legal secretary Willy Seriti and local government secretary M Litheko.

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The PAC gave four items on tonight's agenda:

- Ensuring the Government agreed to convene a constituent assembly.
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- Arranging a top-level summit between the PAC and the Government at a "neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

Drop the 'zero sum' culture

304A

STAR 11/8/92

IT WAS never going to be easy to democratise South Africa. To suppose that the entrenched institutions and culture of a pervasive system for racial domination could be pushed aside in a quick and easy negotiation forum was always naive.

Negotiations began in 1990 basically because the two major actors, the NP and ANC, had mutually come to recognise that South Africa was in a deadlock and that perpetuating the deadlock would exact horrendous costs.

The NP government was in no danger of being toppled, but its rule was ineffective and — above all — unjust. The ANC enjoyed the high moral ground internationally and massive support on the ground, but at no stage did it look like winning the conflict. It required two leaders of the sagacity of Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk to recognise these realities and begin the tortuous process of negotiating an alternative.

The logjam exists precisely because the original deadlock still exists. What we have seen since February 1990 are plays and ploys between two antagonists with roughly equal resources, the one loath to leave power and the other anxious to take power.

The hopes generated by Codesa last December and the encouraging progress made by some working groups until the denouncement of May were, it is now apparent, based upon a false optimism. The ringing terms of the Codesa Declaration of Intent concealed wide differences in the institutional expression of a democratic political system.

The agreement that covered crucially important attributes, such as a multiparty system, an independent judiciary and a justiciable Bill of Rights was a significant achievement. But Working Group 2 failed ultimately because of profoundly different views of what democracy means and entails in institutional terms.

Mr de Klerk has never wavered in his commitment to "power sharing" — and the arguments alleging his intractability are misplaced to the extent that he has never claimed to believe in anything else. Mr Mandela has eloquently proclaimed the ANC's commitment to "majority rule", which he is careful to distinguish from "black majority rule", which he opposes. He wants, he says, "an ordinary democracy".

Both visions as expressed in their proposals are flawed: the NP's because its plan for a constitutionally required coalition and its early scheme (now abandoned?) for a complex senate giving bizarrely inflated representation to losing parties had no hope of successful operation — and the ANC's because the kind of majoritarian democracy it proposes has nowhere succeeded in securing democracy in a deeply divided society.

The number of cases where democracy has survived in such cir-

cumstances is depressingly small; where it has survived the crucial instrument has been the broad-based coalition — not constitutionally required, but deriving ultimately from the wisdom of rival leaders whose rivalry was not so great as to preclude statesmanlike forbearance.

Breaking the logjam depends on reaching an agreement to square this circle: finding a *via media* between these rival conceptions of a democratic order. Is this a purely chimerical quest? I believe not.

In a highly significant speech at the University of Zululand Nelson Mandela is quoted as saying the ANC wanted to ensure unity so that everyone would be able to enjoy power in a new government — including the National Party, Mr Mandela said. He explained that when the ANC came into power it intended "to bring other parties into government" so that it will be representative of all South Africans.

Herein lies the embryo of a

pact, a device widely used in other transforming political systems. It is not a constitutional mechanism, but, obviously, if it is to inspire mutual trust it will have to be buttressed by credible guarantees. The parameters of a pact must be clearly understood: if it is used by a minority party continually to thwart the wishes of the majority party it will collapse, if the majority persists in steam-rolling the interests of minority parties it will likewise collapse.

"England does not love coalitions," observed Disraeli. Neither, it seems, do politicians raised in British-derived systems. We suffer from a "zero sum" political culture that is wholly inimical to the delicate politics required in a politically fraught society.

We will make no progress on the constitutional front if the violence is not brought under control. In the short term it is imperative that the sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission

be implemented, in the medium term all security agencies must be firmly brought under the control of an interim government of national unity, in the long term they must be restructured from top to bottom.

We have no hope of a successful transition unless the economy is turned around. Dr Chris Stals reminded us recently that in the '60s our growth rate averaged six percent, in the '70s it shrank to three, and in the '80s to one. The impoverishment and despair of millions of people is not a promising environment for a successful transition to democracy. (I might add that the economic Luddism of Jay Naidoo, General Holomisa and others is not helpful.)

There is a cynical saying that "men and nations act rationally when all other possibilities have been exhausted". Surely we can't be far off that moment? □
Professor Welsh teaches in UCT's Department of Political Studies.

Viljoen sure there'll be a 'new' Codesa

Political Staff

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ARG 11/8/92
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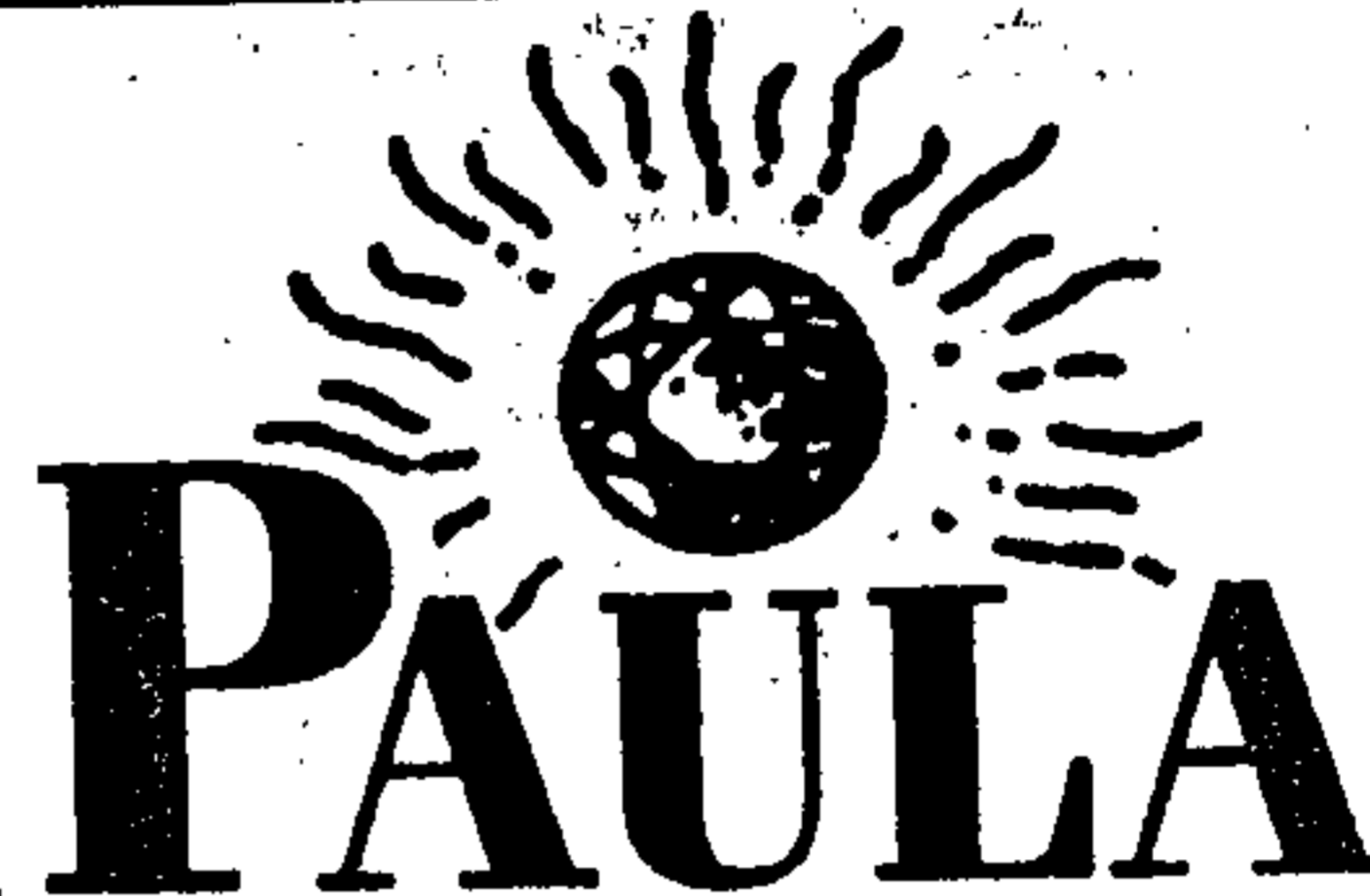
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MEAT

PAC to meet govt to discuss new forum

THE PAC is poised to join the constitutional talks by meeting a government delegation in Johannesburg tonight to discuss a new negotiating forum.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation had reason to believe government would meet its demand for an elected constituent assembly — the only item the PAC wanted on the agenda for the new forum.

However, a government source said an elected constitution-making assembly had been agreed to by President F W de Klerk when he gave government's assent to this at Codesa I in December.

A government spokesman last night con-

BIDAY 11/8/92.
PATRICK BULGER
and BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

firmed the meeting with the PAC and said Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers would be in the delegation.

He said government wanted the issue of violence and attacks against security force members on tonight's agenda.

The PAC last held talks with government in Abuja, Nigeria, in April. That meeting followed the PAC's suspension of participation in negotiations at last November's preparatory meeting for Codesa.

A diplomatic source, welcoming the PAC's willingness to rejoin talks, said it appeared that international involvement through the UN, and especially special envoy Cyrus Vance, had applied sufficient pressure on all the parties to get back to the negotiating table.

Moseneke said tonight's meeting would concentrate on a new negotiating forum.

He said the PAC would demand an alternative forum "to discuss the modalities pertaining to setting up a transitional authority to oversee the elections to the constituent assembly".

The PAC wanted to secure the continued

□ To Page 2

PAC BIDAY 11/8/92.

involvement of the international community in the resolution of violence, as well as in mediation in the negotiating process. It wanted to arrange "a top level summit between the PAC and the régime in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman", said Moseneke.

He said a new negotiating forum would not be "prepacked with lackeys of the régime". A new structure had to be purged of government's defects.

Codesa was terminally ill, Moseneke said. "Our approach will be that the only legitimate body for creating a constitution will be an elected body, a constituent assembly," he said.

In a separate development yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said only a meeting between himself, De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela

(304A) □ From Page 1
would help to get negotiations back on track and address the violence.

Addressing Perskor's board of directors, Buthelezi also said Inkatha would not return to Codesa "as things stand now", says a Sapa report.

He accused the ANC of wanting total power, wanting to destroy relations between itself and Inkatha as well as other parties opposed to its ideologies.

This strategy, he said, would lead to the ANC and government engaging in bilateral negotiations to the exclusion of other political groupings.

He criticised De Klerk for practising appeasement politics towards the ANC in order to please the international community, "whatever the cost to us in SA may be".

● Picture: Page 3

Beware the PR voting

STAR 12/18/92

304A

WITH a return to negotiations now merely a matter of time, it is worth focusing some attention on deals reached at Codesa which stand in urgent need of revision. Top of the pile is the electoral system, where there seems to have been general agreement on a system of proportional representation (PR) based on a combination of regional and national lists.

In fact such a system would be a grievous error, one the country would rue — perhaps forever.

For experience round the world shows that it is desperately hard to change an electoral system once it's in place: by definition any change has to gain the assent of a parliament elected under the existing system, where vested interests in the old system are inevitably strong.

The great advantage of PR is that it allows a simple translation of votes into seats and in the process allows the fair representation of minorities. In addition, voters seldom feel that their vote is

wasted. At present the DP voter in Pietersburg or the CP voter in Houghton knows that their vote is useless; under regional PR they would know that their votes would get totalled with many thousands of others, probably electing at least some MPs.

A great price is paid for this, however: the larger the unit of representation chosen, the less the sense of constituency matters.

What really matters for the individual candidate is what position he holds on his party's list — and since this is decided by party bosses behind closed doors, it is here, rather than with his voters, that his real allegiance lies. The result, all too often, is political and parliamentary irresponsibility — and corruption.

Italy, which elects its parliament by PR at regional level, is a case in point. A region like Emilia Romagna might have, say, 80 seats, so all the parties put forward lists of 80 candidates. In practice each party knows that its electoral score has always fallen

till of various state concerns or by taking bribes from pressure groups for supporting their interests in parliament.

On the whole the rich and well established politicians win the competition for high list positions.

The biggest losers are the voters. When a voter from, say, Bologna has a grievance and goes to "his" MP, he will be airily told that the MP was elected for the whole region of Emilia Romagna and thus feels no special responsibility for Bologna: indeed, Italians wearily knowing this is likely to be the response, often throw up their hands in advance in cynical despair. MPs are not only often corrupt but also invulnerable to popular control.

This is what South Africa is in for if it adopts PR with large scale regional lists — and, of course, the situation gets worse still with the national PR list favoured by Codesa, where MPs have no sense of constituency at all. South Africa is already cursed with political elites who have ei-

ther never allowed democracy or who are happy to proclaim that they "represent" the community, the soul of the Boer, the oppressed masses or whatever, without having ever submitted themselves to election. No system is more likely than regional-plus-national PR to entrench these habits of elitist authoritarianism.

The compromise solution would be to keep PR — thus ensuring representation for minorities — but to opt for multi-member constituencies, based on natural communities wherever possible.

Take, for example, Khayelitsha, the vast squatter camp outside Cape Town. If the people of Khayelitsha vote only as part of a vast Western Cape region (let alone for a national list) they will have no real MPs of their own.

If, however, Khayelitsha is allowed to form a single constituency with, say, ten MPs, minority parties will still be able to gain representation with only 10 per cent of the vote there — and Khayelitsha would have a block of

MPs all of whom would know that they had to be responsive to the very particular (and urgent) needs of that community.

The key is, or ought to be, maintaining the constituency link: our politicians must feel the strong pull of real grassroots pressure, must be forced to abandon lofty platitudes and become acquainted with the things that really shape voters' lives.

The people of Khayelitsha, to pursue our example, need MPs who know all about the importance, costs and difficulties of providing not only jobs, houses, schools and clinics, but of having more water taps, electricity, a proper sewage system, a regular rubbish collection, and so on.

And their politicians must know that if they are blatantly dishonest, or are not energetic in speaking out for and helping their constituents, they stand to lose their seats: if "power to the people" means anything, it surely means this. □

(304A)

Don't exclude coloureds, Van Tonder tells CP

The Conservative Party and dissident CP leader Andries Beyers had to abandon the notion of an Afrikaner state which excluded so-called coloureds, Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday.

Mr van Tonder's statement came in the wake of CP leader Andries Treurnicht's statement on Monday that the CP would settle for a smaller homeland, without incorporating coloured Afrikaners. This did not free them of

racism, as coloureds were also Afrikaners, Mr van Tonder said.

The BSP said both factions within the CP had moved closer to the BSP's Boerestaat policy and borders.

He had invited rebel MPs

to meet the BSP, regardless of the outcome of tomorrow's crucial meeting when the CP executive is due to make a decision on the document, "The Road Ahead", drafted by rebel MPs, which calls for negotiations. — Sapa.

US House of Reps: 'Restart Codesa'

AT 12/18/92

304A

WASHINGTON. — The US House of Representatives has unanimously passed a resolution calling for the resumption of talks within Codesa and asserting that it is "the responsibility of all parties to end the violence".

House Africa sub-committee chairman Mr Mervyn Dymally and members of the congressional black caucus who sponsored the move agreed to spread the blame for the violence evenhandedly in order to achieve consensus.

The resolution, adopted on a voice vote late on Monday, asks President George Bush to submit a report assessing "the role that the various participants are playing in the ongoing violence".

The Senate is expected to approve the same text soon.

In Johannesburg last night the meeting between the government and the PAC got under way. The government hopes to draw the PAC into the talks.

The government has also approached Azapo requesting similar talks, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday. Mr Moodley said Azapo would not agree to a meeting until it had been asked in writing and until the government was clear about what it expected from such a meeting.

Meanwhile the National Peace Committee expects to get President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together in the next four weeks at a summit to review the 11-month-old National Peace Accord.

"We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks," NPC chairman Mr John Hall said.

'All parties responsible for end to violence'

Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had originally been scheduled to meet at the end of July.

The three leaders last met at the signing of the National Peace Accord in September almost a year ago.

The head of the United Nations observer mission in South Africa, Mr Hisham Omayad of Ghana, and team member Mr Shola Omoregie of Nigeria, are attending the NPC plenary session. Most of the UN team have already left the country, and Mr Omayad and Mr Omoregie are due to fly out tomorrow.

Mr Hall said the purpose of the proposed summit was to review the National Peace Accord — "how effective it has been and how we may in fact make that peace accord more effective".

Mr Hall praised the UN observer mission for the role it had played during last week's mass action: "Their contribution both to containing violence over the last week as well as giving a great deal of publicity to the peace accord."

The UN team had shown the people of South Africa "just how effective the procedures of the National Peace Accord can be".

Meanwhile, the ruling Dikwankwetla Party in QwaQwa yesterday announced its withdrawal from the NPC.

The decision was taken because of the "behaviour and attitude" of some of the signatories to the National Peace Accord, party leader Dr T K Mopeli said in a letter to Mr Hall.

The NPC failed yesterday to resolve a deadlock concerning a complaint by the IFP over statements made to the UN Security Council by Mr Mandela.

In a statement following the plenary session, the NPC said the matter would now be referred to arbitration, a process expected to be completed within the next two weeks.

The IFP has claimed Mr Mandela's remarks to the UN, alleging IFP complicity in violence, contravened the National Peace Accord. This resulted in the postponement of a meeting of Peace Accord signatories on July 30.

In Durban the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Wilfrid Napier, said last night that there would have to be a more direct impact from the churches should there be a Codesa III.

Archbishop Napier, who is Archbishop-elect of Durban, was speaking at the end of a week-long plenary session of 32 Catholic bishops from South Africa, Swaziland, Namibia and Botswana. — Own Correspondents and Sapa

PAC set to be ^{201A} involved in talks

APR 12/8/72

Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress is now set to become involved in negotiations following the success of exploratory talks with the government — and a follow-up meeting between the two parties is scheduled for Pretoria next week.

The talks, which lasted for three hours, were later described by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as "fruitful and constructive".

Addressing a Press briefing at the end of the meeting at midnight, Mr Meyer — who led the government delegation — said considerable progress had been made at the meeting, which he described as the beginning of a process which would lead to the PAC's involvement in negotiations.

Asked to comment on Mr Meyer's statement, PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim said his organisation had never been opposed to negotiations, but had wanted them conducted within a democratic forum which would write the country's constitution.

Such a forum, he said, was an elected constituent assembly which would bring about "a new, non-racial South Africa for which we all strive".

But the PAC stood firm by its demand that negotiations had to be chaired by a neutral convenor.

Mr Ebrahim said last night's talks were meant to prepare the ground for "a more important meeting" which would involve the two parties' top leaders.

He said the PAC also raised the question of a "transitional authority", which was inextricably linked to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Ebrahim — who agreed it was important to build trust between their parties — said last night's meeting was exploratory in nature and was meant to allow the two parties to put their positions and concerns to each other.

Because of time constraints, the government and the PAC had not tried to resolve their differences and some of the issues which remained to be discussed would be tackled at a follow-up meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

The two men agreed that the issue of violence had been discussed and Mr Meyer said his delegation had expressed its concern about attacks on policemen allegedly carried out by the PAC's military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

It was now waiting for the PAC's response and the issue would be on the agenda of next week's meeting.

The PAC's political leaders have consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

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HNP 'could cause shock in election

CT 12/18/92

(3044)

JOHANNESBURG. — The HNP could cause a shock in the Florida by-election today, says political analyst Mr Donald Simpson.

HNP candidate Mr Oscar Hartung would poll a far higher percentage of the vote than either the NP, or the CP would want, Mr Simpson predicted yesterday.

"Mr Hartung will probably poll 3 000 votes and definitely between 2 500 and 4 000, which is much more than anyone expects. The NP will probably poll at least 6 000 votes, but anything could happen."

He also predicted a low percentage poll.

The only previous success for the HNP was in 1985 when the party won the Sasolburg constituency. — Sapa

ANC defiant on

30446
RRG 12/8/92

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — South Africa could have an interim government within a month or two if the government accepted the African National Congress's 14 demands, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said here.

Speaking to business leaders in the town hall last night, he repeated that the ANC would not resume negotiations on reform until these demands were met.

Mr Mandela welcomed a call by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, of the Goldstone Commission, for an investigation into the South African Police, SA Defence Force and liberation movements' military wings.

"That investigation is long overdue, but it cannot be done by these military formations whose names are also tainted in the fuelling of violence in the country. We need an independent agency which will be impartial and very objective," he said.

"I, however, have a lot of confidence in Judge Goldstone — he is the right man to conduct such an inquiry into who is responsible for this carnage."

Mr Mandela disclosed that the ANC had given Mr Goldstone and the South African Council of Churches permission to investigate its camps outside South Africa.

"I hope the judge will receive the co-operation of all political formations in his work. We want him to get to the bottom of this violence," he said.

The ANC leader said the United Nations observers who had monitored last week's mass action campaign had travelled to South Africa at the insistence of the ANC after President F.W. de Klerk had made several attempts to stop them.

He announced a commission of inquiry into what went wrong at Umtata during the mass action, when there had been cases of intimidation, damage to property and looting.

"The ANC is concerned about what happened in Umtata and we acknowledge that not everybody upheld our code of conduct," he said.

If there was a need for more mass action in the near future, the ANC wanted to involve businesses in planning stages.

"Give us a chance. Help us to control future actions of this nature," Mr Mandela told the businessmen.

His assurances helped to calm what threatened to be an explosive situation between businesses and the Transkei government.

Earlier, the businessmen had threatened temporarily to close their companies and withhold taxes after claiming that the government of Major-General Bantu Holomisa did not protect them from intimidation and harassment during the mass action.

homes in Murchison. People were still fleeing the township yesterday.

bers of the Inkatha youth brigade branch at Wessleton.

Codesa bloc plans strategy

THE Codesa patriotic front — the ANC and the eight organisations supporting its positions at Codesa — meets next week to prepare a common strategy ahead of an expected resumption of negotiations.

Front spokesman Ismail Ibrahim Ismail said yesterday the summit would "discuss the whole process of negotiations".

The front consists of the ANC, the SACP, the Labour Party, Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Inyandza, Transkei, Venda, Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

Ismail said a return to negotiations depended on government's response to the ANC's demands on violence, a constituent assembly and an interim government.

"To get negotiations back on track there may be some room for flexibility. If we are sure that the government is making genuine attempts to put an end to violence and to control the security forces; if the government is moving in that direction and if progress is made, we will go back to negotiations," he said.

He said that while there was a feeling among front members that Codesa needed to be reconstructed to make for more efficient decision-making, front members such as the Transkei government should be

present at negotiations. (304A) (304A)

He said his personal view was that while smaller parties should be represented at future negotiations, they should not be able to veto decisions and "should not use their positions to stifle any agreement". The new form of negotiations would be discussed at next week's meeting and an elected constituent assembly would remain central to the front's demands.

"What is not negotiable is the question of an elected constituent assembly. The government must accept that it will follow democratic procedure by arriving at a constitution by a two-thirds majority," he said. Other non-negotiables included interim government-control of the security forces, implementation of Codesa's agreements on the SABC and the levelling of the playing field in terms of preparations for an election.

On relations with the PAC, which formed a patriotic front with the ANC and other organisations about a year ago, Ismail said the OAU had been informed that the PAC's route back into the front would have to be through the Codesa front.

8/10/92 12/8/92
PATRICK BULGER

Cries of betrayal from five CP rebels

B/DAY 12/8/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE crisis in the CP deepened yesterday with cries of betrayal coming from the "rebel five" following leader Andries Treurnicht's statements on Monday.

One of the rebels who last week threatened to leave the party said Treurnicht had taken "two steps backwards from his agreement with us on Friday". The five had walked the extra mile to ensure party loyalty by agreeing to an acceptable compromise — and then Treurnicht had

simply reverted back to the old CP position. They also said it was important not to cause a split just before the Florida by-election which takes place today.

Bethal MP Chris de Jager would give the leader the benefit of the doubt for the time being. The leader may have just been restating party policy as it stood until the executive (hoofbestuur) made a formal decision tomorrow, he said.

On Monday Treurnicht said that the CP would accept a smaller white homeland and would negotiate this with its neighbours. He ruled out talks with the ANC and its partners.

The rebel five — Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Rosier de Ville (Stander-ton), Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom) and De Jager — wanted an Afrikaner homeland (not whites only) to be negotiated with all parties.

Govt and PAC set date for next meeting

B/DAY 12/8/92 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the PAC would meet again in Pretoria on August 18 in preparation for the PAC's inclusion in forthcoming constitutional talks, the two parties said last night.

After a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, which ended at midnight, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government and the PAC had "agreed that a democratic process must be followed in SA".

Meyer said the two parties, meeting for the first time since April, had found that there was "more common ground than disagreement".

He said the meetings were aimed at involving the PAC fully in the negotiations process, and added that a meeting was being planned at presidential level.

He said the issue of at-

tacks on policemen had been raised, and that it would be discussed at the next meeting.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the PAC had emphasised that only an elected constituent assembly could bring about a nonracial SA.

Meyer said last night's meeting was one of several bilateral contacts taking place between government and various parties.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said earlier that government had approached Azapo two weeks ago through a third party, requesting similar talks. Azapo would not agree to meet government until it had been asked in writing and "until government is clear about what it expects from such a meeting", Moodley said.

Disputes conference

WILSON ZWANE

A CONFERENCE on alternative dispute resolution will be held next month at Wits University.

It will be hosted by the Law Students Society, Investec Bank and Metboard.

Speakers will include Independent Mediation Services of SA chairman Charles Nupen and SA Association of Mediators chairman Charles Cohen.

The Law Students' council said yesterday the conference was aimed at providing "an influential forum from which to assess this new and dynamic field".

"Unaffordably high costs, long delays and the emotional anguish that accompany courtroom litigation are just some of the reasons for welcoming and investigating alternative methods of settling disputes," the council said.

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TALKS MARK milestone on rocky road

STAR 12/8/92

304A

Yesterday, for the first time, the Government and the PAC met officially inside the country. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA traces the path to the meeting

WHEN a six-man Pan Africanist Congress delegation and senior Government ministers sat down to talk at the Airport Sun hotel last night, a milestone was reached on a long and rocky path towards negotiations. The meeting effectively eased the PAC's entry into the negotiations process.

For although rumours have abounded that Pretoria and the Africanist organisation were holding secret talks — denied by the PAC leadership — yesterday's was the first official meeting between the two inside the country.

Not much of practical import can be expected from the talks, but it allowed the PAC to make a quiet entry into negotiations, largely on its own terms. More importantly, it established a precedent: from now on, the insistence that talks be held "at a neutral venue" does not necessarily mean outside the country.

In spite of its rhetoric, the PAC has knocked on the negotiations door before. Not only was it a co-convenor of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban last year — which called for an immediate meeting with the Government — but it also took part in the multi-party preparatory meeting which led to Codesa 1 on December 20-21.

The PF conference, observers pointed out then, offered the PAC a strategic way of jumping on to the negotiations bandwagon without losing face.

Announcing its decision to

pull out of talks, the PAC cited its reasons as the forum's rejection of some of the organisation's important proposals and alleged collusion between the Government and the ANC.

What the PAC leadership did not concede, however, was that it was facing considerable opposition and dissent within its ranks. The leadership had to consolidate support on the ground.

If it is taking time for some rank-and-file PAC members to accept the inevitability of negotiations, this reality had long dawned on the PAC leadership. Hence the resolution adopted at the organisation's second national congress in December 1990, declining the Government's invitation to talks while tactically leaving open the possibility of contact.

Wisely, the PAC set itself four goals for yesterday's meeting, all of which are now attainable. These are: ensuring that the Government agrees to a sovereign constituent assembly; the restructuring of the flawed Codesa as a negotiating forum; the continued involvement of the international community "in the resolution of violence and mediation in negotiations"; and to arrange a top-level summit with the Government "in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations. □

NEWS Boipatong tapes erased ● Govt, PAC in high-level talks

PAC meets the Government

Sowetan 12/8/92 304A
 ■ Both sides cautious as 'exploratory' talks start:

THE Pan Africanist Congress met a high-powered Government delegation for exploratory talks at a Johannesburg hotel late last night.

The meeting started shortly after 9pm and was expected to stretch into the early hours of this morning. Both delegations made heavily-guarded statements at the start of the meeting.

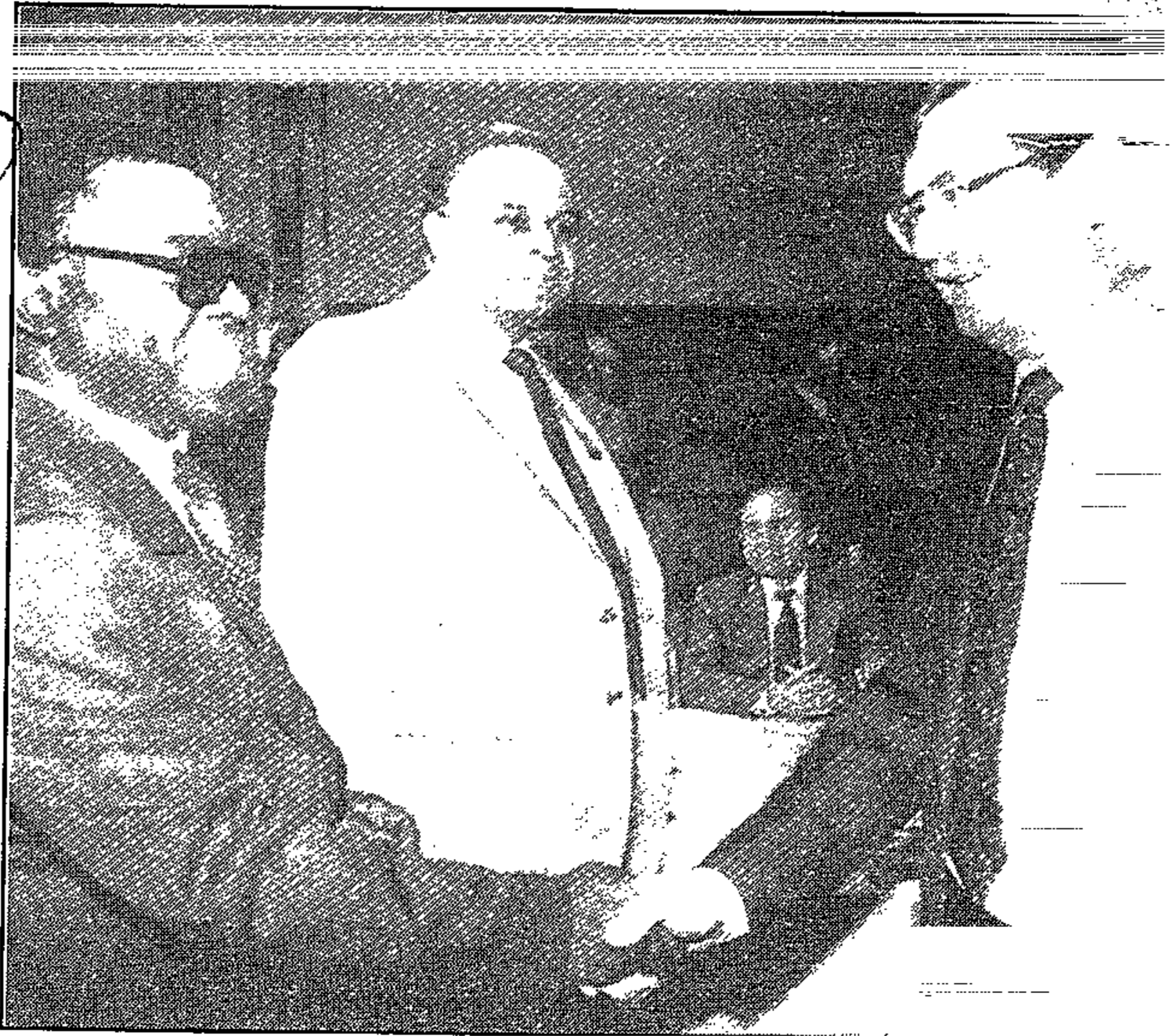
The PAC secretary for information Mr Barney Desai did not want to speculate on the outcome but said it would take at least an hour for the two groups to settle and get to know each other.

Desai said: "We have come here primarily to get a commitment from the regime for a democratically elected constituent assembly and set up a high-level summit between the PAC and the Government."

The Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer was similarly cautious and said the talks "were of an exploratory nature."

Mr Willie Seriti, Mr Gora Ebrahim, Desai, Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, Mr Jackie Seroke and Mr Molefe Ditheko represented the PAC.

The government was represented by Meyer, Mr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Sam deBeer, Mr Tertius Delpont, Mr Fanie van der Merwe and Mr Mauritz Spaarwater.



Mr Willie Seriti of the PAC shakes hands with Mr Tertius Delpont chief negotiator of the National Party at last night's exploratory talks.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

Tricameral days may be numbered

STAR 12/8/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

Two months from today the tricameral Parliament will sit for an extraordinary session in which its exclusive political power could — for the first time — begin to be legislated away.

The special 10-day session will go ahead regardless of developments in the negotiations process, Government sources confirmed yesterday.

President de Klerk announced the unusual step on June 17, the day of the Boipatong massacre. He said the aim was to implement any agreements on interim government reached in negotiations, and if no agreements had been achieved it would enable Parliament to "assess the situation".

Parliamentary sessions since the onset of Mr de Klerk's reforms in February 1990 have steadily dismantled the legal basis of social apartheid — but have not touched the central issues of political power. The special session could, in seeking "enabling measures" to pave the way for interim government which includes voteless blacks, mark the long-awaited move from one phase to the next.

Government sources told The Star yesterday that even if agreement could not be reached in negotiations, the Government

might submit legislation that would "facilitate the process" towards interim rule.

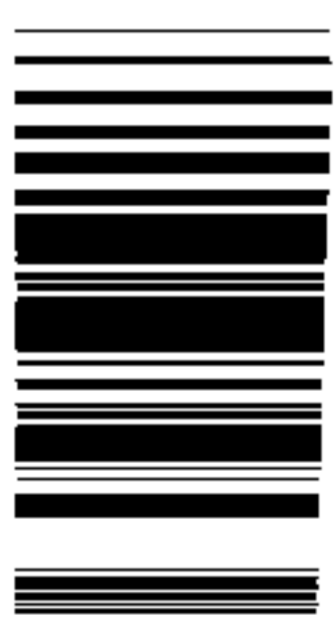
In a separate interview, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government hoped to table legislation to allow the implementation of the "first phase" of transition to a new dispensation.

This would require the agreement of other negotiating parties. Discussions on the "first phase" had centred around a multiparty "transitional executive committee" which would operate in tandem with the existing power structures and supervise the run-up to democratic elections.

ANC spokesmen have said they would not accept any unilaterally imposed initiatives.

National Party sources said yesterday that the Government wished to submit, at the special parliamentary session, at least "some form of enabling legislation" for the first phase of interim government that would be ready for implementation as soon as further agreements were reached on negotiations.

Since the collapse of Codesa 2, talks appear to have "gone underground" — making it difficult for observers to assess progress towards agreement on interim rule. Government sources made it clear that they hoped to settle outstanding disagreements in behind-the-scenes bilateral talks before reviving Codesa-style public talks.



PAC, Govt meeting gets under way

STAR 12/8/92

(17) 304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The historic meeting between the PAC and the Government got under way at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport last night.

The meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government in South Africa — is a sequel to one held by the PAC leadership with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

It is widely expected the meeting will pave the way for the PAC's entry to negotiations.

A top PAC aide speculated that "practically nothing" concrete was achieved at last night's initial meeting on South African soil.

The PAC aide, who told The Star the PAC delegation was dominated by "lefties" and had only two moderates — publicity and information secretary Barney Desai and legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — said there were two separate agendas at the meeting.

The PAC, he said, would insist on having a high-level summit between the Government

and itself to be held in Harare and chaired by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up the country's new constitution.

The Government, on the other hand, would use the meeting to talk about its concerns about attacks on police launched by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn,

Apla's activities, routinely referring questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The PAC delegation — led by Mr Desai — included political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, local government affairs secretary Molefe Diliteko, national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and international affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer led the Government delegation.

● Talks mark milestone on rocky road — Page 13

day, August 12 1992

NP confident of winning today's Florida by-election

PARLIAMENTARY candidate Oscar Hartung, an ultra-conservative farmer, was doing his best to ripple a millpond of apathy yesterday on the eve of SA's latest whites only by-election.

"They can't even make a toilet roll so how can they run the country", he said of black South Africans.

That this was about the only memorable comment to emerge from the campaign so far has served to highlight the irrelevance of Parliament, which Hartung sees as the vehicle for restoring apartheid.

At stake is the seat in Florida, a white middle-class constituency west of Johannesburg, vacated by former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis when he retired from politics in April. Du Plessis won it with more than twice as many votes as his nearest rival, a DP candidate, in the September 1989 general election.

Today the 20 672 registered voters will be making a straight choice between the HNP's 56-year-old Hartung and the NP's Jan Bredenkamp, 39, who is apparently so confident of victory that he has quit his managerial job with the railways.

DP leader Zach de Beer, whose party no longer fields candidates against the NP, said yesterday he "regarded by-elections to the House

of Assembly as a waste of time". Win or lose, the result will hardly affect the NP's absolute majority in the 178-seat house.

Bredenkamp admitted: "People were asking 'What's the need?', seeing as the political dispensation is going to change. I said by staying away you're just sending a signal of uncertainty. By coming to vote you're strengthening the hand, not only of President (F W) de Klerk, but of other parties that want to negotiate a future that would entrench at least a bill of rights that would protect community life."

His message, he said, was that the majority could not be marginalised indefinitely, and that negotiations enfranchising the black majority were the only way to resuscitate the flagging economy.

Hartung was trying a more dramatic approach.

His last campaign pamphlet alleged that the NP chief whip had written to NP parliamentarians urging them to have their pension contributions in order by October, implying that government was then going to bale out and hand over to the "power grabbing" ANC. And, he predicted, at least three Ministers would resign by December in protest against De Klerk's abdication of power.

304A
The HNP alternative was the tried and tested method of apartheid, before the assassination of its architect, Hendrik Verwoerd, in 1966 ended its halcyon days, he said.

The official opposition, the CP, is backing the HNP, but its pragmatic wing is now pushing for negotiations on a smaller white homeland.

Meanwhile, political analyst Donald Simpson believes the HNP could cause a shock upset in the by-election.

Yesterday he predicted that Hartung would poll a far higher percentage of the vote than either the NP or the CP would want.

"Hartung will probably poll 3 000 votes and definitely between 2 500 and 4 000, which is much more than anyone expects. The NP will probably poll at least 6 000 votes but anything could happen."

Simpson said the percentage poll could be as low as 11% as only 600 special votes had been cast. A low poll would favour the HNP, he said.

The HNP's only previous election success was in 1985 when the party won the Sasolburg constituency.

In 1989 the party could muster only 0,3% of the total vote of 2,2-million and in the last by-election it contested, in Vasco in November 1989, it received only 24 votes. — Sapa-AFP.

NEWS First step towards breaking deadlock ● Bhanjee lawyer slams 'piecemeal' trial

Mandela to meet

FW and Buthelezi

Sowetan 12/8/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

12/8/92 304A

■ Summit of the National
Peace Committee:

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi within four weeks.

The meeting will take place as part of a summit of the National Peace Committee (NPC) of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting is regarded as the first step towards breaking the present deadlock in negotiations.

Speaking at the start of a plenary session of the NPC in Sandton north of Johannesburg yesterday, NPC chairman

Mr John Hall said: "We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks."

Hall said the purpose of the proposed summit was to review the National Peace Accord and to see "how effective it has been and how we may in fact make that Peace Accord more effective".

At present the only obstacle to such a meeting taking place was a complaint by the IFP over a remark allegedly made by the ANC president.

The NPC's executive met before yesterday's plenary session.

Big Cabinet shake-up to be announced soon

ARC 13/8/92 (3047)

Political Staff

MAJOR changes in the Cabinet and other top government posts are expected soon.

An imminent announcement by President De Klerk could include a new high-powered government spokesman, a new director-general for the State President's office and changes in the Ministries of Law and Order, Finance and Trade and Industry.

The long-serving director-general of the State President's Office, Dr Jannie Roux is expected to leave when his contract expires soon.

Speculation is that Dr Roux could become South Africa's new ambassador to Japan.

The head of the SA Communication Service Mr Dave Steward is being tipped to fill a new high-level post of government spokesman.

Director-general of Constitutional Development Dr Niel

Barnard, has also been mentioned as a candidate.

Official sources said the Cabinet had for some time felt the need for a high-powered spokesman — possibly of the rank of director-general.

The idea had been given new impetus after the breakdown of Codesa 2 when the government felt it had been unfairly blamed for the impasse.

Government sources said it was also likely that Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers could be transferred to concentrate full-time on his other portfolio of Deputy Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

Mr Scheepers has declined to comment on reports of a possible transfer, but has strongly denied newspaper reports that he has been fired for issuing a statement last week criticising the ANC for breaking the conditions of its march on the Union Buildings.

Talks mark milestone on rocky road

STAR 12/8/92

304A

Yesterday, for the first time, the Government and the PAC met officially inside the country. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA traces the path to the meeting

WHEN a six-man Pan Africanist Congress delegation and senior Government ministers sat down to talk at the Airport Sun hotel last night, a milestone was reached on a long and rocky path towards negotiations. The meeting effectively eased the PAC's entry into the negotiations process.

For although rumours have abounded that Pretoria and the Africanist organisation were holding secret talks — denied by the PAC leadership — yesterday's was the first official meeting between the two inside the country.

Not much of practical import can be expected from the talks, but it allowed the PAC to make a quiet entry into negotiations, largely on its own terms. More importantly, it established a precedent: from now on, the insistence that talks be held "at a neutral venue" does not necessarily mean outside the country.

In spite of its rhetoric, the PAC has knocked on the negotiations door before. Not only was it a co-convenor of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban last year — which called for an immediate meeting with the Government — but it also took part in the multi-party preparatory meeting which led to Codesa 1 on December 20-21.

The PF conference, observers pointed out then, offered the PAC a strategic way of jumping on to the negotiations bandwagon without losing face.

Announcing its decision to

pull out of talks, the PAC cited its reasons as the forum's rejection of some of the organisation's important proposals and alleged collusion between the Government and the ANC.

What the PAC leadership did not concede, however, was that it was facing considerable opposition and dissent within its ranks. The leadership had to consolidate support on the ground.

If it is taking time for some rank-and-file PAC members to accept the inevitability of negotiations, this reality had long dawned on the PAC leadership. Hence the resolution adopted at the organisation's second national congress in December 1990, declining the Government's invitation to talks while tactically leaving open the possibility of contact.

Wisely, the PAC set itself four goals for yesterday's meeting, all of which are now attainable. These are: ensuring that the Government agrees to a sovereign constituent assembly; the restructuring of the flawed Codesa as a negotiating forum; the continued involvement of the international community "in the resolution of violence and mediation in negotiations"; and to arrange a top-level summit with the Government "in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations. □

SA 'Yes' to full time UN observers

ANC 13/8/92

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE government made a major concession to get negotiations back on track today, accepting proposals in the United Nations report on South Africa, including stationing observers here permanently.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha told the media that the government agreed with the tone of the report on South Africa by United Nations Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and, in general, with all the observations and recommendations it contained.

Much of the sentiment of the report echoed the beliefs of President De Klerk and the government.

Mr Botha said the government had no objection to recommendations that UN person-

He said thorough discussions must be held between all parties and including Mr Justice Goldstone to resolve difficulties in implementing a ban on the carrying of all dangerous weapons.

For instance, there was general agreement that a petrol bomb was a dangerous weapon but it would have to be distinguished from a bottle of fuel intended to fill up a lawnmower.

Mr Botha said the government agreed that the issue of hostels was a serious one but, because it often involved op-

GOLDSTONE COMMISSION.

The government would also agree to the stationing of 30 or "marginally more" UN observers to monitor developments in South Africa in association with the National Peace Secretariat.

The government was particularly glad that the UN had no intention of interfering in South Africa's search for a constitutional settlement, but was clearly keen and willing to help within structures and agreements forged by the major players in South Africa.

Dealing Mr Boutros-Ghali's recommendations point by point, Mr Botha suggested that the UN proposal for investigations into the security forces and private armies should be the subject of discussion between all major parties and Mr Justice Goldstone.

He also suggested that all parties consider the UN's recommendation that an impartial facilitator be appointed to provide impetus and cohesion in the negotiation process.

Mr Botha pointed out that the UN report said this should merely be considered . . . "they are not saying we must accept it".

ask the National Peace Accord structures to assist to ensure that we can move fast on this issue".

Mr Botha also welcomed the UN secretary-general's recommendation that all political leaders take firm steps to stop supporters from taking part in violence.

He said the government had no objection in principle to the Goldstone Commission reports being made available to all signatories of the peace accord within 24 hours and was in full agreement in principle to speeding up investigations and prosecutions in cases of violence.

PAC now set to negotiate

STAR 13/8/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

304A
"transitional authority", which was inextricably linked to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The Pan Africanist Congress is set to join negotiations following the success of Tuesday night's exploratory talks with the Government. A follow-up meeting between the two parties is scheduled for Pretoria next week.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Ebrahim — who agreed it was important to build trust — said the meeting was exploratory in nature, and was meant to allow the two parties to put their positions and concerns to each other.

Tuesday's talks at the Airport Sun hotel, which lasted for three hours, were described by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as fruitful and constructive.

Because of time constraints, the Government and the PAC had not tried to resolve their differences, and some of the issues which remained to be discussed would be tackled at the follow-up meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Addressing a press briefing at the end of the meeting, at midnight, Mr Meyer — who led the Government delegation — said considerable progress had been made at the talks, which he hoped would lead to the PAC's involvement in negotiations.

Mr Meyer told the press briefing that common ground was found on most of the issues discussed.

Asked to comment on Mr Meyer's statement, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said his organisation had never been opposed to negotiations, but had wanted them conducted within a democratic forum which would write the country's constitution.

The two men said the issue of violence had been discussed, and Mr Meyer said his delegation had expressed its concern about attacks on policemen allegedly carried out by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Such a forum, he said, was an elected constituent assembly which would bring about "a nonracial South Africa for which we all strive".

It was now waiting for the PAC's response.

However, the PAC stood firm in demanding that negotiations be chaired by a neutral convener.

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC also raised the question of a

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC, which was concerned about the violence and was committed to ending "the senseless carnage", considered it "extremely important" for it to put across its views on violence and to help end it.

Police reject claim of IFP attack

STAR 13/8/92

Police in Heidelberg yesterday denounced as a "deliberate lie" a claim by the ANC PWV region that several people had been attacked by Inkatha Freedom Party marchers in Ratanda township.

the local hostel after the march, soon after which the occupants randomly attacked residents, said the ANC.

The ANC said several people were reportedly attacked in the township after yesterday morning's IFP march to the local police station.

Colonel F J le Grange of the Heidelberg police said police had monitored the march for the entire morning and there were no reports of any incidents.

Fifteen minibuses carrying about 200 armed IFP supporters were seen arriving at

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation stood by the statement. — Staff Reporter.

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Focus moves to world stage

SA set for tense week of conflict

BIDAY 13/7/92

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SA FACES a week of bitter political and social conflict with relations between government and the ANC and its union allies at their lowest since the start of negotiations last year.

The antagonism between the camps will be played out on the world stage at two international forums.

The ANC and PAC will again blame government for the unrest at a London meeting tomorrow, sponsored by the UN special committee on apartheid and arranged by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. On Wednesday the ANC, government and other Codesa participants will put their views on the violence and the constitutional impasse to a special meeting of the UN Security Council.

At home, government fears political tensions will be raised by a Cosatu march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

On the strike front, the TPA has refused to bow to threats by the National Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) to occupy offices and barricade hospitals if dismissed workers are not reinstated.

Sapa reports that Nehawu general secretary Philip Dexter threatened on Saturday that the union would occupy Transvaal and Free State provincial buildings to demand the reinstatement of 7 000 strikers.

Dexter said the administrations' managers would be chased out of their buildings if the union's demands were not met.

In another development reflecting hardening union attitudes, Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association president Kgabisi Mosunkutu at the week-

WILSON ZWANE
and RAY HARTLEY

end threatened that Telkom workers would disrupt telecommunications in white areas.

Mosunkutu said the struggle would be brought to white areas unless government conducted a full investigation into the death in a car accident last week of senior ANC PWV official Floyd Masehele.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba was reported yesterday as saying mass action was intended to take townships back to the era of "ungovernability" which characterised the mid-1980s.

He said the league would march on the homes of policemen "who killed our people during riots. We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street committees and people's courts."

Another ANC Youth League official was reported to have said comrades in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle had defence units which provided residents with arms.

Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said police would deal "severely" with people who attacked them.

Employers and trade union leaders will meet next Monday to finalise proposals aimed at resolving the impasse in constitutional negotiations. Representatives from the employer body Saccola and Cosatu agreed on Tuesday to a draft set of proposals on joint action to achieve democracy.

On Friday, Cosatu's central executive committee reportedly decided on a seven-day national strike starting on August 3.

● Comment: Page 6

Sowetan 13/8/92.

SA urged to talk

PORT LOUIS - The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has urged South African liberation movements and the Government to resume democracy talks on setting up an interim government. "It is necessary that Codesa resumes peace talks," CPA secretary-general Mr David Tonkin said yesterday. - *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

304A

Mandela: IFP adamant

Little chance of talks until amends made for 'government surrogate' charge

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has put its foot down and said there was little chance of political negotiations re-starting until African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela made amends for the allegations he levelled against the IFP at the United Nations.

Dr Frank Malalose, national chairman of the IFP, said in an interview in Umtata yesterday: "Until this issue is cleared up, many things cannot be done."

Mr Mandela said in his address to the UN's Security

Council debate on South Africa last month that the IFP was a surrogate of the government and no agreements could be made with the IFP.

IFP leaders have taken this as an insult and an affront to IFP pride. The issue was raised at this week's meeting of the National Peace Committee. The executive of the National Peace Committee meets again on August 18 to see if it can at least agree on an adjudicator to look into Mr Mandela's remarks.

The IFP also complained to the National Peace Committee about ANC allegations that IFP leaders were murderers,



Dr Frank Malalose

and the ANC's mock trials.

Dr Malalose said the IFP was undermined by Mr Mandela saying no agreements could be reached with the IFP. "We are so insulted that our presence within the Peace Accord needs to be reviewed."

"These remarks were in his prepared speech for the Security Council and we take strong exception to that. They were not of the cuff remarks."

"If we cannot be regarded as people on our own by the ANC — if they do not think that we are an organisation that stands on its own feet — then what is the importance of having a National Peace Accord? They

should have said so then. We would not have signed it if we were surrogates."

Initial ANC response to the IFP's anger ranged from telling the IFP that Mr Mandela's remarks were legitimate expression to suggesting they were "nothing really to worry about".

Dr Malalose declined to say what the IFP would like the ANC to do to amend the situation.

But until the issue is cleared up it is unlikely that IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi would attend a peace meeting with Mr Mandela and President De Klerk and it is unlikely

ly that the IFP would throw its weight behind efforts to re-start negotiations. The climate surrounding renewed negotiations has been improved recently by the positive meeting between the PAC and a government team and reports of informal but positive contact between senior ANC members and government people.

If the ANC does make amends on this issue, the IFP would like a multiparty conference of review to sit to look at how the negotiation process has been conducted so far. Dr Malalose has raised the idea already with other Codesa participants.

Clothing industry agreement

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

EMPLOYERS and unionists party to the Clothing Industrial Council have signed historic agreements after lengthy negotiations, narrowly averting strike action in the beleaguered sector.

The agreements were the first industry-wide accords concluded nationally this year.

Reached between the employer bodies the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association (CCMA), the Garment Manufacturers' Association, the Cape Knitting Industry Association and the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union

(Sactwu) about two weeks ago, they were signed yesterday.

Union assistant general secretary Mr Ebrahim Patel said the agreements were the first which sought to extend union rights and facilities to non-parties.

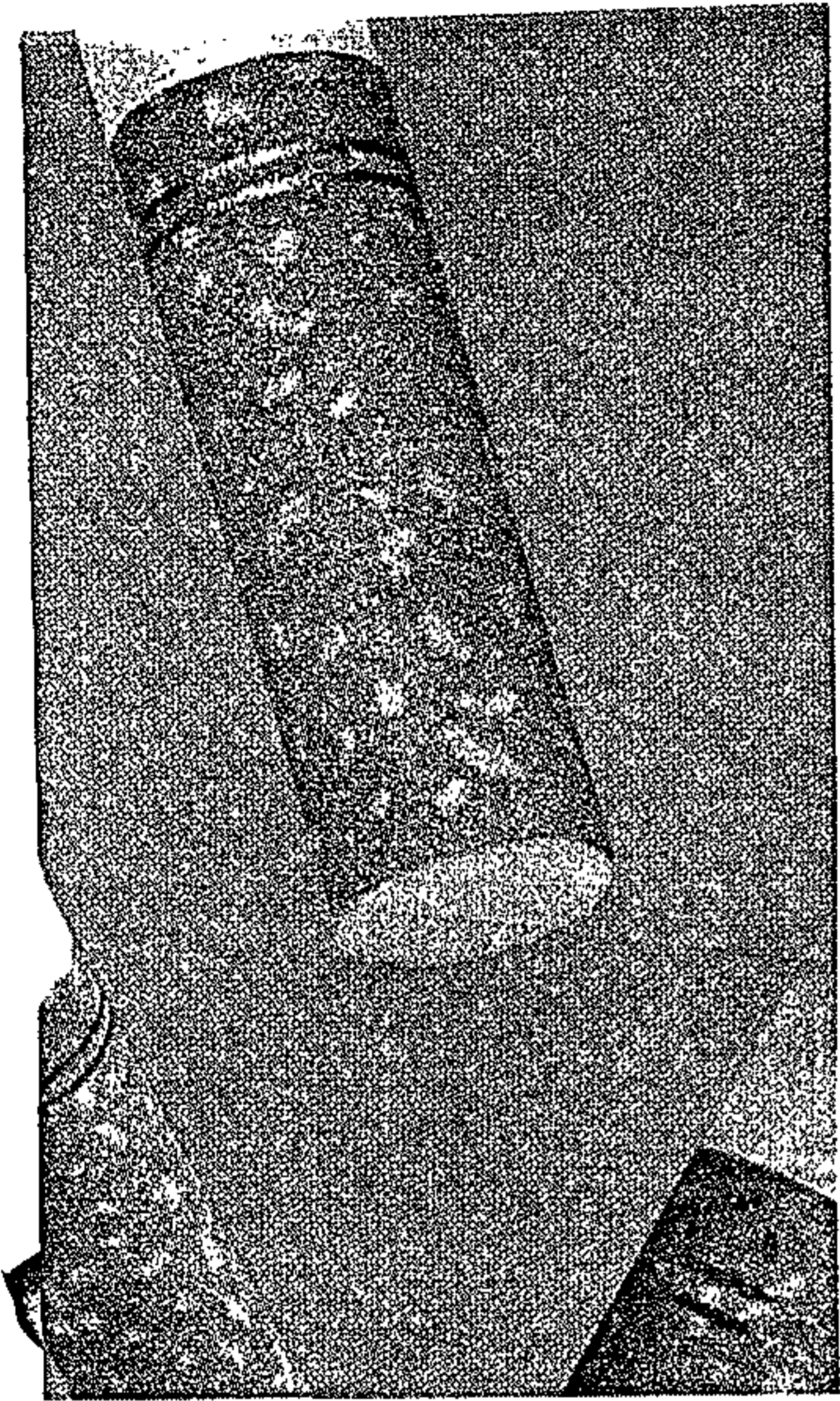
Mr Patel said the union had sought not only to attain the maximum improvement in conditions of employment for members but also to work towards creating a viable industry.

"It has meant settling for wage levels we might have otherwise been reluctant to accept," Mr Patel said. CCMA chairman Mr Simon

Jocum said the parties had concluded "tough negotiations with what is generally considered as a fair settlement".

The Western Cape agreement consists of a package deal with an 11 percent increase backdated to July 1. Machinists are set to get a wage increase of R22 a week (R95,26 a month) and provident fund contributions will be increased by one percent on April 1, 1993.

Employers will pay up to R4,5 million into a medical benefit development fund for dependants of employees. Employers have also agreed to contribute R3,60 a week for each employee for one year.



Moment of truth for CP

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party once again stands on the brink of a split today as the party's head committee meets to discuss substantial policy changes proposed by five dissident "new Right" members of Parliament.

Dissident sources said yesterday that after agreeing to the changes at a meeting on Friday, CP leader Dr Andriés Treurnicht seemed to have reneged on them this week.

This indicated that the head committee — strongly influenced by hardline deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — will today reject their policies.

If so, the dissidents, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, will leave, probably to form a new party.

The dissidents yesterday said Dr Treurnicht had accepted on Friday that an Afrikaner volkstaat would have to be much smaller than envisaged so far.

To achieve it, the CP would

have to be ready to enter into "open-ended" negotiations, meaning that it could not exclude the possibility of bargaining with the ANC.

It should also be prepared to negotiate for a federal Afrikaner state as a vehicle for ultimate sovereign independence for the Afrikaner.

Dr Treurnicht and other loyalist MPs indicated that they had never agreed to anything which implied negotiations with the ANC or following the federal route.

One MP said the only concession which Dr Treurnicht had made was to accept the need for a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

Dissident sources said Dr Treurnicht had reneged even on this agreement in an SABC-TV interview this week.

"I think it will be the end tomorrow," a dissident source said yesterday.

The other dissident MPs are Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Bethal MP Chris de Jager, Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz and Standerton MP Rosier de Ville.

Looking beyond the masses

STAR 13/8/92

3044

HERE must have been a moment during the mass action campaign when Nelson Mandela, echoing the words of a famous general, said to himself "I don't know what you do the enemy, but, by God, you mighten me."

The spectacle of a raw struggle for power, however necessary and stifled that struggle might be, is seldom an edifying one. It always is its dark side and its grim consequences.

Mass action reached its climax at the terraced lawns of Union Buildings, when the black throngs draped ANC flags on the statues of Afrikaner heroes.

It made dramatic television viewing in Britain, as it did in South Africa. Peaceful though the demonstrations were there was an unmistakable whiff of insurrection in the air.

What the radicals were signalling to the white Government last week was that we can bring you

down if we need to, even if it means bringing ourselves down in the process — the prospect of presiding over rubble does not frighten us.

This, of course, is not what Nelson Mandela had in mind when he wrote his famous Memorandum from Prison, which acknowledged that structural guarantees would have to be negotiated for whites in the new dispensation and that seizure of power was not an option.

What Pandora's box has been opened? Agreed, Codesa was too good to be true, and the ANC leadership was reaching cosy pacts with the Government that were starting to hang in the air, awkwardly and embarrassingly, without grassroots underpinning. But how else will South Africa reach a new dispensation unless the elites on either side arrange it, as they usually do in history?

The African National Congress masses are too heterogeneous to give the leadership a coherent

mandate. The radicals and assorted activists who claim to speak for the masses are only one sector.

The next logical step is for the different sectors to come out from under the ANC umbrella and subdivide into their natural formations. But if the leaders are reluctant to allow this to happen until after the first elections have been held, then they have no choice but to muster what legitimacy they can, take their courage in their hands, and strike their deals with President de Klerk, masses or no masses.

Is it a correct reading to say that the ANC leadership's credibility has been restored by mass action?

Or have the radicals simply put the leadership on probation?

IN spite of questions like this one that last week's ominous display of black power invites, I have come across a surprising number

of businessmen and officials in Britain who still believe that, on balance, South Africa will soon be back on the high road scenario — that shared power remains the game plan.

They see it this way. Even before Codesa 2 collapsed in mid-May, ANC radicals/activists, fearing imminent new concessions to the Government, forced the leadership to call a halt to negotiations and return to the grassroots for reacceleration. Moderates stepped back temporarily as the radicals climbed into the driving seat, directing mass action towards the climax that we saw last week.

Now the radicals, the theory continues, having had their fling, will allow the leadership to take over again (without revealing just when rolling action will stop rolling), confident that they have set the new parameters of negotiations.

BILATERAL talks between the ANC and the Government are resuming, and it is hoped Codesa 3 will assemble by late September or early October.

Agreement will be reached on an interim government and constituent assembly by mid-November, an administrative interim government will be in place by February to prepare for the elections, and South Africa's first non-racial elections will be held in June or thereabouts. In other words, the ANC will return to the principles of the Memorandum from Prison.

But first President de Klerk must deal with the violence, and here, if he needs ammunition to confront his generals, he has it at hand in Cyrus Vance's UN report, which calls for a full probe into the South African Defence Force and South African Police.

There is also the proposed strengthening of the Goldstone Commission and the National

Peace Accord (with 30 more UN observers), the Waddington Report on the police, and the recommendation for the appointment of an eminent impartial person, not necessarily a foreigner, to provide the impetus and cohesion that Codesa needs to fulfil its task.

Dr Van Zyl Stabbert is strongly favoured in Britain for this appointment on the grounds that the appointee must have not only gravitas, but also be politically streetwise, a dark art at which Dr Stabbert is an acknowledged master.

These high expectations of investors, officials and others in Britain are tempered, however, with the warning that if President de Klerk cannot come to grips with the violence within, say, six months, then the ANC-Government confrontation probably will just go back to square one.

This, then, is a view of South Africa from afar. Is it too optimistic? □

NEWS Minister tells cops to be impartial ● New moves on negotiations welcomed

'Adapt or else' - Kriel

80 welfan 14/8/92

By Monk Nkomo

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel yesterday warned policemen that they would be dismissed if they failed to adapt to the realities of the new South Africa.

Speaking at a medal parade at the police college in Pretoria West, Kriel told policemen to act professionally in their duties in order to regain the confi-

Peace process depends on police professionalism:

dence of the communities they served. The South African Police, he added, were under tremendous pressure from various sectors, including their communities, which wanted better crime prevention methods.

"We will only be able to handle this pressure if we work harder, more professionally, treat everybody equally, be better trained and reach out to the com-

munities we serve," he said.

"Our aim is to be impartial and adapt to the new South Africa. Any member of the police force who fails to adhere to these conditions will be dismissed or suspended," Kriel said.

Kriel said police were going to play a key role in the peace process in the country. A young police constable fainted while on parade.

Azapo hails UN plan

United Nations proposes neutral chairman for talks:

(304A) Sowetan 14/8/92

THE Azanian People's Organisation would consider participating in democracy talks under a neutral convener as recommended by the United Nations.

But it still insisted on a two-sided arrangement at a neutral venue, publicly secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

Addressing a news briefing in Durban, Moodley said Azapo remained committed to its stance on talks with the

Government and noted that the African National Congress had moved closer to its position on international involvement in negotiations.

The ANC was also "talking more strongly" of a Constituent Assembly and had admitted that Codesa had failed.

"If (Transkei leader, General Bantu) Holomisa resigns from the Transkei to sit with the liberation movements, Azapo will welcome this." - *Sapa*.

NEWS

A matter of restoring trust

STAR 14/8/92

304A

THE negotiations at Codesa broke down primarily over a matter of trust. Trust over a commitment to democracy. Trust over the process to constitution-making. And, above all, trust over the issue of violence.

The UN secretary-general's recommendation, endorsed by Mr Justice Goldstone, that there should be a full-scale investigation into the activities of the SADF, SAP, the Kwazulu police, the ANC's MK and PAC's Apla opens up a new opportunity of restoring trust in the vital area of violence and security.

Perhaps we expected too much, too easily, too quickly from Codesa. Perhaps we should have delved deeper into the implications of the dramatic clash between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at Codesa 1. Perhaps we should have assessed Codesa both against the magnitude of the task in which we South Africans are engaged and the unique circumstances surrounding our negotiation process.

The circumstances in which the negotiation process commenced were unique. At the time the pro-

cess was opened up, in February 1990, South Africa was a deeply divided nation caught up in a low-intensity civil war.

If the normal historical pattern of events had followed, the conflict would have grown stronger until one side had won. However, something that no one had predicted happened: an ethnic Afrikaner, leader of an embattled minority, sitting in Tuynhuys, decided to negotiate before he had lost.

A black South African, leader of an oppressed majority, sitting in prison, decided to negotiate before he had won.

These two acts of political daring created a unique opportunity for South Africans to negotiate a new future but also placed severe strain on the attitudes and behaviour patterns that had been developing in their constituencies.

The danger of a gap developing between the leaders, now committed to negotiation, and their support base, conditioned for conflict, was real.

Mr de Klerk sensed this danger when he lost the Potchefstroom by-election and promptly called a referendum in an attempt to consolidate his support base and

strengthen his position at the negotiation table.

Mr Mandela sensed this at the time of Codesa 2 when he called for mass action in an attempt to consolidate his support base and strengthen his hand at the negotiation table.

Where do we go from here? How do we get the formal negotiations back on track?

I say formal because it is important to realise that while the negotiations at Codesa are at a standstill, the overall process of negotiation is far from dead.

The written demands and responses shuttling back and forth between the ANC and the Government are an important form of negotiation.

The meetings between Saccola, representing the employers, and Cosatu, representing labour, to discuss the matters arising out of the constitutional impasse represented a significant broadening of the process of negotiation.

Indeed, despite their apparent fractiousness, all the leaders remain committed to negotiation. All the political organisations continue to subscribe to Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

We do not have to start negotiating from scratch. But we do have to start by restoring trust, trust between the ANC and the Government and more particularly between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This demands conciliation in three key areas: the issue of violence, the concept of democracy and the essential features of the constitution-making process.

● **Violence:**
The Government, by its deeds in addition to its words, will have to persuade the voteless citizens of our country that it is serious, determined and effective in bringing an end to violence.

Clearly, the Government is not solely responsible for bringing an end to violence, but equally clearly, as the government of the day, it has the prime responsibility for maintaining law and order and bringing peace to our people.

If Mr de Klerk's Government is not capable of discharging this critical governmental responsibility on its own, consideration will have to be given, inter alia, to setting up a multiparty transitional executive council for security matters, along the lines agreed to in Working Group 3, even before

there is a fully fledged interim government of national unity.

● **The concept of democracy:**
All South Africans will have to face up to the reality that the full democratisation of government at all levels will mean that, within the framework of the new constitution, political power at present exercised by a minority will be transferred to the people of South Africa as a whole.

The Government will have to accept that, subject to constitutional checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, democracy involves majority decision-making processes.

The ANC for its part will have to dispel the concern that democracy could degenerate to "the tyranny of the masses".

● **Constitution-making process:**
Both the Government and the ANC say they want the new constitution to be drawn up by an elected body which is bound by the general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa. Both say they want a multiparty interim or transitional government of national unity.

Yet, it was the differences over the inter-relationship of these two

structures that finally led to a breakdown at Codesa.

The Government put prime emphasis on the interim constitution. The practical effect of this was that the constitution would be drawn up by Codesa and that the process of transition would be protracted.

The ANC on the other hand put its emphasis on the elected constituent assembly. The practical effect of this was that the constituent assembly, in addition to drawing up the constitution, would usurp the function of the legally constituted Government.

Both the Government and the ANC will have to agree on a timeframe and on appropriate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Constitutions can always be amended at some future stage. However, the sooner South Africa has a new democratic constitution and a representative and accountable system of government, the better for our economy, our stability and our nation as a whole.

Mutual trust, which is critical in the process of constitution-making, will not be restored by remote control. □

● *Colin Eglin is Democratic Party MP for Sea Point.*

BLOW to talks

3047A

CT 14/8/92

From page 1
Talks
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 3047A

New ANC rebuff to government

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
 Political Correspondent

THE ANC last night dashed hopes for an early return to negotiations by calling off all talks with the government.

The ANC's national working committee bluntly rebuffed earlier government overtures aimed at restarting negotiations and instead accused the government of "bad faith" in talks held as recently as the weekend.

The ANC said it would refuse all further government requests for meetings — including negotiations on political prisoners — until the 14 demands it made in June when it severed constitutional negotiations had been met.

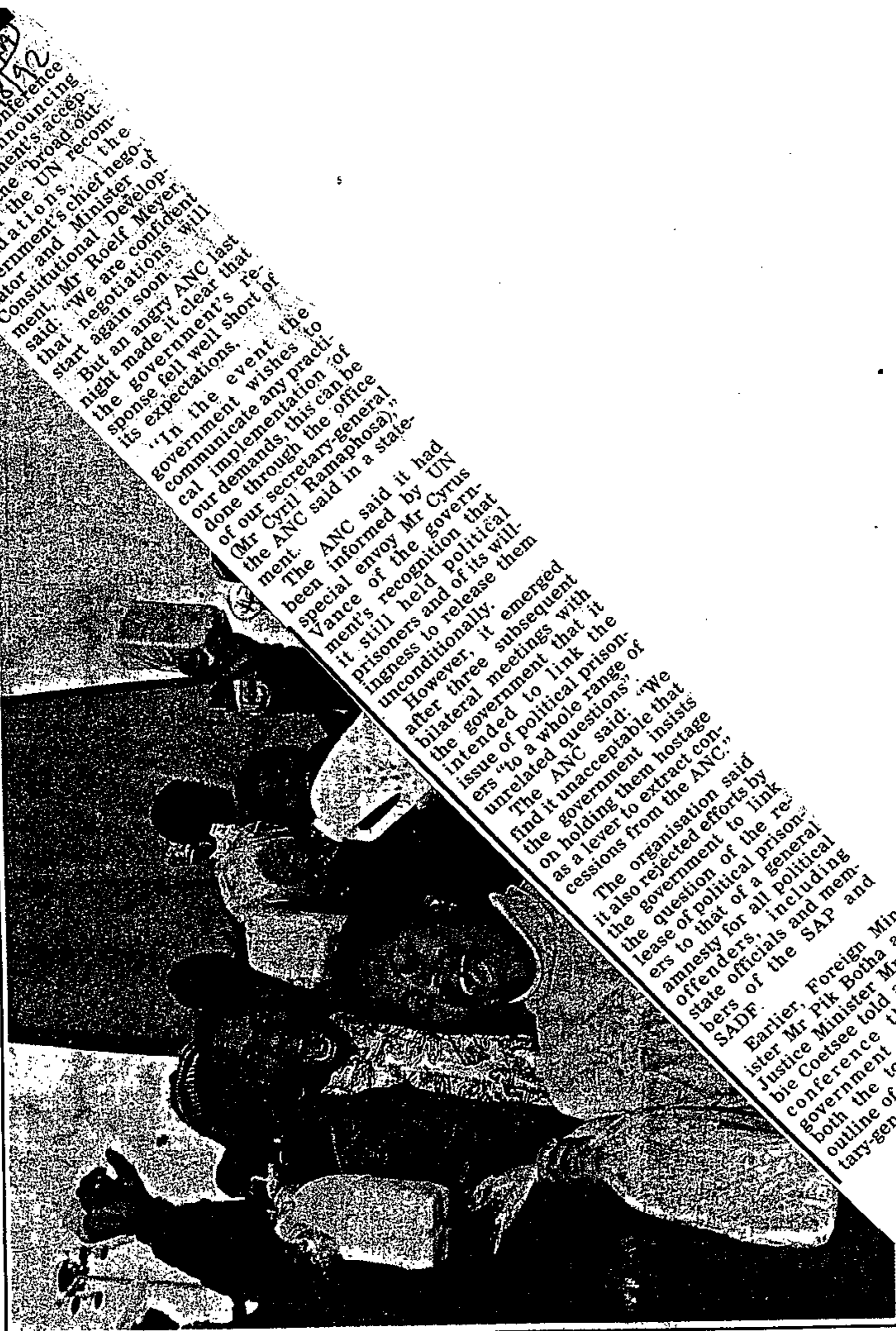
The latest breakdown came shortly after the government raised expectations of a rapid return to the negotiating table by agreeing to a UN proposal for the Goldstone Commission to probe allegations of security force involvement in violence.

