

UNITED

NATIONS

1992

Vested interests at UN a test for Ghali

BOUTROS Boutros Ghali, the new secretary-general of the United Nations, began his first week at work in an organisation riven with problems of morale after riding high on the successes under the leadership of the outgoing chief, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

By LEONARD DOYLE
in New York.

Although he failed to avert the Gulf War, Dr Perez de Cuellar pulled off a string of achievements during his term, most notably the release of the Western hostages from Beirut.

More importantly he manoeuvred the organisation into a position where it is increasingly being urged to mediate disputes and being asked by world leaders to take on tasks which during the Cold War they reserved for themselves.

The applause had barely died down for Dr Perez de Cuellar, who in the final moments of his decade in office managed to get a peace agreement for El Salvador, when UN officials began to focus on the litany of other disputes they are being asked to resolve with puny resources.

One of Mr Ghali's first acts last week was to accept a cheque for \$78 million (about R216 million) from seven member governments to tide the organisation over for a few more weeks. At a time when the UN is being asked to organise new peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Yugoslavia and Western Sahara and to provide help to El Salvador, the organisation is broke because 85 of its members, most notably the US, are so far behind in their dues that the organisation is owed \$1.8 billion (about R4.9 billion).

More serious are the strains showing in the organisation as it struggles to organise and run peacekeeping operations which are both dangerous and complex. Though the UN has about

14 000 employees worldwide, less than 20 individuals at UN headquarters are entrusted with mediating disputes worldwide.

The often thankless work performed by the small number of UN mediators and officials is made more difficult because of the bizarre structure of the UN secretariat.

Reporting directly to the secretary-general are about 30 senior officials, all with equal authority even though many have never performed a useful day's work since they were installed at the UN at their government's insistence. Making matters worse, a large number of top UN officials receive money and subsidies from their governments to top up their salaries.

The result is that Mr Ghali has inherited an organisation that is a mix of hardworking but overstretched officials, on the one hand, and of frustrated and bitter employees on the other, many of whom owe their loyalty to their governments rather than the UN.

Mr Ghali has already made his presence felt in certain parts of the administration.

Among those carrying a disproportionate burden at the UN is Marrack Gouding, the senior British official at the UN responsible for all the organisation's peacekeeping operations worldwide.

As under-secretary general for special political affairs, marriage to accomplish feats of logistics and peacekeeping that might be undertaken by an entire defence department in a medium-sized country. — The Independent News Service. □



First day on the job . . . Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali is saluted as he arrives at the United Nations in New York accompanied by Aly Teymour, Chief of UN Protocol.

Major seeks centre stage at the UN

STAMP 9/11/92

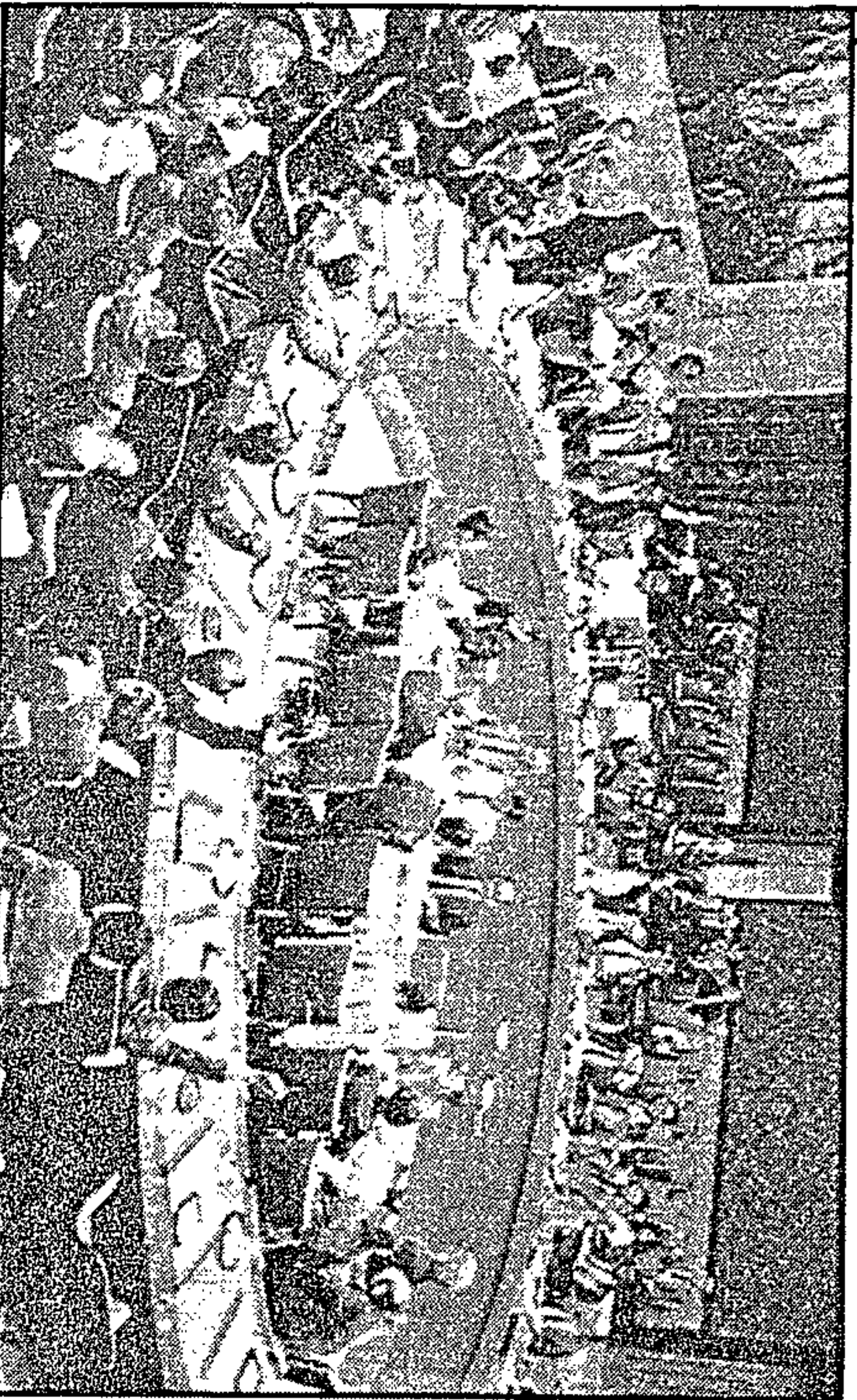
THE HOPE of British Prime Minister John Major, to make his mark on Britain's presidency of the 15-member United Nation Security Council by chairing an international UN summit, look likely to be realised on January 30.

Britain has been canvassing its plans for days, and on Tuesday, after initial doubts from the US and Russia, Security Council members seemed ready to accept.

The summit was called by Britain to promote the role of the UN in international affairs under its new secretary-general, Boutros Ghali. It was also intended as a way of recognising the accession of Russia to the Security Council, in succession to the Soviet Union, and of locking Russia into arms control deals.

For Mr Major to chair makes political sense. A UN summit provides a prominent international stage for the prime minister in advance of a general election. He could take the opportunity to draw the voters' attention away from troublesome problems at home. The gathering is expected to adopt a sweeping declaration highlighting the importance of the UN and stressing the need for "preventive diplomacy".

Mr Major has been adept at using his position in international bodies to push forward his own initiatives and strengthen his personal stand-



International stage . . . the 15-member UN Security Council in session.

Picture: AP

ing. He has shown real commitment to the UN as a force for international good, significantly by promoting his UN safe-haven idea for Kurds.

However, it is unclear how much Mr Major will be able to achieve at the UN summit. Britain's much-vaunted proposals for UN reform in July have been slow to materialise.

Furthermore, the UN remains stymied by the humanitarian crisis in Iraq and frustrated by the Middle East peace process.

While stressing reform, there will be little eagerness to review the UN Charter at the summit or debate the UN Security Council make-up.

The programme for the summit has caused differences in these areas. Britain has been obliged to compromise its original agenda to ensure the US and Russia attend.

The Russian accession to the Security Council was to have been a focal point of the summit, along with the issue of nuclear and conventional-

arms control.

However, although the presence of Boris Yeltsin is certain to be a focus, Britain has been obliged to play this issue down in the face of opposition from the US State Department and the new Russian Federation. It was felt that if attention were drawn to Russia's accession to the council's composition might grow.

The US, France, Britain, China and now Russia have permanent, veto-holding seats.

The US, France, Britain, China and now Russia have permanent, veto-holding seats.

Some have suggested the European Community get a seat and others, such as Argentina, Brazil, India and Nigeria, have also felt entitled to permanent, or at least semi-permanent, representation.

Both Russia and the US were upset at British plans to discuss at the summit the safety of nuclear weapons in the new Commonwealth of Independent States, say senior diplomatic sources. Washington, the Soviet Union and Britain have long opposed the Security Council being involved in arms control.

The summit will provide a boost for Mr Ghali, say diplomatic sources, who may ask him to report back in three months with initiatives on expanding the peacekeeping and peacemaking machinery of the UN.

By insisting that any expansion should be based on the original UN Charter, Britain hopes to head off pressure to have that document, which was written after World War 2, updated to reflect the political realities of the present.

The US role in the summit is not yet clear. While some UN observers believe President Bush has granted Mr Major the platform he wants by allowing him to chair the meeting, it is unlikely that the US will grant Britain centre stage in New York, as Mr Bush will want to impose his own stamp. — The Independent News Service. □

Nelson drops a bomb

THE really spectacular damage to the ANC's future popularity, however, was done this week by Mr Nelson Mandela in his attempt to plead the cause of his old friend, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya (below), in the international dispute over the Lockerbie air disaster in which 447 people died.

Libyan agents are accused of putting a bomb on board, and the UN Security Council wants President Gaddafi to hand them over for trial.

Mr Mandela's intervention reportedly left American officials "stunned".

Perhaps Libya will repay him in aid to the new South Africa?



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UN threat to cancel exiles' aid operation

S Times 26/1/92

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THE United Nations has threatened to suspend its refugee repatriation programme after a row with the South African government over the arrest of a returned exile.

UN High Commission for Refugees chief of mission Kallu Kalumiya said yesterday that the case had serious implications for the whole repatriation process agreed to by the government and the UNHCR. He said the UNHCR was reviewing the schedule of flights for returning refugees on a daily basis, but would not be drawn on what was to happen to Thursday's flight of 164 refugees from Zimbabwe.

"We have no wish to see a disruption in the flow of exiles voluntarily returning home," said Mr Kalumiya.

The UNHCR wanted the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Enoch Matli, 21, who was arrested after his return from exile, he said. The UNHCR claims the arrest is a breach of the indemnity agreement.

However, a South African government representative claimed that Mr Matli's arrest was for non-political offences, which in any case occurred after the cut-off date for indemnity. He said the courts would have to decide.

The government and UNHCR representatives have had a series of crisis meetings this week. No agreement, however, has been reached.

Beaten

Mr Matli was picked up by police in the Free State town of Dewetsdorp the day after he arrived back in South Africa with 130 exiles from Botswana on January 13.

He had been granted indemnity by the Department of Justice for leaving the country illegally to further his studies.

A Dewetsdorp policeman said Mr Matli and three others had allegedly beaten up a policeman and stolen his firearm on December 20, 1990. The incident had allegedly occurred after an argument with the policeman over the policeman's relationship with a woman.

Mr Matli and his three friends had left the country three weeks later, he said.

The policeman was informed of Mr Matli's return to Dewetsdorp by residents and was one of the officers who arrested him. He denied that Mr Matli had been assaulted.

He confirmed a warrant had not been issued for Mr

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

Matli's arrest.

Mr Matli is being held at Wepener prison, about 150km from Bloemfontein.

Prosecutor Wessel Smith said Mr Matli appeared in the Dewetsdorp magistrate's court on January 17. He was not charged and his request for bail was refused.

Mr Matli would appear in court again on February 3 and any formal bail application would be opposed by the state, he said.

Foreign Affairs deputy

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director-general Jeremy Shearer, who held talks with UNHCR representatives this week, said there was no evidence of a breach of the agreement between the government and the UNHCR, which would have given the authorities grounds for automatic interference.

The matter would have to be left to the courts to decide, he said.

A Justice Department spokesman said the

UN IN EXILES ROW

charges of robbery and assault against Mr Matli fall within the agreement with the UNHCR, it is not envisaged that the arrest offences for which indemnity could be granted in which the government and the UNHCR are involved," he said.

No political connection had been alleged and there had been no formal application for bail, the spokesman said.

"Because the offences with which Mr Matli is

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the incident was cause for serious concern and that it emphasised the need for a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles.



Govt, UN continue talks on exile's arrest

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

the country illegally.

CAPE TOWN — Negotiations are continuing between the Government and the UN High Commission for Refugees over the arrest of a returned exile, UNHCR head of mission in South Africa Kallu Kalumiya said yesterday.

He denied reports that the UNHCR had threatened to suspend its refugee repatriation programme after the arrest of Enoch Matli in the Free State town of Dewetsdorp this month.

Mr Mtali arrived back in South Africa with 130 exiles from Botswana on January 13 after being indemnified for leaving

A Dewetsdorp police spokesman said Mr Mtali was being held in connection with an alleged assault on a policeman and the theft of his firearm on December 20 1990.

Mr Mtali and three others, also being sought in connection with the attack, left the country three weeks later.

Mr Kalumiya said the arrest raised serious concern and could jeopardise the process of repatriating exiles.

He noted however, that, he was "fairly" optimistic that the matter would be resolved. He added: "How, I cannot say at this juncture."

Arrested refugee: talks on

Sowetan 24/1/92
Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS are continuing between the Government and the United Nations' High Commission for Refugees over the arrest of a returned exile, according to the UNHCR.

Mr Kallu Kalumiya, UNHCR head of mission in South Africa, yesterday denied reports that his organisation had threatened to suspend its refugee repatriation programme after the arrest of Mr Enoch Matlali who returned on January 13 from Botswana after being indemnified for leaving the country illegally.

He was arrested a day later - on January 14 - in connection with an alleged assault on a policeman.

UNHCR 'still involved in repatriation'

THE UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had not decided to end its involvement in the repatriation of thousands of exiles still outside SA despite its unhappiness over the recent arrest of an indemnified man, a spokesman said yesterday.

Michael Keats said yesterday his organisation was not threatening to suspend its operations to bring exiles back to SA. Exiles might, however, start having second thoughts about returning.

Keats said the UNHCR was "very concerned" about the arrest and detention without trial of ANC-aligned exile Enoch Matli, after his return from Botswana earlier this month. Matli is still in jail.

DARIUS SANAI

Keats said the incident cast doubt over government's integrity.

"When we submit someone's name to the SA government, they go over that person's past records and tell us whether or not he has been indemnified of any crimes he was accused of committing."

Keats said Matli was cleared by government.

He said a meeting was scheduled between UNHCR representatives and government today. The commissioner would ask for Matli's release. If refused, the Geneva headquarters would take a decision.

B/pan 27/1/92

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Fewer exiles than planned want to return

FAR fewer exiles than originally planned for are expected to return, repatriation and government sources said yesterday.

The total number of returning exiles has been substantially reduced from 30 000 to between 15 000 and 20 000.

Initial estimates of how many exiles would return ranged between 30 000 and 40 000, but the current rate of registrations for return suggest the main thrust of the planned six-month programme could end sooner than expected.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees information officer Michael Keats con-

TIM COHEN

firmed yesterday that the rate at which returnees were registering suggested the total would be less than 20 000.

Keats said that by January 25 the UNHCR had forwarded the names of 4 001 people to government, and of them 3 506 had so far been cleared. So far 82 cases had not been forwarded yet as additional information was being sought.

Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn said yesterday 5 863 exiles had returned before the UNHCR's involvement.

More exiles would register, but Colyn said he did not expect the number to be large, estimating the total number of returning exiles to be 15 000.

About \$25m has been collected so far by the UNHCR for the repatriation programme. It is understood that some of the donors have agreed not to seek repayment if the number of exiles is smaller than expected, although the issue has not yet been discussed with the about 40 donors.

Meanwhile, a possible conflict between the UNHCR and government was averted

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Exiles

yesterday after a meeting between the UNHCR mission chief Kallu Kalumiya and government representatives.

The tension arose because the UNHCR said a returning exile, Enoch Matli, was arrested on January 13 — the day after his return — and held without being charged.

Keats said yesterday the arrest was contrary to the letter and spirit of the UNHCR's agreement with government.

Matli is alleged to have beaten up a policeman and stolen his firearm in an argument. The incident is alleged to have taken place shortly after the October 8 cut-off date for indemnity.

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'Turning point' meeting for UN

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UNITED NATIONS — The UN Security Council convenes its first summit of world leaders today in an effort to make the United Nations the centrepiece of a new world order.

The gathering of leaders of the 15 Security Council nations marks the first time since the founding of the world organisation in 1945 that the council, the most powerful UN body, has convened at the highest level.

Collective security, preventive diplomacy, arms control and non-proliferation will be the major themes of the summit, with mention of the virtues of democracy and human rights over China's objections.

"This is a turning point in United Nations history," said council president David Hannay, the British ambassador, yesterday.

Britain heads the council this month, and British Prime Minister John Major, who proposed the session,

will preside over it.

Among those joining Mr Major will be US President George Bush, French President Francois Mitterrand, Chinese Premier Li Peng and Russian President Boris Yeltsin — the five permanent council members with veto power.

Bilateral meetings will take place before and after the session.

The 15 leaders will deliver brief speeches in the day-long session, then issue a non-binding final declaration. There will be no signing ceremony.

Security Council resolutions are considered legally binding, but council statements and declarations carry only moral weight.

Mr Hannay said the leaders will discuss "how to make the UN more up to date, more effective in its peacekeeping and peace-making, how to stop crises before they break out into bloodshed, rather than go in and mop it up afterwards".

Yesterday, members nego-

tiated the wording of the final declaration's text.

A final draft included references to human rights, democracy, non-proliferation, poverty and social problems. It also cited Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which call on Israel to trade land for peace.

Other points in the draft included:

- Support for full implementation of Security Council resolutions on Iraq and concern about the situation of Iraqi civilians.

- Reaffirmation of the council's commitment to collective security.

- Concern over international terrorism.

- Commitment to work to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including related technology and research.

It said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will make recommendations by July 1 on how to improve UN peacekeeping, peace-making and financing. — Sapa-AP

Not much to say about Ghali

STAR 3/2/92

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BOUTROS Boutros-Ghali, the first African secretary-general of the United Nations, has an image problem.

Nearing the completion of his first month in office, he's still a virtual unknown, not only to the media — which he has spurned — but also to many in the diplomatic community.

In contrast to his predecessor Javier Perez de Cuellar, who talked freely to TV, radio and print reporters, the Egyptian UN chief seems to want to go out of his way to duck them. This has so irked the 25-strong UN Correspondents Association that its president, a prominent American TV journalist, was directed to call on Mr Boutros-Ghali and urge him to mend his ways.

However, people who have known the new secretary-general for some time and stress his background as a technocrat are not optimistic that he will be responsive to such appeals.

His own spokesman, a hold-over from the Perez de Cuellar and Kurt Waldheim eras who is expected to be replaced, termed "vague and general" Mr Boutros-Ghali's excruciatingly unrevealing remarks to journalists in London last week after he conferred with Prime Minister John Major.

On his earlier visit to Paris, where he saw President Francois Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas — whose vigorous support helped him gain the UN job — he appears to have avoided the press altogether.