The government also claimed at an international press conference yesterday that it had made "vast progress" in talks with the ANC on a package deal for a general amnesty for political offenders — a position sharply disputed by the ANC last night.

In another concession to a key ANC demand, the government gave the green light to a team of at least 30 UN observers to monitor violence here.

The government also gave the first formal indication that it was willing to go along with a deadlock-breaking mechanism in negotiations — one of the issues which led to the breakdown of Codesa II.

Meanwhile, the PAC disclosed yesterday that it had reached consensus with the government in talks this week that a new constitution should be framed by a democratically-elected constituent assembly — another key ANC demand.



At a press conference yesterday announcing the government's acceptance of the "broad outline" of the UN recom-

mendations, the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer said: "We are confident that negotiations will start again soon."

But an angry ANC last night made it clear that its expectations of a government well short of those of our secretary-general (Mr Cyril Ramaphosa) had been informed by UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance of the government's recognition that it still held political prisoners and of its willingness to release them unconditionally.

However, it emerged after three subsequent bilateral meetings with the government that it intended to link the issue of political prisoners "to a whole range of unrelated questions".

The ANC said: "We find it unacceptable that the government insists on holding them hostage as a lever to extract concessions from the ANC."

The organisation said it also rejected efforts by the government to link the question of the release of political prisoners to that of a general amnesty for all political offenders, including state officials and members of the SAP and SADF.

Earlier, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Justice Minister Mr Koobie Coetsee told a press conference that the government approved both the tone and the outline of the UN secretary-general's report

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To page 2

Four cop

REBEL CP talk of new party

304A CT 14/8/92

PRETORIA. — The five "rebel" Conservative Party members who resigned from the party last night wanted to "become involved in the negotiation process" and would consider forming a new party.

This was said by Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers who added that the policy differences within the CP were of such a nature that unity could not be maintained.

In a statement endorsed by Mr Beyers, Free State leader Mr Ce-hill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), the group said their future plan submitted to the party was rejected because of the reactionary resistance within the CP against dynamic planning.

Final bid

The group of five addressed the press at Mr De Jager's home after a CP hoofraad meeting where Mr Pienaar made a final bid to swing the party's leadership to the dissident group's way of thinking, as spelt out in their document "The Road Ahead".

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht snapped impatiently at a waiting re-

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From page 1

Split

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porter when he strode from the hoofraad meeting, perhaps realising he could no longer maintain party unity.

Mr Beyers said the five would not resign their parliamentary seats and Mr De Jager said time was running out to oppose the government's plans to institute an interim government.

Mr De Ville said the five had the support of their constituencies. — Sapa

ebels 'will talk to ne, even the ANC'

Mr Beyers said their first priority would be to talk to a wide range of people and organisations who "are moving away from the idea of a unitary state" and their own supporters and proponents of the Afrikaner "volksstaat" option.

After consolidating their support, they plan to hold a meeting of supporters "soon" to decide whether to form a new political party or remain a movement.

The dissidents announced their resignation last night after a marathon meeting of the CP's chief council.

The split places a question mark over the political career of CP leader Dr. Andreas Treurnicht, with some CP members feeling he should resign.

ANC halts talks

But lines of communication with government stay

Political Staff

AFTER an unsuccessful secret meeting between top-level ANC and government delegations on Sunday, the ANC has refused any further meetings.

But the organisation has kept open the lines of communication with the government by saying that any "practical implementation" of its demands can be addressed through the office of its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said the Sunday meeting - arranged by the government - was "fruitless" because there had been no visible movement by the government.

The ANC national working committee (NWC) met yesterday and endorsed a recommendation by the national executive committee (NEC) that any further request for meetings with the government be refused.

There is unhappiness in some ANC circles about the meeting, who say it was a transgression of a decision by the NEC in June that any resumption of negotiations could take place only after the situation had been reviewed by the body.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the meeting was not viewed as a transgression of the NEC decision because the ANC negotiators had not entered into discussions with the government.

The ANC, however, denied that the talks signalled the resumption of negotiations.

"Prior to this encounter the ANC had been given the impression that the government was willing to respond positively in writing to the 14 demands contained in our memorandum of June 23, 1992. In the upshot it emerged that there has been no visible movement on these issues on the government's part."

"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

The meeting on Sunday was between ANC negotiators Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla. The government team included Minister Roelf Meyer, Director-General of Constitutional Development Niel Barnard, constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

It is understood that the meeting was sanctioned by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

District Six: Expulsions, expropriation denied

Municipal Reporter

RUMOURS that land or houses in District Six would be expropriated or their owners expelled were unfounded. District Six steering committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan told a Zonnebloem Residents' Association meeting.

An independent residents' selection study group will be set up to find fair ways of deciding who should be allowed to return to a redeveloped District Six.

A community land trust, and a company in terms of section 21 of the Companies Act, will be set up as soon as all parties have commented on a set of principles guiding redevelopment.

A few members of the audience of about 100 occasionally interrupted speeches by Mr Keegan and two city council planning officials, claiming redevelopment would bring slums and a high crime rate.

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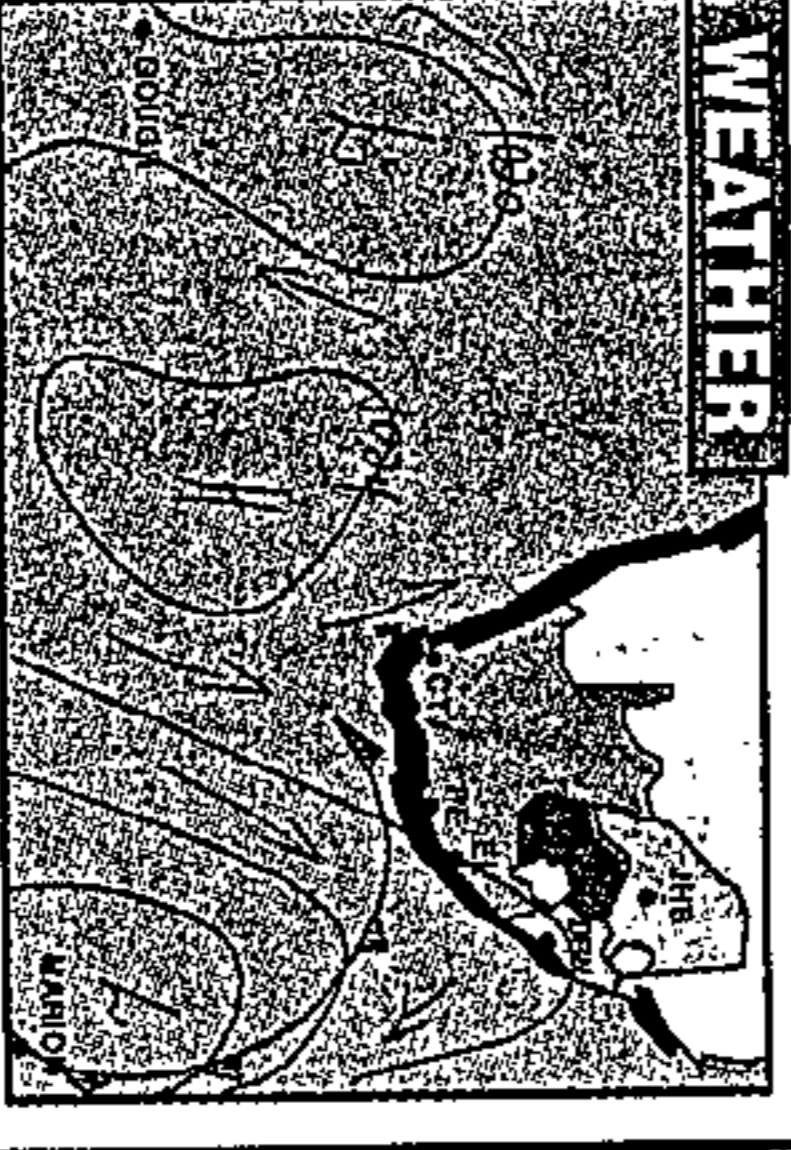
The planning process was an opportunity for "retribution" and to show what could be done to renew inner-city areas.

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Fine and warm

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Constable tells probe of threats

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A special constable told the Goldstone Commission inquiry on the Boipatong massacre that police threatened him with violence after he refused to change a statement alleging police complicity in the attack.

Constable Ntseta Xaba said a police captain threatened to hit him after he insisted that during the attack on June 17 he saw two men, wearing camouflaged clothes and carrying machine guns, walking behind a Casspir.

Under cross-examination yesterday Constable Xaba said the two men were white.

The constable said that a Vanderbijlpark police captain told him to "correct" his statement by saying that he had seen the Casspir from a greater distance than he had indicated.

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Constable Xaba said that the wall clock he read the time from could have been faulty.

Fm. 14/8/92

...comes Codesa 3

While the political atmosphere this week improved, ANC spokesmen are cautious about prospects for the resumption of direct constitutional negotiations.

But this may simply be the result of having had the bubble of their earlier optimism so rudely pricked at Codesa 2.

The NP's information director Piet Coetzer describes the prospects for fresh negotiations as "pretty good — if not on a full, Codesa-style basis in the immediate future, (then) on the bilateral level and on the question of violence, using the structures of the Peace Accord."

Informed government sources say negotiations could resume "within weeks."

Continuing the theme of the brighter outlook in general, Coetzer points to the preparatory talks due to be held between government and the PAC (as the FM went to press) and to "movement in the rightwing." This is a reference to differences which again surfaced in the CP last weekend.

Continued ->

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 14/8/92

DP leader Zach de Beer, observing that the ANC's mass action campaign last week went off relatively peacefully, says the two major players are firmly intending to resume talks. De Beer was disappointed, however, to see Tuesday's reports quoting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who told Perskor's board of directors that Inkatha would not return to Codesa "as things stand now." Buthelezi reportedly insisted that only a meeting between himself, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela would help address violence and get negotiations back on track.

An ANC spokesman had earlier told the FM that the ANC was not interested in such a meeting. The ANC reckons that Buthelezi is now more isolated than ever before.

Buthelezi's remarks nonetheless seemed to cloud the more optimistic outlook marked by various developments last weekend:

- Mandela's rather surprising return to saying sweet things about De Klerk, which he did at a rally in Ciskei, praising the State President's vision and reiterating that SA's future depended on negotiations between their parties;
- The Mandela/De Klerk telephone conversation last Friday, which was the first time in weeks that the two leaders had spoken to each other;
- Government's provisional acceptance of the report of the UN secretary-general on special envoy Cyrus Vance's SA mission; and

□ Judge Richard Goldstone's call on all parties to back the UN recommendation for an investigation into the SA Police, SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the KwaZulu Police. FM 14/8/92

Leaders of the latter two forces appeared to reject the notion, while the ANC attached conditions related to full disclosure of security force activities before any general amnesty could be countenanced. Government said such a probe could help to reduce suspicion and restore trust in the forces.

P.T.O.

FM 14/8/92

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What had appeared to be a firm set of 14 ANC demands have now been boiled down to three, as described by Mandela:

- "An interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward;
- "The creation of an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy. This means that there must be a commitment to a sovereign, democratically elected constituent assembly; and
- "It is critical that practical steps are taken by government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people in the townships."

Mandela added: "These three categories of demands constitute the 14 we have made to government. Unless they are met satisfactorily by government, negotiations cannot be resumed."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli explains that government has not done anything about fencing off hostels, one of the demands made by the ANC following the Boipatong massacre. Nor have they banned the carrying of traditional weapons — the recent proscribing of such weapons in unrest areas did not go far enough. And though there have been meetings between government and ANC representatives on the ques-

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FM 14/8/92

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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tion of political prisoners, "we are no nearer settling this issue than we were at Codesa," Valli says.

Sovereign body

On constitutional matters, "government still has not said anything about its position on a minority veto in the drafting of a new constitution. So the negotiations are no nearer to being resumed," asserts Valli, who felt that the press was reading too much into Mandela's praising of De Klerk at Ciskei.

But De Klerk reiterated, after Mandela's Union Buildings speech last week, that government accepts the idea of an elected constitution-making body. "The question is: how sovereign will that body be?" asks Valli.

He continues: "They want the key questions to be agreed beforehand and upfront. They are not saying anything new. For instance, they speak about entrenched, autonomous regions and regional powers. We don't know what they mean by such autonomy and powers."

The NP's Coetzer says that it was not an elected constituent assembly that was in dispute at Codesa, rather the decision-making procedures inside that body. Here, government appears to have dropped its proposal for a role for the senate. But will the ANC still accept the 70% vote requirement it agreed to at the last minute at Codesa 2 — or stick to its reversion to two-thirds?

These disputes are, of course, the stuff of negotiation. According to Coetzer: "Our bot-

tom line for the transitional period is that SA can't be left in a constitutional vacuum." And Valli says: "The ANC, too, is opposed to there being a legal and constitutional hiatus. It's a non-argument, really."

On the question of time-frames, NP government sources say that, given recent optimism, formal negotiations could start within weeks. One thing that will have to be clarified in bilateral talks, on the go at present, is the status of the various proposals reached at the Codesa working groups. Do they take off from where matters deadlocked — or start *de novo*? ■

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Finding the centre

Agreements on federalism and security would guide the way to shared rule



"Interim government now!" has been one of the slogans of the ANC and its allies. It is possible to sympathise with their impatience, if not with their methods and motives. We need an interim government, transitional authority — call it what you will as long as it involves joint responsibility — soon.

The country is on hold. Government has itself acknowledged — by entering negotiations — that it is not legitimate, in the sense of representing all the people. There is also a disturbing lack of ministerial talent to support President F W de Klerk. The administration as a whole is increasingly infected with lame-duck disease.

Even in areas where funds have already been allocated there is paralysis. Money for housing and education is not being spent, pending a political settlement. Investors, both local and foreign, are waiting to see what happens. Businessmen feel unconfident, jumpy and unable to plan.

Both the Nats and the ANC say they want fast progress towards a settlement. So why has the first step — an interim government — proved so elusive? It is because the Nats want to avoid giving up power before there have been negotiations about the vital issues; and the ANC does not want to be compromised by getting joint responsibility on terms which are too favourable to the Nats.

Both parties have a constituency to placate. This is why the problem is not one of trust between the various leaders — though trust obviously helps.

There are understandable fears. Whites may have accepted the inevitability of majority rule when they voted "yes" in the March referendum — but they are irritated by the apparent political immaturity that is revealed in mass action and toyi-toyi politics.

Sensing this conservatism, the Nats hang on. This is probably not a calculated thing; perhaps they instinctively hope that time will somehow mellow the radicals in the ANC and strengthen the moderates; that the humiliation of communist economics will continue; that revolutionary ideology will stead-

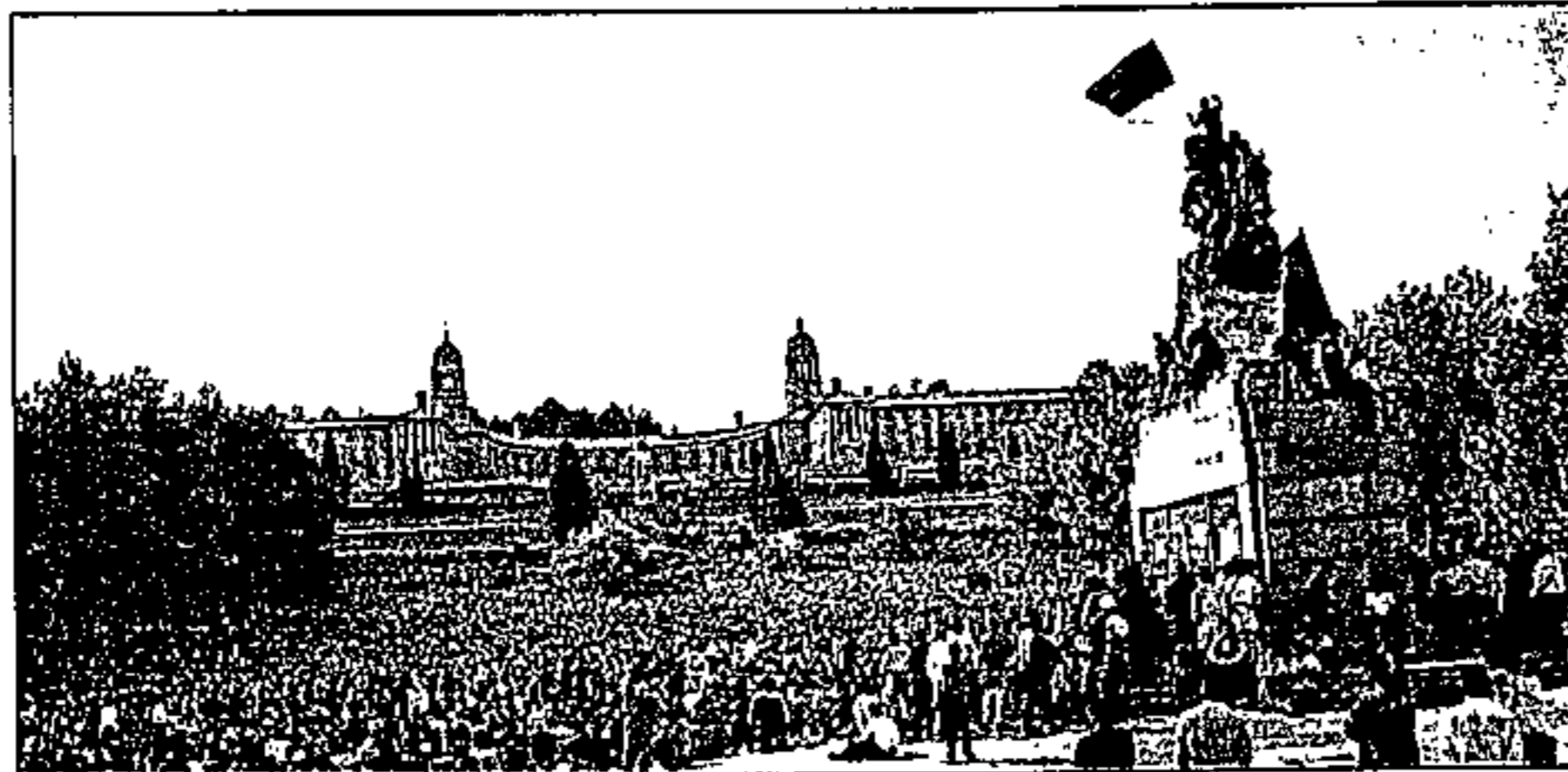
ily be replaced by an appreciation of hard economic realities.

The ANC, in its turn, is also reluctant to move into the transitional stage, despite its rhetoric. For once it shares power, the ANC can no longer be an opponent; it will have at least a partial say in government — which brings with it a share of responsibility. It will fail to solve many of the problems which have defeated the Nats — and it will begin its baptism of failing to meet expectations. Clearly it wants the best possible terms and conditions.

A transitional authority could take many forms. It could be elected or appointed (though the experience of countries like Portugal suggests that democracy installed from above by a leadership pact has more chance of succeeding). An interim authority could be used to oversee the mechanics of transition while another body wrote a new constitution, or could write the constitution itself as well as govern. The ANC, the Nats and other major parties might have equal representation; or they might not. It could be timed to last for a few months; or a few years.

Proceedings at Codesa showed that agreement between the Nats and the ANC can be reached on these issues.

So what's the delay? The big problem — the one on which the Nats are reluctant to risk a majority vote, once they have given up sole power — is the extent to which power should be devolved. As a document from the



Mass action ... what's the real point?

SA Institute of Race Relations puts it: "This is the critical practical question bubbling beneath the surface of the memoranda flowing between the ANC and government."

The Nats and Inkatha favour greater power for regions. The ANC is suspicious of this; it expects to win majority support as a whole and does not see why it should be deprived of all the keys to the kingdom.

Communist leader Chris Hani has complained that a federal system would be used to retain white supremacy. His reasoning is not clear. As Inkatha leader Mangosuthu

Buthelezi has pointed out, whites would be in a definite minority in every federal region, whether the map were drawn according to ANC or Nat proposals. In the engine room of the economy — the PWV area — blacks would certainly be a majority.

It seems clear that the issue of federalism needs to be addressed on its own, bluntly and honestly, without the paraphernalia and hot air of another Codesa, where a score of delegations and committees produce distracting sophistry. A binding compromise on federalism is perhaps both a necessary and a sufficient condition for the establishment of an interim government.

Such a conference on federalism might profitably address issues that till now have been swept under the carpet. For instance, it is wise not to be mechanistic about possible regional divisions. Research by the Development Bank of SA and Race Relations reveals wide disparities between the eight convenient geographic regions. Consideration of these differences might produce a more sensible approach on all sides.

The western Cape, for instance, has the highest average life expectancy, best health services, highest literacy rate (82%) and smallest proportion of Africans (17%). Contrast this with the northern Transvaal, which has the fastest population growth, most children under 15 (51%), highest proportion of people with no education (21%) and largest proportion of Africans (97%). Natal and KwaZulu have the greatest number of Africans (6,3m) and export the largest number of migrant workers (482 000).

These regions are obviously not equal; in many respects they are not even similar. There is a clear case for considerable devolution of power to regional and local level, so that policies can be devised to suit particular circumstances. The greater the centralisation, the more chance there is for disaffection. But it must also be borne in mind that the regions are interdependent economically and share infrastructure and resources.

If the ANC and the Nats were to sit down and discuss federal variations in detail, they might discover a surprising amount of common ground. If they do not, the issue will remain to haunt and undermine any accommodation they may reach.

The other necessary condition for an interim government, it seems, is the reduction of violence to a level that the ANC and its allies can tolerate. Political violence remains the biggest stumbling block.

Here, too, it is clear that the major parties will have to come to some kind of agreement about security, well in advance of constitutional progress. Apart from anything else, it

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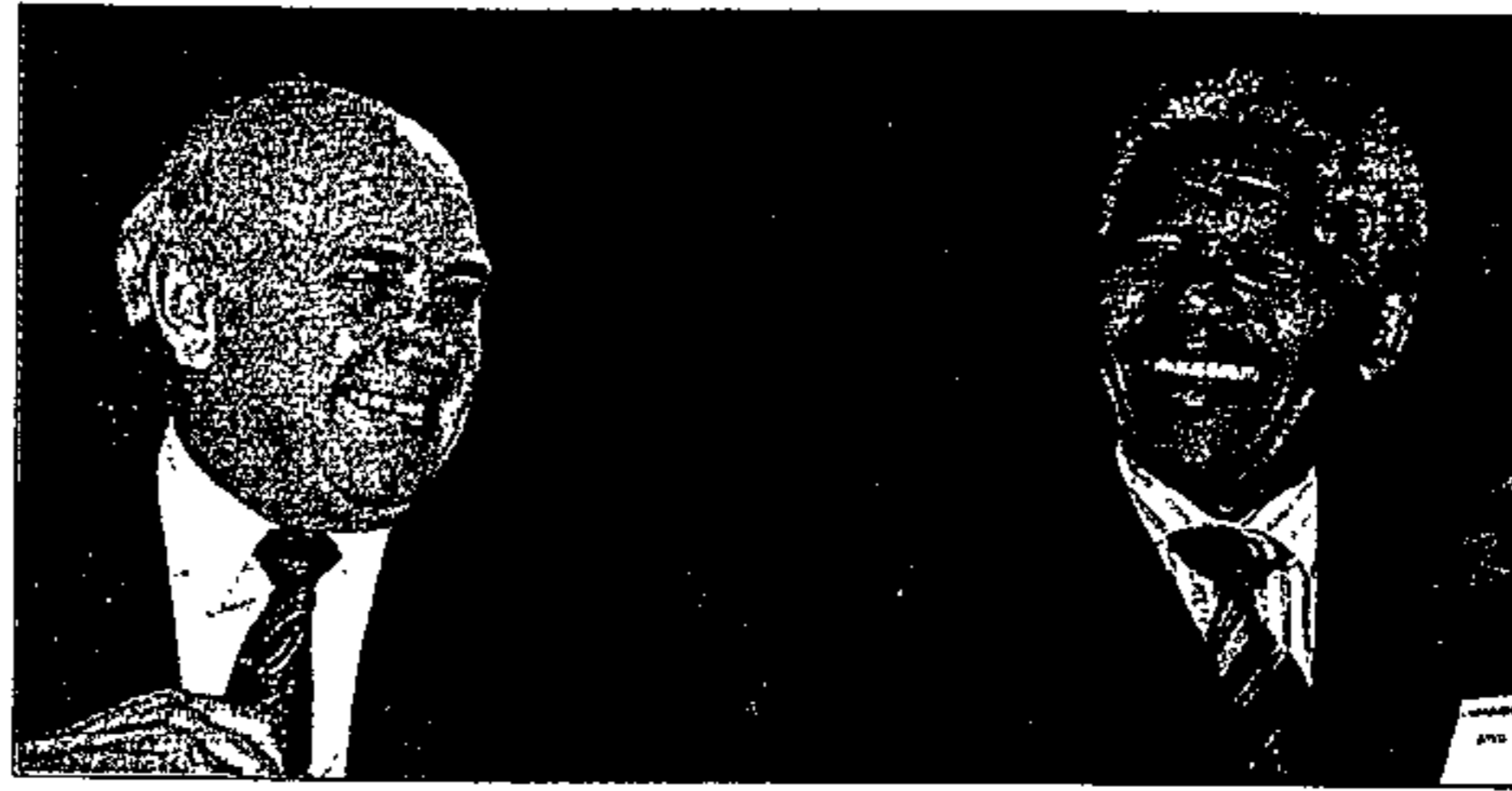
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will be impossible to create a culture of political tolerance if violence continues — and without tolerance it is impossible to hold meaningful elections. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert touched on this problem in his Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture at the SA Institute of International Affairs in May.

"The most primitive bedrock of societal stability," said Slabbert, "relates to the maintenance of law and order, and to the instruments responsible for it — the police and the military. I cannot think of any recent attempt at democratic transition in any society where the civilian security process has not been critical to the success of the process." More specifically, this view is echoed in the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre: "No institution is more crucial to the future success of the peace process, and thus the future of SA itself, than the SA Police."

Slabbert concluded: "In the same way as we are negotiating democratic transition on a constitutional level, we urgently need to negotiate a civil-security arrangement on the problem of stability. Such stability can then be reinforced and reflected in a new democratic constitution."

To arrive at such a security arrangement would not require another cumbersome session of Codesa. Structures such as the National Peace Accord are already in place;



De Klerk and Mandela ... talking again

they need to be used to better effect. UN monitors can continue, by their presence alone, to encourage and reinforce the process. The Goldstone Commission can be beefed up with additional distinguished jurists.

And the police are not beyond rehabilitation. The Waddington report, while severely critical of the SAP in some respects, made it clear that there was no evidence of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre; that investigations by the police of complaints against themselves were proceeding with competence and integrity; and that "many of the SAP officers, especially those in junior commissioned and noncommissioned ranks, impressed as dedicated, hard-working and

member of the force. Too many of them still see the ANC and its allies as "the enemy." But many policemen have been assassinated.

The cycle of distrust and accusation must be broken but there are already signs of progress. The police have responded positively to the Waddington report, which concluded that the SAP has a problem with its systems rather than its personnel. And ANC president Nelson Mandela has now spoken against attacks on policemen, whereas not long ago he was accusing De Klerk of "killing our people." Mandela was even photographed last week shaking hands with the police general who commands the Internal Stability Unit. The ANC has also acknowledged the spectre of anarchy created by the

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LEADING ARTICLES

FM 14/8/92

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township "self-defence units."

The ANC is right to insist that no progress can be made until the violence stops, but it also has a duty to help stop it. This means entering into a pact with government to establish, as Slabbert puts it, "the uncontested role of the security forces." A good first step would be for charismatic spokesmen on both sides to resist the temptation to gloat whenever they think they see advantage in statements by neutral observers (such as the UN monitors or the Goldstone Commission).

In general, both the ANC and government need to improve the quality of their negotiat-

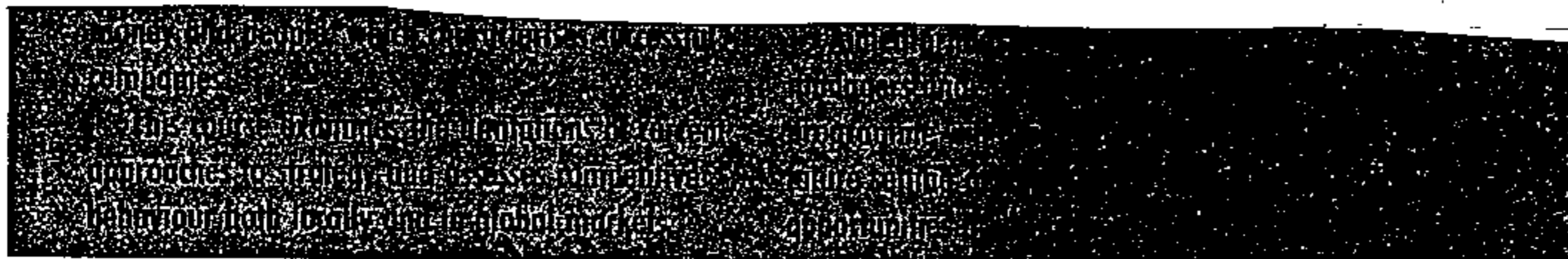
ing teams. It seems fair to say that they could learn something from businessmen and unionists, who have been at it for much longer and are accustomed to hard bargaining. Surely there is more scope for drawing on the talent that is in the DP: people like Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and Carole Charlewood have much to offer as honest brokers, mediators and tough liberals. And what about Slabbert?

In a sense, leaders got things the wrong way round at Codesa. Agreeing on a new constitution should be the easy part, given the remarkable shifts and concessions that

have already been made. The problem was that the real issues — federalism versus centralism, violence — were allowed to masquerade as constitutional conflicts. This is why the collapse of Codesa was so confusing to outsiders.

If there is no agreement on what kind of country we are to have, and no common purpose to make it safe to live in, then there is no point in thinking about a constitution.

The major players have to admit this and then act together with determination. What we need is "rolling talks" instead of "rolling-mass action."



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CP rebels 'will talk to anyone, even the ANC'

Political Staff

304A

THE five MPs who broke with the Conservative Party are prepared to negotiate for a system of regional government as a stepping stone towards an independent Afrikaner homeland — and will talk to anyone, including the ANC, if necessary.

The five are Free State leader and MP for Heilbron Mr Cecil Planaar, Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Mr Moolman Mentz.

Mr Beyers said today an Afrikaner homeland was not the group's immediate bottom line, but an "eventual ideal". A system of regional government could be a vehicle towards attaining this ideal.

Mr Beyers said their first priority would be to talk to a wide range of people and organisations who "are moving away from the idea of a unitary state" and their own supporters and proponents of the Afrikaner "volksstaat" option.

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"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

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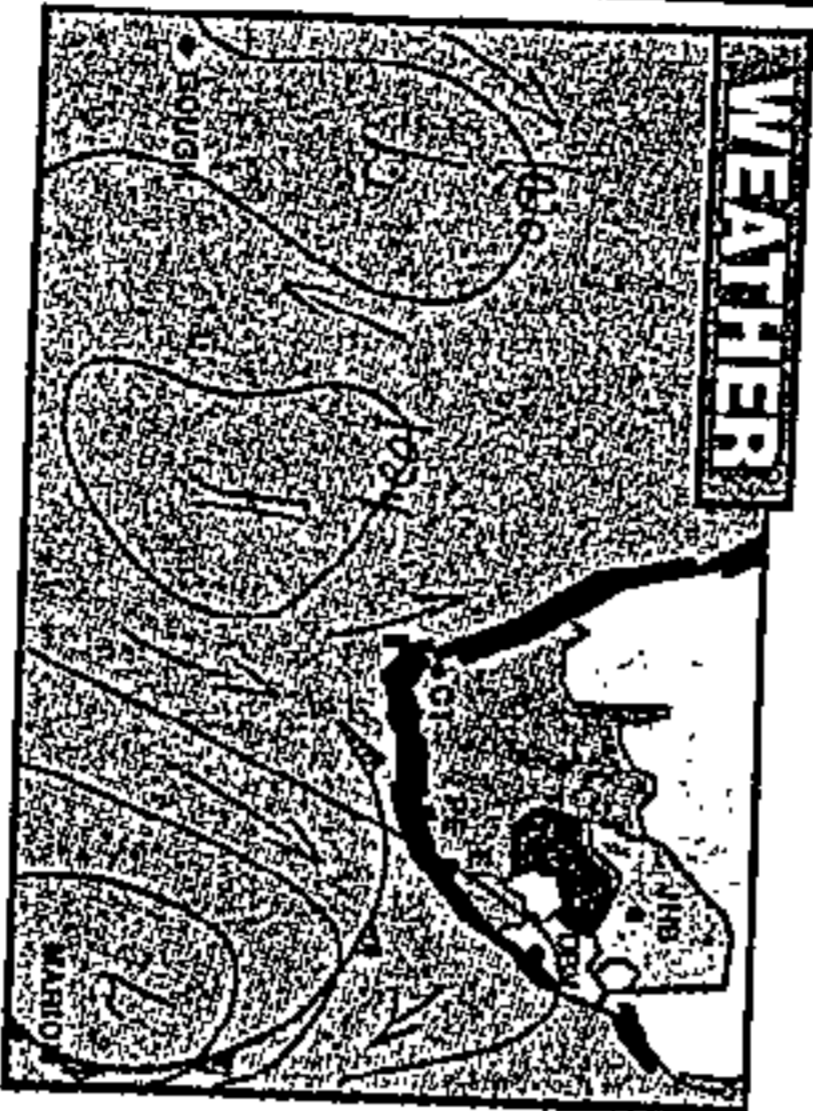
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Fine and warm

WEATHER forecast for the Cape Peninsula and Boland

ANC slams door shut on govt overtures

THE ANC last night suspended all talks with government "on any issue", including the release of prisoners, because of government's "evident bad faith".

The decision by the ANC's national working committee extinguishes the hopes of government and the international community that talks would resume soon.

Earlier yesterday, government announced its acceptance of the UN report, which includes several concessions to key ANC demands — sufficient, government believed, to set negotiations back on track. But its concessions fell short of the ANC's expectations.

An ANC statement disclosed that a

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BILLY PADDOCK

weekend meeting between the two parties was at government's initiative. While the ANC had believed government was prepared to respond positively in writing to the 14 ANC demands, it had emerged this was not the case.

The ANC had decided to accept the recommendation of its negotiations commission to "refuse any further requests for meetings with the government".

Government announced it had approved a plan for a general amnesty for political and other common law offences committed by the security forces, state officials

and private armies.

At a news conference yesterday, government announced it had accepted "in principle" UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's recommendations for the release of prisoners and investigations into its security forces.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said a blanket amnesty was the only way to fulfil the UN's recommendation to "wipe the slate clean and bury the past".

Coetsee said the amnesty plan was a result of bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC, where broad

□ To Page 2

Door shut

agreement was reached on the main principles and elements.

However, the ANC criticised government's amnesty plan for holding political prisoners "hostage, as a lever to extract concessions from the ANC". It insisted on the unconditional release of political prisoners.

It reiterated that, contrary to the impression government was trying to give, it did not support a general amnesty. The question of amnesty was the province of an interim government.

The ANC also said the amnesty would be premature before universal franchise, and it would mean security force members implicated in violence would not be prosecuted. This the ANC rejected.

It also disputed Judge Richard Goldstone's statement that amnesty was required to facilitate investigations. In the normal course of their work, the courts could grant immunity to witnesses.

Coetsee said government had reservations about investigating the security forces. He indicated that because the

SADF and SAP were not private armies, they should be dealt with differently from Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and other forces.

Coetsee said 450 ANC political prisoners would fall under this amnesty, as would those awaiting trial and others still in exile because of the existing definition of indemnity.

He said the plan would have to have a cut-off date.

In terms of the other UN recommendations, Botha said:

□ The call for a total ban on the public display of weapons had to be discussed with Goldstone because "delicate aspects were involved".

□ Government fully agreed that the hostel issue was urgent and had to be handled through the peace committee;

□ Government agreed with a code of conduct for mass demonstrations; and

□ Government supported the recommendation that it should provide the money and staff for the peace structures.

From Page 1

PEOPLE'S LIVES Joy at formation of the Patriotic/United Front was premature

Freedom groups must speak with one voice

TO THE DELIGHT of many and to the chagrin of others, the PAC this week tentatively entered into talks with the Government.

PAC leaders have been on television and radio and in the newspapers this week explaining why they are now talking and what they want from the talks.

They are saying exactly the same things that the ANC and its allies are now saying.

They argue that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is dead and a new negotiating forum needs to be created.

Rubbing its hands

They see a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person one-vote and unfettered by prior agreements as the only body that should draw up a new constitution for the country.

All this is language we have been hearing from the ANC since the collapse of Codesa 2.

As the language of the ANC hardened, the PAC was rubbing its hands with glee. In rather muted tones, it was saying: "We told you so. We told you that Codesa was incapable of delivering democracy."

ANC leaders, on the other hand, were saying: "Correct, you did warn against Codesa. But what alternative was there? What have you been doing while we worked for democracy and



Joe Thlooe's Perspective

30 APR
Sundown 14/8/92

peace in Codesa?

It was the traditional slanging match between the ANC and the PAC.

Sadly, some of us remembered Durban last October - is it really less than a year ago?

The disenfranchised in this country were thrilled when the Patriotic/United Front was created.

For once the liberation movements spoke with one voice. They were going to enter negotiations with a common set of demands.

Important issues

Our joy was premature.

The language used in the statements after the Durban meeting should have warned us that the delegates had glossed over important issues.

Take the very name of the front. Some delegates insisted that it was a patriotic front; others said it was a mere united front because some

among them could not be described as patriots, because they had been collaborating with the oppressors against the liberation movements.

It was all handled politely: nobody should be offended. After all, there were members of the tricameral Parliament present as well as homeland leaders.

So both names were used: it was the Patriotic/United Front.

We had phrases like interim government/transitional arrangements. If you have the time you can go back to the documents released then.

We felt warm inside after that "historic" meeting. We did not have the time and the sense to question our leaders closely. They had work to do, confronting FW de Klerk's Government and turning this country into a democracy.

All that was clear at the time was that they were going to ask De Klerk for an

Solving problems rather than glossing over them? Or point scoring with no regard for the feelings of the masses who are hungry and cold?

You all know the sad twist to this tale: even before they confronted the National Party, the front had collapsed.

The PAC was crying foul alleging that the ANC had been talking to the Government behind its back. The ANC denied it. The PAC walked out of the meeting to prepare for the talks with the Government, declaring that Codesa was incapable of transforming this country into a democracy.

Truth is that we were not able or we did not want to talk frankly between ourselves.

The same disease ate into the deliberations between the ANC and the Government at Codesa.

Agreements were reached. Progress was always reported. But the agreements meant different things to each party. Clear definitions were avoided.

Today Mandela shouts from below De Klerk's window at the Union Build-

ings. The PAC's Gora Ebrahim meets the National Party's Roelf Meyer at hotels in Johannesburg. And the disenfranchised remain confused.

Only one thing will clear our vision: the liberation movements must talk between themselves and speak with one voice before they confront De Klerk.

I've been told that the Patriotic Front within Codesa is meeting next week in KwaNdebele.

Perhaps first on their agenda should be a return to the Patriotic Front that brought such a warm feeling among all of us last October?

An indicator

How they handle talks between liberation movements will be an indicator of how they will handle future talks with De Klerk.

Frank and open? Solving problems rather than glossing over them? Or point scoring with no regard for the feelings of the masses who are hungry and cold?

The events of the last few months have shown that De Klerk is not going to give in to demands simply because they are placed on his desk. He is not going to give in to the demand for a Constituent Assembly simply because he is now engaged in bilateral talks with the PAC.

Our liberation movements need to work together to turn this country into a true democracy.

CP's five rebels decide to quit party

PRETORIA — Five dissident CP members resigned from the party last night.

They are Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Chris de Jager (Bethal). **51047 14/8/92**

The division between the two factions in the party first emerged in late June when the five MPs distributed a document titled "The Road Ahead" at an extraordinary CP congress in Pretoria.

The split hinges on the geography of a white homeland, and at what stage negoti-

ations should be conducted with other political leaders. **(304A)**

Party leader Andries Treurnicht said after a CP *hoofraad* meeting in Pretoria yesterday that the *hoofraad* was not prepared to endorse the five's proposed policy amendments at the party's special congress. If a solution could not be found before the congress, the congress would have to rule on the issue. The *hoofraad* invited the five for further talks.

Pienaar, the only one of the five dissident MPs serving on the *hoofraad*, opposed any further talks on the issue. — Sapa.

'No more meetings with Govt'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
14/8/92

After an abortive secret meeting between top-level ANC and Government delegations on Sunday, the ANC has refused any further meetings.

But the organisation has kept open the lines of communication with the Government, saying that any "practical implementation" of its demands could be addressed through the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said the Sunday meeting — arranged by the Government — was fruitless since there had been no visible movement by the Government.

The ANC national working committee yesterday endorsed a recommendation by the national executive committee (NEC) that any further request for meetings with the Government be refused.



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . spoke to Government on Sunday.

Unhappiness exists in some ANC circles about the meeting, saying it was a transgression of an NEC decision in June that negotiations could resume only after the NEC had reviewed the situation.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma last night said the meeting was not viewed as a transgression of the NEC decision because the ANC negotiators had not entered into discussions with the Government.

(100) (304A)
The ANC denied that the talks, arranged by the Government, signalled the resumption of negotiations.

"Prior to this encounter the ANC had been given the impression that the Government was willing to respond positively in writing to the fourteen demands contained in our memorandum of June 23 1992. In the upshot it emerged that there has been no visible movement on these issues on the Government's part.

"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

The meeting took place on Sunday between ANC negotiators Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla and a Government team that included Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, as well as senior officials.

3044 (3044) (2551)
De Klerk
announces
STAR 1418/92
new posts

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

SA Communication Service head Dave Steward has been appointed as a high-level government spokesman in the State President's Office, President de Klerk announced last night.

And Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Land Affairs, will from Monday become full-time Deputy Minister of Land Affairs.

Port Elizabeth North MP Gert Myburgh, a member of the National Peace Secretariat, has been promoted as full-time Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Mr de Klerk said the changes were needed because of the high level of violence, the demands of the peace process and the need for action on land issues.

Mr de Klerk said that Dr Flip Nel would replace Free State provincial MEC Roelf Dreyer.

● Vaughan Dewing, head of the Department of Foreign Affairs' public affairs section, has been appointed ambassador in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Govt 'not prepared to accede to demands'

By Carina le Grange ^{STAR 14/8/92}

Again taking a hard line against the ANC's protest action, President de Klerk last night said his Government was not prepared to accede to unreasonable and undemocratic demands which could steer South Africa on a suicide course.

Mr de Klerk was speaking at the annual award ceremony of the Institute of Management Consultants at Megawatt Park. Eskom's Electricity Council Chairman Dr John Maree was awarded the latest Man of the Year Award.

Mr de Klerk said the deadlock in negotiations should not and need not have occurred. The Government's efforts were

being blocked by unacceptable violence, obstructionist protest politics and mass action as well as by general socio-political disruptions.

However, he saw these obstructions as challenges.

He said the Government was working unabatedly, despite the negative and provocative tactics of its main interlocutors, to get talks with the ANC going again.

Mr de Klerk hoped it would be seen that these strategies and tactics were self-destructing and counter-productive.

He also said however that all indications were that negotiations would be resumed in the near future.

CP splits

as five

STAR 14/8/92 (304A)
resign

Pretoria Bureau

The long-expected split in the Conservative Party finally occurred last night when five dissident MPs announced their resignation from the party.

They did so after a marathon meeting of the CP's chief council, and are expected to form a new party aimed at negotiating an independent Afrikaner state.

They are Free State leader and MP for Heilbron Cehill Pienaar, Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz.

In a statement issued at the Pretoria home of Mr de Jager, the five said they wanted to become involved in negotiations — especially

● To Page 3 ■

CP splits as five MPs resign

STAR 14/8/92 (304A)
● From Page 1

negotiations on regional government — with a view to obtaining self-determination for Afrikaners.

Mr Pienaar said their first priority was to hold discussions with "as many people or organisations favourably disposed towards us" as possible before deciding on their political future.

The NP immediately invited the new group to join it in opposing the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said after yesterday's meeting that the chief council was not prepared to endorse pragmatic policy proposals by the five dissidents at the CP's next special congress.

He invited the five to further talks with the chief council in order to reach consensus on policy differences before the congress, to be held in Kimberley on August 22.

However, Mr Pienaar said further talks with the CP would serve no purpose.

Mandela holds out hand to de Klerk

THE African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela has urged a "tidal wave" of action to secure political reform, but says he would resume negotiations with the government as soon as President F. W. de Klerk agreed to demands for democracy.

The president made conciliatory noises of his own later. Mr de Klerk said his administration had been talking to the ANC and he was ready to expand the talks into fully-fledged negotiations.

"He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings. There is an open door. He needn't kick doors down," said Mr de Klerk, referring to the colonnaded seat of white power swamped by a black tide of protest.

Later the UN Secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, recommended that about 30 UN observers should be stationed in South Africa to mark the occasion with the National peace secretariat, set under an all-party peace accord last September.

As Mr Mandela spoke at the end of one of the biggest marches in South Africa's history, thousands

of exuberant but disciplined ANC supporters occupied the amphitheatre below the Union Buildings, the government headquarters in Pretoria, hoisted the ANC flag and chanted for the installation of Mr Mandela as president.

But their "occupation" of the terraced grounds below the Union Buildings — a traditional site of

By Patrick Laurence
in Pretoria

white power — had been pre-arranged and the general atmosphere was friendly, raising hopes that the stalled negotiations would be resumed.

Referring to the ANC flag fluttering over the podium where Mr Mandela was seated, the ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We look forward to the day when he [Mr Mandela] will be the one in the office that F. W. de Klerk occupies illegitimately."

Mr Mandela had a message for President de Klerk: the people wanted peace but they wanted it on the feet, not their knees. The

1418-2018/92
general tone of his speech was, however, conciliatory. Later he said: "I would like to heal wounds."

In his speech Mr Mandela said the two-day general strike was "one of the greatest events in our history". But he then added: "We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy."

If the de Klerk administration responded in the "same spirit", then the way would be opened for the first "urgent and critical step" forward after the impasse since the Boipatong massacre in mid-June: the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In his response, Mr de Klerk said: "[The government] agreed a long time ago in principle that there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must negotiate how to get it."

He confirmed that parliament would meet again in October to give legislative substance to some of the decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Talks are on, one-to-one this time

It's not 'whether', but 'when' and 'how' the constitutional negotiations will proceed. (300A)

PHILIPPA GARSON reports

ONE-ON-ONE talks between the key players are set to replace the cumbersome mechanics of Codesa as the critical process in renewed constitutional negotiations.

As the dust of last week's mass action campaign settles, a new mood of optimism is taking hold of South Africans. Most analysts are predicting that renewed talks are mere weeks away.

With both the African National Congress and security forces thanking each other for their restraint during the campaign, the two sides seem no more polarised than they were before August 3. The nation now waits for the government — which met this week on the recent United Nations' proposals — to come up with tangible "concessions" relating to the ANC's violence-related demands, which will open the way for fresh talks.

However, key ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa cautions against premature excitement. He acknowledges that a channel of communication continues to exist between the ANC and government, in particular over political prisoners, but adds that nothing short of a government response to its demands — set out in a June 23 memorandum sent to the government — can pave the way for real talks.

Bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government are an essential prerequisite to renewed negotiations, says Valli. "We will want a commitment from the government before multilateral negotiations begin. Once we're convinced the government is serious then we would reinstate multilateral talks, and would then discuss the appropriate forum."

'In or out, the PAC's peripheral'

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE likely participation of the Pan Africanist Congress and rightwing groups in renewed talks won't have much bearing on the negotiations process, say most political commentators.

The PAC, which rejected Codesa, this week held talks with the government on the possibility of a bilateral summit between the two parties at a neutral venue.

And rightwing analysts speculate that various rightwing groups are likely to jump at the chance of entering negotiations as long as the new forum has a different name. At both ends of the spectrum Codesa is a dirty word; each side would be seen by its supporters to be capitulating if it joined the existing body.

While most agree that the Conservative Party in its current state will not enter negotiations with bodies, such as the African National

Congress, which do not represent ethnic states, it is widely believed that the "new right" within the CP, following a breakaway from the party, will enter negotiations. The CP executive met yesterday in a last-ditch attempt to prevent a split between the hardliners and the new right led by Potchefstroom MP Beyers Naude.

Meanwhile, the PAC is pursuing its goal of a top-level summit with the government. "If the regime satisfies us, we can enter into bilateral talks with the view to entering an alternative forum (for negotiations)," PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai told *The Weekly Mail*.

But how much impact the PAC would have on negotiations is open to question. In a recent Centre for Policy Studies paper, entitled "Liberation and Negotiation: The Pan Africanist Congress in the South African Transition",

Johannes Rantete argues that the PAC, given its limited strength on the ground, is incapable of achieving its "decolonisation model" of change — transfer of power.

The movement also lacks the organisational capacity to derail negotiations, argues Rantete. This realisation and "its lack of options as it remains outside the process may explain why its leaders still appear to be positioning the movement to enter the negotiations process". In Rantete's view, the PAC is unlikely to have any significant impact on a negotiated settlement, even if it does participate.

"Despite the fact that it represents an important strand in 'liberation' thinking, its influence on the negotiation process and the system which emerges from it will remain limited," he argues.

Recommendations by UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, taken up by Justice Richard Goldstone, that the security forces and private armies open themselves up to investigation, and of a general amnesty and the future involvement of 30 foreign monitors, are feeding optimism about a possible resolution to the problem of violence.

The relatively low death toll after the week of mass action can in part be ascribed to the role of the UN monitors. The announcement of a larger group of more permanent observers will surely raise hopes of curbing the bloodshed.

The proposal of a general amnesty and inspection of the government's security forces and private armies of other parties has provoked heated response from various quarters, but many believe

that headway in this area would allow a political settlement to follow smoothly.

Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa Frederik van Zyl Slabbert believes the proposal of a general amnesty and the infusion of foreign mediators into the national peace process will open a new arena for negotiations. "The extent to which these make progress will determine the pace of political negotiations," says Slabbert. "The climate of violence has bedevilled the situation and negotiations (in this sphere) will have to run alongside political negotiations or precede them. Without a workable agreement on the violence, the process cannot move."

Foreign intervention in violence paves the way for a similar mediating role in negotiations. While some parties continue to scoff at the need for a for-

eign or local mediator to preside over constitutional talks, there has been no principled resistance to Boutros-Ghali's suggestion of "an eminent and impartial person, who need not be a foreigner, to draw the strings together and to provide the impetus and cohesion that Codesa needs to accomplish its tasks".

With the UN secretary-general's recommendation that observer missions, such as that undertaken by special envoy Cyrus Vance, continue on a "quarterly basis or more frequently, if the situation warrants it" the role of the international community is likely to increase.

While most observers agree that the deals already struck at Codesa are likely to provide the basis for renewed talks, not all see the broad, unwieldy Codesa structure, with its 400-odd individual participants, as ideal. A future body would have to be smaller — some observers say peripheral parties should be weeded out altogether.

Bilateral talks, "where real agreements are hammered out", are likely to be the focus of renewed, more streamlined negotiations.

The prospect of involvement in negotiations of a wider range of groups to the far left and far right of the political spectrum is viewed with optimism in most quarters. However, it is more apparent than ever that progress turns critically on the relationship between the two major players, the ANC and the government.

"We can't run away from the reality of the South African situation: the two key contenders in the conflict are the government and the ANC," says Valli, adding that PAC participation will be "incidental" to the political process.

Democratic Party leader Zach De Beer agrees: "It'll be a good thing if the other groups come in, but the key players remain the Nats and the ANC. When they agree on something, it happens. When they disagree, nothing does."

De Beer cautions against an arrogant disregard of other parties, particularly Inkatha. But, like other politicians, he advocates a renewed emphasis on bilateral talks which will speed up the process. "If they make up their minds, they can talk to the others to make them come along."

Institute for Multi-party Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo agrees that bilateral talks will play an increasingly central role. The need for a formal, "symbolic" body like Codesa may have come to an end, he says, other than to endorse bilateral agreements, which may start in earnest in two to four months. "Any new forum should leave out some of the peripheral parties and maintain contact with them through consultation."

In Dhlomo's view Codesa had many weaknesses, not least that it was undemocratically assembled. While he believes in the need for a wide range of participants, these, he says, should not be central to the process.

David Welsh, political scientist and key advisor to the DP in Codesa's working group on constitutional issues, predicts that a much smaller reconstituted forum will be in place by mid-September. While plenary sessions will probably be open to the media, he believes the real clinching of deals will continue to take place in smoke-filled rooms between smaller working groups of the major actors.

He foresees the possibility of a government-ANC pact to carry the country through the transitional period of joint control, paving the way for elections. Such a pact, underpinned by international guarantees, would be an interim measure, a "short way of getting out of the logjam".

Looking for the new SA? Don't bother with the maps

Apartheid lives on in South Africa's maps and atlases. If you want to locate some of the country's largest residential areas, you'll have to consult other sources. By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

SOUTH AFRICA's political landscape may be changing, but travellers still carry with them the road maps of apartheid.

The Free State's biggest black township, Botshabelo, has a population of 180 152, but you won't find it on tourist maps.

The nearest major city, Bloemfontein, is a standard feature, with a population of 272 000. But although the largest percentage of this figure comprises people who live in Bloemfontein's neighbouring townships, these are rarely featured on most maps.

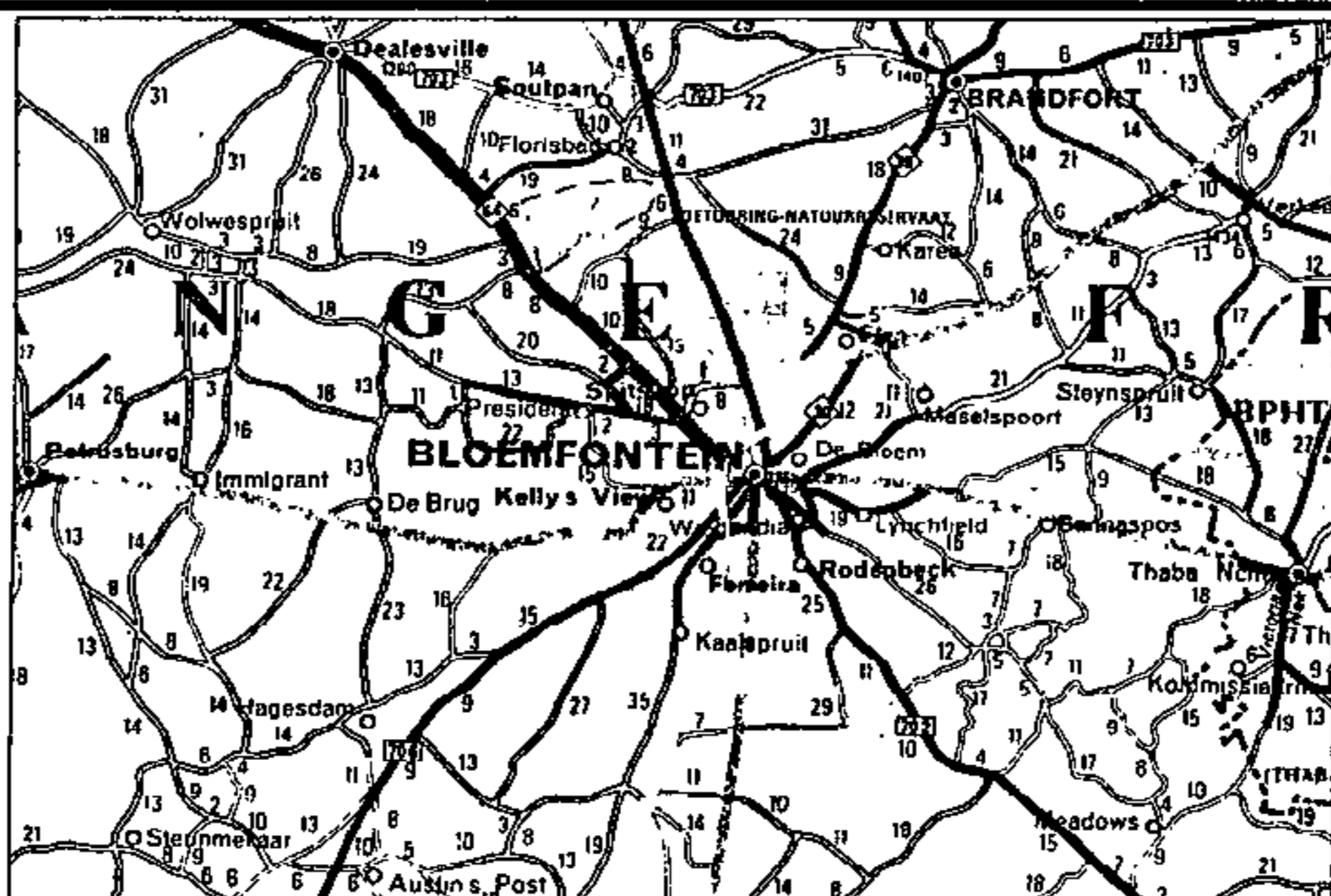
In contrast, tiny towns like Bethulie (7 429 people), Edenburg (5 950) and Trompsburg (4 350) have always been featured.

Middelburg, a Transvaal town with approximately 40 000 people, is justifiably included on every map. But its neighbouring black township, Mhluzi, with about 75 000 people, can be found only on street guides or specialist maps. The tourist won't know that it exists.

The maps of the "old" South Africa are rife with such examples. With the possible exception of Soweto, black areas were not deemed worthy of being acknowledged on tourist maps, let alone in school atlases.

Says Brian Ford, production director of Map Studios, one of the country's largest suppliers of street and touring maps: "We're actively working towards more inclusive maps. In the past, maps did not show areas where one didn't want tourists to go, because they were not regarded as safe."

"Obviously, that is changing with the 'new' South Africa. There is also a great demand from



Charted fiction ... According to this tourist map the Free State's biggest township, Botshabelo, doesn't exist

the point of view of delivery services." On tourist-oriented maps, says Ford, only major centres like Soweto or Mdantsane (in the eastern Cape) are shown. "In the future, a high percentage of the black population is going to comprise tourists and we're going to have to cater for them," he adds.

The Automobile Association, which most white South Africans identify with helping them get from point A to point B, does not believe such steps are necessary.

"Our maps are specifically designed to take people to touring areas — there is not a lot of interest in going to the townships," says Ben Matthee, general manager of publications at the AA. "Although our membership has been open to all South Africans since 1966, people of colour are a very small minority."

The AA gets copyright authority from the Government Printer to base their maps on information from official maps. It then produces maps to its own specifications. The determining factor in the depiction of cities and towns, says Matthee, is population.

"Where there is a mass of population, that is reflected by means of a built-up area outline. There's no question of discrimination; in fact, we've even removed names of an offensive nature."

On large-scale maps, such as the AA's south-

ern Transvaal map (1:100 000), Matthee's statements hold true. The map even shows townships like Boipatong and Bekkersdal.

Maps of lesser scale avoid townships altogether. The eastern Transvaal map (1:500 000) shows even the tiniest railway siding in white areas, but there is barely a township to be found. Middelburg's Mhluzi township is among the most glaring omissions.

Matthee explains that such townships fall within the municipal boundaries of the nearby town. He does not believe such omissions are a problem, "since blacks prefer someone to give them directions in the form of landmarks and streets, rather than to use maps".

He adds that showing all black townships would be discriminatory: "We don't want to be seen specifically to be drawing attention to black townships, and saying don't go here or there."

But a consequence of this approach is that road maps remain a highly graphic reflection of the classical apartheid era.

Black "feeder locations" which dwarf their neighbouring white towns in population remain unrecognised and as far as most travellers are concerned, these locations simply do not exist. It takes a specialist map like that of the Development Bank of South Africa to reveal that such places even have names.

Looking for
the new SA?

Don't bother
with the maps

w/Map 14/8-20/8/92
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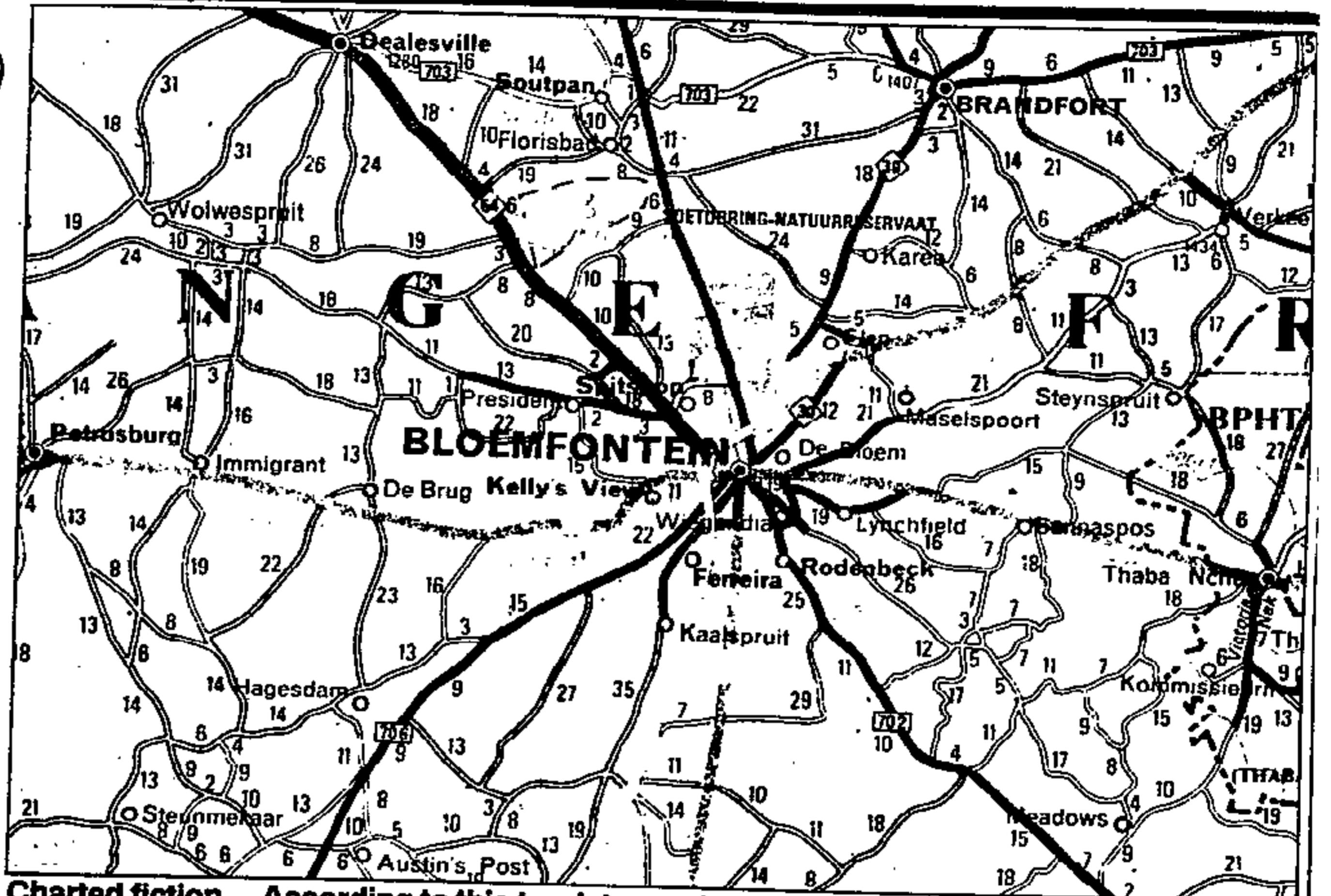
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Quit seats, MPs told

LADYSMITH — The Conservative Party has demanded the resignation from Parliament of five dissident CP MPs who this week quit the party after disagreements over negotiations and the geography of a white homeland.

In a statement issued yesterday in Ladysmith, where the CP is holding its annual congress, party chief whip Frank le Roux said the five should "now take the honourable way" and resign from Parliament. Le Roux said the CP's caucus had decided unanimously that the five should stand in by-elections to give the voters a chance to approve or reject their actions.

The group of disaffected MPs are Andries Beyers, (Potchefstroom), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Chris de Jager (Bethal).

● It is reported from Pretoria that the editor of the CP's mouthpiece, Die Patriot, and four members of the editorial staff were fired yesterday.

The editor, Z B du Toit, blamed the party leadership for "this scandalous action".

Du Toit said he believed the four staffers had been dismissed because of their support for the "new Right". — Sapa.

Split: CP's D-day over, says Dr No

PRETORIA. — The threatened split in the CP was averted yesterday during a second marathon meeting here between the party leadership and disaffected MPs led by Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers.

Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "We are one. The D-day is over."

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said talks with the MPs who drafted the document "The Road Ahead" — calling for negotiations with other political leaders and a drastically smaller "volkstaat" — had been concluded.

The conclusions would be submitted to the CP executive council next Thursday for a final decision.

● A statement yesterday said all but a few members of the CP's Transvaal youth leadership had resigned. — Sapa

They're waiting for . . . the Afrikaner Dreamland

ARG 18/8/92 (304A)

■ An independent Afrikaner homeland is the central issue that split the Conservative Party this week. Today the case for a **volkstaat** is being examined in detail in Stellenbosch at a symposium of Professor Carel Boshoff's Stigting Afrikanervryheid.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

DREAMS of modern-day voortrekkers opting out of a new South Africa and living in their own independent state come under scrutiny on the campus of the University of Stellenbosch today.

Speakers will range from Professor Carel Boshoff, one of the pioneers of the *volkstaat* ideal and son-in-law of the late Prime Minister Verwoerd, to African National Congress national executive member Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa and Afrikaner academics.

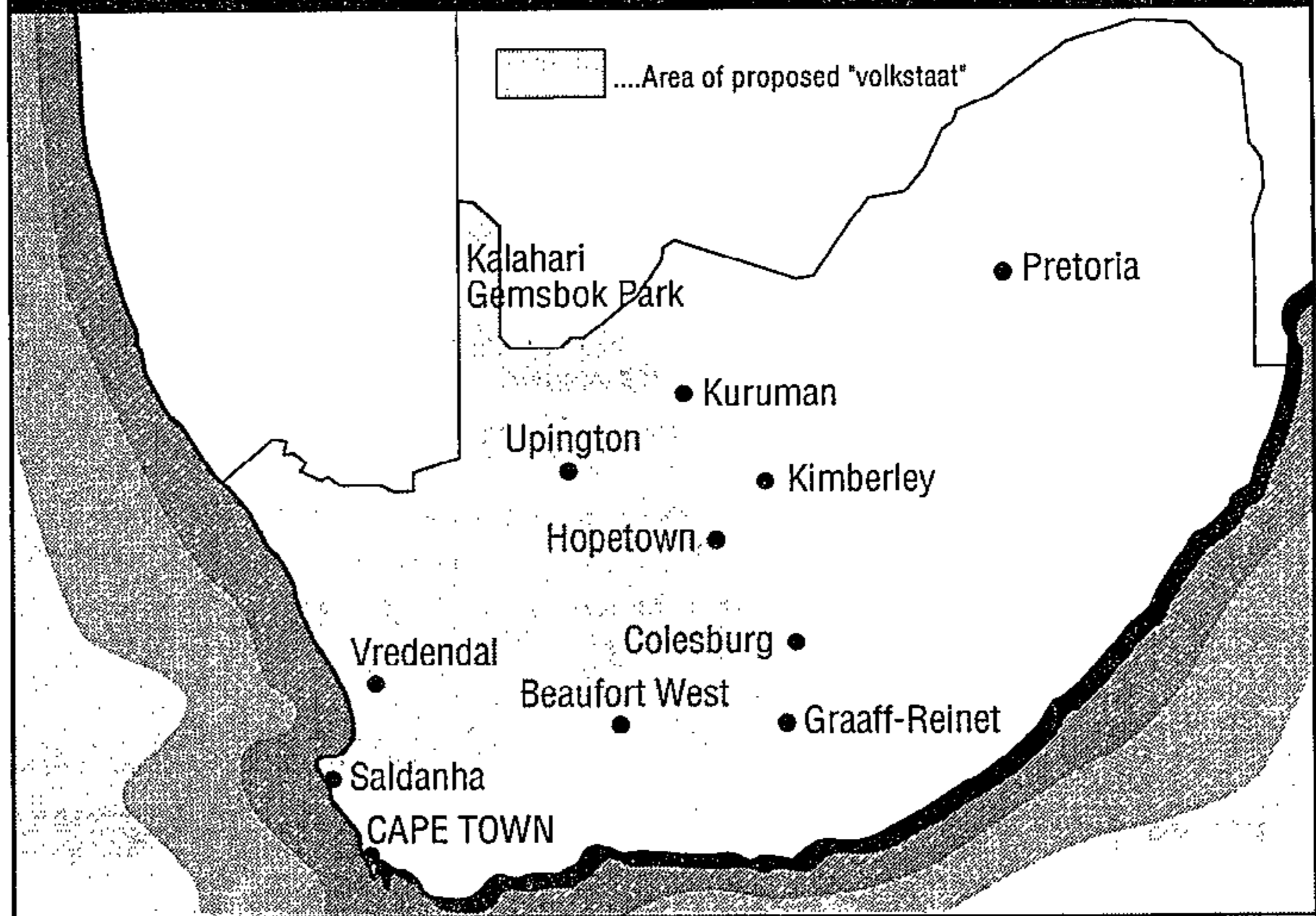
The discussion has been arranged by the rightwing Afrikanervryheidstigting (Afrikaner Freedom Foundation, or Avstig), of which Professor Boshoff is leader and founder member.