Why is the new secretary-general so shy? Spokesman Franciolis Giuliani, a former UN correspondent for the Reuters news agency, generously puts it down to Mr Boutros-Ghali's wish to become better briefed on the many complex issues facing him before he meets experienced UN reporters, perhaps better informed than he on several agenda items.

When he conferred with

The new UN chief, having promised "new momentum" for the world body, remains an enigma to the media — and to his colleagues.

By MIKE LITTLEJOHN in New York.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali . . . still a virtual unknown.

Libya's representative Jadallah Belgassem before the Security Council took up the question of Libyan terrorism in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, the TV image that came through was an order to "shut the doors".

Dr Perez de Cuellar, seeking a smooth transition, proposed to discuss the wide-ranging UN agenda — including southern African problems — and general comportment with his successor and to offer his own insights. There is little evidence that this really happened.

For one thing, the outgoing UN chief was preoccupied with the hostage-release negotiations and, finally, with the intense bargaining that led to the 11th-hour El Salvador peace accords that climaxed his 10-year term with another brilliant diplomat-

ic triumph.

Addressing his senior staff on his first day in office, Mr Boutros-Ghali spoke of his desire to create "a new momentum" for the UN — which surprised some in his audience who felt that the past weeks had produced momentum enough and that for him to come even close to maintaining Dr Perez de Cuellar's pace would be an achievement.

The new man spoke of a "more important role" for the organisation in peacekeeping, peace-building, economic and social co-operation and, above all, defending human rights and democratic institutions — all areas in which the UN has been extraordinarily active already.

Yet, on a human rights question involving his own country,

Egypt, he has been strangely quiet. This is the case of Alla Hamed, an Egyptian writer sentenced to eight years' jail for his authorship of a novel, "The Distance in a Man's Mind", alleged to be blasphemous to Islam.

Mr Boutros-Ghali is a Coptic Christian and may feel that speaking out on his compatriot's behalf could be counter-productive.

An urgent task for the new secretary-general is to trim the obese secretariat.

So far, he has made no move to respond to proposals drafted by a group of 30 UN ambassadors to replace 27 under-secretaries-general and 18 assistant secretaries-general with a much smaller team headed by half a dozen or fewer deputy secretaries-general.

The delay is ominous. Stressing the urgency for reform, the group headed by Peter Wilenski, the Australian delegate, observed in a memorandum that experience showed that once a new chief executive began working closely with an old structure, change became increasingly difficult to attain.

The new plan calls for abolition of a system that guaranteed senior posts for nationals of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

If the proposed new rule for appointments to be made purely on terms of merit is adopted, South Africans will not be excluded, as they have been in the past on political grounds.

Coincidentally, a former South African official in the UN legal department, John Scott, has recently been serving as acting head of the special commission set up to identify and destroy Iraq's arsenals of weapons of mass destruction.

But when it comes to communicating with the media, Mr Scott is no model for openness. If anything, he's even more cautious than Mr Boutros-Ghali. □



VOTE OF THANKS: ANC leader Nelson Mandela is presented with the Felix Houphouët-Boigny award in Paris by Dr Henry Kissinger, president of the award jury, as President De Klerk looks on.

Storm over Palestinian leader's visit

PARIS. — The French government has rid itself of radical Palestinian leader Mr George Habash but it was still coming under fire, with its opponents and even top Socialists taking aim at senior ministers.

Five top officials have resigned over the decision to allow Mr Habash into France for medical treatment and the centre-right opposition was leading calls for two more heads — Interior Minister Philippe Marchand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

They were joined by Socialists outside the government who fear the furor over Mr Habash will rebound on the party in nationwide local elections next month. But sources close to President Francois Mitterrand said

he would not be pressured into a reshuffle of the cabinet, although he was furious at being embarrassed over the affair. Mr Mitterrand maintains he knew about the decision to allow Mr Habash in only after the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine reached Paris last Wednesday.

Mr Habash was flown out to Tunis on Saturday after doctors ruled he was medically unfit to be questioned about Middle East-related violence in France.

Mrs Georgina Dufoix quit yesterday as head of the French Red Cross after arranging Mr Habash's stay at a Red Cross hospital. She had resigned as a presidential adviser last week.

Opposition parliamentarians were out for blood yesterday when they heard Mr Dumas emphatically refuse to resign during a two-hour hearing before parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission.

"Roland Dumas wanted to make us believe this was simply an administrative error by civil servants," said Mrs Michelle Alliot-Marie, international affairs spokeswoman for the conservative Rally for the Republic (RPR) party.

"But this was a ministerial fault and an error at the political level," she said.

Centrist Mr Bernard Slasi said he had difficulty believing Mr Dumas's explanation that he was not warned in advance of Mr Habash's arrival. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA 'ready to rejoin Unesco'

(336)

4/2/92

Awards for De Klerk, Mandela

PETER FABRICIUS Political Staff

PARIS. — South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in the United Nations agency Unesco, President De Klerk said here last night after receiving Unesco's Houphouët-Boigny peace prize jointly with ANC President Nelson Mandela.

In a ceremony symbolic of the growing co-operation between them, the two leaders together received the award in Unesco headquarters from Unesco director-general Federico Mayor and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Henry Kissinger.

Both men then addressed Unesco — marking the first time that a South African head of state had addressed a UN body in many years.

It was an ironic moment. The two South Africans stood to accept the award before an array of flags representing nearly every nation of the world — except that of South Africa which has not been a member of Unesco since it walked out in 1955.

Explaining why they had been selected for the award, Mr Kissinger said the role of a good leader was to take his people from where they were to where they had never been.

No two world leaders symbolised this achievement more than Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

Despite his imprisonment for nearly three decades, Mr Mandela had taken his people towards negotiations without bitterness or rancour, realising the importance of shared values and common objectives.

Mr De Klerk had taken his people — imprisoned not behind concrete but by their own 300-year-old concepts and traditions — on the painful role of accepting the reality of shared dignity. Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk struck similar notes in their replies.

Mr Mandela said it was a hopeful sign of the potential of South Africa that this year's prize was shared by two people who traced their respective political ideals to opposing poles on the political spectrum.

Mr De Klerk said he and his "compatriot" Mr Mandela had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes but our presence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa."

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mr Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

Mr De Klerk said he was accepting the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders — including "real democrats like Dr Buthelezi."

He sounded one cautionary note to the UN and the international community not to allow its encouragement of change in South Africa to become interference.

In reply to a question, Mr De Klerk said he did not fear a civil war — unless negotiations broke down.

Tuesday February 4 1992

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UN urged to moderate ⁽³³⁶⁾ its biased stance on SA

GENEVA — The head of the US delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission yesterday urged the 53-member body to moderate its traditional condemnation of SA to reflect the dismantling of apartheid.

Kenneth Blackwell said the UN's top human rights watchdog should encourage South Africa to look to the future and not vilify it for its past record.

South Africa's policy of racial discrimination has been condemned during the commission's annual session for more than 20 years.

Reports of widespread human rights violations in other African nations receive little attention, while the situation in countries such as Sudan is examined behind closed doors.

Mr Blackwell said despite much progress toward racial equality in South Africa, much more needed to be done. He said blacks continued to suffer the socio-economic effects of years of legalised discrimination and isolation and were still denied the vote — a basic human right.

He urged the commission to reach a consensus on a resolution to give "international encouragement" to President de Klerk's reforms.

In an earlier submission to the meeting, Amnesty International urged continued vigilance. Mariette Grange, the organisation's UN representative, said there were numerous reports of security force involvement in torture, extrajudicial executions and other violations.

She accused the Government of doing little to find out who was responsible for the atrocities.

Drafting and voting on resolutions takes place later in the commission's six-week meeting.

— Sapa-AP



Presidents three . . . Francois Mitterrand plays host to F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after lunch at the Elysee Palace. Picture: AP

FW, Mandela show growing co-operation

STAR 4/2/92

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By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

PARIS — South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, President de Klerk said last night after receiving Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize jointly with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In a ceremony symbolic of the growing co-operation between them, the two leaders together received the award at Unesco headquarters from the organisation's director-general, Federico Mayor, and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Henry Kissinger.

Both men then addressed Unesco — marking the first time that a South African head of state had addressed a UN body in many years.

The two South Africans stood to receive the award before an array of flags of nearly every nation of the world — except South Africa which has not been a member of Unesco since it walked out in 1955. It was

the second time in two days the two leaders had appeared on an international public platform together.

On Sunday, they made their first joint public international appearance at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

As at Davos, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk struck similar notes in their replies.

Mr Mandela said it was a hopeful sign of the potential of South Africa that this year's prize was shared by two people who traced their respective political ideals to opposing poles on the political spectrum.

Convergence

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the growing majority of South Africans about the future directions of our country."

Mr de Klerk said that he and his "compatriot" Mr Mandela had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes but our pres-

ence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, just, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa".

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mr Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

Mr de Klerk said he was receiving the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders — including "real democrats like Dr Buthelezi".

He sounded one cautionary note to the UN and the international community not to allow its encouragement of change in South Africa to become interference.

But at a joint press conference with Mr Mandela afterwards, he said South Africa was "willing, able and

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SA leaders get award

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ready" to resume a constructive role in Unesco.

South Africa's relationship to the UN and its agencies needed to be looked at through the proper channels.

Mr Mandela then said that an interim government of national unity might consider asking the UN to admit South Africa.

In reply to a question, Mr de Klerk said he did not fear a civil war — unless negotiations broke down.

But because of the tremendous enthusiasm at Codesa, the risk of civil war was very far from his mind.

Mr de Klerk stressed

that the Government's proposals for an interim government did not include a fourth chamber of the present Parliament but a new Parliament representative of all.

He said an interim government could be in place "quite soon".

Earlier yesterday, Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela arrived in Paris separately from Davos and were the lunch guests of French President Francois Mitterrand.

Today Mr de Klerk receives an award for political courage from the prestige French journal Politique Internationale before leaving tomorrow for State visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

DETAILS OVER THE PHONE

EVERYONE KNEW YOU BASIL

BASIL ARRIVES HOME (BASIL WHAT HAVE)

IT'S QUITE

in Mandela after lunch at the Elysee Palace. Picture: AP

'Inspiration to mankind'

STAR 4/2/92

PARIS — No one would have thought it possible that two prisoners of the past could transcend history and defend a goal worth not just their country but of their continent, Dr Henry Kissinger yesterday.

"They are an inspiration to mankind," the former US Secretary of State added in his capacity as chairman of the Unesco jury which

awarded the Houphouet-Boigny prize to President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela had taken his people towards negotiation without bitterness.

"Mr de Klerk is taking his people, imprisoned in its own traditions of 300 years, on the painful road of accepting the shared dignity of all people of that great and beautiful country." (336) (336)

THE SAGA OF BASIL CONTINUES

De Klerk, Mandela steer clear of differences at peace prize ceremony

PARIS — President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela continued their double act at Unesco headquarters yesterday, sharing the first Unesco Felix Houphouët-Boigny peace prize.

De Klerk and Mandela steered clear of their differences and spoke positively of developments in SA. They told an audience of dignitaries SA was knocking on the door of democracy.

De Klerk said it was particularly symbolic that the first award to a South African from the UN family should be made through Unesco, which had led the campaign to isolate apartheid SA.

He said he was donating his R400 000

share of the award "to a cause in keeping with the ethos and purpose" of the prize.

"The fact that it is a shared award reflects the international recognition being accorded the new direction most South Africans have embarked upon together."

SA had received a welter of negative criticism for earlier attempts to come to terms with its widely varied ethnic composition, so it was fitting that the first joint award should acknowledge the efforts of all South Africans to bring about peaceful change, De Klerk said.

He paid tribute to the Ivory Coast president after whom the award was named because he advocated dialogue as an instru-

ment of peace.

Acknowledging the international community's duty to encourage regional and national peace, he said it had to be remembered that it was not for the international community but the disputing parties to resolve their conflicts and live with them.

He said he was representing many SA leaders — "real democrats like (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi" and others who had joined hands for peace and justice.

Despite the progress made in the constitutional field, SA faced many challenges.

While it had the technical resources to meet them, "the immediate need is quite clearly for economic involvement in SA if we are to generate the required jobs, skills, education and services to build a prosperous future."

Mandela said the fact that the prize was shared by two people who traced their political ideals to opposing political poles signalled SA's potential.

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the overwhelming majority of South Africans about the future direction of the country."

"We as South Africans must part company with policies that render human beings the objects of manipulation by political and economic powers for the benefit of the privileged few." SA had to develop a national commitment to create conditions enhancing the dignity of all.

An indispensable condition for this was the achievement of democracy, which the ANC considered a goal worthy of the international community's support.

Mandela stressed that each race group in SA had to be entitled to its own culture, language, schools and religion.

● See Page 2
● Comment: Page 8

Cheering as leaders share prize

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were cheered and applauded when they walked into the Unesco conference hall last night to accept the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize.

The applause lasted for nearly five minutes when they shook hands after getting their prize.

Both leaders made their speeches from a podium directly in front of the UN flag flanked by the 120 member nations' flags.

De Klerk said he was representing many SA leaders who had joined hands for peace and justice.

Mandela said it was not "the individual, Nelson Mandela, who is being honoured but the struggle for freedom and democracy".

Former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who was the president of the international jury awarding the prize, said the role of every great leader was to take his people from where they were to where they were not.

"This great virtue is symbolised by both men. They are contributing not only to the salvation of their country but also to the future of democracy."

De Klerk and Mandela were both former prisoners: Mandela's imprisonment was physical and De Klerk's philosophical.

The great thing was that they had transcended their respective histories and were moving down the same path for the good of SA.

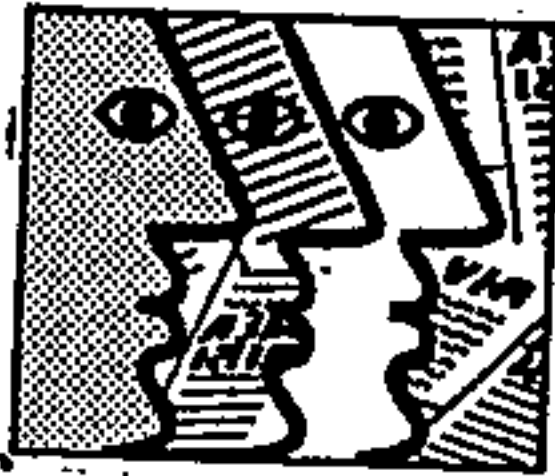
Kissinger said he had first visited SA 30 years ago and had attended Mandela's trial. Mandela's address to the court was the noblest he had ever heard.

Among the South Africans present in the 600-strong audience were author Breyten Breytenbach and his wife Yolande.

BILLY FADDOCK

336

31/12/92



Newsmakers

Post at UN for Perkins (336)

WASHINGTON — Senior diplomats say that a former United States ambassador to South Africa, Edward Perkins, is to become the next US ambassador to the United Nations to spearhead President Bush's policy of increasing the role of the UN in international affairs.



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NEWS IN BRIEF

UN challenge to govt

IN A move to stop government attempts to "break agreements", the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in South Africa has decided to cover legal costs of a returned exile who appeared in court this week. (336) (336)

Mr Enoch Malatsi, 21, and two others appeared in the Dewetsdorp Magistrates Court in the Orange Free State on Tuesday on charges of assault and theft. (336) (336)

The UNHCR regards the arrest and charges as illegal and has called for the unconditional dropping of all charges. South 6/2-12/2/92

Malatsi, his brother Mr Ephraim Malatsi and Mr Benjamin Siyokeo allegedly assaulted a policeman and robbed him of his firearm on December 20, 1990.

The trial was postponed to February 7.

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING

(1) (a) The property has been expropriated in terms of the Expropriation Act, 1975 (Act 63 of 1975), which determines that market value must be paid for the property. As valuations are still being awaited, the amount payable has not yet been determined.

(b) It is envisaged that the compensation for the purchase of the property will be financed from the Community Development and Revolving Fund.

(2) No claims have been received yet. The prescribed legal procedures will be followed in respect of any claims received.

(3) Safety of the residents is the responsibility of the Minister of Law and Order.

Bank robberies: number/value of property

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

(a) How many bank robberies occurred in the Republic of South Africa in 1991 and (b) what was the total value of the money and valuables stolen in such robberies?

B199E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 2 536 (including Post Offices and Building Societies).

(b) No statistics are kept with regard to the amount of money involved.

Citizens from TBVC countries: number/identity documents

*15. Mr J H MOMBEMBE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) (a) How many citizens from the TBVC countries were living in South Africa as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many of them were eligible for South African identity documents and/or citizenship as at that date;

(2) whether he intends issuing identity documents to all such persons living in South Africa, if not, why not?

B201E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) It is not possible to furnish the information as citizens of TBVC states are exempted from visa requirements and the possession of temporary residence permits. The entry into and departure from the Republic of TBVC citizens are thus not monitored or recorded. All that is required of these citizens to sojourn legally in the Republic is to be in possession of a valid travel document, which for this purpose could also be an identity document.

Identity documents are issued to these citizens who are permanently living in the Republic, should they apply therefor. If an applicant for an identity document should qualify for South African citizenship in terms of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), he would be issued with an identity document indicating that he is a South African citizen. If at that stage he does not qualify for SA citizenship, he will be entitled to an identity document indicating that he is not a South African citizen.

Theft of scheduled medicines

*16. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of National Health:

Whether her Department has been notified of and/or has received complaints or representations about large quantities of scheduled medicines allegedly stolen from dispensaries under the control of the State, including the provinces, subsequently being repacked and re-channelled into the medicine market; if so, what are the details of the malpractices in this regard?

B203E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Yes, I am aware of the allegations made regarding this matter. There is however at present no proof about this and therefore no details regarding the alleged malpractices are available. A task group has been appointed to investigate the whole matter of the theft of medicine, in both the public sector and the private sector.

Department of Manpower: money for two organizations

*17. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Manpower:

(1) Whether his Department spent any money on two organizations, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) how much was spent on each and (b) what are the names of the organizations in question;

(2) whether a committee headed by a certain professor, whose name has also been furnished to the Minister's Department, was given any information on the above organizations, their operations and financing; if not, why not; if so, what information?

B204E

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(1) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) No. The Department is not aware of any information requested by the committee concerned or supplied to it by the Department in regard to the organizations concerned.

Fight against crime: SADF members

*18. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he will request the Minister of Defence to make available members of the Commandos and other South African Defence Force personnel with a view to deploying them in the fight against crime; if not, why not;

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

B205E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Members of the Commandos and other units of the South African Defence Force are already, as the need arises, at the disposal of the South African Police. At present an intensive investigation has been instituted to determine in which ways members of the Commandos, especially in rural areas, can be employed to

assist the Police in a co-ordinated manner to prevent crime.

(2) No, but most certainly after completion of the relevant investigation.

UN Convention on the Rights of Children

*19. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether South Africa is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child; if not, why not;

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

B206E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2)

No. I would like to refer the hon member to the address of the State President at the opening of Parliament on 24 January 1992. The relevant section reads as follows:

A new constitution cannot be separated from a bill of fundamental rights. The Government is committed to the principle of a justiciable bill of fundamental rights as part of a new constitutional dispensation. That is why it took the initiative that led to the recent publication of the South African Law Commission's Interim Report on Group and Human Rights.

In conjunction with this, the Government has also taken the initiative in making a study of international conventions on fundamental rights, including the rights of women and children and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. We have already progressed a long way with this in the realisation that it is necessary for South Africa to come into line with the international community.

When we look at transitional constitutional arrangements, I believe fruitful consideration could also be given to whether a first phase of a bill of fundamental rights should not be part of them.