Unlike the Conservative Party, Avstig is prepared to negotiate with the ANC and others, and it has entered the constitutional negotiations by submitting a report on its case for an Afrikaner homeland to Code-sa's working group 2.

Avstig unveiled its plans for a *volkstaat*, where Afrikaners could survive as a group, in 1989. Its proposed territory stretches from Saldanha Bay through the Great Karoo to Colesburg and from there to Kuruman. After Namibia's independence the original plan was amended to exclude a Namibian section.

Professor Boshoff, who has been described as the "prophet" of the *volkstaat* ideal, said this week that he hoped Avstig would be included in top-level

The proposed "volkstaat" of the Stigting Afrikanervryheid



Map: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

talks on South Africa's future.

He referred specifically to reported plans for a meeting between President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Kwazulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It would be unjustified to exclude protagonists of an Afrikaner *volkstaat* from such important discussions. We ought to be there," said Professor Boshoff.

He put the case for a *volkstaat* to Mr Cyrus Vance during the United Nations special envoy's recent mission to South Africa, telling him that the Afrikaner's claim to self-determination should be taken into account in decisions on South Africa.

Professor Boshoff said he envisaged a *volkstaat* as a sovereign state within a confederation. It would be a state for Afrikaners and would be non-racial.

He claimed support for the idea was increasing daily and the Avstig movement was

growing rapidly.

Asked whether his movement had any links with the "New Right" in the Conservative Party, Professor Boshoff said: "We have not had any talks with them but we welcome all support for the *volkstaat* idea.

"It is not our intention to promote our plan through political parties, but rather through a freedom movement."

People from throughout South Africa had attended a "freedom festival" last weekend at Orania, the first *volkstaat* settlement in the northern Cape.

Mr Pieter Grobbelaar, Cape chairman of Avstig, said he believed most Afrikaans speakers were sympathetic to the concept of an Afrikanervolk with ideals not based on race.

"We are prepared to put our case to, and negotiate with, anybody, anywhere in the world," he said.

Avstig was a people's movement that had come into being

when its founders decided political parties had "reached a dead end".

Mr Grobbelaar said the movement was receiving inquiries from many people, not only right-wingers.

"We are prepared to go into a federation with the option of seceding," he said. "We don't expect a *volkstaat* to come into being with the snap of a finger but realise time and growth will be necessary."

There would be no apartheid, and *volkstaters* were pinning their hopes on ultimate sovereignty in an independent state.

"Any people who disregard the spirit of freedom in their plans for the future will be making a big mistake," Mr Grobbelaar said.

At today's symposium Professor Boshoff will speak on "Afrikanervolkstaat: dream or reality?"

Mr Moosa of the ANC will speak on "The ANC's approach to continuing Afrikaner demands for self-determination."

Can the middle ground survive?

On March 17, the "middle ground" in our politics saw its work finally bear fruit as whites voted in the referendum for a negotiated order. But, if some politicians and commentators have their way, the "middle ground" must now pay an ironic price for victory.

STEVEN FRIEDMAN ^(304A) APR 15 1992

of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits

SINCE the referendum, pressure has grown for a "realignment" which would destroy the "middle ground".

The time has come, we are told, to choose between the "establishment" and "liberation" camps, to join the National Party or the African National Congress and their respective allies. Those who stay in the "middle", as the Democratic Party has tried to do, we are told, will be doomed to irrelevance.

This view is clearly winning ground in the DP itself; hence the suggestion that it dissolves into one of the two large camps.

That argument may sound plausible to those who favour either of the main camps. But, to those who seek a democracy, it makes no sense.

There are two main reasons for this.

Firstly, if our political stage is occupied only by the two major camps, many South Africans will have no political home.

The "time to choose" argument implies that the overwhelming majority of voters will feel comfortable in either of the two camps. However, tens of thousands will not.

These people, most of whom are not white, want a nonracial democracy; but they do not believe that either the NP or the liberation camp can represent their interests or aspirations.

If the "middle ground" dies, they will be alienated from the political process. And, if a significant number of citizens feels that no party represents them, democracy is the loser.

Secondly, a settlement between the major camps will not guarantee a democracy; it could produce an authoritarian society. A "middle ground" party might not be able to prevent that; but it could help to counter it.

The desire for a political life in which we are divided into camps is presented as a move towards the "new" South Africa, away from the "outdated" alignments of the past.

In reality, it is an attempt to entrench a central feature of apartheid, which split society into two camps and forced many who would have preferred otherwise, to choose between them.

To explain some of these claims, we need to look at the nature of the two major camps.

The "establishment" wants a settlement which will protect the interests of whites and others threatened by majority rule. Its leaders say they see democracy as the best means, but they are recent converts to it. If other means seem more likely to deliver the goods, they will use them.

The "liberation" camp seeks the share of political and economic power it has been denied. Since it can probably win more voter support than its opponents, it sees democracy as a means to its end. But it, too, is a recent convert to ideas such as tolerance and political competition and, if it is offered an alternative, it, too, will take it.

The "middle ground" on the other hand, believes its interests can be served only by democracy. Those who occupy it are diffuse.

They include some in the "white" suburbs, but also many business people, workers and intellectuals who are not white.

And, there are far more of them than either of the two main camps care to admit.

A "middle ground" party which appealed to all these groups could not win an election. But, it could win 10% of the vote needed to wield some influence in a democracy.

An effective "middle ground" party would have to be black-led and speak to black concerns.

But, precisely because apartheid succeeded so well in dividing us into two camps, there are strong pressures within "black" politics against attempts to form new parties which seem to divide the "people".

The prospects for a strong "middle ground" party may be bleak. As long as they are, democracy's prospects may be just as bleak.

'Hot line' bid for new talks

PETER FABRICIUS and MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

DESPERATE 11th-hour attempts have been made on the telephone by President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to revive talks after hardliners in the ANC alliance pulled the plug on tentative efforts this week to break the negotiations deadlock. (304A) ARG 15/8/92

Now, in a renewed war of words, leading government spokesmen have warned the ANC of the consequences of its strategy.

The latest conflict comes after a secret top-level meeting last Sunday — which, according to the government, was to be followed by another meeting on Thursday or yesterday. However, the ANC's national working committee abruptly terminated dialogue with the government on Thursday.

Senior government sources said the NWC decision came "like a bolt from the blue" and blamed "internal strife" in the ANC. Some government sources said they believed a meeting could still take place at some level soon — but others feared the NWC decision could have introduced another long delay.

The NWC statement was a reaction to the disclosure of the meeting on Sunday between an ANC delegation under secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, and international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and a government team under Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprise Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

It is understood that at this meeting lengthy discussion was held about points of difference between the two sides and ways to resume formal negotiations.

Mr Meyer said in a statement last night he believed that the ANC negotiators had been "rapped over the knuckles" by hardliners. This tallies with independent information that the Sunday meeting took place without the knowledge of certain key ANC alliance players who were furious when they found out.

Responding to NWC comments that the government had not moved visibly in its response to the demands and that the "fruitless" meeting was terminated, Mr Meyer denied "numerous inaccuracies". He said the government had not initiated the meeting alone.

Both sides indicated beforehand that they regarded it as essential. The discussion had been "exceptionally constructive, and the government representatives were under the impression that both sides experienced it in this way," Mr Meyer said.

"The spirit that prevailed was one of a search for solutions. It was agreed that the delegations would meet again yesterday or today (August 13 or 14, 1992)."

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee warned the ANC last night that if it did not accept a government plan for general amnesty, some of its members would risk prosecution and jail sentences of up to 25 years for offences such as illegal arms possession.

Mr Coetsee said the ANC alliance had rejected the plan without even glancing at it. And this was after "enthusiastically" supporting the idea of a general amnesty in Codesa's working group 1.

The ANC's national working committee on Thursday rejected Mr Coetsee's proposal, saying that a general amnesty which included members

'Hot line' bid for new talks

From Page 1

of the security forces could be granted only by an interim government and had nothing to do with current negotiations for the release of remaining ANC prisoners.

Mr Coetsee said in response that the government's proposals were in line with ANC/SACP proposals in working Group 1 at Codesa "where they expressed enthusiastic support for a general amnesty."

The general amnesty was more advantageous for the ANC than anyone else and would deal with the disputed cases of ANC offenders which did not fall under indemnity guidelines.

Secretary-general of the National Party Dr Stoffel van der Merwe last night accused the ANC of putting its own interest above that of South Africa, and

of holding the poor and jobless hostage by refusing to reopen negotiations.

In spite of the sharp rhetoric, there are indications that the ANC's stand-off might be temporary.

A senior government source said that despite the setback this week, negotiations would resume sooner rather than later. He said the ANC negotiators had felt encouraged by the improvement in the climate for talks — but in the event had moved too quickly for the hardliners who wanted to "flex their muscles one last time."

And the NWC made one concession to negotiations by saying it was keeping open a one-way line of communication to ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa for any response to the ANC's demands.

'Piet Skiet' asks ANC for help

PRETORIA. — Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph has appealed to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to use his influence to secure the release of rightwing political prisoners.

Mr Rudolph also sent a copy of his letter to African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. He asked Mr Ramaphosa, "albeit reluctantly", for ANC support.

He also told Mr Ramaphosa the OB wanted to solicit the support of the ANC "to create

a more acceptable situation in a future dispensation".

In the letter, which was also sent to Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Rudolph told Mr Botha the OB could not agree with a recent statement to the United Nations Security Council that all political prisoners in South Africa had been released.

He named:

- Death Row prisoners Piet Botha and Arrie Smuts (Durban); Eugene Marais (Pretoria).
- Awaiting trial prisoners

Mr Adriaan van Tonder, Mr Christo de Beer and Mr André de Beer.

● Leonard Veenendal and Darryl Stopforth, on bail pending a trial ruling on their extradition to Namibia.

● Barend Strydom (the self-proclaimed leader of the Wit Wolwe on Death Row).

● Lood van Schalkwyk (convicted of involvement in the Bloed Street bombing and the parcel-bomb death of Durban computer technician Nick Cruise). — Sapa. **ARC 8/8/92**

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Black perceptions of FW plunge

By BARRY STREEK

BLACK perceptions of President F. W. de Klerk have plunged to their lowest level in two years, a new public opinion survey has found.

Last month only 25% of black men and 35% of black women thought he was doing a good job.

In sharp contrast, in March 1991 79% of black men and

81% of black women in the metropolitan areas thought he was doing a good job.

For the first time since the beginning of last year, more black people thought Mr De Klerk was not doing a good job than those who believed he was doing a good job — 53% of men and 38% of women did not think he was doing a good job.

The latest polls were re-

leased yesterday by Research Surveys and are based on door-to-door interviews of 800 women and 500 men in the major metropolitan areas.

Research Surveys said: "Significantly lower levels of confidence were found in the PWV area than in other areas — 18% and 33% for males and females, respectively, while Durban respondents were significantly more positive than

those in other areas, 40% and 50% respectively."

In another survey, conducted among 500 white men in the major metropolitan areas, eight percent reported that at least one household member had been affected by redundancy, redundancy or businesses closing down.

This is significantly lower than an earlier survey of blacks which found that 19%

of households had been affected.

While 40% of whites believe the present position of breadwinners would get worse in the coming 12 months, only 18% of blacks supported this.

"Only one in five whites could see any hope of improvement in the months to come," Research Surveys said.

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FW, Mandela on 'hotline'

STAR 15/8/92

PETER FABRICIUS
Political
Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela spoke on the telephone yesterday in an effort to revive talks after hardliners in the ANC alliance pulled the plug on tentative efforts this week to break the negotiations deadlock.

After a secret top-level meeting last Sunday — which, according to the Government, was to be followed up by another meeting on Thursday or yesterday — the ANC's national working committee abruptly terminated dialogue with the Government on Thursday.

Senior government sources said the NWC decision came "like a bolt from the blue" and blamed "internal strife" in the ANC. Some government sources said they believed a meeting could still take place at some level soon — but others

feared the NWC decision could have introduced another long delay.

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Differences

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MANDELA: Telephone link with De Klerk.

negotiations.

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The ANC and the Government have offered diametrically opposed interpretations of this meeting. The NWC said the Gov-

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Hotline

● FROM PAGE 1.

ernment had requested the meeting and the ANC had responded in the belief that the Government would merely present its response to the ANC's ultimatum containing 14 conditions to be met before negotiations could be resumed.

The NWC said that it emerged that the Government had not moved visibly in its response to the demands and so the "fruitless" meeting was terminated.

But yesterday Meyer challenged "numerous inaccuracies" in the NWC statement. He said the Government had not initiated the meeting alone. Both sides indicated beforehand that they regarded it as essential.

CP split may be a US plot'

Political Staff
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OT 15/14/92

LADYSMITH. — President George Bush might have had a hand in this week's split in the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht claimed here last night.

The CP leader told the opening of his party's Natal Congress here that it would not surprise him "if the United States forced the split when it realised that mass action was getting serious".

The US might have believed that this would drive some CP supporters into the National Party camp and help President F W de Klerk fend off the ANC-SACP onslaught, Dr Treurnicht said.

He said he had "walked a marathon" in his efforts to forestall the walkout of five rebel MPs on Thursday night — but it had become clear during their discussions last week that they had already decided to resign from the party.

● CP calls on rebel 5 to quit Parliament — Page 2

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From Slavery to Democracy

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of the Africa News Service writes from Dakar, Senegal, after interviewing ex-Free Stater André Zaïman of the Gorée Institute.

STAL 1518192

he's just said. "Here I was, a young Afrikaner kid, and I didn't like what I was seeing. What do I do?"

He had nobody to turn to. His parents, an ordinary National Party-supporting couple, didn't take too kindly to what they considered to be their son's waywardness. He has since learnt not to discuss politics with them.

Confronted by this personal dilemma, his options were stark: either to stay and fight, or emigrate. He decided to go overseas for a while.

While there, he made contact with several organisations involved with the South African issue, including the ANC.

A year later he came back and went straight back to UOFS — "the defiance in me, perhaps".

Later he enrolled at the University of Cape Town for postgraduate studies. It was while he was there that he helped to organise that trip to Lusaka by Stellenbosch University students to meet the ANC, a trip that horrified the Afrikaner establishment.

"That was something," he muses, and shakes his head. He speaks of the students' reaction to their first en-

counter with SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, in Lusaka.

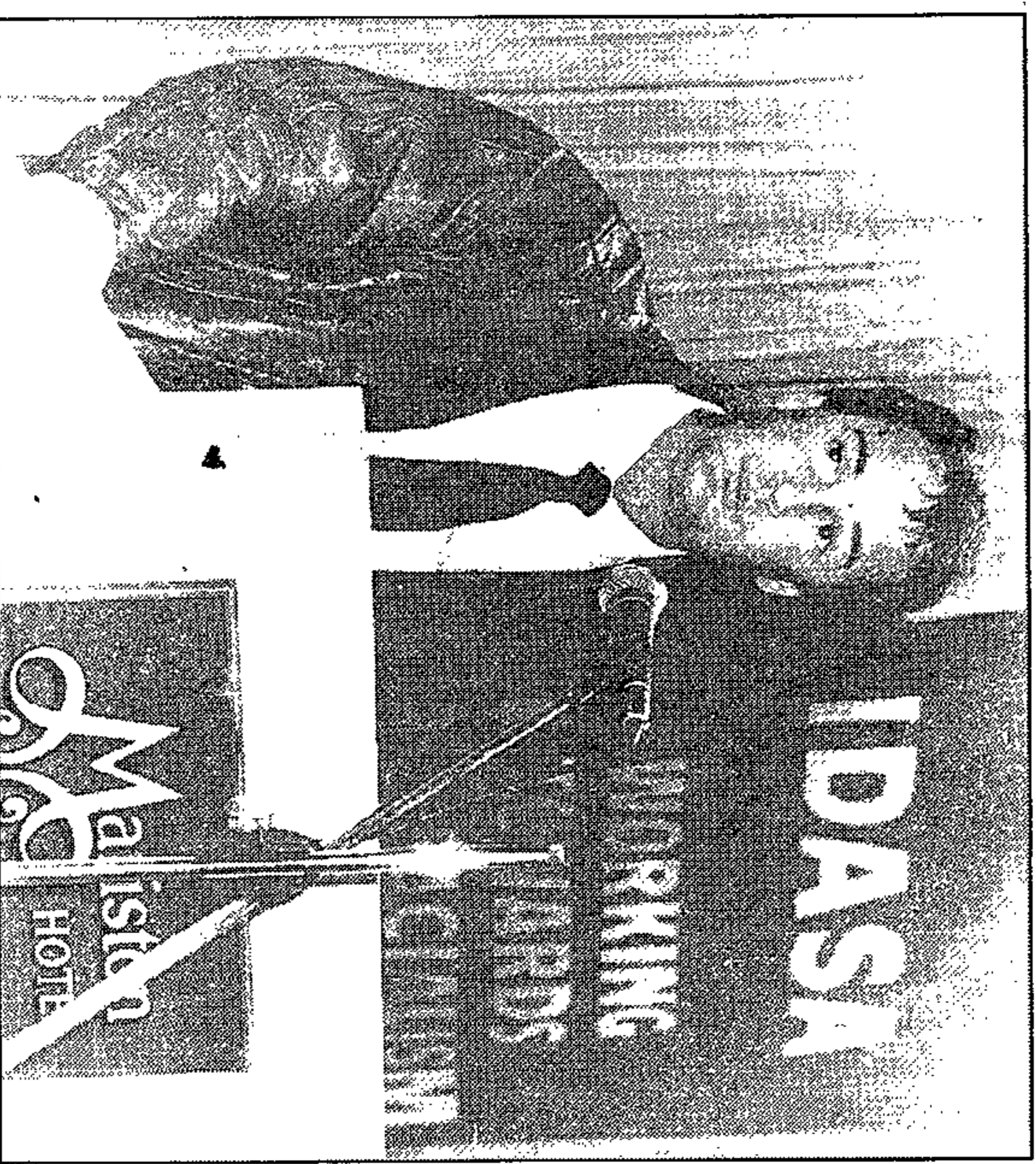
"You should have seen their faces when Joe Slovo walked into the room. This is the man who has been demonised by the system, and there he was in front of them, and he was absolutely charming. They just didn't know what to make of this."

THE idea to establish the Gorée Institute was prompted by yet another controversial visit to Dakar, this time by prominent Afrikaners, which was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa in 1987.

Zaïman was working for Idasa when he was approached by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert about two years ago to do a feasibility study on the Gorée project.

"I came here literally with two suitcases and a smattering of French," he says.

After spending the better part of last year looking at the project, he concluded that it would be possible but difficult. He was also involved in



HAND-PICKED: André Zaïman was working for Idasa when he was approached by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to do a feasibility study on the Gorée project.

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serious negotiations with the Senegalese government, with the result that the institute has a status almost akin to that of a diplomatic mission. In terms of the agreement, the government of Senegal cannot interfere with the institute's work, and the institute is free to invite whoever it wishes to. Zaïman himself travels on a Senegalese passport

bert said, took place against the wishes of the powers that be. Slabbert said the institute owed no allegiance to any government, political party or interest group. He thanked Diouf's government for entering into a treaty guaranteeing the institute such an independence.

ZAAIMAN says democracy, now breaking out all over the continent, could lead to a lot of disillusionment if it fails to deliver a better quality of life. "Democracy makes governments accountable. But it doesn't follow that if you have democracy, you'll also have development. In the coming weeks and months it will be one of the aims of this institute to debate the link between the two."

The institute will also be organising group visits to African countries, after which the groups will spend some time at Gorée Island sharing ideas and comparing notes.

Zaïman is fascinated by life in Dakar and the generally tolerant attitude of the Senegalese. He has one small problem, though. Some letters sent to him from South Africa end up in Senegal, in the Free State. "The fannies at the Post Office have obviously not yet hooked on to the idea of the new South Africa," he quips.

ANC and the government locked in mighty battle

GLOVES ARE OFF

By SEKOLA SELLO and THEMBA KHUMALO
Press 16/8/92

THE fragile and often stormy two-year political honeymoon between the government and the ANC seems to be over. Events of the past week indicate that the rupture could be permanent. As relations between the two main players in the negotiations reached another low, the ANC leadership is reported to be in an angry mood and threatening to launch more punitive mass-action campaigns.

The ANC's international affairs director Thabo Mbeki has been dispatched to the United Nations headquarters in New York to brief UN special envoy Cyrus Vance on the latest developments and also to lobby for international support.

According to ANC sources, Vance was "shocked and appalled" to learn that the government was now linking the release of remaining political prisoners to a general amnesty.

The government also accused "ANC hard-liners" of being responsible for the current political impasse precipitated by the ANC decision this week to call off future bilateral talks.

The National Working Committee of the ANC suspended talks with the government after a top-level meeting on Sunday where Pretoria put forward proposals linking the release of about 400 political prisoners with a general amnesty.

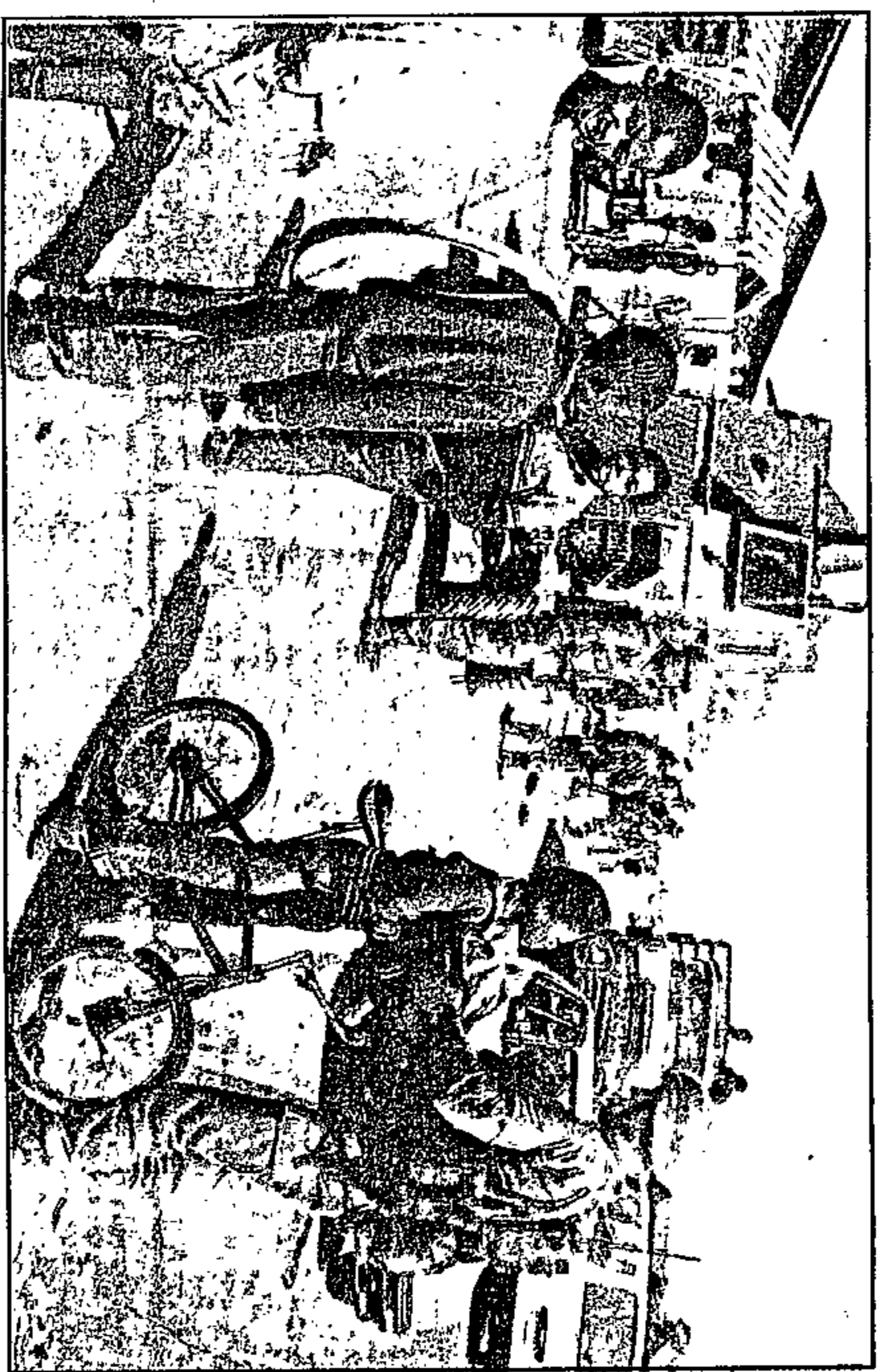
The ANC said it attended the Sunday meeting expecting to discuss the 14 demands it made to the government before it could resume negotiations. The government on the other hand insists that Sunday's agenda was open-ended.

Constitutional Development Minister Roshf Meyer said according to their information, the ANC's four negotiators who held talks with government last Sunday were given "more than a rap on the knuckles" by hardliners within the organisation.

The ANC delegation at the meeting was made up of Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his assistant Jacob Zuma, and Joe Nhlamla, a member of the National Executive Committee. The government was represented by Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers as well as senior officials.

In the wake of the latest deadlock an ANC official told a press briefing the mood was "quite volatile" among delegates who felt cheated by the government's latest stance. He added the tripartite alliance was now consulting extensively with potential allies outside the alliance with a view to delivering the final blow to Pretoria with more mass action.

The Azanian People's Organisation has indicated it would consider being part of mass action. Another source said the ANC was particularly uneasy with a general amnesty because it would set free prisoners like Capt Brian Mitchell, sentenced to death in Maritzburg for the 1988 killing of 11 villagers at Trust Feed in New Hanover, Natal.



STRONG ARM OF THE LAW... Even kids were searched when security forces moved into Sebokeng's Zone 7 this week as part of a "clean-up campaign".
Pic: EVANS MBOGWEI

Watch out Africa, here we come!

By PULE MOKHINE in Harare

CONFIDENCE is high in the South African soccer camp as the final countdown begins for their historic 1994 African Nations Cup qualifying match against Zimbabwe in Harare today.

The match, which starts at 3 pm, will be screened live on SABC TV.

Yesterday, SA coach Stanley Tshabalala declined to predict a victory but expressed cautious optimism that his team would win.

"We are not taking anything for granted, but we have nothing to fear and we believe we are good enough to win. Our preparations have gone well," said SA captain Mark Tovey.

For many Zimbabweans, SA are favourites to win the first of what will be six qualifying matches against Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mauritius, which could take them to the finals in Tunisia in March 1994.



Hardliners forced hand of CP rebels

IN THE end it boiled down to a crucial 45 minutes.

On Thursday the Conservative Party's executive met in Pretoria in a bid to heal the split between the new right, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, and the apartheid hardliners, led by deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

The debate revolved around two points:

● Firstly, the proposal by the new right that instead of seeking a return to apartheid, the CP should settle for a drastically reduced Afrikaner homeland.

● Second, that the CP should negotiate about this with all parties.

After a day of tough deliberations, CP leader Andries Treurnicht finally convinced the nine-man executive to postpone the CP's national congress on August 22.

That, Dr Treurnicht said, would allow time for further negotiations within the party on these matters. It wasn't a solution but at least it would preserve the fragile unity in the party for a while longer.

At 4pm Free State leader Cehill Pienaar — the only one of the five rebel MPs on the executive — left the meeting to discuss the postponement proposal with his colleagues.

The four — Mr Beyers, Chris de Jager, MP for Bethal, Moolman Mentz, MP for Ermelo, and Rosier de Ville, MP for Standerton — agreed to the proposal.

After a 45-minute discussion at Mr De Jager's house, Mr Pienaar rushed back to the CP head office.

But on his return, he discovered the executive had a change of mind. Their attitude was now hard line and they were no longer interested in delaying matters any further.

The die was cast and minutes later the CP split — 10 years after it was formed in the same city.

CHARLES LEONARD reports on the split that has torn the Conservative Party asunder

The hardliners were swift in exacting retribution.

The next day, Mr ZB du Toit, editor of the Conservative Party mouthpiece, Die Patriot, was fired along with four staff members. The bank account of Mr De Ville's Standerton constituency branch was also frozen.

Mr Du Toit was given an hour to clear his desk. Having failed to meet the deadline he discovered the lock on his office door had been changed.

He won't speak about his future plans, but is believed to be working closely with the Beyers group.

Yesterday at the Natal CP congress in Ladysmith, Dr Hartzenberg attacked the breakaway group, saying its proposals were "worse than those of President De Klerk".

"Borders between countries aren't drawn in studies or at congresses," said Dr Hartzenberg. "It is presumptuous of the breakaway group to draw their borders before talking to leaders of other nations."

"You cannot give up your land like they are doing — because then you lose your power base."

Mr Beyers said at the weekend that he and the other rebels would form a new political movement after consulting a wide range of people.

The movement, he said, could evolve into a political party, but added: "We are in no rush."

"A working group of about 30 people will meet on Friday in Pretoria to take

things further."

Mr Beyers said that they held discussions with a wide range of proponents of the "volkstaat" idea.

"We want to discuss our idea with everybody across the political spectrum. We want to bring it across that the Afrikaner is not selfish and that we are interested in peace and harmony."

He also claimed that they had much more support in the CP's 36-strong caucus. These MPs were adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

Mr De Jager said that they have been inundated with calls from CP members congratulating them on their decision.

The Afrikaner homeland they propose will be in the north of the country with one or two regions for Afrikaners, white and brown, in the south.

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Happy landing for a parachute traveller

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NEIL VAN HEERDEN feels as though he has seen it all. He is being neither blasé nor cynical — it's just that history offered him a front-row seat.

His five years as director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs has coincided with South Africa's transformation from international "skunk" to valued member of the world community.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Mr Van Heerden's decision to quit the top job in favour of an ambassadorial posting to the European Community in Brussels has sent shockwaves through the diplomatic community.

He is alleged to have had a fall-out with Foreign Minister Pik Botha, to have been given the shove because he was too close to the ANC, or to have opted for a better-paid posting abroad because he was in financial difficulties. But, Mr Van Heerden, who spoke for the first time this week about his decision to stand down, scotches the allegations.

"Throughout my career I believed that it was not a good idea for the head of a department to stay in the job too long. The pressure of work isolates you from the outside world. Although you travel a lot, it is a form of what I call 'parachute travelling' — you fly in to do a specific job and then fly out again.

"There is little time for reflection or enjoyment. There is a great danger that you become calcified and insensitive to issues. It's not good for you or for the job you are supposed to do."

It is this and no other reason, he says, that prompted him to apply for the EC job when it became vacant in April.

Nonsense

"The EC is an important slice of the future, particularly because of our trade links. It is of vital importance that we understand what is happening in Europe."

On the suggestion that he had fallen out with Mr Botha, he says: "Of course Pik and I are different people. But that made for a more productive relationship. He gave me more scope than any other departmental head and allowed me to develop the skills I have. The idea that we have fallen out is nonsense."

He adds that there is no



Pik Botha

Of Pik Botha...

'He has a gut sense of political sensitivities. He does not have to think about his job, he has it at his fingertips. He experiences everything in an intensive manner, which adds colour and enjoyment to the job. That capacity to see the lighter side, despite all the pressure he has to put up with and the tragedy he has had to cope with, has made my period of association with him a very rewarding one.'

question of any "tension" in regard to his links with the ANC. "I set great store by my contacts with the ANC, but also those with the PAC, Inkatha and other extra-parliamentary groups. I think there are people in all these groups who can make a valuable contribution to our foreign policy."

In his 30-year diplomatic career, Mr Van Heerden has seen service in Japan, Taiwan, Iran, Washington and Bonn. The last posting was an ambassadorial post.

He returned to South Africa as deputy director-general for Africa. He became director-general when Rae Killen retired.

Of the triumphs in his career, the one Mr Van Heerden savours most is the signing of the Angolan peace accord which led to Namibia's independence.

Normally a reserved man, he becomes animated

when discussing the topic and almost lapses into "A-team" speak.

"For years our foreign policy was bedevilled by the issue. It was a great event and I considered myself to be fantastically lucky. That was my night and day. I had no room for anything else... In the end it all came together and there is nothing as pleasing as seeing a plan come together... I think it was a beautiful piece of diplomacy."

Although foreign diplomats have credited him with a major role in negotiating the peace accord, Mr Van Heerden says he was only part of the team.

The deal, he says, could not have been concluded without the intervention of then US assistant secretary of state Chester Crocker and then SADF head Jan Geldenhuys.

Problems

"We could not have achieved what we did if we had not had the military in on the deal. Jan Geldenhuys was a key person in our team, a man of astounding resourcefulness in the negotiation process. When you needed another chip he would produce it."

The relationship with the military was not without problems, but Mr Van Heerden plays this down.

"Certainly there were tensions. It was natural. They had been charged with securing the border. We had been charged with trying to find a way to stop the fighting."

The Namibian independence deal undoubtedly had a positive spin-off in South Africa and led, in no small measure, to President FW de Klerk's watershed February 2 speech in which he unbanned the ANC and numerous other organisations.

For Foreign Affairs, Mr Van Heerden says, "the whole ballgame changed

overnight".

Sanctions barriers came tumbling down and opportunities to strengthen old ties and develop new ones presented themselves almost every other day.

With the end of the Cold War, doors opened to former East Bloc countries. Within two years the transformation of the "skunk" was almost complete — symbolised by Mr De Klerk's appearance on Red Square in Moscow earlier this year.

Mr Van Heerden leaves two jobs uncompleted — establishing a presence in the Middle East and making the foreign service more representative.

Breakthroughs in the Middle East, he says, are imminent and he believes the department has now positioned itself to be amenable to the new South Africa.

"Nobody will be able to simply push it aside. This organisation is not replaceable. Of course there will be new partners with new ideas, but we are accessible to new ideas. We work on the belief that if you are not prepared to change you will be eliminated."

Sanctuary

He leaves for much the same reason.

But it is not without regrets. "This job has such variety that I look forward to getting here every morning."

There is also a newly built house on the slopes of Table Mountain that he has yet to move into. And he won't for at least another four years. There will also be little opportunity to see his children, both of whom are studying at Stellenbosch University.

Finally there is the Karoo — the sanctuary he returns to whenever the going gets tough.

"But it will be there and I will come back to listen to the silence."

THE two-year-old honeymoon between the ANC and the NP government is over.

The sweet talk and many friendly telephone chats between leaders of the two organisations in the middle of the night have been abruptly put on hold by ANC hardliners.

The diplomacy, mature political debates and friendly smiles we were getting used to on national TV now seem to be a thing of the past.

We will no longer hear words like: "FW de Klerk is a man of honesty and integrity who has changed the history of SA."

Also, it seems we will no longer hear Nelson Mandela being feted as a dignified true statesman, or upheld as a man who surprised the world by showing no bitterness to those who jailed him for 27 years.

What went wrong?
Is this the same marriage that produced the historic Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and gave birth to Codesa?
This marriage opened doors for De Klerk to enter

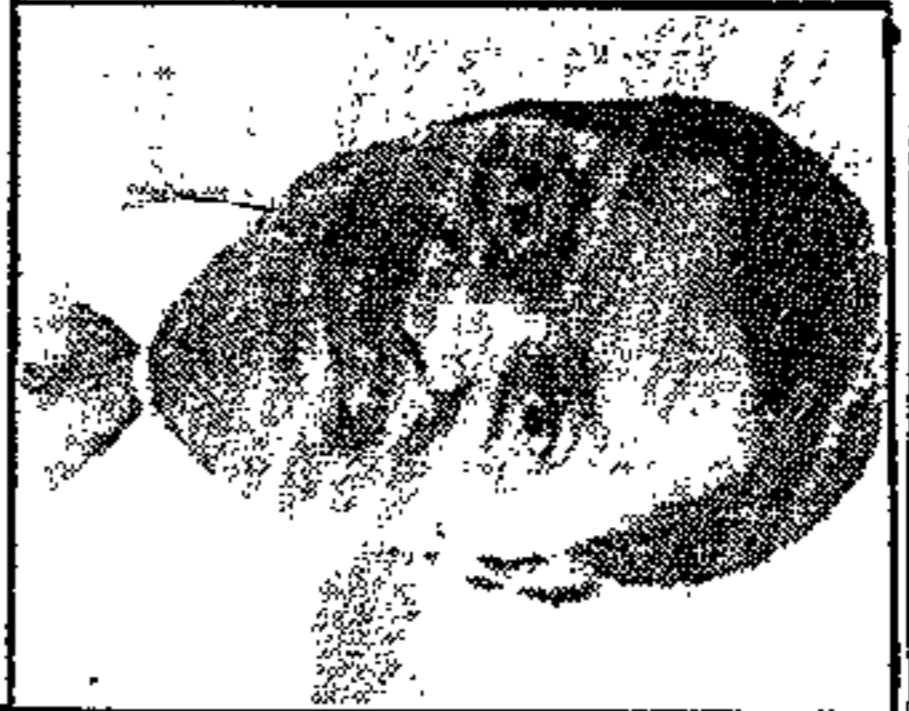
MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

No more sweet talk

30/11/92

14/11/92



countries where no other white SA leader had ever ventured. It changed the perceptions of many whites about the ANC and blacks in general.

It destroyed the CP in the "Yes" or "No" referendum which has now also resulted in the CP split.

It allowed blacks to take to the streets in their thousands, venting their anger at being unable to vote in the country of their birth.

But like many marriages, this one was bound not to last forever. Was it built on solid ground, or was it simply a coming-together for the sake of convenience? Whatever the case, it was good while it

lasted. Sad to say though, it's over now.

Let's examine briefly what went wrong. Firstly, the ANC should have realised that liberation has never been handed over on a silver plate. The government would never have given in to all the demands.

The deadlock at Codesa Two was an indication of how far De Klerk's government was willing to go.

Most important, the ANC seemed to have misread the signals coming from the government about its willingness to immediately usher in democracy. The ANC sped to the negotiations table, leaving

their grassroots support baffled and confused about negotiations.

Suspending Codesa and calling for mass action was a facesaver to redress this mistake. However, hardliners within the ANC are still not satisfied. They want all talks, including private conversations between Mandela and De Klerk, put on hold until there are visible signs of a future democracy.

Also, the possibility of the PAC and Azapo getting into negotiations has forced the ANC to change its tune when dealing with the government. In the eyes of its followers it has to be seen to be uncompromising and in control of the

situation. The PAC and Azapo want nothing short of a transfer of power. They may be a small group compared to the ANC, but they cannot be dismissed lightly.

This divorce between the ANC and the government is seen by many black people as a blessing in disguise. The government, it is maintained, will now be faced by a formidable team - even if the three liberation movements do not form a patriotic or united front.

Also, the government cannot bank on the CP alliance - earmarked to join Codesa after the split - whose sole purpose will be to fight for a white homeland.

The IFP and other homeland leaders have lost confidence in the NP and they too are likely to go in different directions. The marriage with the ANC is something De Klerk should have tried to save. Divorce spells doom for the NP and strengthens the move towards liberation by black people.

Wipe slate clean, says Vance

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government has come under strong pressure from UN special representative Cyrus Vance to release all remaining political prisoners. *S/Times*

Top UN sources say Mr Vance was "horrified" after being told by ANC international head Thabo Mbeki on Tuesday that negotiations about the release of prisoners had ground to a halt. *16/8/92*

He summoned the South African ambassador to the UN, Mr Jim Stewart, on Wednesday and told him it was absolutely vital to "wipe the slate clean". *(304A)*

He is said to have told Mr Stewart that by this he meant the ANC should put forward the names of its alleged 400 political prisoners. *(1)*

(2) Caches

In return the government would submit its list containing a dozen or more names. The two lists should then be "cancelled out" and all the prisoners freed.

When Mr Stewart put it to Mr Vance that the government wanted to deal with the question of a general amnesty and matters such as arms caches and continued recruitment by Umkhonto we Sizwe at the same time, UN officials insisted that the release of political prisoners could initially be dealt with on its own.

Mr Stewart, it is understood, was asked to convey this message to Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who would pass it on to President FW de Klerk.

UN officials asked that the government come to a decision on the release of prisoners and make it public before the UN Security Council meets tomorrow.

prisoners is a key recommendation in UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report on South Africa.

The report, which has already received the backing of the United States, Britain and Russia, will be discussed at the Security Council tomorrow.

Afford

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Jeremy Shearer said yesterday that the government, in its response to Mr Vance, had said negotiations on the release of political prisoners were continuing and it would be incorrect to say that there was no movement on the issue.

At his meeting with Mr Vance, Mr Mbeki also lobbied for the UN to send more than 30 officials to monitor violence in South Africa. This was the figure proposed by Mr Boutros-Ghali despite the ANC's call for 400 monitors.

It is expected that the number of monitors will be increased to 50 when the Security Council debates the matter tomorrow.

The breakdown in talks on the release of political prisoners has scotched any hopes of a swift return to constitutional negotiations.

The ANC has instructed its negotiations team

□ To Page 2

S/Times *16/8/92* Vance 'horrified'

□ From Page 1 *(304A)* demands and the ball was now in the ANC's court, a top cabinet source said yesterday. *(2)*

It had disbanded 32 Battalion and had involved the international community in the Boipatong massacre inquiry. It had also committed itself to an elected constituent assembly and an interim government.

It had gone as far as it could in meeting the ANC's

Taxi wars could end in commuter chaos

STimes 16/8/92 (304A)

TAXI war killings in Johannesburg are increasing and threaten to seriously disrupt commuter travel. This week four people died and 10 were injured.

The growing conflict, which has claimed about 18 lives this year, with about 30 people injured, is one of at least six taxi wars nationwide.

A taxi war in Cape Town last year claimed 66 lives, caused nearly R4-million damage and seriously disrupted commuter traffic. Witwatersrand taxi owners have warned that commuter transport could grind to a halt as "drivers blast each other away".

Drivers have armed themselves and few sleep at home as battles for routes and ranks escalate. The war is worst in the Tembisa, Alexandra, Ivory Park triangle that serves

By CHARLENE SMITH

the industrial heartland of the country.

On Friday four people died and eight were injured after commuters apparently became angry that the conflict between the Ivory Park Taxi Association and the Tembisa Taxi Association was increasing commuter costs.

Earlier this week two drivers from the Alexandra Randburg Midrand Sandton Taxi Association (Armsta) were shot. Seven Armsta members have been assassinated this year, including three executive members.

Its two previous chairmen were murdered and Victor Mogale, the present chairman, has not lived at home for more than three months. He never stays anywhere for longer than

three days — and neither do any of his executive.

The taxi industry nationwide is poised on a razor-edge as costs rise and consumer resistance to fee hikes eat into profit margins.

Although the Goldstone commission has said that big business has a critical role to play in defusing this time bomb, most businessmen are averting their eyes.

Most taxis cost about R71 000 with banks demanding a 40-50 percent deposit, the remainder at maximum interest rates over 36 months.

Future Bank managing director Neville Watchurst said finance houses had "no alternative but to levy a finance charge to cover the cost of collection and the bad debt risk". Stannic says it has a bad debt load of 30 percent in this sector.

Toyota's Henk Maree says: "Commuter fare prices have not kept pace with the rising costs of operating taxis — the major reason for the speeding and overloading that occurs in the struggle for survival."

New action to force govt hand?

304A
CT 17/8/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and its allies may be preparing for a new round of mass action to force government compliance with their demands.

An apparent hardening of the ANC's attitude towards a return to negotiations, together with little sign that the government is preparing to meet demands for an end to violence, for an interim government and for a constituent assembly, will influence ANC decisions on action.

Senior ANC officials consider the government to be "on the ropes" and believe two more bouts of mass action may be more than the government can withstand.

President F W de Klerk telephoned ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend, only days after the ANC ruled that at present the office of secretary-general Mr Cyril Rama-

ANC, PAC look to Zim

HARARE. — The ANC and the PAC plan to discuss strategy with Zimbabwe before a possible resumption of South Africa's stalled democracy talks, political sources here said.

Top members of the groups are apparently seeking guidance from President Robert Mugabe's government on the line to take in constitutional talks. ANC officials are said to be due here on Wednesday. — Sapa-Reuter

phosa would be the only channel through which the government could communicate decisions that could lead to new talks.

According to ANC sources, government officials at different levels have tried to initiate talks with the ANC in recent days.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday said a fourth phase of mass action was still to come.

Hopes for an early return to talks were also set back by the UN's decision to have a relatively low profile in SA. The matter of monitors will be raised in the Security Council today.

Go to blazes — CP man to UN

Political Staff

LADYSMITH. — The United Nations, Mr Cyrus Vance and Mr Herman Cohen should all "go to blazes" and as for ANC MP Mr Pierre Cronje, well, he is just "a little weasel".

The Conservative Party's annual congress in Natal this year in the Town Hall here turned out to be little different from usual.

Mooi River delegate Mr Gordon McGregor started the ball rolling with an attack on the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Cohen, for interfering in the country's affairs.

President F W de Klerk, it appeared, "had been hypnotised by this bloke".

Turning to the television cameramen, he asked the SABC to let Mr Cohen, UN envoy Mr Vance and the entire UN know that they were "persona non grata".

Greytown's Ms Merril Petterson, who was last year dubbed "our own iron lady" by an admiring fellow-delegate, described Mr Cronje, MP for Greytown, as a "little weasel".

He had been the "first to go up that path to play footsie-footsie with the ANC".

● CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said the five rebel MPs who quit the party had left with a "romantic notion" and a policy worse than that of the National Party.

He also warned that there could be no negotiated settlement without the support of the party, and a deal between the NP and ANC had "no hope of succeeding".

Dr Hartzenberg said the country's various nations had first to be assured of land before they could negotiate on the extent of co-operation between the various confederations.

It was necessary for the nations involved in a confederation to have mutual trust, and this could only be attained through giving them territorial security.

In a reference to the walkout by the five MPs, Dr Hartzenberg told Saturday's closing session of the congress that the CP was now "slimmer and fitter, highly motivated and unified on its ideals".

(304A) CT 17/8/92

ANC alliance 'is hoping to topple govt

THE ANC and its allies may be preparing for a new round of mass action to force government to comply with their demands.

An apparent hardening of the ANC's attitude towards a return to negotiations, and little sign that government was preparing to meet demands for an end to violence, an interim government and a constituent assembly, will influence ANC decisions on mass action.

Senior ANC officials believe that government is "on the ropes" and that two more bouts of mass action similar to that which culminated in the general strike of

August 3-4 may be more than government can withstand.

President F W de Klerk telephoned ANC president Nelson Mandela at the weekend, only days after the ANC's national working committee ruled that, while talks remain suspended, the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would be the only channel through which government could communicate decisions that could lead to talks resuming.

According to ANC sources, government officials at different levels of seniority have been trying to initiate discussions with the ANC in the past few days.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday dismissed speculation of an early return to talks. She said this was just disinformation spread by government.

Marcus said there was still a fourth phase of mass action to come and that it would be the subject of discussions among ANC structures and its allies in Cosatu and the SA Communist Party. In this phase of mass action — dubbed "Exitgate" by alliance figures when mass action was announced in June — the government is forced from power.

"As part of the process of bringing about

with further mass action

democratic change, there could be other phases," she said. Referring to the weekend conversation between Mandela and De Klerk, Marcus said De Klerk was trying to say the government's door was open for negotiations. However, the ANC wanted agreements relating to its 14 demands before its started talking again.

Hopes for an early return to talks have also received a setback from the UN's intention to maintain a relatively low profile in SA. There had been hopes earlier that international involvement could provide the ANC with a victory stemming from mass action to back its decision to return to talks.

Last week, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki flew to New York for a meeting with UN envoy Cyrus Vance to try to persuade him that SA needed more than the 30 monitors he had recommended. The matter will be discussed in the UN Security Council today.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend hardliners in the ANC had gained the upper hand in decisions on a return to talks. Meyer said the ANC team that met government last week to discuss political prisoners had been "rapped over the knuckles" by hardliners.

● Comment: Page 6

CP delegates close ranks

STAR 17/8/92

304A

LADYSMITH — While the split in the Conservative Party dominated proceedings at the party's weekend congress in Ladysmith, delegates closed ranks behind the party leadership, criticising the rebels' volkstaat (national state) as "only existing on paper".

The CP maintained its confederation or commonwealth of states concept, which implied self-determination, would

have to be negotiated and accepted before the borders of such a state could be determined through negotiations.

According to deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg a volkstaat could not be drawn up in theory as was done by the Andries Beyers (MP for Potchefstroom) faction, but resulted from interaction between peoples.

The congress criticised

the Beyers group's volkstaat, saying Natal would be left out in the cold.

Dr Hartzenberg said the group believed all land had been lost after the referendum. Through its willingness to join the negotiation process they now wanted to negotiate with the "enemy" (ANC) for a territorial base, while this had already been rejected by both the National Party and Nelson Mandela. — Sapa.



CHAMP IN THE DOCK ... World super middleweight boxing champion Chris Eubank (right) arrives at Haywards Heath court in Brighton, England. He pleaded not guilty to a charge of careless driving in which his car left the road. A man was killed in the incident.

PAC Government in follow-up talks

■ **Preparation for full-blown summit:** *Sowetan 18/8/92*

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government hold follow-up talks today and similar meetings with black consciousness groups are in the pipeline.

The meeting to be held in Pretoria is a continuation of last Tuesday's talks between the two parties at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to prepare for a full-blown summit.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs and delegation chairman Mr Gora Ebrahim said yesterday the agenda would still include a constituent assembly, transitional authority and a neutral venue and chairman.

A future meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and State Presi-

dent Mr FW de Klerk would be an item on the agenda and not the main issue as suggested in earlier reports, Ebrahim said.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian People's Organisation might also engage the Government in bilateral discussions on transitional mechanisms and a constituent assembly.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, yesterday, BCMA spokesman Mr Vuyisa Qunta said a "facilitator" who was neither linked to the BCAM/Azapo nor the Government would inform the two parties on his recommendations soon.

Qunta said his movement could only engage the Government in real negotiations outside South Africa and under a neutral chairman.

Meanwhile, the ANC and PAC have denied that they were planning to discuss strategy with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

R

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NOW IN BOXE

FW: Talks deadlock 'no cause for despair'

AMANZIMTOTI. — Disagreements and deadlocks were inevitable in the negotiation process and were not reasons for despair but challenges to be overcome, President F W de Klerk told the Natal National Party women's conference here yesterday.

304A OCT 18/8/92
He said South Africa's problems were complicated by poor socio-economic development, drought and a stagnating economy. "All of this is aggravated further by damaging political behaviour, irresponsible rhetoric and rivalry and far too much violence," he said. — Sapa

● Govt to act on women's rights — Page 7

Govt and PAC talk on summit

Political Correspondent

THE government and the PAC will meet in Pretoria today to try to finalise an agenda for a summit between President F W de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu. (30419)

Today's "preparatory" meeting, a follow-up to discussions between the two sides in Johannesburg last week, may also edge the PAC closer to the negotiation table.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said yesterday that today's session would also focus on the role of international involvement in the negotiation process. CT 18/10/92

"The PAC will also emphasise the role of a neutral mediator, as suggested by the secretary-general of the United Nations (Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali)," he said.

● The ANC has denied it plans to meet the Zimbabwean government to discuss strategy before a possible resumption of negotiations. — Sapa

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Concern at detention agreement

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — The appar-
ent agreement between Co-
desa participants on deten-
tion without trial in a state
of emergency during a
transitional constitutional
phase is "disturbing", says
the latest edition of the at-
torneys' journal De Rebus.

The agreement, con-
tained in Codesa working
group documents, provided
for certain procedural con-
trols, but these were "insuf-
ficient to cure the defects of
the system", the De Rebus
editorial said.

De Rebus had expressed
its pleasure at the stated
commitment by govern-
ment against detention
without trial and the publi-
cation of the ANC draft bill
of rights.

"The agreement about
detention without trial dur-
ing states of emergency is
puzzling in the light of that
commitment."

In reacting to criticism,
the ANC had reiterated
that it supported the princi-
ple that no arrested person
should be held for longer
than 48 hours without ap-
pearing in court.

In its submission to Co-
desa, the ANC had proposed
certain controls to prevent
abuse during a state of
emergency, but the word-
ing of these controls in-
duced a sense of "deja vu",
the editorial said.

"The wording does not lie
well in the mouths of those
who have protested volubly
in favour of the rule of law
and against the detention
without trial of many of
their own number."

Should negotiations be
restarted, the journal urged
the ANC and other parties
to reconsider the question
of detention without trial.



De Klerk announces women's rights move

AMANZIMTOTI — The SA government was ready to sign four major international conventions relating to women and women's rights, President F W de Klerk said in Natal yesterday. *B10A4 18/8/92*

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha would make the necessary arrangements to endorse these soon, he said.

De Klerk made the announcement before about 1 000 women at the NP's Natal women's conference in Amanzimtoti. *(3044)*

The conventions are:

- The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women;
- The convention on the political rights of women;
- The convention on consent to marriage, minimum age for marriage and registration of marriages; and
- The convention on the nationality of married women.

De Klerk said the conventions were broadly aimed at promoting and ensuring equality for women, particularly in the political, social, economic and cultural fields.

He added Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee was investigating remaining statutory discrimination with a view to implementing a bill of fundamental rights.

"I have requested him to give special attention to the question of discriminatory practices against women in general, and also specifically in the workplace."

Political equality for women would be meaningless if it was not accompanied by economic and social equality. Government intended covering the whole spectrum of human activity when looking at discrimination.

Discrimination, however, did not only occur as a result of legislation. The statute books could be cleared, and were being cleared, of discrimination, but a fundamental reorientation of all South Africans was required. "No government can legislate a change of heart. That can only be brought about by education and example," said De klerk.

National Health Minister Rina Venter said Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had launched an inquiry to identify statutory clauses discriminating against women and which would be in conflict with a bill of rights.

Government had, over the past decade, done much to remove from the statute books obsolete concepts relating to common law which discriminated against women.

Yet, Venter said, there were still a number of statutory matters which discriminated against women, and a large number of these stipulations were to be found in the labour field. — Sapa.

Government meets PAC again today

PRETORIA The restructuring of the negotiations forum will be one of the main items on the agenda in the second meeting between the PAC and government today.

Amid speculation that Codesa's committee and sub-committee system could be "streamlined", PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday the convening of a constituent assembly and an alternative negotiations forum would top the agenda.

Moseneke expected the discussions to be more focused than last week's meeting, which he described as a "getting to know each other" meeting.

Today's meeting would deal concretely with areas in which agreement could be achieved and those where it could not.

The PAC would also be seeking clarity on the form of a transitional authority to oversee elections for a constituent assembly and a

TIM COHEN

top-level summit at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, Moseneke said.

Government had placed the issue of violence on the agenda while the PAC would be raising the issue of a general amnesty, an area in which the government and the ANC have serious disagreement.

The PAC was seeking a general amnesty which would include an amnesty for crimes in which members of the PAC's armed wing Apla may have been involved after the indemnity cut-off date in October 1990.

The nature of the crimes and the cut-off date were still under discussion, he said.

But he added that the existing cut-off date, which he pointed out referred to indemnity rather than amnesty, was "ridiculous".

WHO sticks to its health warnings

LONDON — The World Health Organisation (WHO) stood by its advice to cut out fatty foods, puddings, cream and butter yesterday despite claims that there was no evidence its advice would lower the risk of heart disease.

WHO health protection policy director Dr Jean Rochon denied WHO's nutrition guidelines were fanatical. The guidelines include being cautious with alcohol.

The organisation was criticised

Own Correspondent

in a report by the Social Affairs Unit, a right-of-centre think tank, which said evidence showed diet had little or no effect on heart disease. The report also said a half bottle of wine with lunch or a brandy before going to bed could be much better preventive medicine than all the cholesterol guidelines combined. — Daily Telegraph.

ree in the Rhino conditions have ers have been ure: BRIAN HENDLER

Union and TPA discuss impasse

8/10/92 18/8/92
KATHRYN STRACHAN

NEGOTIATIONS between the TPA and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) resumed on Sunday at a high-level meeting convened by the national peace committee.

A statement by the Wits/Vaal regional dispute resolution committee yesterday on behalf of the TPA, Nehawu and Cosatu, said the meeting was held in an attempt to find a way out of the impasse between the parties.

The parties agreed to continue discussions later this week.

It was also agreed that future talks on the resolution of the hospital strike would be held exclusively in the new forum, and to give the discussions every chance of success, no "confrontational positions" would be adopted.

The meeting focused on the fate of 7 000 dismissed striking workers, and the future relationship between the parties. A working group was established to develop a proposed code of conduct.

● Comment: Page 8

Soweto's essential services 'are heading to a standstill'

ADRIAN HADLAND

ESSENTIAL services to Soweto's 3-million residents would grind to a halt within the next three weeks unless additional funding could be found, Soweto City Council spokesman Mojalefa Moseke said yesterday.

Moseke said if an extra R3m a month could not be found to make up the council's monthly shortfall, "everything will come to a standstill in Soweto".

Details of the likely breakdown emerged yesterday after TPA MEC Olaus van Zyl said last week that a total collapse of services in Soweto was likely. He said less than 20% of Sowetan residents paid services tariffs.

Moseke said that while water supplies to Soweto from the Rand Water Board were unlikely to be halted, some areas would experience cuts due to a lack of maintenance and repairs staff.

"One way or the other there will be no water in some areas of Soweto," he said.

Refuse collection in the township would end at the beginning of September as available funds would be used to pay for contractual fees in arrears, Moseke said.

With a bankrupt council unable to pay its workers, sewage services were also

likely to be disrupted, he said.

Addressing the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber last week, Van Zyl said the TPA and other government agencies provided 77% of Soweto's expenditure and had limited funds available. He appealed to white local authorities to help Soweto in the provision of services.

Johannesburg City Council utilities committee chairman Paul Asherson said Johannesburg would not provide Soweto with funds or expertise until a political and financial solution had been found.

"Johannesburg will not be seen as an occupying force, propping up the regime in Soweto," Asherson said.

He said a precondition for Johannesburg's help was the dismantling of the black local authority system and the implementation of new local government structures.

"Until there is a political solution, we cannot guarantee the safety of our staff and that is paramount," he said.

He said a collapse of Soweto's services would force the TPA to speed up the local government restructuring process.

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Masses drifting to anarchy — De Beer

8/10/92 18/8/92
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The mood among the unemployed, poverty-stricken, starving masses in South Africa was moving closer and closer to anarchy, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

He told the Institute of Architects he saw President F W de Klerk's "brave new SA" seemingly disintegrating in a cacophony of recriminations between those who were to have been partners in creating it.

"I see blood everywhere. I see the investors unwilling to commit their resources in a land which threatens to become a morass of conflict."

However, De Beer said he believed that the leaders of both the ANC and the NP had

been "quite badly frightened by the consequences of their own errors".

The new SA would however arrive "after a year or two or three."

"Even if the businessmen and the churchmen and the academics and others must shame the politicians into working for the nation instead of themselves and their friends, we must and shall find reconciliation and agreement."

The three priorities facing the country were health, education and housing, he said.

Botha reacts to UN resolution

PRETORIA. — The government believes the United Nations resolution passed last night "is acceptable in its main components", Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in a statement today.

The Security Council yesterday unanimously authorised the urgent stationing of UN observers in South Africa to help end violence in the country, but left it to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to decide how many should be sent.

Reacting to the UN's decision, Mr Botha said: "Blame is not apportioned to any party. The need is emphasised to strengthen South African structures such as the National Peace Accord. So is the importance of cooperation of all parties in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible."

He said although the number of observers to be sent had not yet been determined, the government was prepared to accept a larger figure than the 30 suggested by UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

"An important component of this recommendation is that the Secretary-General and the UN observers will act in co-ordination with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord.

"Co-operation by UN observers and the National Peace Secretariat has already proved useful during the (recent) mass action mobilisation actions of the ANC. It is indispensable." — Sapa.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt and ANC slated

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have been criticised for their respective handling of land and rural development issues. (304A)

Association for Rural Advancement co-ordinator Richard Clacey, said in his annual report yesterday government's decision to arbitrarily dispose of 3-million hectares of state land to the homelands pointed to an attempt to use the transition process to restructure land dispensation in a way that would pre-empt attempts by a future government to institute more far-reaching reforms. (1A)

Of the ANC Clacey said the land question had yet to receive serious attention from a movement positioning itself as a major alternative to apartheid rule. He questioned whether the concerns of rural people were high on the ANC's agenda.

S. (DAY) 18/8/92

Women's conventions backed

AMANZIMTOTI — The Government was ready to sign four major international conventions relating to women and women's rights, and the Foreign Affairs Minister would make the necessary arrangements to endorse these soon.

President F W de Klerk made this announcement to about 1 000 women at the National Party's Natal women's conference in Amanzimtotti yesterday.

The conventions are:

● The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

● The Convention on the Political Rights of Women. (304A)

● The Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages. (304A)

● The Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

Mr de Klerk said the conventions dealt with matters of "the utmost importance to women" and were broadly aimed at promoting and ensuring equality for women, particularly in the political, social, economic and cultural fields. — Sapa.

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PAC to hold talks with Govt again

STAR 18/8/92
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The PAC will take another tentative step towards negotiations tonight when it again holds talks with the Government in Pretoria.

Tonight's meeting, to be held at the Burgerspark Hotel, is a follow-up to one held by the two parties at the Airport Sun hotel last Tuesday — which lasted for three hours and was described by Constitutional Development Minister

Roelf Meyer as "fruitful and constructive".

PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti yesterday confirmed that the meeting would go ahead.

Mr Seriti said his organisation would be represented by the same six-man delegation which attended last week's meeting, led by foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star there were two main issues on the agenda of tonight's meeting: vio-

lence and alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

● PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille and national executive council member K Mkalipi led a PAC delegation

in a meeting with the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Brian Jenkins, in Cape Town yesterday.

Mrs de Lille said her delegation had briefed Sir Brian on the PAC's position on negotiations, and told him "the PAC's participation will bring some content to negotiations which will lead to some gains for the dispossessed African people".

Mrs de Lille said the mayor expressed his concern about future economic development in the country.

Namibian irritation grows at back-peddaling on Walvis Bay

STAR 18/8/92

304A

BY SHOWING willingness to resolve the Walvis Bay dispute, Pretoria could significantly boost its image as a serious negotiator in South Africa's internal conflict, says Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab.

His views, expressed in an interview, reflect the growing irritation that has been voiced by the Namibian government at the slow pace of the negotiations over the South African enclave and the off-shore islands, which Windhoek claims as its own.

"The manner in which the South African Government is seen to be serious in negotiating (with Namibia), and demonstrates the requisite political will to find a negotiated settlement, will go a long way to reassure the international community that this government of President de Klerk can be considered a reliable partner in their internal negotiations," Mr Gurirab said.

"For the other parties at Codesa, the elements so essential in negotiations — credibility, good faith, political will — are being tested here (in the Walvis Bay talks)."

While expressing doubts about Pretoria's political will to reach a settlement in Walvis Bay, Mr Gurirab emphasised his government's desire for co-operative and businesslike relations with South Africa, especially a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

Namibians are growing impatient at the lack of progress in the Walvis Bay dispute and becoming increasingly sceptical about South Africa's integrity as a negotiator both on this issue and in Codesa, DALE LAUTENBACH reports.

South Africa's chief representative in Namibia, Stephan Aldrich, is equally insistent on the importance of friendly relations and insists South Africa has not put Walvis Bay on the backburner.

"It's important for us and we know that it's important for Namibia," he said. "We would like to see progress as fast as possible."

But Mr Gurirab was sceptical. He said that when the Walvis Bay negotiations began early last year, Namibians set out to solve the question of sovereignty as soon as possible. They expected moving on then to discussing the mechanics of the hand-over.

South Africa, however, refused to view the dispute as a matter of decolonisation and insisted it involved changing the South African constitution.

At that time (before Codesa) it argued that as it was on the brink of constitutional negotiations, the Walvis Bay issue should be decided by the leaders of all significant parties in South Africa at the all-party conference then envisaged.

"We saw this as stalling but if, and it's a big if, there was an element of honesty in it, then it was politically plausible," said Mr Gurirab.

At a second meeting in May last year, joint administration of the enclave as an interim arrangement was agreed to.

"We felt interim joint administration was something we could live with to get the negotiation process started," Mr Gurirab said.

Recent comments by him and President Sam Nujoma suggest they have lost patience with this approach.

"My government will not accept any attempt by the South African Government to create a new linkage, this time between Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands negotiations, and the current internal political and constitutional developments in that country," said Mr Nujoma in May at a banquet for visiting President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, then OAU chairman.

Earlier, at the Commonwealth summit in Harare last October, Mr Nujoma referred to the SA Government's "ammal delaying tactics".

At the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa last month, Mr Gurirab again signalled that the negotiations were bogged down.

Initially the Namibians grudgingly gave Pretoria the benefit of the doubt.

But Mr Gurirab now says "all those imponderables are gone". There has been Codesa and the whites-only referendum so there is no longer any question of a white backlash over transfer of Walvis Bay.

He said his government had written expressions of support for its position on Walvis Bay from all the other key players at Codesa.

"There was something about the advent of President de Klerk, something very refreshing about his political style," Mr Gurirab said. "What South Africa used to be accused of — double dealing, reneging on agreements — all these things for a moment we thought were past and that this man was different."

"But here we are in August 1992 and we take the Walvis Bay negotiations as a measure of President de Klerk's leadership and the policies of the Government today, and we ask what is new?"

Mr Gurirab mentioned a confidential document drawn up in March this year by the joint technical committee charged with designing the joint administration as already agreed to in principle last year.

"Equal authority is the whole point of joint administration. But we have been waiting since then for the removal of these brackets," Mr Gurirab said.

"The issue of the brackets might look like smoke, he said, "but in this case smoke means fire. Our assessment of their attitude is that it's foot-dragging, an attitude very much reminiscent of the past ... Here we go again, what has changed? De Klerk is no different to P W Botha when it comes to negotiations, agreeing to do things and then reneging on them."

"If they are being recalcitrant on this issue, it shows their hand and what is in store for the next round of ministerial negotiations."

There have been signs that the Namibian public feels its government has not moved hard or fast enough on Walvis Bay, and in November the government will be tested in regional and local elections.

In what may be another reflection of this impatience, the government has lately been pointing out that it still has a UN card to play in the shape of Security Council Resolution 432, which calls for the reintroduction of Walvis Bay.

"The Security Council option is always there," said Mr Gurirab, noting the new role of the UN in inter-state relations. □

PAC talks progress

Sowetan 19/8/92

(111) (304A)

■ **BROAD ACCORD** PAC, Government make

headway in talks on armed struggle, other issues:

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government last night made "substantive progress" in the second round of talks including headway on the thorny issue of the PAC's armed struggle.

In a joint statement after a three-hour meeting in Pretoria, they announced that agreement had

been reached on a future constitution-making body which the PAC referred to as a constituent assembly.

Follow-up talks were also proposed which could finalise a meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu.

See story page 2

New Right likely to take reins from

STAR 19/8/92

304A

THE split in South Africa's right-wing Conservative Party represents another advance in the idea of establishing a separate Afrikaner state as a component in a greater confederation.

The notion of an Afrikaner state or volkstaat has been on the agenda since mid-1980s, but the breakthrough from Andries Treurnicht's P of five MPs under the leadership of Andries Beyers has given new impetus to the idea.

There are three key reasons: The rebels are prepared to settle for a much smaller Afrikaner state or, to put it differently, to sacrifice Afrikaner claims to vast tracts of land in return for recognition of the right of Afrikaners to their own fatherland.

They have accepted in principle the projected state should be free of race discrimination and should not involve forced removals.

They have recognised that they will have to negotiate with black nationalist organisations, primarily the African National Congress, in order to realise their objective. These traits distinguish the New

Right, as the breakaway MPs have been dubbed, from the CP, under the de facto leadership of Dr Treurnicht's deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, the CP still clings to Verwoerdian illusions of grandeur and thinks that it can assert Afrikaner hegemony over most of South Africa.

The moral content of New Right thinking — its attempt to reach a modus vivendi with opposing forces and to divest itself of racism — differentiates it sharply from Eugene Terre-Blanche's neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB is prepared to relinquish claims to sovereignty over huge stretches of land in the Cape and Natal in its endeavour to resurrect the 19th century Boer Republics which were located, primarily, in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

But AWB is not prepared to abandon the ideological bedrock on which the Boer Republics were established: no equality between white and black, with citizenship rights consequently restricted to

whites. Blacks living in the re-established Boer state will be treated as voteless immigrants who can leave if they do not like it, Mr TerreBlanche says.

The New Right — which may formally constitute itself into a new party, the Afrikaner Party — has added two important dimensions to the notion of an Afrikaner state: a moral dimension by exorcising racial overlordship from its mind-set, and a practical one by reducing its objectives to more modest levels.

While the New Right constitutes only a small proportion of the CP's parliamentary caucus — five MPs out of just over 40 — it looks poised to grow in the immediate future; it has captured the imagination of sections of the Afrikaner community by projecting itself as an avant garde force without acquiring the Utopian image of Carel Boshoff's dream of establishing an Afrikaner state in the arid and sparsely populated Northern Cape.

Against that the CP has stumbled from crisis to crisis since its

devastating defeat by pro-negotiation forces in the referendum.

Mr Beyers is essentially correct when he declares: "Five months after the March 17 referendum the CP is still without a plan (for the future)."

The CP is increasingly obsolete today. Its refusal to negotiate with the ANC confers on it an ante-Aluvian character.

Instead of responding dynamically to its defeat, the CP turned on itself, expelling two MPs, Koos Botha and Koos van der Merwe, for daring to defy the party line by arguing in favour of joining the negotiating table.

The court appearance of a third MP, Fanie van Vuuren, on charges of murdering his wife has clearly not helped restore morale.

Since the five MPs resigned from the CP last week, the CP has sacked Z B du Toit, editor of its journal, The Patriot, and four members of his staff. These dismissals have set the scene for a purge of New Right sympathisers from the party, a process which will almost certainly lead to new

defections.

The CP may have reached the nadir in its 10-year history. One sign is its inability or unwillingness to contest last week's by-election in Florida, near Johannesburg, after its string of earlier by-election triumphs. Another is the not unrelated flow of reports that its coffers are near empty (shortage of funds was given as a reason for the summary dismissal of Mr du Toit and his colleagues).

But is the Afrikaner state viable in South Africa today, where whites constitute less than 15 percent of the total population and Afrikaans-speaking whites less than 10 percent?

Whites, let alone Afrikaners, do not constitute a majority in any of the nine development regions demarcated in 1980.

One of two conclusions seems irresistible: either Afrikaners will be a minority in their own state, and thus not in control of their own destiny; or they will have to deny equal rights to blacks and thus deprive their proposed state of moral justification and invite

resistance and conflict.

These deductions do not take account of two additional problems: it is far from certain, as Carl Niehaus of the ANC has observed, that a majority of Afrikaners support the volkstaat idea; nor is there any proof that Afrikaners are willing to make the economic and financial sacrifices necessary to ensure the successful establishment of an Afrikaner state.

Mr Beyers remains confident, however, that the idea is viable. The New Right envisages two Afrikaner states: one in the north, where by careful drawing of "artificial" (kunsmatig) boundaries to exclude large concentrations of black people, Afrikaners will constitute a majority, and another in the south where Afrikaans-speaking whites and coloureds will be in the majority.

Mr Beyers also takes heart from a recent ANC statement, declaring that it is prepared "to consider" the establishment of a volkstaat as a component of its regional policy. □

an 'obsolete' CP

ANC tunes

STAR 19/8/92

strategy

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Although bilateral ANC-Government talks are not taking place, the ANC continues preparing its negotiating strategy.

Patriotic Front members at Codesa yesterday held a summit on negotiations in KwaNdebele, and the ANC and its regions meet tomorrow in a two-day negotiations consultative forum in Johannesburg.

When talks were broken off on June 23, the ANC said it would convene a summit "to unite and mobilise our people against continued white minority rule and for democracy".

After ANC and Government negotiators met 10 days ago, the ANC national executive committee last week reiterated the organisation's position that no constitutional discussions with the Government would take place until the Government had met the ANC's demands. — Political Reporter.

Time to tell our stories

STAR 19/8/92
304A

All contributors to the Breaking The Logjam series seem to agree that we have not yet reached a stage where it would be accurate to say we have finally failed to reach a peaceful negotiated constitutional settlement.

But the least that can be done at the moment is to question the manner in which we have gone about trying to reach this settlement.

In other words, we need to ask if the negotiating forum we created was the best vehicle that could have been devised to transport us to a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa. We need to ask if enough preparatory work was done by way of building mutual understanding and removing unnecessary stereotypes among the negotiating parties.

We also need to wonder if the right questions have been posed at the negotiating forum and if the various parties in this forum have been afforded time to "tell their stories" and honestly enunciate their fears and concerns about the

future democracy we are trying to build.

It is my view that none of these preliminary steps to negotiation were taken to a satisfactory degree. The result of this omission is now showing in the way all parties are trying to harness the future constitution to enunciate hidden fears and concerns that were not stated beforehand.

If we accept that a constitution is the embodiment of a nation's fears, concerns, suspicions, aspirations and hopes then we must first address these earnestly before we begin the task of drafting a new democratic constitution. I fear that if this is not done parties will continue to talk past each other for months without any visible progress. In fact, under such circumstances, the more parties try to talk the more the misunderstanding among them deepens.

As most contributors have rightly stated, the cause of the present stalemate is not so much the type of constitution we need or the majorities we need to ratify it. On the contrary, the stalemate is

caused by lack of consensus on how we reconcile majority rule with minority concerns and thereby ensure that minority parties buy in to the envisaged constitutional settlement in such a way that they can be relied on to uphold and defend it.

The other level of the stalemate has to do with uncertainty on the part of possible losers in a future election, that the possible winners can be relied on to guarantee an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles in post-apartheid South Africa and that, if this commitment is undermined, something tangible and effective can be done to save the citizenry from the tyranny of the majority.

It is in attempting to grapple with this constitutional dilemma that some of the parties tend to propose the tyranny of the minority (or what the ANC calls a loser-takes-all formula). The obvious challenge here is that a mutually acceptable compromise needs to be found by the negotiating parties.

In seeking honest answers to

these questions, we face a real problem. In negotiations these questions are normally posed and honestly answered with the assistance of a third party who enjoys a certain measure of mutual trust.

For instance, the NP is unlikely to say in public that it fears majority rule because it believes this will most probably translate into black majority rule and a possibility of reprisals and reverse discrimination and hostile domination.

The ANC is unlikely to say in public that it is prepared to compromise as much as possible provided the compromise does not turn the new government into a completely lame duck incapable of adopting policies to redress past socio-economic disparities and thereby address the expectations of the voteless majority.

Similarly, the IFP is unlikely to say in public that it fears the possible consequences of an ANC-dominated government given the state of animosity that exists between the two organisations and which is likely to endure right into

post-apartheid South Africa.

It is difficult to foresee any way forward which does not accept the need for the negotiating parties to enlist the services of independent facilitators and mediators.

It is these people and not the negotiating parties themselves who are capable of listening with empathy to the fears, concerns, hopes and aspirations of the various parties.

Cyrus Vance could well be the answer but he would need to spend far more time in this country, develop a far deeper understanding of the socio-political dynamics at play here and adopt a far more hands-on approach to this task than is possible in terms of his present UN mandate.

The negotiating parties would do well to declare a moratorium of at least a month on further constitutional kite-flying and instead use this period to hold confidential bilateral talks about their fears, concerns, suspicions and aspirations.

The two days of private and open-hearted talks suggested by

the NP might partially serve this purpose if properly planned. But the bilateral talks would have to be extended to include the IFP. Somebody such as Mr Vance could be invited to these confidential talks as a facilitator and empathetic listener. For me this is far more urgent and important than calls for a hasty reconvening of Codesa which is in any case not suitable for the negotiation strategy we now require.

Finally, I endorse the sentiment already expressed by all contributors that violence must end, that the verbal war among leaders must stop forthwith and that peacekeeping structures like the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission must be given legal teeth to use against leaders and parties who continue to flout the Peace Accord with impunity.

Otherwise these structures will soon lose whatever credibility they retain. □

● Dr Dhlomo is executive chairman of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

PAC and Govt again *STAR 19/8/92* discuss negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(100)
(304A)

The PAC and the Government held talks in Pretoria last night in an effort to facilitate the PAC's entry into negotiations.

Last night's meeting, held at the Burgerspark Hotel, is a follow-up to a meeting held at the Airport Sun Hotel last Tuesday. Last week's meeting was described as fruitful by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The question of violence, alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly were on the agenda of last night's meeting.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star that most of the items on the meeting's agenda were the Government's — the

PAC's having been addressed at last week's meeting.

During a press briefing at the end of last week's meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government on South African soil — Mr Meyer said his delegation had raised its concern about Apla attacks on policemen and was waiting for the PAC's response.

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities and has referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam.

The PAC source said: "We will just listen to their views and put ours across. We might then tell them we will put their views to the Apla leadership."

The delegations were led by Mr Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim. A press conference was expected to be held after the meeting.

TALKS STANDOFF

The sticking points: ANC's 14 demands and the state of play

As the bewildering bickering between the government and the ANC continues, the key to a resumption of negotiations appears to be President De Klerk's response to the movement's month-old list of 14 demands. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

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WHEN it broke off talks in June, the ANC delivered a list of demands to President De Klerk with the understanding that if he met them, or showed willingness to do so, they would return to the negotiating table. Although the government has since then — though some of the demands have been tackled in varying degrees of success — the situation has become less clear.

The 14 demands, and the government's responses so far, are:
Demand 1: The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.
Response: The government believes a transitional constitution negotiated at Codessa should be the basis of a National Assembly and Senate, both elected by proportional representation. These could replace the transitional constitution by special majorities.

Demand 2: The establishment of an interim government of national unity.
Response: The government accepts minority rule should end and wants a transitional constitution as the basis for a joint interim government including a directly elected executive council.
Demand 3: Terminate all covert operations, including hit squad activity.
Response: The government says unorthodox projects have been stopped and hit squads are not tolerated.

Demand 4: Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals.
Response: The government agreed to disband 31 and 32 Battalions and Koevoet units, transferring members to other units.
Demand 5: Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in violence.
Response: The government says culprits will be prosecuted.
Demand 6: Ensure that all re-

pression in some self-governing states and in the so-called independent states is ended forthwith.
Response: None so far.
Demand 7: The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out hostels and convert them into family accommodation.
Response: The government says this is viewed as an urgent issue, but one that must be discussed with all parties involved, and resolved with help from National Peace Accord structures.
Demand 8: Installation of fences around hostels.
Response: The government has no objection, but says this must also be discussed with all parties involved.
Demand 9: Guarding of hostels by security forces on a permanent

discussion is required to further define categories of weapons.
Demand 12: An international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence as well as international monitoring of violence.
Response: The government has agreed in principle to UN officials assisting the Goldstone Commission, and to permanent UN observers being stationed in South Africa.
Demand 13: Release all political prisoners forthwith.
Response: The government is prepared to discuss this with the ANC.
Demand 14: Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament.
Response: The government remains committed to new laws to combat crime, intimidation and violence and private armies, but is prepared to discuss these in negotiations.



DP to go all out for black support

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party plans to start a multi-million rand war chest to sponsor a membership drive into black communities ahead of South Africa's first non-racial election, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer announced last night.

It is understood that the fund-raising drive will have an initial target of R13 million and will draw on both local and foreign sources.

Dr De Beer told a meeting of his Parktown constituents that the drive came at a time when the party was "actively seeking and gaining membership in

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the brown and black communities".

He said the National Party and the ANC had been guilty of placing their own party-political interests ahead of the interests of South Africa.

"These are no parties of ideals: They are in the first place parties of power," he said. "A viable party of the liberal centre, based on democratic ideals and not on lust for power, is more necessary than ever before. The DP is by far the best hope."

Dr De Beer also said serious divisions were beginning to appear in the ANC. "If this is the case, it is bad news indeed. There is nothing more difficult than negotiating with a divided organisation."

PAC, govt hold 'positive' meeting

(304A) CT 19/8/92

PRETORIA. — There are grounds for a peaceful transition to a new political dispensation, the PAC and the government agreed at "constructive and positive" talks here yesterday.

Speaking after the talks, PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said they had reached agreement that a new constitution should be

drafted by an elected constitution-making body.

Mr Meyer said his delegation had received a favourable indication from the PAC that once there was clarity the government had embarked on a peaceful process of negotiations towards an elected constitution-making body, this would change the PAC position on the armed struggle.

Mr Meyer said the two delegations also discussed the possibility of a top level meeting between the PAC and the government.

● The country's leading black publishing house, Skotaville Publishers, has suspended its editorial director for belonging to a political organisation. Mr Jaki Seroke, PAC secretary for political affairs, yesterday confirmed his suspension. — Sapa

Teachers threaten to strike for recognition

B/DAY 19/8/92
THE crisis in education deepened yesterday with teachers in black schools threatening to launch a national strike unless their union was recognised.

Schooling in black areas has been in turmoil since teachers and pupils joined the general stayaway earlier this month.

Department of Education and Training (DET) spokesman Geoff Makwakwa said Natal, the Highveld and the Orange-Vaal regions were most affected by the continuing disruptions, with some schools reporting no attendance at all.

In Soweto, the J C Merkins School for the Handicapped was closed earlier this month and its bus set alight last week.

In a statement yesterday, DET Johannesburg regional chief director Richard Motau lashed out at the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) for "abandoning" pupils during the mass action, and using "massive coercion" to close schools.

More than 1-million teaching hours and R4m were wasted in Soweto schools during the protest, he said.

Motau said Soweto's matric pupils had already lost 50% of attendance time this

KATHRYN STRACHAN
year due to "chalk-downs" and other disruptions.

But Sadtu responded that the disruptions were a result of the victimisation of teachers who took part in the strike and the blame, therefore, lay with the department.

Sadtu assistant general secretary Thulas Nxesi said teachers had been sent letters by the DET asking them to explain in writing why they should not be charged with misconduct. Some had been dismissed. The DET said the letters were not connected to the stayaway.

Sadtu said a national strike by teachers would be inevitable unless the union was officially recognised.

Negotiations, which have lasted more than two years, have stumbled over the contentious issue of teachers' right to strike. "We are running out of options and cannot restrain our members from becoming radical in their approach to the current crisis," a statement said.

A meeting between Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and Sadtu officials has been scheduled for August 31.

NP plunging SA into crisis — De Beer

B/DAY 19/8/92
THE NP's arrogance since the referendum had resulted in a hardening of attitudes by the ANC which was plunging SA deeper into crisis, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

The NP and the ANC were placing their party political interests ahead of the country's, he told a report-back meeting in his Parktown constituency.

There were disturbing indications of serious divisions within the ANC which saw the national working committee repudiating the conciliatory stance of ANC president Nelson Mandela, who had appeared to reduce the organisation's 14

BILLY PADDOCK
demands to three.

The NWC had "specifically and pointedly" returned to the 14 demands.

"If this is the case, it is bad news indeed: there is nothing more difficult than negotiating with a divided organisation," he said.

Later, in response to requests for clarification to Mandela apparently reducing the 14 demands to three, De Beer said Mandela had in fact grouped all 14 demands into three categories, giving observers "the over-riding impression" negotiations would resume

very soon. **304A**

De Beer criticised the SAP's "abject failure" to prevent killings or to arrest guilty people. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was worse than Adriaan Vlok at controlling the police. However, the one person who did inspire some confidence, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johann Scheepers, was suddenly shifted.

"It is all very disturbing indeed," De Beer said.

He said the DP was about to embark on its most ambitious fund-raising drive ever, and challenged supporters to "put their money where their mouths are".

DP seeks funds to boost black support

STAR 19/8/92

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The Democratic Party is about to launch its most ambitious fund-raising drive ever in an effort to sponsor its membership drives in brown and black communities, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer revealed yesterday.

Addressing his constituents in Parktown, he said the DP was determined to fight whatever election might be in prospect, on a one person, one vote basis.

"We are actively seeking and gaining membership in the brown and black communities and, in spite of unfavourable economic circumstances, we are about to launch our most ambitious fund-raising drive ever."

He challenged supporters to put their money where their mouths are.

Speaking on the "latest play on the negotiating front", Dr de Beer told his constituents that the national working committee (NWC) of the ANC was causing divisions within the organisation.

The NWC had effectively repudiated a conciliatory Nelson Mandela after he had spoken of reducing the organisation's 14 demands to three.

"It thus looks as though serious divisions are beginning to appear in the ANC. If this is the



Challenged DP supporters ...
Dr Zach de Beer.

case, it is bad news indeed."

He said the only way to improve the country's situation was to stop the "brawling" between the ANC and NP.

Dr de Beer was also critical of the police force and its "abject failure" to prevent killings or to arrest guilty people.

He said Law and Order Minister Hérnus Kriel was even less satisfactory than his predecessor Adriaan Vlok, who had failed to control the police.

He charged that both the NP and ANC were guilty of placing their own party-political interests ahead of the interests of South Africa. — Sapa.

PAC, Govt in breakthrough

Sowetan 19/8/92

304A

■ **SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS** Problem of neu-

tral venue is no longer a thorny issue:

THE GOVERNMENT AND the PAC made "substantive progress" in their second round of talks last night, according to a joint statement after a three-hour long meeting.

The two parties reached an agreement on a future constitution-making body and on the thorny issue of the PAC's armed struggle.

They also agreed that:

- A new constitution should be drafted by an elected constitution-making body (which the PAC referred to as a constituent assembly);
- The principle of constitutionality should be adhered to during the transitional process;
- The process and framework leading to the election of a constitution-making body should be negotiated "at a more representative forum" than Codesa;
- The transition should be peaceful; and
- A process of registration for a common voters' roll should start as soon as possible.

In addition, the PAC said it would rethink its armed struggle once the process towards a democracy had clearly started.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, who led the Government delegation, said the Government had emphasised the need for a peaceful transition, the cessation of violence and the end of the armed struggle.

"The PAC indicated that once we have clearly embarked on a peaceful process towards an elected constitution-making body, they would change their position (on the armed struggle)."

The PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim, said his organisation had "listened carefully" to the Government's viewpoint on violence, and agreed that there was no room for violence once a democratic system was in place in South Africa.

Ebrahim said while the PAC still believed negotiations should be held at a neutral venue under a neutral chairmanship, this was an issue which should be discussed.

FEATURE The success achieved in Botleng is proof once again that much can be attained

BOYA



Thoko Mthethwa, a mother of five, is one of the happy homeowners outside her house.



PICS: JOE MOLEFE New homeowners are busy erecting their shacks .



Young Laretta Mangope who will contest the Miss Soweto High Schools pageant at Club 2 000 in Tladi on September 5. The contest is staged by Progress Club 2 000. "We are trying to keep some of our colleagues off the streets as well as entertain them," said organiser Frank Seane. Those who wish to enter should telephone Shirley at 988-8228.

310

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4/92

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Botleng residents beating the odds

LAND DUEL A township wins housing battles against Delmas conservatives.

There is now co-operation across the lines:

Sweeten 20/8/92

By Mzimasi Ngudle

310

FROM TENANCY TO LORDSHIP. Thoko Mthethwa owns land and lives in Botleng. At last, and like many other Botleng residents, she now is her own boss. And all of this happened free of charge and just several metres from Delmas, the heartland of rightwing conservatism. Not, however, before a long-drawn racial conflict.

History is that Botleng residents actually settled after a gruelling fight with Delmas white authorities. They had to employ the services of an attorney to acquire tenancy rights in Botleng.

In fact, the technical jargon word for the apparent harmony is concord despite dissonance. The strife dates back 83 years and the apparent consonance only two years.

This occurred in 1990 when the black community withdrew its farm labour, forcing the whites to address their needs. Now the buzzword is co-operation, won hard through stayaways, boycotts and strikes.

In January 1991 Botleng residents saw an impromptu gesture of camaraderie when white farmers sent their trucks for a clean-up operation.

Residents knew better

However, Botleng residents knew better. They knew that Alpha is not Omega and fought tirelessly to attain their ultimate objective - an upgrade of the township and a legal title to the land.

Now many residents are no longer listening to His Master's Voice. Bondsman only to themselves, they are now humble beneficiaries to the hard work of a triad that was hitherto not extant.

Cordial relations between the Botleng Civic Association and the Delmas Town Council culminated with the successful soliciting of financial help from the Independent Development Trust (IDT).

Botleng Civic Association public relations officer Mr Motsepe Matlala said the IDT project has relaxed the attitude of conservatism.

"The goodwill emanated from the fact that we can talk. This is what makes Botleng different from other townships. We no longer feel the town is conservative."

Matlala, a born orator and chatterbox, has not only succeeded in coaxing the council but has brought ideological and political factions together.

Botleng, a typical black township with about 60 000 residents, is one of 64 places countrywide in which an IDT project is under construction.

In December 1990 there was no infrastructure, no sewerage, no water and no electricity. With infrastructural services from the Oosvaal Regional Services Council limited, the Delmas Town Council obtained more than R5 million from the IDT.

The money was used to upgrade 734 sites by installing water, electricity and sewerage networks. Bus and taxi routes also were tarred.

A toilet and water tap

The IDT provides a site with a toilet and a water tap. The rest is left to the prospective owner who is free to build any structure.

The IDT pays out a capital subsidy of R7 500 per site to the developer when the ownership is transferred from the developer to the individual.

The residents are moving to the new sites at a rate of 50 families a month. On the pipeline is the integration of people living in Mandela View, a squatter settlement which almost encircles Botleng. The Delmas Town Council has allocated 500 sites to resettle them on the IDT scheme.

With an R800 000 project to provide electricity already started, Botleng will be much better than a "glorified squatter camp."

Botleng Administrator Mr J.A Roux sums it up: "The success achieved in Botleng is once again proof that much can be attained through reconciliation, negotiation and the right attitude."

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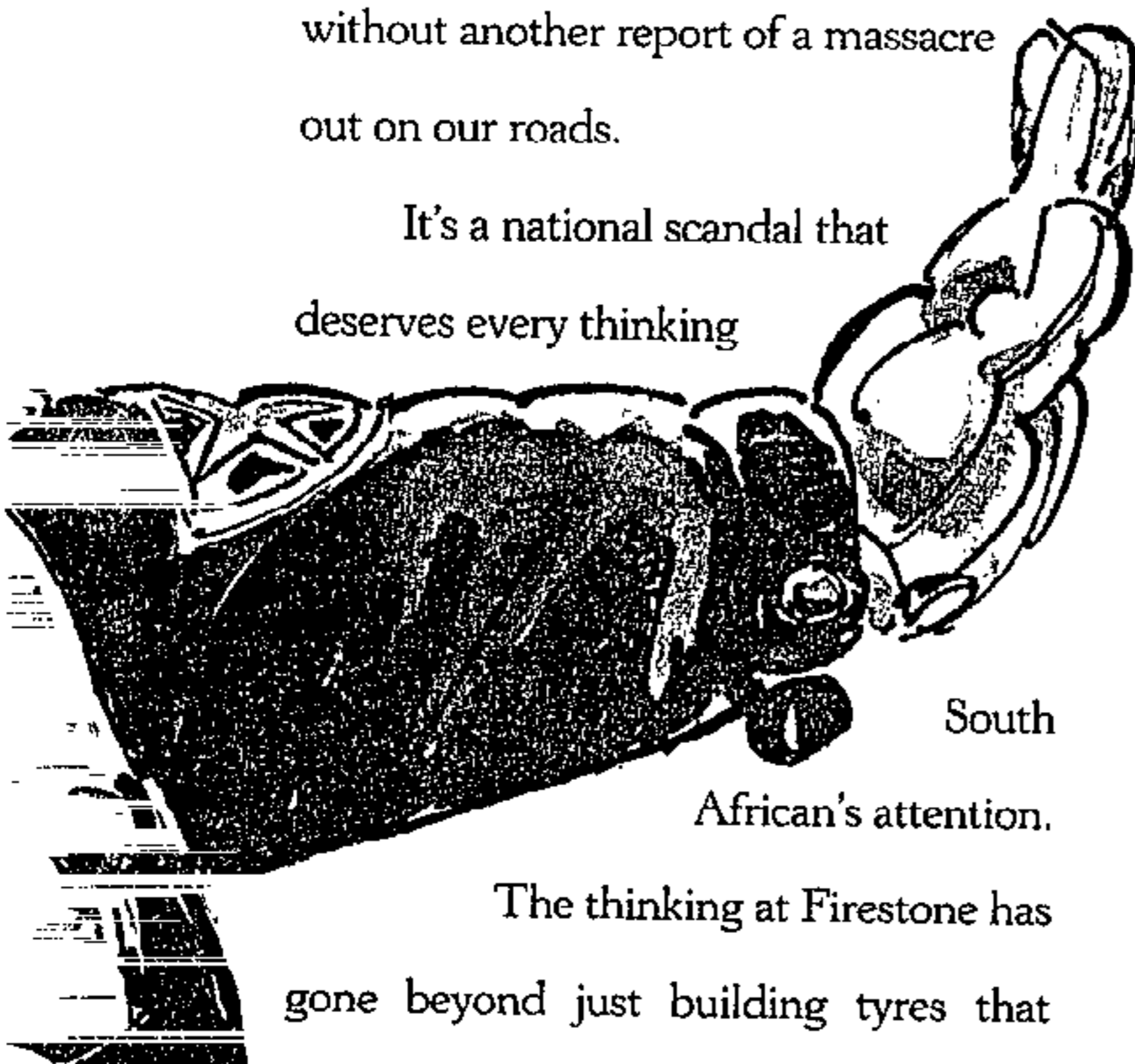
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Coalition govt 'likely for SA

3618

CT 26/8/92

A COALITION government severely restrained in its ability to implement socio-economic restructuring is likely to emerge in South Africa if a constitutional settlement is reached.

Dr Vincent Maphai, head of the department of political studies at the University of the Western Cape, said this yesterday at the "South Africa - Which Way Forward" conference in Sea Point.

A multiracial, authoritarian government could not be ruled out in the interim, he said.

A major challenge facing such a government would be the fulfilment of socio-economic expectations.

The government and the ANC had both had their options narrowed to the point where a negotiated settlement appeared to be the only option. — Sapa

CP congress in camera

Political Correspondent

304A

20/8/92

THE embattled Conservative Party is to hold virtually its entire national congress this weekend behind closed doors.

Rocked by the defections of a number of "new right" MPs and party officials in recent weeks, the CP hierarchy has decided to keep most of the proceedings at the Kimberley congress shielded from the prying eyes of journalists.

A CP spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that the one-day congress would be held in camera but the press would be allowed to question party

leader Dr Andries Treurnicht during the lunch-break.

A CP spokesman in Kimberley said the one-day congress was scheduled to begin at 10am on Saturday and end before kick-off time for the Springbok-Wallaby rugby test match at Newlands.

The congress is expected to focus largely on the thorny issue of the boundaries for the proposed Afrikaner volkstaat.

The five MPs who recently defected from the party proposed that Afrikaners accept a drastically reduced area for a volkstaat.

Cape forum on ANC proposals

Political Correspondent

AN ANC forum to be held in Cape Town next week for members of the business and legal professions will discuss the organisation's constitutional proposals and legal policies (304A)

Professor Kader Asmal and Mr Dullah Omar, both members of the ANC's national executive and constitutional committees, will participate in the forum.

CT 20/8/92

(304F) (44) CT 20/8/92

Azapo agrees to 'talks-about-talks'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), following the PAC's lead, has taken the first steps towards joining the negotiation process — under defined conditions.

It said yesterday that an "international facilitator" would meet the government today in talks-about-talks.

Although some of its initial demands may be impossible to meet, such as the call for a neutral venue outside the country, it is the first time that the black consciousness organisation has indicated a willingness to enter direct negotiations with the government.

Its conditions are similar to those first laid down by the PAC.

The PAC said after a meeting with the government on Tuesday that there were grounds for a peaceful transition to a new political dispensation and their talks were "constructive and positive".

An agreement had been reached that a new constitution should be

drafted by an elected constitution-making body, the PAC's foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said.

Mr Meyer said progress had been made towards involving the PAC in the negotiation process.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodely, said yesterday that an international facilitator would set out to the government his organisation's conditions for a meeting between the two parties.

Azapo's conditions for it to enter negotiations with the government are that the meeting take place at a neutral venue with an independent chairman; the agenda must be fixed; the government must give a clear indication of its preparedness to relinquish power by suspending parliament and reincorporating bantustans; bantustan leaders and all members of parliament, no matter which party they represent, should come as part of the government delegation; and the meetings must be open to the media.

Federalism may

be our best

shot

304A

STAR 20/8/92.

YET another batch of new federalists. The five Conservative Party MPs who have hived off to enter negotiations aimed at establishing an Afrikaner state within a system of regional government are talking federalism.

They follow the Nationalists who, having pursued a consistently anti-federal course of centralising government since 1948, have lately discovered the wonders of decentralisation.

The Nationalists speak, with a degree of ambiguity, of "regionalism", and some committed federalists doubt the genuineness of their repentance. But the two concepts are very close. They overlap, and many Nationalists these days do indeed use the formerly taboo word "federalism".

Do not scoff too fulsomely at the CP men and their notions of an Afrikaner state, so long as it is considered within federal parameters, not as an altogether independent entity (which would be ab-

surd, the territory not even having a coastline). It introduces an important new element to the constitutional debate and it involves conservative Afrikaners who have until now held aloof, yet could be contained only with the greatest difficulty (if at all) within a new South Africa whose form and character was anathema to them.

Merely to engage these men in negotiations is to admit to the possibility of federal options.

The truth is that federalism has a far more impressive record than centralism (the unitary state which we carbon copied from Britain). The more successful modern nations (the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany and Malaysia, for example) are federations. Some of the least successful (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia) were highly centralised.

The common factor in their failure seems to be the attempt to artificially and forcefully cement together disparate regions and ethnicities, suppressing differences. It

works for a while until the cement cracks.

Federations stay together because of a degree of elasticity between the central (more properly called federal) government and the constituent states or provinces. Centralised states such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia end up as shrapnel.

There are many versions of federalism. There are varying degrees of autonomy for the constituent states, but the core characteristic is that in federal systems the states (or provinces) have certain rights, functions and jurisdictions on which the central authority may not impinge. Some call it "internal sovereignty". A key function is the right to raise taxes, without which autonomy is meaningless.

That is the great difference between federalism and regionalism. If regional governments derive their revenues from central government grants (as in South Africa today), their autonomy is meaningless. If they do raise their own taxes, and therefore control their

own budget and agenda, they are federal states rather than mere regions.

Federalism allows regions to follow their own paths, to live their own lifestyles, and is instinctively mistrusted by authoritarians for this very reason. Franco could never have tolerated the regional autonomy allowed in Spain today under a democracy.

South Africa very nearly became a federation in 1910. It seemed logical, Canada and Australia were federations, the leading proponents of union spoke of a federal union. But the determination and tenacity of Smuts and the Transvaal delegation at the National Convention in 1909 forced through acceptance of the unitary Westminster model we still have, where one parliament can override everything, including the Supreme Court, and 51 percent of the vote provides 100 percent of the power.

There was some compromise. Federal elements were built in with the existence of provinces and elected provincial councils which,

until the 1960s, raised their own taxes and had a high degree of autonomy in some very important fields.

But this did not sit well with an increasingly authoritarian National Party, which whittled away provincial powers, removed the provinces' taxation rights and eventually, apotheosis of the PW Botha era, abolished the provincial councils altogether.

Yet federalism is suddenly in vogue again. The Democrats have always wanted it. Inkatha Freedom Party, with its strong regional base, insists on it. The CP "New Right" are talking about it. The Nationalists seem to want it (though some suspect it could be a schlemmer, let them get 50 percent plus one in an election and "regionalism" could suddenly mean something rather different).

The notable exception is the African National Congress. It is not enthusiastic about federalism, partly because a revolutionary tradition makes the idea of voluntarily surrendering certain levers of

power absolutely incomprehensible; partly because its Communist Party component is rooted in the "democratic centralism" of Stalin; and partly because federalism is very easily confused with the discredited bantustan programme. It is the ANC's rejection of full federalism which at present makes it an unlikely option.

Yet there are certain realities. South Africa does consist of various regions peopled by entirely different groups and with very different needs. Some Zulus do insist on an autonomous homeland. Some Afrikaners insist on just that as well. There are strange stirrings from the Transkei and the Ciskei in favour of a "Xhosaland".

And there are the horrible examples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, where regional and ethnic interests were ignored and suppressed.

If such realities should assert themselves, the results of real negotiation could be startling. The CP new rightists could well become the leaven in the loaf. □

UN to send 'up to 50' observers to SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

STAR
20/5/92

NEW YORK — The United Nations will send "nearer 50 than 30" observers to South Africa to bolster the National Peace Accord, a senior Western diplomat has confirmed in New York.

The date of their arrival is

still uncertain.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed a contingent of 30, on the basis of the Vance report. But African and other third world states argued that this would be too few.

The Security Council then compromised and left it up to Mr Boutros-Ghali to decide.

Following the Security Council's invitation to international organisations to join the observer operation, British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd is to lead a deputation to Pretoria next month.

This will include the foreign ministers of Portugal and Denmark.

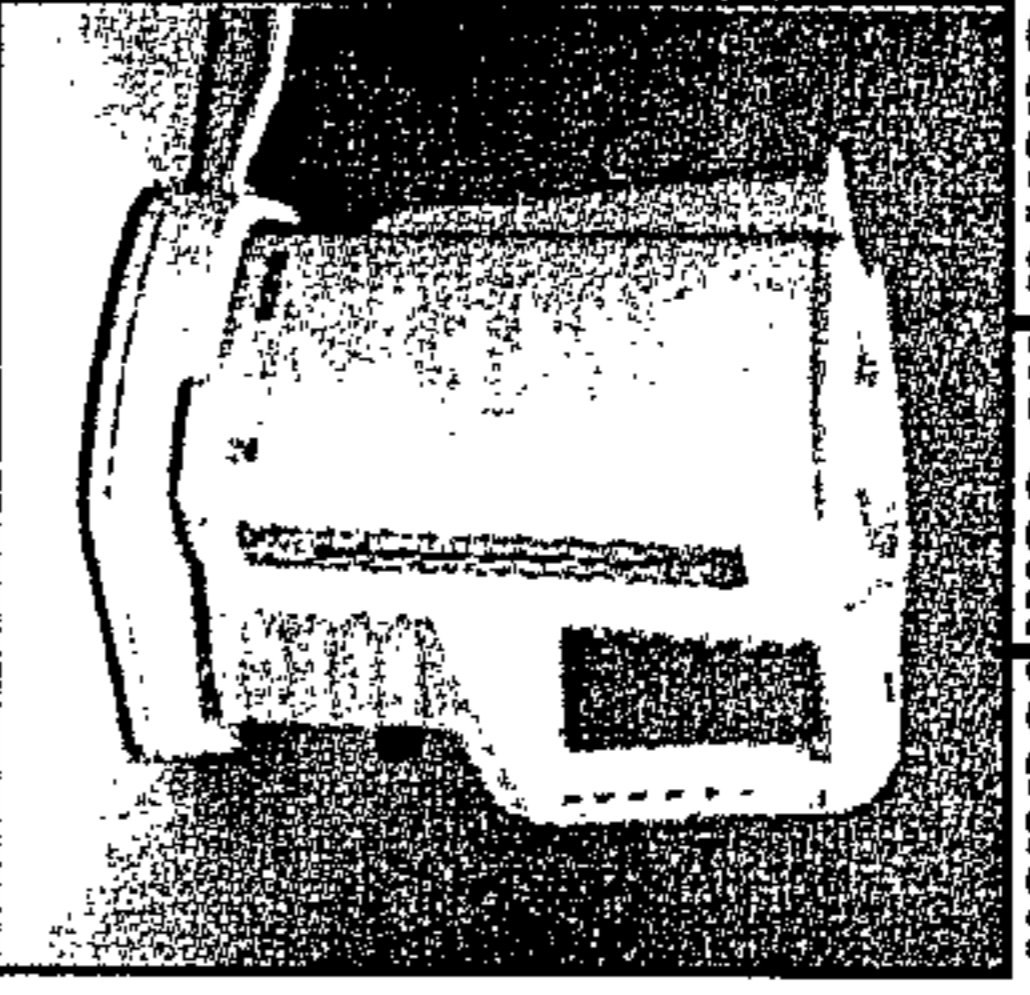
NEWS Now Azapo goes to the negotiation table with the Government in three weeks

Early date set for negotiations

Anglican archbishop invited to help with talks between the two parties:

Sowetan 21/8/92

By Themba Molefe and Sapa



Stick-a-pic competition

This is the ninth puzzle piece in the Philips stick-a-pic competition. Cut it out and paste it on the appropriate square (9) on the entry form that appeared in *Sowetan* on August 11. The first prize is worth R13 000.

TALKS between the Azanian People's Organisation and the Government would begin as early as September 12, the organisation said yesterday.

Anglican archbishop secretary Mr Srinji Moodley said in Durban direct discussions would only begin when certain pre-conditions had been met. Moodley said Azapo had appointed Archbishop Kholiso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Prov-

ince of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator". He said Makhudu would meet the Government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled". The talks would centre on the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. Moodley said negotiations were not a substitute for the armed struggle. He said the negotiations would be open to the public. Azapo, he said, would also insist on liberation movements joining the negotiating forum. Makhudu is a member of the pre-

sidium of the World Council of Churches and president of the All-Africa Church Conference. He was invited to broker the talks by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. This development is a sequel to a series of behind-the-scenes political activities initiated by officials of the Ministry of Constitutional Development in February. It also coincides with historic meetings over the past two weeks between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government. The Government and the PAC on Tuesday agreed on future constitution-making. Meanwhile, Azapo's Natal regional organiser, Mr Patrick Mkhize, condemned the media "for its partiality". He said while the harassment of journalists could not be ignored, there were various factors that contributed to it. These included "the bias of some journalists, who are partisan and the manner in which some journalists behave". He said the only way to end the harassment was for journalists to be impartial.

the



FW wants new flag

Sowetan
2/18/92

304A

■ UNITY SYMBOLS *Die Stem* and flag rejected

by majority but important to Afrikaners:

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday acknowledged that the country's present flag and national anthem were not unifying symbols for the country and that new ones had to be agreed on. He said while the majority of South Africans regarded the flag and anthem as symbols of apartheid and injustice, the official flag and

anthem were significant in the history and "liberation of the Afrikaners".

He said the ANC's reaction to incidents at the Test at Ellis Park was "counter-productive". De Klerk encouraged tolerance during the interim and said new symbols would have to be created through negotiations.

See story page 2

na



'Marriage' of 3

cultures needed

STAR 21/8/92

304A

A 19TH CENTURY British statesman, grappling with very much the same political problems that South African leaders are grappling with today, observed that his country was in fact made up of two nations, the rich and the rest. How could one build a democratic system of government in such a country?

The British eventually came up with a typically English, that is to say ingenious but hypocritical, solution to what at the time looked like an intractable problem. The rich kept their wealth but hid it and therefore pretended to be poor; the poor were persuaded that they were rich; and everyone was given a vote.

Everything remained the same but somehow the two nations were perceived to have welded into one and that "new nation" was said to have become democratic.

Are there any lessons we in South Africa can learn from this British hat trick?

South Africa has many things in common with pre-democratic Britain one of which is that it is itself made up of several cultures. The only difference between the British and ourselves is the race factor superimposed on a class dynamic that is not much different from the British class system.

In South Africa there are however three cultures. There is the state culture, the economic culture and the resistance culture.

The state in South Africa is synonymous with the Afrikaner who created the modern state in this country and to this day continues to dominate and control it.

The culture of the state is rooted in the Afrikaner domination of the blacks. Historically this took two forms; slavery and plunder.

Another popular myth is that the whites control this country's economy. It is, in fact, the Eng-

lish-speaking whites, and the British, who control the economy.

Economic researchers have shown that even the large Afrikaner-owned companies are dwarfed by their English-speaking counterparts who dominate the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

As with the culture of the state, the economic culture of South Africa is therefore synonymous with the culture of English-speaking white South Africans. Specifically this takes the form not of building an indigenous economy, but of exports of raw materials and imports of technology and skills.

The two white cultures dovetail in that they both are interested in making a quick buck with the minimum of effort.

Unlike the cultures of the state and the economy, there are no myths about the culture of resistance. It is the culture of the blacks, all blacks, and has strong as well as weak points.

It has developed in the blacks an incredible resilience, perseverance and resourcefulness. For peoples who have lived through enslavement and indenture, thorough-going military defeats and all manner of forced labour and humiliation black South Africans have an exuberance of spirit and a creativity that defies description.

The weakness of resistance culture is that it tends to see the world through rather stark good and evil formulae.

To shape a democratic South Africa, the leaders have to identify and retain what is valuable and useable in these three cultures. Similarly, they have to summon up the courage to discard what is archaic and reactionary.

In this game the stakes are high and there is no possibility of hat tricks. □

● Moeletsi Mbeki is a media consultant to the ANC/Cosatu.

SA has much going for it, says Dr John Maree

STAR

21/8/92

304A

Breaking out of valley of despair

ALL people in a transition process go through a period of disillusionment. Successful transitions are those where a nation has reached into the recesses of its resilience and found the capacity to move through and out of this valley of despair.

If we look around us — at the newspapers, at the economic environment, at the failures to contain violence — we can easily be sucked into a vortex of pessimism.

It was Sir Denis Healy, the British Labour Minister, who once commented that the first law of politics stated that if you found yourself in a hole, stop digging. Excellent advice, but sometimes difficult to follow — particularly if getting out of a hole is more uncomfortable than staying in it!

South Africa had dug itself into a deep hole during the decades of apartheid, and it finally took a courageous decision to break out of the security of that hole and choose the uncertainty of a future without guarantees. Like eastern Europe, we are still at the start of the transition to democracy. But there are some things going for us which many of the eastern Europeans lack.

First, the main actors in the South African environment are communicating with one another. Union and business leaders have differences, the parties at Codesa cannot reach agreement. But there is a fundamental agreement that the way forward has to be started at the negotiating table.

A second area of agreement

among most of the political groups is the commitment to achieve a new dispensation within a single country in which all citizens enjoy the same rights.

There is also a positive side to the hiatus in negotiations. Initially, the process moved too fast and tried to skate superficially over critical areas of disagreement. Touch was being lost with the grassroots.

Another point in favour of South Africa succeeding in its quest for a stable democracy is the intense support for a solid political solution from both Africa and the international community.

More than anything else the pain of the violence underlines the bonds that tie the destinies of black and white so irrevocably to

each other. No single party or people can go it alone.

We have taken charge of our development. Sanctions helped us to grow up, and the drop in the gold price and slack demand for commodities generally, help us to mature our economy. No longer do we rely on windfalls from mineral prices to provide economic growth.

Even the low growth rate that is making our transition to democracy so painful has its positive side. It has forced politicians towards a clearer understanding of the linkage between political ideology and economic growth. □

● This is an edited version of a speech by Dr John Maree when he received the "Man Of the Year Award" recently.

Secrecy crucial for universal suffrage poll, says Suzman

Staff Reporter

(304A)

The South African public will have to be convinced of the secrecy of the ballot before a universal suffrage election takes place in the country, veteran politician Helen Suzman said in Johannesburg last night.

Delivering her presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mrs Suzman also said international monitoring should be seriously considered so that the election could be declared free and fair.

STAR 2118/92
The former Democratic Party MP said in view of the intimidation which would undoubtedly take place in any future election, there would first have to be an intensive media campaign to reassure the public of the absolute secrecy of the ballot.

Mrs Suzman noted that a recent Human Sciences Research Council opinion poll estimated that the ANC would obtain between 40 and 45 percent of the vote, the National Party 25 percent, and the Inkatha Freedom Party between 10 and 12 percent.

She cautioned that opinion polls were not always reliable.

"Nobody knows how the shanty dwellers in the squatter camps or how the black rural masses will vote, for they are never polled."

Mrs Suzman referred to recent research conducted by J M Calitz of the Centre of Information Analysis at the Development Bank of Southern Africa, and Reuben Sive, former MP and Democratic Party delimitation expert, which estimated that there were approximately 21 million people in South Africa who were over the age of 18 and thus eligible to vote.

Of these 21 million voters, approximately 4 million were

white, 2 million coloured, 600 000 Asian, and 14 million black.

Of the 14 million black voters, approximately 5 million lived in the self-governing states, 3 million in the TBVC states, and 6 million in the rest of the country, of which more than 2 million lived in the rural areas outside the homelands.

Turning to the recent campaign of mass action, Mrs Suzman noted that it was unclear whether there would be substantial support for a continued programme of mass action in the future, in spite of the recent success.

Kiwi 'Mr Fixit' fires from hip

STAR 21/8/92

300A

6/1/92

BEFORE last weekend's rugby test, former All Black Chris Laidlaw was told by an acquaintance in Johannesburg that if South Africa won, the climate for political negotiations would improve. He showed no inclination to laugh.

"Magnanimity comes from a sense of cultural well-being," reflects Mr Laidlaw, the former rugby captain and New Zealand ambassador who will shortly complete a term of office as his country's "race relations conciliator".

Mr Laidlaw has just been back in South Africa, 22 years after his somewhat ill-starred visit as a member of Brian Lochore's team. Then, he says, he set foot at Jan Smuts Airport "with misgivings" — and soon after, he was a key proponent of the sports boycott. He reached this position because "promises which were given to us then about the desegregation of rugby and society — but particularly rugby — were never delivered on".

Unrepentant, even quietly triumphant, about the boycott, Chris Laidlaw remains a night-

Chris Laidlaw (above), New Zealand's "race relations conciliator", speaks to JO-ANNE COLLINGE about his impressions of South Africa.

mare for that defensive breed of South Africans who are constantly telling their foreign critics to put their own racial houses in order. He has been doing precisely that for several years, and his experience could hold some valuable lessons for the future South Africa.

Appointed three years ago by the New Zealand government as race relations conciliator and a member of the Human Rights Commission, he is constantly involved in a complaints-driven process to counter discrimination.

New Zealand is often falsely drawn as an Anglo-Saxon society. In fact, it embraces substantial minorities, with the Maoris alone accounting for between 12 and 13 percent of the population and Pacific Islanders, Asian immigrants and refugees from many quarters adding several more percentage points.

"The demand from the Maoris is essentially a demand for greater cultural space or independence," says Mr Laidlaw. This doesn't mean "homeland"-type talk — it means increased status for the Maori language and more scope for practising their traditions, for instance in educational curricula, health care and social welfare services.

Having had some contact with ultra right-wing groups in South Africa, Mr Laidlaw believes that a formula has to be found to provide them with a sufficient sense of cultural security to avoid "having to put up fences".

Although New Zealand, in the British mould, has no constitution and entrenched bill of rights, it has laws underpinning equal opportunities and laws against the preaching of racial superiority. Soon legislation will be passed outlawing racial

denigration and incitement of racial hostility.

Looking at our country through the filter of New Zealand's own minorities dilemmas, Mr Laidlaw sees and experiences the nuances and contradictions of the transition from apartheid.

He says he discerns no great "racial hatred" in the right wing's claim for a volkstaat; the demand to be separate is not hate-speak, he believes. But he feels "totally uneasy at the sort of mass action by white South Africans" which he witnessed at Ellis Park and regards it as a warning that, despite administrative unity, rugby could retreat into narrow nationalistic activity.

During his term as ambassador in Harare, Mr Laidlaw facilitated early contact between the ANC and the South African Rugby Board. He sees the unity ultimately achieved in rugby as fragile — and continuing international goodwill as being dependent on local rugby "getting off its backside and being seen to be doing something" to integrate the sport. □

Suspended Van Eck loses his allowance

THE ANC MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who was suspended from Parliament in June, was told this week that he would lose his R2 500-a-month tax-free allowance during suspension.

As he is likely to be suspended for at least five months, this could cost him R12 500.

Mr Van Eck made these points in an address to the Institute of Citizenship.

He said afterwards that he was informed of this decision on Monday in a letter from the Secretary to Parliament, Mr Gert de Kock. Mr De Kock confirmed this, saying Mr Van Eck's salary was not affected.

Mr Van Eck was suspended by 80 votes to 56, with the Conservative and Democratic Parties opposing the move, after he had made a speech in Parliament in which he alleged the government was responsible for the murder of thousands of anti-apartheid activists. (304A) CT 21/8/92

NP to convene federalist talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk announced yesterday that the government will meet early next month with Codesa parties which subscribe to basic constitutional principles, such as federalism, supported by the National Party.

He also announced that the government was prepared to push ahead with legislation during the October session of Parliament aimed at levelling the political playing field ahead of an election.

Mr De Klerk said he had no intention of allowing "radicals and communists" in the

ANC to disrupt progress to full democracy. However, he denied that he was trying to edge organisations like the ANC out of the stalled negotiation process.

He emphasised that the government initiatives should not be read as signals that the government was now prepared to "go it alone" in the negotiation or transition processes.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference that he still wanted to see all the important players back at multi-party negotiations. The September meeting would be held only so that some progress could be made in the interim.

He said the meeting was not aimed at forming an alternative "Patriotic Front" to the alliance of parties supporting the ANC, but supporters of federalism needed to start talking about the function, authority and capacities of regional governments.

It would also be "a good thing" to open the debate on where the boundaries should be drawn under a federal system.

Mr De Klerk announced that the government met the Democratic Party as well as Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday to discuss negotiations. He said the government would meet the DP again, and met regularly with the IFP. (504A) CT 2/18/92

Top Anglican named for Azapo-govt talks

DURBAN. — The Azanian People's Organisation has appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator" to open discussions with the government.

CF 21/8/92
Speaking here yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said Archbishop Makhudu would meet the government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled".

(3041)
He said provided Azapo's pre-conditions were met, direct discussions between Azapo and the government would begin by September 12 and be completed within six months. — Sapa

**DP 'growing
fastest' — MP**

Political Staff

CT 21/1/82
THE Democratic Party was the fastest-growing party in the Western Cape, the party's MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, told a meeting at Ocean View last night. The ANC did not "care a damn about the individual", he said, while the NP would for the rest of its existence have "the stain of apartheid on its clothes" (304A)

NEGOTIATIONS

364A

FM
21/8/92

Now you see it

Just as most observers were expecting constitutional talks to start again within weeks, the ANC announced it was stopping all negotiations with government until it had received a satisfactory response to its 14 demands presented on June 23.

The immediate cause for this apparent hard-ball approach appears to have been its inability to effect the release of political prisoners. According to one ANC spokesman, asked about last week's vanished optimism, part of the problem is that the press was simply swallowing what it was being fed by government. ANC president Nelson Mandela's Union Buildings speech, while highly conciliatory, did in fact reiterate the ANC's preconditions for talks to resume.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, however, suggested that the ANC negotiating team that had earlier met government, in what had appeared to be a positive session, had been rapped over the knuckles. This implied a difference of approach within the ANC.

Meanwhile, both sides seem to be playing a dangerous game and each day in such a climate holds the potential for another crisis such as Boipatong to flare up, observes UCT politics professor Robert Schrire.

Both government and the ANC are stuck with a dual reality, he says. On the one hand they realise there is no alternative to negotiations; on the other, this does not mean that negotiations will necessarily succeed.

However, the pressure to get talks restarted is greater on government since it is responsible for administering the country and preventing a slide into anarchy and economic regression.

The ANC is not under such pressure. Moreover, it still has within its ranks some true believers in the option of a revolutionary victory seized from below, as opposed to a relatively peaceful, bourgeois transfer of power from above. Importantly, though, this school does not include Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. As Schrire sees it, their breaking off of talks with government and pursuit of mass action are aimed at ensuring sufficient pressure on government, so that when talks do resume they will focus on the key issue with the reasonable assurance of not breaking apart again.

Schrire points out that when President F W de Klerk made his historic speech in

February 1990, he was in effect offering the ANC co-partnership in running SA — power sharing, in short. To the ANC, this has never been on. Its view of a normal democracy means and always has meant majority rule and the right of a majority party at the polls to make mistakes. It rejects any rigged 'power sharing system.

It has become increasingly clear to government, says Schrire, that its constitutional game plan is not going to succeed. Hence the concessions have virtually all come from government's side, as an analysis of its shifting bottom line would show.

However, government is not yet convinced that the only guarantee for whites does not lie in a constitution which enshrines their position in a coalition government, instead of being based on what it achieves at the polls. This is at the root of the ANC's tougher approach and preconditions for resuming negotiations: that the majority party should form the government and of its own volition to bring in minority parties if it wishes.

Once this fundamental issue is resolved, says Schrire, all other obstacles, including the ANC's 14 demands, will easily be resolved.

As they stand, the demands obviously cannot be met point by point. Things are far more complex than pretending that the violence, for instance, can be turned on and off at will. The ANC, of course, knows this — hence its insistence that talks can start again only once government has given a "satisfactory response" to those demands.

It is not necessarily a question of each of the 14 points being met as such — rather, that there be "meaningful, visible movement — for example, on the issue of the release of political prisoners." Other matters raised by the ANC in this regard concern the carrying of weapons in public and the fencing of hostels.

So there is flexibility for both sides in satisfying the so-called 14 demands, which really boil down to three: steps to curb the violence, an interim government, and commitment to a sovereign elected constituent assembly. One needs to distinguish when a group is rhetorically playing to its gallery and what it is actually looking for.

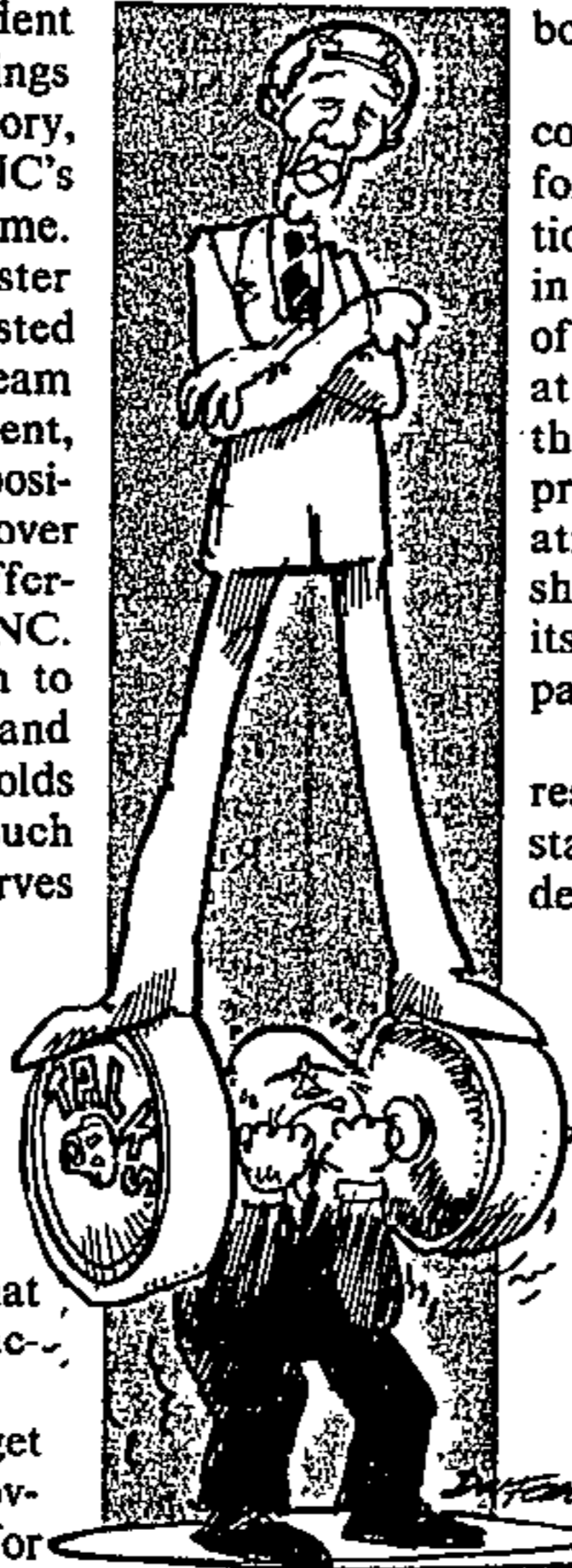
Following last week's conciliatory post-strike speeches by Mandela, it did indeed seem that negotiations would resume within weeks. Government certainly expected them

to. What seems to have scuttled this optimism, it now transpires, was, as the ANC sees it, government's pussyfooting over the question of the release of political prisoners.

According to the ANC, undertakings and definitions in this regard were reached long ago in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes. Moreover, government had also given such an undertaking to UN special representative Cyrus Vance, says the ANC, now accusing Pretoria of bad faith. Clearly fed up with the seemingly endless talks over this issue, Mandela this week returned to charging that De Klerk was involved in the violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC has reiterated its rejection of a general amnesty which would include the security forces, unless and until those involved come forward to declare their deeds in the interests of understanding the past and preparing for a democratic future.

While he is not blindly optimistic about the prospects for negotiations, says Schrire, viewed in the light of SA's past the negotiations have so far progressed reasonably and as well as could have been expected. ■



MOTOR INDUSTRY WAGES Waiting on Toyota

Nervous vehicle manufacturers hope Toyota will fall into line this weekend when employers and unions try to hammer out a final agreement on wages and job security. If not, they fear further conflict if negotiations drag on into a fifth month. The dispute has already resulted in a week-long industry strike.

Agreement is nearly two months overdue. Discussions, which began in April, were due to provide a new package to take effect from July 1. But differences, particularly on union demands for an extension of the year-old moratorium on lay-offs, delayed matters.

With the exception of Toyota, there now appears to be virtual consensus between employers and the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) on the form of the new agreement. FM 21/8/92

Toyota, which did not attend national bargaining forum meetings during the recent two-month strike at its Durban plant, has agreed to honour minimum-wage agreements reached in its absence. As part of the written agreement ending the Toyota strike, the company bound itself to abide by the forum's wage conditions. But the agreement with Numsa also decreed that job security should be a matter for the company and union to decide.

In other words, at the same time as it was seeking an industry-wide agreement, Numsa

Suzman warns of 'wasteland'

THE last thing SA needed at this juncture was for industry to become a battleground, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) president Helen Suzman said in Johannesburg last night.

Stability and investment were essential to SA's economic and social recovery, Suzman said in her presidential address.

While mass action had provided ANC president Nelson Mandela with a "face-saving device" of grassroots support, as the referendum had done for President F.W. de Klerk, Suzman said, the sympathetic attitude adopted by the business community would not necessarily be repeated should further mass action be called.

"What we desperately need is something which will jump-start our stalled economy and provide jobs for the unemployed, she said.

"If this is not done, it seems to me that whoever does inherit the country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is totally meaningless."

Suzman suggested Codesa 2 had become a "damp squib" because of a dispute over the issue of federalism.

Parties at Codesa had disagreed over central government's power to override second- and

third-tier governments, while issues of regional boundary delimitation and the maintenance of a wide range of social and economic groups within a new dispensation had yet to be considered, she said.

Suzman argued the NP had radically changed its policy on federalism and had become "recent converts" to the concept.

"From being the party that abolished provincial councils, and thereby what superficial resemblance to federalism the old constitution contained, we now have a party that proclaims that federalism is a model that shares power with people even at the lowest level."

Federalism did offer a way in which SA could accommodate the diversity of its 39-million people while limiting the powers of central government.

She said federalism had long been a policy belonging to the SA liberal tradition, which had been espoused by such figures as Alan Paton, Olive Schreiner and (Cape Colony Prime Minister) John Molteno.

On the outcome of an election for an interim government, Suzman said rural black voters could have a significant role.

"No one really has any idea of the strength of

ethnic ties among the rural people and the influence of tribal authorities on how they would exercise their votes."

She said while it was likely that thousands of middle class black, coloured and Indian voters would support the NP, a critical factor would be the well-publicised secrecy of the ballot.

"I have no doubt belief in the secrecy of the ballot will become important in view of intimidation, which undoubtedly will take place."

Suzman said a media campaign emphasising the secrecy of the ballot should be conducted intensively for some time before the election took place. International monitoring, to ensure the elections were free and fair, should be seriously considered.

Suzman said she was convinced the majority of people in SA wanted stability, security, a better standard of living, better education and improved housing.

Excellent infrastructure, good communications, material and human resources, and an innovative population were all factors that generated a sense of optimism, she said.

"I believe that, given all these factors, SA has every chance of emerging from the present crisis and will become a stable country with a peaceful and prosperous future, the workshop of the African continent," Suzman said.

ADRIAN HADLAND

B/DHY 2/18/92 (304A)

Sowetan 21/8/72
Botha visits Namibia

WINDHOEK - South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha is to visit Walvis Bay today and is expected to meet Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurab in Windhoek.

A news report in *The Namibian* yesterday said Botha can expect a "hostile" reception from demonstrators demanding the immediate return of the South African port enclave to Namibia.

A local magistrate has already granted permission for a march by Swapo and the National Union of Namibian Workers, a news report said.

Africa in

30477
A spokesman for the Office of the South African Representative in Windhoek confirmed the visit.

THE Umtata Congress of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania unanimously adopted a resolution on negotiations.

The resolution said the PAC "is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination through the mechanism of genuine negotiations".

It added that such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate. Congress further decided that such negotiations must take place under a neutral convener and at a neutral venue.

The PAC from the outset has been demanding the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly as the only democratic forum which can draw up the new, nonracial democratic constitution.

These basic principles were put by the PAC before the patriotic United Front Conference and received overwhelming support.

The PAC, as custodian of these fundamental principles, began to take concrete steps to implement them. Consequently, the first formal meeting between the PAC and the regime was held in Abuja, Nigeria, under a neutral convener.

Two issues were discussed at that meeting: the principle of neutrality and the democratisation of the negotiating forum.

Exploratory talks

In Abuja it was agreed that further exploratory talks should be held bilaterally on these and other issues. The Abuja meeting was followed by the bilateral preparatory talks at the Southern Suns Hotel in Johannesburg. At that meeting, the PAC placed the following items on the agenda:

- (a) Constituent Assembly
- (b) new negotiating forum
- (c) transitional authority
- (d) preparation for a leadership meeting

This agenda was agreed to by the regime. However, the regime proposed two additional agenda items - violence and attacks on security forces. The PAC agreed to discuss these items.

After seven hours of discussions at the Johannesburg venue and at the Burgerspark Hotel in Pretoria, agreements were reached on the following principles:

1. The new constitution must be drawn up by an elected constitution-making body. The PAC refers to this as the Constituent Assembly.
2. A more representative negotiating forum must be established to negotiate the modalities and principles for the establishment of the elected constitution-making body, namely, the Constituent Assembly.
3. The process for establishment of the elected constitution-making body should begin soon with voter registration for a non-racial common

Gora Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress, explains the organisation's position after he led a delegation which met the Government on Tuesday

304A Sowetan 21/8/92



PAC's Wille Seriti shakes hands with the government's chief negotiator Tertius Delport. Seen in the middle is PAC's Gora Ebrahim.

voters' roll.

4. A meeting at the highest leadership level is desirable as soon as the issues of neutral venue and neutral convener are settled.

The issues of violence and attacks on security forces were extensively discussed. On violence, the PAC said it was not involved in the senseless carnage ravaging the country but that the PAC made a significant contribution towards ending the violence. The use of the "necklace" was strongly condemned by the PAC and all component structures.

The various investigation teams, both internal and international, in their respective reports did not implicate the PAC in the present violence. Our cry has been and still is "Peace among the Africans". The late President of the PAC, comrade Zephania Mothopeng, offered to mediate between the ANC. The PAC has an implacable track record of taking initiatives to end the senseless carnage.

In the candid opinion of the PAC, the regime

must take the following steps to end the violence:

1. Expel all foreign mercenaries from the country under international supervision.
2. Disband all security formations.
3. Speed up elections to the Constituent Assembly.
4. Prosecute those in the SADF and SAP responsible for crimes.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania maintains the position that violence in the country is linked to the fact that we have an undemocratic system and only the establishment of a genuine democracy would end violence. The core problem, therefore, is to speedily draw up the new, non-racial democratic constitution. All else will follow!

In the meantime, the PAC will continue its efforts to reconvene the Patriotic United Front Conference as soon as possible. It is important that the oppressed and dispossessed majority speak with one voice. In unity lies our strength.

Economic growth cannot stand by for politics

9 DAY 21/8/92

304A



MIKE LEVETT

NO COUNTRY has ever experienced a successful transition to a stable democracy in the absence of a sound economic performance before, during and after the transition. This was a key finding of the Old Mutual/Nedcor scenario study of 1991.

In the light of this finding, the poor performance of the economy is cause for grave concern. Our estimates show that by the end of the year the economy will have experienced three consecutive years of decline. Real per capita GDP is expected to have shrunk by 9% between 1990 and 1992. In the private sector, close on 200 000 jobs were lost in 1990 and 1991 and the trend appears to be continuing in 1992. In addition, an estimated 300 000 people join the labour force every year.

Against this background, it is obvious that a successful transition cannot be tackled on the political playing fields alone. The task of economic reform cannot wait for the political reform process first to run its course. The economic issues need to be addressed urgently.

Formulating an appropriate economic strategy is by no means a sim-

ple task. However, for any strategy to stand a reasonable chance of success, it will have to address the following issues, among others:

- A significant reduction in the level of uncertainty must be achieved. Uncertainty impedes economic growth as decision-taking is paralysed. The businessman is likely to postpone decisions to invest in new equipment, build up stock or hire new staff. The consumer is uncertain how to plan his finances. Public policy-makers cannot implement long-term strategies and many critical decisions are delayed as time horizons shorten.
- To eliminate uncertainty realistic rules for the economic game need to be agreed and adhered to.

□ The level and nature of government spending need urgent attention. Domestic government spending, measured as a percentage of the economy, is high relative to other more successful economies at a similar stage of development. Consequently, tax rates are also high.

Achieving real government spending restraint requires decisive action. The social spending component of government expenditure has been

growing fast and the needs are great. Spending discipline will therefore require continued redistribution of spending in favour of the less privileged. Such a restructuring will not be painless, but the long-term benefits should outweigh the negatives.

Another aspect that needs to be addressed is the mix between current and capital spending. In the attempt to contain pressures in recent years, government has drastically cut its capital spending. Between 1980 and the start of 1992 this type of spending fell by 40% in real terms. Moreover, in the broader public sector, including the public enterprises and corporations, fixed investment cutbacks have been even more severe.

A reduction in government spending must therefore concentrate exclusively on current spending. This is the only way to create scope for the public sector to play its role in supporting the capital formation SA so desperately needs.

□ Any attempt to uplift living standards by means of populist economic policies must be avoided. The failures of populist policies, such as those in Latin America, demonstrate the vital importance of maintaining macro-economic stability. In this regard the current policies of the Reserve Bank are commendable. The progress towards financial stability must not be undone by an undue relaxation of monetary policy.

□ The long-term decline in SA's economy can be ascribed to a host of reasons, but two stand out: the dominant role of commodity exports and the inward-looking industrial sector. Economic success will largely depend on the extent to which we can restructure the economy towards being outward-looking and internationally competitive, and based increasingly on manufacturing and services (including tourism).

Such economic restructuring will not be achieved overnight and will require a comprehensive industrial and marketing strategy. In a major restructuring of this kind, maximum use must be made of market forces. The management of one of the most important prices in the economy, the

exchange rate, will be crucial.

World Bank and IMF policy recommendations always stress that a competitive exchange rate is one of the key ingredients for economic restructuring and industrial success. In ensuring a competitive exchange rate, international inflation differentials have to be taken into account. Failure to do this can easily result in a non-competitive currency in a high inflation country over a short period of time. In this regard, the failure of the depreciation of the rand over the past three years to compensate for these inflation differentials is worrying. The monetary authorities will have to give appropriate attention to this issue in future formulation of policy.

There is a daunting task facing the political leadership to negotiate an acceptable constitutional dispensation. But all political leaders must understand that early progress on economic issues is not a luxury but a necessity for bringing the political transition to a successful and sustainable conclusion.

□ Levett is Old Mutual chairman. This is an edited version of a statement delivered on Tuesday.

ANC 'cannot delay progress'

Govt plans to press ahead with reforms

BIDAY 2/18/92 (304)

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT would go ahead with legislation to reform the constitution in October — regardless of whether the ANC had returned to talks, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

At a news conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, he said government could not continue to "sit on its hands".

A conference would be held early in September where government would meet other political parties with similar policies, to discuss such issues as federalism.

He said government's reasonableness should not be mistaken for weakness; it would not bow to pressure and mass action but would continue governing until there was a negotiated interim constitution.

Government was anxious to take steps to realise this aim and had no intention of allowing the ANC to delay progress.

"We dare not permit the negative and confrontational strategy of the radicals and communists in the ANC to disrupt progress to a full democracy," De Klerk said.

The ANC reacted angrily to his announcement, saying there was no future in negotiations that excluded the ANC. It warned those parties planning to meet government in a negotiating conference that their efforts would be fruitless.

De Klerk said the conference would decide on legislation to "further level the playing fields" and other constitutional issues. But he stopped short of saying this would include enabling legislation for an interim government.

He said he had met the DP and Inkatha yesterday and they had had constructive discussions about the way forward. He would be meeting the DP again and he was in regular contact with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In response to questions De Klerk said this was not a threat to the ANC. "We cannot wait forever. The past three months of stagnation and mass action, which were heralded by the ANC's calculated obstruction of Codesa II, have been to great disadvantage to our country and all its people."

He said he wanted to see all the important role players back at the negotiating table. In the hope that talks would resume soon, government would work constructively in the weeks ahead to draw in the ANC.

He made it clear that government was not going to respond in detail to each of the ANC's 14 demands.

If negotiations were not back on track by September, the conference would go ahead so that progress could at least be made in the interim.

De Klerk said damage had been done to the economy and especially to the poor, with many losing their jobs as a result of the ANC pulling out of negotiations.

Foreign investors had been frightened off, schools disrupted, attitudes had hardened and millions of moderate South Africans were losing patience and becoming increasingly radical in reaction to the ANC's threats and excesses.

He said government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress possible.

"We also want to be satisfied that the ANC may be trusted to fulfil and honour agreements," he said.

It was in this framework that government and the NP would make every endeavour to resolve the deadlocks in the coming weeks but it insisted on tolerance, reasonableness and fairness.

SA needs new symbols - FW

Sowetan 20/8/92

■ **SPORTSMEN ABUSED** Interests of athletes

and supporters abused in political power play:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

304A

SOUTH Africa needed new unifying national symbols which the majority of its people would respect and be proud of, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Adding his voice to the furore in the rugby bull-ring after last weekend's impromptu singing of Die Stem at Ellis Park, despite agreements reached earlier in the week, De Klerk said that the ANC's reaction to the incident was counter-productive.

"The current abuse of sport in political power play is, once again, threatening the interests of all sportsmen and supporters," De Klerk said.

He further accused the ANC of holding sports administrators hostage with the controversy surrounding the national symbols, adding that they (symbols) will have to change.

"As far as the national flag and symbols are concerned a great deal of emotion has been excited. The current controversy has the poten-

tial to ignite a powder keg. 21/8/92

"To me and a large part of the population, the present national flag and national anthem are important symbols, not of apartheid or injustice, but of a love for our country and a moving history and struggle against colonialism."

"Other sections of the population view them differently and are more emotionally bound to symbols that mean a great deal to them. That is the reality."

"For that reason there is a growing consensus that we shall certainly have to look at new, unifying symbols in a new dispensation, such as the one to which overwhelming majority of our population is aspiring," De Klerk said.

Responding to questions from journalists, De Klerk said his party had no objection to a minute's silence that was called for by the ANC in commemoration of the victims of violence in the country.

De Klerk, however, skirted around questions about the murder earlier this week of a person who reportedly had evidence to substantiate claims of security force involvement in the deaths of the Government's political opponents.



Du Plessis ... a vacancy easily filled by the Nats

304A

De Klerk, therefore, called a referendum for March 17 and such was the effect of Potch that even the most optimistic Nats were predicting a "yes" vote of no more than 60%. Yet De Klerk achieved one of his greatest triumphs with a stunning two-thirds majority; not only did the disenchanted Nats return to the fold, but some CP supporters deserted as well.

In Florida last week, there was not even evidence of a protest vote — despite the fact that conditions are now even less favourable for the Nats than they were when Potch voted.

The 30% percentage poll, the lowest in white electoral history, indicated unprecedented apathy — but the Nats' share of the vote was the same as that achieved by the combined NP and DP votes in the 1989 general election. Though the NP votes dropped from 7 566 to 4 726 and the DP (which got 3 684 in 1989) did not stand this time, the Herstigte Nasionale Party gained only 1 473 compared to the 3 529 attracted by the CP in 1989. This means the rightwing share of the total vote actually dropped by about 1%.

The Florida result confirms that the March referendum was indeed the death knell of white politics — and that the white electorate knows it. The remarkable thing is that so many people bothered to vote. ■

Near the end

304A

White elections don't matter anymore and the rightwing is demoralised. This was apparently confirmed by last week's Florida by-election, which was caused by the resignation from parliament of former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

By-elections are traditionally an opportunity for voters who normally support a government to express their displeasure, but without the danger that the government will be voted out of office. Such contests can be a barometer of the national voter mood and they are watched carefully for danger signals.

The Potchefstroom by-election early this year was a classic example: the Conservative Party achieved such a crushing victory in the seat of the late Speaker, Louis le Grange, that President FW de Klerk felt he could not continue with negotiations without a new mandate.

continue →

Legislation for transition in pipeline

304A

100

STAR 21/8/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has already prepared legislation for the short session of Parliament in October to take the transition process forward.