Such a phased arrangement could contribute a great deal to the establishment of a culture of fundamental rights and the orientation of governmental institutions, the legal fraternity and individuals to a coming, fully fledged bill of rights dispensation. It would also give the courts an opportunity to develop judicial precedents in accordance with a rights dispensa-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

tion and begin to create consequent judicial certainty in connection with the matter. In general such a step should contribute towards a successful transition from the present system to that of a *Rechtsstaat* or constitutional state in which the rule of law prevails.

Cape Peninsula: pollution level of sea

*20. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether any tests were conducted recently to determine the level of pollution of the sea around the Cape Peninsula; if not, why not; if so, (a)(i) when and (ii) where were these tests conducted and (b) what was the finding in respect of the pollution level;
- (2) whether this pollution constitutes or at any stage constituted a hazard to human and marine life; if so, what are the relevant details?

B207E

THE MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

- (a) (i) — Heavy metals in black mussels every six months since 1985
- Radioactivity weekly in sea water and quarterly in biota since 1980
- Faecal coliform levels are measured every two weeks in sea water
- (ii) — Heavy metals at 30 positions between Bloubergstrand and Pringle Bay
- Radioactivity measurements made in sea water at Silverstream Strand and Melkbos and in biota at Yzerfontein, Dassen Island and Melkbos
- Faecal coliform measurements made at 55 sites around Cape Peninsula between Milnerton and Monwabisi.

- (b) — Heavy metal concentrations in black mussels were in most cases

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

below those set internationally for human consumption.

- Radioactivity levels were well within internationally acceptable limits.
- Faecal coliform levels at most sites complied with EEC bathing water standards. EEC levels were exceeded on occasions in Hout Bay, Mouille Point, Rocklands, Three Anchor Bay and at some sites in False Bay (mainly in the winter).
- (2) — No. None of the monitored pollution levels pose a threat to marine life.
- Faecal contamination has the potential to impact on human health in some areas, at times. Comprehensive information is obtainable from the Department of Environment Affairs.

Union buildings: partially vacated

*21. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Public Works:

Whether any section of the Union buildings is to be vacated; if so, (a) when, (b) for what reasons and (c) who and/or which State department is accommodated in this section at present?

B209E

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

No, (a), (b) and (c) fall away.

SADF: certain organization financed

*22. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether a certain organization, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was at any stage financed or otherwise supported by the Defence Force; if so, (a) for what (i) purpose and (ii) period was it so financed or supported and (b) what is the name of this organization;
- (2) whether such financing or support was provided through front organizations?

CONFIDENTIAL B210E

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2)

This matter is presently being investigated by the Commission of Enquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (also known as the Goldstone Commission). I, therefore, do not consider it advisable to anticipate the findings of the Commission.

SADF: training of two persons

*23. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, have at any stage undergone training by the Defence Force or any of its associated companies; if so, what are the names of these persons;
- (2) whether the Defence Force or any of its associated companies provided training at any stage for Transvaal members of or persons sympathetic to a certain organization, the name of which has also been furnished to the Defence Force; if so, what is the name of this organization?

B211E

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2)

This matter is presently being investigated by the Commission of Enquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (also known as the Goldstone Commission). I, therefore, do not consider it advisable to anticipate the findings of the Commission.

SADF: financing of secret camp at Mkuze

*24. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether the South African Defence Force financed, through front organizations, the establishment and equipping of a secret camp at Mkuze in Northern Natal; if so, what was the cost of this project;
- (2) whether, at this camp, Caprivi trainees were housed and from organizations trained leaders and activists of a certain organization, the name of which has been

furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, what is the name of this organization;

- (3) whether the trainees were linked to the South African Defence Force; if so,
- (4) whether the Defence Force's involvement in the Mkuze project was discussed with and agreed to by the leader of the organization referred to in paragraph (2) of this question;
- (5) whether this project has been suspended; if so, why?

B212E

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) to (5)

This matter is presently being investigated by the Commission of Enquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (also known as the Goldstone Commission). I, therefore, do not consider it advisable to anticipate the findings of the Commission.

Targeted aid schemes: spending of amount budgeted

*25. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health:

With reference to the R220 million originally budgeted for the targeted aid schemes, as well as any further allocations that may have been budgeted for this purpose, (a) how much of the budgeted amounts has been spent, (b) by which Government Departments or organizations was it spent and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B217E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) R94 550 000,00 is in the process of being paid out,
- (b) *State Departments and State infrastructures*
 - * Clinics operated by local authorities and provincial administrations
 - * TBVC States
 - * Self-governing Territories
- Non-governmental organizations*
 - * Southern Transvaal:
 - * Ingaalife
 - * Food Gardens Foundation
 - * Street-wise

CONFIDENTIAL
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

SA students repay a debt in 'mini UN'

By PORTIA MAURICE

Wilmant 21/2-27/2/92
SOUTH AFRICAN students, starved for decades of international contact, are to be officially represented for the first time in a "mini United Nations".

Next month University of South Africa student Moeti Mpuru flies to Czechoslovakia to begin a four-year stint as general secretary of the International Union of Students (IUS).

This year his organisation, the South African Students' Congress, took over membership of the IUS from the African National Congress Youth League, ushering in a new period of greater international exposure and links for local students.

Interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* this week, Mpuru said accepting the position was a repayment of the debts South African students owed their counterparts internationally for anti-apartheid support.

"Solidarity is not a one-way process," Mpuru said. "Many students have been killed, jailed and tortured in pro-democracy movements in Eastern Europe and Africa and we need to start sensitising ourselves to Third World issues."

Mpuru, a former student of Medunsa, Turfloop and the University of the Witwatersrand, said events in Eastern Europe over the past two years had shaken the international student movement: many new organisations had mushroomed

and others had shed Communist Party control.

Some, such as those in Burma and Iraq, still operated from exile but most were recognised as independent organisations. At its recent congress in Cyprus the IUS froze the membership of "Saddam Hussein's student organisation" and the Students' Council of the Soviet Union, which "was no longer representative".

The IUS was formed in the 1940s after the shooting and persecution of Czech students during 1939. Currently it is under threat of expulsion from its Prague headquarters, because of its links to the Stalinist regime of the past. The Czech government has given it until the end of the year to wind up its operation.

"The IUS aims to unite students of the world, to champion the struggle against violations of their rights and to contribute to the reform of education," Mpuru said. "It is a platform where students can exchange information and experiences and contribute towards democratising their societies."

It has permanent divisions dealing with education; academic freedom and student rights; women's equality and rights; publicity and information; and international contact. It works closely with the United Nations and has committed itself to thematic platforms on literacy, foreign debt, peace and disarmament, protection of the environment, Aids and drug abuse.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Explosion at UN building (336)

NEW YORK — An explosion apparently caused by a pipe bomb damaged the lobby doors of a building housing 18 foreign missions to the UN, police said yesterday. *610ay 27/2/92*

A police spokesman said the device, believed to have been an M-80 firework housed in a pipe, caused minor damage and there were no injuries.

Wave of relief STAR 19/3/92 sweeps the UN

NEW YORK — A wave of relief swept through the United Nations as the dimensions of President de Klerk's landslide victory became known. (336)

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali said the referendum result constituted "a major step forward" and "a new factor for peace and development throughout Africa".

South Africa's chief delegate Jim Steward made an appointment to see Mr Ghali to give him complete details of the referendum and its implications.

— Own Correspondent.

'No go' swings to yea stay

By RAY NXUMALO

THE director of international operations for a major international removal company expects an inflow of returning emigrants in the wake of this week's overwhelming yes majority.

Last week, Stuttards Van Lines' Louis le Roux reported a 35 percent increase in inquiries from people considering emigrating in the event of President FW de Klerk's reforms not getting a mandate.

But yesterday, he said although it was still too early for predictions, he expected a rise in business — in the opposite direction.

"Multi-nationals may consider re-investing and they will have to move personnel and equipment," he said.

He noted there might be less emphasis on the brain-drain that has plagued the country in the past few years. "People who are likely to move will be those who want to retire overseas," he said.

The telephones were also a bit quiet yesterday at Pickfords removals company, which reported an upsurge in emigration inquiries prior to referendum day.

Pickfords export manager Susan Carstensen said there had been no inquiries after the results were announced, but "it's too early to tell anything distinct".

For the time being, removal companies will deal with the usual volume of business: "People are always on the move," said Le Roux, "referendum or no referendum."



Flaunting a South African Communist Party T-shirt Jeremy Cronin casts his vote

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Food crisis for refugees

MAPUTO — Nearly 1-million Mozambican refugees face starvation in neighbouring Malawi because of the southern African drought, say UN officials.

"The available food for the refugees is expected to be exhausted by July 1992," says a document presented by the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at a crisis meeting in Maputo last week.

The UNHCR said there were 980 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi, and warned delegates there was no food aid in the pipeline for them. No pledges had been made. (336)

The workshop on large-scale repatriation of Mozambican refugees was attended by UNHCR officials, the Mozambican government and neighbouring states. B/day 23/3/92

Malawi hosts by far the biggest number of refugees who have fled the 16-year war between the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels.

Another 500 000 are in SA, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Swaziland, UN reports say. — Reuter. —

Plea to UN: 'don't impose sanctions'

CAIRO - The Arab League called late on Sunday on the United Nations Security Council to "avoid adopting economic, military or diplomatic measures against Libya".

The resolution was passed by an emergency meeting of Arab League member state's foreign ministers.

The meeting, convened at the request of Libya, also called on the Security Council to "resolve the conflict between that country and the United States, Britain and France by negotiation and mediation".

The resolution by the 21-member body came a day ahead of the start of a Security Council debate on proposed UN sanctions aimed at forcing Tripoli to hand over Libyans accused of bombing two airliners.

Britain, the United States and other Western countries have already advised their citizens to leave Libya ahead of a possible embargo on air links.

The Arab League has been working hard to avert a showdown between Libya and the West over the plane bombings, fearing that sanctions could harm the entire Arab region. - Sapa-AFP.

United Nations to expand peace mission in Angola

STAR 25/3/92

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council yesterday unanimously approved expansion of an existing UN peace-keeping operation in Angola to enable it to monitor elections in September. The UN staff, was set up to monitor peace accords signed last May by Angola's government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita). (336)

The UN Angola Verification Mission II, at present consisting of 440 military and police observers, plus support The electoral assistance, which Angola requested, will require about 100 foreigners. — Sapa-Reuter.

AROUND

Libyan attempts to avoid UN sanctions

CAIRO - A Libyan delegation has arrived in Cairo in a last-ditch attempt to avert UN sanctions stemming from Tripoli's row with the West over airline bombings.

About 48 hours before the Security Council was likely to vote on an air and arms embargo on Libya and a reduction of its diplomatic staff abroad, Tripoli sent Mustafa Kharroubi, one of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi's closest

colleagues, and Foreign Minister Ibrahim Mohamed Beshari to Cairo to discuss the crisis with Egyptian officials.

The United States, Britain and France are seeking UN sanctions to force Libya to surrender two men whom the West alleges planted explosives aboard a Pan Am airliner which blew up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie in 1988.

Sanctions could start on April 15.

Esmat Abdel-Maguid, Secretary-General of the Cairo-based Arab League, said he discussed new Libyan proposals with the ambassadors of a seven-member committee formed by the league to try to resolve the crisis.

Libya's UN ambassador said last week his country would hand the two Lockerbie suspects over to the League, but Tripoli later attached conditions to the offer. - Sapa-Reuter

Mike Littlejohn reports on a disappointing, ostrich-like attitude

UN still cool toward the new SA

STAFF 10/4/92

THE State President's historic visit to Nigeria and the more prosaic announcement that the first shipment of Cape wines to the United States since 1986 will arrive next week are signs the new South Africa is gaining acceptance in a once hostile world.

At the United Nations, however, attitudes are changing with a frustrating slowness, South African diplomats say. True, the old nastiness has gone and the atmosphere in which they work in New York today is generally cordial — in sharp contrast to decades of distinct coolness.

But the more congenial climate has yet to be reflected in a restoration of Pretoria's legal rights. Although prominently active, Ambassador Vernon (Jim) Steward and his staff are basically observers, not players. "Unrealistic" is Mr Steward's

word for the UN's ostrich-like attitude in the face of President de Klerk's reforms and their overwhelming endorsement in the recent referendum. He emphasises that the world body's own top legal authority has declared unlawful under the UN Charter the decision taken in 1974 to eject the South African delegation from the General Assembly.

The Republic never lost its membership but still has been unable to reclaim its seat in the Assembly and its subsidiary bodies. "I am telling everybody we should be back in this year because there is no reason why not," Mr Steward said in an interview.

South Africa's return to the General Assembly at the 47th session opening in September ought to be a routine event without the need for any vote to bring it about, he added. However, given

the negative attitudes that still persist in the membership and the absence of any encouragement from the ANC, not to mention the PAC, Mr Steward is not betting that what he believes should happen will happen this year.

There has been so far a surprising reluctance on the part of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan — to name only a few members with political clout — to do much to expedite a return to UN legality. Mr Steward is unwilling to criticise this failure, but clearly the mission would welcome some formal indication of support.

The establishment of an interim government, which seems likely to occur before the Assembly convenes, could enhance the prospect. In the meantime, it is especially irksome for the South African delegation that "liberation

movement" representatives with observer status in UN bodies are free to vilify a Government member who, under the present rules, has no possibility of responding.

There also remains a little matter of almost R180 million in unpaid assessed contributions to be settled before South Africa may regain its voting rights. Mr Steward, however, refuses to accept that this is money owed.

A member state that has been unable to exercise the prerogatives of membership ought not to have to pay dues as if it enjoyed all its rights, he argues.

Jacques Baudot, the UN financial controller, disagrees. South Africa is obligated under the Charter to pay up in full, he insists. However, he does not deny that there may be room for manoeuvre. A negotiated settlement appears likely. □

Namibian bombing was 'right-wing revenge'

By Philip Zoio

16/4/92

longing to tourists who had taken pictures of them.

He thought that Leonard Veenendal, a co-respondent in the extradition hearing, had suggested the targets — the United Nations office and the Kenyan soldiers barracks in Outjo, northern Namibia.

A stolen car, painted with Untag colours and identification markings and fitted with false number plates, was used for the bombing.

Mr Klenz, a liaison officer of Contra Action 435, a group set up to resist Namibian indepen-

dence, said he was not present during the attack.

Mr Klenz, Mr Veenendal and the other respondent, Darryl Stoforth, who were not known by authorities in the area, afterwards took over the falsely marked car because "it was essential to protect the members of the small (white) population" who conducted the bombing.

Earlier, Conservative MP Chris de Jager said Mr Veenendal, Mr Stoforth and Mr Klenz should not be extradited.

Mr de Jager, the CP's justice spokesman, told the court that

the motive for the attack had clearly been political and that South African political criminals had been indemnified.

Questioned by State advocate P van Staden on whether indemnification in South Africa could apply in Namibia, Mr de Jager said at the time of the alleged crime, Namibia was still a mandate of South Africa although also under UN control.

He said during 1989, criminals there still had the right of appeal to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

The hearing continues.

A German national, wanted in Namibia for allegedly bombing a United Nations base in the country in 1989, told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday the attack was first discussed for a week after he and other rightwingers had brought an arms cache into the country.

Horst Klenz said that the attack was in part an angry response of rightwingers to an incident in which Kenyan soldiers from the United Nations Task Group destroyed cameras be-

UN peace role in SA? — 'few problems' if ^(33b) question arises

APG 16/4/92
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The deployment of United Nations peacekeepers in South Africa during a post-apartheid transition would pose few problems for the world body as long as there was general agreement on the project — and the needed cash.

But Mr Marrack Goulding, head of the UN department dealing with peacekeeping, emphasised that the question had not yet arisen.

He was responding in a televised interview to reports that Mr Nelson Mandela wanted UN "Blue Helmets" sent to South Africa.

"He has not been in touch with me, so I am not sure what the request would be," Mr Goulding said.

But he added that "one of the good things about" UN peacekeeping operations was that they were "infinitely flexible."

The only limits were that the parties involved approved the deployment of UN troops and that the General Assembly agreed on financing.

All of the 13 current UN operations are mired in debt and one of the oldest — the Cyprus force established in 1964 — is to be withdrawn at the end of the year if there are no signs of progress towards a solution of the bitter dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Professing ignorance of Mr Mandela's proposals, Mr Goulding would say only that he assumed the ANC leader sought a UN role in the implementation of a political settlement in South Africa.

Mr Goulding is a former British ambassador to Angola who knows Southern Africa well.

1992

Peace force possible for SA if parties agree

STAR 20/4/92

UN 336

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — The deployment of United Nations peacekeepers in South Africa during a post-apartheid transition would pose few problems for the world body as long as there was general agreement on the project — and the needed cash.

But in expressing that view, Marrack Goulding, head of the UN department dealing with peacekeeping, emphasised that the question had not yet been discussed with him.

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Professing ignorance of Mr Mandela's proposals, Mr Goulding would say only that he assumed the ANC leader sought a UN role in the implementation of a political settlement in South Africa.

"If I say anything more, I am sure I am going to be breaking somebody's eggs," he added cryptically — having already declined to disclose what contingency plans for future peacekeeping his department has under review.

Mr Goulding is a former British ambassador to Angola who knows southern Africa well. He is one of only a few under secretaries-general to have survived a recent restructuring of the secretariat by the new UN Chief, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Brazilians may test arms embargo

810049 21/4/92
BRAZILIAN aircraft company Embraer is set to become the first major firm to challenge the UN arms embargo against SA.

And British Aerospace (BAe) could follow if the embargo is successfully breached, according to weekend reports.

Embraer is bidding to sell more than 40 state-of-the-art Tucano military aircraft trainers to the SA Air Force. Brazilian test pilots flew a Tucano demonstrator to SA from Sao Paulo for the Aviation Africa '92 exhibition at Jan Smuts Airport recently.

The UN has set strict penalties for any member state found breaking the arms boycott, but the representatives of the Brazilian company have shown little concern about the implications of defying the ban.

Britain's Observer newspaper reported at the weekend that BAe, which is eager to sell Hawk jet trainers, would probably follow Embraer into the SA military market. BAe promoted the aircraft at Aviation Africa '92.

LINDEN BIRNS

Embraer's Tucano sales manager Ricardo Lugris said he believed the Brazilian plane was a strong contender for the SAAF. He said Embraer was considering joint production ventures with Simera (formerly Atlas Aircraft Corporation) on several aircraft programmes. He did not rule out an agreement whereby Simera might be granted a licence to manufacture Tucanos for the SAAF. (336)

The SAAF has been evaluating several aircraft to replace its Second World War Harvard trainers, but will soon be pressed to find modern jet trainers to replace its Impalas. Embraer is a strong contender in the jet trainer arena and is seeking customers for the AMX, in which it is a 30% partner with Italy's Alenia and Aermacchi. The latter designed the Impala and gave Atlas the SA manufacturing concession.

America aghast at idea of a separate spy service, writes Leonard Doyle

Moves to grant UN real muscle on world stage

STAR 22/4/92

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TO the dismay of Washington, the United Nations is being encouraged to go into the intelligence-gathering business, so that it can provide early warnings on potential conflicts around the world to the Security Council, enabling preventive action to be taken as quickly as possible.

The proposal is among many aimed at turning the UN into an effective instrument of preventive diplomacy, unafraid — as it has been in the past — of focusing world attention on situations of potential conflict threatening international peace, be it war, ecological disaster, grave human rights abuses or economic problems of suddenly impoverished countries.