And the ANC and Government's top negotiators are to meet again today to try to get negotiations back on track.

President de Klerk said at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that he would be calling a summit next month of the Codesa parties that favoured the idea of strong regional government or federalism.

He also said the Government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress in transitional arrangements and had no intention of allowing "elements in the ANC to delay progress".

It emerged yesterday that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were to meet today.

ANC and Government negotiators met secretly two weeks ago, but the ANC said afterwards that the meeting had been fruitless. However, the ANC kept open the line of communication between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

Mr de Klerk stressed yesterday that the Government did not intend going it alone without the ANC. But it did intend going ahead with "certain preparatory steps like levelling the playing field and preparing what in any case would have to be done".

Legislation had been prepared or was being prepared.

The September summit of federalists was not intended to form a front against the ANC or to launch a go-it-alone option. The idea would merely be to discuss the mechanics of federalism and where regional or federal borders should be.

He said that during the past three months, substantial damage had been done to the economy, foreign investors had been frightened off, schools had been disrupted, violence had increased and millions of moderates were losing patience.

Students back PAC-Govt thaw

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

land question"

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has come out in support of the Pan Africanist Congress's involvement in negotiations with the Government — and bitterly denounced a faction within its ranks which this week criticised the PAC leadership.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Paso's PWV regional leadership said it stood firmly behind the PAC's attempts "to reach a speedy resolution on the issue of one person, one vote", saying that that represented "the only democratic format to empower the African people and resolve the

STAR 21/8/92
The organisation launched a scathing attack on a group which this week denounced the PAC leadership for its involvement in talks with the Government, saying "imperialist-sponsored negotiations" would not address the aspirations of African students.

The group, which described itself as the Wits region of Paso, distanced itself from "these sel-out manoeuvres on the part of the leadership" and called upon Paso members not to attend the organisation's August 28-30 national congress in Durban.

At the press conference, Paso PWV regional secretary for tertiary institutions Thapelo Dikotla said there was no Wits region

of the organisation and denounced the group as "an extension of the notorious liberation movement-bashing agencies of the regime".

"As far as we are concerned, there exists only a PWV region of Paso, which fully supports the national leadership of Paso led by our revolutionary party, the PAC, under (the) disciplined and able leadership of president Clarence Makwetu," Paso said

Paso, which called on its members to attend the Durban congress, said it would not in future ensure the safety of SABC journalists when attacked by its members if the corporation continued to give "coverage to State-sponsored hooligans".

Respect the rights of others — FW

304A

STAR 21/8/92

By Peter Fabricius and Sapa

A new flag and national anthem would have to be found to unify South Africa, but in the meantime everyone should be granted the right to respect the present flag and anthem, President de Klerk said yesterday.

At a press conference in Pretoria he personally backed the call for a moment's silence in memory of the victims of violence — to be called at tomorrow's rugby test against Australia at Newlands.

But he slammed the ANC for trying to "hijack" sport, which he said was contributing to the spontaneous counter-reaction of sports enthusiasts who held different political views.

Mr de Klerk warned that the controversy over the flag and anthem "had the potential to ignite a powder-keg". He urged calm and tolerance.

● In a dramatic move "to pour oil on troubled waters", the South African rugby team has moved its final practice session,

before the one-off test against Australia to a township near Cape Town.

Team manager Abe Malan said yesterday that "in the spirit of rugby unity" the Springboks would hold a practice at the Nyanga stadium at 11 am today.

● Springbok captain Naas Botha hopes spectators will respect the minute's silence for victims of violence.

"We should follow the overseas example by first having a kick-off and then observing the minute of silence," he said.

● Shaun Johnson writes that former South African rugby captain Morne du Plessis has made an impassioned plea to rugby fans to "act in the spirit of reconciliation" tomorrow.

Reconciliation was "the reason we have made our long-awaited return to the world's rugby stage", he said. "We must not go back to the days when our national team played with the support of only a section of the population."

● More reports —
Pages 18 and 20

De Klerk moves to consolidate power base

W/Mail 21/8 - 27/8/92
The state president has called a meeting of some Codesa parties to debate a regional solution, (304A)
reports PHILIPPA GARSON (304A)

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK yesterday moved to consolidate his support base by calling a meeting of all parties to Codesa which subscribe to "basically the same fundamental constitutional principles".

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday he announced that these parties are scheduled to meet in early September.

The move can only be interpreted as a veiled threat to the African National Congress that while it delays getting back to negotiations the government is consolidating its own power bloc.

However, De Klerk denied that the initiative was part on a "go it alone" strategy excluding the ANC or an attempt to form a moderate front.

But he said the government "could not sit on our hands in the meantime" or "wait forever" and it was timely to start debating the logistics of a regional solution — such as the demarcation of borders — with those who shared the same vision.

The president announced that he had held talks earlier in the day with the Democratic Party and with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in this regard.

While reaffirming the government's commitment to negotiations that would have the support of the "overwhelming majority of the people", De Klerk slammed the ANC for its "calculated obstruction of Codesa II" and the negative repercussions of mass action.

Questioned on the ANC's 14 demands, De Klerk gave no indication of further concessions in the pipeline, but stressed that further communication with the ANC would not take place via the media.

"The ANC — particularly the radical and communist elements in its ranks — has to bear the blame for this regression and the damage it is causing the majority of our country's people, including those people on behalf of whom the ANC is purporting to act," he said in a statement.

De Klerk said the quest for a negotiated settlement should not be mistaken for weakness on the part of the government. "We have the responsibility to continue governing the country under the present constitution. We shall do so until it has been replaced in a constitutional manner by a new, negotiated transitional constitution."

On the rugby test controversy, De Klerk said he did not want to become embroiled in the internal affairs of the sports bodies involved. Speaking generally, he said the National Party believed politics should be kept out of sport. He accused the ANC of trying to hijack sport, which was contributing to "the spontaneous counter-reaction of sports enthusiasts who hold other political views".

De Klerk urged "mutual tolerance" over the national flag and anthem controversy, which he said had the "potential to ignite a powder-keg". While he and other South Africans saw the existing flag and anthem as symbols of patriotism, he conceded that "other sections of the population view them differently" and acknowledged the need for "new, unifying symbols in a new dispensation".

Answering a question on tomorrow's Test match between the Wallabies and South Africans, he said the government supported procedures like "a minute's silence" for the victims of violence.

On the government's proposal for a general amnesty, De Klerk said it had been misconstrued as something that would happen all at once. Instead, a "phased approach" could be adopted, with agreements over the release of remaining political prisoners high on the agenda. The Pretoria Minute agreement had only covered certain categories. Other issues like unofficial military forces and undisclosed military caches had to be brought to the fore, he said.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Published by M&G Media, Pty Ltd, cnr Frederick and Smal streets, Johannesburg. Printed by Caxtons, cnr Bloomberg and Commando roads, Industria.
Editorial comment in this issue by Anton Harber and Reg Furney. Newsbills by Irwin Manolm. Headlines and sub-editing by Laura Yeatman.
All of 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg.

Goniwe's ghost haunts cabinet ministers

THE ghost of assassinated activist Matthew Goniwe has risen to give President FW de Klerk his worst political nightmare in recent times, with five cabinet ministers now linked to the debacle.

Yesterday, the president responded to the growing tension surrounding the 1985 assassination of Goniwe and three colleagues by telling reporters that he may appoint an independent inquiry into the murders.

The announcement came hours after Democratic Party (DP) leader Zach de Beer met De Klerk to discuss the murder this week of an informant who had provided evidence to the media about the army's "Hammer" units and their links to political assassinations.

And another three witnesses have gone into hiding in fear of their lives.

De Klerk said he was confident an

inquiry led by Michael Hodggen, acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, would lead to the prosecution of the people responsible for the murders, especially as new informants were "coming forward with information".

"This possible breakthrough could result in prosecutions. If it does not, then another option is to appoint a judicial inquiry or refer the matter to an existing commission," De Klerk said.

The president evaded questions about the fate of General CP "Joffe" van der Westhuizen — the army's intelligence chief who masterminded the creation of Hammer units and has been linked to a top-secret message ordering the elimination of Goniwe — by saying "no one is guilty before being proven guilty".

De Klerk was forced to respond publicly to the Goniwe scandal in the

Five cabinet ministers have now been named in

connection with Matthew

Goniwe's assassination, and

President FW de Klerk has

been forced to announce a

possible independent inquiry.

By EDDIE KOCH

wake of news that Andre de Villiers, an informant who gave important information linking the eastern Cape Hammer unit to the 1985 killings, was shot dead this week.

The DP mounted intense pressure for an inquiry into the operations of the Hammer unit after reports that government minister Tertius Delport had

received information from De Villiers about the unit's activities before the informant was shot.

Delport, the deputy minister of constitutional development, has denied speaking to De Villiers about Hammer activities. But ANC activist Vallance Watson, who insists that De Villiers shared his information with Delport, has called the deputy minister a "liar".

Democratic MP Eddie Trent and a colleague, General Bob Rogers, have submitted a memorandum to the president concerning De Villiers' murder.

"During the beginning of the past parliamentary session, De Villiers visited me. He gave me information concerning the connection between a pan-elbreating business ... and the South African Defence Force. He identified an SADF unit called Hammer," Trent said in a statement released yesterday.

"Throughout our conversation, he was extremely nervous and told me that he was convinced his life was in danger, and made me promise that I would not divulge his name or use the information in any way that would lead to his identity being revealed."

Delport's involvement brings to five the members of De Klerk's current cabinet who have been linked to the Goniwe debacle since a top-secret signal message to officers in the now-disbanded State Security Council ordering Goniwe's "permanent removal from society" was leaked to the media.

Minister of Correctional Services Adrian Vlok has been questioned by officials from the attorney general's office in the eastern Cape. The AG's office has a document showing that Vlok headed a committee of the State Security Council which discussed Goniwe's work as a teacher.

Vlok has denied any knowledge of the murders and says that his committee had recommended Goniwe's reinstatement as a school principal.

The journal *Africa Confidential*, which receives information from Western intelligence sources, reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan all served on the State Security Council at the time the signal message was transmitted to its operatives.

Three witnesses who also provided information about Hammer operations to the media or the AG have gone into hiding in the wake of the De Villiers murder. Information supplied by these sources to

The Weekly Mail include claims that:

- Hammer member John Scott personally killed one of Goniwe's colleagues, "Sparrow" Mkhonto.

- Scott fears growing publicity about the Goniwe killings could open investigations into other murders carried out by Hammer members.

- Another officer in the eastern Cape Hammer unit, Major Graham Lombard, knows about the Goniwe operation.

- Hodgen has received a grisly report that one of the four assassinated men had his hand severed before the bodies were mutilated and dumped. The hand was allegedly kept in a bottle in Lombard's office — along with a baboon's hand used to terrorise black detainees under interrogation — before it was destroyed.

- A Hammer unit similar to the one that operated in the eastern Cape was set up at SADF headquarters in Johannesburg after Van der Westhuizen left Port Elizabeth to become the commanding officer of Wits Command.

United, we say, but divided we are

The shadowy hand of a group called the Eenheidskomitee can be seen behind the recent Conservative Party split. JAN TALJAARD spoke to former Military Intelligence chief and EK prime mover General Tienie Groenewald

JUST as the puppeteering hands of the Broederbond could long be discerned behind National Party policy, the name of the influential Eenheidskomitee (EK) keeps cropping up whenever an Afrikaner Volkstaat is discussed.

The long-smouldering Volkstaat idea has come into its own, and on the strength of it a group of Conservative Party MPs led by Andries Beyers last week broke with the CP. Indications are that virtually the whole of the rightwing in the northern Transvaal supports the new Volkstater, while the rift may in time manifest itself in another split between remaining CP parliamentarians.

Not all the noises in rightist circles about EK are adulatory. Old-style rightwingers are even accusing it of engineering the split, or of being in cahoots with the government to strengthen the case for strong regional rule or to induce the right to participate in negotiations.

Not true, says General Tienie Groenewald, former chief of Military Intelligence and one of the prime movers behind EK and the new Volkstaat ideology.

In an exclusive interview, Groenewald acknowledged that the Beyers groups shared the ideals of EK, which had been in close contact with the group before and during the split. But the split would have come much earlier had it not been for EK, he said.

"We are an organisation of unity," he stressed. In recent weeks, EK had been in contact with both ideological factions within the CP, while liaison committees embracing EK and the CP old guard were still functioning.

According to Groenewald, EK nearly managed to prevent the split. In the end, it was a matter of one or two votes that precipitated the final division.

Was the split not an attempt at an internal revolution which backfired? Was the Beyers group not trying to enforce EK policy on the CP, rather than trying to divide it? "You may be 99,9 percent correct if you say that," Groenewald replied.



Close finish ... Tienie Groenewald says the CP rift was a matter of one or two votes

EK had indeed held talks with the government, but these were confidential, Groenewald said. It was also prepared to talk to any political grouping in order to establish a Volkstaat — but this would not be at a forum such as Codesa. It would have no part in negotiations which would ultimately rubberstamp a unitary South Africa, and Codesa was in any case doomed to fail.

Despite what Groenewald says about its contacts with both CP groupings before the parting of ways, it seems that within EK the dice have been progressively loaded against the CP old guard since February.

While the CP was invited to the first Eenheidsberaad (Unity Summit) on February 22 this

year, the CP did not attend in an official capacity. Since then, the few CP participants have moved from being lukewarm observers to active role-players at subsequent meetings.

At the third summit on June 13, MPs Moolman Mentz, Chris de Jager, Rozier de Ville and Beyers featured prominently, while kindred spirits such as Tom Langley, Piet Gous and Dries Bruwer also attended.

Sources say some of these men may have been elected to working committees within EK before the split.

EK has been making other inroads in rightwing politics. Since early July, regional committees have been set up from Phalaborwa and Nelspruit to Potchefstroom and Bloem-

fontein. In Warmbaths, the local EK committee has usurped almost all rightwing structures, including that of the farmers' "mass action" body, Boere Krisis Aksie.

EK has also drawn support among the rightist youth, causing serious divisions in the rightwing student corps at the University of Pretoria. While a small number of student rightwingers still support old-style CP partition policies, the rest are now split between Carel Boshoff's Avstig and EK.

Having voted NP all his life and served in what he describes as "the proudest defence force in Africa", Groenewald's Damascus experience came when, soon after President FW de Klerk's February 2 1990 speech, senior Department of Constitutional Development officials met top-ranking military men on the government's future constitutional strategy.

"We thought they were going to tell us what they were going to do, but instead they asked us if we had any ideas. It came as the biggest shock of my life," he said.

He asked for early retirement and went on to establish the Institute for Strategic Analysis (Insa).

While Groenewald clearly tried to avoid old-style "total onslaught" language in explaining what Insa is about, it appeared the institute was a private attempt to interpret the "African National Congress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions threat" in terms of total onslaught counter-strategies.

"The government is not taking the whole picture into account any more," he complained. "Previously, we had the State Security Council compiling and assessing the big picture from different inputs."

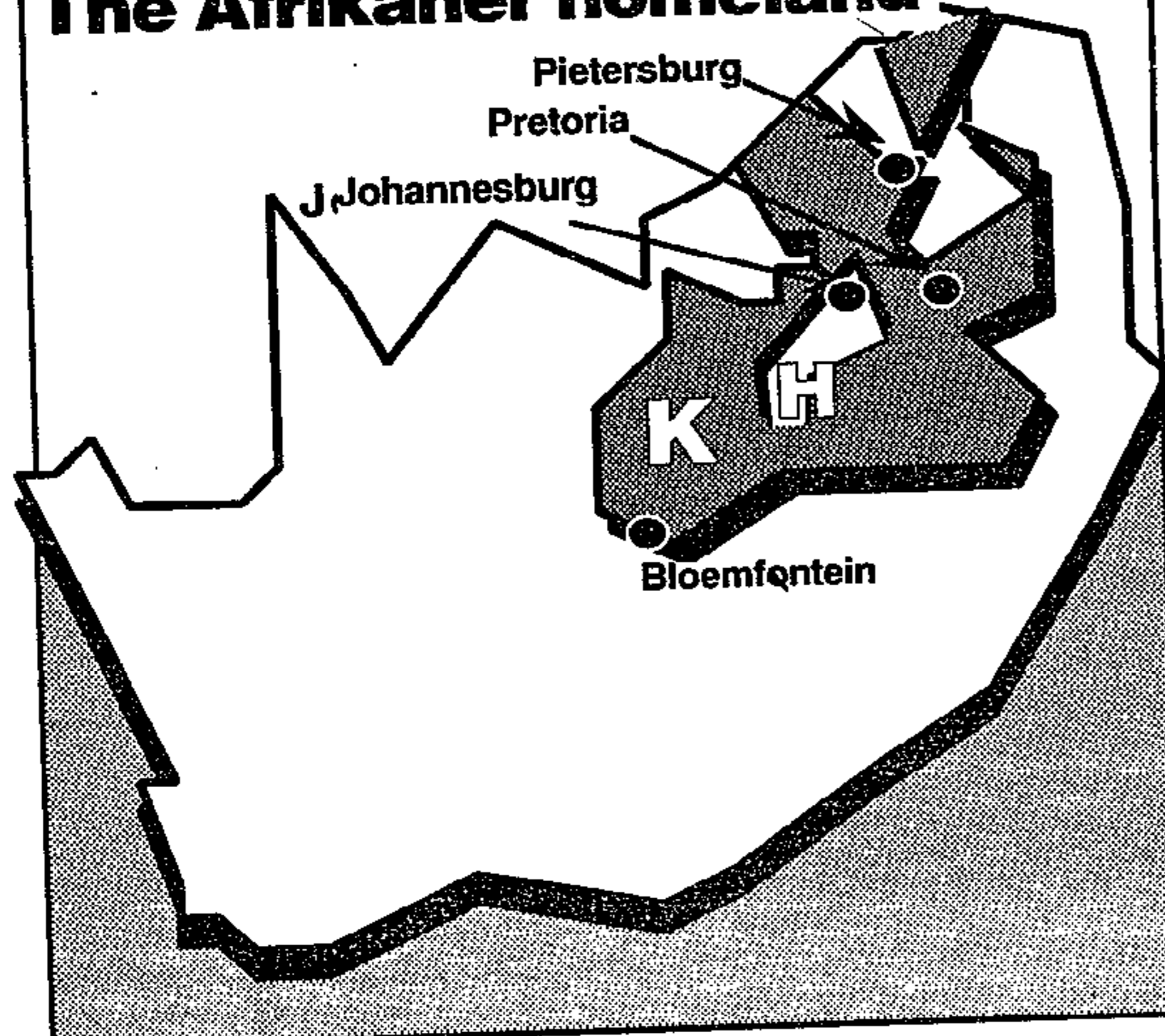
Groenewald said that research by Insa and rightwing intellectuals such as former nuclear scientist Professor Wally Grant had indicated that a more or less ethnically pure Afrikaner state operating within a confederation of states was the only chance for peace in Southern Africa.

Although Groenewald says EK is a unifying force, its growing influence may weaken not only Boshoff's Avstig, but other organisations espousing the Boerestaat ideal.

They include the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, already reeling from the Jani Allan case.

●Jan Taljaard is a Pretoria-based political consultant with a special interest in the rightwing

The Afrikaner homeland



The "K" zone ... Demographics of the area were a major factor in marking it for the Volkstaat

A staat in the heart of the country

By JAN TALJAARD

IS an Afrikaner Volkstaat feasible? Only in the northern Cape, says Avstig's Carel Boshoff; nice idea but not practical, says the National Party; yes, and we have the figures to prove it, says Volkstaat ideologue Tienie Groenewald.

In an interesting change in rightwing rhetoric, Groenewald does not spout the standard "restoration of our rightful historical and constitutional claims" associated with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder.

Groenewald says scientific studies conducted through empirically based computer programmes prove that an area embracing the northern Free State and much of the north-eastern, eastern and southern Transvaal (the area marked "K" on the map) — but excluding the economic heartland of South Africa, stretching in a thin strip from Johannesburg to Welkom (marked "H" on the map) — is not only fea-

sible, but the only area for a Volkstaat.

"Boshoff believes he will have to take that part of the country nobody wants for his Volkstaat. We say: Exactly; nobody wants it. Why make people move there? Why not let them stay where they already live?"

Apart from the large "no" vote registered in the area during the referendum, it is his belief that even demographics may be on the side of Volkstater there.

According to Groenewald, there are 2,4-million whites in the area, as compared with 2,1-million blacks. The figures have been garnered at grassroots level, in municipal areas, and are therefore more accurate than most.

He concedes that this is not a large majority, but argues that the balance is becoming more favourable to the Volkstaat cause. In recent times economic hardship had caused an accelerated exodus of blacks from area "K" to the indus-

trialised "H". The balance will shift even more favourably over the next five years if the trend continues.

"Positive incentives" to bolster the shift — including border industries in adjoining areas and retirement and tax perks — may be worked out in conjunction with a central confederal body, Groenewald says.

Another possibility will be to reduce the need for "menial labour" in the Volkstaat by establishing a highly mechanised and technically advanced state.

Groenewald stresses that the map, drawn up by Eenheidskomitee constitutional architect Koos Reynecke, is a chopping-block rather than a final document. If, for example, the area around Kroonstad, Bethlehem and Newcastle was excised from "K" and added to other areas, demographics would be even more favourable to the Volkstater, he says.

ARTS

Raising the dead from their brass coffins

21/8-27/8/92
The need to reshape our lopsided history as it moulders the nation's museums has been accepted. As to how this might best be done is a pressing question for curators. Responding to an article run in The Weekly Mail at the time of the recent Wits History Workshop, DAVID SAKS of the Africana Museum draws back the musty curtain to reveal rehearsals for a major revamp in progress

THE Berlin Wall came down nearly three years ago. Two weeks ago, tens of thousands of unfranchised South Africans massed before the hitherto sacrosanct portals of white power in Pretoria and made it clear that they were not going to wait much longer. The times, they are indeed a-changing, and institutions that do not change with them will be left behind. All this is uppermost in the minds of the staff of the Africana Museum as they prepare new displays in anticipation of the long-awaited move into its new premises behind the Market Theatre.

Mounting a museum display that attracts visitors is a difficult task under any circumstances. In this Instant Age, which requires ready information, quick solutions and immediate satisfaction, museums are in danger of becoming an anachronism.

At first glance, museum objects on display are ineffective as a medium of communication. After all, they don't sing or dance, tell funny jokes or even take off their clothes. Instead they sit there and require the visitor to generate a response by using his or her own imagination, an optimistic demand in the age of television.

In this area, the Africana Museum is, at present, further hampered by the type of display cases it has inherited. If the object of a history museum is to make the past come alive, these self-important brass coffins effectively entomb it. Without imaginative display techniques, they can turn a museum into a mausoleum, an unkind but not inaccurate designation.

These problems are compounded in South Africa by the challenging but highly sensitive matter of having to radically revise displays so as to make them more representative of the history of all the country's people. This, of course, is justified in its own right, but another crucial motivation is to make visiting the Africana Museum a relevant part of black South Africans' recreational and educational curriculum.

It is little wonder that blacks have generally avoided established museums like the plague. When racists like Robert Godlonton and power-hungry fanatics like Sir Harry Smith are put on a pedestal, when slavery is claimed to be a result of "Hottentots" refusing to work for the white man and when white seizure of land is implicitly, and often explicitly, represented as being justified in the light of the black man's supposed inability to live in a civilised manner, only a masochist would come back for more.

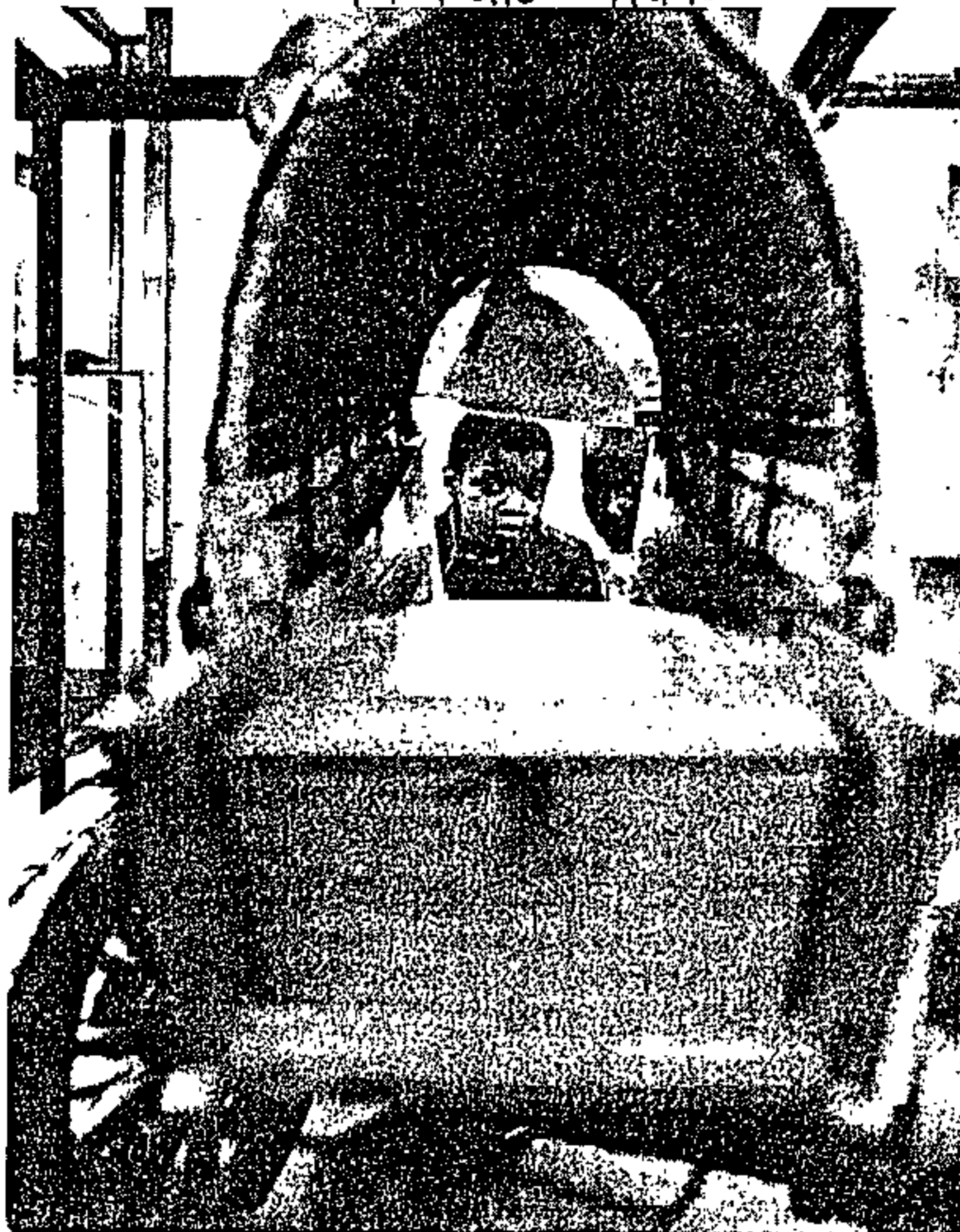
Moreover, little has been displayed on black history. The ploughshares and pruning hooks of the 1820 Settlers are interesting up to a point, but what about the material evidence of Shaka's kingdom? Or the Xhosa Cattle Killing?

Much thought about how to deal with these issues has gone into the planning of the chronological history displays for the new Africana Museum.

Take the well-worn Great Trek theme, for example. Instead of the usual Eurocentric "We were over here, found things intolerable and trekked over there" model reproduced ad nauseum in a zillion textbooks, a more Zulucentric paradigm (ie "We were over here minding our own business when suddenly a whole lot of wagons came rolling over the hill") is being experimented with.

Nor is the Mfecane to be represented merely as a period of destruction and devastation (melodramatically portrayed in the history books in such a manner as to give civilised white people gooseflesh and feel glad, after all, that they are in charge). Rather it is to be incorporated in a general theme covering African state formation in the early 19th century when nations like the Zulu, Swazi, Sotho and Ndebele came into being. Controversial issues will be confronted directly.

No more will visitors be given the impression that the Anglo-Boer War was all about commemorative mugs or an ox-wagon beautifully carved by a POW from the jawbone of an ass, playing cards depicting an avuncular Kruger and a portly Rhodes or jingoistic doggerel scribbled after the relief of Mafeking. There were also concentration camps, and not only white people died in them.



Ox-wagons ... Now what were they for again?

Photo: GUY ADAMS

The nightmarish world of apartheid South Africa needs to be recreated, the oppression and dispossession and struggle for freedom. One idea was to create "Apartheid Land", a surreal display of passbooks, newspaper headlines and "Whites Only" signs hanging at unusual angles from the ceilings.

Live casts showing Hector Peterson being carried away on June 16 1976 could be used, in the process concretising modern South Africa's most famous image. Up to date displays showing township violence, protest marches, referendums and negotiations would conclude the chronological sequence, indicating that the past is not dead but that, on the contrary, it has resulted in what we are today.

South African history did not, of course, begin with the arrival of the Dutch, and this will be made clear by displays detailing the lives of the early inhabitants. The 1652 settlement is regarded as just one more stage, albeit an important one, in the country's history.

Van Riebeeck, naturally, will have to be stripped of his iconographic status and reduced to his proper stature. Perhaps the conscious myth-making of later white historians might itself make an interesting subject for display.

What applies to individuals also applies to events which must also be scaled down when necessary.

A good example of an event in South African history whose significance has been blown out of all proportion is the (unjustifiably capitalised) First British Occupation 1795-1803.

Once given a great deal of attention in the old Africana Museum displays, it is to be drastically reduced and reincorporated within a general theme dealing with the evolution of government at the Cape.

Nor will the history of the eastern Cape be shown to have started with the 1820 Settlers. And without minimising the Anglo-Boer War, it will be demonstrated how the ruthless attrition employed by the British to bring the Republics to their knees was preceded by similar tactics by the Transvaal Boers during the Mapoch and Malaboch campaigns in the 1880s and 1890s.

These are just some of the approaches needed if "A New Museum for a New South Africa" is to be more than a trendy catch-phrase.

All across the spectrum, from sport, to education, to Miss South Africa competitions, South Africa is changing.

The Africana Museum aims to become a dynamic part of this process, not a belated reflection of it. Like living in South Africa today, it is often a frustrating and traumatic process, but there is also that optimism that comes with building a greater tomorrow.

Jim Joel on at Wits

SIX of South Africa's brightest young musicians, all either final year or post-graduate students of the Wits School of Music, will compete for the JCI Jim Joel Scholarship in the Great Hall over the first few evenings in September.

They are baritone Adam Kirkaldy (fourth year BMus), flautist Derek Pennell (post-graduate performer's diploma), pianist Nicola Harris (final year licentiate), and sopranos Lisa-Jeanne Lorenz (post-graduate), Orna Shifren and Natalie Lotkin (both final year licentiate and B Mus).

The schedule of performances is: Wednesday, September 2, from 8pm: Lotkin and Shifren, each accompanied at the piano by Wits B Mus graduate Waldo Malan.

Thursday, September 3, 8pm: Kirkaldy, with pianist Jacqueline McCarthy. Lorenz, with pianist Malcolm Nay.

Friday, September 4, 8pm: Harris, Fennell, with pianist Jill Richards.

Saturday, September 5, 8pm: Finalists' recital and announcement of the winner.

Attendance is free but for the Saturday recital a moderate admission fee will be charged.

As a matter of fact ...

IT was incorrectly reported in last week's *Weekend Mail* that Santu Mofokeng had received the Mother Jones Award for his series of photographs showing men at work on the New York City subway restoration project. Mofokeng, in fact, has won the prize for his work-in-progress *Distorting Mirrors*, an examination of the relationship between the public and private images ordinary Soweto people hold of themselves. He will use the cash part of the Mother Jones Award to complete this series.



featuring:

JONAS GWANGWA
 Back Waters Blues Band
 Wits Band: Yumani

at the bozzoli hall, wits.
 on friday the 21st of aug.
 at 7:30 pm.

adm: R10 for students, R15 for non Students.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT'S CONGRESS(SASCO)

It's time to blow the whistle On the battle of the flags

A S I WRITE, the shouting has not yet started at Newlands. But the nation has already shouted itself hoarse in the coarse course of this week. It is somehow typical and therefore appropriate that it took rugby to bare South Africa's divided souls, not more abstract things like constitutions and voting rights.

They have not been happy, these post-Ellis Park days. All the rancour and fear we ordinarily express, privately and separately in our remaining group areas among people whom we know feel the same as us, burst like a boil and we are all sore now, rubbed raw.

Is it possible that this whole shabby saga has been good for us, cathartic, good for the future? Even without knowing how the test — sporting and political — will pass off, I think it is possible, perhaps even probable.

In the course of negotiations since February 2 1990 — negotiations which have thus far failed to deliver a tangible new system for people to adjust to — tremendous resentments have built up among all South Africans. Much of this resentment has been driven by fear, and there is no fear more tart than that of the unknown. It is as well that all this has come out in the open: it would have erupted one day, and is now being dealt with because it has to be.

There have been hard lessons for white South Africans and black South Africans in the bitter fight over iconography. Whites have been shown that you cannot agree to change and expect to stay exactly the same. If there is a fundamental truth about the "new South Africa" it is that what black people think and feel matters, whereas in terms of crude power it did not in the past. And blacks have indicated that they will exercise power, if needs be, to demonstrate this point.

For their part, blacks have learnt that if you are seen to be taking something away from peo-

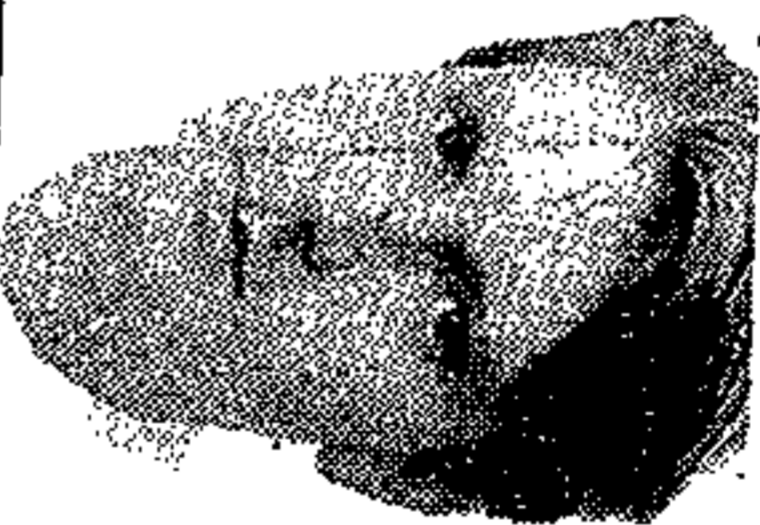
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THE week-long war over the flag and anthem must stop now. It is hurting us all too much, storing up an arsenal of anger for the future.

ple unjustifiably, they will resist you. Both sides, whether or not this was their intention, have been given a lesson in tolerance. The outcome of the Ellis Park furore has been to force an open, public agreement among politicians that individuals have the right to sing what they want to sing and wave the flag of their choice — provided this is not an intentionally provocative and hurtful act, and provided they concede the same liberty to others.

Freedom cuts all ways, and if you abuse it when it suits your purposes, it will surely come back and bite you when it does not. There can be few more important precedents to establish in this time of transition.

I took the view immediately after the events at Ellis Park that an opportunity for reconciliation, for *versoening*, had been tragically and selfishly wasted. This was, to say the least, a view which excited anger and opposition. One reader wrote to compare my stance to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of the Third Reich.

Needless to say I do not accept that Mr Mandela can be compared to Hitler, Mr Tshwete to Goebbels, or the ANC to the Nazi party, but I do not particularly object to the charge of appeasement. Stripped of its historical connotations it is not a bad notion at all. To appease is to calm by making concessions, satisfying demands.

If everybody can be convinced of the need to appease everybody else, there is great hope for us. In this even-handed sense it would mean that no one gets exactly what he wants, but all will get something. That is, in its way, a definition of a negotiated settlement.

President de Klerk has said himself that new representative symbols will have to be found when the time comes; this is surely self-evident to all but those who believe that there can be a return to full-blown apartheid. The war over the flag must stop now. It is hurting us all too much, storing up too much anger for the future.

If it does not stop, the most appropriate new banner will be black and white, with a dunce's cap in the middle.

We must all pray for peace at Newlands, for the sake of much more than just rugby tours. I for one will be sitting in front of my TV set at 3 pm, holding thumbs on each hand. One for Naas Botha and his team, the other for the generosity of spirit of which South Africans are capable.

And at half-time I will raise a cheer for Morne du Plessis, a voice of sweet reason amid the week's clamour. He said: "I believe that our return to international rugby should be a happy occasion for all of us, an indication to the world that we are finding each other and working together to solve the problems of the past. Let us make the Newlands test a celebration of our common love of this country, and our shared loyalty to it." *Vat hulle, Morne.*

'New Right' set to launch own party

JOHANNESBURG. — The five MPs who broke away from the CP last week are to form a new political party, called the Afrikaner Volksunie.

A spokesman for the group, Mr Moolman Mentz, MP for Ermelo, said the decision to form the party had been taken at a meeting of the "New Right" group and their supporters in Pretoria.

A date for the official inauguration of the party would be discussed next Saturday.

The "New Right Group" said yesterday they were eager to take part in next month's mini-summit between the government and parties subscribing to federalism. — Sapa

Clash Over Symbols

2014 APR 22/8/92

Design for a new South Africa is shaping up as a hot potato

FANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

HERE is certainly common ground among most of South Africa's political groupings about what effect a national anthem and a national flag should have on the people.

But no politician is prepared to put his or her head into a cornet's nest by naming even a single specific symbol — be it a neutral elephant, a mouse, a rocodile, or whatever creature or sign — that could meet the requirements of the magic formula.

Some politicians and academics say bluntly *Die Stem*, assigned for an era of white nationalism, will not be suitable for a new non-racial, democratic South Africa.

South Africans, especially whites, who remain emotionally attached to *Die Stem*, would look again at the wording of the national anthem and its implications, they suggest. They will find that, in effect, some of the lines could give a future government a blank

cheque to demand whatever it wishes from its citizens.

In the original Afrikaans version there is a commitment by all who sing *Die Stem* not only to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, but also to make whatever other sacrifices they may be called upon to make.

Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem, ons sal offer wat jy vra.

Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe — ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika.

The literal translation of this: "We will answer your call, we will sacrifice what you ask, we will live, we will die, we are for you, South Africa," differs slightly from the words in the official English version:

At thy call we shall not falter, firm and steadfast we shall stand

At thy will to live or perish, O South Africa dear land.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, economics professor at the University of Stellenbosch, suggested that few whites, if any, realised just what these words implied and what sacrifices could be demanded from them.

■ National symbols should be a unifying force, say politicians of all parties. But nobody wants to say just what the magic symbol must be in South Africa's hodge-podge of cultures and traditions.

He told Weekend Argus the issue of national symbols was an "extremely important" subject in what could be seen as a year of symbols and of "symbolic warfare" in South Africa.

However, he believed the question of a national anthem and a flag acceptable to most South Africans should be decided by a new government. Meantime a low-key approach should be adopted.

"It is all wrong that people should get worked up and go to rugby fields with thousands of flags. They would act more wisely if they were to leave their flags at home. That would certainly help to bring down the political temperature," he said.

The ANC has made it clear it finds *Die Stem* and the national flag unacceptable because they are "symbols of apartheid".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told Weekend Argus the first requirement for national symbols was that they be decided on by a democratic forum. He suggested such decisions might have to be taken by a constituent assembly.

Other essential requirements were that as many people as possible would have to feel they could identify themselves with the national symbols.

The anthem and flag would have to be designed in such a way that they could promote national unity and reconciliation.

It would be presumptuous of anybody to say at this stage what the symbols should be. All interest groups should be able to make proposals.

Dr Pieter Mulder, Conservative Party MP for Schweizer-Reneke, has strong doubts as to whether agreement on national

symbols is possible in a unitary South Africa.

"Our approach is that the one-nation concept remains a dream. The Soviet Union, for example, tried for 70 years to build one nation out of groups that are less diverse than the ones we have here, and yet all this ended in groups splitting apart, with each one taking its own flag and going its own way."

In South Africa's history not even English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites could agree on national symbols.

"However, the whole process seems to have been thrown into reverse gear. We are having controversies over the flag and national anthem even before there has been a political settlement. All this is stirring up too much emotion, making it more difficult to find solutions."

Mr Nic Koornhof, National Party MP for Swellendam, said it would be important for South Africans to look back at the 1920 political battles about national symbols. He preferred to see the task of finding new symbols as a challenge rather than a struggle.

An essential requirement was that any new symbols had to have the support of all the people.

He would like to have symbols that spoke of a "spirit of compromise", but the country's history should not be forgotten. Mr Barney Desai of the Pan-Africanist Congress said the current symbol debate was creating "too much hot air".

The question of national symbols was a matter to be decided on by all the people and this could only be done by a constituent assembly.

He was disappointed that the one-minute silence requested at Ellis Park last Saturday had been ignored.

Mr Robin Carlisle, Democratic Party MP for Wynberg, said this week the anthem issue had degenerated into a straight power struggle between the ANC and the NP, with both demanding that the people take sides.

He blamed the anthem debate on the "politics of indecision". Because South Africans could not decide on a flag and anthem, they had none, and this would lead to harder decisions later.

More than a 'token struggle' at stake . . .

■ The furore over national symbols is not South Africans' first grappling with the tokens of national unity, but the debate promises an intensity far greater than The Flag Question of 1925-27.

TYRONE SEALE

Weekend Argus Reporter

304A
ARG 22/8/92

PUBLIC opinion was worked up until the pot almost boiled over. The state of feeling in the country was such as I have not seen since the Boer War.

This is how South African Party leader General Jan Smuts viewed the sentiment around South Africa's first flag crisis.

The debate, under the Hertzog Pact Cabinet, comprising the National and Labour parties, began in February 1925 with Interior Minister D F Malan's introduction in parliament of a Bill to define Union nationality and to provide for a South African flag.

Led by General Smuts, the opposition South African Party raised no objections to the Bill that

suggested the design be left up to the government. Indeed, the Bill was withdrawn during the 1925 parliamentary session after General Smuts had indicated his party would be interested in contributing to a final and politically neutral agreement on a flag.

To accommodate General Smuts's voluntary enthusiasm, the government reintroduced the Bill in 1926 and a multi-party conference was established to investigate the choice of design.

Writing in the *South African Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, advocate, writer and politician H A Fagan (1889-1963) said: "So far (up to the appointment of the "design committee"), everything had been done by agreement between Malan and Smuts and with the apparent acquiescence of all political groups in the country.

"Suddenly, however, signs of divergent views began to disturb the calm atmosphere.

"The points of difference were firstly whether or not some representation of the British connection, such as the Union Jack or a crown, should be incorporated in the design; and, secondly, whether official recognition should be given only to the national flag, or whether some role importing official recognition should also be accorded to the Union Jack."

There was no black contribution to the debate, nor any suggestion that the ideals, values or history of the country's indigenous people be included for representation.

Feelings ran high, reflected by indignant letters in the newspapers. Pro and anti-flag committees were formed, funds were collected, literature distributed and meetings were called.

Eventually a non-political government-appointed commission submitted three designs, one of which led to a Bill that was referred to a select committee.

Meanwhile Generals Hertzog and Smuts each submitted a new design. General Hertzog's design won the day and led to the Nationality and Flag Act of 1927 which describes the flag as: "Three horizontal stripes of equal width . . . orange, white, blue; in the centre of the white stripe the old Orange Free State flag, hanging vertically . . . with the Union Jack adjoining horizontally . . . and the old Transvaal Vierkleur adjoining horizontally . . ."

On Union Day, May 31, 1928, the flag was hoisted for the first time above parliament at a signal from the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, while bells rang, trumpets sounded and a gun salute crackled out.

It's time to blow the whistle on war of flags

ARL 22/8/92
304A

PERSPECTIVES

The week-long war over the flag and anthem must stop now. It is hurting us all too much, storing up an arsenal of anger for the future, says **SHAUN JOHNSON**.

AS I write the shouting has not yet started at Newlands. But the nation has already shouted itself hoarse. It is somehow typical, and therefore appropriate, that it took rugby to bare South Africa's divided souls, not more abstract things like constitutions and voting rights.

They have not been happy, these post-Ellis Park days. All the rancour and fear we ordinarily express, privately and separately in our remaining group areas among people whom we know feel the same as us, burst like a boil and we are all sore now, rubbed raw.

Is it possible that this whole shabby saga has been good for us, cathartic, good for the future? Even without knowing how the test — sporting and political — will pass off, I think it is possible, perhaps even probable.

In the course of negotiations since February 2 1990 — negotiations which have thus far failed to deliver a tangible new system for people to adjust to — tremendous resentments have built up among many South Africans.

Much of this resentment has been driven by fear, and there is no fear more tart than that of the unknown. It is as well that all this has come out in the open: it would have erupted one day, and is now being dealt with because it has to be.

There have been hard lessons for white South Africans and black South Africans in the bitter fight over iconography.

Whites have been shown that you cannot agree to change and expect to stay exactly the same. If there is a fundamental truth about the "new South Africa" it is that what black people think and feel matters, whereas in terms of crude power it did not in the past. And blacks have indicated that they will exercise power, if needs be, to demonstrate this point.

For their part, blacks have learnt that if you are seen to be taking something away from people unjustifiably, they will resist you.

Both sides, whether or not this was their intention, have been given a lesson in tolerance. The outcome of the Ellis Park furore has been to force an open, public agreement among politicians that individuals have the right to sing what they want to sing and wave the flag of their choice — provided this is not an intentionally provocative and hurtful act, and provided they concede the same liberty to others.

Freedom cuts all ways, and if you abuse it when it suits your purposes, it will surely come back and bite you when it does not. There can be few more important precedents to establish in this time of transition.

I took the view immediately after the events at Ellis Park that an opportunity for reconciliation, for *versoening*, had been tragically and selfishly wasted. This was, to say the least, a view which excited anger and opposition. One reader wrote to compare my stance to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of the Third Reich.

Needless to say I do not accept that Mr Mandela can be compared to Hitler, Mr Tshwete to Goebbels, or the ANC to the Nazi Party, but I do not particularly object to the charge of appeasement. Stripped of its historical connotations it is not a bad notion at all. To appease is to calm by making concessions, satisfying demands.

If everybody can be convinced of the need to appease everybody else, there is great hope for us. In this even-handed sense it would mean that no one gets exactly what he wants, but all will get something. That is, in its way, a definition of a negotiated settlement.

President De Klerk has said himself that new representative symbols will have to be found when the time comes. This is surely self-evident to all but those who believe that there can be a return to full-blown apartheid.

The war over the flag must stop now. It is hurting us all too much, storing up too much anger for the future.

If it does not stop, the most appropriate new banner will be black and white, with a dunce's cap in the middle.

We must all pray for peace at Newlands, for the sake of much more than just rugby tours. I for one will be sitting in front of my TV set at 3pm, holding thumbs on each hand. One for Naas Botha and his team, the other for the generosity of spirit of which South Africans are capable.

And at half-time I will raise a cheer for Morné du Plessis, a voice of sweet reason amid the week's clamour.

He said: "I believe that our return to international rugby should be a happy occasion for all of us, an indication to the world that we are finding each other and working together to solve the problems of the past. Let us make the Newlands test a celebration of our common love of this country, and our shared loyalty to it."

Vat hulle, Morné.

Breakaway MPs form new Afrikaner party

JOHANNESBURG. — The five MPs who broke away from the Conservative Party last week are to form a new political party, to be known as the Afrikaner Volksunie.

A spokesman for the group, Ermelo MP Mr Moolman Mentz, said the decision to form the party was taken at a meeting of the "New Right Group" and their supporters in Pretoria yesterday.

He said the party would also serve as a cultural movement. A date for its inauguration would be discussed next Saturday. ARG 22/8/92

Mr Mentz said the Volksunie was a party for Afrikaners which based its ideals on those of the Afrikaner people and not on the basis of race. The party would strive to promote unity among all Afrikaners using the methods of modern nationalistic movements in Europe. — Sapa. (304A)

ANC, govt in talks to remove

304FA e T 22/8/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC held talks yesterday on ways of restarting constitutional negotiations.

The talks come just a week after the ANC's national working committee decided that no further meetings should take place between the two sides until the government had met its 14 demands.

However, yesterday's meeting between chief government negotiator Mr Roelf

Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa came less than 24 hours after President F W de Klerk announced the government was not going to respond in detail to the ANC's demands.

The ANC said yesterday the latest discussions were aimed at the removal of obstacles to continued negotiations.

Neither side would indicate who had initiated the effort to breathe new life into the stalled negotiation process. However, it is reliably understood that there

has been feverish behind-the-scenes activity in both the ANC and government camps during the breakdown in talks.

The search for a way back to the negotiation process was given added urgency this week when Mr De Klerk indicated the government would go ahead with legislation to reform the constitution during the special October sitting of Parliament, regardless of whether the ANC had returned to talks.

Meanwhile members of the so-called

"new right" which recently broke away from the CP welcomed next month's mini-summit between the government and parties subscribing to federalism.

But the DP and the CP were more cautious in their responses.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said his party was willing to speak to anyone about the merits of federalism but warned that such discussions should not be some covert way of forming an alli-

ance against any other grouping in South Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party would decide whether to participate in the mini-summit once it received an invitation, but emphasised that the CP stood for a confederal — not a federal — system.

He said the CP would not accept a federal system with one constitution and one central government.

'obstacles'

Kidnapped busmen: Codeta raps taxi drivers

30449
ARC 22/1/92

Temper flared in taxi circles this week when nine Golden Arrow workers were kidnapped by angry taxi drivers in Khayelitsha. Now the taxi organisation Codeta has condemned the taxi drivers' actions.

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Convention of Democratic Taxi Associations has condemned the kidnapping of nine Golden Arrow busmen by Khayelitsha taxi drivers. Codeta, an amalgamation of the former feuding rivals La-gunya and Western Cape Black Taxi Association, was commenting after the busmen — five drivers and four inspectors — were locked up for two hours in a shack in the Site B squatter camp, known as Ku-wait.

The workers were released unharmed after negotiations between the company and taxi representatives.

The kidnappers allegedly threatened to kill the workers and to set buses alight unless their demands, which included the withdrawal of the bus services from Khayelitsha, were met.

This week Codeta chairman Mr Kenneth Magwayi said the association stood for peace and did not support violence.

"We reject the claims by these individuals that they were acting on behalf of Codeta."

"If our people don't obey the rules and regulations, then we won't hesitate to support the law to fight this kind of behaviour," he said.

Codeta, he said, was investigating the incident.

"Our members should have nothing to fear from the bus company. In fact we believe it is the company's democratic right to operate wherever it wants," Mr Magwayi said.

Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer hold apparently successful meeting

Negotiation hopes up

ARC 22/1/92
30449

While new moves are afoot to get negotiations back on track, President De Klerk has announced that he will be calling a summit next month of those parties at Codesa who favour strong regional government or federalism.

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

HOPES are rising that the negotiation deadlock could soon be broken after an apparently successful meeting yesterday between the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The aim of the meeting between the top negotiators in the ANC and government was to try once again to get negotiations back on track. They met as the government expressed growing impatience with the stalemate.

Although no statement was issued, as both parties had to report back to their principals, government sources reported that they believed the meeting had gone "quite well".

The meeting came a day after President De Klerk announced at a media briefing in Pretoria that the government intended to press ahead on its own with preparatory legislation for implementing the transition.

He said the government was anxious to take steps to reach its goal of a transitional constitution as soon as possible and had "no intention of allowing elements in the ANC to delay progress".

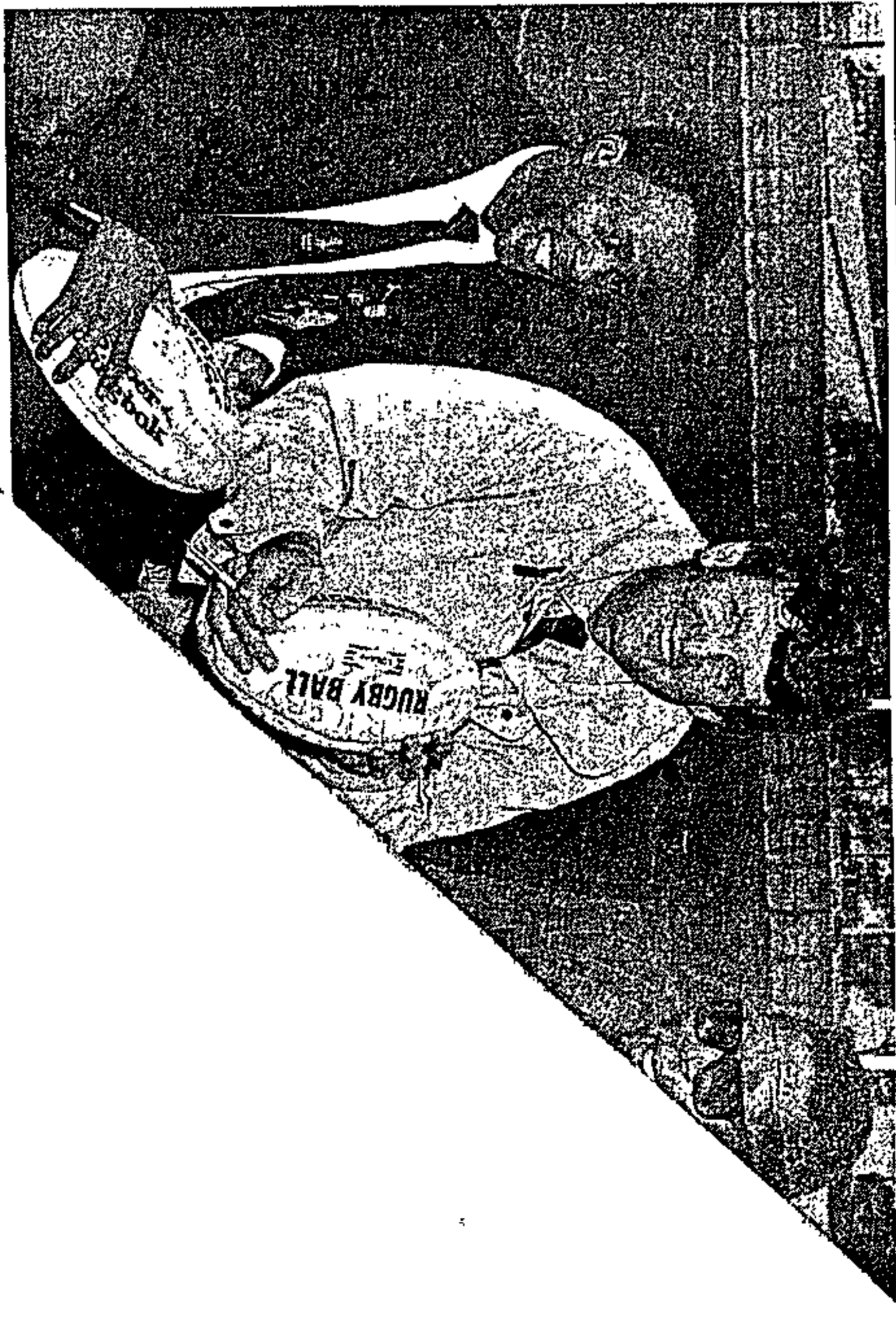
The ANC said the aim of the one-on-one talks was to remove obstacles blocking the resumption of formal negotiations. They would focus on steps to be taken to address the issues raised in earlier memoranda exchanged between the government and the ANC.

Mr De Klerk said the government had already prepared some legislation — and was preparing other legislation — to table at the short session of parliament starting on October 12. Mr De Klerk stressed that he was not proposing a go-it-alone option. The legislation would be aimed at "leveling the playing field and doing what in any case would have to be done".

In another initiative to give new impetus to negotiations Mr De Klerk announced that he would be calling a summit next month of all the parties at Codesa who favoured the idea of strong regional government or federalism. While Mr De Klerk insisted that the idea of the summit was not to form a front against the ANC or to become a substitute for a negotiating forum, observers believe the government's clear tactic is to step up pressure on the ANC to resume negotiations.

The federalist summit would consist largely of those parties at Codesa who formed an informal bloc opposing the ANC and its allies and divided the negotiating forum into two rough-ly equal camps. Yesterday the five breakaway MPs of the Conservative Party under Portchester MP Mr Andries Beyers said they would attend the summit.

The Democratic Party — the only non-aligned party at Codesa — is withholding a decision until it receives more information about the purpose of the summit. DP leader Dr Zande Beer said he was always ready to discuss federalism with anyone but was not prepared to be manoeuvred into an anti-ANC front.



□ MORNÉ'S TOUR DE FORCE: For of the Lagunya rugby team to 1st and club

Lagunya

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

LAGUNYA RUGBY
fledgling outfit
Towns' tower
its energy
funds to
ber.
77

Walvis Bay will be run jointly

STAM 22/8/92
WINDHOEK — Namibia and South Africa have formally agreed to a joint administration for Walvis Bay. The question of who has sovereignty over the enclave is still outstanding.

Officials would meet in two weeks to discuss details, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

"Only a few practical matters must still be ironed out," he told a briefing held together with Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab at Windhoek Airport.

"This is a joint effort and we need to appoint chief executive officers for a management committee," Botha said. Issues such as funding and premises also had to be finalised.

This would be discussed at a meeting of a technical committee, established to investigate joint administration, when it met in a fortnight.

Botha spent yesterday morning in

DALE LAUTENBACH and SAPA

Walvis Bay meeting representatives of different communities.

"I am happy to say that the decision-makers in Walvis Bay welcomed the plan, and Mr Gurirab has been invited to visit Walvis Bay as soon as he can fit it in."

Gurirab said he was pleased that the technical matters of joint administration and the attendant practicalities had been resolved.

He was asked whether he was more encouraged now, having recently expressed a suspicion that South Africa was dragging its heels in settling the dispute and was not showing the necessary political will.

Gurirab replied: "Yes and no. We've not yet discussed the real nitty-gritty issue of sovereignty. I don't have Walvis Bay in my hands yet."

Meeting raises hopes for resumed talks

STAR 22/8/92

30 (A)

HOPES that the negotiation deadlock could soon be broken rose yesterday after ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Communication Minister Roelf Meyer met to try to get talks back on track.

Although no statement was issued, government sources said they believed the meeting had gone "quite well". The meeting came a

day after President F W de Klerk announced at a media briefing in Pretoria that the Government intended to press ahead with legislation to prepare for transition. He said the Government was anxious to take steps towards a transitional constitution as soon as possible and had "no intention of al-

lowing elements in the ANC to delay progress". The ANC said the intention of the one-on-one talks was to remove obstacles to resumption of formal negotiations. They would focus on steps to address the issues raised in earlier memoranda exchanged between the Government and the ANC.

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH
De Klerk said the Government had already prepared some legislation — and was busy preparing more — to table at the short session of Parliament starting on October 12. He stressed that he was not

proposing a "go-it-alone" option. The legislation would be aimed at "leveling the playing field and doing what in any case would have to be done". He also announced that he would be calling a summit next month of all the parties at Codesa which favoured the idea of strong regional gov-

ernment or federalism. While De Klerk insisted that the idea of the summit was not to form a front against the ANC or to become a substitute negotiating forum, observers believe the tactic is intended to step up pressure on the ANC to resume negotiations. The federalist summit would consist largely of those parties at Codesa who formed an informal bloc opposing the ANC and its allies. Yesterday the five breakaway MPs of the Conservative Party under Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers said they would attend the summit. The Democratic Party was withholding a deci-

sion until it received more information about the purpose of the summit. DP leader Zach de Beer said he was always ready to discuss federalism with anyone but was not prepared to be manoeuvred into an anti-ANC front. The summit seemed to have been conceived in a meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

Parliament is funding an ANC office



ANC SPACE: ANC MP Jan van Eck in the parliament-funded office set to be used by the ANC for anti-parliamentary work

Photo: Yunus Mohame

By Quentin Wilson

304A

Soytiti 22/8 - 26/8/92.

DID YOU know an ANC office in Claremont is funded by parliament?

Not only does the "White House" pay rent, phone bills, water and electricity — parliament also foots the bill for a secretary plus 38 flights a year for an ANC member.

Why? Because ANC member Mr Jan van Eck gets parliamentary funds to run a constituency office for political organising.

The former DP MP for Claremont switched to the ANC in April this year but kept his parliamentary seat, enabling him to channel his MP perks to the ANC's benefit.

The ANC Claremont branch will move into Van Eck's office next week and will use parliament facilities for anti-parliamentary work.

"We find the situation rather funny, but for once the people can control some of the money the government has," Van Eck says.

While many other MP's have SA flags, which are dished out to them every year, on their desks, Van Eck has an ANC flag on his desk and a UDF poster on the wall.

Van Eck says the government has launched "a vendetta" against him.

On June 3, Van Eck was expelled from parliament because he said Mr PW Botha, the previous state president, knew about the assassination of four Cradock activists in 1985.

He refused to retract — meaning his allowance was cut by a third.

"It makes the government angry that we use my parliamentary allowance for ANC activity," he said.



Franklin Sonn

'Business leaders not redressing apartheid'

SOUTH 22/8-26/8/92 304A

IF THE South African business community did not take the initiative to redress injustices, it could be forced to do so under a democratically-elected government.

This warning was issued by Peninsula Technikon rector, Mr Franklin Sonn at the symposium on affirmative action.

Sonn emphasised the need for practical steps to redress the imbalance of racial discrimination created by "deliberate design".

There was nothing wrong in selecting a black candidate with fewer qualifications for a position if it was in the best interest of the organisation, the firm or country, he argued.

This process of selection could be regarded as tokenism when the intention was to keep the company white with a sprinkling of black faces or if the company denied advancement to black people.

"I have no doubt that the severe economic setbacks apartheid

inflicted on our people — the total loss of the fishing industry to whites, our estrangement from our land, the loss of our homes to poor whites and immigrants — will soon be redressed," Sonn said.

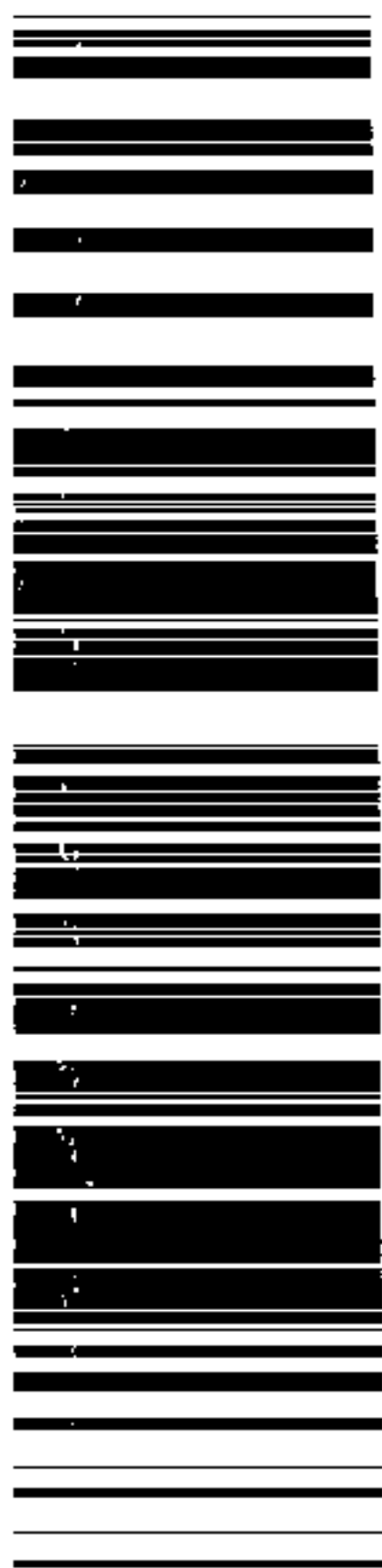
He said business leaders were finding all sorts of rationalisations to ensure that capitalism retained the appearance of a system by whites for whites.

"They are doing almost nothing pro-actively to redress the history of disinheritance of our people and still they insist that a democratic government must not do as they have done."

Sonn said he was confident that a democratic government would not take vengeance, however justified it was, and that apartheid — the crudest form of affirmative action — would not be repeated.

"We must rebuild South Africa and apply necessary systems, like affirmative action, in a humane and just manner. This is the big challenge facing us," he said.

JUANITA WILLIAMS



CP agrees to meet for Codesa talks

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE Conservative Party yesterday agreed to attend a multi-party conference to be convened by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss "Codesa and its failures".

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the decision to accept Mr Buthelezi's invitation was taken by the party's national congress.

The congress convened in Kimberley a day after five break-away Conservative rebels announced the formation of a new party called the Afrikaaner Volksonie (AVU).

The five — Andries Beyers, MP for Potchefstroom, Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Chris de Jager (Bethal) — broke away from the CP because of a proposal on land that was accepted as policy by the CP yesterday.

Refused

It calls for a white homeland which includes the area covered by the CP's 41 constituencies.

"You try to get the most land instead of the least," Dr Treurnicht told a small media conference. "Our friends in the AVU want far too small a homeland."

The AVU also wants negotiations with all parties, while the CP refuses to negotiate with the ANC and other left-wing organisations.

Meanwhile, a Markinor poll released at the weekend showed that 70 percent of CP supporters believed the party should have attended Codesa.



DP branch launched in Soweto

THE Democratic Party launched a branch in Soweto yesterday. ^{23/8/92} (306A)

DP MP Peter Soal said in an address at Funda Centre that the party had been working for some time towards setting up a branch in the township.

"It signals the beginning of our campaign to canvass the residents of this great city to support the moderate, liberal, democratic policies of the DP and to promote the concepts of the dignity of the human being and freedom of the individual."

He predicted "an election of one kind or another will be held within the next 12 months or so and we democrats face an enormous challenge".

"We have to convince the electorate that there is an alternative to the ANC and the Nats."

Democracy versus totalitarianism

This is the seventh in a series by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy.

Other regular features of a democratic political system are the following:

- In a democracy all adult citizens have a constitutionally guaranteed right to participate in regular, free and fair elections. Citizens are also free to form, join and support political parties free from duress of any kind. All parties are equally free to contest elections.

Mutual tolerance

- In a democracy there is a political culture of mutual tolerance in which diversity of political opinion and the competition of ideas is fully accepted as part of the normal political process.
- Elections and political debate are conducted free from duress, censorship, bribery and corruption.
- In a democracy violence and other forms of coercion are not allowed

as methods of political mobilisation.

- In a democracy there is a constitutionally guaranteed bill of fundamental rights which is binding on all citizens and the government, and which is enforceable by an independent supreme court. Some of the rights that are guaranteed and protected are freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the right to

form a legal opposition to the government of the day.

- In a democracy the powers of government are clearly defined by the constitution and disputes in this regard are settled by an independent judiciary.
- In a totalitarian system however, things are different. The will of the people who are not members of the government or the ruling party is normally ignored. The

state and not the individual is supreme, and every citizen exists to serve the state.

Other features of a totalitarian political system are the following:

- In a totalitarian political system there are no regular, free and fair elections. One party rules until it is overthrown, usually by force, or one person rules until he either dies or is overthrown in a coup d'état.
- There is usually only one political party and opposition parties are not allowed. There is no tolerance towards those who oppose or criticise the government of the day.
- Most totalitarian rulers keep themselves and their governments in power by coercing citizens and stifling free and open debate.
- The press is usually censored and prevented

from criticising or commenting on the actions of the government. There is therefore no freedom of the press.

- There is no Bill of Rights which guarantees and protects the rights of citizens.

The main advantage of proportional representation is that it affords smaller parties a better chance of being represented in parliament, provided they acquire the agreed number of votes.

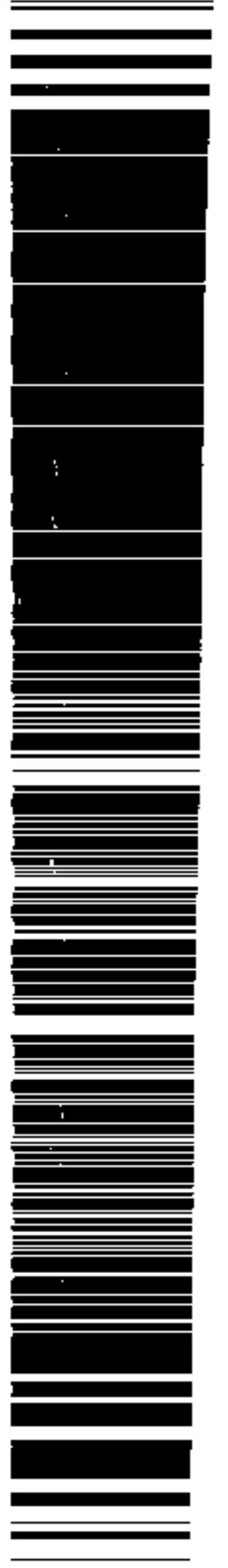
The disadvantage is that sometimes this system allows fringe parties to get into parliament with the intention of sabotaging or delaying the legislative process.

The other disadvantage is that since there are no single member constituencies under this system, voters in an area do not get their own local MP, as happens under the one person one vote majoritarian system.



CP 1980 23/8/92

(3048)



Rightwingers to form new party

FIVE MPs who broke away from the Conservative Party last week are to form a new political party - the Afrikaner Volksunie. (304A)

Group spokesman and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz said the party would also be a cultural movement - known colloquially as the Volksunie.

Mentz said the Volksunie was a party for Afrikaners which based its ideals on those of the Afrikaner people and not on the basis of race.

26/1/81
304A
Moolman



Harken to the warning in a clash of symbols

304A
STimes
23/8/92

DEFIANCE is the other face of coercion. People who feel bullied wave forbidden flags, or wear forbidden colours, as Mrs Winnie Mandela flaunted her black-green-gold designer outfits during the apartheid years.

In Ireland, the wearin' o' the green was made a British offence — and an Irish method of creating martyrs. We know the outcome.

Where people are powerless to resist coercion, they resort to rudeness, like small boys (or naval officers, these days) sticking out their tongues at their tormentors. The strong can afford to be tolerant — defiant displays are the weapon of weakness.

The flag-waving at Barcelona and Ellis Park and probably, it seemed at the time of writing, at Newlands, and the singing of the anthem, the rude rejection of the minute of silence, have all been forms of nose-thumbing: a sure sign that white South Africans are beginning to feel pushed around.

My sympathy goes not to the crowds but to that big-hearted, hugely emotional man, Steve Tshwete, whose generous spirit and love of rugby have made our return to world sport possible. It's a matter of record that he went out on a limb to persuade the ANC, in the teeth of radical opposition, to treat sport as a means of healing a divided nation.