Some of the reformers also want to turn the UN into a truly supranational body, with standby combat forces on 24-hour call and fully staffed embassies around the world, rather than information units handing out stale press releases, as at present.

The suggestion that the UN might set up an independent intelligence-gathering and analysis service, going head to head with the CIA and other spy services, has been made in a series of confidential position papers presented to the UN Secretary-General by the European Community, Russia and the Nordic countries, along with Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

To differing degrees, the papers all endorse an enhanced role for the UN in collecting information and analysing it for the Security Council.

The proposals have touched off a furious response from the United States, which appears to be resolutely opposed to any moves that would enhance the UN's ability to gather and analyse sensitive information independently.

"In our view, the organisation does not need independent high-technology means for gathering its own intelligence," wrote John

Bolton, the US Under-Secretary for International Organisations, in a private letter to Vladimir Petrovsky, the former Soviet deputy foreign minister who is now an under-secretary-general overseeing the UN Department of Political Affairs.

The meeting of UN heads of state organised by John Major, the British Prime Minister, in January opened the debate by asking Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the new Secretary-General, to come up with ideas on ways of using preventive diplomacy to help avoid wars. Mr Ghali is expected to make his ideas known at the end of next month, and he has been deluged by position papers from governments trying to influence his thinking.

The US has also poured cold water on other proposals, which it clearly feels could undermine its leadership role in the world organisation. Even though the US is more than \$700 million (about R2 billion) behind in its dues to the UN, it retains the loudest voice in the organisation. Besides opposing the nascent UN intelligence operation, Mr Bolton says the US is still opposed to having the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Council meeting at operation level, or of having standby combat forces ready to intervene — under shared command — in war zones.

The Russian position paper to the UN is the most far-reaching, and it makes the point that the principle of "non-interference into domestic affairs", behind which so many dictatorial regimes hide, "cannot be used as a 'charter of immunity' to violate human rights".

Russia also wants the Security Council to join in the struggle against international terrorism as well as drug trafficking. It also backs the "creation of rapid-response contingents" recruited from special forces units. — The Independent News Service. □

State aid mooted for political parties

CAPE TOWN — Making state aid available for political parties to ensure their "effective functioning" would have to be considered, said a President's Council report tabled yesterday.

The report, drawn up by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, said state aid might be necessary because of "historical differences" and the "wide diversity in living standards, economic capabilities and educational levels among different population groups".

It noted that a number of countries gave direct state aid to political parties based on an amount determined either according to the number of votes drawn in the latest election or the number of seats won.

The report recommended that a formula be drawn up for funding political parties and the total amount be published in the Budget. Tax concessions on donations to political parties should also be considered.

While foreign funding was "undesirable", if allowed, it should be restricted and the amounts, sources and purpose of the donation declared.

The council wanted statutory control over funding, with all parties submitting audited financial statements annually to the electoral commission. The sources of donations above a specific amount would have to be declared and funds used for the

purpose for which they were given.

Legislation should be introduced to ban the allocation of funds to political parties "used for undemocratic practices and destabilisation of the state".

The report recommended establishment of a permanent electoral commission made up of experts, jurists and representatives of political parties, and proposed that it be separated from the legislature so that government and party influence could be limited. It could be part of the judicial authority.

Control of elections, registration of political parties, and control and administration of election funds — including foreign funds — would fall within the commission's ambit.

The report advocated the drafting of a code of conduct, to be "honoured on the basis of the convictions and acceptance of the community".

It proposed that political parties on registration sign a code of conduct binding themselves to maintain and extend the democratic political process; honour a charter of fundamental human rights; show respect for the national symbols of the state; acknowledge the necessity and role of all political parties in SA's political system; accept a ban on encouraging racial hatred and respect statutory regulations for political parties.

Political Staff

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt 'backed' race

GOVERNMENT indirectly contributed to the sponsorship of the SA Grand Prix earlier this year when it gave companies sponsoring the event tax breaks, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar told Parliament yesterday.

As the audited statement of the event was still being processed, Parliament would have to wait until the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had completed his work to establish how much revenue was forgone.

Concession 'misused'

THE concession granted to churches and welfare organisations to import second-hand clothing might be withdrawn because of large-scale misuse, Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said yesterday. The alleged misuse was connected with a concession to sell some of the clothing to cover import and distribution.

UN rumour scotched

DEPUTY Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach yesterday denied CP leader Andries Treurnicht's allegation that the SADF had been instructed to start preparing for the arrival of a UN task force in August. Treurnicht had claimed that the task force would monitor the composition and institution of an interim government.

REPORTS: Political Staff and Sapa

Pure capitalism 'no solution'

South: 25/4 - 30/4/92

Wholesale privatisation and the free market cannot be relied on to release Africa's 650 million people from the prison of poverty — so says the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa.

Quentin Wilson reports:

IMPOSING A free-market model on Africa's economy and privatising everything in sight will not be the solution to Africa's economic problems. UN researchers argue this approach would ignore the situation of most countries on the continent.

In their report, a number of conditions would have to be met before a free market could be considered appropriate.

Until then, "the pursuit of the free-market system will remain a mirage".

If the mirage is to become a workable reality,

- all people must know where the goods are;
- the goods and services should move freely from one part of the country to another;
- investments should move quickly from low-profit sectors to high-profit ones;
- there should be no bottle-necks in production to induce frequent and sharp shortages of goods;
- goods must freely compete with no producer having the lion's share in the production of a given commodity; and
- there must be no hoarding.

The UN Economic Commission declared that in Africa "these situations are almost unknown" and therefore hardly provide the right conditions for pure capitalism.

Free-market economy

The report said that "installing a strict free-market economy" would not be a return to normality, but a leap into the unknown.

"The principles of free-market capitalism were written by Adam Smith in 1776, but these principles have never existed in pure form in the real world. Modern capitalism was protected in Europe by mercantilist manipulation of market prices and filled by wealth extracted from colonial empires.

"Also, it is a well-known fact that the startling growth of the economies of Japan and the Pacific Rim (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Indonesia) in more recent times was accomplished through trade protectionism and active intervention of governments in industrial development," it said.

"To expect African countries, already weakened by international financial shocks, to rely on pure free-market policies for development requires more reliance on faith or miracles than on reason or precedents."

"Double-edged sword"

The report argues that the role played by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Africa's development has been "a double-edged sword".

Although they have given from their piggy banks, the terms of the arrangements have been crippling.

Among other terms, these two giants demanded that African prices be determined by the market and that government enterprises be privatised.

As a result, debt payments have far out-

stripped incoming loans — the net outflow in 1989 was \$657 million (about R1 971 million).

African countries are now just borrowing so they can pay out — a situation that is obviously unsustainable.

Although the commission agreed that non-functioning government enterprises should be privatised, "wholesale privatisation of everything that is government-owned cannot be justified".

It put forward a range of issues that should first be considered:

- the shortage of local businesspeople to take over government enterprises;

- the shortage of local private capital to pay for and run such privatised enterprises;
- the greater importance of the service to the people of some enterprises as compared to their merely being profitable;
- the danger that privatised businesses can and do fall into the hands of foreign big businesses;
- the size or strategic importance of certain enterprises that cannot and should not be left in the hands of businesspeople who just look for the highest profit; and
- the impact of privatisation on the employment situation.

The UN reported that both the IMF and the World Bank are slowly realising the problems of their approach and are becoming "as frustrated as the countries themselves".

These institutions have made a re-examination of the policy bungles they prescribe and have, in a few cases, been more understanding of the realities of the African economic structures.

The evolution of these "human face" programmes has, however, been "slow and evasive" with the core of their policies remaining intact.

UN role improved by global change

Cipres 26/4/92

(336)

THE United Nations is alive. It is not very healthy, but this world body has once more become important.

After 47 years when the United Nations was a captive of the Cold War, the dramatic international developments of recent years have rendered a new status to this organisation.

Furthermore, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, new Secretary-General of the UN, is already in the process of comprehensively rejuvenating the UN's wieldy administration and organisational structures after less than two months in office.

Jim Stewart, South African ambassador to the UN - back in New York after the absence of a number of years - puts it as follows: "We are very satisfied with Boutros-Ghali. He is an able and experienced diplomat with considerable experience in international negotiations."

However, the UN has financial problems. The United States, which contributes more than 25 per cent of the UN's annual budget of \$1,2 billion, still owes the UN \$407 million.

This is debt which has accumulated due to

Now that there is no longer an "iron curtain" between the West and East, the UN's new secretary-general, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is concerned with preventing a new "iron curtain" developing between the highly industrialised First World and Third World countries. A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT for City Press looks at the issue.

American refusal to pay as a result of that country's objections against certain UN projects and expenditure under the old dispensation.

Nevertheless, Boutros-Ghali will probably very soon have to pay considerable attention to "new diplomatic time bombs" smouldering within the UN.

Regional powers like India, Brazil and Nigeria want to be considered for permanent membership of the Security Council while others seek to remove the veto powers of the super powers.

In an outspoken interview with the German publication, Die Zeit, Boutros-Ghali said the UN would have to pre-

vent the forming of a new iron curtain between the north and the south (largely made up of the Third World), now that the iron curtain between the East and the West has disappeared.

He warned about careless attitudes in the West and referred to problems along the Mediterranean Sea. "The (North African) nations along the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea represent the same challenges (to Europe) as Mexico and the Caribbean do to the United States. More than five million Africans are already living in France. Because I derive from that area (Egypt), I'm very interested in finding a solution for this."

"Within 10 years their population along the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea will increase to 400 million, more people than the total population in Europe. Germans will certainly prefer to employ workers from Poland or Czechoslovakia than workers from the south because they can be more readily integrated."

"But immigrants from the south will continue to go to Europe and hold the threat of forming ghettos."

Exiles wary of returning, says UN

FAR fewer exiles will return to SA than previously estimated, with many afraid of returning to unemployment.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office set up last year to facilitate the return of exiles had had 3 000 exiles return under its auspices, UNHCR deputy chief of mission Robert White said at the weekend.

The ANC has brought back about 7 000 exiles since it was unbanned in February 1990. Initial estimates were that 40 000 exiles would come back to SA. This was later revised to about 30 000 and looks set to become an even smaller figure if the present rate of return continues.

White said UNHCR offices were still registering potential returnees. He could

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not estimate how many would eventually return but said it would be "something less than 30 000".

The UNHCR initially meant to go back to donor nations to get an increase in its R80m budget, but the smaller numbers meant this was no longer necessary.

White cited a wait-and-see attitude at the time of the whites-only referendum, poor job prospects and the poor economic situation as reasons for many exiles delaying their return. Township violence did not appear to be playing a significant role.

He disclosed that the UNHCR had begun talks with the Justice Department on the future composition of a review board to examine problem cases.

27/4/92
B1027

Too many, too poor

C/press 3/5/92
THE world's resources are adequate for the sustained development of the planet, if they are carefully used, says the United Nations Population Fund report.

But certain measures must be undertaken.

"The requirements will be to improve conditions for the world's 1,1 billion poorest people; to meet the legitimate aspirations of the three billion who are neither rich nor very poor; to cut the environmental cost of development and distribute its benefits more equitably," suggests the report.

Progress towards these goals calls, among other things, for slower population growth.

Currently, the world's

Population growth is compounded by widespread poverty. This week the United Nations Population Fund released its *The State of World Population, 1992* which highlights the population explosion. ZB MOLEFE looks at some figures published in the report.

population is 5.48 billion and will reach six billion in 1998.

"Nearly all this of this population growth will be in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Over half will be in Africa and south Asia," the report says.

Much depends upon action to reduce family size during the next decade.

Part of this action hinges on access to information and the means of deciding the size and spacing of the family.

The solution to this population time-bomb could lie in two areas - development of human and natural resources.

"Ending absolute poverty, improving health and education and raising the status of women" could be a solution that would contribute to slower, more balanced population growth.

Special attention should be given to Africa and south Asia "where more than half of the increase in population and the majority of the world's absolute poor are found".

UN doubts 'ANC' boys

Sowetan 8/5/92
THE head of the United Nations agency for refugees in Swaziland yesterday expressed doubts that 45 South African youths being held in the country were bona fide members of the ANC. (336) (332) (338)

Mr Gary Perkins said: "They are being told to contact Swazi police and the UNHCR for assistance to go to a third country," he said.

Swazi police had been unable to trace people involved in the youths' illegal entry in Swaziland, he said.

The ANC has distanced itself from the youths. - Sapa

North vs South: The great divide

A recent report points out that the rich fifth of the world now gets 150 times the income of the poorest fifth.

By **CHARLES ENGLISH**

DEVELOPING countries are losing 10 times as much money to rich countries as they receive in aid because of unequal access to the world's financial, trade and labour markets. These restrictions cost poor countries \$500-billion a year, according to a new report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Furthermore, the gap between rich and poor has doubled during the past three decades. The richest fifth of the world's population now receives 150

North

- Life expectancy is 75 years
- Average income increased 3.5 times in the last 30 years
- Social security benefits average 11% of GDP annually
- One person in two has a television
- There is one doctor for every 460 people
- 60% of people are served by water treatment facilities

South

- Life expectancy is 63 years
- 750 million people per year suffer from acute diarrhoeal diseases, of which 4 million die
- 1.3 billion people have no access to safe drinking water
- 2.3 billion people lack access to sanitation services
- 135 million people live in areas affected by desertification



The wealth gap ... As wide as the grave

According to the World Bank, a halving of the trade barriers in the United States, Japan and the European Community would raise developing countries' exports by more than \$50-billion — almost as much as development aid to the developing world.

“Global markets remain restricted,” agrees UNDP administrator William

many countries. Comparing the billion richest individuals in the world with the billion poorest, that ratio would leap to at least 150 to one, according to the report.

“In developing countries, it is not the quality of life that is at risk, it is life itself,” says the report. “Poverty is as great an enemy ... as misspent afflu-

336

22/5 + 28/5

times the income of the poorest nations. While the rich nations constitute only a quarter of the world's population, they consume 70 percent of the world's energy, 75 percent of its metals, 85 percent of its wood and 60 percent of its food.

These are just a few of the conclusions of the third Human Development Report, one of the largest surveys of its kind, which calls for dramatic changes to open up global markets. The alternative, it points out, is worsening poverty in the developing world and increased pressure for large-scale migration.

Despite these tragic findings, a new World Bank study projects per capita growth in developing countries this decade of 2.9 percent each year. This represents a large increase over economic growth in the 1980s, which averaged a stagnant 1.2 percent.

The World Bank credits sweeping policy reforms in developing countries themselves for their projected increased growth.

Both organisations agree that industrialised nations must bring down trade barriers to encourage growth.

Draper. "Where can we open up markets sell their products unless global markets are also freed of protectionist restraints?"

The report warns: "It should never be forgotten that poverty needs no passport to travel across international frontiers ... in the form of migration, environmental degradation, drugs, disease and political instability."

Current aid levels are too low to help close the wealth gap. Moreover, existing aid is badly distributed. Only one-quarter of it is earmarked for the 10 countries that contain three-quarters of the absolute poor of the developing world.

Less than seven percent of total aid is spent on basic education, primary health care, safe drinking water, nutrition and family planning programmes.

The aid system, says the report, "has critical weaknesses, in quantity, equity, predictability and distribution".

South Asia, home to nearly half the world's poorest people, receives \$5 a person in aid. Aid-receiving countries in the Middle East, with three times South Asia's per capita income, get \$55 a person.

The UN target of 0.7 percent of GNP from each industrialised country. The average contribution is only half of that — 0.35 percent.

This average covers a wide variance that shows Norway giving 1.17 percent of its GNP, while the US gives just 0.19 percent. Britain gives less aid per person of its population than any other country in the European Community.

Official aid is highly unpredictable. Seventy percent of overseas aid is given directly by one country to another, and is therefore sensitive to political relations between the two nations.

Hence if a donor country withdraws aid because of human rights violations, poor people can suffer a double punishment: political oppression and a withdrawal of aid.

In 1960, the fifth of the world's population that lived in nations with the highest per capita incomes were 30 times better off than the poorest fifth. By 1989, that disparity had doubled to nearly 60 times richer.

But wide discrepancies exist within

ence.

The report proposes a global pact between rich and poor nations to lift the poor out of their poverty. Funding would, it is suggested, come from a reduction in military expenditure worldwide — giving a peace dividend of \$1 500-billion.

The pact would also lay plans for the opening up of global markets, a reform of foreign aid and the striking of a new "debt bargain" to halt the current net transfer of \$50-billion each year from developing countries to industrial countries.

Major changes in the functioning of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt), Global Environment Facility and UN programmes are also recommended by the report, to ensure better management of the global economy.

As the UNDP report points out: "Poor nations cannot accept that the industrial countries are entitled forever to an 85 percent share of the world's income and a perpetuation of their energy intensive patterns of consumption." — Gemini News

UN renews plea for Mozambicans

(336) Own Correspondent

LONDON — The UN yesterday renewed its call for the SA government to grant refugee status to 100 000 Mozambicans who have fled across the border. *Blom 27/5/92*

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva said it had asked government to extend their mandate in SA to cope with the growing crisis in the refugee camps.

In September last year, the UN signed an agreement to assist in the repatriation of 15 000 exiled South Africans. The operation began in December — marking the first time in 30 years that a UN body had been allowed to operate in SA.

Now the UNHCR was trying to persuade SA to give the refugees UN protection, said Christien Berthiaume at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva.

The drought and civil war in Mozambique has resulted in a continuous stream of exiles — in spite of the forced repatriation of up to 50 000 people a year.

BBC news yesterday highlighted the plight of the refugees who walk for days and risk their lives crossing the electrified border fence into SA to escape drought, famine and civil war.

According to the BBC, SA has maintained that giving Mozambique's exiles UN refugee status is not an option.

ANC, govt agree to more meetings

Blom 27/5/92

SENIOR members of government and the ANC who met on Monday night agreed that more bilateral meetings should take place in an effort to bridge differences that had emerged at Codesa, sources said yesterday.

The meeting, attended by government's senior negotiators and a host of senior ANC members, was held in an attempt to clear the air after more than a week of vociferous public debate.

The decision to hold more bilateral meetings is perceived as one method of ensuring the progress of negotiations, which currently hang in the balance following the impasse at Codesa II.

If more bilateral meetings between the ANC and government are held, the focus of negotiations will inevitably move away from Codesa to these meetings between the two leading members of the two main blocks at Codesa.

The focus of discussions at the Monday night meeting was the outstanding disagreements which emerged during discussions in Codesa's working group 2 which was dealing with the form of the interim gov-

TIM COHEN

ernment and the constituting-making bodies.

However, no solution was proposed to any of the major outstanding disagreements between government and the ANC. Neither did the parties broach the thorny issue of the percentage required for a new constitution to be passed.

The issue of the Codesa forum which will decide these issues was also not agreed, although it is known government is in favour of merging Codesa working groups two and three which have the task of discussing transitional government.

There is some hope that agreement on the outstanding issues will be reached before the current session of Parliament ends in June, and both government and the ANC have publicly stated their intention to pursue this goal. However, the chance is considered small.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere and the damaged relations between the two sides, exacerbated by the series of accusations and counter-accusations, were partially healed, a source said.

Informal sector in anti-AIDS project

Blom 27/5/92
THEO RAWANA

AMERICAN Duncan Earle, director of Population Services International (PSI), is planning to use the informal sector to distribute 4-million condoms a year in the AIDS-stricken Natal province.

Business development magazine Enterprise reports that Earle will mount the first phase of the project with extensive research to establish a new brand of condom that markets within the culture of SA.

A private, non-profit organisation, PSI has launched health and family planning programmes in 25 developing countries around the world, including about 12 in Africa.

Earle aims to enlist an "army of wholesalers" who will make condoms and vital health information available in shebeens, bars, spaza shops, factories, transport depots and through pavement hawkers.

These retailers will also act as advisors and will be equipped with basic training, says Earle.

He plans to get the condoms on sale throughout Natal by mid-year and go nationwide next year.

The main thrust of the condom programme is to curb the spread of the HIV virus which leads to AIDS, and which is particularly prevalent in Natal, says Earle.

Earle says that at R1 each condoms are too expensive for the average South African, so PSI intends slashing the retail price to between 15c and 20c a piece, or 50c for a pack of three.

While parent company PSI-USA has pledged substantial funding, PSI has also been negotiating with a number of top SA companies for financial support.

The entire project is being run by Earle from his office in Durban.

He was responsible for launching similar projects in Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Benin.

Gambler cites Act in reneging on debt

CAPE TOWN — A Sea Point casino is suing a Constantia man for a R75 000 gambling debt which he refuses to pay, claiming it is not enforceable by law and that he lost the money playing an illegal game of chance.

Highstead Entertainment, trading as The Club, claimed in the Supreme Court in Cape Town on Monday that Ruby Rutenberg of Daw Avenue had stopped payment of a cheque for R75 000 in settlement of losses for one night's gaming and demanded immediate payment with interest.

In an affidavit Rutenberg admitted stopping the cheque, but said he was entitled to do so.

He said he issued the cheque to The Club in settlement of a gambling debt which was not enforceable by law and which he was not obliged to pay because the transaction was in contravention of the law.

On April 21 he went to the casino and arranged for The Club to provide him with credit. Before being given his chips he had to sign a blank cheque which would prevent a gambler from later refusing to pay.

He was provided with chips worth R75 000 and by the end of the evening had lost the lot.

He played a game called ace high which was a variation of blackjack.

The game was "predominantly one of chance", as even a skilful and experienced player could do little when he had a weak hand, Rutenberg said.

Although it was sometimes contended that "card counters" — players who had the rare ability to count and remember which cards had been dealt — could predict with a some accuracy what most of the remaining cards would be when the game had progressed to a certain stage, he disputed this. — Sapa.

UNHCR to help ANC members

THE United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Swaziland had agreed to help seven ANC members seeking political asylum. (332) 336

The seven appeared before the Mbabane Magistrate's Court this week, where it was decided that the UNHCR would assist them to travel to a country of their choice. C/pren 31/5/92

ANC 7 get UN help on way to north

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Southern

11/6/92

MBABANE -- The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has reportedly reversed its decision on the seven African National Congress members who arrived illegally in Swaziland from Nelspruit asking for assistance to travel to Tanzania for military training.

It is believed the UNHCR has agreed to help the group.

The seven appeared in the Mbabane Magistrate's Court last week where it was decided that the UNHCR would assist them to travel on to a country of their choice to save them from being deported.

No reason could be obtained from the UNHCR office for the reversal of its previous stance. - Sapa.

Africa demands fair share

NAIROBI - African countries attending this week's Earth Summit in Brazil will fight to end what they see as exploitation of their natural resources by the developed world.

Delegates to a two-week United Nations meeting which ended in Kenya at the weekend said they would use the Rio gathering, starting on June 3, to mount a campaign to get a bigger share of profits from their plants, animals and other natural resources.

"We want the developed nations to know that we are at par. We have the raw materials, they have the technology and finance. We must share these equitably," said Zambian delegate Fritgal Siame.

"The industrialised countries will have to pay for the resources which they so much cherish in the Third World. Nothing must ever be taken without the owners getting some benefits," Siame said.

He was speaking after delegates to the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) meeting drafted a treaty to protect the planet's animal and plant life for future generations.

The treaty is to be submitted to world leaders for approval in Rio de Janeiro but six Western countries, including the United States, have registered reservations which could block its adoption.

Western countries want more control over any new spending on protecting "biological diversity" and say they fear the treaty is being rushed through too quickly.

Sowetan 1/6/92

'We need one another. They must give recognition to the fact that Africa is useful for the planet's existence.'

drugs from the Third World on a commercial basis.

Countries that sign the treaty make a commitment to take legislative and administrative steps to ensure companies give Third World governments and companies access to their research.

But the treaty recognises that the sharing should be within the framework of national and international legislation on patents and other property rights.

Djibouti's Saleh Farah Dirir, Africa's spokesman at the UNEP meeting, told *Reuters* that the industrialised world had to realise that sustainable development did not lie in "continued exploitation of parties known to be weaker".

Africans say they ought to gain more from, for example, a possible drug for cancer discovered from plants on a remote island, instead of all profits accruing to industrialised countries.

Developed countries, especially the United States, say they have no direct control over the large drug companies.

"We want developed nations to know that we are not a burden to them."

"We need one another. They must give recognition to the fact that Africa is useful for the planet's existence," Farah Dirir added.

Governments, environmental organisations and scientists are all worried that unless stringent measures are taken to protect the world's plants and animals, the Earth will lose much of its "biological diversity".

UN experts say many species face extinction from the destruction of their habitat, pollution, human population growth, non-sustainable exploitation and the unlawful plundering of wild species.

"No one knows what cures for terrible diseases like cancer and Aids or what seeds of plants for new or improved foods are to be found in the forests and deserts, the wetlands and the coral reefs of the planet," said Mostafa Tolba, UNEP's executive director.

"But variety is the price of life," he added. Farah Dirir said Africans would urge the Earth Summit to make developed nations cancel the debts of the least-developed African countries as part of a programme to ensure the release of resources for environmental conservation.

He said the developed world would have to revitalise commodity agreements, guaranteeing minimum prices and enhancing the income-generating ability of producing countries.

"They also have to withdraw all subsidies that are propping up the non-sustainable agricultural sector in the developed countries and then prohibit the dumping of hazardous wastes in Africa," he added.

"A strategy that protects the people as they strive to save the planet is the essence of the African approach," Dirir said. - *Sapa-Reuters*.



Uncertainty over Earth Summit

Southern 3/6/92



RIO DE JANEIRO - The Earth Summit opening here today has become overshadowed with doubt.

Delegates and activists - some 30 000 of them - are swarming through this cloud-swept city under the watchful gaze of soldiers with fixed bayonets and the avaricious eyes of Rio's thieves.

News has surfaced of divisions abroad likely to rob the summit of much of its potential effectiveness.

Japan has emerged as a leader in the push to clean up the world after an April "Eminent Persons" conference in Tokyo.

Mr Maurice Strong, the Canadian chairman of the Earth Summit, described that as "a major step within Japan to help crystallise political and public opinion".

"Japan's potential for leadership is critical to the success of the conference but also in the longer term to our overall success as a global community dealing with these issues," he told the official Earth Summit Times.

Many delegates see US President George Bush as a traitor after the United States yanked the teeth from a draft convention to limit carbon dioxide emissions, leaving it a statement of aspirations, and then refusing to sign a draft treaty to protect the world's animal and plant species.

Delegates had expected the United States to take the leading role in drafting environmental issues onto "the new world order".

In the European Community, divisions among member countries underscore the refusal of EC Environment Commissioner Mr Carlo Ripa di Meana to attend a summit where "everything has been arranged in advance to deliver only lip-service".

Developing countries are split over money - the key which will keep summit decisions locked on paper, or open them up to action. Countries in the former communist empire, for example, need more money than industrialised countries have available to lend to modernise heavily polluting factories.

The sheer size of the June 3 to 14 conference - 131 heads of state and governments are to attend, along with 12 000 representatives of non-governmental organisations - means this UN Conference on the Environment and Development, as it is officially known, is raising the level of global awareness 20 years after the first such conference in Stockholm.

The centrepiece of the summit is Agenda 21, a programme for the environment designed to reach into the 21st century.

Strong says agreement has been reached on 98 per cent of Agenda 21.

But the two percent of issues remaining is where the major problems are, and most concern money.

Fifty-five developing nations meeting in Kuala Lumpur in late April issued a declaration demanding that Rio summitters establish a fund to pay for projects approved there, mainly because those countries resent the control developed nations exert over the finances of the Global Environment Facility, set up two years ago and now with an annual budget of about R3.6-billion.

Strong estimates the North needs to provide an extra R196-billion a year to help the South ecologically, and developing nations need to provide about R1 400-billion a year. - Sapa-AFP.

'News has surfaced of divisions... likely to rob the summit of ... its potential effectiveness'

Green summit quarrel

Sowetan 4/6/92

RIO DE JANEIRO - The largest meeting of world leaders in history began yesterday, its promise to save the planet shadowed by a bitter north-south struggle over how to protect the earth.

The Earth Summit, formally the UN Conference on Environment and Development, officially got underway after two years of hard negotiating on issues ranging from climate changes, forest protection to pollution.

Its goal is to set the economic stage for the next century, fusing the growing needs of a threatened planet with the ever-increasing demands of development.

The outcome was uncertain on the eve of the summit because of a split between developing nations and industrialised ones.

The United States said it would not sign a convention widely supported by developing nations to protect plants, animals and natural resources.

Washington objects to provisions it believes could hurt its bio-technology industry by threatening intellectual property rights and patents on products gleaned from natural resources.

The decision was seen by developing nations as a sign that rich countries were not prepared to help poor countries. - Sapa-Reuter.

AROUND THE WORLD

A cash poser for the Earth Summit

RIO DE JANEIRO - Delegates to the world's largest environmental meeting faced up to the big questions yesterday: how much will the Earth Summit's ambitious plans cost and who will pay?

The United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, as it is officially called, opened on Wednesday with strong pleas to world leaders to live up to their responsibilities and save the

planet from destruction.

Although almost all the participants from more than 170 nations agreed that something needs to be done, they differed sharply over what - and how.

Mr Maurice Strong, the tireless conference secretary-general, put Third World development to the fore in a passionate opening speech.

"No place on the planet can remain an island of affluence in a sea of suffer-

ing," he said.

Third World nations also emphasised the link between poverty and environmental destruction. Pakistan's Environment Minister Mr Anwar Saifullah Khan, told the conference:

"It is difficult for a man scavenging on the garbage dump created by affluence and profligate consumption to understand that protecting a bird is more important than protecting him."

UN officials have estimated the full cost of the Earth Summit's agenda for the next century at a breathtaking R1 687,5 billion a year, although Third World nations would have to find much of the cash themselves.

The only sum of money mentioned in the opening remarks by the United States was destined for trees rather than people.

Dozens of delegations have attacked the United

States for refusing to sign one of the summit's centre-pieces - a convention to protect endangered plants and animals and to share the profits and technology from new products derived from nature.

US officials say the treaty is "fundamentally flawed" because it does not guarantee American companies' exclusive patent rights over new inventions.

- SA Press Association-
Reuter.

Save planet for our kids - UN chief

RIO DE JANEIRO - The Earth Summit opened this week with an appeal by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Chali to save the endangered planet for future generations.

We are doing this not for us but for future generations, for our grandchildren," Boutros-Chali, of Egypt, told delegates from 180 nations in his televised opening address.

The opening was delayed because of intense security checks of participants, who crowded into the RioCentro convention center on the outskirts of the city.

The summit, which aims to formulate new strategies for halting environmental destruction, takes place in a country whose rain forests are a major ecological battlefield.

The 12-day meeting is expected to be the largest-ever gathering of heads of state, with President Bush among more than 120 world leaders scheduled to attend.

President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil was to help Boutros-Chali open the summit, officially called the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Other keynote speakers were to include conference general secretary Maurice Strong of Canada, King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden, Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway, and President Mario Soares of Portugal.

Negotiators will address seven critical issues: global warming, technology transfer, ocean pollution, forest protection, population control, the preservation of species and environmentally safe development.

The summit at the RioCentro convention center on the city's southern edge begins a day after environmentalists launched their

own meeting under brightly coloured tents in a downtown park along the beach.

The vibrant atmosphere of the Global Forum, where delegates strolled among colourful booths, contrasted with the more sober mood among Earth Summit delegates.

The delegates have been struggling to salvage a number of key agreements threatened by disagreements between the wealthy industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere and developing countries of the south.

The southern nations, like Brazil, are demanding the north more generously help foot their cost of environmental protection.

The Brazilian government, for example, has come under pressure from industrialized countries to try to stop farmers and ranchers from hacking away at the oxygen-producing rain forest.

Like other developing countries, Brazil wants industrialized countries to provide the funds to help the Third World conquer poverty. The developing world argues that poverty is the root cause of environmental degradation.

Among agreements expected to be signed by the conclusion of the summit on June 14 include one to limit emissions of carbon dioxide that can lead to global warming, another to preserve the world's threatened plant and animal species.

Environmentalists and delegates from a number of countries have criticized the United States for severely weakening the global warming treaty and for announcing that it would refuse to sign the treaty to protect biological diversity.

Bush says stiff conservation legislation would hurt U.S. industry and stunt a recovery of the recession-mired American economy.

Earlier this week, however, Bush pledged R450 million toward preserving rain forests in developing countries if other nations join in the effort.

Environmentalists criticized his "Forests for the Future" initiative as a tactic to blunt criticism of U.S. actions on the treaties.

"He wanted to have something to say to take attention away from biodiversity and global warming," said T. J. Gauthier, a policy analyst with the World Wildlife Fund.

Washington blocked an agreement to reduce carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. European leaders reluctantly accepted a diluted draft that didn't mention levels or timetables.

Environmentalists say the United States had an obligation to curb emissions because it produces a quarter of the world's carbon dioxide, a gas some scientists believe adds to global warming.

On Tuesday, feminists, ecologists and native Indians gathered in a seaside park to kick off the Global Forum. The first of 12,000 expected participants met in the 36 green-and-white-striped tents set up in Flamengo Park.

British actor Roger Moore hosted an opening ceremony on a stage built on the beach.

Behind him, a replica of a viking ship called the Gaia rode at anchor in Guanabara Bay.

Groups of every stripe and tendency have a voice at the forum: from Friends of the Earth International to the World Spiritual Assembly. A proponent of solar box cookers explained how peasants can use cheap, sunlight-powered ovens instead of wood-burners to heat food. - *Sapa-AP*

DIPLOMATS on three continents are quietly preparing moves to monitor political violence and fair elections in South Africa knowing President FW de Klerk is working to thwart their plans.

Well-qualified officials of several governments here reported backstage talks are underway on two inter-related issues under the umbrellas of the Commonwealth Secretariat and European Community (EC), the United Nations in New York and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa.

The two related issues:

- Firstly, the introduction of several hundred "peace-monitors", complete with backup staff, transportation and other infrastructural equipment, to check on the origins and effects of political violence, the role of the security forces and ways of restoring relative normality.
- Secondly, the introduction of hun-

Like it or not, world's

going to watch SA

336

Despite President FW de Klerk's resistance several foreign governments are planning to send delegations to South Africa to monitor political violence and elections.

By **ARTHUR GAVSHON** in London

dreds of foreign observers to see that the country's promised elections are conducted freely and fairly.

Publicly and privately, De Klerk has made it known his government would resist the involvement of a corps of foreign peace or electoral monitors. In verbal and written communications with several countries — including Britain, the United States, Portugal, Nigeria and Kenya — he has

indicated the presence of observers from abroad could be construed widely in the Republic as "foreign intervention" to the detriment of his own government's authority.

Some countries — Britain and Nigeria among them for their own varying reasons — appear to have bought this line.

The British Foreign Office, for instance, is saying Britain has not been

approached formally to send any sort of monitoring team either to check on violence or on the conduct of a future election. If asked, though, the request would be considered.

Meantime, the government has funded the secondment of a British academic, a Professor PAJ Waddington of Reading University, to serve on Judge Richard Goldstone's Commission. Waddington is an

authority on policing, the handling of public demonstrations and how security forces should go about their business using minimal force.

For its part Nigeria, which presides over the OAU, appears to be backing De Klerk's stance partly because it shares — for its own internal circumstances — his concepts on federalism. Another reason is that a political accommodation is developing between the two countries, as it is also between De Klerk and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, with future economic co-operation in mind.

Several Commonwealth, EC and UN countries, however, have been shaken in recent weeks by documented disclosures — in *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* among other newspapers — of ministerial and senior military collusion with massacres and murders. Revelations of internal governmental corruption also have had their effect. And, as a consequence, they have been saying through their officials that both the peace and electoral processes in South Africa simply must be monitored if they are to be internationally credible.

It was with that in mind that Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku had a series of discreet corridor-talks with leading delegates to Codesa last month when he attended the failed plenary session.

The underlying strategy is that if a consensus is established on the need for monitoring within Codesa, De Klerk's objections could be overruled.

Informants gave this rundown of discussions now going on in Europe, North America and Africa about monitoring:

- In London, Commonwealth diplomats are considering calling a special meeting of their Southern Africa Committee to examine the problem. The committee exercises a watchdog role over events in the Republic.
- If a future nonracial South African

government wanted to rejoin the Commonwealth, it would need to conform with the standards set by the institution. Also in London, Britain has stalled the visit of three EC foreign ministers to South Africa for talks with all parties until sometime after July 1 when the British assume the presidency of the EC. The three countries designated to make the journey are Britain, Portugal and Holland.

- In New York UN member countries have begun consulting over the sort of role the world body could or should play in promoting implementation of the Peace Accord and free, fair elections. There is broad backing for such a role but delegates seem painfully aware that the financially-strapped UN already is overburdened with peacekeeping missions.

- At OAU headquarters something of a split has developed on the monitoring issues. Countries like Nigeria and Kenya want to avoid offending De Klerk but most others favour substantial OAU representation in any system of observation.

In the past week, meantime, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have issued reports shedding new light on the degree of security force involvement in the violence. Their documented evidence has reinforced the case of those governments arguing for international monitoring of township violence and electoral surveillance.

Boost for African industry

GAVIN DU VENAGE

(336)

THE UN Industrial Development Organisation (Unido) is stepping up its drive to develop industrial projects throughout Africa this year.

It already has 50 investment projects worth \$30m planned, and hopes to have further pledges of funds when it holds an investment forum in December on behalf of the 16 states of the Economic Community of West African States.

Since 1989 Unido has channelled \$343m into more than 150 projects. These range from the supply of low-cost housing materials in francophone Africa to a \$1m polypropylene bag company in Mali.

It has also facilitated investment promotions on behalf of many African economic groups and countries such as the SADCC and Nigeria.

The Nigerian forum attracted 400 sponsors and resulted in 78 letters of intent and seven agreements concluded on the spot.

Unido also prepares investors' guides to individual African countries as well as organising presentations and promotional tours to industrial nations.

AROUN

Leaders are disappointed with Summit

Sowetan 15/6/92

RIO DE JANEIRO - World leaders on Saturday said the Earth Summit had not lived up to its expectations, but still marked a historic change towards a safer and cleaner planet.

"Expectations for this conference have not been fully met," Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif told a roundtable meeting of up to 100 world leaders.

"But we leave Rio with a new sense of urgency and purpose, determined to work for a more equitable and environmentally sound world order," Sharif said on behalf of Asian nations.

The roundtable meeting, called a unique gathering by Brazil's President Fernando Collor de Mello, was billed as leaders' only debate at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in contrast to formal conference speeches.

But with leaders on tight travel schedules, Collor de Mello selected five leaders as representative speakers; four from the developing world and one for industrialised states.

All echoed the same message - UNCED or the Earth Summit as it is known - did not achieve the dramatic changes needed to avoid global environmental and social dis-

aster

But at least it has set world nations on the right track.