It hasn't worked very well. The atmosphere at Barcelona was spoiled by the evident vindictiveness that excluded that amiable man, Tom Petranoff, from the team. Then we were unlucky that our black athletes didn't quite reach the standard that would have earned them status as national heroes.

Not even Elana Meyer's glorious spontaneity, which turned defeat into triumph, could overcome the general meanness of spirit that characterises South African behaviour. The goodwill generated by President De Klerk's historic offer of conciliation has worn off, and the underlying South African character — suspicious, hard, vindictive, authoritarian, defiant — has reasserted itself.

The defiance at Ellis Park was a clash of symbols that sounded an early warning: the idea of one nation, united

in one country, is an illusion. At best, a hope for the future, a dream. The reality is a nation deeply divided by race, language, religion, value systems, manners, recreation, sport, music, you-name-it. We shall have to learn to live with division.

The leaders of the ANC are familiar with the theories of the Brazilian communist, Carlos Marighela, who urged revolutionaries to win the general populace to their side by tempting the security forces to use blind force against civilians. That sets up a vicious cycle of alienation, rebellion, oppression, and further alienation.

A similar process is at work here: there are right-wing elements who pray that the ANC will, by mass action or by suppressing Die Stem or by dishonouring the national flag, alienate the white population and drive it into defiance, counter-action, and eventual rebellion.

Mr Mandela, in one of those flashes of insight that mark him as a statesman rather than a politician, seems to have spotted the trap. In a remarkably soul-searching speech to the Peninsula Technikon on Monday, barely 48 hours after the "mass action" at Ellis Park, he warned the ANC against seeming to represent "only one ethnic group".

Pointing to the overwhelming predominance of black people in the ANC leadership, he said, "If you look at the power structure of the ANC you will see it is still run as an organisation fighting for the rights of one ethnic group, and not of the whole community."

"Our national anthem (Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika) also reflects the aspirations of Africans. We must move away from that."

HIS comments touched on something that has been woefully lacking in the political arena, in the constitution-making at Codesa, and especially in the rhetoric of the parties: the idea that, in any plural society, a high degree of tolerance is a constitutional and political necessity.

Three sets of values need to be preserved if South Africa is to avoid falling victim, like Yugoslavia or Cyprus, Sri Lanka or the Soviet Union, to divisive conflict: the first is liberty, which is the

other face of tolerance; the second is law, implying a search for justice; and the third is economic prosperity, which includes the division of the spoils.

Except for some greedy squabbling about the division of wealth, or its retention, virtually nothing has been heard of these values in the political discourse of Codesa. The reason, I believe, is that Codesa was constructed to serve as a forum for the power struggle between the National Party and the ANC.

Codesa's failure to resolve that conflict — it can be resolved only by conquest — has cast the ANC back on the coercive tactics of mass action, boycott and the blackmail of sportsmen; it has cast the National Party back on the overwhelming coercive power of government. The struggle has moved from Codesa to Ellis Park, but it has not changed. *A luta continua*

WE are a plural society, and nationalism in a plural society, it has been said, is utterly divisive. Yugoslavia's rapid descent into the obscenities of "ethnic cleansing" bears this out. South Africa faces no greater danger.

The answer, however, is not coercion but liberty. A united nation is built not by enforcing conformity but by tolerating diversity. When an angry Steve Tshwete said after Ellis Park that the white rugby fans deserved to be "punished", he could hardly have been more mistaken.

The answer is not more coercion; it is more freedom. Neither government nor political party has any business interfering in sport, nor can politicians compel respect for the dead, or devotion to peace. They cannot tell people what to sing, or what flags to wave, or when they may play games, or against whom.

If they try, they will evoke defiance. The weak will thumb their noses and sing and wave taunting banners, and Carlos Marighela will smile from the grave as another cycle of coercion and defiance begins to spin.

KEN OWEN



THE GAME ... Dr Marius Pienaar of Tygerberg Hospital with the game he invented to teach people about Aids
Picture: JACK LESTRADE

Aids-game teaches via fun

By EVE VOSLOO
A YOUNG Cape Town doctor has developed a board game to teach people — especially teenagers — about Aids.
"Aids — the Game" will be in the shops next month, said its inventor, Dr Marius Pienaar, 32, this week.
Dr Pienaar, a gynaecological registrar at Tygerberg Hospital, said the game had the backing of the Department of Health and various research organisations and would retail at about R40.
"About a year ago I came into contact with a pharmacist's wife who said she did not want her children to visit their grandmother in hospital in case they came into contact with an Aids patient," Dr Pienaar said.
"It made me realise that even educated people did not read pamphlets or other information on Aids and that there was still widespread ignorance about it."

Alive

Dr Pienaar took about a year to devise his game. It involves each player getting cardboard "people" who are involved in different sexual relationships, depending on where a counter lands on the board. The object of the game is to keep the "people" alive and Aids-free by avoiding unsafe sexual contacts or using intravenous drugs.
Players are also issued

with money at the start of the game, which they can spend on condoms or on Aids research. There is a separate board to score a player's spending on research, and another way to win the game is to reach the top rung of this board.
"The game is a lot of fun," said Dr Pienaar. "Even the most conservative and inhibited person gets involved and openly discusses sex and Aids."
The "people" each player tries to keep alive go through various stages of the disease — they become infected, sero-convert, get clinical Aids and die.
On their way around the board, the players land on

blocks which include risks like drug overdoses, unprotected sex with prostitutes, sex with multiple partners and taking part in an orgy, which infect their "people".

Burst

They also have options like refuting intravenous drugs, having social contact with Aids patients or discussing sex and Aids with teenagers, for which they collect money — with which they can buy condoms or invest on research.
"The game teaches people that you cannot get Aids from social contact with Aids sufferers and contains lots of other information —

for instance that you cannot get it from mosquito bites, that condoms sometimes burst and that vaseline dissolves latex, so should not be used with condoms," said Dr Pienaar.
"It teaches that when it comes to high-risk behaviour, people have choices."
The game has been shown to various churches which have endorsed it as inoffensive.

Part of the proceeds from sales are to go the research fund of Tygerberg Hospital's department of obstetrics and gynaecology.
The game could also be exported as there appears to be nothing of its kind available elsewhere in the world, he said.

Unite against Aids, says mayor

By GLENDA NEVILL
THE greater Cape Town community should focus on presenting a strong, united front in the fight against Aids, says the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde.
Mr Van der Velde was speaking this week at the launch of the Resource Directory for HIV and Aids, published by the Western Cape branch of the Aids Training, Information and Counselling Centre.
The directory offers vital information — including phone numbers, addresses and contacts at Aids groups — on Aids awareness, education and care and related issues such as the policy of the government, other political parties, movements and trade unions as well as details on Aids networks throughout the country.

The 80-page directory, sponsored by Engen, covers legal issues, diagnostic procedures, counselling, hospices and home care, spiritual support groups and complementary health care (alternative medicine).
Mr Van der Velde said one of the main problems facing Aids workers and victims was overcoming the myths about the disease which still prevailed.
"Many people still think of Aids as a homosexual disease and it is not until the guy next door gets it and dies that the man in the street is confronted with the reality of Aids," Mr Van der Velde said.
The Resource Directory for HIV and Aids is available from Aticc (☎ 400 3400) at R25. All profits go to the Aids Foundation.

New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

NEWS ANALYSIS: By NORMAN WESLEY

THERE are signs that the main black liberation bodies may soon gather around a "square" negotiation table to face establishment-orientated parties with a more focused approach at a new forum, which would replace the problem-plagued Codesa.

The irony is that the much-demonised — and self-marginalised — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could emerge as the facilitating force in such a new alignment, as evidence grows of a more pragmatic approach by the movement to a negotiated settlement in South Africa — and hopefully an end to the debilitating violence.

The PAC's secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desal, who was part of its delegation in bilateral talks with the government this week, said the issue of an alternative forum and venue for further talks still remained "unresolved".

Mr Desal said Codesa was "a cumbersome body of motley participants" — some self-appointed and others "elected" on ethnic tickets — "many of dubious credibility".

Even the government now appears to agree that Codesa must be replaced by a more streamlined body. So the PAC vows to continue boycotting Codesa because it feels it is a discredited forum "that cannot deliver true freedom".

Deputy president of the PAC, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, says that, ideally, if an alternative forum to Codesa is created, the PAC would prefer to have all liberation movements — including the ANC and Azapo — speaking with one voice to expedite the democratisation of the country.

But the PAC is sticking to its demand that "real negotiations must take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman". As non-negotiable as that might seem, in the inexact "science" of politics, "non-negotiables" are often replaced by "win-win" compromises.

By repeating that the PAC would want the ANC and Azapo to jointly press for democratic elections leading to a Constituent Assembly, Mr Moseneke was clearly holding out the olive branch to his brothers-in-the-struggle.

The ANC will have nothing to lose if it reacts to the PAC with a reciprocal gesture, resulting, once more, in a true Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Catalyst

What has spurred the PAC to become part of the talks about talks at this point, Mr Moseneke says, is that many of its previous demands have become part of the present political currency. One of these is that a sizeable group of international UN monitors are on their way to South Africa and the UN is set to play a key role in monitoring moves towards a peaceful transition.

And the prospect of Mr De Klerk calling a "summit" next month of like-minded parties who all favour a federal solution for South Africa — including the Inkatha Freedom Party — seems to present the right catalyst for the Patriotic Front to regroup.

This may mean that instead of a round table at which numerous groups would sit, there seems to be a growing possibility of a future square table with only two sides.

This would certainly go a long way to help expedite solutions on points of disagreement on modalities leading to what both sides say they want ... free and fair elections leading to a constitution-making body representing all the people of the country.

While the PAC and the ANC call it an elected Constituent Assembly, Mr De Klerk and his summit partners may, for reasons of political expediency, call it something else — but, semantics aside, it seems everyone could now be heading in the same direction.

All agree that the motivation of groups on either side of the table must be to legitimise the structures that rule the country with a colour-blind vision and a racial unconsciousness, instead of black or white divisions.

According to Mr Moseneke, the reason the PAC is perceived to have changed from hardline non-negotiable demands to full participation in "preparatory talks" is because the government has changed its stance. He claims it has agreed to a basic PAC demand — to jettison "convoluted concepts" of caretaker interim executive structures as proposed at Codesa — for the reality of one-person, one-vote elections for a Constitutional Assembly.

The "modalities" of such a body, they agreed, would have to be negotiated in a "more representative forum".

Joint control of Walvis Bay agreed

NAMIBIA and SA have agreed to the joint administration of Walvis Bay and officials will meet in two weeks to discuss details, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Friday.

"There are only a few practical matters that must be ironed out," Botha told a joint briefing with Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab. *C/PNH 23/89*

"This is a joint effort and we need to appoint chief executive officers and managers of a management committee," Botha said, adding there were also issues like funding and premises that needed to be dealt with. *(S)* *(S)*

Negotiations over the disputed South African port enclave, geographically part of Namibia and home to its fishing industry, began after independence in 1990. *(304A)*

In terms of Namibia's Constitution and UN Resolution 432 of 1978, Walvis Bay and 12 off-shore islands must be reintegrated into Namibia.

Unity in 2 years — FW

clpren 23/8/92

(110) (304A)

STATE President FW de Klerk indicated yesterday he would be sharing power with ANC leader Nelson Mandela within two years, according to an interview aired in Australia.

De Klerk told Australia's Special Broadcasting Service that full democracy would be in place in two years' time.

"I'm sure that we will sit together in a government of unity," De Klerk said of himself and Mandela.

"We cannot again hold an election to

the exclusion of black South Africans," he added.

De Klerk said his announcement that talks on a democratic SA were to continue without the ANC was not an attempt to exclude that group.

He said a united SA may have a new anthem and a new flag.

De Klerk said the South African economy was "inherently sound and ready for a takeoff". — Sapa-AFP

Lame-duck Codesa

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

FEDERALISM will be high on the agenda when a lame-duck Codesa resumes early next month.

The meeting between the government and several political groupings which subscribe to the idea of a federal SA was announced by State President FW de Klerk this week.

The resumption of Codesa without one of its key players - the ANC - was announced at a news conference in Pretoria.

The ANC, which opposes federalism, has sharply criticised the move, saying contrary to government denials it smacks of "going it alone".

De Klerk has denied this and charges that the government was forming a front against the ANC. However, he warned that radicals and communists within the ANC could not be allowed to impede the democratisation process.

Although the full list of those who will take part has not yet been announced, it is expected they will come mostly from parties who had taken the government's line at Codesa.

The decision to reconvene Codesa came after De Klerk held separate talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and DP leader Zach de Beer.

Among the other parties expected to attend the talks are Dikwankwela (Qwa Qwa), Ximoko Progressive Party (Gankulu), the Labour Party (House of Representatives), the National People's Party (House of Delegates) and the Ciskei government.

These parties are known to be strong advocates of federalism. They are also considered an opposition bloc to the ANC and its alliance partners in Codesa which includes the SACP, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Transkei, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele governments.

ANC slams bid

by govt,

(30/4/89)

bantustans

CIPRES 23/8/92

to go it alone

The position of the Venda and Lebowa governments is not yet clear.

De Klerk said he still wanted to see all important players back at multi-party negotiations, adding the September meeting would be held only so some interim progress could be made.

He warned that the government would not yield to mass action and blamed radicals and communists within the ANC for the deadlock in negotiations.

De Klerk rejected claims the government was linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty to "safeguard its hide and that of the security forces". He said the disclosure of crimes and a general amnesty would have to be discussed at negotiations.

Regarding the row that erupted over raising the flag and singing *Die Stem* at last Saturday's rugby test against the All Blacks at Ellis Park, and the minute of silence required at yesterday's test match at Newlands, De Klerk said the NP had stated that it supported all procedures whereby people could reflect on the terrible scourge of violence.

However, he accused the ANC of "hijacking" sport and said this had led to tension. He warned that the row about the anthem and the flag could "ignite a powderkeg".

He called for calm and tolerance, but acknowledged there was a need for new unifying national symbols.

Operation face-saver

STimes 23/8/92

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

304A

THE government and the ANC have discussed proposals aimed at ending the negotiations impasse without either side losing face.

The proposals were explored at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in Johannesburg on Friday.

They will now go to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for further consideration.

A source close to the meeting said yesterday that Friday's discussion centred on "face-saving" mechanisms that would result in the talks resuming without a winner-loser situation being created.

The proposals are aimed at finding the middle ground between:

● The ANC's insistence that the government meets 14 specific demands which relate to stopping violence, the establishment of an interim government

and a sovereign constituent assembly before it resumes negotiations;

● The government's belief that to do so would amount to capitulating to the ANC.

The source said mechanisms to address violence had been discussed at the meeting. They included revamping the National Peace Accord structures, an increased role for the international community and the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution.

Election

The UN resolution calls for the widening of the investigatory powers of the Goldstone commission and deployment of UN monitors to assist National Peace Accord structures.

By putting these structures in place, the government would be in a position to say it was serious about addressing con-

cerns about violence. But it would not be seen as capitulating to the ANC's specific demands.

Another matter that was extensively explored at Friday's meeting was the ANC's call for the election of a sovereign constituent assembly.

The government is concerned that such a body would be able to override agreements on general constitutional principles reached at Codesa.

The source described the meeting as exploratory and promising. Further communication between the two parties is expected soon.

Meanwhile, a senior cabinet minister has squashed speculation that the September conference of political parties announced by President F.W. de Klerk this week was an attempt to sideline the ANC

from negotiations or consolidate a pro-government front.

He said the meeting was a follow-up to a similar conference held on July 2 with the Codesa parties that held similar views on basic constitutional principles such as federalism.

Agreed

President De Klerk also announced this week that if formal negotiations had not resumed by then, the government would introduce legislation aimed at "leveling the playing field" when Parliament sat in October.

The cabinet minister said that even if it was forced to adopt this course of action, the government would not implement the legislation until it had been agreed to.

He added that legislation that would be introduced in the short October session would relate to interim measures leading up to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Nats want R840m for MPs' pensions

NATIONAL Party chief whip Johannes Niemann has proposed that the government provide R840-million of taxpayers' money to establish a private pension fund to safeguard the interests of MPs after major political changes have taken place.

A letter from Mr Niemann to chief whips of other parties in Parliament at the end of last month contains proposals for changes to political office-bearers' pensions, gratuity, tax and medical-aid schemes in preparation for a future government.

But this week, after the letter was leaked to the press, Mr Niemann said he would reconsider his plans.

The proposals indicate a nervousness within MP ranks that they will not be re-elected to a new government and that their pension and other benefits will not be honoured.

It also shows an awareness that, should a new dispensation come into

But 'leak' ends that idea, says chief whip

BY EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

place soon, some MPs will not have served a sufficient term of office to qualify for certain pension and gratuity benefits.

Mr Niemann says in the letter he considers the four issues of urgent importance which should be resolved before an interim government is in place.

He states that proposals should go before a cabinet committee so that legislation could be passed, if necessary, in October. Mr Niemann proposes three options for changes to the existing pension system:

● To wipe the slate clean by paying

out all existing MPs and pensioners. They would then have to make their own private arrangements;

● To carry on with the existing scheme. Under the system an MP or President's Councillor pays 10 percent of his basic salary to the general revenue account;

● That the government puts R840-million into a pension fund which is administered by an insurance company. A future government would be obliged to service this pension fund.

Under the present system, an MP receives a gratuity worth a year's salary and a monthly pension equal to

half his monthly salary for the rest of his life if he retires after seven-and-a-half years.

If he retires or fails to be re-elected before he has served this period he receives only that which he contributed towards his pension.

An MP has to have served 15 years or more to receive his full salary as a pension every month, and there is a ceiling of 20 years' service on the maximum gratuity.

In terms of MPs' gratuities, Mr Niemann proposes that MPs should be able to receive loans against their gratuities, which they cannot do at present.

They should also be able to receive a gratuity, whether they served the seven-and-a-half years or not. DP MP for Edenvale Brian Goodall lost out on his gratuity and pension when he failed to make his seven-and-a-half years' service by one day in 1987. Mr Niemann also proposes that there should be no cut-off date of 20 years affecting the maximum payment of gratuities.

He also proposes that all MPs' expenses should be tax-deductible. At present MPs are given an expense allowance. If they spend more than this, it cannot be deducted against tax.

This penalises MPs whose travel costs are higher than others.

Mr Niemann said this week that he had not put forward any proposals to the cabinet committee on August 4 as had been intended because he had not received a response to his proposals from the DP or CP. Without their agreement it was a non-starter, he said.

3044
S/Times 23/8/92.

DP opens branch

304A

in Soweto

STAR

24/8/92

The Democratic Party launched a branch in Soweto on Saturday afternoon, with DP MP Peter Soal saying the party faced an enormous challenge in the coming year.

"The launch of the Soweto branch of the DP is a great occasion which many of us have been working towards for many years," Mr Soal, MP for Johannesburg North and chairman of the southern Transvaal region of the DP, said in an address at Soweto's Funda Centre.

The target for the DP's members in Soweto "will be to convince their fellow citizens of the soundness of our policies".

The DP had to maintain "the three I's: integrity, independence and identity", Mr Soal said.

— Sapa

STAR 24/8/92
**Party to push
for federalism**

DURBAN — Solidarity, the ruling party in the House of Delegates, has resolved to promote its policy of a federal system of government for South Africa, thus clearing the way for the party's attendance at President de Klerk's planned summit on federalism next month.

The decision was taken on Saturday at Solidarity's provincial congress which was held in Durban. (304A)

Solidarity party officials will now be empowered to push for federalism at "whatever forum and in association with any political grouping or organisation". — Sapa (304B)

MPs move to feather their nests

304A
CT 24/8/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT MPs are moving to ensure that their nests are properly feathered before the current Parliament is replaced by an interim government of national unity.

Details of a wide range of "safety net" proposals covering the financial interests of the current batch of tri-cameral politicians are contained in a letter sent last month by the chief whip of the National Party, Mr Kerpies Niemann, to the chief whips of other parties in Parliament.

Three options

The letter contains proposals for increased safeguards and benefits for political office-bearers' pensions, gratuities, tax and medical aid schemes ahead of the introduction of a democratic government in South Africa.

Mr Niemann outlines three options for changes to the existing pension system:

- The government places R840 million into a pension fund which is administered by an insurance company. Future administrations would be obliged to service this pension fund.

- All existing MPs and pensioners would be paid out and would in future

have to make their own private arrangements.

- Continuing with the existing scheme in terms of which an MP or President's Councillor pays 10% of his or her basic salary to a general revenue account.

Mr Niemann also proposes that MPs come into consideration for gratuities from day one instead of after 7½ years of service as is current practice.

He also proposes that all MPs expenses should be tax deductible. At the moment only MPs' expense allowances are tax deductible, penalising MPs with higher travel costs.

Mr Niemann's letter indicates that these matters should be resolved before the introduction of an interim government — an indication that many MPs have given up any hope of remaining public representatives once the franchise is broadened.

Support

It is also understood that some MPs are concerned that their benefits might not be honoured by a future government.

Mr Niemann said that the proposals could not be pushed through unless there was support from other parties as well.

The cabinet has apparently not formally considered the package being proposed by the NP's chief whip.

Pik says ANC losing support

NABOOMSPRUIT.

The world's sentiments were turning against the ANC, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said on Saturday.

He told the NP youth congress here that there was increasing pressure on the ANC to return to negotiations.

Mr Botha said the ANC had no idea what other African countries were saying behind its back.

— Sapa (304A)

21 million qualify as SA voters

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Some 21 million South Africans — 54% of the total population — would qualify as voters if an election were held tomorrow, Development Bank of SA (DBSA) demographer Mr Johan Calitz had concluded from a recent survey.

Mr Calitz said blacks would make up more than two-thirds (68,5%) of the voters, while whites would constitute 18,8%, coloureds 9,8% and Asians 2,9%.

Of all the regions, only the Western Cape would not have a majority of black voters, with coloured voters making up 57,6%.

Almost half of South Africa's voters would cast their ballots in the PWV and Natal regions, according to the study which was based on adjusted census figures.

Mr Calitz said there were 3,8 million Zulu-speaking voters compared with 3,5 million Xhosa speakers and 1,7 million North Sotho speakers.

The language groups were still

(304) CT 24/8/92
by and large located in the regions where various ethnic homelands were to be found, he said.

Almost 35% of the 3,9 million white voters lived in the PWV region and 28% in the Western Cape, he said.

Mr Calitz said a wide range of political organisations had expressed interest in the study, suggesting election preparations were under way.

He said more than half the voters lived in rural areas with little access to the media.

21-million SA citizens 'qualified to vote'

ABOUT 21-million South Africans — or 54% of the total population — would qualify as voters if an election were held tomorrow, Development Bank of SA demographer Johan Calitz concluded from a survey. (304A) B/DAY 24/8/92

Calitz said blacks would make up more than two-thirds (68,5%) of the voters, while whites would constitute 18,8%, "coloureds" 9,8% and Asians 2,9%.

Of SA's nine development regions, only one — the western Cape — would not have a majority of black voters, with coloured voters making up 57,6%.

RAY HARTLEY

Almost half of SA's voters would cast their ballots in the PWV and Natal regions, according to the study which was based on adjusted census figures.

Calitz said there were 3,8-million Zulu speaking voters, 3,5-million Xhosa speakers and 1,7-million north Sotho speakers.

Home Affairs spokesman Thomas Dreyer said government had not begun registering voters, but wanted people to take out identification documents. He said the department had begun manufacturing polling booths and ballot boxes.

PAC and Govt to seal agreements

Sowetan 24/8/92

304A

■ Preparation for full-blown negotiations by top leaders of two parties:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government meet again today to cement agreements reached since they began having talks two weeks ago.

PAC secretary of foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and his delegation meet the Government team led by its chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer.

Discussion will be about full-blown negotiations by the top leadership of the two parties.

Ebrahim yesterday confirmed that a neutral venue and a non-partisan chairman, agreement on which has been reached, would be discussed today.

Agreement reached last Tuesday included the

holding of elections for a constitution making body which the PAC calls a constituent assembly, and a transitional authority.

On Friday the African National Congress and the Government met behind closed doors to find ways to remove obstacles which prevent the return to negotiations.

The talks between ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer are believed to have incorporated the ANC's 14 demands which

include the ending of violence.

This meeting also followed the United Nations' Resolution 772 of August 17 which calls

for the appointment of permanent peace monitors to strengthen National Peace Accord structures and which recommends that the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence be independent of Government influence.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) last week announced its appointment of an independent facilitator, Anglican Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of Botswana to broker talks between the Black Consciousness Movement and the Government.

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Govt paves way for wider talks

CONSTITUTIONAL talks involving a broader range of players than Codesa will resume soon if a series of meetings between government and key political players bears fruit in the coming weeks.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday government was planning to meet the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the CP and its breakaway group Afrikaner Volksunie in the near future to discuss resuming stalled talks.

He confirmed he and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday discussed compromises around ANC preconditions. The talks had included a possible revamping of the national peace accord and demands for a sovereign constituent assembly.

Meyer said follow-up talks could take place once the ANC's national working

RAY HARTLEY

committee and the Cabinet had discussed the issues. He would not be drawn on dates.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the national working committee would discuss the bilateral meeting on Wednesday.

Meyer, hinting that bilateral talks could tackle issues deadlocked at Codesa, said: "We want talks to resume as soon as possible. It would be wrong to get them (the ANC) back without a strong possibility of resolving the problems."

Meyer said he would meet PAC official Gora Ebrahim today. Government and the PAC were in disagreement about the process and not the substance of future negoti-

□ To Page 2

Talks

ations, he said.

It remained unacceptable to government to hold top-level talks outside the country, but a compromise would be sought with the PAC which was bound by a resolution not to negotiate inside SA.

Meyer also disclosed that government had invited Azapo to bilateral discussions in a letter on Friday, following promising "behind the scenes contact".

He said recent conflict within the CP had stalled bilateral talks, but these would now resume.

Afrikaner Volksunie spokesman Andries Beyers yesterday welcomed the CP decision at the weekend to attend an Inkatha multiparty conference on Codesa's future, but said reunification was impossible while the CP continued to insist the whole of SA fell into its proposed fatherland.

"We never realised they would follow our direction so soon. We must continue to lead firmly and I think the CP will follow. If we had not broken away, the CP would not have moved forward," Beyers said.

304A

□ From Page 1

The ANC continued to encourage all political parties to participate in talks, Marcus said in her response to the CP decision.

"If the CP finds Inkatha is the organisation it can most closely align with, that is their right," she said.

She said the ANC had taken no decision to attend the Inkatha conference because it did not have enough details on what would be discussed, and was relying on media reports for information on the meeting.

A recent Markinor survey found 70% of CP supporters favoured taking part in Codesa while 18% were opposed to talks and 12% undecided.

Marcus said it was ironic that the PAC and Azapo, who were vocal critics of the ANC's decision to negotiate, were talking to government now that the ANC had called off negotiations.

Marcus said the PAC was now reaching agreement with the government on the need for an elected constituent assembly — something the ANC and government had long been in agreement on.

Unravelling the colonial knot

SMR 24/8/92

304A

THE South African visitor to Australia is forcefully struck by points of similarity and contrast in the political history of the two countries. As the century draws to a close, white rulers in both countries face challenges relating to the indigenous people who were conquered, dispossessed and subordinated by their forebears.

In South Africa the challenge is of urgent and compelling importance: if the besieged white minority cannot reach an acceptable accommodation with the increasingly impatient black majority, their very survival may be at stake. Failure may mean prolonged civil war and descent of the society into anarchy.

In Australia the challenge does not have the same eschatological quality: if Australia's whites cannot meet the aspirations of the Aboriginal people by the year 2001, the centenary of the establishment of the Australian Commonwealth, they will be severely embarrassed but not threatened with catastrophe.

Failure will be a repeat of the embarrassment suffered in 1988, when many Aboriginal notables greeted the 200th anniversary of the landing of the first white settlers with protest rather than joy.

Australia's ruling whites have less than a decade to achieve what the immediate past Foreign Minister and present Governor General, Mr Bill Hayden, has labelled "a genuine reconciliation with (the) indigenous people".

The difference in the nature of the challenge facing the whites in the two societies lies primarily in numbers: blacks in South Africa account for 76 percent of the 38.5 million people; in Australia the Aboriginal population, including people of racially mixed origin who identify themselves as Aboriginal, forms a mere 1.5 percent of the total population of 17 million.

As Lois O'Donoghue, chairman of the Aboriginal and Torres Islander Commission, has remarked: "Our political strength lies in our weakness — our 1.5 percent of the national population. We present no threat to mainstream Australia, as on the pastoral frontier we once did. Our influence is largely based on an appeal to abstract matters — social justice, equality and righting the wrongs of history."

In South Africa the reverse is true. One of the strengths of the black population is its numerical predominance. The apartheid state has collapsed because there

were too few whites to man the ramparts and too many blacks besieging the citadel and climbing over its walls.

In South Africa, as in Australia, the struggle by indigenous people focuses heavily on land. The cry for the restoration of land lost in colonial wars against settlers from Europe echoes down the corridors of history in both countries.

The Australian Aboriginal Flag, with its latitudinal black and red stripes and yellow circle in the centre and its association with the struggle for land rights, recalls the centrality of the quest for a fairer share of the land by black nationalists in South Africa.

A front page news report in Australia is reminiscent of troubles at home: it records that two Aboriginal prisoners who tried to commit suicide in police custody were charged with damage to public property, a reference to cutting of prison blankets into strips for a hanging rope. In fairness it must be recorded that the charges were later withdrawn.

The death of Aboriginal people in custody, like deaths in police custody in South Africa, is another interlinking theme.

There is an important difference, however. The Australian authorities have appointed a judi-

cial commission of inquiry into Aboriginal deaths in police custody; their South African counterparts are still apparently loath to do so, even after allegations by an eminent pathologist, Jonathan Gluckman, that detainees have been deliberately murdered by police.

According to an official summary of the Australian judicial commission's findings, police have been cleared of allegations of "de- liberate violence or brutality". The report, however, details the "dispossession and subordination" of the Aboriginal minority in an "often hostile society" permeated by "racist attitudes".

Another analogy comes to mind: just as South Africa's native blacks were excluded from the National Convention that led to the Act of Union and the establishment of South Africa as a modern state in 1910, so Australia's indigenous people had little or no say in the establishment of the Australian Commonwealth in 1901.

It comes as a surprise to realise that from 1901 to 1967 the federal government was excluded by the Commonwealth Constitution from passing laws for the governance of Aboriginal people; South Africa's statute books by contrast are littered with laws promulgated by

the central government to control and subdue the black majority.

The referendum of 1967, which empowered the federal government to legislate for Aboriginal people, has on the whole been to their advantage. The federal government has been more liberal than the six state governments and many of the improvements in the condition of Aboriginal people appear to stem from the 1967 referendum decision.

In South Africa the opposite is the case: the role of the central government was to deprive black people of the few rights they enjoyed in the provinces, notably the right to vote — if they were educated enough or owned sufficient property — in the Cape.

Another contrast impinges itself on the South African visitor to Australia. As an increasing number of South African political parties and organisations look to federation as an answer to the nation's problems, there is, according to some observers, growing disenchantment with the federal system in Australia.

Australia's federal system seems to work well from far-away Cape Town and Pretoria, but in Australia, one learns, it often generates clashes between the federal and state governments on a range of issues, including the imposition

of federal taxes and distribution of federal revenue, the vexatious question of free trade and tariff barriers, and the treatment of Aboriginal people.

Ernst Willheim, of the Attorney General's Department in Canberra, admits frankly: "Most analysts think that Australia would be better off with stronger central and local government." Pressure is mounting, he says, for a dilution in the power of the six state govern-

In South Africa, where federalism used to be known as "the F-word" because of its unpopularity in government circles, federation is now openly punted by President de Klerk's administration.

Where federalism was once seen as the thin edge of the liberal wedge by Mr de Klerk's predecessors, it is today advocated as way of dividing power and preventing the emergence of a tyrannical "majoritarian" central govern-

ment. It has been stripped of its connotations of political obscurity and clothed in respectability.

In Australia, however, the reverse process appears to be in motion, as the federal government becomes impatient with opposition from state governments and state governments resent interference by the federal government. □

Politicos, anthems and anathema

SOME years ago I landed in the small Irish port of Cork, having caught the overnight ferry from Swansea. One of the first things I did was buy the Cork Examiner.

Splashed across the front page was an account of how the Minister of Fisheries, who was visiting the town, had become involved the previous evening in a bout of fist-cuffs which began in a bar, spread through several licensed premises and ended up as a pitched battle in the streets.

It seems the Minister and local dignitaries had repaired to the bar and from there to an adjacent room for "some song".

All kinds of worthies expressed outrage at the incident.

The big question, they said in the Cork Examiner, was whether the Minister had, or had not, sung the provocative, sectarian Protestant song, "The Sash My Father

Wore". Somehow it all came back to me with the row over last Saturday's singing of "Die Stem" at Ellis Park.

Symbolism — flags, anthems — is something we surely need to downplay in a political landscape of deep and dangerous fissures which people on all sides are trying to bridge. But will the politicians do anything of the kind?

The ANC insist that "Die Stem" will not be played at Ellis Park, nor will the South African flag be flown — guaranteeing the lushest singing of "Die Stem" that I can recall at any rugby match and an unprecedented array of flags.

The ANC are furious. Nat and CP politicians urge the crowd to sing the harder, wave the flag the more furiously. Over what ought to be a non-issue, the country threatens to spiral downward. The truth is that flags and an-

thems should never have been connected to the resumption of international rugby, they should have been left at the level of tepid enthusiasm they had before. But ANC politicians have their machismo to nurture and Afrikaner politicians respond in kind.

Could there not be a place in the future South Africa for both "Die Stem" and "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika"? Does one not fully encompass the history and aspirations of the Afrikaner? Does the other not express the yearnings of Africa?

And there are precedents for a duality. South Africa's first flag and anthem were the Union Jack and God Save the King. In 1927 the Union Jack was joined by the present flag and they flew side by side until 1957, without any real problems. In 1938 "Die Stem" became a second national anthem, and was played along with "God

Save the Queen" until 1957 — again with few real problems.

As F S Crafford, Smuts's biographer, remarked of the flag issue in 1927: "The state of feeling in the country was such as I have not seen since the Boer War."

The ANC say they don't insist on "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" as an anthem. They would like something new to be written. Fair enough, so long as it's not contrived and not something anaemic like the English version of "Die Stem". But is there not a place for "Die Stem" and a place for "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika"?

Perhaps we could draw inspiration from lines of the seldom-sung second last verse of that anthem which served us up until 1957:

*Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish
tricks;
On Thee our hopes we fix:
God save us all. □*

STAR 24/8/92

3044



Choir leader of Tintsuml Ta Yehova entertained no end when he conducted his choir while facing the audience. Tintsuml emerged the winners of the Daveyton Cultural Foundation's second annual gospel music festival on Sunday.

Govt's no to venue

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

Sowetan 25/8/92 304A
■ **FIRM STAND** Roelf Meyers says

PAC's neutral venue is unnecessary:

THE GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY rejected a proposal by the Pan Africanist Congress that negotiations be held under a neutral chairman outside the country.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim held an "exploratory" meeting in Johannesburg last night to discuss the PAC's proposal that negotiations be held at a neutral venue.

The discussions also specifically dealt with a possible meeting of the two

parties' top leadership.

At the end of the hour-long meeting, Meyer said: "We do not think a neutral venue is necessary."

"The Government wants to resolve stumbling blocks which would ensure the PAC gets involved in the negotiations process."

Ebrahim said no agreement was reached on a neutral venue, which was the PAC's main demand for future negotiations.

He did not elaborate on the course the organisation would take.

He also did not say whether this and a possible meeting at top leadership level - ostensibly between President FW de Klerk and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu - were the stumbling blocks.

Meyer said the two would meet again but no date and venue had been set.

The Government and PAC began their "exploratory" discussions three weeks ago and have reached agreement on the holding of elections for what the Government calls a constitution-making body.

The PAC calls it a constituent assembly.

NEWS *It was a major gamble, but the ANC had to use only strategy left to them*

Mass action was a necessary tactic

Sowetan 25/8/92



By Vincent Maphal,
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

■ MASS ACTION *The ANC could not go back to the talks without making a strong political statement:*

WITH the much publicised mass action over, some stocktaking is necessary. Since the referendum, nothing has captured local and international interest like mass action.

The stakes were clearly high. It was a major gamble by the tripartite alliance. The Government watched anxiously as the entire programme unfolded.

When the threat of mass action became a reality, the State and business unleashed a propaganda war.

One got the impression that until the "monster" of mass action was conceived, South Africa was a tranquil paradise.

Suddenly, possible violence and retrenchment were sources of concern to the State and business. The hysteria was understandable. Important implications would follow from either the success or failure of mass action.

Mass action as a tactic

Was mass action necessary, as the Alliance believed, or could issues be resolved "peacefully" through negotiation, as the Government maintained? Three factors of mass action as a tactic, a strategy and a right are pertinent.

Firstly, mass action was a necessary short-term tactic. Ironically, if anything was going to save the talks at all, it was mass action. A stage had been reached where the ANC could not return to the talks without a major political statement.

The collapse of Codesa 2 underlined the Government's cynicism towards negotiations, in general, and a contempt for the ANC, in particular. The Boipatong massacre rubbed salt into the wounds. To return to talks unconditionally would have earned the ANC derision from its supporters, at the mildest, and rejection, at worst.

Inevitable outcome

Mass action was an inevitable outcome of the Government's unwarranted overconfidence.

Secondly, mass action is a strategy. It has always been one of the ANC's four 'pillars' of the struggle, three of which had virtually collapsed since February 1990. The armed struggle is no longer a serious option.

Global economic sanctions have all but disintegrated. South Africa's international isolation is now something of the past.

Quite clearly, mass action is the only remaining weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. If this weapon fails, the Government's willingness to negotiate will be diminished sub-

stantially. Parties negotiate for as long as they are pressurised to do so.

What threatens the negotiation process is not mass action: On the contrary, talks collapsed because the ANC and the international community eased pressure on the Government far too soon.

For example, last year, the ANC withdrew from talks and issued an ultimatum to the Government. This decision was quickly rescinded, before it had any effect.

Simply mischievous

To contrast mass action with 'peaceful' strategies, as the Nationalists do, is simply mischievous. Unlike the armed struggle, mass action is a peaceful strategy. Naturally, it can become violent and has done so in some cases.

Yet, the obligation is not to abolish mass action. Rather, all involved must ensure that it remains peaceful.

Thirdly, in any democratic society, peaceful mass action is a right taken for granted. During a recent Democratic Party Convention in New York, various interest groups and lobbyists took to the streets to draw the delegates' attention to their cause.

There are certain parallels between the referendum and mass action. In both cases, the leadership had lost some credibility

Street demonstrations are a normal sight in the Western world. Overall, mass action is not simply about pressurising the Government to negotiate. It is a measure ordinary people may employ against any government - present, interim or post-minority rule.

Against this general background, it is necessary to evaluate the recent protest action, its impact, implications and potential. A number of commentators have dubbed the events as a black referendum. This is an overstatement.

There are certain parallels between the referendum and mass action. In both cases, the leadership had lost some credibility. It could no longer

assume the support of its constituency.

The referendum and mass action were designed to demonstrate support and power. Furthermore, the failure of both tactics would have plunged the country into an even greater crisis than one which existed already.

Yet there are important differences. The referendum was about one specific question. The mandate to President FW de Klerk was clear: 'proceed with the reform process'.

It is not clear what kind of ANC mandate should be read from mass action. Mass action was over a range of sometimes contradictory issues: To resuscitate Codesa, to topple the Government and to protest about the Boipatong massacre, to name a few. For this reason, it is difficult to assess the success or failure of mass action.

Equating mass action with a referendum is inappropriate for another reason. It reinforces stereotypes that blacks vote on their feet. A democratic vote takes place by secret ballot, not in marches. Mass action should not become a substitute for proper elections and mandates.

One thing is certain. The ANC has demonstrated an ability to mobilise its constituency with relatively short notice. It survived State propaganda and displayed a high degree of discipline and organisation. The country-wide coordination of mass action was impressive.

Seizure of power

The mass action effort could help the ANC recover some lost ground. By frightening off foreign investment after all formal sanctions have collapsed, mass action can keep disinvestment going indefinitely.

However, mass action will not result in the seizure of power. The structure of Codesa places definite limits on what may be achieved. Negotiation often results in power-sharing.

For the ANC, the outcome must have brought relief. The success of mass action, or the perception of such success on the part of ANC's supporters, was crucial if Mandela was to return to Codesa with a modicum of respect and dignity. Furthermore, the ANC regained the moral high-ground from the PAC and Azapo. Both had urged their supporters to ignore the boycott call.

Tomorrow: Maphayi looks at the Government's attitude towards negotiations and the collapse of Codesa.



ANC placard-carrying supporters demonstrate against the violence.

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Shielding the State's top gun

STAR 2578/92

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and the ANC are currently stalled over the question of a general amnesty, with the ANC demanding the release of some 400 political prisoners.

This the Government seems willing to concede, provided the ANC agrees that amnesty be extended to a dozen or so unnamed State functionaries who have committed unspecified offences. This the ANC refuses to concede.

On the face of it, it sounds unreasonable: surely a trade-off of 400 against 12 is not ungenerous? In fact, the ANC is entirely right about this and one must hope that the movement proves wholly intransigent on this point.

The reasons they give are powerful enough — amnesty should only be given to named people for specific offences. These are, after all, elementary principles of justice — and justice must be seen to be done. But to follow that thought through is to take a tin-opener to a whole can of worms.

For a start the State is by im-

plication making an admission here which it has never made before: not only that serious crimes have been committed in its name, but that the State feels sufficiently responsible for those crimes to want to exculpate those who committed them.

Quite clearly, we are not talking here merely about policemen who, in an excess of zeal, have beaten prisoners to death or applied electrodes to their genitals. Nor are we even talking merely about the lowly hitmen who murdered and mutilated the likes of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge.

The fact is that there are far too many such people to get into the baker's dozen the Government is talking about. They will all be relatively junior and it will be easy for the State to disclaim all responsibility on to them.

By definition we have to be talking about a smaller number of far more senior men, men who probably never had to dirty their hands murdering anyone directly themselves. Take, for example, the revelations — denied by no-

body — of the role of General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen in the Goniwe murders, or Adriaan Vlok's role in chairing committees that may have overseen similar work.

Nobody is suggesting — or not yet, anyway — that Messrs van der Westhuizen or Vlok have actually murdered or tortured anybody themselves: at the moment all we have is circumstantial evidence. But there is, quite clearly, a case to answer.

And if figures at that sort of level have been implicated, to pardon them must imply pardons at a lower level for many hundreds, even thousands, who actually carried out the dirty work.

But the real point is that figures at senior level could only get involved in villainy if it was understood to be State policy that they should — indeed they may well have documents to prove it. So, hidden deep within the Government's ploy, is at last an admission that major crimes and atrocities have been committed not by accident or by someone overstep-

ping the mark but because it was State policy that they should be committed.

The ANC would doubtless like a full Government admission of guilt for its own political purposes, but far wider considerations are at stake.

First, and most obviously, the State had no need to resort to crime. The ANC may have contested the legitimacy of "the apartheid regime" but there was throughout, a legally constituted, sovereign and universally recognised State. South Africa has not been under the personal rule of a tin-pot Papa Doc (or even Papa Croc).

The State could and did take legal powers to detain without trial, to declare states of emergency, to ban, list, house arrest and so on. Everything it wanted to do it could do legally. There can be no excuse for State crime.

Throughout the apartheid nightmare this preservation of a legal, constitutional order was the one saving grace of the National Party. South Africans of all per-

suasions desperately needed to believe in the majesty and authority of a constitutional State: the worse the turmoil and division the more we had to have — and believe in — a State which applied the law without fear or favour, which would even-handedly prosecute the van der Westhuizens and the Winnie Mandelas.

The ANC may wish to argue that there is no moral equivalence between Robert McBride and murderous securocrats because the former killed and maimed innocent people as a freedom fighter: it is not a savoury argument either way.

But there is, all the same, no moral equivalence. State functionaries who committed or authorised crimes did not merely break the law but actually overthrow the rule of law itself. The upholding of the rule of the law is the State's most sacred duty, a fact which, for all our sakes, must be re-impressed on the present and all future governments.

So while we must indeed "wipe the slate clean", the aim must be

to restore the full authority of the rule of law. This cannot be done by means of hole-in-the-corner deals to pardon senior but shadowy men for crimes whose name we dare not speak. We must have the full truth and those State officials who broke their sacred trust to uphold the rule of law, must stand trial. There is no other way.

Only fourteen years ago the country's president was forced out because he had broken the law: the precedent exists, even at the highest level. If, to re-establish the rule of law in all its majesty we have to drag old Papa Croc himself out of retirement and send him to court, so be it. We shall not be rid of his dread inheritance until we have the courage to look it in the face. □

● R W Johnson is a South African Rhodes Scholar, currently a don at Magdalen College, Oxford, and a commentator on South African affairs for the Times of London, the Independent and New Statesman. He is currently on sabbatical at Natal University, Durban.

CF 2518/92. (304A)

'Nest-feathering' plan is off

DURBAN. — A move by government MPs to feather their nests before the current Parliament is replaced by an interim government is off, National Party chief whip Mr Keppies Niemann has revealed.

"It's fallen away ... there's nothing on the cards any more," Mr Niemann said yesterday.

Details of a wide range of proposals to change political office-bearers' pensions, gratuities, tax and medical-aid schemes in preparation for a new government were included in a letter sent by Mr Niemann to chief whips of other parliamentary parties.

But an angry Mr Niemann yesterday said the matter had simply been raised as a matter of routine following representations from individual MPs.

He lashed out at the leaking of the letter to the HNP and then to the press, saying it was a "breach of confidence".

As a result "I won't even mention it to the other political parties again", he said. "As far as I am concerned it is off. There is no way I am going to go ahead with it."

In the letter Mr Niemann outlined three options for changes to the existing pension scheme:

- The government places (of taxpayers' money) into a pension fund which is administered by an insurance company. Future administrations would be obliged to service this pension fund.

(of taxpayers' money) into a pension fund which is administered by an insurance company. Future administrations would be obliged to service this pension fund.

- All existing MPs and pensioners would be paid out and would in future have to make their own private arrangements.

• Continuing with the existing scheme in terms of which an MP or President's Councillor pays 10% of his or her basic salary to a general revenue account.

He also proposed that MPs come into consideration for gratuities from day one instead of after 7½ years of service.

Talks deadlock may be easing

304A
ARC 25/8/92

Political Staff

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations are gradually gathering momentum with indications over the past few days that the deadlock is easing.

The most encouraging signal so far was sent by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend when he said he thought the government and African National Congress had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock in the negotiations process".

He and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet again tonight to try to build on the progress made at a meeting on Friday.

The Conservative Party has for the first time showed signs

of readiness to enter mainstream negotiations, while the discussions between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress, aimed at bringing the PAC into negotiations, continued last night.

Mr Meyer told a weekend National Party youth conference in Naboomspruit that possible compromise proposals had been found at his Friday meeting with Mr Ramaphosa.

He said the ANC insisted that the government should respond to its 14 demands, but the government would not accede to them.

Instead, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken back to the Cabinet and the ANC's national

working committee for approval.

ANC negotiator Mr Valli Moosa said yesterday that Friday's discussions focused on the 14 demands but that the talks were still "incomplete".

Mr Moosa said until the discussion had been completed, it would be premature to say a solution had been found to the deadlock.

Meanwhile Mr Meyer met PAC secretary of foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim last night to continue "technical" discussions about the possibility of the PAC entering formal negotiations.

Mr Ebrahim said the talks would focus on a meeting between senior government and

PAC leaders at a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship.

The government met the PAC on April 10 in Arusha under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

In addition to agreeing on the need for an elected constitution-making body, Mr Ebrahim said the two sides had agreed that registration for a common voters' roll should start as soon as possible.

At a special congress in Kimberley, the CP said it was seriously considering going to the government conference on federalism, scheduled for September 7.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht indicated that the CP might be prepared to join Codesa-like negotiations.

ANC, NP in clash

AN NP meeting in Ashton ended in chaos yesterday when a local ANC member and an NP MP fought for control of the podium.

Last night Ashton Joint Forum Secretary Mr Neville Fapto claimed that farmers had taken labourers to the community hall meeting on the pretext that they would "watch a video" CT 25/8/92

Mr Fapto said that as an ANC member, farmers had often in the past refused him permission to address labourers.

One of the farmers accused by Mr Fapto of deceiving labourers, Mr Hugo Bruwer, said he had given labourers the choice of going to the NP meeting where they would be shown an "information video".

Koos abandons right-wing

Political Staff

MR Koos van der Merwe, the maverick MP expelled from the Conservative Party, says he is unlikely to join the Afrikaaner Volksunie (AVU) "at this stage".

Instead he plans to forge unity among Afrikaners and moderates in the hope of helping facilitate an anti-ANC coalition powerful enough to beat the organisation in elections.

He has also abandoned the tag "right-winger", saying that it has

been tainted "by torn green underpants and big moons through keyholes".

"I would rather talk about Afrikaners or moderates," he said.

He believes the National Party should take the initiative in forming the coalition. Moderates should bury their differences for the sake of beating the ANC in the first election. After that they could discuss their differences.

Meanwhile, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, reacting to reports that his party intended ne-

gotiating with the ANC, said the CP did not intend negotiating with the ANC at Codesa "or anywhere else".

He said the party had given its supporters the undertaking that it would ask them for a mandate to negotiate a territory in which whites would enjoy self-determination. Once the CP had certainty regarding this territory they would enter into negotiations with other peoples (volke) to reach a mutually agreed upon border settlement, he said.

ANC, Govt meet tonight

■ Government tells youth it won't act
on demands:

~~14~~ 304A
Sovereign 25/8/92

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE ANC meets the Government again tonight to seek ways of restarting the negotiations process.

The Government delegation will be led by Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC team by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Tonight's discussions will focus on the Government's response to the ANC's 14 demands.

The resumption of talks is contingent upon an adequate response, an ANC negotiations source said yesterday.

Trying to act tough

The source said the Government was "trying to act tough" when Meyer told the National Party Transvaal youth conference at the weekend that they (Government) would not move on the 14 demands as a means of re-entering talks, but that a mechanism would have to be created to bring negotiations back on stream without anyone losing face.

Govt, PAC resume talks

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer met a PAC delegation headed by the movement's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim in Johannesburg last night.

At the meeting, the two parties agreed to hold another round of talks to deal with the PAC's demand that a meeting at leadership level between the two parties take place under a neutral convenor at a neutral venue.

Both parties will now report back to their principals. Thereafter a date for a third round of talks will be set.

Earlier, a PAC source said the organisation had planned to propose a venue outside SA for talks between the PAC and government at senior level.

Yesterday's meeting was the third contact between government and the PAC.

B/PAM 25/8/92
PATRICK BULGER

The PAC has set up a committee to oversee bilateral contact with government.

Last night Meyer said the talks had taken place on an exploratory basis to try to resolve stumbling blocks in the way of getting the PAC involved in negotiations.

Ebrahim said the PAC had put forward concrete proposals, but he could not disclose what they were at this stage.

Today Meyer will meet ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to discuss issues related to the negotiations process. The two men met last Friday.

The meeting is one of a series of bilateral contacts the government is engaged in with a view to reconvening constitutional negotiations.

ANC says it ^(SUA) did not disrupt Nat meeting

ARG 15/8/92

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE ANC today dissociated itself from the disruption of a National Party meeting in the Boland town of Ashton by a man claiming to be a member of the movement.

But Swellendam MP Mr Nick Koornhof, who last night abandoned a meeting in the coloured section of the town, called on the ANC to take action against the man, Mr Neville Shafto.

He said: "The ANC must take disciplinary action against him."

Mr Koornhof said he would not be intimidated by last night's disruption.

"I will return to Ashton for another meeting next week. Those people who did not see the NP's information video will be allowed to do so."

Ashton ANC chairman Mr D Sayed said the movement had played no role in the disruption.

"It was a low profile meeting. Frankly, I was not even aware that the NP was having a meeting here. As far as I'm concerned the ANC did not disrupt the meeting."

He said that the individual responsible had joined the movement two years ago but "since then I have not seen him taking part in our activities".

He claimed the NP had bused in many of the people present at its meeting.

But Mr Koornhof countered that he did not know of any ANC meeting where the organisation had not brought in outsiders.

the nation in brief

No talks with ANC - CP

3049

THE Conservative Party did not intend negotiating with the African National Congress at Codesa "or anywhere else" CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday. Soweto 25/8/92

Treurnicht rejected reports that the CP intended negotiating with the ANC and said the party had given its supporters an undertaking it would ask them for a mandate to negotiate a territory in which whites would enjoy self-determination.

Once the CP had certainty over this territory, with presently held CP constituencies at the "very least" constituting a portion, then "we will enter into negotiations with other peoples (volke) and reach a mutually agreed upon border settlement with them," he said.

Signs of hope for stalled negotiations

STAR 25/8/92

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Constitutional negotiations are gradually starting to gather momentum across a broad front with several hopeful signs emerging over the last few days that the current deadlock is easing.

The most encouraging signal so far was sent out by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend when he said that he thought the Government and ANC had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock in the negotiations process".

He and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would meet again tonight to try to build on the progress made at a meeting on Friday.

Face-saving

The Conservative Party, for the first time, showed signs of readiness to enter mainstream negotiations at the weekend, while the discussions between the Government and the PAC aimed at bringing the PAC into negotiations, continued last night.

Meyer told a weekend NP conference that possible compromise proposals had been made at his Friday meeting with Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC insisted that the Government should respond to its 14 demands, but the Government would not accede to them. Instead, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for approval.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa yesterday told The Star that Friday's discussions focused on the 14 demands but that the talks were still "incomplete".

He noted that the Government had acceded to some of the ANC's demands. It would be untrue to argue that the Government refused to address the ANC's demands as it had already agreed to international

violence monitoring.

Mr Moosa said the ANC required a "satisfactory" response to its key demands, and there was no point in reinstating negotiations "unless we are certain that the negotiations will be fruitful". Until the discussion had been completed, it would be premature to say a solution had been found to the deadlock.

Meanwhile, Mr Meyer met PAC secretary of foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim last night to continue "technical" discussions about the possibility of the PAC entering negotiations.

Mr Meyer said afterwards it was an "exploratory" meeting to discuss stumbling blocks — including the PAC demand for a neutral venue — to the first meeting at (senior) leadership level. It was agreed that the two parties would meet again at an unspecified date.

Earlier Mr Ebrahim told The Star the talks would focus on a meeting between senior Government and PAC leaders at a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship. The Government had accepted such a meeting in principle as it had met the PAC on April 10 in Arusha under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

Finalised

In addition to agreeing on the need for an elected constitution-making body, Mr Ebrahim said the two sides had agreed at a meeting last week that voter registration for a common voters' role should start as soon as possible. The decision would be finalised at the meeting to be held outside the country.

At a special congress in Kimberley, the CP said it was seriously considering going to the Government conference on federalism — scheduled for September 7.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht indicated the CP might be prepared to join Codesa-like negotiations. It is clear that the CP has been driven to this position for fear of being outmanoeuvred by the five breakaway CP MPs.

Most whites feel worse off — survey

Staff Reporter

A record 60 percent of whites believe they are economically worse off than a year ago, while 40 percent of blacks feel the same way, a recent survey shows.

A record low number of whites — 12 percent — and 21 percent of blacks had experienced an improvement in their financial situation.

Pessimism about the future economic outlook is strong among whites, with only 23 percent expecting their families to be better off in a year, while 39 percent of blacks feel the same, the Gallup poll showed.

However, 46 percent of whites expect their families to be worse off next year, compared to just over a quarter of blacks.

Socio-political trends were also tested. The poll found that the outcome of the March referendum on political negotiations had resulted in

an improved relationship between blacks and whites.

Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner said: "The downward trend from 1990 to 1991 was reversed by the referendum ... Some 60 percent of whites and 53 percent of blacks believed the racial relationship was improving — and only one in seven saw it as deteriorating."

Considering political parties, 75 percent of whites said they definitely or might vote for the National Party, with 30 percent of blacks feeling the same. Only 4 percent of whites said they would definitely or perhaps vote for the ANC, which had overwhelming support — more than 80 percent — among blacks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party showed little support among blacks — only 4 percent.

STAR 25/8/92

304A

ANALYSIS Political analyst looks at mass action



Oupa Gqozo



FW de Klerk



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Mass action a warning to Codesa participants

By Vincent Maphai
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

NO BIRTHRIGHT Mass support

should not be regarded as the sole

preserve of one party:

THE GOVERNMENT'S attitude towards negotiations and the subsequent collapse of the talks confirmed suspicions of the anti-Codesa lobby.

Yet, when thousands heeded the boycott call, questions were raised about the level of support enjoyed by the PAC and Azapo.

The objections raised by these organisations against mass action are serious. However, their response was questionable. They were allegedly never consulted about this measure.

Furthermore, mass action was partly about revitalising Codesa. It was, therefore, unfair to expect PAC or Azapo supporters to risk their lives and jobs in order to save the very institution whose death they would have preferred!

Rescue a "jilted lover"

These organisations also perceived the proposed mass action as an attempt to rescue a "jilted lover" rather than a measure to advance the interests of the masses. They argued that when it suited them, the ANC elite fraternised with the Nationalists andbantustan and tricameral functionaries - at the expense of "the masses". In other words, the entire black community was being mobilised to pursue narrow party political aims of the ANC.

High profile roles

Be that as it may, it does not follow that these organisations should have opposed mass action. The critics could have joined the action but insisted on high profile roles for themselves at all events. In that case, they would have shared the spoils, regardless of the size of their support.

Alternatively, they could have withheld organisational support but left the decision to join the mass action or not to their members' discretion. The success or failure of mass action would have had no direct relevance to them.

Instead, these organisations found themselves, unwittingly, on the same side with the Government, business,

Gqozo and Buthelezi. Ironically, they have always reminded the world that the ANC was surrounded by "sell-outs" inside Codesa.

The significance and consequence of mass action, or its failure, need to be appreciated beyond what was intended by the ANC. The action has reinforced the concept of accountability. In some respects, mass action was a warning to all Codesa participants, including the ANC.

Find a compromise

Often outgoing and incoming elites easily find a compromise provided their interests are guaranteed. Usually such concessions are possible if the "rank and file" claims are ignored or forgotten.

Recent mass action may have set an important precedent for future political practice. Any future government, including the ANC, runs the risk of mass action if it departs substantially from election promises.

What is the possible impact of mass action on the Government? There are several alternatives. At the very least it will restore the pre-1990 stalemate.

Greater urgency

The tone rather than the substance of negotiation might improve as a result of mass action. The Government is likely to negotiate with greater urgency than before, if the alternative is recurrent mass action. For its part, the ANC is likely to be less conciliatory than prior to the collapse of Codesa.

Yet, State President FW de Klerk may also attempt to stretch mass action to its limits. Quite clearly, if mass action were to be undertaken frequently, it might begin to lose momentum. Such an outcome, however, would be dangerous for De Klerk as well. A discredited ANC will not result in a stronger National Party, but rather in an ungovernable country. It is in De Klerk's interests to ensure that the ANC survives.

Mass action could be curtailed by

If mass action is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community

De Klerk's conceding to one of the ANC's demands as a matter of urgency - an interim government.

The Government could use the existence of an interim government to argue that mass actions such as general strikes and appeals for sanctions are now preposterous. The ANC cannot call for an international boycott, sanctions and mass action against a government of which it is part.

Furthermore, the Government would hope that such "transitional arrangements" would reassure its own constituency that their quality of life, and daily lived experience, will remain substantially unchanged under a new, majority-rule constitution. It will demonstrate that coalition governments are feasible.

Result of its failure

Mass action is a potent tool. Yet, like all strategies, it has its own definite limitations. In itself, successful mass action does not guarantee the end of National Party rule. The result of its failure, however, is an extended lifespan for apartheid. Worse still, if it is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community.

For this reason, no party or organisation should regard mass support as its birthright. Mass action may have lessened the urgency for a broader patriotic front which includes the PAC and Azapo. After its recent victory, the ANC might consider these organisations dispensable.

304A

New party plans a Cape Republic

(304A)

CT 26/8/92
Political Correspondent

A NEW party geared towards establishing an independent Republic of the Cape of Good Hope could be launched shortly.

The drive to turn back the clock to pre-1910 days will be spearheaded by a 31-year-old Port Elizabeth businessman and former Matie divinity student, Mr. Leonard Hattingh.

Mr Hattingh, who plans to register the proposed Republican Party in the next two weeks, yesterday said he had received support for his vision in recent weeks from as far afield as De Aar, Kimberley and Walvis Bay.

Federalism

'gaining' (304A)

ET 26/8/92
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Political organisations that had previously argued against federalism would come out in support of it in the next few days, Deputy Minister of Justice and National Intelligence Mr Danie Schutte said yesterday.

Addressing delegates to the Natal Municipal Association's conference for councillors, Mr Schutte said regionalism and federalism had gained strong support internationally and, more importantly, locally in the last few months.

Mr Schutte urged local government leaders in the province to "begin shaping the future".

SA flag has a long, turbulent history that is still not over

ARG 26/8/92 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The controversial orange, white and blue South African flag, was ironically first hoisted outside this country.

It was raised at an international conference in Havana, Cuba on March 30, 1928 at the suggestion of Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Eric Louw, then trade commissioner to the United States.

Two months later, on May 31, the flag was officially hoisted at parliament in Cape Town.

The dispute is not new. The flag issue has cropped up over the years. But the present controversy has an intensity all its own.

There are those who see it as a symbol of white oppression, while others would like to have it substituted with the old Transvaal Vierkleur, thereby disposing once and for all any reference to, or connection with, Britain.

Then there are those who view it as a statement which says to the world: "This is our flag, and we are proud of it".

The birth of the national flag was not easy.

In February 1925, Dr D F Malan, as Minister of the Interior in General J B M Hertzog's Pact Cabinet, introduced in parliament a Bill to define Union nationality and to provide for a South African flag.

The Bill did not prescribe the design of the flag but authorised the Governor-General to appoint whomsoever he saw fit to do so.

The Minister of Defence, Colonel F H P Creswell, as well as the opposition South African Party supported the measure.

The Bill was later withdrawn in the hope that, after further consultation and other preliminary steps had been taken, it would be reintroduced at the beginning of the next parliamentary session.

It would then be so altered as to embody the description of the flag, the design of which should be generally acceptable as the unified choice of all sectors of the nation through their recognised political leaders.

The choice of a design for the national flag was placed before a conference of MPs representing the three parties in the House when parliament met for the 1926 session.

Professor Eric Walker of Cape Town and Professor W Blommaert of Stellenbosch were invited to serve as specialists to be consulted by the conference on heraldic rules and requirements.

At this stage, everything had been accomplished by agreement between Dr Malan and General Jan Smuts and with the apparent acquiescence of all political groups in the country.

But suddenly, different points of view arose, and the main question was whether or not some representation of British connection — the Union Jack or a crown — should be incorporated in the design.

Feelings ran high and numerous letters and articles on this and other points appeared in newspapers and magazines.

General Smuts was later reported as saying: "Public opinion was worked up until the pot almost boiled over. The state of feeling in the country was such as I have not seen since the Boer War."

A commission, appointed by the government after parliament adjourned in 1926, considered the matter and submitted three designs.

This led to a further conference comprising members of the two rival flag organisations and was presided over by Professor J J Smith of Stellenbosch. The conference recommended one of the designs.

An amended Bill was introduced in parliament in 1927 and referred to a select committee after it had passed the Second Reading.

Two new designs were submitted to this committee — one by General Hertzog and one by General Smuts. By a majority vote the committee adopted the design submitted by General Hertzog.

This was the Van Riebeeck flag, or "Prinsenvlag" (orange, white and blue) flown by the Netherlands at the time of the settlement of the Cape in 1652.

However, the Cross of St George, recommended by the Smith conference to be incorporated in the design, was replaced by a shield enclosing three small flags — the Union Jack, the Vierkleur and the Orange Free State flag.

But all was not over yet.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Tielman Roos, pointed out there was already provision in the Bill limiting the official use of the Union Jack to some festive occasions — the actual and official King's Birthday, Empire Day and Union Day.

He proposed a substitute for this provision whereby, while providing for a national flag, it would recognise the Union Jack as symbolising the association of the Union with other British Commonwealth nations.

Mr Roos then persuaded the Governor-General to summon Generals Hertzog and Smuts to discuss the matter. This eventually led to the passing of the Union Nationality and Flags Act (No 40 of 1927).

In terms of the Act, the design adopted was the Van Riebeeck flag with the three small flags in the centre, but without the shield.

This flag and the Union Jack were declared "the flags of the Union", the one as the national flag and the other to denote the Commonwealth association.

The Union Jack would be flown in only some places, and then always with the national flag. The Governor-General signed the Act in November 1927, and it came into operation on May 31, 1928.

In March 1957 an amending Act was passed which deleted all references to the Union Jack. The national flag was declared the "flag of the Union", and became the national flag of the Republic on May 31, 1961. — Sapa.

Rupert calls for an end to political in-fighting

THEO RAWANA
3045

SBDC chairman Anton Rupert yesterday urgently called for SA's political leaders to stop their in-fighting, reach consensus and work for economic growth.

Addressing the media before the SBDC's AGM in Johannesburg, Rupert said leaders who were embroiled in in-fighting should know that a "scorched-earth policy" did not work. *5/10/87 26/8/92*

"It's easy to say I want to govern, but when you govern... you are responsible for everyone," Rupert said.

He said he hoped leaders would reach consensus and work to solve the unemployment problem. SA needed to help uplift neighbouring countries, because the numbers flooding into the country would grow if it did not do so.

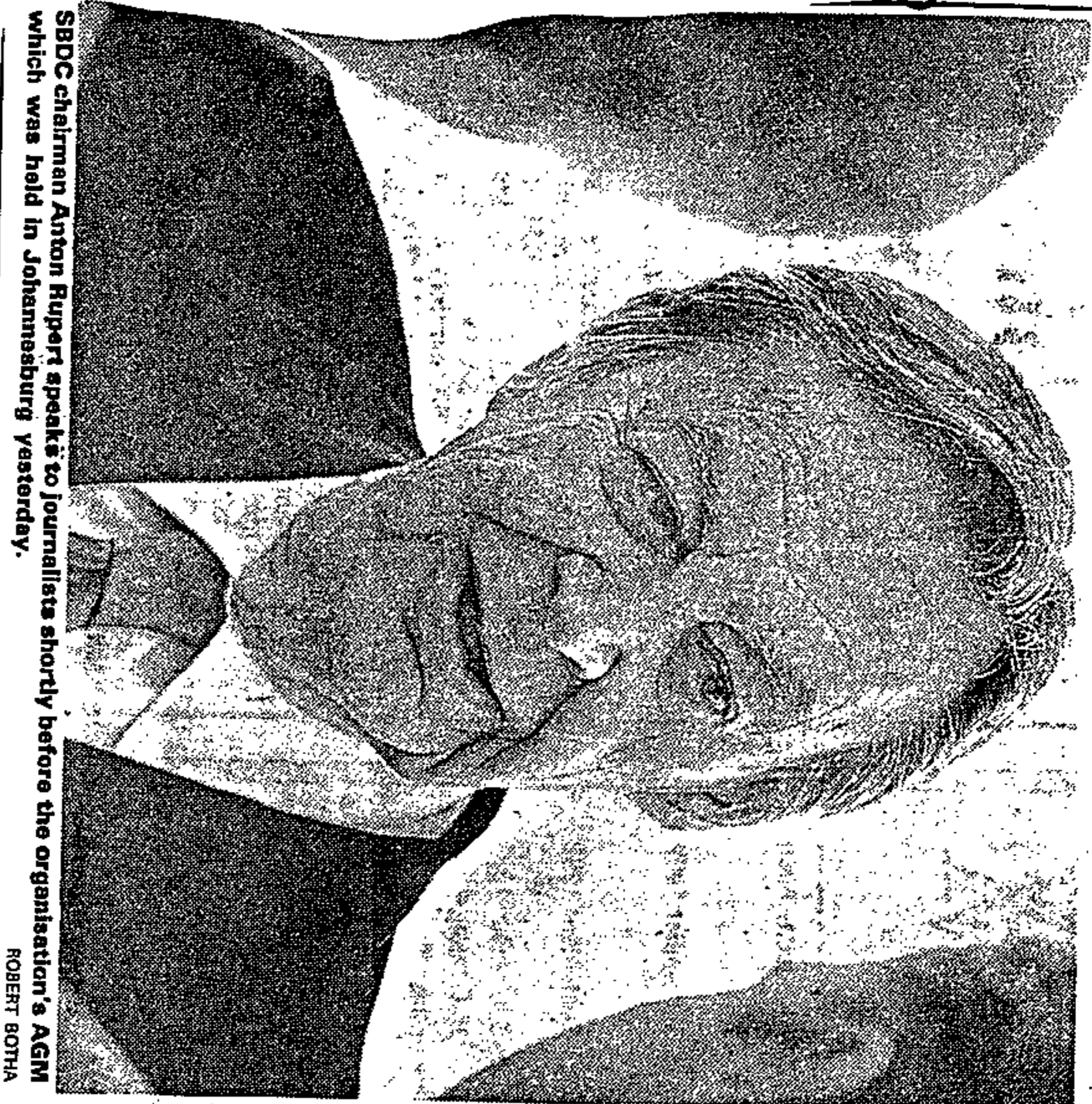
"Mozambique must come right, or more and more will come through the electric fences. We must get them to help themselves," he said.

In his chairman's address, Rupert said that, since the world economy remained sluggish, SA would have to depend on its entrepreneurial resources. "SA is undoubtedly at a critical juncture

in its history. Comprehensive strategies are needed to promote economic growth and employment creation to meet the rising political and economic expectations of all South Africans. I believe that this can be done only by creating a favourable climate for business enterprise."

Evidence worldwide suggested that the free enterprise system was best able to meet the needs of the people and the most conducive to entrepreneurship.

- Listing the achievements of the SBDC over the past 11 years, Rupert said it had:
 - Promoted more than 310 000 jobs at a cost of less than R5 000 each;
 - Granted more than R1,327bn in loans to more than 35 000 business entrepreneurs;
 - Developed projects to the value of R280m and with an area of more than 800 000m² at an average of only R350m²; and
 - Assisted more than 1,481-million people with information and advice since 1984, with inquiries running at about 1 100 a working day.



SBDC chairman Anton Rupert speaks to journalists shortly before the organisation's AGM which was held in Johannesburg yesterday.

ROBERT BOTHA

Govt and ANC in bid to restart negotiations

STAR 26/8/92

Political Staff

(304A)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were due to meet last night for at least the third time in 10 days to try to restart formal negotiations.