"UNCED has achieved a lot. It was historic in its importance but, I regret to say, it has also failed in some respects," said Botswana President Ketumile Masire, speaking for Africa.

More than 175 countries attended the summit, whose main achievements are a treaty to curb global warming and a biodiversity treaty to preserve the world's animals and plants.

The United States has been criticised for refusing to sign the climate treaty until it was watered down and precise targets for the emission of greenhouse gases were removed. It has also refused to sign the biodiversity treaty.

President George Bush was not at the meeting. Aides said he had not been scheduled to go due to his travel plans.

Developing nations have also been disappointed by low commitments by developed nations to fund environmentally acceptable development in the South.

"The elimination of poverty is a primary and formidable task before us," Sharif said. — Sapa-Reuter.

See also pages 9 and 11.

Stalemate over aid convoys

STAR 19/6/92

MAPUTO — In a meeting with Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama, the UN representative in Mozambique has been unable to get from him an undertaking that the rebels will not attack convoys carrying humanitarian aid to starving communities.

UN official Peter Simkin said mass starvation would occur unless the food got through.

"This is an apocalyptic situation and we cannot allow it to

continue because we know that in the coming weeks people will start dying of hunger."

Mr Simkin said the UN delegation had tried without success to get an undertaking that food convoys, including those passing through Renamo-held areas, would not be attacked. He said, however, that new proposals, including the designation of specific routes, would be put to Renamo. — Star Africa Service.

Rush of Bills gives SAP wide powers

STimes 21/6/92.

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

THE government has ended the parliamentary session with a rush of Bills which give extraordinary powers to the police to detain people indefinitely.

The measures — the government insists they are necessary to combat gun and drug running — have been strongly opposed by the liberal opposition.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon argues the government has fashioned a club which can be used by a future government to suppress political opponents in the same way that Stalin used insanity laws in the Soviet Union.

In particular, the opposition is angered by the way the Bills have been raced through Parliament — in one case a Bill was tabled on Monday this week and approved on Wednesday night.

The result: differing detention provisions in different pieces of proposed legislation.

Mr Leon said this week

there was no consistency in the sort of safeguards provided in the three pieces of legislation recently approved by Parliament. The legislation in question were amendments to the Internal Security Act, the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill and the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Bill.

Mr Leon said the amended Internal Security Act made provision for indefinite detention.

But it contained a safeguard: the arresting officer would have to have "reason to believe" the person in question had broken the law.

In addition, after being held for 10 days the detainee would have to be brought before a Supreme Court judge who would then determine whether the detention should continue and whether the reason for the arrest of the detainee was justifiable.

Finally the detainee would be examined, in pri-

vate, by a district surgeon every five days and visited, in private, by a magistrate every five days.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill makes provision for the detention of a person withholding information relating to the possession of specific firearms.

In this case a person can be arrested on the authority of a magistrate whenever it appears to him that reasonable grounds exist for such an arrest.

Mr Leon said the wording "whenever it appears" would be much more difficult for the detainee to set aside than the "reasonable grounds" provision contained in the Internal Security Act.

Doctor

In another variation, this piece of legislation makes provision for the detained person to be brought before a magistrate and not a judge every 10 days.

Finally, it provides that a person may only be held for a maximum of 30 days.

No provision is made for visits in private by either a district surgeon or magistrate.

The drug trafficking legislation, too, contains the wording that a person may be arrested "whenever it appears" to a magistrate that he is withholding information in a drug-related offence.

The detained person may be held indefinitely, must also be brought before a magistrate every 10 days, and will be visited by a district surgeon every five days, although not in private.

No provision is made for

a visit by a magistrate.

During the debate on the "Drugs Bill" Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee argued that it was necessary that the Bill be approved speedily in order to bring SA's drug trafficking legislation in line with the United Nations Vienna Convention.

This would allow SA to become a member of the convention.

However, Mr Leon said that there was no provision in the Vienna Convention for detention without trial.

UN slates SA on exiles

STimes 21/6/92.

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

THE United Nations this week presented a demarche — one of the most serious forms of diplomatic protest — to the South African government over security force treatment of returned exiles.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees said it was gravely concerned about clear breaches of the agreement between the government and the ANC on the return of exiles.

The demarche says the breaches posed a serious threat to the future of the repatriation operation.

Talks between the UNHCR and representa-

tives of the departments of Law and Order, Justice and Foreign Affairs were held in Cape Town this week to try to resolve the differences sparked by recent security force action against returned exiles.

On June 8, more than 100 policemen surrounded the Sebokeng Reception Centre around midnight and searched the premises and more than 200 residents.

Concerned

The Vaal Triangle centre is one of several established to accommodate returning exiles in transit to their homes.

The UNHCR said while no one was hurt and there was no damage to property, the incident was frightening for those who had recently returned to the country.

The demarche says the incident occurred at a time when the organisation was already concerned about a pattern of other actions and omissions regarding exiles, primarily by SA security personnel.

These incidents included the arrest and detention of exiles despite their being cleared of all offences before their return.

The UNHCR said it was concerned that during these arrests, and in other incidents against returned exiles, excessive force was used by police not only against exiles, but also against their relatives.

"According to several sources, such activities and the failure to provide security for the returnees have led or contributed to the reported loss of lives of 15 returnees," it said.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday the repatriation programme had been a good joint exercise with the UNHCR and that the organisation should not allow incidents like these to spoil it.

"It is inevitable that there will be certain problems but there is no evil intent on the part of the government to circumvent the programme," he added.

He said the matter was being attended to and attempts would be made to prevent further incidents.

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WEATHER AND TIDES

TRANSVAAL: Fine and mild but warm in the north and Lowveld.

FREE STATE: Fine and mild but cold overnight.

NATAL: Fine and warm but cold over the interior overnight.

CAPE: It will be fine and warm but becoming cooler in the Eastern Cape with partly

cloudy conditions along the coast overnight. The Western Cape will be fine and mild but partly cloudy and cold over the south-west and west coast where it will become cloudy with rain. The Cape north of the Orange River will be fine and warm becoming cooler in the west.

	High/Low	High/Low
Cape Town	0045/0843	1245/1917
Mossel Bay	0053/0853	1254/1930
Knysna	0104/0708	1305/1844
Port Elizabeth	0056/0654	1258/1930
East London	0057/0658	1302/1930
Durban	0053/0653	1302/1923
Walvis Bay	0053/0716	1259/1931

BANGKOK

PAC works on exile repatriation

THE PAC was meeting the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to make arrangements for the return of up to 10 000 exiles, PAC exile co-ordinator Peter Mabe said at the weekend.

The UNHCR had agreed to give assistance to returning PAC exiles when the PAC was satisfied they could return, Mabe said.

The UNHCR would be leaving the country at the end of the year, and it was necessary to make arrangements for the repatriation of PAC members.

Mabe said he hoped the UN would agree to make a new appeal for funds when people were ready to return.

The PAC would hold discussions with the UNHCR to secure about half of the R80m budget it was using to repatriate about

PATRICK BULGER

20 000 ANC exiles.

The PAC people would return when there was an agreement on a constituent assembly.

"The PAC in principle has not been repatriating people. We have the major part of our organisation outside the country.

"They will be brought in when there is a visible improvement in relations between the PAC and the SA government," Mabe said.

The PAC had advised its exiles to register with the UNHCR.

While about 2 000 PAC exiles had returned, about 12 000 remained abroad.

Repatriation did not currently affect members of the PAC's armed wing.

Mandela asks UN chief to intervene in SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

STAR
23/6/92

NEW YORK — Nelson Mandela has asked the UN Security Council to intervene in "the deteriorating situation in South Africa", according to council president Paul Noterdame, the chief delegate of Belgium.

But no formal meeting is in prospect until Mr Mandela has

discussed the question with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Dakar.

Both men will shortly be attending the OAU summit session in the city.

Mr Noterdame said that the ANC chief telephoned the secretary-general yesterday morning to report on the events at Boipatong and the suspension of negotiations with the Govern-

ment.

He had asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the council to "try to find ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in South Africa and try to resume the negotiations which have broken down," the ambassador added.

A UN spokesman confirmed the conversation had taken place but gave no details.

Thus, it was unclear what Mr Mandela expected of the UN since it was the ANC that had pulled out of negotiations.

However, the events were seen at the UN as a sharp setback for the transition process and as a likely death blow to any hope that South Africa would be able to resume its General Assembly seat this year.

Differing versions of violence

UNITED NATIONS — South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi telephoned the United Nations yesterday to give their respective versions of the violence in South Africa.

UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said the two had placed separate phone calls to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and "both gave him their versions of the tragic events in South Africa

last week".

The calls followed one on Monday from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council to find means of easing the crisis.

More than 120 blacks have died since Wednesday last week when 39 people were slaughtered in Boipatong.

Residents and the ANC accuse supporters of Mr Buthelezi's Zulu-based IFP of carrying out the slaughter in col-

lusion with white-led security forces.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has said he would not recommend any action until he conferred with Mr Mandela at an Organisation of African Unity summit which begins next Monday in Dakar, Senegal.

The violence prompted Mr Mandela's ANC to consider withdrawal from negotiations aimed at creating a non-racial democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.



Pik Botha . . . gave his version of what happened.

World moves to defuse deadlock

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London
KEY world governments, still shocked by the Boipatong massacre, moved urgently yesterday to defuse the South African powder barrel.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary General of the 50-nation Commonwealth, decided to fly immediately to the Republic for talks with President FW de Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other high-ups. Topping his agenda will be a proposal for a Commonwealth role in monitoring the security situation. Anyaoku was due to depart last night. *W. M. M.*

The British Foreign Office disclosed that United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been invited to London next week for talks on the South African crisis with Prime Minister John Major's government. Britain assumes the presidency of the European Community (EC) on July 1 and will be speaking for the 12-nation group.

Boutros-Ghali will be flying in from Dakar, Senegal, where the South African situation will be a hot subject of debate in the Organisation of African Unity summit. *26/6-217/92*

In EC capitals, in Washington and at the UN and Commonwealth headquarters in New York and London, officials closely scrutinised the text of De Klerk's public response on Wednesday to the ANC's terms for returning to Codesa.

There appears to be consensus that De Klerk's offer to internationalise the Goldstone Commission investigation into the Boipatong murders will not succeed in luring the ANC back to the negotiating table.

This reaction was reinforced by a public declaration by 100 members of the United States Congress in Washington asserting that De Klerk's response to Boipatong and the breakdown of Codesa had been "wholly inadequate".

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Only crumbs for the needy

C/press 28/6/92.

(336)

WHILE 117 world leaders, 30 of them African, ate dove eggs wrapped in salami and roast veal *a la Diplomate* at the earth summit in Rio, southern Africa – suffering its worst drought in more than 100 years – came away with crumbs.

This was because the needs of northern governments, northern corporations and the northern media dominated the recently concluded UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

Grassroots activists from Africa and the Third World found little concern about democracy at the summit.

Southern African officials were clearly frustrated at the limited resources rich countries were willing to commit to poorer countries' efforts to preserve the environment.

"UNCED has achieved a lot. It was historic in its importance but, I regret to say, it has also failed in some respects," Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire said in his speech on behalf of African countries

Africa's silent agony brushed aside by concerns of the rich

at the summit's closing plenary.

"It's a step – it's not a solution – but it is a positive step," commented Mozambique's Mineral Resources Minister, John William Kachamila.

"But what the developing countries need is something a lot bigger," he added.

Tanzanian president Ali Hassan Mwinyi told world leaders the global environmental crisis consists of two kinds of emergencies: "loud" ones such as global warming, and "silent" ones which affect the daily lives of billions of the world's poor.

His remarks underlined the wide gulf between the priorities of the rich, industrialised north and the urgent needs of the poor in the south.

Southern African officials and activists alike were angered by richer countries' dismissal of issues such as fuelwood ex-

haustion, toxic waste disposal, or the dumping of dangerous pharmaceutical products, as "local" concerns less important than the "global" issues – such as climate change and ozone depletion – pre-occupying the North.

Some were clearly frustrated by US intransigence on issues of concern to both Africa and the world.

Bush

"It's not possible to believe President George Bush's election campaign considerations are more important than the contents of the biodiversity treaty," Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe told a press conference in Ecuador while en route to the earth summit.

Despite appeals made by several presidents of SADCC member states, the conference ignored one of southern Africa's most pressing problems:

reconstruction of rural and urban environments devastated by white South Africa's wars of destabilisation against its neighbours.

In fact, the US pressed consistently to exclude mention of war as a source of environmental degradation.

Hence there was no discussion of possible funding for converting the region's "surplus armies", after decades of Cold War-fuelled conflict, into "green battalions" which could help repair the massive war damage in countries like Angola and Mozambique.

Usually at odds in domestic arenas, southern Africa's heads of state such as Tanzania's Mwinyi found common ground with the region's activists in stressing the primary importance of poverty as the most critical factor fueling environmental degradation.

"The loud emergencies

have yet to affect many people," Mwinyi told summit leaders.

"But the silent emergencies – the more immediate issues of human survival – are already wasting many lives. Some 1.5-billion people in developing countries do not have access to health services.

SADCC country delegations had arrived in Brazil sharing a common position thrashed out last year in a series of UN Economic Commission for Africa and Organisation of African Unity meetings.

A central priority was to ensure the issue of increasing desertification – a scientifically contentious subject – be recognised as a global problem rather than just an African concern.

African delegates were clearly pleased when the conference agreed to set up an Inter-governmental Negotiating Committee (INC) to negotiate an international convention on drought and desertification control.

But the failure to deal with the southern African drought was the most depressing feature for this region. – AIA

SA Ministers in UN mercy bid

Special Correspondent

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TWO SA Cabinet Ministers yesterday held urgent talks in Abuja in Nigeria in a bid to prevent the present political impasse in SA from becoming internationalised. *C/P res 28/6/92*

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday had talks with United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

It is believed they conveyed to him the SA government's belief that, according to the UN Charter, there are no grounds for the UN Security Council to meet to consider the situation in SA. They claimed that the situation holds no threat to or will not cause a disruption of peace in the southern African region.

Apparently, the meeting between the two Ministers and Boutros-Ghali took place yesterday on Botha's request after ANC president Nelson Mandela requested an extraordinary meeting of the UN Security Council on the violence in SA earlier this week.

Meyer is expected to spell out the government's constitutional proposals to Boutros-Ghali and to give their version of the deadlock in negotiations.

Meanwhile, Mandela leaves today for Dakar for the meeting of OAU countries. He is expected to meet both Boutros-Ghali and Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku.

■ It has been reported from Abuja that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will also meet Boutros-Ghali for discussions in the Nigerian capital.

Dramatic move as ANC-government struggle goes abroad

UN CHIEF REFUSES TO VISIT

Sunday Times Reporters

UN CHIEF Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday accepted an invitation from South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to visit South Africa.

The decision followed nearly three hours of talks between the two men in Abuja, Nigeria, about the political crisis in South Africa caused by the rupture between the government and the ANC.

Mr Botha went to brief the UN secretary-general about the situation in the country and ask that Codesa parties be allowed to take part in any UN Security Council meeting on South Africa.

It will be the UN secretary-general's first visit to South Africa. No official statement has yet been made about his itinerary or the timing of his visit, but it is understood he will consult all major parties to acquaint himself with the current crisis.

Mr Botha also met Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and the country's foreign minister. The meetings between Mr Botha and the Nigerians were immediately slammed by the ANC's director of external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We don't understand why this meeting should take place in Nigeria," said Mr Mbeki. "Presumably the Nigerians will explain."

Jockeying

Mr Boutros-Ghali, meanwhile, is also due to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Dakar, Senegal, today where the heads of African states are gathering for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit. Mr Mandela will tell Mr Boutros-Ghali tonight that he wants the UN Security Council to approve the sending of an international peacekeeping force to South Africa.

A delegation of top Inkatha officials, headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also arrived in Abuja yesterday for talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali.

The jockeying for international support follows a week of intense political activity in South Africa during which the ANC broke

BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS: P25

off all negotiations with the government until it meets a series of demands aimed at installing an interim government and controlling political violence.

Yesterday, to underscore the point, Mr Mandela told 10 000 cheering supporters at a gathering in Kliptown, Soweto, commemorating the 37th anniversary of the Congress of the People, that the ANC National Executive Committee had decided that there would be no further talks with the government until all the ANC demands were met.

"If the regime insists on invoking white minority rule and opposes genuine democracy, there can be no negotiations," he said.

Mr Mandela will instead propose to the

UN secretary-general in Dakar tonight that an international monitoring group along the lines of those deployed in Angola and Namibia should be sent to South Africa. It would consist of a permanent group capable of determining possible areas of conflict and, once conflict occurred, of determin-

ing who was responsible. It would liaise closely with Peace Accord officials.

The ANC will also call for strict adherence to the phased lifting of sanctions subject to the installation of an interim government.

The ANC was involved this week in a round of briefings of foreign diplomats in Johannesburg prior to Mr Mandela's departure for the OAU meeting.

Aides said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also use the opportunity at the OAU summit to appeal

□ To Page 2

STimes 28/6/92

Struggle goes abroad

From Page 1

for increased pressure on Mr De Klerk's government to accede to the ANC's demands for an interim government.

Both sides said this week they regarded international support for their positions as crucial in the coming weeks.

Mr De Klerk, in an important shift from the country's earlier isolationist stance, invited foreign participation in the Goldstone Commission and hinted that fact-finding missions would be welcome. Mr Botha wrote to 50 foreign ministers on Friday defending the government's position at Codesa and repeating the invitation for foreign fact-finding missions.

He said: "In general the government has done well in fact-finding missions and therefore I am in favour of more such visits because it is in our interests that the truth comes out."

"We are struggling to get the truth known. I am afraid that in this regard we are in a manner still paying the price for apartheid. Some parties overseas find it difficult to accept that apartheid is finally past."

He said the government

believed its strength lay in the support it could expect in the international community.

Last night, in apparent response to the government's initiative, the European Community urged the ANC to resume talks with the South African government on a new non-racial constitution and expressed concern about continuing violence in the country.

The EC said it was vital for the negotiations, broken off by the ANC five days ago, to continue.

The EC leaders said in a statement following their two-day summit in Lisbon that all parties should return to Codesa and work towards setting up a transitional government.

They noted Pretoria's willingness to allow foreign observers to take part in an investigation of the Boipatong massacre and said this could be discussed during a forthcoming visit to South Africa by three EC ministers.

Demands

The effort by both sides to glean foreign support came as formal contact between the government and the ANC effectively ceased.

An ANC messenger delivered a memorandum to Mr De Klerk's office on Friday and a copy to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, spelling out the organisation's demands before negotiations can resume.

They included the creation of a sovereign Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution and the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

Specific demands on the control of violence include the control of the security forces, the control and phasing out of hostels and international monitoring of the violence.

Mr Meyer said President De Klerk would respond to Mr Mandela's memorandum by the end of the week.

The reply is expected to contain a response to the 14 demands contained in the ANC's memorandum and to express the government's own concerns about violence which it wants the ANC to address.

Mr Meyer said people would have to judge who was being constructive in their approach to breaking the impasse — the ANC or the government.

The foreign ministers' meeting at the OAU, after much heated debate, yesterday adopted a proposal for the creation of an all-African peacekeeping force to be used in civil wars on the continent.

UN sets up SA office to aid huge food shipments

S/Times (Buss) 28/6/92 336

THE United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) has opened an office in Johannesburg to help co-ordinate the flow of desperately needed food aid in Southern Africa.

Ten countries with a combined population of 18-million have been targeted by the WFP, which estimates that 6.1-million tons of maize will be needed to prevent famine from blighting the sub-region.

SA, which is expected to import about 4.5-million tons of grain at a cost of about R1.8-billion, is excluded from relief programmes because it can pay its way. It has not asked international agencies for help.

The operation to beat famine is co-ordinated in SA by Portnet and Spoornet.

Portnet's Simon Swanich says 21 shiploads of grain are now on the water. Another 12 ships have arrived in SA ports.

About 300 shiploads are needed as part of the overall import programme.

Alert

The WFP's Broniek Szynalski said in an interview with Business Times in Johannesburg this week that \$500-million had been pledged by donor countries, but much of the relief money had to be translated into shipments.

"We need to send an alert to donors," Rome-based Mr Szynalski said. "There should be more food moving now."

The WFP estimates that the 10 affected countries will need to import 6-million tons of maize, of which about two-thirds will come through SA ports.

Mr Szynalski said about 200 000 tons of maize had been landed in SA or was on the water. Another 200 000 tons was due to leave.

Donors had pledged 1.9-million tons of maize in total, about half of non-commercial needs of the 10 countries of 4.1-million tons.

Mr Szynalski said the drought affected more people over a wider area than the disastrous one in the early 1980s which caused considerable damage in North Africa.

He said this operation was the largest tackled by the WFP in terms of numbers of people affected.

By KEVIN DAVIE

"But we're getting involved much earlier, we're better prepared and the people are in much better shape. There has been no major displacement of people yet."

The WFP's aim was to get food to people before they

started moving. "The worst thing in a famine is when people start moving in search of food."

The position could not be described as famine yet — "we hope to prevent it".

The WFP's representative in SA is Arnt Breivik, who is head of the WFP's logistic advisory unit.

Mr Breivik praised the efforts of the SA team co-ordinating the import of maize to South and Southern Africa.

"There have been teething problems, but SA has taken the lead. They've put up an operations room and they've put up the right people."

"They're doing a good job."

● See page 3

THANK YOU

Inkatha pair meet UN chief

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STAN 29/6/92
ULUNDI — The Boipatong tragedy must not be allowed to threaten the reform process, senior Inkatha Freedom Party members told United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, at the weekend.

An IFP statement issued yesterday said the delegates told Dr Boutros-Ghali that the IFP had in no way been responsible for the outrage.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and secretary-general Inkosi SH Gumede told the secretary-general that the ANC was "erring grievously" in telling the world that the Government was not prepared to relinquish power to democratic institutions.

And at an IFP central committee meeting in Ulundi yesterday, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that more than half of the delegates to the second phase of Codesa had rejected the ANC's proposals for an interim government.

"Whichever way the South African Government had moved, that half of Codesa would have voted against the ANC," he alleged. — Sapa.

UN chief to visit SA

THE secretary-general of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has accepted an invitation to visit South Africa. *Sowetan 29/6/92 (326)*

The invitation was extended to him by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer who met him in the Nigerian capital of Abuja on Saturday.

STAR 30/6/92
**Boutros-Ghali's
SA visit denied**

NEW YORK — UN officials and South African diplomats are discounting reports of a visit to South Africa by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His spokesman confirmed the UN chief's plan to return to New York after the OAU summit in Dakar.

Jim Steward, South Africa's UN delegate, said through a spokesman that Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, had extended the invitation and the secretary-general said he would like to accept at some point.

Special Correspondent.

(346)

Mandela pleads for freeze on ties with SA

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

STAR 30/6/92

contacts with South Africa should be frozen until an elected interim government was in place.

He said some African countries had put themselves in the untenable position where the South African Government was now regarding them as its friends against black people in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said the massacre in Boipatong was yet another proof that the South African authorities were conducting

"a reign of terror against our people". He said black people in South Africa were crying out for help and were appealing to the OAU to come to their rescue and save their lives.

He appealed to Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General, and Chief Emeke Anyaoku, head of the Commonwealth, both present, to live up to the ideals of their organisations and "stay the blood-stained hand of apartheid". Mr Mandela said his organi-

sation was prepared to negotiate, but would not do so until the reign of terror in the townships had been halted.

He said Africa would have to realise that the present South African Government was not an agent of change, it had had no change of heart.

"We have entered into negotiations with the regime not because it's a friend, but because it's an adversary. Friends do not negotiate, but enemies do." Referring to the Govern-

ment's insistence that a two-thirds majority was not enough to pass a new constitution, Mr Mandela said any lasting settlement in South Africa would have to conform to internationally accepted principles of democracy.

The ANC was demanding an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and a democratically elected interim government which would be in charge of the transitional phase.

"We call on you to support this position," he said.

The outgoing OAU chairman, Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, said the recent killings in Boipatong had horrified even those who were used to violence.

"We condemn this act in the strongest terms. We call on the South African Government to carry out its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order."

Mr Babangida also called on black organisations to strive to-

wards unity and to prevail on their followers.

He suggested that a "peace meeting" among black organisations be convened by the Frontline states. Negotiation, he said, was the only way to solve the South African problem.

Dr Boutros-Ghali told the summit he had had talks with Mr Mandela, representatives of the PAC, Inkatha and the South African Government, and had impressed on all of them the need to resume negotiations.

Exiles registration

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has brought forward the final date for registration of South African refugees and exiles in Zambia from July 31 to July 15. (336)

A spokesman for the UNHCR said in Lusaka yesterday the date had been changed to assist the repatriation process under which exiles would be given financial assistance to resettle in South Africa.

Some exiles, members of the African National Congress, have been reluctant to return home, particularly those who are also members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, fearing arrest by South African security forces. - Sapa. Sowetan 30/6/92

UN steps in

336 CT 26/6/92

JOHANNESBURG: — The top official of the United Nations is to meet both Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela following the critical breakdown in talks between the government and the ANC this week.

The proposed separate meetings with UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros-Ghali at the weekend as a government-proposed summit with the ANC remained in the

balance yesterday. The ANC said an official would hand over its demands to President F W de Klerk's office today, but added that it expected an answer in writing to the violence-related demands. This response would be considered by the ANC's national executive committee.

Telephone conversations between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa failed to come up with a time for a De Klerk-Mandela meeting before Mr Mandela leaves for the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

And Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said he could not meet Mr Mandela till next week.

Mr Meyer, who issued the statement yesterday, did not give reasons. The ANC has not rejected outright the De Klerk-Mandela summit, but has said it wanted its demands met before talks could restart.

'Pressed for time'

Also Mr Mandela, whose movement rejected Mr De Klerk's proposal for two days of talks on Wednesday, was pressed for time as he was scheduled to attend the Organisation of African Unity summit. The ANC had been seeking a meeting with Mr De Klerk before Mr Mandela's departure on Sunday.

At the OAU meeting, Mr Mandela will seek to influence Mr Boutros-

Ghali for the Security Council to impose new curbs on Pretoria.

Mr Pik Botha left the country yesterday, also for a meeting with Mr Boutros-Ghali to present the government point of view.

The victims of the Boipatong massacre will be buried in a mass funeral on Monday. The ANC has declared a day of mourning on that day.

In a statement announcing that civil servants would attend the funeral, Mr De Klerk said: "It is the government's sincere prayer that the atrocious events at Boipatong will finally cause all South Africans to reflect and that the Almighty God, in whose hands the destiny of peoples and nations is, shall provide for a speedy end to the violence."

Diplomatic sources were hopeful that foreign mediation could help bring the parties together.

Diplomats also said it was significant that Mr De Klerk appeared to be opening the door to international mediation.

A British embassy spokesman said they were in contact with all parties and were doing all they could to get negotiations going again.

A European Community mission comprising the foreign ministers of Britain, Portugal and the Netherlands or Denmark was thought likely. One diplomat said European peace-monitoring teams could be in

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UN role

their way to the embattled townships within months.

Diplomats said the opening of the door to deeper foreign involvement was significant, given white South Africa's long suspicion of outsiders, especially the UN and the Commonwealth.

The sources said neither Britain nor the US was happy that the government's efforts to enshrine power-sharing in a final constitution met requirements for genuine democracy.

The ANC had promised Mr De Klerk white seats in a government of national unity for years after a majority-rule election, but that was insufficient for the ruling National Party.

'Face-saving'

One ANC figure close to the negotiations said: "No democratic constitution can guarantee one party a place in government forever."

Business leaders say a complete breakdown in talks would cause a flight of capital, skills and investment, hurting economies throughout the region.

"Foreign involvement might just produce the face-saving compromise formula that at present eludes blacks and whites," one European envoy said.

● In The Hague, Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek yesterday said it was unlikely that he and Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers would go ahead with a planned visit to SA in August following the recent escalation of violence and the breakdown of democracy talks.

● Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said in London yesterday that he may soon make a personal peace mission to SA and suggested his organisation could help to end violence there.

● Denmark will not reintroduce sanctions against SA nor support a boycott of South African athletes at the Olympics, its Foreign Ministry said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP



UN presence sought in

SA - Boutros

STAR 11/7/92
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

UN chief's trip to SA on hold

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Sowetan Correspondent

NEW YORK - UN officials and South African diplomats in New York are discounting reports of an early visit to South Africa by secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Sowetan 11/7/92

His spokesman confirmed the UN chief's plan to return to New York next weekend after the Organisation of African Unity summit in Dakar and a two-day visit to London for talks with Prime Minister Mr John Major.

Mr Jim Steward, South Africa's UN delegate who accompanied Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to the Abuja meeting with Boutros-Ghali, had no information that might indicate plans for a visit within the next two weeks, as a report suggested.

Steward said through a spokesman that Botha had extended the invitation and the secretary-general responded only that he would like to accept at some point.

A senior UN aide who had a telephone conversation with his chief from Dakar said that South Africa was not even discussed.

UN officials noted that it has long been routine for a secretary-general to accept "in principle" every invitation extended by a member state - on the understanding that a visit would be arranged at their mutual convenience.

Apart from other considerations, Boutros-Ghali's preoccupation with the situation in the former Yugoslav states might argue in favour of his remaining in New York in the immediate future.

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2/7/72
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.

Sowetan Correspondent

UNITED Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali says all sides in South Africa favour some sort of United Nations 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 society, telling them the issue is not a simple one of organising democratic elections then transferring power from an illegitimate minority regime to a legitimate majority one - possible

Meddling not a new thing

Sowetan 2/7/92

by giving an account of events here that is fairly sympathetic to the present Government.

For various reasons the first option is undesirable and unlikely.

Undesirable because the UN has a dreadful record in peace-keeping operations, whether in the Congo or the Middle East. It has been responsible for massacres (the Congo), but generally its forces refuse to become combatants.

Although they do show resolve in their current activities in the Balkans, they generally have withdrawn whenever the combat heated up. During the Namibian settlement process, UNTAG troops relied on South African units to put out the bush fires. Unlikely because to in-

vite a UN peacekeeping force would be to surrender sovereignty altogether (Namibia was a direct UN responsibility), while member nations are not going to come up with the necessary money or commit their forces to running the gauntlet in South African townships.

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. The colonials have indigenised. South Africa is the world in microcosm.

It requires special solutions, probably more complex than simple Western democracy or federalism and the presence of a UN observer group would subtly 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 republics writ large - was not the sovereignty of Smuts or Malan. Nor does it mean much to black South Africans.

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's iniquitous denunciations to our very own Pik in the time of Vorster then PW Botha.

But FW 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.



PUSH UPS ... Bosnian soldiers train in Sarajevo in the continuing war with Serbs which has cost more than 7 000 lives. Bosnia has put its people on full alert and all men are eligible for army call-up.

UN force backed

Mandela discusses peacekeeping plan with Boutros-Ghali

the largest daily news

DAKAR. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has indicated he is in favour of a United Nations peacekeeping force being sent to South Africa.

"I have already made that call, but that was in my capacity as a member of the ANC," he said.

Mr Mandela, answering questions at a news conference at the end of the annual Organisation of African Unity summit, said the decision on the exact form of the UN presence was a matter for the Security Council.

"That is the specific task of the Security Council, it is a matter that will be decided by all the interested bodies but I have already made that call," he said.

Mr Mandela, whose organisation has observer status at the summit, welcomed a declaration by the 51-member pan-African body accusing Pretoria of fuelling township violence and calling for a UN Security Council meeting on the current crisis.

The ANC suspended reform talks with the government last week, accusing President De Klerk's security forces of complicity in escalating township violence including the recent massacre at Boipatong.

With pressure increasing on the UN

to take a role in defusing South Africa's worst political crisis in two years of apartheid reforms, Mr Mandela has lobbied hard all week for OAU backing for the ANC stand.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali met Mr Mandela at the summit and said there were increasing chances that the international body would soon step in.

The ANC has presented the government with a long list of demands, including the immediate establishment of an interim government and several measures to curb township violence, as a condition of resuming democracy talks.

It is also insisting on an international probe into the June 17 killings.

The ANC said in a statement released in Dakar that its National Executive Committee would meet today in Johannesburg in emergency session to consider Mr De Klerk's response.

"All these demands are specific, achievable and do not need any clarification," the statement said.

Mr Mandela told the news conference that calls for the resignation of President De Klerk made at the funeral of the Boipatong victims were not ANC policy but represented "the anger of the people". — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC to discuss future talks

Argus Africa News Service

DAKAR (Senegal). — The future of the negotiation process in South Africa will depend on the outcome of an urgent meeting of the ANC's national executive in Johannesburg today.

The ANC said in a statement released after the conclusion of the OAU summit here that its executive would consider the government's response to demands made last week.

These include among others, proper policing of hostels, the immediate and complete ban on the carrying of weapons in public, the repatriation of forces such as Koevoet, 32 Battalion, to their countries of origin and that all policemen implicated in the violence be charged.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters the negotiation process had reached a "make-or-break" situation which he blamed on the government for fomenting the violence and being intransigent at negotiations.

Earlier, Mr Mandela was emphatic that the negotiation process would not

resume unless the government gave in to the ANC's demands.

"If they meet our demands, then of course we will resume discussions and bilateral talks," he said.

"If they don't, then there's no question of us returning to Codesa."

Mr Mandela said Codesa was not the only means of bringing about democracy. "That's why we're embarking on mass mobilisation for democracy. It is because we feel that this is an effective method of bringing about a democratic South Africa."

The ANC also said it wanted to deny and denounce government attempts to spread rumours that talks between the two were continuing despite the breakdown in negotiations.

Asked whether he agreed with ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's call for the resignation of President De Klerk, Mr Mandela said such a call "was an expression of anger" and was understandable in the light of innumerable misdeeds by the government.

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AFR 2/1/92



ANC president Nelson Mandela and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat enjoy a private moment at the OAU conference in Dakar, Senegal, yesterday. The OAU called for a UN Security Council meeting on SA and resolved to send a fact-finding mission to SA. Picture: AP

OAU denounces govt 'for fuelling violence'

DAKAR — The OAU blasted Pretoria yesterday for fuelling township violence and called for a UN Security Council meeting on the SA crisis.

"(The OAU) ... denounces the Pretoria regime for its role in the perpetuation of violence," said one resolution adopted by leaders at the OAU's annual summit in Senegal. Another called for "the urgent convening of a meeting of the UN Security Council to examine the issue of violence in SA and to take all appropriate action to put an end to it".

The three-day summit, which closed yesterday, also resolved to send an OAU fact-finding mission to SA. (336)

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said chances were increasing that the international body would step in.

"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," he told reporters on Tuesday. "But again, we have to obtain the agreement of all the parties concerned plus the agreement of members of the Security Council." — Sapa-Reuter.

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ANC now calls for arbitration by UN

So wefan 3/7/92

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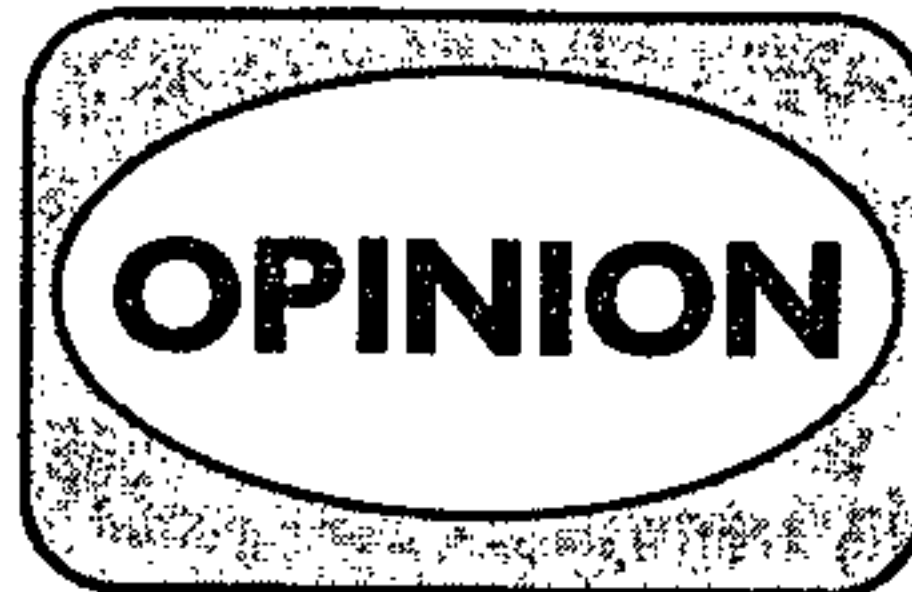
ON April 5 1990 the ANC announced its withdrawal from talks with the Government in protest against the shooting of 17 people by police during a demonstration and threatened to resume the armed struggle.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela accused Mr FW de Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and set a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure the continuation of "talks about talks".

The ANC emphasised at the time that the negotiation process was still on course, saying the withdrawal was a "suspension" rather than a complete pull-out.

Four days later, April 9, Mandela and De Klerk rescued the talks in a five-hour crisis meeting that resulted in the ban on cultural weapons carried mostly by Inkatha supporters.

A war of words followed on the description of what was a traditional weapon as the bloodletting continued: from the township streets to the suburban trains and taxi ranks and tea parties. From Alexandra to Sebokeng to Kallehong and Wesseltown and back



to Sebokeng and Alexandra (and Alexandra and Sebokeng again) and Moletsane. Now Boipatong which is 5km from Sebokeng.

This time, Mandela has rejected De Klerk's proposal for a two-day summit and instead sought international intervention on South Africa.

"Codesa is off," said spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus this week. At the funeral of 37 of the 49 Boipatong victims on June 27, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told mourners: "This is the final nail in Codesa's coffin," referring to the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations and its 14-point ultimatum to De Klerk.

Ultimatum to what? The ANC contends that not only has the Gov-

THE African National Congress did it in 1990 when it broke off talks with the Government. It returned to the table before its demands were met. Will it happen again? What will happen after State President FW de Klerk responds to their demands, asks Political Reporter, THEMBA MOLEFE?



ernment the might to stop the bloodshed and "genocide" of black South Africans, but are actually guilty of what Mandela described as a campaign of terror in the townships.

This sounds much the same as the 1990 rhetoric. But, as it was demonstrated in various other responses by grassroots 'membership' of the ANC - many might not even have signed up - did the youths, as was reported, try to shout Mandela down in vain when they "demanded guns" as he spoke to residents in Evaton in the aftermath of the Boipatong carnage on June 19?

One is reliably told of 12-year-olds leading regiments and commanding shooting ranges in Sebokeng and Meadowlands in Soweto.

The language used by the ANC in 1990 sounds the same as that used this June 23 when the organisation said it "withdrew completely" from constitutional negotiations and broke off bilateral talks with the Government and rejected De Klerk's appeal for a two-day summit on the crisis.