They were to meet for "exploratory talks" amid encouraging signs from the Government that a compromise "face-saving" solution to the current negotiations deadlock was in sight.

However, the ANC has been down-playing these hopeful signals, indicating that the two sides are still quite a long way from agreement and insisting that the Government should "satisfactorily" meet its key conditions for resuming talks.

After meeting Mr Ramaphosa on August 16 and again last Friday, Mr Meyer

said at the weekend both parties had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock".

Instead of simply meeting the ANC's 14 demands, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken back to the Cabinet and the ANC national working committee for approval.

It was thought unlikely that any compromise would emerge from last night's meeting to be considered by the Cabinet at its regular weekly meeting today.

● Exploratory talks between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress have not yet got around the question of whether or not negotiations between them should take place outside South Africa, as the PAC demands, or in the country, as the Government insists. The talks are expected to continue, but no date has been set for another meeting.

UIF cards will be posted - hospital

By Paula Fray
Medical Reporter

The Johannesburg Hospital is posting hundreds of Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) cards, pension details and service certificates to dismissed workers, a hospital superintendent, Dr Lize Kalmyn, said yesterday.

This follows a complaint from a Star reader that striking workers, dismissed last month, had still not received their pension payouts or their UIF cards.

However, National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) assistant general-secretary Neal Thobejane yesterday said the union was still determined to get dismissed workers reinstated.

Nehawu and the Transvaal Provincial Administration are to meet again today under the chairmanship of the Wits/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in a bid to resolve the 12-week hospital strike.

According to the reader, one hospital worker who was fired in July had, as yet, received only her final cheque. She had worked for the Johannes-

burg Hospital for nine years.

According to the reader, who preferred not to be named, he was told by Johannesburg Hospital administration staff that the cards would be posted as about 900 workers had been dismissed.

Dr Kalmyn said that if hundreds of workers had gone in to collect their cards, it would have resulted in delays in processing the documents.

The TPA yesterday said intimidation was still being reported at provincial hospitals.

According to a TPA statement, a Ga-Rankuwa Hospital recruit was stabbed on Sunday, a house belonging to a clerk at Witbank Hospital was set alight, and a senior official at Sebokeng Hospital had his vehicle damaged.

Written intimidatory threats, in which workers were warned of endangering their lives, had been distributed at Baragwanath Hospital, the TPA added.

● Contributors who experience difficulty in obtaining their cards from ex-employers can approach any office of the Department of Manpower for assistance.

NEWS IN BRIEF

810AM 26/8/97 (304A)
Govt meets ANC

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer was to meet ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday, in a follow-up to Friday's talks on deadlocked negotiations and the ANC's 14 demands, a ministry spokesman said.

Meyer said at the weekend contact with the ANC was being limited to Ramaphosa because radical elements in the ANC were prescribing to its leadership.

No statement was expected.

NEWS PAC, Azapo told it's wrong to negotiate

Thumbs down from 'Combat'

By Joe Mdhlela *Sowetan 27/8/92*

A NEWLY established organisation, Community of Black and African Theologians, said this week it would advise the PAC and Azapo not to negotiate with the Government.

Launched last weekend at Eskom College in Midrand, the organisation concluded this after a four-day session.

The theological seminar was organised by the Black Theology Project and Institute for Contextual Theology.

The clergymen criticised the South African Council of Churches, accused of misrepresenting black struggle.

The organisation also expressed unhappiness that white liberals dominated the SACC which, it said, gave the black struggle for liberation an interpretation which was inconsistent with the experiences of blacks.

The president of Combat and lecturer in Theology at the University of South Africa, Dr Takatso Mofokeng, said the

■ New body is critical of the SACC's role in the struggle for liberation: 304

organisation was dismayed that the PAC was already talking to the Government and that Azapo was in the process of doing so. "We will be approaching these organisations to express our concern about the talks."

"The SACC has moved away from the black community. Their language has become white. Combat will be engaging the SACC in a critical dialogue to address these concerns," Mofokeng said.

The organisation elected Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi as executive director, Professor Itumeleng Mosala as finance director, Dr David Mosoma as publicity and information director and Ms Priscilla Everson and the Rev Tinyiko Maluleka take care of gender affairs and programmes respectively.

Africa

Dangers in a divided society

STAR 27/8/92.

GRAHAM Linscott is correct to argue that federalism may solve some of South Africa's intricate constitutional problems.

Decentralised sovereignty and political participation in a divided society may be sufficiently flexible to cope with local and regional concerns and interests. In defence of his general argument, he invokes the recent experience of the former Soviet Union and the once united Yugoslavia.

The Soviet example supports his argument. However, it is incorrect to describe Yugoslavia as a "highly centralised state" and it is inaccurate to say that in it "regional and ethnic interests were ignored and suppressed". Yugoslavia, on the contrary, raises questions about federalism in a divided country.

Yugoslavia came into existence after World War 1 when the victorious powers of Versailles lumped all the bits and pieces left over from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires together

under the existing Serbian monarch. This act entrenched Serb political and military dominance in the new state with consequences still in evidence today.

After World War 2, the territorial boundaries remained the same although the monarch was deposed and the communists, under Marshal Tito, came to power.

In 1946, a constitution was enacted creating a federation of six republics and two autonomous regions, each having specified political powers, including the nominal right to secede from federal control. This clashed with the Communist Party's commitment to the Soviet model of central planning. In the early 1950s, the YCP's split with this model was more concerned with transforming Yugoslavia into a Soviet satellite state. It then established the Non-Aligned Movement with other "Third World" states.

Moreover, it introduced a market economy with decentralised collective control over all enter-

prises. Companies were organised into communes that co-ordinated their activities in specified regions. By 1953, the power of the communes was increased at the expense of the republics. This system worked well between the mid-1950s and early 1960s — illustrated by sustained high rates of growth and the transition from a rural to an urban society.

Federal policies of taxation aimed at reallocating resources from the historically more developed republics to the poorer regions rekindled old ethnic and national antagonisms. This resulted in the enactment of a new constitution in 1963 that reaffirmed the principles of federalism.

Party bosses in most of the republics soon became concerned with Serbia's attempts to centralise authority in the federal institutions in which it was dominant. This led to a series of constitutional amendments and legal changes that gave more and more political, economic and security power to the republics and autonomous regions. By the mid 1960s, Yugo-

slavia was not a one-party state. Instead, it became an eight-party state with authoritarian republican and provincial parties. Overt political demands for ethnic and regional autonomy were laid out within the YCP itself and its decentralised branches. The centrifugal trend over the past 20-odd years was, despite Serbian opposition, entrenched.

In Croatia in the late 1960s, a wave of rioting and opposition erupted against attempts at strengthening the federal government. After action was taken against the Croatian "nationalists", a new constitution was again enacted in 1974. It increased the powers of the republics at a political level in that they delegated functions to the federal government. On the other hand, it placed significant economic power in the hands of the federal authorities, thereby giving them some power to control the republics and autonomous regions.

In the late-1970s Yugoslavia, like most countries, experienced an economic recession caused in

part by the earlier oil crisis. Also, the limits of self-managed market socialism became apparent.

All of this was exacerbated by Tito's death in early 1980. Initially, as a charismatic leader in the post-1948 period, he was able to keep the disparate regional groups united.

Calls for independence were disguised as demands for more regional autonomy and this sparked the latent nationalism of the various republics. Unilateral proclamations for independence from the Federation soon followed. Herein lies the root cause of the genocide, violence, uncertainty and disintegration of the Federation. More importantly, the historical legacy of Serb dominance in the YCP, armed forces and federal bureaucracy goes some way in explaining why it has the capacity to wage war on its pre-World War 2 regional foes.

In South Africa, the white and Afrikaner-controlled civil service and security apparatus is not going to change overnight. In ad-

dition to this, strong, decentralised governmental and security powers may well exacerbate existing tensions and rivalries. Federal interventions, necessary for redressing historical and regional inequalities, can easily be perceived as ethnic favouritism and patronage.

This can over-politicise government, thereby hindering its ability to intervene effectively in its attempt to maintain a stable social, economic and political environment necessary for further growth.

Finally, multi-party democracy, in either a unitary or a federal system, may be the most important factor in allowing for the representation of the heterogeneous interests and perceptions of a divided society.

The Yugoslavian experience teaches caution when considering the empowerment of regional authorities in a divided society, especially where claims to land are extremely controversial and volatile. □

Is federalism a viable option?

STAR 27/8/92.

304A

FEDERALISM — which President F W de Klerk and members of his Government often refer to as “regionalism” — has become a main talking point in SA politics, and indications are that the issue will raise the temperatures of some political players for a little longer.

Like a few other concepts in the country’s political lexicon, federalism means different things to different people and their parties and organisations.

That federalism as an option for South Africa will become a debating point in future negotiations was made clear by Mr de Klerk in Pretoria last week when he announced that the Government would meet those parties in Codesa that agreed on a number of issues, chief among which was “regionalism”.

And, for the first time, Mr de Klerk last week used the words “federalism” and “regionalism” interchangeably — and warning lights flashed in ANC circles.

In an attempt to advance the debate on federalism, the Insti-

A day after President F W de Klerk announced a meeting of like-minded parties in September, Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA attended a three-day workshop on federalism.

tute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD) and the Centre for Policy Studies organised a workshop on “The politics and economics of federalism: an SA debate” in Cape Town at the weekend.

The workshop, addressed by respected academics and political analysts, was also attended by representatives of some of the contenders for power in a future dispensation.

German expert Dr Hartmut Klatt said that in his country federalism had two main purposes: the achievement of democracy “through a strong electoral system”, and the vertical separation of powers. It was not based on any ethnic, racial or linguistic differences, but was decided upon to achieve political unity after World War 2.

Strongly opposed to federalism was Ralph Lawrence of the University of Natal, who said it would entrench more divisions instead of forging unity.

“Federalism,” Mr Lawrence said, “is generally seen as catering for regional autonomy, but it is also often seen as almost embodying a suspicion of government. It embodies the idea that national government is a necessary evil to be tolerated,” he said.

Strongly in favour of federalism was long-time communist Rowley Arenstein, who said South Africa was not “a multi-national state and not a national unit”. Federalism, he said, was “much more democratic than a unitary state”.

At issue was whether there were things which one system could deliver better than the

other, and most participants felt that arguments advanced in favour of federalism could also be used in favour of a unitary state.

There was consensus, however, that there was a need for government “to be brought to the people” through strong regional governments, but just how strong these regional governments had to be was the main point of difference.

One gained the impression that by coming out strongly in favour of “regionalism”, the NP — which for many years opposed federalism as advocated by the DP and its forerunners — had given a kiss of death to the concept. One felt that if it were not for the fact that the NP and IFP prefer federalism, the idea would not be half as emotional and controversial.

But the debate has begun, and the MPD and German-based Friedrich Ebert Foundation have invited representatives to attend a conference on federalism in Germany next month. □

Road to change is still tortuous

SPAR 27/8/92

204A

ABOUT two years ago it seemed the South African Government — and by implication most of its supporters — had turned its back on apartheid.

It was said that we realised the apartheid road had been a wrong road, that we would now travel a new road in which we would all join hands and walk forward together, even if some of us would take time getting used to holding hands with fellow citizens whom apartheid had trained us to regard as strangers.

Major apartheid laws like the Group Areas and the Population Registration Act, as well as the Land Acts, were scrapped.

It was a good beginning, but it is only a step on the new road if we all accept that we scrapped these laws because apartheid was wrong.

And accepting that must mean accepting three consequences of apartheid: firstly, it caused immense hurt to millions of people who were denied equal chances at work, at school and elsewhere solely because of their "race"; it forced so many out of their homes and neighbourhoods. It was so bad that it was — not lightly — declared a crime against humanity by the international community.

Secondly we must accept that such hurts and humiliations will never be forgotten by those who suffered them. If those who practised apartheid are to be forgiven, they must show that they regret it, and have firmly turned their backs on it.

Thirdly, it follows that we must accept that fighting against apartheid was right. The struggles against apartheid were many, and gained much support worldwide.

And it was only because of the deafness of those who refused to heed earlier cries of anguish and protests that the oppressed finally turned to armed struggle — as has happened in other times and places throughout history.

Many died in the struggle, very many were jailed, some for most of their best years, and many thousands went into exile. It is a bitter choice to leave your native land, and for most exile was a hard road. Yet the Government that had turned its back on apartheid could not bring itself to grant a blanket pardon to those returning home — nor to those jailed for fighting apartheid.

Returnees had to list their offences, and be pardoned, individually, and it took 18 months and much shuffling between Geneva and Pretoria before the Government signed a Memorandum of

Understanding with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Even in that there is no blanket indemnity as is normal elsewhere in similar circumstances; at least, UNHCR can handle appeals to the authorities on behalf of returnees. And several hundred political prisoners remain in jail.

And in the face of that approach the Government does not feel ashamed to suggest a blanket indemnity, without disclosure, of security force offences: those who committed crimes in enforcing apartheid should be treated more leniently than have been those who opposed apartheid.

It is this basic insensitivity to the perceptions and life experiences of black South Africans that persuades many of them that the Government has not really turned its back on apartheid. □

Whites in DP outnumber blacks 'threefold'

3044

Political Staff

CT 27/8/92

THE Democratic Party's white membership was three or more times as large as its black and brown membership, the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, has admitted.

However, wherever the DP went among black people, it gained significant numbers of members, he said in an interview published in the latest issue of Barometer on Negotiation.

"It is true, in statistical terms, that the total num-

ber of these members is tiny compared to the number of black South Africans.

"We need, in other words, to double and redouble our efforts, but there is no need to feel that they will fail."

If it was presumed that the DP had a large Indian following, the reason would be that, "in general, Indian people are peaceful, hardworking, family-orientated and great respecters of individual human rights". The DP would be their "natural" home.

Dr No to quit active politics?

CT 27/8/92 (304A)

Political Staff

THE embattled leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, 71, could quit active politics soon — and pave the way for the hardliners in the party to take complete control.

If he does, there is little doubt that the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, will be elected in his place.

This could force out MPs such as Dr Pieter Mulder, Dr Corne Mulder and Mr Fanie Jacobs, who are said to sympathise with the views of the five rebels who announced plans this week to form the Afrikaner Volksunie but who feel the CP should be reformed from within.

One of the key figures in the hardliner wing of the party, Mr Schalf Pienaar, the MP for Potgietersrus, will increase his influence and status in the party if the right-wing coup succeeds.

Most of the old guard CP MPs are expected to back Dr Hartzenberg.

It is understood that Dr Treurnicht has been considering withdrawing from active politics for some time, but until now has been persuaded not to do so for the sake of party unity.

He devoted much time and energy,

'New right' to negotiate

Political Staff

THE "new right" wanted to hold discussions with the ANC and negotiate with it about the future of Afrikaners, the unofficial leader of the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), Mr Andries Beyers, said yesterday.

He also said as long as reality and history were recognised, he did not see why Afrikaners and coloureds could not move closer together.

"Our policy is that the ANC represents the majority of people, especially black people," he told the Cape Town Press Club.

He said the AVU proposed a northern region for a volkstaat, with Pretoria as its heart, incorporating parts of the Transvaal, the Free State, northern Natal and northern Cape in such a way that Afrikaners had majority occupation.

without success, to prevent the five rebel MPs from resigning from the party, often vacillating between the policy positions of the different wings.

Since the CP's dramatic victories in the Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections, when it captured NP-held seats, its fortunes have dropped, particularly after the March 17 referendum, with seven CP MPs having resigned from the party this year.

As party leader, Dr Treurnicht shoulders some of the blame for these reversals, and after the latest split he may well decide soon to end his days in active politics.

ANC appeal on Van Eck

Political Staff

(304A) CT 27/8/92

A DIRECT appeal is to be made to President F W de Klerk by two ANC MPs to end the "victimisation" of suspended MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck.

The two MPs, Mr David Dalling (Sandton) and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), discussed the matter with the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, yesterday.

Mr Dalling said the Speaker referred them to President De Klerk.

Mr Van Eck was suspended in June after he alleged the government was involved in hit squads and that former president Mr P W Botha knew about it.

As a result, he lost his R2 500 allowance and has been denied access to parliamentary facilities, including his office.

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for last round of mass action



THE joint secretariat of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a programme of action for the last round of mass action to force the government to comply with its demands.

The programme includes the disruption of Parliament when it reconvenes in October, a march on Ciskei, a campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who do not have the vote and occupation of national buildings.

CT 27/8/92

**Killings:
Rail
boycott
threatened**
— PAGE 2

The joint secretariat of the alliance endorsed the programme at a meeting on Sunday. The programme is the last phase, which has been dubbed Exitgate, of the alliance's mass action campaign.

National co-ordinator of the alliance's campaigns committee, Mr Mandla Dhlamini, yesterday said although leaders of the alliance had endorsed the programme, the ANC's national working committee and Cosatu's central executive committee would meet tomorrow and Friday "to rubber stamp the programme".

The ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central executive committee will meet next week.

It is understood that the alliance plans to march on Ciskei's capital Bisho on September 9.

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ARG 27/8/92 (304A)

Volksunie vision of 3 homelands for Afrikaner people

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Volksunie has a vision of forming three Afrikaner homelands in South Africa, with the largest one including parts of Transvaal, Free State and the Northern Cape, said Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers.

One of the five MPs who split from the Conservative Party to form the Volksunie, he said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch yesterday that the two other Afrikaner "regions" would be in the Cape Province.

Afrikaners and coloured people formed the majority of the population in the Cape and could come to an agreement about their political future.

Mr Beyers said the CP split was caused by differences over policy.

National Party policy did not provide for the New Right's aspirations, while the CP did not represent a realistic future.

"It is our duty to work out and implement a master plan for the survival of our (Afrikaner) nation. It must be devoid of racism, internationally acceptable, and justifiable so that our people would be willing to make great sacrifices to achieve it," he said.

The objective of the new party was to "get self-determination in their own fatherland for Afrikaners". This fatherland would be part of a South African confederation of states.

DP maps out way to new SA order

CT 27/8/92

Political Correspondent

(304A)

A SEVEN-POINT "road map" to reach a comparatively swift political settlement was last night outlined by Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew at a meeting in Johannesburg.

The proposal includes the following steps:

- Convene an expanded multi-party conference and negotiate constitutional principles and the procedures to be followed by an elected constitution-making body.

- Establish a body similar to the transitional executive council recommended by Codesa's working group 3.

- Hold elections for a constitution-making body. This body negotiates a new constitution and its phased implementation. Elections are held under the new constitution.

'No special deal' for govt ministers

304A
CT 27/8/92

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Cabinet ministers would not get special treatment when they testified before the Goldstone Commission, the commission reaffirmed yesterday following speculation that behind-the-scenes negotiations had exempted Housing Minister Mr Leon Wessels from cross-examination.

Judge Richard Goldstone said in a statement he was concerned about press reports that an agreement was entered into to the effect that the minister would not be cross-examined and/or be recalled.

This was incorrect, the statement said. The proceedings in question had been of a preliminary nature in which parties explained their views and outlined the evidence available to them.

Mr Wessels had testified, explaining the government's hostels policy and he answered questions put by the

Witnesses now protected

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission yesterday announced the start of its witness protection programme, in terms of which witnesses would be accommodated at secret locations for three months.

The commission said in a statement yesterday that any person who was likely to give material evidence to the commission and who had reason to believe his safety was threatened could apply.

The commission, which is investigating intimidation and violence, has appointed National Peace Secretariat executive director Mr Deon Rudman as the security director for the protection programme. A security officer, not necessarily a police officer, would be appointed to look after the protected person. — Own Correspondent

commission, collected from political groups present.

"In so far as it might be necessary, I would like to emphasise that if any member of the cabinet has evidence which is considered by the commission to be relevant to an inquiry, he or she will have no greater or lesser rights than any other person called to testify," the statement said.



ANC president Nelson Mandela meets Marseille mayor Robert Vigouroux in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Marseille's mayor heads team on fact-finding mission to SA

PRETORIA — An acceptance of diversity, joint education from a young age and interlocking sporting and cultural organisations are important to ensure healthy race relations, says the mayor of Marseille, France, Robert Vigouroux.

Vigouroux, head of a delegation of city officials and local businessmen, is visiting SA on a fact-finding mission with a view to building economic and possibly cultural relations.

He said Marseille was similar to SA cities in that it incorporated a wide spectrum of ethnic and religious groups.

City officials had engaged in projects designed to reduce the potential for conflicts. The projects included a programme aimed at preschool-age children.

The city also encouraged associations and organisations of every description to interact, fostering inter-group contact and understanding.

BIDA 27/8/92
304A **TIM COHEN**

Vigouroux said another reason for his trip was the promotion of Marseille as a port of entry into the EC for SA goods.

He and members of his group will be meeting government representatives and political leaders, as well as a variety of private and public corporations.

KOMI
 THE 1993 SOUTH AFRICAN

GLOBAL BUSINESS

INCREASE
JOIN
BUSINESS

A RUGBY metaphor seems appropriate in South Africa today.

We had the example at Ellis Park of what should have been a grand and unifying event suddenly showing up so many of the fault lines in South African society - essentially an obsession with the past when you should be building the future.

Then at Newlands we saw the effects of isolation. South African rugby has not kept up with the world game; its techniques and strategies are outmoded.

I suggest that, just as South African rugby players need to learn new skills and new approaches, exactly the same is true of the political leaders.

A new South Africa will not be built using the designs and methods of the past - neo-apartheid or a continuation of "the struggle".

To stay with the rugby metaphor, it is now half-time. Codesa 1 and 2, the referendum, mass demonstrations, recriminations and political posturing in all kinds of guises occurred in the first half.

In spite of noble effort, good intentions and moral certitudes, things have got a whole lot worse instead of better. It might be time to devise a new strategy for the second half.

Instead of quarrelling over comparative political or economic models or dredging up injustices from the past, or even focusing on present inequities, it would be more useful to shift discussion to a careful and systematic process and recipe for meeting the real needs of all South Africans in the future.

The task is to engineer a new society that addresses the realities of value system distributions in this country.

Ethnic, racial, cultural and economic stereotypes need to be replaced with a sensitive understanding of the diverse levels of human development along a First World to Third World continuum. To deny the existence of these differences (which are perfectly natural and nothing to be ashamed of) is foolish and naive. The distributions do not follow strict racial lines. There are probably as many black First Worlders in South Africa as white.

Once the stereotypes have been disposed of, it should be possible to craft a national consensus around a plan to facilitate the development of the many, rather than redistribute the wealth of the few.

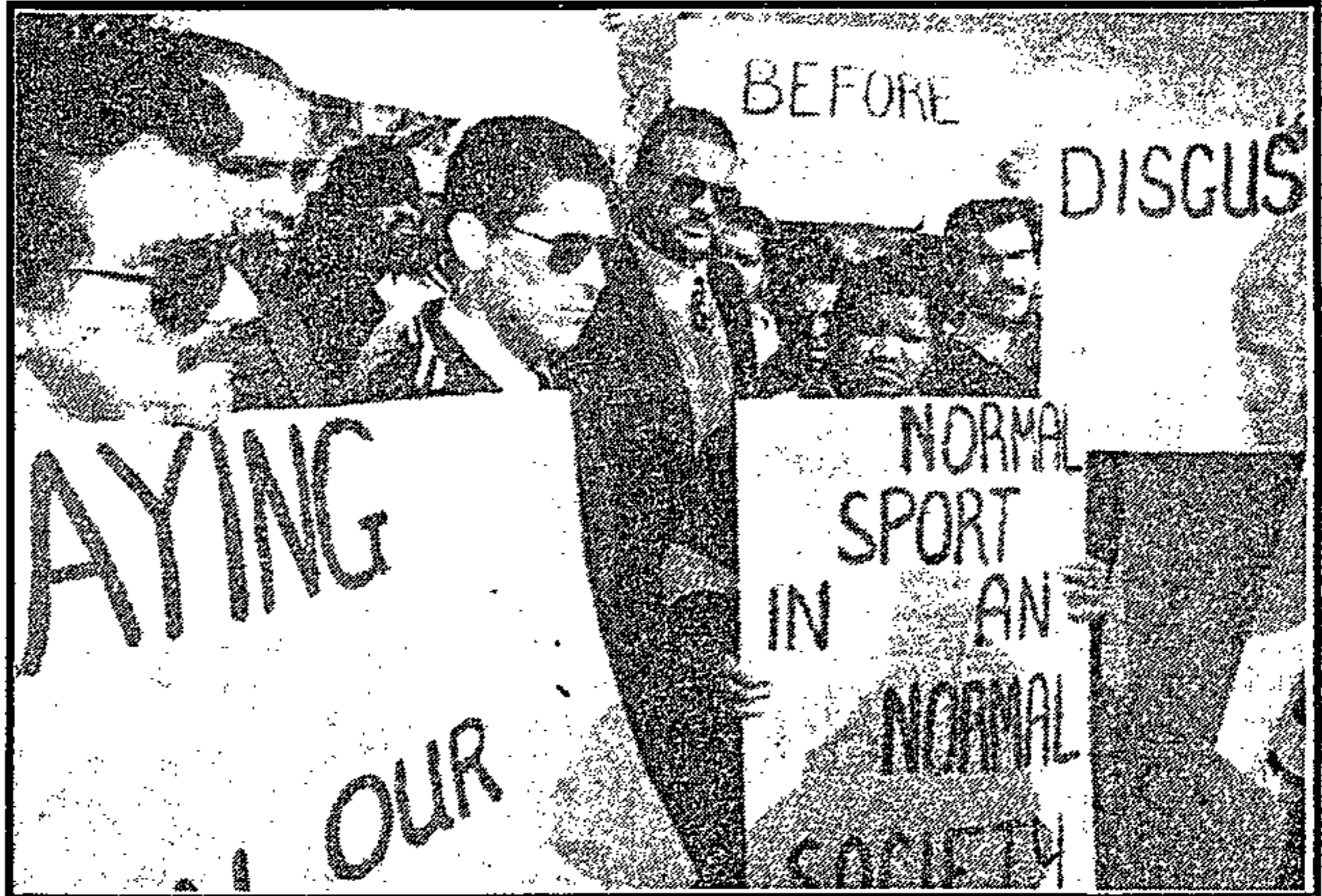
A "healthy society" is the desired outcome, not "black majority rule" or "continued white privilege".

The bulk of the South African population is stacked in the Third World to Second World (authoritarian) transition. This huge bulge is poor and ill-housed and has minimal education and job opportunities. It struggles daily just to survive. But these people have seen the bright lights of Egoji and want a better life for them-

Conflict resolution specialist **Dr Don Beck** is back in the country (his 40th visit) to speak at a conference on Multicultural Conflict Management, organised by the Human Sciences Research Council. He discusses the problems and urges leaders to rethink strategies:

Sowetan 27/8/92

1804 304A



Members of the South African Council on Sports stage a placard demonstration protesting against the arrival of the Australian rugby team in Cape Town last week.

selves and their children.

Yet if the management of the entire society is determined exclusively by the needs of this population mass, the First World component will be compromised. Wealth and technical skill will head offshore and the very resource needed to uplift the have-nots will disappear, shattering the raised expectations of millions.

And if the central operating principle to determine South Africa's future is located exclusively within the "haves", the rich will tend to get richer and the poor will have to make do with crumbs from the table of affluence.

Herein lies the dilemma, the cause of the current political impasse.

From one principle flows the demand for wealth redistribution and communal, authoritarian command structures controlled by a few power-driven elites. Prosperity is supposed to "bubble up" through Government spending and the activities of bureaucrats.

From the second principle emerges an emphasis on self reliance, the free market and a strong

bill of rights, enforced by an independent judiciary, which will protect the individual and private property. Prosperity is supposed to "trickle down" a class-based distribution staircase.

Those who have crossed Rubicon 2 recognise that real progress and prosperity can come only when both operating systems work in concert, in synergy. Unless the First World component is mobilised to create wealth and maintain standards, the have-nots will inherit nothing and society will continue to deteriorate. But unless the needs of the bulk of the population are met, the quality of life of the haves will suffer and emigration becomes an option.

The development South Africa needs can be likened to a series of dams and locks, which move the entire society upstream. Each stage will require a different ratio or mixture of self reliance and collective effort.

It will take all South Africans, working in concert, to create and maintain such a developmental process - every bricklayer, teacher, entrepreneur.

Deadline for joint authority at Walvis

304H (304H) (304H)
WINDHOEK November 1 is the deadline for all outstanding issues over the joint administration of Walvis Bay and the 12 off-shore islands to be resolved and for the new authority to be in place.

This was said by Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo Bengurirab in a report on the disputed territory to the National Assembly on Monday, according to The Namibian newspaper.

At a meeting between Mr Gurirab and South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha last Friday at Windhoek International Airport, the joint administration of Walvis Bay and the islands was officially announced.

The Joint Administrative Authority would include a chief executive from each country assisted by a management committee represented by senior officials from both sides.

Mr Gurirab said the joint authority would decide collectively how it operated and what areas would fall outside its authority, at least immediately.

One area, he said, might be the budget "but the starting point of the joint administration is a joint undertaking by the two governments of including all facets of life in Walvis Bay within the ambit of the Joint Administrative Authority".

— Sapa.

news in brief

ANC 'welcome to summit'

THE ANC was welcome to attend the Government's summit on regionalism and federalism in Pretoria on September 17, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday. (304A)

Meyer said the summit would be "the start of a consensus-seeking process" on the question of decentralisation and strong regional and local government. Sowetan 28/8/92

The conference was initially expected to be attended by the Government and its allies. However, Meyer said the ANC was welcome to attend if it so wished.

"This is not a conference or discussion to pressurise the negotiation process or even to create the impression of a new initiative," he said.

2 shot in Phola Park

POLICE shot and injured a man and a woman at the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park yesterday afternoon after being attacked by angry residents during a "crime prevention operation". A policeman fired into a crowd which had pelted them with stones.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the exercise was a continuation of "Operation Aipo" which started in July and covered several black townships on the Reef. "We detained persons for a number of offences varying from possession of dagga to suspicion of murder."

Workers' sit-in at Seifsa

ABOUT 40 National Union of Metalworkers of SA members yesterday occupied the offices of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA in Johannesburg. Sowetan 28/8/92

Another 500 members had also gathered outside the building. The sit-in was in support of the union's demands for a 16 percent across-the-board increase and better job security.

Sowetan 28/8/92

ANALYSIS *No dramatic improvement in new SA*

Expert warns against high expectations

Sowetan 28/8/92

304A

Most predictions about post-apartheid South Africa include the observation that popular expectations are going to be disappointed.

Whatever the predispositions of the new government, it is going to have to work within tight economic constraints.

Whether they are capitalist or socialist, economists agree that any government cannot tax people much more than the present one and that therefore any redistribution of public resources will have to be within the limits of existing government revenues.

That rules out the likelihood of quick and dramatic improvements to black schooling, for example.

If per capita expenditure per child was evened-up between white and black school children without a total disruption of facilities in the "white" suburbs, black parents could hope for schools of the quality, which presently exist in "coloured" areas, by the end of the century.

Of course there might be some savings from spending less on defence and on duplicate apartheid ministries. Not much, though.

It is reckoned that the total savings from "rationalising" government into a unified civil service will be about R3 billion.

You could build decent accommodation for about 150 000 people with that, not more.

Money currently spent on the army is unlikely to provide much for more houses or hospitals, not while the police are so badly paid and less in a post apartheid South Africa.

If the civil service is to implement affirmative action while at the same time retaining its white employees - and fairness and expediency requires both - it can only get larger and more expensive.

International competition

If the South African economy is to grow to keep up with population increases, it will have to expand through the development of internationally competitive manufacturing. That will need foreign investors - there are not sufficient capital resources locally.

So materially, life under a democratic government is not going to change very much. Therefore people will have to adjust their expectations. That is all very well. Up to now, though, whereas there has been a lot of expert advice on why popular visions of life after apartheid are unrealistic, there has been very little informed speculation about what people might reasonably expect from the new government which they have chosen.

What sorts of expectations are reasonable in the first few years of post apartheid South Africa?

Less violence, political and criminal, may be one substantial benefit of living under a democratic and legitimate government.

In a legitimate political order, police, teachers and even parents may regain the moral authority they have lost over the last two decades.

A government which did not sponsor murderers would itself represent a substantial contribution to making the country more peaceful.

Institutionalised forms of political competition might alleviate some of the tensions which currently explode in the streets.

People have a right to expect less venal and more efficient officials.

POST-APARTHEID WARNING *Tom*

Lodge, an associate professor of

Politics at Wits University, says the

country faces major challenges and

a new Government will struggle to

find money for social programmes:



Tom Lodge ... fancy cars and luxury homes are a cause for worry.

That does not require scarce resources.

Open and accountable government would allow less room for the wastage and theft which has been such an alarming characteristic of the administration during the last decade. It should not cost more to have an administration composed of honest, intelligent, and conscientious men and women as opposed to the stupid criminals who all too often are responsible for running things today.

Opposition parties which reward their leaders with fancy cars and luxurious homes are giving worrying signals about their perceptions of how governors and bureaucrats should be maintained in future.

Then, even if resources are stretched, it is reasonable to expect that government is at least trying to cope with poverty.

There are simple ways to determine whether authorities are trying. For example, a city council which devotes millions of rands to refurbishing a municipal theatre while refusing to finance adequate shelters for homeless children is not trying.

An urban administration which imposed heavy taxes on suburban office blocks and provided financial incen-

tives to private contractors for the construction of low income housing would be trying. Even under austerity, there can be plenty of trying.

Finally it is reasonable to expect popularly-elected or publicly-paid officials to behave as if they were servants of the people.

They must persuade and consult, not order and bully. They must speak a language which ordinary folk can understand. They must be able and willing to defend and explain their decisions and actions in public and as often as they are asked to.

Please and thank you

They must say "please" and "thank you".

None of these things would need more money or more skills than we have already. None of these things is unreasonable to expect.

By themselves they won't suddenly raise living standards or instantly remove social injustice. But they will make the country a more civilised place to live in.

They are substantial and worthwhile goals. They represent what ordinary people should be claiming as their right.

Nothing would ever get done

STAR 28/8/92.

304A

THE timely, but at times misdirected, critique by R W Johnson of proportional representation (PR) with regional lists needs to be replied to.

Johnson's advocacy of PR in multimember constituencies based on "natural communities" seems to be premised on the notion that an electoral system should ensure representative and accountable government.

But, as he should know, an electoral system is a very powerful tool for constitutional engineering and it thus informs the way in which a number of other aspects of the political system function.

Foremost amongst these in a divided society such as ours is that the electoral system should breach rather than entrench racial and ethnic divisions.

For the purposes of my argument I must assume that Johnson is serious about his Khayelitsha analogy.

He suggests 10 MPs represent an area of this size in order to ensure that minority parties are able to gain representation with the support of only 10 percent of the voters.

If his suggestion is transposed across the country, we could well end up with a parliament at least three times the size of the United Nations, twice as diverse and just as indecisive.

Such a system will undoubtedly promote the proliferation of maverick independents and one-person parties.

The numbers needed to win a seat will be so small that there will be no need to appeal to voters across ethnic and racial barriers in order to win a seat.

The dream of a common South Africanism will for ever vanish in such a scenario. So much for breaching divisions!

In an attempt to exclude these esoteric parties, most countries employing PR have adopted a threshold.

The general consensus in South Africa seems to be that parties

not obtaining the support of between 3 percent and 5 percent of the electorate will not be allocated a seat.

Five percent of an anticipated voter corps of some 17 319 000 (Development Bank) will mean that parties would need the support of at least 86 595 voters before being eligible for representation in the legislature.

In Johnson's scenario a party would need only about 10 000 votes to gain representation. (This calculation assumes a rate of one adult to every three children.)

The point being made here is that too many MPs are as bad as, if not worse than, too few MPs.

I would like to suggest that Johnson's critique would have been better served had he suggested an electoral system similar to the West German.

It, too, is a combination system akin to that suggested by the ANC with half the MPs elected on a list system but instead of being elected on a regional list the other half are elected on a constituency basis.

Of course, the type of scenario that Johnson paints is an exception to this; there are so many MPs for such small areas that it would be hard not to get elected.

To me, the real debate lies in whether South Africa can afford to have a system of PR at all, given that it is largely an emergent country. Most other countries successfully employing PR are to be found among the developed nations.

Would the Westminster system not be better able to expedite and facilitate the reallocation of resources we all agree is so necessary. A government should at least be able to rule. PR brings with it a greater possibility of fractionalism of the body politic to such an extent that it might be impossible to get things done.

● Shaun McKay is a research officer with the South African Institute of Race Relations. The article, however, reflects his personal view on this issue.

Nkosi 'not a symbol for SA'

THE ANC did not necessarily expect Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika to become the national anthem in a future South Africa, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Neither did it claim that the hymn was a symbol for the whole of SA.

Mr Niehaus said a decision on a national anthem could be made only by a democratic body like a constituent assembly. CT 28/8/92

The hymn represented a "different value and type of symbolism" from Die Stem. 304A

NEGOTIATIONS

Softly softly

~~304A/111~~ FM 28/8/92 (304A)

Aside from the moves from the fringes — the PAC, Azapo and elements of the white Right — to get on board the negotiations train, there are signs that the deadlock between the key players, government and the ANC, is close to being broken. According to a government spokesman: "we're closer than we've been in the past two weeks, though it's too early to predict exactly when."

According to ANC sources, much would depend on what emerged from the second meeting, this week, between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer. This would be a continuation of their incomplete, though constructive, indaba last Friday, after which Meyer suggested they had "found the key" to resolving the deadlock.

ANC negotiators were, however, maintaining the more cautious approach they've adopted in recent months, saying it would be premature to suggest that the key had been found. "We can't yet say that the deadlock has been broken until there have been adequate, substantial moves by government to meet our demands and that they are prepared to submit themselves to democratic principles."

The latter refers to accepting a "sovereign" elected constitution-making body to write a new constitution.

Whether the steps government seemed to be contemplating would go far enough, was expected to be known after the second session on Tuesday night. It seems fair to assume that Meyer put something on the table last Friday, which Ramaphosa had to take back to his colleagues.

The ANC, incidentally, describes these one-on-one meetings as "a channel of communication" rather than negotiations. This hairsplitting is designed to accommodate the ANC's recent announcement that it was suspending all contact with government.

Of the ANC's 14 preconditional demands, it would seem that the key issues around which compromises could be struck are:

- The release of political prisoners. The ANC says it is more and more convinced that government is using these prisoners as "political hostages" and seeking a "trade-off" for their release with agreement on an amnesty for security force personnel engaged in violence. The ANC is refusing to entertain this idea;

- Hostels — those hostels which have been

flashpoints in the violence — have to be fenced and permanently monitored by a multi-lateral peace commission, says the ANC;

- The suspension and investigation of security force members implicated in the violence. The ANC also wants the suspension of military intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen pending a proper investigation;

- An end to covert security operations; and
- Agreement on a constitution-making body.

"We all know that compromises will have to be made," says the government source, but adds that this cannot be a one-way street. If the ANC stayed in "demand mode" then



there wouldn't be any negotiations, he says. "The important thing is to get everybody off the hook and create room for manoeuvre," says the source, warning against overblowing the "hopeful signs" of the past week. The government knew there was a difference of opinion in the ANC alliance and further movement would also depend on whether Ramaphosa could sell any compromises reached with Meyer to his side.

For its part, the ANC says talk of a face-saving formula for resuming talks only applies to government, which, it believes, is under domestic and international pressure to meet the ANC's "reasonable" demands.

While the ANC naturally denies that there are any real differences within the organisation, spokesmen do point out that any decision over re-entering constitutional talks can only be made once the National Executive Committee has decided whether satisfactory steps have been taken by government over its demands.

According to our government source, the ANC demand for a "sovereign" constitution-making body is new and amounts to semantics. The principle of such an "elect-

ed" body was accepted and agreed long ago at Codesa. To government, it would seem, the issue here really concerns "deadlock-breaking procedures during the constitutional phase."

METAL INDUSTRY STRIKE Hammered in court

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) on Tuesday succeeded in its application for an urgent interim interdict against the striking National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Seifsa sought the interdict because of what it claims are gross irregularities in the union's strike balloting procedure early last month. If true, this would render the strike illegal.

The big questions now are whether Numsa will call off its four-week-old action, which the Transvaal Supreme Court ruling has said is illegal; if not, what approach Seifsa will advise its members to take regarding dismissals; and whether Cosatu will join the fray..

A full hearing has yet to be held.

Numsa decided to go on strike after deadlock was reached in the annual metal industry wage negotiations last month when the industry's 12 unions had declared a dispute with all the Seifsa associations.

Employers voted in favour of a lockout on July 15, though none had exercised this option to induce employee acceptance of the final wage offer. This stands at 8,6% against Numsa's original demand for 20%.

At an informal meeting between Numsa (the only Seifsa union that conducted a strike ballot) and Seifsa on August 11, the union dropped its demand to 16%. Employers rejected it. Numsa's demands include a moratorium on retrenchments.

Seifsa's first application for an urgent interdict against Numsa failed on a technicality, when the Supreme Court, on August 7, determined that neither Seifsa nor member associations had the *locus standi* to obtain one. Such relief could only be sought by individual employers, the court said. The merits of the strike were not discussed.

Seifsa appealed and the Judge President of the Supreme Court, Justice Eloff, directed that it be urgently heard by a full bench of the Transvaal Division on August 21. The appeal was upheld last Friday and on Tuesday Seifsa won its interdict against Numsa's conduct of its strike ballot.

Among the balloting irregularities alleged by Seifsa were: Numsa's refusal to release details of the result; allowing non-Numsa members to take part; that it did not allow

continue -D

continued on page 50

NEGOTIATIONS

Softly softly304A ~~488~~

FM 28/8/92

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- Agreement on a constitution-making body.

"We all know that compromises will have to be made," says the government source, but adds that this cannot be a one-way street. If the ANC stayed in "demand mode" then



there wouldn't be any negotiations, he says. "The important thing is to get everybody off the hook and create room for manoeuvre," says the source, warning against overblowing the "hopeful signs" of the past week. The government knew there was a difference of opinion in the ANC alliance and further movement would also depend on whether Ramaphosa could sell any compromises reached with Meyer to his side.

For its part, the ANC says talk of a face-saving formula for resuming talks only applies to government, which, it believes, is under domestic and international pressure to meet the ANC's "reasonable" demands.

While the ANC naturally denies that there are any real differences within the organisation, spokesmen do point out that any decision over re-entering constitutional talks can only be made once the National Executive Committee has decided whether satisfactory steps have been taken by government over its demands.

According to our government source, the ANC demand for a "sovereign" constitution-making body is new and amounts to semantics. The principle of such an "elect-

ed" body was accepted and agreed long ago at Codesa. To government, it would seem, the issue here really concerns "deadlock-breaking procedures during the constitutional phase."

METAL INDUSTRY STRIKE Hammered in court

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) on Tuesday succeeded in its application for an urgent interim interdict against the striking National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Seifsa sought the interdict because of what it claims are gross irregularities in the union's strike balloting procedure early last month. If true, this would render the strike illegal.

The big questions now are whether Numsa will call off its four-week-old action, which the Transvaal Supreme Court ruling has said is illegal; if not, what approach Seifsa will advise its members to take regarding dismissals; and whether Cosatu will join the fray..

A full hearing has yet to be held.

Numsa decided to go on strike after deadlock was reached in the annual metal industry wage negotiations last month when the industry's 12 unions had declared a dispute with all the Seifsa associations.

Employers voted in favour of a lockout on July 15, though none had exercised this option to induce employee acceptance of the final wage offer. This stands at 8,6% against Numsa's original demand for 20%.

At an informal meeting between Numsa (the only Seifsa union that conducted a strike ballot) and Seifsa on August 11, the union dropped its demand to 16%. Employers rejected it. Numsa's demands include a moratorium on retrenchments.

Seifsa's first application for an urgent interdict against Numsa failed on a technicality, when the Supreme Court, on August 7, determined that neither Seifsa nor member associations had the *locus standi* to obtain one. Such relief could only be sought by individual employers, the court said. The merits of the strike were not discussed.

Seifsa appealed and the Judge President of the Supreme Court, Justice Eloff, directed that it be urgently heard by a full bench of the Transvaal Division on August 21. The appeal was upheld last Friday and on Tuesday Seifsa won its interdict against Numsa's conduct of its strike ballot.

Among the balloting irregularities alleged by Seifsa were: Numsa's refusal to release details of the result; allowing non-Numsa members to take part; that it did not allow

continue -D

continued on page 50

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Strength in diversity



At a seminar organised by the Centre for Policy Studies and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, UCT politics Professor David Welsh delivered an address on federalism and democracy

In reviewing the debate on federalism it should be stressed that no significant party is proposing an all-powerful centre with Leviathan-like qualities. Regional government is part of a common consensus: the debate turns on how much power should be accorded to the regions. It is, moreover, appropriate to recall the argument that federal and unitary forms of government are not necessarily polar opposites, but, rather, should be seen on a continuum.

It can easily be demonstrated that federations vary considerably in the extent to which they are centralised.

Federations in developing countries tend to cluster around the centralist end of the continuum; India and Malaysia are cases in point. Mexico is an interesting case of what, historically, has been a one-party dominant federation in which a strengthening economy and deliberate moves to loosen government controls over the economy have helped to revitalise and democratise a stagnant and corrupt system. It is highly likely that the continuing process will loosen also the traditional domination by the centre and strengthen state and local governments.

The suggestion that the key variable is political culture is an important insight. Institutions, of course, can profoundly shape political culture but the process is surely a reciprocal one. In the context of SA's constitutional debate, it is crucial to note that democratic political culture hardly seems to exist.

Notwithstanding this caveat, it seems indisputably true that SA's long history of authoritarian control by a minority and, for the past 44 years, by a single party, has given society what I have called a "zero-sum" political culture, in which winners believe that they are entitled to take all. I believe this to be the case in spite of what political organisations aver to the contrary.

If one's premise is that hegemonic control by a single party over the central government and most of all of the regions would be inimical to the development of stable democracy in SA then, by definition, whether the system is formally unitary, though with strong and effective regional government, or formally federal, is, to some extent, an irrelevant issue.

The wide diffusion of power would have to be sought by other means, such as coalition government (though not by constitutional

requirement).

In the interests of maintaining the fragile basis of consensus about regional government it may be considered prudent to avoid using the "F" (federal) word, but whatever nomenclature is adopted, the constitutional choice cannot ultimately be avoided.

I agree with the spirit of the comment that the constitution should "reduce the stakes of political battles" and I argue that strong and effective regional government could be one device that contributed to that effect.

"Strong" and "effective", however, are tricky words that beg the question: How strong?

The point is that if regional governments are to be strong and effective they will have to possess significant powers. Ambitious and upwardly mobile politicians are unlikely to be attracted to service in bodies that are little more than conveyor belts for implementing central government policies.

Suggested powers

There is no inherent reason why regional governments should not control, or share co-ordinately with the central government, the Democratic Party's suggested list of regional powers; health, local government, licensing, town planning, local taxation, nature conservation, domestic tourism, roads, education, police, prisons and land settlement.

It goes without saying that a justiciable bill of rights would serve as a watchdog on the activities of all levels of government. It would also be perfectly feasible for regional governments and the central government to thrash out among themselves a set of nationally-binding guidelines that would be required to underpin regional policy-making and administration.

It would, for example, be highly undesirable if the regionalisation of education were to perpetuate, if only in some measure, the fragmentation of education under apartheid. Co-ordinate control of education could ensure that syllabi and examinations were harmonised.

Similarly, the central government could lay down minimum standards for the treatment of prisoners.

Control of the police is likely to be highly contentious in view of the possible proclivity of some regional governments to use a regional police force as a private army against political opponents. Recent experience of partisan police forces should not, however, blind one to the possibility that regionalisation of the police and even the creation of local authority police forces may have some advantages.

The fragmentation of law enforcement agencies in the US may be untidy and lead to squabbles over turf, but it does at least provide some form of mutual oversight, in the spirit of the American constitution itself. It

may also be noted that in some unitary states (Britain, for example) policing is a function shared among different authorities.

In no sense should the foregoing paragraphs be construed as prescriptive: the intention has been to raise possibilities. Bringing government "closer to the people" is an aim that is ostensibly widely shared among political organisations in SA.

Officials drawn from regional and local communities and responsible to them are likely to be more responsive and sensitive to their needs and aware of local peculiarities. How laws are implemented is often nearly as important as which legislative body enacted them, so that implementation of central government legislation by regional bureaucracies may render it significantly more acceptable to regional communities. (Of course, there can be no denying that the converse may occur).

Urban bias

As has happened in many other parts of Africa, development programmes may have a decidedly urban bias. Parties whose support bases are largely urban may relegate peripheral regions to continuing marginalisation, unless those regions are given effective power bases to press their legitimate claims on the central treasury.

We have no certain way of predicting the future structure of conflict in SA. As has been observed: "Democracy is the realm of the indeterminate; the future is not written."

Will a future SA democracy feature hegemonic domination by a single party? Will competitive politics open the Pandora's box of ethnicity, as it has done in so many African States? Will there be reasonable prospects for the regular alternation of government? Or, alternatively, will majorities and minorities crystallise into relative permanence, with fatal results for the integrity of a democratic system?

These are not unrealistic potential dangers. Strong and effective regional government may go part of the way towards reducing them. Minority parties that lose out at the centre may enjoy, if only as a consolation prize, significant representation at the regional level.

Strong regions may place limitations on the potential tyranny of a party with hegemonic aspirations of total control. Federalism has sometimes sheltered unjust regional government, as it did in the American South until the Fifties and Sixties. More commonly, however, it has served as a bulwark against hegemony.

Strong regions cannot eliminate the potentially explosive force of ethnicity, but, as Donald Horowitz has contended, they do offer the possibility of fractionating ethnic conflict and thereby rendering it more manageable.

Schwarz turns off tap on R70-m programme that tried to sell apartheid

'Million dollar' men set the axe

(204A)

APQ 28/8/92

HUGH ROBERTSON The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The South African Embassy in the United States has fired all but one of the long list of lobbyists and purveyors of influence in high places who have been paid tens of millions of dollars over the past 20 years to sanitise the country's image and promote its interests.
According to the Justice Department's register of foreign agents — a statutory list of all persons who are not accredited diplomats and who are paid

ments — the embassy now has nobody but its own diplomatic staff working for it.

But it is understood that one lobbyist is to be employed for a specific purpose after the end of this month with a two-month notice clause in his contract.

This is the first time in more than two decades that the South African Embassy in the US has been without a retinue of American assistants, many of whom have been routinely paid fees of as much as \$400,000 (about R1 million) a year each.

Last year alone, according to the Justice Department's records, the embassy paid American lobbyists a whopping \$1,7 million (R4,7 million) in fees and a rough calculation of past years suggests that the South African taxpayers have coughed up more than \$26 million (about R70 million) in such fees since the late 1960s.

According to former lobbyists for the embassy, the decision to dispense with their services was taken by ambassador Harry Schwarz, in the course of a review of the embassy's functions and needs. One remarked: "There are no hard feelings. In a sense what has happened is a measure of our success."

In fact, the change is a measure of the dramatically improved image of South Africa since the country began its troubled course towards full democracy.

ANC to shun regional talks

CT 28/8/92
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JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and its allies will not attend the conference on regionalism proposed by President F W de Klerk, the ANC said yesterday.

The ANC said the conference was being called to endorse the National Party's regional proposals. Those initially invited to attend were staunch allies of the apartheid regime, the ANC said. — Sapa

Govt, ANC keep lid on secret talks

By Jacques Pauw
and Shaun Johnson

STAR
28/8/92

Both the Government and the ANC were tight-lipped yesterday over The Star's revelation of a recent secret meeting between their intelligence chiefs.

Defence Minister Gene Louw confirmed in Pretoria that the meeting had taken place and that the subject of the "third force" might have "cropped up" — but denied that the purpose of the meeting had been to fashion a joint strategy against such rogue elements.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus also confirmed the meeting but said the organisation would not give any details of what transpired.

The Star revealed yesterday that the controversial chief of SADF Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-General C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, attended a secret meeting in Johannesburg with top ANC intelligence officials three weeks ago.

High-ranking sources told The Star that General van der Westhuizen had said a "third force" did exist, and that a joint effort should be made to hunt it down. They also said he let it be known that there were efforts to "discredit" him.

Mr Louw said yesterday in response to questions from jour-

nalists: "Bilateral discussions of this nature will take place from time to time, have taken place before and will take place in future."

He said they were "valuable to have, to create the opportunity to express opinions and exchange views on various matters".

Pressed on whether the object of the meeting had been to facilitate a joint inquiry into the "third force", the Defence Minister said: "That is certainly not the case. It was a general discussion. I can't disclose it. It was confidential ... You can only do so if there is a bilateral agreement."

The Star revealed that the meeting was attended by ANC intelligence chiefs Joe Nhlanhla and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, as well as Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

It is understood that there is some disquiet in ANC circles about news of the face-to-face discussions with General van der Westhuizen, whose name appears on the alleged (Matthew) Goniwe "death warrant" signal dated 1985 — which called for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and two other activists.

Mr Lekota, Mr Nhlanhla and Mr Modise were not available for comment.

ANC turns down summit invitation

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

The ANC has rejected an invitation to the Government's summit on federalism in Pretoria on September 7 and has given notice that it expects its allies not to attend either.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer announced yesterday that the summit — "on regionalism/federalism for a new South Africa" — would not be restricted to pro-federal parties at Codesa. All parties — including those who opposed federalism — and government institutions were welcome to attend.

Mr Meyer said the aim of the summit was not to

put pressure on the negotiation process, create a new initiative, form an alliance or to exclude anyone.

The summit would be a follow-up of a meeting which President de Klerk held with pro-federal Codesa parties in July.

But the ANC said yesterday that the conference was being called to endorse the National Party's regional proposals.

● Mr Meyer would not comment on his talks on Tuesday with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa aimed at getting negotiations back on track, saying talks were at "a very sensitive stage".

Checkmate predicted as power play takes its toll

STAR 28/8/92

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LIKENING the political struggle to a hard-fought chess game between those desperate for the survival of apartheid power and the majority hungering for a place in the sun, the Human Rights Commission asserts that "checkmate is nigh" for pro-apartheid forces, including the Government.

After two years of intense political violence, in which at least 6 229 people have died, South Africa is very near the point where the minority will concede that it is too costly to cling to power, the HRC argues in a newly released report entitled "Checkmate for apartheid power?"

When "the pain of holding on to power begins to exceed the pain of letting go", the apartheid power bloc will agree to free and fair elections — and effectively to its own political eclipse, the report states.

The HRC calculates that in elections based on proportional representation, the NP and its allies could muster at the utmost 30 percent of all votes. A maximum 92 percent of white voters, 60 percent of coloured and Indian voters and 16 percent of black voters would opt for the NP and its associates.

Despite this, the Government will soon bow to the demand for elections, the HRC reckons, largely because the strategy of destabilisation has begun to undermine — rather than reinforce — the strategy of reform.

The HRC is among those groups which claim the roots of political violence are not mere political rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC. It argues



The Human Rights Commission releases a review of two years of Reef violence, saying destabilisation has outrun its political utility.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

that violence stems from a deliberate policy of destabilisation by the Government, its armed forces and their surrogates and that it is a logical successor to the "total strategy" employed by the Government against the liberation movement in the 1980s.

The HRC pursues this argument in "Checkmate", taking account of patterns of violence, evidence of collusion between agents of violence and the State, and the role of South African armed forces elsewhere in the region.

Certainly no proponent of the "rogue element" theory of violence, the HRC nonetheless ob-

serves that recently "destabilisation seems to have run out of control".

"The forces initially unleashed by the apartheid Government in this strategy of destabilisation now seem to have taken on a momentum and agenda of their own. Strong and resolute action by their erstwhile master will be necessary to bring them to heel," the report states.

It views the stakeholders in apartheid as reasonably differentiated, ranging from the Government and its constituency, to the security establishment and the civil service, the homeland governments and the

business community which constituted "prime beneficiaries" of apartheid.

The agencies of violence — or "centres of destabilisation", in the report's terminology — are equally varied, spanning regular police and military units, covert agencies, homeland armies and police forces, vigilante forces and hit squads.

The report suggests that both the "out of control" nature of the violence and early pressures to give up all ploys for minority control stem from this differentiation among apartheid stakeholders.

Economic pressures for democratic change are becoming irresistible, the report argues. Because of the violence, the economy is no healthier in the age of reform than it was during the emergency years.

"We are currently in our third successive year of negative growth, with no prospects of stemming the capital bleeding, let alone reversing it, unless the world's financial system can be convinced that South Africa is politically stable and a secure area in which to place loans and investments," the report argues.

In the negotiating process a number of "power sharing" proposals had been put forth by the Government camp, but they have been unequivocally rejected as popular pressure for a democratic settlement has been mobilised. The issues at stake in negotiation can no longer be obscured, says the HRC: "With all the irrelevancies swept aside, the issue of transfer of power to the majority stands alone." □

Dimensions of violence

The HRC puts the start of "destabilisation" at July 1990, when political violence hit the Reef. These are the dimensions of the violence, according to HRC monitors:

Total death toll: 6 229 — of which 3 190 occurred in year one and 3 039 in year two.

Rate of fatalities: An average of 260 a month or 8,53 a day over two years.

Places of violence: PWV — 58,9 percent of deaths; Natal —

32,2 percent; other regions — 8,9 percent.

Sources of death: Vigilante-related (including killings by pro-ANC forces) — 81,2 percent; security forces — 5,7 percent; hit squads — 2 percent; right wing — 0,7 percent.

Trends in violence: Major massacres (more than 10 deaths) — 34 in year one and 15 in year two. Train deaths — 67 in year one, 227 in year two.

The f-word that's on everyone's lips

W/Mond 28/8 - 3/9/92

3044

FOR moderates, it's the catchword; for the leftwing, it's the "f-word". Whatever federalism is, it's being talked about by everyone.

It's not surprising, given that political groupings are fast scurrying towards policies that will guarantee their power bases in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The National Party, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party believe a federal settlement is the only way to safeguard minority rights by providing checks and balances against tyrannical rule by (an African National Congress-dominated) central government.

The ANC, on the other hand, anxious to relegate the fragmentation of apartheid society to the past, confident of its position as a majority party and keen for large-scale economic and social restructuring unfettered by federal vetoes, is against such a solution. Rightwing groups are seeking a confederation of independent states or a compromise that would at least safeguard an independent Afrikaner homeland.

At the opposite end of the scale, groups to the left of the ANC adopt the position of a unitary state without entrenched regionalism. Both the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress believe the debate over regionalism/federalism is an artificial one at present — belonging to a constituent

Sadly, with just three weeks to go to the women's race is wide open. Mantjijie McDermott and Nicole Whiteford look the most likely candidates in a race which will lack any real depth. De Reuck is available for the team, but the prospects of a team gold at the World Championships, which looked ever so possible a year ago, have all but evaporated.

Catchword or swearword, everybody who's anybody in politics is talking about it.
PHILIPPA GARSON reports
on the f-word doing the rounds

"Border/Kei" region, incorporating Ciskei and the whole of Transkei. Many interpret this as the ANC's attempt to safeguard its Xhosa homeland.

While political experts optimistically conclude that the two positions are extremely close, significant differences will most likely emerge over the scope of regional and local powers, and the extent to which they are entrenched in a constitution.

As no blueprints for unitary or federal states exist — sometimes the former are more democratic than the latter — a debate over various models would be pointless. South Africa will no doubt come up with its own unique formula.

Federalists worry that regional power in a unitary state can be whittled away at the whim of the central government. They cite other African states, where seemingly democratic constitutions have given birth to authoritarian, one-party states.

Proponents of a unitary state fear that federalism — particularly if accompanied by power-sharing mechanisms where everything happens

Yawa, fresh from his Olympic success, with three to score. Kenyan Mike Musyoki's nine-year-old world record of 42:17, Thys and the other front-runners should provide a team for Tyneside that is capable of winning a medal in a race where five per team start, with three to score.



ordinary people who have been deprived of participation in the structures of government will be accommodated. (President FW) De Klerk's attempts to have a multi-party *borderaad* is an attempt to lock us into a debate about the structure of government that has no relevance to democratic principles.

regions will have an entrenched constitutional base in that "special procedures and majorities" will be needed to amend regional powers. "Unlike the old provincial councils, they would not be vulnerable to being dissolved by the central government or to having their powers whittled away."

The DP's preference is for a unitary state with a strong central government. The DP's preference is for a unitary state with a strong central government.

South African 15km Championships in East London has an extra incentive on offer which should see an added determination in this country's already fiercely competitive road runners. The race is being used as the trials for the IAAF World Half Marathon Championships to be held in Tyneside, England, on September 20.

A preliminary DP view is that an upper chamber should house the federal representatives, who must pass everything that affects them before parliament can do so.

The NP, planning a forum for discussion in early September with those agreeing to its constitutional principles, is keen to get devolved powers as entrenched as possible before a new constitution is drawn up.

In probable knee-jerk response to its former liberal opposition, the NP still shies away from the term federalism, preferring (like the ANC) interestingly enough) to talk of regionalism.

Says Piet Coetzer, the NP's director of information: "Our constitutional model is a power-sharing one. As a starting point, we say that powers should be shared between the three parties who pull in the most votes, provided they jointly command at least 50 percent of the votes."

The NP wants as much autonomy as possible for local and regional government to act in the interests of small communities and wants fewer, rather than many, regions. "In terms of the regions, our approach is for the devolution of power. From a stability point of view, we believe power-sharing would be wise," says Coetzer.

The battered Conservative Party, recovering from the loss of five of its

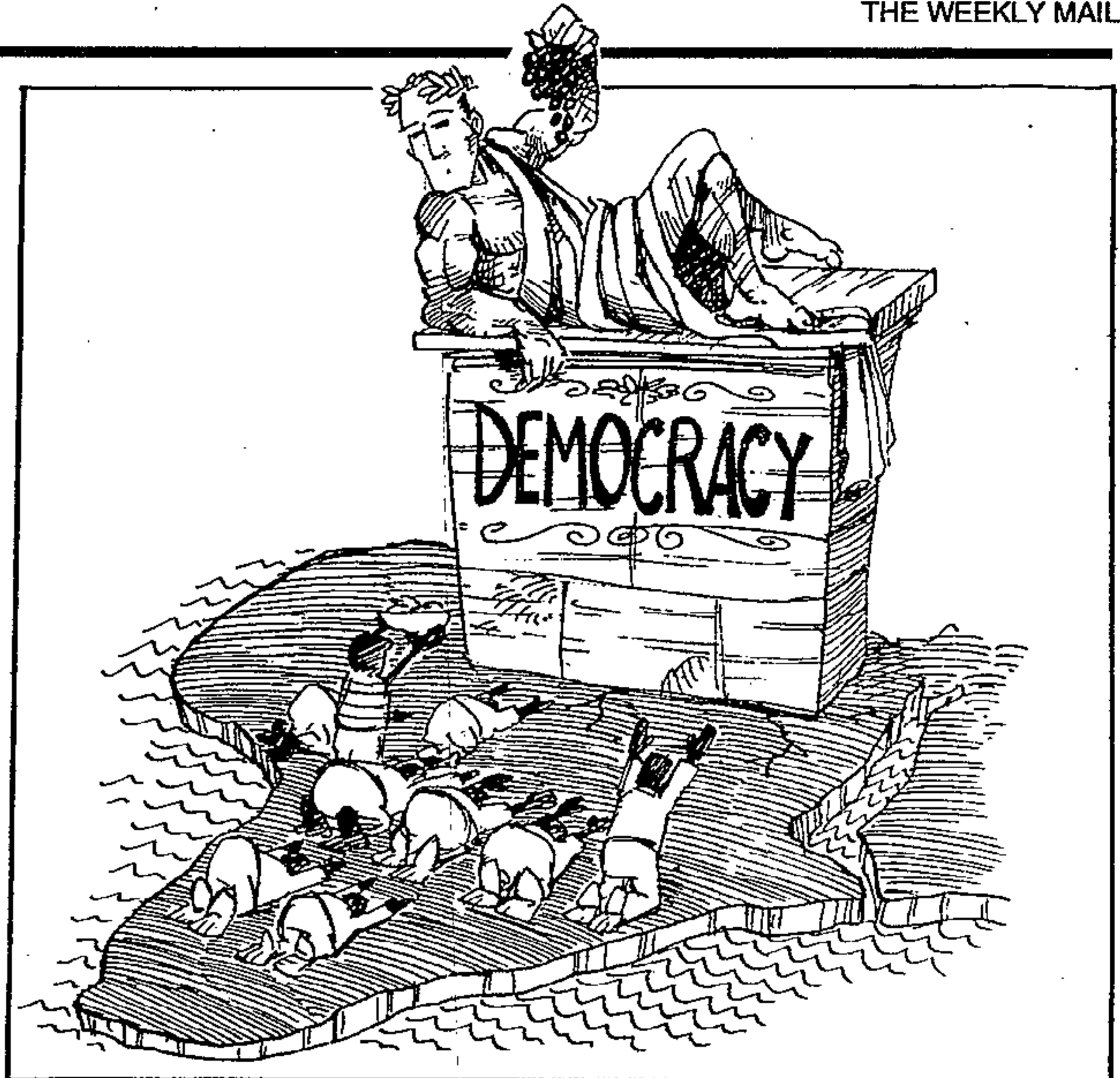
champion, but Kiptanui was having the German Olympic 5 000m man, 'nann', the glorious homecoming for Dieter Bau- which was held by Morocco's Said Aouita. The race was postponed to provide a

TOMORROW'S Ohlsson's South African 15km Championships in East London has an extra incentive on offer which should see an added determination in this country's already fiercely competitive road runners. The race is being used as the trials for the IAAF World Half Marathon Championships to be held in Tyneside, England, on September 20.

Carlo. That was just the start of his one-man show, however, for five days later in Cologne he shattered the extremely tough 3 000m world record which was held by Morocco's Said Aouita.

Seeking Africa's elusive pot of gold

w/Mail 28/8-3/9/92
 The rest of Africa fought for independence and got it, but it failed them. Now the battle is on for a democratic system — and South Africa has joined the fray.
MOELETSI MBEKI asks just what is meant by democracy



THE deadlock of the Codesa talks and the passing of rolling mass action provide a welcome breathing space for all South Africans to reflect long and hard about what it is that we want.

The great African nationalist, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, once advised the Africans: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be given". For the past half a century the African people did just that. A few did indeed find that kingdom, but most did not.

Even more elusive was the "all else" that Nkrumah said would follow: economic, social and cultural development. Sadly, this has not happened either.

The short-lived spurt of activity in education and health programmes soon after African countries gained their independence produced the graduates that today feed the brain drain to the West, the Middle East and lately, to South Africa. In fact most Africans are poorer now than they were 20 years ago.

Disillusioned and disappointed with independence, most people in Africa, including South Africa, have now turned to another objective, the pursuit of democracy.

But what is this new god that is being worshipped across the length and breadth of Africa? Could it be yet another mirage or rainbow which will only lead to yet other mirages or rainbows?

Trying to define democracy has kept philosophers and political scientists employed for over 3 000 years since the days of the Greek city states. Yet there is still no acceptable definition of democracy.

Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as

the government of the people by the people for the people. According to this definition, Britain cannot be a democracy because it is ruled by a hereditary monarchy which is buttressed by a similarly unelected House of Lords, both of whom have a power of veto over laws passed by the elected House of Commons.

As if defining democracy were not problematic enough, there has in recent times been added to it the concept of majority rule. But this hardly helps things. Did Uganda have majority rule under the regime of military dictator Idi Amin?

There is another route to trying to understand what democracy is, and this is to describe what actually happens when democracy operates in a given country. Democracy is said to exist in a particular society when the substantive interests and aspirations of the social groups that make up that society are recognised in the legal system and are protected.

In a democratic society, each social group defines its interests itself and through struggles and compromises with the other groups, positions these interests in relation to the plurality of the interests of all groups. This relationship ultimately is codified in a constitution.

In a capitalist society, social groups are largely economically defined and are known as social classes, but their economic characteristics are not the only features that define groups even in capitalist society. The British political system is thus said to be democratic because the aristocracy's

interests were positioned as a result of compromises with other classes, especially the industrial capitalists. The resulting political system thus has legitimacy in the eyes of all classes despite the fact that the monarchy is not elected.

From this observation of how a democratic society works, it should be clear that democracy is but an expression of the balance of power between contending social groups in a country. By definition therefore there cannot be a pure form of democracy. There are as many forms of democracy as there are balances of power between specific social groups in a specific society.

The vote therefore never gives one social group complete power to determine the interests of other groups. The vote thus, far from bringing about social change, freezes the existing social relations including existing relations of inequality in a particular society. Through the vote the power of powerful interests becomes consolidated and legitimised and the powerlessness of the powerless also becomes consolidated and legitimised.

This is why democracy, which initially may bring about social peace and stability, ultimately can also lead to revolution or counter-revolution because of the unresolved issue of social inequality. South Africans, who are pinning all their hopes on democracy to bring social change, should bear this in mind.

● Moeletsi Mbeki is a consultant to Cosatu and the ANC, working on a plan to launch a new daily newspaper.

TENSIONS are burgeoning between the old guard of the National Party and its younger members over how the party, facing South Africa's first non-racial election, can hold on to power.

Under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, the NP in the Transvaal has drawn up a plan to ensure the party wins the majority of votes in the province. These guidelines have been circulated to party structures nationally.

The document, which *The Weekly Mail* has acquired, is littered with terminology from the days of total strategy, identifying Africans as the primary target of an NP push to expand its base.

It urges branches to start immediately cultivating the concept of "winning hearts and minds", canvassing support and members, using propaganda and information, protecting members from intimidation and "training members for democracy".

The document also reveals that the NP intends to concentrate large resources and personnel to build the infrastructure needed to co-ordinate and support its recruitment drive. According to sources, the NP believes business will back its election effort.

Youth vs age in NP election plan

As the National Party gears up for non-racial elections, the hardliners are drawing on old winning hearts and minds' strategies. But the young Nats are far from happy. By DEREK FLEMING and PAUL STOBBER

coloured community.

Young nationalists are reported to be concerned that they will be low on the NP list of nominations for central government, and feel their best option would be to stand for regional government positions in a federal South Africa.

Many are said to be convinced a NP election campaign, with the party in its present

form, could not win 25 percent of the national vote and want to contest the first election as part of a centre party including elements of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party.

It appears that except for the cabinet, most Nationalists are mentally preparing themselves to be in opposition.

The NP old guard, including

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan and Housing and Local Government Minister Leon Wessels want the party's name and symbols to remain unchanged.

These hardliners stress that a merger of these parties before Codessa III, or its equivalent, would be premature. They

would prefer a multitude of parties to be seen to be allied with them against the ANC alliance.

The stalled negotiations process has the NP strategists, who want to set the pace of the national political agenda, frustrated.

According to NP director of information Piet Coetzer: "Elections are not top priority

for us at the moment, but they are certainly something we are not ignoring. Let's first negotiate the model — that should be top priority."

Observers believe the election plan signals that the NP has now accepted that a two thirds majority will be sufficient to pass the new constitution.

A dispute between the government and the ANC on the percentage needed for adoption of a new constitution was the primary reason for Codessa II's failure to agree on a package of agreements to transfer power from the government.

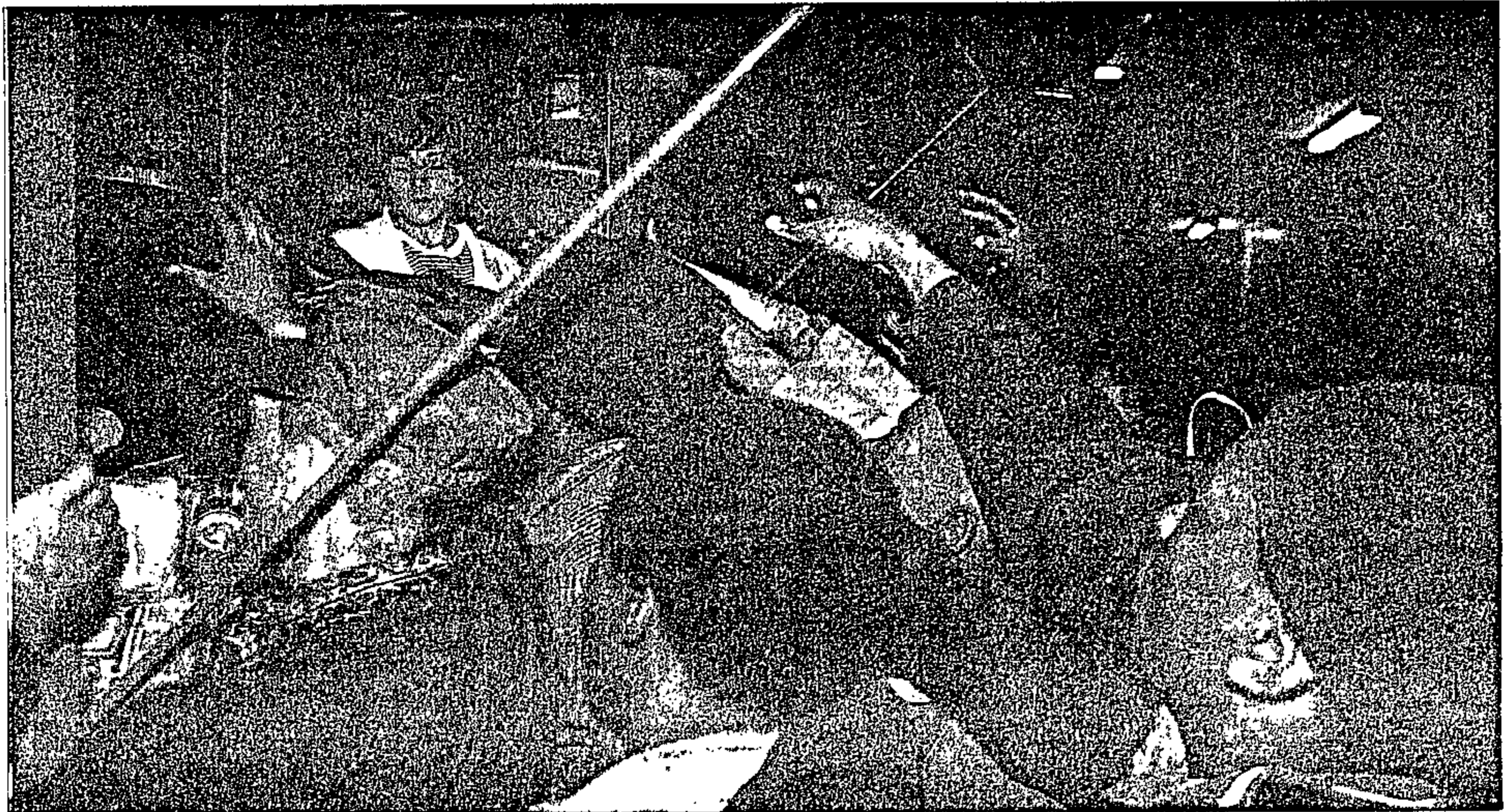
Botha is said to believe the government's experience in Namibia, where the South West African People's Organisation was successfully denied a two thirds majority in the constituent assembly, is proof the plan will succeed.

The election plan is considered madness by younger members of the NP, who believe no black South African is likely to vote for the party after the experience of apartheid.

Young Nationalists, especially those from the Cape, are said to feel the plan is dismissive of the Indian and coloured voters in the Transvaal, which will be the most important province if elections are held on the basis of proportional representation.

They also believe that with the coloured vote, the NP can win an election in the western Cape, especially as the ANC has not succeeded in building a strong support base in the

SQUATTERS WITH THE HOMELESS, THE HAWKERS, THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE SHIFTWORKERS



Squatters swarm around Salvation Army members in a desperate attempt to get a blanket ... but only three were lucky

Photos: GUY ADAMS

The long night of the station squatter

w/mail 28/8 - 31/9/92.

310

DARKNESS envelops Johannesburg station as workers frantically run towards home-bound trains. A woman comes in and unloads a large carrier bag from her head, places a piece of cardboard on the concrete floor and covers herself with a blanket.

She is just one of the hundreds of people who have made Johannesburg station their home.

"We come from all over," says 25-year-old Monwabisi Klaaste from Mount Fletcher in Transkei. He's been a station squatter since the beginning of the year, living in a large open space above the rails flanked by waiting rooms and public toilets.

Klaaste still has his stall set up with a few boxes of cutlery neatly displayed. He shares it with three friends; Mandla Mzobe, 28, from Umlazi in Durban, Kid, 24, — "I can't give you my full name. I don't want my people back home to see me naked," he says — from Umtata in Transkei and Daphney Mbele, 26, from Port Shepstone. They are all hawkers.

It's around 7pm and the hall is now full of squatters, sitting on the floor on cardboard — the lucky ones have blankets. Klaaste knows most of the people and takes me around to talk to them. We talk to Patrick Sithole, 48, and Hannah Khanyi, 39. By day he is a painter for a construction company and she works as an office cleaner. They leave their clothes, in three suitcases, in the cloakroom in the morning and check them out in the evening.

Originally from Piet Retief, Khanyi used to work as a live-in domestic but her employer left the country. She sends the little money she gets from her job to her two children back home.

"I won't live in this place forever," she says. "I'll soon be getting a little room where my children can come visit me. They don't know I have such a hard life here; they only know I'm working in the 'kitchens'."

Khanyi says she is on the lookout for a place to stay. "I'll get out of this

Ashamed of their predicament but with nowhere else to go, hundreds of squatters have made the Johannesburg station their home. BAFANA KHUMALO spent a night with them on the cold concrete platforms

place," she vows.

This is a constant refrain throughout the night. The squatters are ashamed of their predicament and fearful that their relatives back home will find out how they are living. They refuse to have their photographs taken.

Klaaste packs up his stall, placing the cutlery in cardboard boxes and fetching a broom which he uses to sweep the area. Then he and his friends place cardboard boxes on one side of the two tables and on the other side an abandoned door to make a small enclosure in which they sleep.

"It gets bitterly cold in at night. We're luckier than the ones who sleep outside," says Klaaste. He takes me outside the complex where more than 50 people are sleeping in the parking lot with their bags around them.

As we are coming back into the station a group of Zimbabweans arrive and settle themselves on the floor. They say that they arrived in South Africa the previous week and have come to sell dresses and table mats. "We either sell them for money or people give us old clothes which we sell when we get back home," says Lydia John, 20. Their visas are valid for 14 days, so they have to make sure that they have sold everything by the end of that period or face deportation. "Life is getting expensive in Zimbabwe," chips in Liza John, 27, adding "South Africa is 'much, much better'."

Gertrude Museve tells of her husband dying in the war in that country. "He left me to be father and mother of



Zimbabwe women have 14 days to sell their wares before going home my children."

At about 9pm a Salvation Army mobile soup kitchen delivers bread and vegetable soup in two huge vats. In 30 minutes, the soup is finished.

For a moment there is a carnival atmosphere as the Zimbabwean women break into a Shona version of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, but things turn ugly when the Salvation Army hands out the three blankets they have brought. In a struggling stampede, people desperately lunge at the meagre bedding.

The Salvation Army leaves and the station grows quiet. Muted voices echo through the hall. Occasionally a drunken man walks through the station singing loudly or a group of people pass talking animatedly.

Klaaste and his friends play cards and share cigarettes. It's 10pm and most people are asleep.

Supper time is at about midnight and comprises two loaves of white bread and two bowls of stew bought from a nearby all-night cafe. "We don't always buy food from the shop," says Mbele. "We have our own stove." She points to a small paraffin

killed," he says blandly.

He says he is afraid to go home — "besides there is nothing there for me". He tells of his plans to further his studies and unearth from a cardboard box a matriculation certificate and a Vista University academic record. "I hope to make money from my table and go back to finish my degree."

At 4.30am a few figures, dressed in the bright orange overalls of the Johannesburg municipality sanitation department, disentangle themselves from the mass of sleeping forms.

"Street cleaners. They start work at about six in the afternoon and then knock off at about 10," says Mzobe. "There is no transport late at night and they sleep here and get up to catch the first train home," he explains.

At 5am a trickle of people emerges from the dark beyond the station. They are mostly women clad in bright yellow overalls.

"Office cleaners coming from the night shift," says Mzobe. The trickle turns into a gentle tide, with more and more people passing through, their voices echoing through the hall.

The public address system barks into life, announcing that the 5.30am train to Randfontein will be leaving shortly. After this, as if in response to an alarm clock, more and more people get up and gather their possessions.

Many move towards the station toilet and in the bitterly cold dawn splash their faces with freezing water. The more fastidious ones strip to their pants and scrubbing themselves clean.

By 6am my hosts have already washed and are setting up their tables. From the cardboard boxes come audio cassettes, stockings, copper bangles and cutlery sets.

Warmly dressed commuters from the townships clamber off the trains and talk loudly as they run through the piazza.

As I leave the station, I notice a clock on a nearby building which also tells the temperature. It is 7am and seven degrees.

SA no longer buying image

PRETORIA. — The services of all but one of a long list of American lobbyists, paid millions of dollars to improve South Africa's tarnished image in the US over the past 20 years, had been terminated, the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday. (304A)

Rough calculations suggested that South African taxpayers had paid more than \$26 million (R72.8m) in fees since the late 1960s, the reports said. — Sapa

Right-wing galloping toward talks

304A

CP 29/8/92

THE right-wing is suddenly galloping towards negotiations

Yesterday the CP's Mr Tom Langley announced the party would send a delegation to President F W de Klerk's conference on federalism next month.

Although the CP found federalism unacceptable and stood for a confederation, it would convey its viewpoint at the summit, he said.

This follows the CP announcement that it would join the proposed conference of review on Codesa being mooted by the IFP.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has insisted, however, that the CP would not attend any meeting where the ANC was present. Yesterday's statement from Mr Langley followed closely on the ANC announcement that it would not be attending Mr De Klerk's conference.

The ANC said the conference was being called to endorse the NP's regional proposals.

"Those initially invited to attend have been staunch allies of the regime throughout the decades of apartheid rule," the ANC said.

In a separate development yesterday the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — the breakaway party from the CP — held talks with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer on "the AVU's participation in the negotiation process".

The group of five rebel MPs indicated they would also be attending the federalism conference.

● The government has invited Azapo to exploratory talks on finding ways to remove obstacles to negotiations on a new dispensation, the organisation announced in Durban yesterday. — Political Staff, Sapa

Mandela in bid to scuttle federal talks

MARTIN CHALLENOR
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

ATTEMPTS are being made by African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela to scuttle the conference on federalism called by President De Klerk by asking some of the likely participants not to attend.

President De Klerk has invited all political leaders to the federal conference in Pretoria on September 7.

Up to 10 political movements and governments are expected to attend. They are the National Party, the New Right movement of Mr Andries Beyers, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the National Peoples' Party, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi's Ximoke Progressive Party of GaZankulu, Mr T K Mopeli's Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, and the Conservative Party.

However, this week, Mr Mandela met NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi and Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy separately and asked them not to attend.

Mr Mandela apparently told them that they could not side with the government, and that there was a perception that the federal conference was in fact a ganging-up against the ANC and its allies.

Dr Reddy told Mr Mandela that he would have to speak to his party.

With ANC pressure on people not to go, it is unlikely that the Labour Party and Democratic Party will attend.

The ANC issued a statement yesterday saying it was a strategising conference of the NP and its allies.

The CP announced that it would send a delegation led by the Soutpansberg MP Mr Tom Langley.

rying on without you?

The far-reaching shake-up of the police force, the release of former Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and the announcement of a government summit of pro-federal parties on September 7 all have underscored the ANC's isolation in its anti-negotiations bunker.

Diplomatic sources say that, internationally, the organisation is coming under increasing pressure to resume talks.

Behind-the-scenes efforts to break the deadlock accelerated yesterday as Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa met for the third time in a week.

The negotiations stand-off — now over two months long — is reaching a critical moment, with a three-day meeting of the ANC's national executive committee scheduled to start on Monday. Any solutions offered by Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa could be debated there.

The balance of power between the two sides is so delicate that it is hard to say who will blink first. Most diplomatic observers believe the pressure is slowly mounting on the ANC to resume official contact.

However, ANC sources present a different picture, insisting that the government is feeling the squeeze to give in to more of the ANC's 14 conditions for resuming talks.

They insist the ANC is not being stubborn. All it is asking is for the government to respond to two of the demands — the release of the remaining political prisoners and proper securing of hostels.

They say this would be enough for the ANC to resume official bilateral discussions, although not yet to return to full Codesa-like multilateral negotiations.

By deliberate design, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer have been so uninformative about their meetings that it is almost impossible for outsiders to judge what progress has been made.

The ANC claims that after the two negotiators met earlier this week, Mr Meyer provisionally accepted a response to the ANC demands which he took to Wednesday's Cabinet meeting for a decision.

If this is so, then Mr Meyer may have conveyed the Cabinet's response to Mr Ramaphosa last night.

However, government sources say they do not believe the Cabinet has considered any formal response. They say the ANC is expecting too much if it thinks the government will issue a response, publically conceding to the ANC's demands.

They hope the talks between Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa could reach a point where the

■ To page 3

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRESSURE is growing on the African National Congress this weekend to return to the negotiating table.

■ Diplomatic impatience at its refusal to talk is increasing.

■ And, the government has acted emphatically to send it a clear message that "the reform train is car-

CRISIS!

Renewed pressures on ANC

Arg. 29/8/92
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P.T.O.

Rebel Conservative says time is right for his vision of...

Life without strife

ARG 29/8/92

304A

■ A potentially powerful new dimension has emerged in rightwing politics with the breakaway move by five former Conservative Party MPs. One of them tells about his vision of the new right.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Correspondent

SPEAK to rebel conservative MP Mr Andries Beyers and discover just how our political times are changing.

What used to be heresy is now accepted practice. The unthinkable has become the norm.

Outspoken Mr Beyers can show just how the winds of change are blowing the cobwebs out of even the cosiest corners of rightwing politics.

Apartheid and racism are out. People of colour can be welcomed as fellow Afrikaners. What is more, talks with the African National Congress are in. Moderation is in. A smaller Afrikaner homeland is in.

Thus speaks the voice of the new right, as represented by Mr Beyers, one of five Conservative Party MPs who have defied Dr Andries Treurnicht's leadership and broke away from the CP.

Mr Beyers, 46, addressed Cape Town Press Club this week and among the audience was his friend and fellow parliamentarian, Mr Jannie Momborg, the ANC MP for Simon's Town, who has twice broken away from political parties — first the National Party then the Democratic Party.

This weekend, Mr Beyers's breakaway group is meeting in Standerton to plan the launch of its new political movement, the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The other members of the group of rebel MPs are Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and

Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

The group, which is expected to choose Mr Beyers as its leader, envisages the Afrikaner Volksunie as a potentially powerful force towards a reconciliation of "moderate" Afrikaners. If it succeeds, all that will remain of old-style apartheid politics will be a shrinking assortment of die-hard fanatics on the far right.

More Conservative Party MPs and party officials are expected to join the new right in due course, especially if Dr Treurnicht steps down, as predicted in political circles.

In an interview with *Weekend Argus* this week, Mr Beyers outlined crucial aspects of his group's thinking. A key point was that there could be no future for a political party that clung to apartheid.

It is on this issue that the rebel group differs most sharply from the hardliners of the CP's old guard who dominate the party.

Mr Beyers, MP for Potchefstroom, said it was important the new right should have a marketable case, which had to be "fair and just".

"If we do not have such a case, our ideals will fail."

He confirmed he was willing to negotiate directly with the ANC, as it was important that Afrikaner aspirations should be discussed directly with the largest black political grouping. "Until now, Dr Treurnicht has not been prepared to do this," he said.

The decision of the rebel group to break away had clearly shaken the CP, said Mr Beyers, and its quick reaction, as indicated by a sudden



□ **REBEL MP:** Ex-Conservative Mr Andries Beyers.

movement towards more realistic thinking, had encouraged him to put his case even more strongly.

Outlining his vision of the future, Mr Beyers said he was worried about the high level of polarisation between opposing political groups, and he hoped harsh realities would make people tone down their ideas and attitudes.

"In particular, I hope realities will compel the ANC to soften its hardline attitude," he said. "They must realise they cannot decide for the whole of South Africa."

"They have to abandon their imperialist attitude and must

be prepared to reach compromises that take into account the aspirations of all the people."

In his address to the Press Club, Mr Beyers said he believed Afrikaners and coloured people could move closer together. It was possible that "an arrangement for the future" could be made between them.

The new rightists would campaign for a maximum devolution of power and for strong regional governments. The movement would present itself as "a non-racist, ethnic Afrikaner movement".

He added: "We say we are

not dividing our nation — we want to unify all realistic, moderate Afrikaners."

He did not see his group amalgamating with the National Party, as it appeared the NP was not making provision for self-determination.

"In our opinion, self-determination is morally indisputable and an essential part of the democratisation of South Africa," he said.

Mr Beyers urged the South African Press, particularly the Afrikaans sector, "to acknowledge Afrikaner nationalism as a reality whose demands must be met".

Afrikaner Volksunie was being launched amid growing speculation that Dr Treurnicht, 71, might quit politics soon to make way for a complete takeover of the Conservative Party by the old guard, under the leadership of Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

If this happened, more Conservative MPs were likely to be forced to quit and might defect to Mr Beyers's group.

His group had indicated its willingness to negotiate with all relevant groups about self-determination and a smaller *volkstaat* for Afrikaners who wanted it.

The new rightists have proposed a northern region, with Pretoria as its heart and including parts of the Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal. They also proposed two regions in the Cape Province in which Afrikaners and "coloureds" could come to an agreement about their political future.

Mr Beyers became MP for Potchefstroom with a resounding victory against the NP in a by-election earlier this year. Previously, he was chief secretary of the CP, a position he had held since 1986.

Last year, he was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment for refusing to name the source of an allegation that elements of the National Intelligence Service had kidnapped a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

Mail sent to

**Mandela
trip off**

304A
AUG 29/8/92

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's tour of the Natal Midlands has been cancelled because his personal safety could not be guaranteed, it was learnt yesterday.

The tour, due to have started on Thursday, was cancelled after security officials from the ANC's national office investigated sites intended as stopovers for Mr Mandela's visit.

EX

Africa's
ists.
H SOCIETY

From unrest reports to shining Govt's image

Star 29/8/92

304A

ALTHOUGH Government image-maker Dave Steward has been appointed official State spokesman, the public will not be hearing a lot from him.

He says he intends to work behind the scenes, advising the Government on how to polish its image and to tell

the world about its achievements.

When in the 1980s he appeared regularly on television giving unrest reports, he was accused by journalists of suppressing rather than disseminating information. With this sort of background, he will undoubtedly find it hard to convince them that his role

OFFICIAL State spokesman Dave Steward speaks to BRENDAN TEMPLETON.

has changed.

The Government spokesman's post was created on Steward's recommendation after he travelled abroad to

see how other governments handled media relations.

"I only made the recommendation that the post be established. I didn't say who

should get it," he says.

"We felt there should be a much more structured flow of communication between the Government and the media. Often the State President will have a meeting with a prominent figure, but there will be no one to give comment."

Hours before even a murder is heard from official quarters, the other party holds an impromptu press conference to give its side of the story.

Steward's job is to ensure that State comment comes through quickly.

So how does an image-builder go about presenting the clean side of a government which has admitted that its position is illegitimate?

"The word 'illegitimate' has many emotional connotations. The Government accepts that the present situation is illegitimate insofar as the Government doesn't represent all the people of South Africa.

"But it doesn't recognise its role in moving to a new South Africa as illegitimate... (and) in the meantime has a responsibility to carry out and communicate its perceptions as one of the major players in the negotiation process."

He points out that the Government does a lot of work which goes unheralded. Part of his job will be to let the world know about it.

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Voice of the new Right takes swipe at fanatics

STAR 29/8/92
(304A)

A NEW dimension has emerged in right-wing politics with the breakaway by five former Conservative Party MPs. One of them talks about his vision of the new Right to FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

CAPE TOWN — Speak to rebel conservative MP Andries Beyers and discover just how our political times are changing: what used to be political heresy is now accepted practice — the unthinkable has become the norm.

The outspoken Beyers can show just how the winds of change are blowing the cobwebs out of even the cosiest corners of right-wing politics. Apartheid is out. Racism is out. People of colour can be welcomed as fellow-Afrikaners.

Talks with the ANC are in, moderation is in, a smaller Afrikaner homeland is in.

Thus speaks the voice of the new Right, as represented by Beyers. He is one of five Conservative Party MPs who defied Dr Andries Treurnicht's leadership and broke away from the CP.

This weekend Beyers and other members of his breakaway group are meeting in Standerton to discuss the launching of their proposed new political movement — the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The other members of the group of rebel MPs are Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Chris de Jager (Bethal), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

Beyers and his colleagues envisage the Afrikaner Volksunie as a potentially powerful new movement towards a reconciliation of "moderate" Afrikaners. If they succeed, all that will remain of old-style apartheid politics will be a shrinking assortment of die-hard fanatics on the far Right.

More CP MPs and party officials are expected to join the new Right in due course, espe-



cially if Treurnicht steps down, as predicted in political circles.

In an interview this week, Beyers outlined crucial aspects of his group's thinking. A key point was that there could be no future for a political party which clung to apartheid. It is on this issue that the rebel group differs most sharply from the hardliners of the CP's old guard who dominate the party.

Beyers, MP for Potchefstroom, said he regarded it as important to have a marketable case. Thus it needed to be fair and just. "If we do not have such a case, our ideals will fail," he said.

Beyers confirmed that he was willing to negotiate directly with the ANC. It was important that Afrikaner aspirations should be discussed first-hand with the ANC, which was apparently the largest black polit-

ical grouping. "Until now Dr Treurnicht has not been prepared to do this."

The decision of the rebel group to break away had clearly shaken the CP. Beyers said the CP's quick reaction, as indicated by a sudden movement towards more realistic thinking, had encouraged him to put his case even more strongly.

Outlining his vision of the future, Beyers said he was worried about the unacceptably high level of polarisation between opposing political groups. He hoped the realities of South Africa's situation would force people to tone down their ideas and attitudes.

"In particular I hope realities will compel the ANC to soften its hardline attitude. They must realise they cannot decide for the whole of South Africa."

In an address to the Cape

Town Press Club, Beyers said he believed Afrikaners and the coloured people could in future move closer together. It was possible that "an arrangement for the future" could be made between them.

The new rightists would campaign for a maximum devolution of power and strong regional governments. The new movement would present itself as "a non-racist, ethnic Afrikaner movement."

"We say we are not dividing our nation — we want to unify all realistic, moderate Afrikaners."

Beyers said he did not see his group amalgamating with the National Party, as it appeared the NP was not making provision for self-determination. "In our opinion self-determination is morally indisputable and an essential part of the democratisation of South Africa."

BREAK WITH THE PAST: From outspoken Andries Beyers it is clear that apartheid is out, talks with the ANC are in and people of colour are now welcomed as fellow Afrikaners.



Diplomatic pressure mounts for resumption of talks

ANC

starts to

STAR 29/8/92

PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER WAUGH

304A

feel heat

THE pressure on the African National Congress to return to the negotiating table stepped up this week with increasing diplomatic impatience over its stand-off, and new Government initiatives designed to send a clear message that "the reform train is carrying on without you".

The far-reaching shake-up of the South African Police, the release of former Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and the announcement of a summit of pro-federal parties on September 7 all underscored the ANC's isolation in its anti-negotiations bunker.

Diplomatic sources said that internationally the organisation was coming under increasing pressure to resume talks. Behind-the-scenes efforts to break the deadlock accelerated yesterday as Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for the third time in a week.

It is believed that Meyer may have shown Ramaphosa the Cabinet's decision on proposals discussed by the two men earlier in the week to find a way back into talks.

The negotiations stand-off — now more than two months old — could reach a critical stage in the coming week with a three-day meeting of the ANC's national executive committee starting on Monday.

It is understood that the committee will consider the Cabinet's decision.

Ramaphosa and Meyer last night refused once again to say if any progress had been made in their latest talks. Although diplomats are

saying that the international community is becoming increasingly impatient with the ANC's stand-off position, ANC sources reject that they are being stubborn.

They said all they were asking for now was for the Government to respond satisfactorily to two of the ANC's 14 conditions for resuming talks — the release of remaining political prisoners and proper control of hostels to prevent attacks by hostel-dwellers on township residents.



ROELF MEYER

This would be enough for the ANC to resume official bilateral discussions — although not yet to return to full Codesa-type multilateral negotiations.

But Government sources said the ANC was expecting too much in demanding that the Government should publicly issue a response conceding all the ANC's demands.

They hoped the ANC would accept that it had got enough from the Government to warrant its returning to the talks, without the Government being forced to back down publicly.

The release of Gerhardt — long demanded by the ANC, which regarded him as one of its political prisoners — may have been intended to convey a message that the Government is prepared to respond to the ANC's demands, but only indirectly.

This would explain why President F W de Klerk stressed that he was releasing Gerhardt at the behest of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Although the Government remains insistent that it will not take any steps towards constitutional reform without the ANC, it is clear that it is doing everything short of this to put pressure on the organisation.

The Government is feeling the pressure to secure agreement with the ANC on at least the first phase of interim government, so that legislation can be passed at the short session of Parliament in October.

Without such legislation, the session could become an embarrassing farce.

To avoid this, the Government is now contemplating passing enabling legislation to set up a transitional executive structure for the first phase of interim government — even if this is not agreed to by the ANC.

This would not be implemented before agreement is reached — averting, the Government believes, criticism that it is trying to go it alone. Observers believe the underlying message to the ANC is that the "reform train has to keep going, and will do so whether you're on board or not."



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

Solutions needed urgently — NOW OR never!

SOUTH 2918 - 219192
3044

The rationale for the Mont Fleur scenarios is the need to find a way out of the vicious circle of political and economic crises and the social instability threatening to tear the country apart.

Some argue that if this cycle continues for another five to 10 years, South Africa's problems will be insoluble — so the pressure is on to find a solution to the mess NOW.

The team identified the crises facing South Africa as political, economic and social.

The political crisis

The present system lacks legitimacy. There are allegations that the army is involved in political violence and there is a deep mistrust of the justice system in a climate of repression and intolerance. Ethnic and

regional divisions are exploited while the collapse of local authorities has made many local government bodies ineffective.

The economic crisis

Traditional growth plans for South Africa were based on three main factors — primary goods exports, cheap labour and import substitution, with the manufacturing sector only developed for small, high-income markets.

As a result, little attention was paid to producing capital goods such as machinery. But, in other parts of the world, the technological revolution has shifted against exporters of primary products in favour of exporters of manufactured goods.

The Sharpeville uprising, the rise

of labour militancy since the seventies and subsequent political revolts undermined business confidence in apartheid.

These developments, and the emergence of effective non-racial trade unions, destroyed the possibility of future growth paths based on cheap labour and political domination.

The highly unequal distribution of income and wealth is also a significant factor in this crisis.

The economy is clearly in a state of stagnation and decline, indicated by the following factors:

- Declining investment (currently minus 1,1 percent).
- Declining rate of economic growth (only 0,8 percent a year between 1985 and 1991).
- Falling real income, which

means falling standards of living.

- No new jobs are being created but there are about 400 000 new entrants to the job market every year.
- The number of formal sector jobs are falling.

All these should be viewed in conjunction with statistics on population growth, which show that South Africa's population is presently growing at nearly three percent a year. There are simply not enough jobs or resources to support a population growing at that rate.

The social crisis

The steep rise in unemployment causes tremendous economic hardship and threatens social and political stability.

The rapid increase in the urban-

sation results from, among other things, the drought and the failure of bantustan policies.

Rural communities are collapsing and services are being cut back as remittances by migrant workers fall.

The explosion of political and criminal violence is adding to the social crisis.

Social indicators for black South Africans, such as life expectancy, literacy, infant mortality and so on are worse than for many African countries.

The commitment to negotiations arose in the light of this crisis — but which way will we move now? The scenario team narrowed down some 14 original options and came up with forecasts of what could happen if we take any of four possible paths ahead.



CRYSTAL BALL PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

*what the
experts forecast*

Political change and unresolved negotiations have spawned uncertainty for South Africans in the nineties. In the start of a new four-part series, **Lynda Loxton** looks at forecasts being drawn up by the boffins to prepare South Africans for the future — whatever it holds:

SOUTH 29/8-2/9/92 (304A)

PICTURE yourself in the year 2000. There's peace and prosperity in South Africa. Close your eyes, and focus on another image: poverty, homelessness, violence and rampant Aids.

It's hard enough for individuals to guess the future, but political, labour and business organisations are trying to feel out the likely options — and act to implement their favoured one.

Business especially is keen to peer into the future. Right now, it is wondering what the economic policies of a new government will be.

Will the next government nationalise or privatise? Will it control prices? Will it encourage the private or state sectors?

These questions — and others — about what lies ahead are no less relevant to political and labour organisations, as well as to each South African.

Amid all the uncertainty, it is not surprising that a professional industry has emerged dealing with the development of scenario plans about what may, or may not, happen if this or that takes place.

These plans reduce, but do not eliminate, uncertainty by giving people an indication of the worst- and best-case outcomes of future actions by government, whatever form that takes.

Such plans demand that those made aware of them take a brand-new look at what is possible. Blinkers must be removed, bringing an end to tunnel vision. People must change their mental gears and the mental maps they follow.

The first major scenario was developed in the late eighties by Anglo American's Clem Sunter, followed soon after by the Old Mutual/Nedcor scenario.

- The first focused on South Africa's position in a rapidly changing world economy. It is being updated to include recent local political developments and their possible consequences.

- The second looked at the rapidly changing situation within the country and what that could mean for the future.

Both scenarios will be explored over the next few weeks in a special series on scenario plans in SOUTH.

This week SOUTH sets the ball rolling with a look at the latest vision — "The Mont Fleur Scenarios" — compiled by a large group including businesspeople, but with a far broader base than other plans.

Professor Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) led the team.

The scenarios take their name

from Mont Fleur in the Stellenbosch area because they were developed there during a series of meetings over the last 12 months.

The scenarios, which are said to belong to all the participants and not to any one institution or organisation, look at possible future paths for South Africa in the next decade until 2002. It is also hoped they will stimulate debate on the consequences of these findings for strategic planning.

The people involved in the exercise did so in their individual capacities. But they represent an interesting — and unusual — combination of talent from a broad cross-section of South African society and political opinion.

That they all reached consensus on the various scenarios is remarkable. It will be interesting to see to what extent their involvement leads to a general consensus about the kind of economic policies South Africa should adopt.

If it does, it will do a great deal to alleviate the uncertainty being felt by many about the economic future — and perhaps help set the economy on course for growth again.

The participants included:

Rob Davies, director of the Centre for Southern African Studies, UWC

Howard Gabriels, project co-ordinator at Friederich Ebert Stiftung
Adam Kahane, head of group planning, Shell (London)

Koosum Kalyan, manager of socio-political and economic issues and the media department, Shell (SA)

Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development

Johann Liebenberg, senior general manager of external relations, Chamber of Mines

Mosebyane Malatsi, PAC economist and senior specialist at the Development Bank of Southern Africa

Tito Mboweni, economist ANC head office

Skosana Mahlomola, assistant secretary-general, Nactu

Saki Macozoma, department of information and publicity, ANC

Trevor Manuel, head of the department of economic policy, ANC

Nicky Morgan, dean of the faculty of Economic and Management Sciences and professor in Business Economics, UWC

Thobeka Mangwana, lecturer in Development Planning, Institute for Social Development

Vincent Maphai, chair of Political Science, UWC

Gaby Magomola, chairman of Inter-African Group

Patrick Ncube, lecturer in Economics, UCT and UWC

WHAT do the legendary Icarus, a lame duck, an ostrich and a flamingo have in common?

They have been selected as images for the different scenarios in which the South African economy could perform if certain mixtures of political and economic policies were adopted.

The scenario plans were developed by the Mont Fleur Group, co-ordinated by Professor Pieter le Roux of the Institute for Social Development at UWC.

The scenarios are not represented as truths or blueprints, but as possible versions of the future. The aim is to stimulate debate about the implications of the possible paths of development and to create an awareness that the future is not pre-determined and will depend on the strategic decisions taken during the next two years.

The Ostrich

The ostrich is known for burying his head in the sand. He does this when he wants to avoid looking at something he does not like and cannot fly away from it. But eventually he has to lift his head if he wants to breathe — and live.

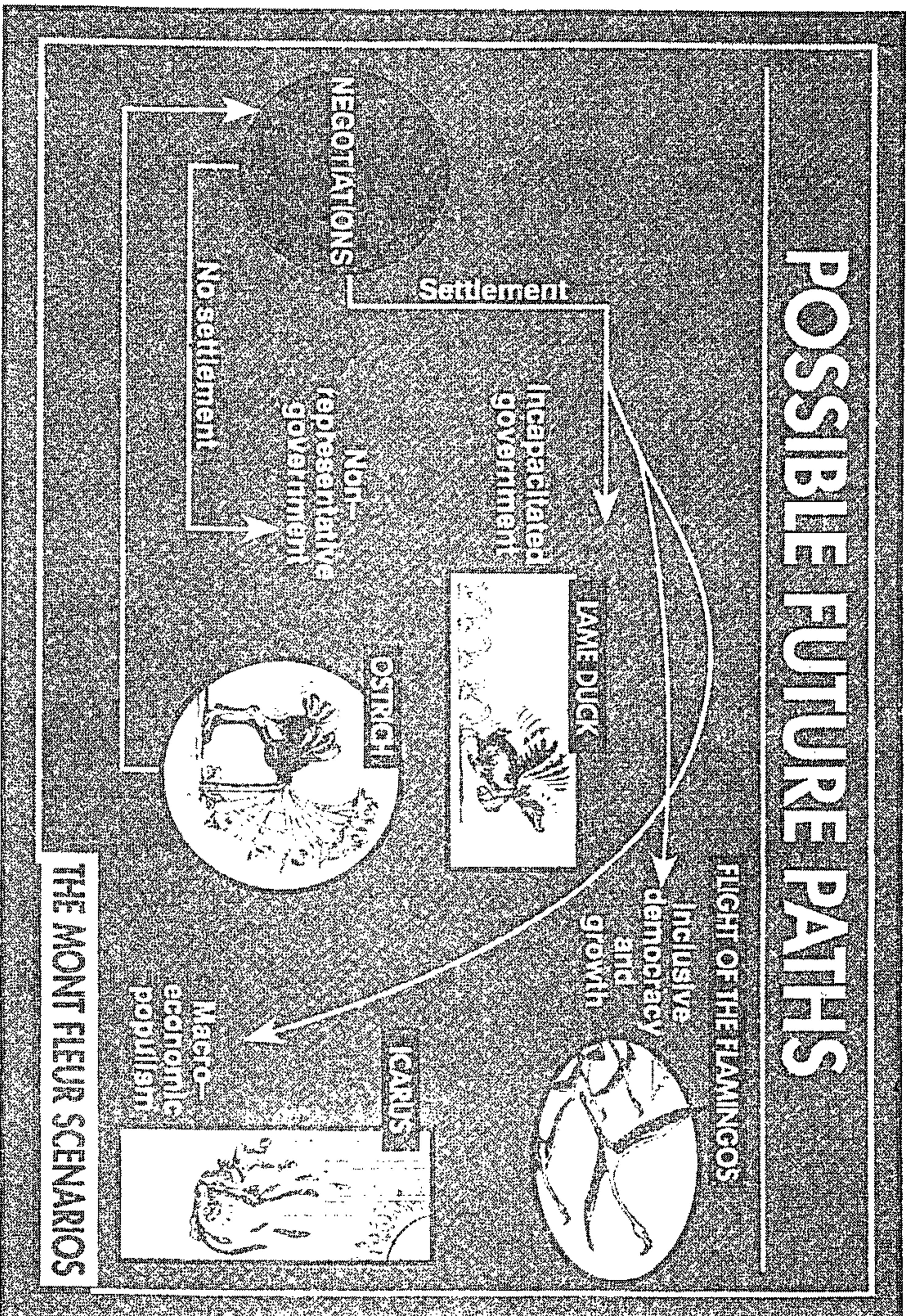
With some foresight, the scenario team saw the ostrich scenario, in which talks break down, as a possibility even though Codesa was still on the cards when they completed their work in March.

The team envisaged the government forming a moderate alliance, which included some of the political groupings in the black community. This tallied with the government's recent call for a meeting with all parties, including Inkatha, interested in federalism.

The team foresaw that because of this alliance with moderate black groups, sanctions against an 'ostrich' regime would not be imposed. However, the government would have no internal legitimacy and there would be widespread resistance to it.

This would lead to repressive counter-measures by the state. Vir-

POSSIBLE FUTURE PATHS



**Flamingoes can fly
Where Icarus failed**

South 29/8 - 2/9/92

that the government can still maintain power for some time, but not forever. Once everyone gets back to the negotiating table, the three other options are possible.

The Lane Duck

tain a fixed exchange rate will fail. Hyper-inflation and a rampant black market will result and the value of the rand will collapse. The economy will go into a rapid downward spin and the government will not be able to meet the basic needs of the

to have their say in government policies without allowing them to pressure the government into Icarus-type macro-economic populism. The government must also pay attention to social reconstruction through more social investment,

Some of these might be more dangerous by the next elections in the late nineties, when government might be tempted to adopt Icarus-style policies to win votes.

Mont Fleur participants acknowledge that the pressures of short-term political gain undermine long-term visions. But the team concluded that success was possible if it was realised that there was no quick fix.

However, it would be dangerous for any government to just "muddle through". A decisive democratic settlement was vital — after which government policies had to be sustainable and supportive of economic growth and development.



Plans for

the people

A major effort will be made to inform ordinary South Africans about Mont Fleur scenarios for the country's future.

In the past, scenario plans have been developed by and for big business, with few attempts to get the information across to citizens — the people who will vote the next government into power.

The Mont Fleur scenarios have so far been presented to top leadership in civic groups, the liberation movements, trade unions and government representatives. 29/8-2/9/92

There are plans to make a video and publish a booklet on the scenarios, and to take members of the planning team around the country to explain the findings to reach people at every level of society.

This feature was made possible by the support of SHELL

business climate would worsen. The economy would continue to stagnate and very little could be done to improve the lives of ordinary people.

As the crisis worsened, the state would either be forced back to the negotiating table or consider the real possibility of a "Lebanon option" with widespread destruction and chaos.

The hidden message of this to those on the right is that they can buy time, but that they will be forced back to the negotiating table sooner or later. The message to those on the left is

an uncertain future in a world full of predators.

The team uses this image to symbolise a situation in which there is a political settlement, but the government is an all-party coalition. There is a long transition period with many "sunset" clauses (no nationalisation for 10 years, etc) which prolong the uncertainty of what the new government will do. Policies are vague as the a government tries to respond to all, but satisfies no-one.

This will deter investors, hold back growth and lead to the social crisis being inadequately addressed. The vicious cycle of political, economic and social crises will worsen.

The Icarus option

Icarus was a Greek prince who flew spectacularly with wings attached to his body with wax until he flew too close to the sun. The wax melted, the wings dropped off and he fell to his death.

To the team, Icarus represents a popularly elected majority government which immediately launches a massive spending campaign to deal in one go with all the social and economic problems. This is called macro-economic populism.

As happened in several Latin American states, this will "kick start" the economy and will result in rapid economic growth of five or six percent for the first year or two. But this can only be done by running up huge budget deficits which fuel inflation and lead to exchange rate instabilities.

Attempts to freeze prices and main-

of wealth and social services.

All this will be highly unpopular with the people and some form of authoritarian regime may emerge to keep the government in power.

The negative consequences of this scenario will be the most difficult to explain to the mass of South Africans who want to see a rapid improvement in their standard of living, but do not understand the long-term consequences of macro-populism.

The Flight of the Flamingoes

Flamingoes fly together in large groups, take off slowly but fly high and very far.

They represent the "best-case" scenario, which the team has found the most difficult to explain and admits that it may seem too easy to be true.

There will be a decisive political settlement, followed by "good government". This means a government that has clear consistent policies, is efficient and not corrupt and which observes macro-economic constraints (does not allow the deficit to grow too large, etc).

The economy will be run on market principles to deal with the current crisis — "socialism cannot be built on a collapsing or destroyed economy". The question whether socialism would be introduced after the 10-year reconstruction period was left unanswered.

The kind of political system that would best suit the "flamingo" was not spelt out, but a Bill of Rights was part of it. The team also felt that the government would allow the people

which would help to decrease a level of violence in the country.

Social investment should include the empowerment of women, especially black women. One result would be better family health and greater social stability.

The government should also ensure a favourable international environment by, for example, working for regional stability and ensuring access to world markets through negotiations at various trade bodies.

All this would ensure sustained economic growth because business would be confident, investment would be high and employment would rise.

Under this scenario, the team foresees that South Africa could have an average growth rate of about five percent for the next 10 years. The overall income of the higher income groups could grow at one to three percent a year and those of the poorer classes at six to nine percent a year. With all the other scenarios and even present government policies, growth will be under one percent by 2002.

Of course, not all social and economic problems will be addressed in the short-term, but, as confidence grows, the democratic government will be able to live up to expectations in the long-run.

The team identified five groups that could threaten this scenario — the right wing, alienated youth, a corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy, dissatisfied workers and disinvesting industrialists and bankers.

CP to attend regionalism summit

THE Conservative Party will send a delegation to next month's regionalism summit, CP foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley said in Pretoria on Friday.

The CP stood for a confederation of commonwealth of states in terms of which each state was fully autonomous.

CPren 30/8/92

(304A)

Black and Indian branches for DP

Clarendon 30/8/77 3047
THE Democratic Party is to launch black and Indian branches throughout the Natal coastal region in the next two months, according to the party's regional chairman Mike Ellis.

Last weekend a clutch of academics gathered in Cape Town to re-examine federalism in the light of recent political developments. ZB MOLEFE reports on the gathering hosted jointly by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Centre for Policy Studies.

THERE was more than rhetoric at last weekend's lively workshop on the theme "The Politics and Economics of Federalism - A South African Debate".

Even the waterfront setting was significant: A room in the historical Breakwater Prison, new home to the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business.

It became clear that just as South Africans are battling to come to grips with democracy, they will also have to grapple with federalism.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport recently warned that regionalism had not been accommodated quickly enough in Yugoslavia. He said this had increased tensions which finally led to that country's break-up and current bloodshed.

On SA, he said: "We must not wait for the breaking point. We must read the signs of the times which favour strong regional government. If this is suppressed, there will be a backlash."

Federalism supporters include the government and its allies the IFP, Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei. The New Right breakaway faction from the CP has been the latest to join the ranks, with the desire to negotiate a regional solution as a stepping stone to an Afrikaner volkstaat.

Pro-federalists have met strong resistance, in particular from the ANC, which favours a "strong united SA" with regions divided along geographical and economic rather than ethnic lines.

Centre For Policy Studies (CPS) researcher Kehla Shubane kicked off with the observation that the federalism debate to date has simply reflected partisan politics.

"Various forms of fed-

Grappling with federalism

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AFRICA SPEAKS ... The federalism-unitary state debate must take account of the African experience, says Joe Matthews. ■ PIC: ZB MOLEFE

eralism are not posed. Federalism in SA has been advanced as a cure-all to all our ills."

UCT academic David Welsh was even less specific. Reminding delegates of the factors which led to the collapse of Codesa, he remarked: "We have no way of predicting the future of SA."

Size will dictate the odds, said Durban City Council management committee chairman Peter Mansfield. A future SA government, he said, "is going to be too big and complex to be governed centrally. The challenge is to accommodate diversity".

The African experience should begin any analysis of the federalism-unitary state debate, argued Durban legal consultant and political analyst Joe Matthews, son of ANC stalwart Prof ZK Matthews.

While in exile this grandfather witnessed more than 40 African countries winning independence from colonial powers.

At independence countries like Nigeria and

Uganda scoffed at federalism. They were later saddled with bloody breakaways while Zambia and Tanzania were transformed to successful unitary states, Matthews said.

At a session to examine the western Cape, the ideological adversaries were the ANC's Trevor Manuel and the NP's Willem Doman.

Manuel posed the question: Given SA's regional diversity, how does one bring the "new SA" to the people of the western Cape?

"That is why we should be discussing this unitary state-federalism issue."

Doman told the workshop the NP was aware of the country's diversity, "wants a system that will work", and had therefore opted for constitutional proposals rooted in regionalism which aim to "bring the government closer to the people".

A speaker from the Natal case-study group, political scientist Rowley Arenstein, outlined how Natal's historical efforts to become a self-sufficient industrial and politi-

cal region were thwarted by government.

He noted how the proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba were "thrown in the wastepaper basket" by the government, "but just recently we hear (President) FW de Klerk has been looking at that wastepaper basket".

"Federalism is far more democratic than a unitary state. SA is a multi-national state. The more there is democracy on the ground, the better. We (SA) should turn to federalism."

UCT academic Bax Nomvete, former secretary-general of Africa's 18-nation Preferential Trade Area (PTA), asked whether the determination of federalism in SA would take into account economic growth on the basis of other regions in Africa.

Ethnicity as a criteria for federalism would be a tragedy, he argued.

"We have seen what it has done in Yugoslavia, the USSR and Nigeria. We should do everything to see that ethnicity is not the baton of federalism."

Rule of law ensures the rights of citizens

In a democracy all citizens are supposed to enjoy protection from the law.

While no one is regarded as being above the law, the law itself cannot be used by the government or anybody to trample over the rights of citizens. All conventions and principles that underpin the rights of citizens under the law as well as

^(1 page) principles that prevent governments from using arbitrary powers against citizens are collectively referred to as the rule of law. The following are some of these principles:

- In a court case a citizen is deemed innocent until proved guilty by a court of law.
- No citizen can be imprisoned without having been charged and given a

fair trial.

- In any dispute the court must hear both sides of the case before arriving at a decision.
- Every citizen is entitled to legal representation if he is charged with a serious crime and cannot afford to acquire the services of a legal representative.

In most countries where the rule of law is

^(304A) observed, there is a Bill of Rights which is guaranteed by independent courts.

In the Bill of Rights all the rights of citizens, as well as limitations on the power of government to act arbitrarily against its citizens, are documented. However, not all countries that observe the rule of law have Bills of Rights or even constitutions.

Britain is a good example of a democracy which observes the rule of law but has neither a Bill of Rights nor a written constitution. In Britain, the tradition of democracy has evolved over many centuries to the extent that through constant practice, this tradition has become a permanent institution of British political life.

This the eighth in a series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy.



While the government and ANC continue to meet in secret to try and resolve the negotiations impasse, President FW de Klerk has announced he will press ahead with the planned second sitting of Parliament. MIKE ROBERTSON argues that this is an act of folly

LIKE the singing of Die Stem by the Ellis Park crowd, President FW de Klerk's decision to go ahead with a second sitting of Parliament this year is an act of defiance which says more about his weakened position than it does of his visionary ability.

The ostensible reason for going ahead with the sitting is to legislate a complex set of agreements patched together on the eve of Codesa 2, in the main by the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Cape National Party leader Dawie de Villiers.

The agreements, which have been dubbed "transitional arrangements", provide for the appointment of a number of multi-party councils that will oversee the working of the security forces and the state media in the run-up to an election. They also provide for the appointment of a neutral body to conduct the elections.

Their acceptance was dependent on Codesa also reaching agreement on the basic principles of a new constitution and the election of a body to draw up the new document. As this was not possible the transitional arrangements have remained on ice ever since.

President De Klerk's decision to legislate them now was interpreted first as a display of two fingers to the ANC — saying in effect: "You don't write the rules, we'll press on without you."

Such sentiments will undoubtedly have featured in the cabinet decision to go ahead with the second sitting, but according to a senior cabinet minister the motive was more complex.

He said the legislation to be passed during the second sitting would be of the enabling variety. It would be introduced only once it had been accepted by all Codesa participants (read ANC).

The minister said that by pursuing this course it would be possible to implement the transitional arrangements immediately there was final agreement on related issues of constitutional principles and a constitution-making body.

Given the need to achieve visible progress in negotiations, this, on the surface, would seem to be a pragmatic approach.

But it is based on the belief that Codesa 2 failed because of the disputes that arose over percentages by which a final constitution should be adopted and over the powers of regions.

These were, however, merely symptoms of a much larger problem. The NP and some allies were intent on negotiating a new constitution that ensured power-sharing.

The ANC, its allies and the DP thought they were negotiating a democratic constitution. Implicit in this is first the acceptance of majority rule and then, and on this the ANC and DP part ways, limitations on the powers of central govern-

ment, protection of the individual against arbitrary action by the state and so on.

The differences between the two concepts were perhaps best illustrated by President De Klerk himself when on February 9 1990 in Parliament he rejected suggestions by DP speakers that the NP had "poached DP policy".

He said: "The NP is not interested in their policy with all its fundamental flaws. The DP does not advocate power-sharing. Their policy is one that will inevitably lead to a majority-domination model."

Every agreement that flowed from Codesa was premised on the belief that the two concepts were reconcilable. They are not.

It is time our political parties accepted this and began the negotiating process over again. First we need a decision on the question of democracy versus power-sharing.

Only then will the negotiators be in a position to debate seriously what the rightful powers of government should be, limitations on government power and whether we should have a strong centralised system or a federal one.

Finally, knowing what they want to achieve, the parties can decide how to get there.

To press ahead, as the government now proposes, with the legislation of agreements reached at Codesa by parties that did not share the same opinion on their destination is folly.

The breakdown in talks has already inflicted severe damage on the fabric of society. Another, which will ensue as surely as night follows day if the government persists on its present course, could well succeed in shattering it.

FW blind to peril of new deadlock

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S Times 30/8/92

Focus on talks

PRESSURE is mounting from all quarters for the resumption of talks between the ANC and Government - a move which, it is believed, will start the next phase of negotiations towards a political settlement in South Africa.

It is expected that this next phase of negotiations will produce "measurable progress", possibly in the form of an appointed transitional executive.

The Government is expected to prepare and, perhaps, pass legislation during the next minisession of Parliament in October, which will prepare the ground for the actual establishment of the transitional executive and its complementary structures - all of which had already been agreed upon at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

These structures will focus on such issues as the registration of voters and the demarcation of electoral boundaries.

There is a greater possibility, too, that amendments to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 will be passed to extend the Government's present term of office to beyond 1994.

Based on the knowledge that the Government wants the present order, after much culling, to melt into an interim government of national unity, it is safe to assume that it wants to avoid another whites only general election - which in terms of the Constitution Act, has to be called by September 1994.

But while those are matters that are in fact contingent upon continued and successful negotiations, a swift resumption of multi-party talks represent only an outside chance of producing the confidence within South Africa that would positively influence the floundering economy and stop the violence.

Both the violence and the country's economy have in the past years gone from bad to worse, so there is no guarantee that high-level talks will produce this, much desired, effect.

In spite of the Government's protests, a resumption of talks does not mean the violence will end; in fact the violence that has accompanied the negotiation process of the past two years have left at least 6 000 people dead.

The violence and economic growth can perhaps better be dealt with after an interim government of national unity has been established.

Investors in America and Britain have over the past week said that they were prepared to invest in South Africa only after an interim government has been established and only after all the political parties have agreed on an economic policy.

What has, however, become more pertinent, is the almost daily disclosures of the involvement of Government, its security establishment and its teeming bureaucracy in actions which

The Government is expected to pass legislation during the next sitting of Parliament to prepare the ground for the establishment of a transitional executive and its complementary structures which have been agreed upon at Codesa, writes *Sowetan's* Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien:**



Pressure for Government-ANC talks.

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more than verge on criminal behaviour.

This has somehow changed the dynamic behind the impasse.

Issues such as the re-opened inquest into the murder of Matthew Goniwe and his colleagues, the Boipatong massacre, Trust Feeds, the ongoing deaths in police custody, to name but a few, has got the Government's blood rushing to its head.

The NP has, since it embarked on the liberalisation of its policies, been trying to sidestep the issue of the sins of the past under apartheid and indeed the crimes against humanity that were committed during those years.

However, after the disclosures of the past weeks and months, the Government, it seems, is no longer prepared to defend itself in the public arena, for the incriminations against it and wants, therefore, to see negotiations resumed as it would take centre stage.

The Government is seeking desperately to secure a deal which will see the country's security establishment and maybe even Cabinet Ministers indemnified.

The Government has linked the release of remaining political prisoners identified by the ANC to a general amnesty for its own people.

The ANC regards the linking of the prisoners to an amnesty as holding the country and the process hostage.

In the September issue of *Mayibuye*, the ANC's official mouthpiece, Professor Kadar Asmal of the University of the Western Cape drops an important reminder.

"In the euphoria following the unbanning of organisations, it was forgotten that the apartheid regime has been universally condemned on various legal grounds and that the struggle against this vile system was itself legitimate," Asmal says.

New Right party to be registered

STAR 31/8/92

By Carina le Grange

The newly established Afrikaner Volkspartij (AV) will be registered as a political party today following Saturday's ground-breaking meeting in Standerton.

The AV came into being under the auspices of five former CP politicians, led by Andries Beyers, who recently broke away from the CP.

Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz was elected chairman of the AV on Saturday and Standerton MP Rosier de Ville its secretary. Mr Beyers, elected Potchefstroom MP on a CP ticket in February, will lead the fledgling AV during the October parliamentary sessions.

Heilbron's Cehill Pienaar and Bethal's Chris de Jager are the two other former CP MPs in the new party.

Mr Pienaar said from Cape Town yesterday that the AV was in favour of negotiations and had already held talks with various political leaders.

He said the AV had lined up talks in the next two weeks with political leaders who were "main players" in SA politics. He could not name them without their agreement.

"The AV was formed to represent Afrikaners — a vacuum exists in which nobody is representative of Afrikaners with regard to negotiations," Mr Pienaar said.

He said it was not possible to give accurate figures with regard to support at this stage, but in his constituency he was supported by about 160 people while Mr de Ville had the unanimous support of his divisional council. Mr de Jager and Mr Beyers both also enjoyed overwhelming support.

On September 7 the AV will attend the congress on regionalism called by the Government. A meeting with the Government's negotiating team is also scheduled for September 10.

The Standerton meeting was attended by about 50-odd representatives of various committees which had been investigating the formation of the new party. As such it was not a public meeting, Mr Pienaar said. A founding congress was due to be held in about two months.

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ANC decision this week on whether to start talking again

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa and the international community will hold their breath for the next three days as the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) meets here to decide whether or not to return to negotiations.

The NEC meeting is the first since the organisation pulled out of negotiations and suspended bilateral talks with the government on June 23 in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

It takes place at a time when the ANC is believed to be under considerable pressure from the international community to return to negotiations.

A senior ANC source said yesterday that high up on the meeting's agenda would be negotiations and mass action.

The source said the organisation's National Working Committee — which in the past has held meetings to consider President De Klerk's response to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume — would report back to the NEC on negotiations and mass action.

"The NEC is the body which took the decision to withdraw

from negotiations. It is the one which will review the position," the source said.

He said although the international community had been putting indirect pressure on the ANC to return to negotiations, it was unlikely the organisation could do so without some of its main demands having been met.

However, he said it was possible the NEC would identify a few "core demands" which Pretoria would have to meet before negotiations began.

So far the only communication channel open between the two parties was that between ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

"We cannot just go back to negotiations when our demands have not been met, like we did last year. That time we converted a defeat into a strategic victory," the source said.

In apparent attempts to woo the ANC back into negotiations, the government last week announced a huge shake-up of the police force, axing 10 generals, and released Soviet spy and ANC member Dieter Gerhardt from jail.

Breakaway party now official

PRETORIA. — The new Afrikaner Volksunie Party, formed by the five MPs who broke away from the CP last month, was officially constituted at the weekend.

An interim management committee was also appointed at the meeting in Standerton.

Mr Andries Beyers (MP Potchefstroom) was appointed parliamentary leader, Mr Moolman Mentz (MP Ermelo) was appointed chairman and Mr Rosier de Ville (MP Standerton) was appointed secretary.

Mr De Ville said the party had decided to participate in talks on regional government in September so that it could promote self-determination for the Afrikaner, adding that it would strive for the greatest degree of reconciliation of Afrikaners.

— Sapa

ANC to decide on negotiations

Sowetan 3/18/92

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■ **THE UNTOUCHABLES** Cops and lawyers to
work under control of Goldstone Commission:

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE ANC WILL DECIDE during a three-day national executive committee meeting, which starts today, whether to resume formal negotiations with the Government after having severed all talks on June 23.

The organisation's National executive committee's ultimate decision will be greatly influenced by the announcement over the weekend of the creation of a hand-picked team of policemen and lawyers who will actively investigate riots and political crimes under the jurisdiction of the Goldstone Commission.

Sources in the ANC confirmed that the team, already dubbed "The Untouchables", would feature prominently on the agenda of this week's meeting, but only in terms of how effective it would be.

The ANC said the announced strike force was "a positive move," but warned that it would carefully watch policemen to be selected.

If, however, the United Nations observers, who will monitor and report on their investigations, kept an eye on the policemen in the strike force, the ANC would give the "Untouchables" its support, one source said.

The ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Peace Secretariat and the Government welcomed the announcement at the weekend.

The strike force will report directly to the Goldstone Commission. The police officers will remain in the employ of the SAP.

The main task of the strike force will be:

- To investigate the causes and preventative measures of current or anticipated incidents of political violence and intimidations;
- To monitor security force reaction to incidents of violence; and
- To investigate any unlawful activities of armed groups within the country.

al summit ● Plea to zero-rate basic foodstuffs

ANC urges boycott

■ SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY ANC wants

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is trying to scuttle President FW de Klerk's conference on federalism by asking some likely participants not to attend.

This is a repeat of what he did in April 1990 when he persuaded four homeland leaders not to attend talks at Tuynhuys with De Klerk.

On that occasion Mandela said they should not talk to De Klerk until obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

De Klerk has invited all political leaders to the federal conference in Pretoria on September 7.

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Up to 10 political movements and governments are expected to attend. They are the National Party, the New Right movement of Mr Andries Beyers, Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the National Peoples' Party, Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu, Dikwankwella Party of QwaQwa, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, and the Conservative Party.

However, Mandela this week met separately with NPP leader Mr

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Amichand Rajbansi and Solidarity's Dr JN Reddy and asked them not to go.

Mandela apparently told them that they could not side with the Government, and that there was a perception the federal conference was a ganging-up against the ANC and its allies.

People outside the National Party should stand together, Mandela said.

Reddy told Mandela he would have to speak to his party and let Solidarity decide whether to attend the conference.

Youth conference mirrors Codesa

By Michael Sparks

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STAR 31/8/92

The first National Youth Conference (NYC), held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend, in many ways reflected events at the same venue during the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

After what appeared to be a successful first two days on Friday and Saturday, when much was achieved and consensus was reached on a number of issues, much of that changed yesterday afternoon.

Small group discussions on issues such as democracy, education, peace and reconciliation, and economic growth and development showed a surprising degree of agreement.

But yesterday the delegates from the 13 youth organisations, representing interests as diverse as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the ANC, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party, seemed unable to retain their earlier consen-

sus.

When discussions turned towards the possibility of future meetings, the ANC Youth League opposed such meetings taking place. Youth League general-secretary Rapu Molekane said: "While there is a need for youth unity, it cannot be at this point. We still have clearly defined opponents."

Understanding

However, he added that the conference had served a number of useful purposes, particularly in giving the groups the opportunity to meet and discuss issues.

"For the first time we were exposed to the ideas of others, which brought a degree of understanding. We had never met the IFP to discuss these issues before," Mr Molekane pointed out.

When a representative from the newly formed Afrikaner Youth Front spoke in Afrikaans, calling for mother-tongue education and recognition of religious freedom, it came to sym-

bolise the lack of understanding at the meeting.

Many other parties proceeded to talk in the vernacular, creating a Tower of Babel effect where no one was achieving the understanding and goals they had all seemed to be striving for.

In an attempt to gain consensus NYC steering committee member Sean Cleary said: "If all the youth is capable of doing is bringing in the political divisions of their elders to a conference like this ... then you undervalue yourselves and you fail your constituency."

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA representative Simon Ntombela, who chaired the steering committee, said that despite a lack of consensus at the end, he was encouraged because the democratic process had run its course.

Ultimately, it was decided the steering committee would continue to exist and all parties would try to encourage the ANC to rethink its position and play a role in the proceedings.

STAR 31/8/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

TALKS ON ANC agenda

The negotiations process, and whether the African National Congress resumes talks with the Government, will be the major focus of the ANC's national executive committee meeting over the next three days.

The NEC meeting — the first since the organisation pulled out of negotiations and suspended bilateral talks with the Government on June 23 after the Boipatong massacre — takes place at a time when the ANC is believed to be under considerable pressure from the international community to return to negotiations.

A senior ANC source yesterday told The Star that high up on the meeting's agenda would be negotiations and mass action.

The source said the organisation's national working committee — which has in the past held meetings to consider President FW de Klerk's response to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume — would report back to the NEC on negotiations and mass action.

"The NEC is the body which took the decision to withdraw from negotiations. It is the one which will review the position," the source said.

He said that although the international community had been putting indirect pressure on the ANC to return to negotiations, it was unlikely the organisation could do so without some of its main demands having been met.

However, he said it was possible the NEC would identify a few "core demands" which Pretoria would have to meet before

SA political field has been levelled - Page 8

negotiations began, and that it could also authorise a meeting between an ANC delegation and the Government.

So far the only communication channel open between the two parties was that between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"We cannot just go back to negotiations when our demands have not been met, like we did last year.

"That time, we converted a defeat into a strategic victory," the source said.

In apparent attempts to woo the ANC back into negotiations, the Government last week announced a huge shake-up of the South African Police, axing 13 generals, and releasing Soviet spy and ANC member Dieter Gerhardt from jail.

In a statement issued by its department of information and publicity yesterday, the ANC denied that the international community was putting pressure on it to return to negotiations.

The ANC said it was because the international community understood the position it took on June 23 when it made its 14 demands that the United Nations Security Council had acted as swiftly as it had done and had made "welcome recommendations contained in the resolutions passed on South Africa".

"The critical question is not negotiations for (their) own sake, but negotiations that will meaningfully address the crisis facing South Africa.

"Pressure is certainly mounting, both nationally and internationally, on the regime to take the necessary practical steps to address the eminently reasonable demands of the ANC," the statement said.

The ANC said it remained firmly committed to a negotiated settlement of the country's problems, but how soon negotiations resumed depended on the Government's "ability to recognise and address the crisis facing the entire country".

The NEC meeting begins today and will end on Wednesday.

There is new hope for resumption of negotiations, writes Colin Legum

SA political field has been levelled

STAR 31/8/92

304A

ONCE again the pessimists have been proved wrong and the optimists have been proved right. South Africa has absorbed the twin shock of the breakdown in negotiations and of the massive demonstration of support for the ANC.

After all the *sturm und drang*, the angry mutual denunciations by the Government and the ANC, the nasty things said of each other by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, and the high-flown rhetoric, the country once again stands poised to continue the negotiating process.

Several important lessons have been learnt by all the major parties engaged in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Code sa).

First, that the ANC enjoys the major support of black South Africans and that, with its allies in the trade union movement, it has the power to paralyse the country's economy.

Second, the ANC leadership has re-established its credibility in its own constituency which it had begun to lose.

The third lesson has been to reinforce the earlier belief that the country's only hope for the future lies in negotiations.

The political field has now been levelled.

Thus, the position has been confirmed that the two major forces in the negotiating process are the ANC and the Government, and that neither side can afford to disregard the wishes of the other. Nor can they ignore the potentially spoiling role of Inkatha.

Mr Mandela is again confident in giving praise to Mr de Klerk, and the president has apparently forgotten his ill-considered verdict that the ANC had proved itself to be an unreliable negotiating partner.

The process of negotiations is itself sorely in need of review. One of the lessons learnt from the structural weakness of Codesa is that it is too large and clumsy a body, with its 19 participants, to achieve more rapid progress; this has caused frustrations, intensified suspicion, and worsened the climate of uncertainty felt by most South Africans.

While it is necessary to retain a forum for all the representative parties, however small, to remain involved in the negotiating process, there is a need now for a smaller executive to hammer out agreements which can then be submitted for debate by the larger body.

The second need is to create several parallel institutions charged with tackling key questions that have so far been largely voiced by Codesa. Splitting up the negotiating teams into functional groups will make it easier to avoid the deadlock that resulted in the suspension of talks.

A number of key issues have hardly been discussed in a meaningful way, or at all, by Codesa. The first is the future economic policy of the proposed interim government.

The second is to clarify the powers to be allocated to the 10 regions as already defined and, possibly, to increase their number. The Government has quietly been pushing towards a federal constitution — an idea repugnant to the ANC, but strongly supported by Chief Buthelezi and some other homelands leaders, like Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Clarifying the degree to which power should be devolved from the centre would greatly ease the central problem that led to the suspension of the talks.

There is an obvious need for speedily concluding the negotiations to move on to the next stage of establishing an interim government; this is necessary both to restore confidence in the country's economic future and to ensure some form of joint control over the security forces.

But the idea of rushing forward to holding elections for a national assembly by November of this year — reportedly floated by the Government itself — is, to say the least, wildly unrealistic.

The first immediate step is to get agreement on a interim government and simultaneously to move forward on negotiations about how to curb political violence, the future of the economy, the autonomous role of the regions, and the vetoing powers of the upper chamber. □

What they don't say

STAR 31/8/72

304A

LIKE many others before it, the latest debate on federalism as an option for South Africa has so far elicited different reactions from various political players.

There are those, like the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose strong pro-federalism stance is almost an obsession, and there are others like the African National Congress which are sceptical of the concept and see it as an attempt to emulate a new — and, presumably, ANC-dominated — government and leave it politically impotent.

What the debate has sadly lacked so far is depth and a calm, rational approach from federalism's proponents and critics alike, and this is largely attributable to the different players' secret agen-

das. It is no accident that the NP, the IFP and the ANC have taken the positions they have so far adopted on the issue.

Stripped of all the niceties such as the commendable rhetoric about the need to establish "a participatory democracy" and "bring government to the people", the NP and the IFP see federalism simply as a means to safeguard their interests and guarantee regional spheres of influence for themselves. Their hope, quite clearly, is to be able to influence national political developments from their pockets of power, Kwa-Zulu being the obvious such region for the IFP.

But the IFP and the NP will not admit these are their motives for insisting on federalism — and no political observer can seriously

expect them to do so.

The ANC's opposition to the concept, on the other hand, stems from the organisation's belief in a strong central government which will freely intervene in the private sector as and when it believes the need exists. Similarly, the ANC will not admit this is the reason for its opposition to federalism — and nobody expects it to do so.

The debate is neither helped nor advanced by white liberal commentators who have taken to extolling the virtues of federalism and liberally drawing on "the lessons" of the former Soviet Union and conflict-ridden Yugoslavia to paint scenarios of doom and gloom if federalism were not adopted in South Africa.

What these interventions —

which many in the black community see to be proliferating on the eve of a majority government — manage to achieve is to create the impression that whites would like the new government to be so weak that it cannot effectively address the historic imbalances which are a legacy of apartheid.

It further muddies the debate, thereby ensuring that federalism continues to be a controversial and emotive issue which will not be judged on its merit or lack thereof.

In a commendable move, the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Centre for Policy Studies last week arranged a three-day workshop in Cape Town on "The Politics and Economics of Federalism: A South African Debate". Here, too, delegates got among blacks.

locked into long-standing ideological positions, much to the detriment of the debate.

Those who opposed federalism — and there were many — did so primarily because it has the support of the NP and the IFP, whose motives they find questionable.

While developments of the past two years in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are no doubt instructive — not more so than the lessons of apartheid in our own backyard — there are some differences with the situation here. In South Africa apartheid has tried for years through the homeland system to keep blacks apart from one another on the basis of ethnicity, and people in the urban areas have *consciously* reacted to that policy by emphasising oneness among blacks.

Federalism no doubt has its advantages. To give any government untrammelled powers in the new South Africa would be inadvisable, but to weaken it so much that it cannot function properly is equally undesirable.

The argument for provision to be made for some form of "participatory democracy", including the delegation of some powers to regions, is one which enjoys considerable support across the political spectrum. How such regions are to be defined, and how much powers they should have, are issues to be debated.

But the debate needs to be approached with caution, for it would be a pity if it were to be still-born because of the different players' hidden agendas and selfish interests. □

clinics and com- ment for 59 000 people over an average period of 15 months.

By her husband, Richard and Marilyn Polish.

Olive Kate, aged 89, passed away on 29 August after a life of faithful service to receive

memories shared. Will miss you. Colleen and Lionel.

Accord at all-party youth talks

JOHANNESBURG. — A high degree of consensus on peace and reconciliation was reached at a weekend non-partisan national youth conference here, organisers and participants said.

The conference for the first time brought together delegates from 13 youth organisations from such diverse political backgrounds as the ANC, AWB, Afrikaner Jeug Aksie, DP, IFP and NP.

Recommendations drawn up in workshops on Saturday on democracy, economic growth and development, education and peace and reconciliation were to be put to a plenary session yesterday.

Peace and Reconciliation Commission chairman Mr Sean Cleary said the progress made reflected well on the participants and gave reason for optimism on South Africa's future.

In the light of the two-month-old impasse in constitutional talks, it was particularly significant that almost every youth organisation across the political spectrum had found it necessary to take up the negotiations initiative, he said.

Mr Cleary's sentiments were echoed by the National Party's Youth Action. The conference was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa). — Sapa

2328: America's top 10

tragedy, scandal and a devastating court