In 1990 Mandela said the police were not impartial in the violence gripping black townships and accused them of siding with Inkatha in the conflict.

This time around, the ANC talks

of breaking negotiations with the National Party Government because blacks seem to be methodically annihilated after 49 residents - plus a nine-month-old whose head was speared - were massacred in Boipatong.

Nevertheless, the ANC, as the dominant of the three liberation movements (the others being the PAC and Azapo) reflecting on the horror of June 17's murder, says there is no need for talking but action.

Spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus put it this way: "What is there to talk about when the security forces can but do not apprehend those involved in these massacres?"

The organisation says it is committed to negotiations and will keep the situation under constant review.

This is seen as saying it would return to the negotiating - and Codesa - process if its demands are met.

These demands include the intervention of the United Nations and/or Organisation of African Unity.

Mandela is seeking an emergency sitting of the UN Security Council on "the South African situation" and is presently campaigning personally to ensure UN involvement.

'What is there to talk about when the security forces can but do not apprehend those involved in these massacres?'

LONDON — The UN stood ready to mediate in SA if all parties involved wanted it, secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

“The UN is at the disposal of the protagonists of the dispute,” the UN chief told reporters. “If they want our assistance, if they want our mediation, if they want our presence, we are ready. But we can do nothing without their agreement.”

UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who held talks with Boutros-Ghali yesterday, has said he has been in touch with the SA government about a visit by the so-called "troika" of EC foreign ministers.

Boutros-Ghali said he hoped to brief Security Council members next week on his recent talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and IFP leaders.

In Dakar, the OAU ended its annual summit by giving full backing to the ANC's campaign to involve the UN in efforts to end violence.

In Pretoria yesterday, Botha said the OAU resolutions failed to address cardinal issues. "Government is making a concerted effort to end the violence . . . but without the co-operation of all political organisations lasting peace is not attainable."

Government agreed with the OAU call "for the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a new non-racial, democratic and united SA". It also agreed "that recent instances of violence constitute a major obstacle to the negotiation process".

Government was also not opposed to the OAU decision to send a fact-finding mission of experts to SA if they respected its sovereignty.

Meanwhile, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday government's apparent agreement to allow foreign observers to monitor violence was unequivocal proof it had lost control over the "new SA".

Not only was it a flagrant violation of the country's sovereignty, but the possible presence in SA of a foreign police force, members of the international legal fraternity and the UN and OAU, proved the political bankruptcy of the NP government. — Sapa-Reuter.

DIRK HARTFORD

ABOUT 3 800 workers at Sasol 2 and 3 plants held placard demonstrations and marched through the company's high security premises for the second time yesterday in support of demands around wages and threatened retrenchments.

The workers, members of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), are now planning a "much bigger march" next week with Secunda residents as part of Cosatu's mass action campaign.

CWIU alleges Sasol responded to the marches by issuing warnings to dismiss workers; cancelling meetings on short notice; threatening to withdraw shop steward rights and threatening not to pay workers for the period of disciplinary hearings if they were found guilty. *8/Day 3/7/97*

Sasol spokesman Jan Krynaau described CWIU's allegations as "far fetched" but he confirmed a demonstration on Monday.

Negotiations between Sasol and the CWIU are deadlocked after Sasol's final offer of 9%. CWIU has declared a dispute.

'UN 336 ready to help in SA'

LONDON. — UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday the world organisation was ready to mediate in South Africa.

Mr Boutros-Ghali, here on a five-day visit, said he discussed the possibility of sending a fact-finding mission to South Africa with British Prime Minister Mr John Major. He did not say whether it would be a UN mission or one by the EC.

The offer follows the ANC's breaking off of talks with the government following the Boipatong massacre last month.

Britain is the current EC president.

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd, who held talks with the secretary-general yesterday, said he was in touch with the South African government about a visit by EC foreign ministers.

But he told parliament here on Wednesday such a trip had to be carefully planned. "I am anxious to do it at the right time, in a way which would help to bring people back to the conference table, and not merely as a prestige gesture." — Sapa-Reuter

UN (336)
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Govt about-turn in hospital strike

Unions agree on emergency services

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's Commission for Administration, in an apparent about-turn, agreed to meet the National Education, Health and Workers' Union in Pretoria this morning to try and end the provincial hospital strike, which spread nationally on Wednesday.

A senior commission spokesman declined to say why it was meeting with Nehawu after Minister of Administration Dr Org Marais earlier said the CFA would only meet the 11 unions, which represent public sector workers, collectively.

Nehawu general-secretary Mr Philip Dexter confirmed the meeting.

The CFA spokesman declined to "pre-empt the discussions" when asked if the government would remain firm on the disputed wage and other issues.

Meanwhile, the nearly 6 000 dismissed workers in the Transvaal who have six days to make representations to the TPA to be reinstated, were not taking advantage of this, a TPA statement said. No re-appointments would be made during this time.

Mr Ferreira said if the situation was normalised soon, disciplinary action against the remaining 1 300 striking workers would be dropped.

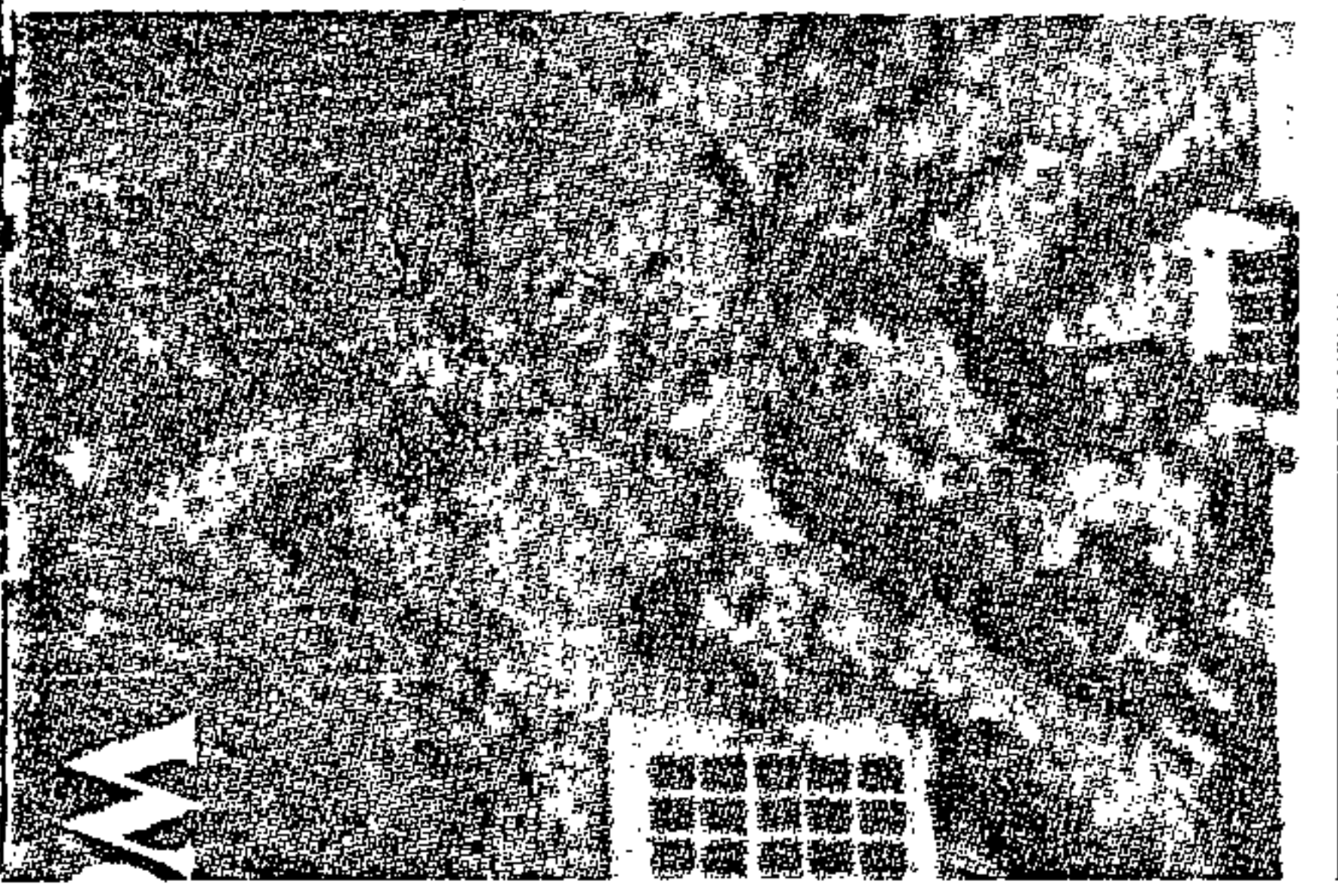
More cases of intimidation were reported by the TPA, with eight Tembisa Hospital workers' houses torched over the past two days, and two workers being assaulted while on their way to work at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital.

The homes of three Tembisa Hospital workers were petrol-bombed on Wednesday night after they refused to go on strike, police said.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said property was damaged but no one was injured. A man was arrested in connection with the attacks, she said.

In Natal, where strikes began on Wednesday, there was almost a 50% stayaway by general assistants at Durban's three major hospitals, but there was no indication of a province-wide strike as all other branches of the Natal Provincial Administration were operating normally, NPA director-general for health services Dr Neville Howes said.

Nehawu is demanding a minimum wage of R724 while the CFA is offering R708,50. — Sapa



UN role in peace process will send 'right signal'

South 4/7-8/7/92

Sharma.

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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 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

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'.

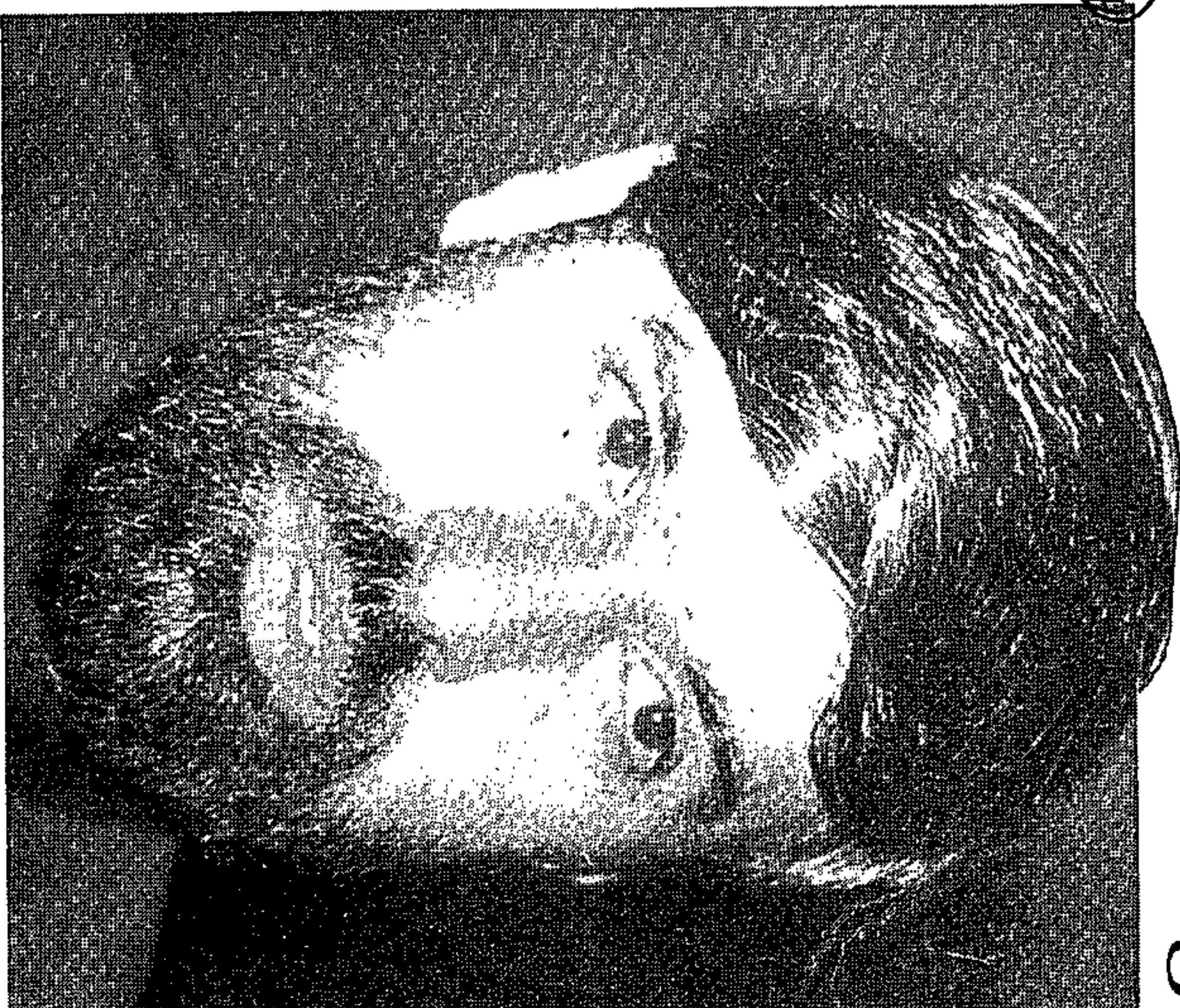
"It has shocked the world as well. What we saw on our television screens filled us with revulsion and horror.

"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.

UN observers enter Somalia

Sowetan 6/7/92
■ International observers to monitor fragile ceasefire between warring factions

NAIROBI - Five United Nations military observers left Nairobi for Mogadishu yesterday to prepare ground for a larger group that will monitor a fragile ceasefire between warring factions in the Somali capital.

The advance party is part of a 50-strong team of observers from Austria, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco and Zimbabwe which is headed by Pakistan's Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen.

Their mission follows months of United Nations efforts to bring peace to Somalia, shattered by 18 months of factional fighting that has left millions in need of food and shelter.

The UN group will not intervene in the fighting. Proposals to send an additional armed UN force to guard food aid supplies collapsed amid disagreements among the Somali factions.

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The main opposition to the idea came from the country's most powerful warlord, General Mohamed Farah Aideed, whose forces control most of the country.

Aideed has instead called for a national conference to enable a coalition government to be formed for Somalia.

Somalia has been split between rival groups since ex-president Mohamed Siad Barre, now in exile in Nigeria, was ousted from Mogadishu early last year. - Sapa-Reuter.

Boutros-Ghali to report at UN on SA meetings

~~Simon Barber~~ SIMON BARBER

(336)

WASHINGTON — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to deliver an informal report to the Security Council tomorrow on his meetings last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. *Friday 7/7/92*

It remains unclear if or when the council will hold a full session on the Boipatong killings and related violence, although Madagascar has officially requested one on behalf of the OAU and the ANC.

Boutros-Ghali is to brief the council and outline possible options for the UN in helping the SA parties return to the negotiating table.

It appears likely that he will favour a limited UN role which will enable the ANC and its supporters to let off some steam but which will not involve the UN directly in the negotiations or assignment of blame for the violence.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC was calling its national executive committee together to formulate a detailed response to President F W de Klerk's memorandum on an interim constitution.

ANC sources have indicated that De Klerk's proposals offer room for compromise. However, the organisation was opposed to the powers regional governments would be given under the proposals.

Health Workers' Union strike when the com-
ge agreement with five
unions — effectively
agreement applicable to

posts tomorrow. van Nieuwen
had created a wrong impression by saying
the deadline would be extended.

Meanwhile, the Natal Provincial
Administration reported yesterday the
began last

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work out the details.

UN talks on SA sought

(336)

and 7/7/92

NEW YORK. — African countries have called for an urgent session of the United Nations Security Council to help end violence in South Africa and create conditions for peace talks.

The council discussed the request for an emergency session but decided to postpone a decision until hearing from Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this afternoon.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has said all sides in South Africa favoured some kind of UN presence and that the Security Council should discuss the issue.

Meanwhile, South African Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and the ANC last night disputed key aspects of a statement by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

General Van der Merwe attacked the judge's allegation that officials had ignored some of his recommendations while an ANC statement rejected the commission's "exoneration" of the State from direct involvement in violence.

In its statement the ANC said that while it acknowledged the importance of the Goldstone Commission, it lacked the resources to "get to the bottom of a number of violence incidents". International monitoring and investigation were now urgent.

The National Party said in a statement that the leadership of the ANC owed the State President, the Cabinet and the security forces an apology.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the Goldstone Commission's finding that no evidence had been submitted to support allegations of direct government or security force involvement in the current violence was damning for the ANC. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa-AP.

● See page 11.

(336)
UN chief to
report back
on SA visit

CT 7/7/92
Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON — UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to deliver an informal talk to the Security Council tomorrow on his meetings last week with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. 3.

It remains unclear if or when the council will hold a full session on the Boipatong killings and other violence, though Madagascar has requested one on behalf of the OAU and the ANC.

If there is a meeting, it is not expected to come before next week.

Mr Boutros-Ghali is to outline possible options for the UN in helping South Africa's parties return to the negotiating table.

It appears likely that he will favour a limited UN role.

Goldstone attacked

STALC 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.

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, P. W. 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.

Security Council proposes 'goodwill mission' in bid to end the crisis in SA

UN peace drive

ARC 8/7/92

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OFF TO SA? Diplomat
Cyrus Vance

HUGH ROBERTON, The Argus Foreign Service

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General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali "mission" to South Africa to reduce the violence or

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At the meeting, the 15-nation council agreed to convene a formal open meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa. A tentative date of July 15 was set, and it was likely the government and the ANC would both speak during the debate.

UN officials said it was "altogether unthinkable" that the UN would return to a state of confrontation with the South African government, and that Mr Boutros-Ghali was "absolutely determined" to be even-handed.

They emphasised he had chosen "goodwill mission" to characterise his proposal, deliberately avoiding terminology that might suggest the world body had allied itself to any of the parties.

It is thought likely that if the "goodwill mission" proposal is accepted, the mission would move before the tentative July 15 date for the full Security Council meeting.

The outcome of such a mission might shape the resolution to the full council on July 15.

● ANC spokesman Ms Jill Marcus said today that the ANC demand had been for a Security Council meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa. This was now scheduled for next Wednesday. This request had been put to the UN through the OAU.

Pik welcomes 'goodwill visit'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR

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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.

Mandela, Pik to address council

Govt backs UN mission to revive talks

8/Day 1/7/92
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-

PATRICK BULGER

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 Delpoit said government was open to any reasonable proposal for the resumption of negotiations but accused the ANC of backing off from its Codesa commitments.

Delpoit 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

2 Cape Times Thursday July 9 1992

Govt welcomes UN proposal to visit SA

(33) CT 9/7/92
THE government yesterday welcomed a United Nations proposal for a "goodwill mission" to visit South Africa and suggested it should take place before the envisaged meeting of the Security Council next week.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a letter to UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the mission, to be led by former US Secretary of State Mr Cyrus Vance, would then be in a better position to advise Mr Boutros-Ghali and the council on the factual situation in South Africa.

Frontline seeks UN probe of violence

STAR 10/17/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Frontline states will propose at next week's United Nations Security Council meeting that it is the South African Government's responsibility to take steps to end violence.

A draft resolution, a copy of which is in the possession of The Star, expresses concern that the violence in South Africa and its consequences for peaceful negotiations could constitute a threat to peace and security in the region.

The Frontline proposal runs counter to the Government's view, expressed in a letter to foreign governments a week ago. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said then that, in terms of the UN Charter, no valid basis existed for the Security Council to consider the situation in South Africa.

The Security Council is set to meet on Wednesday after a call by the ANC for such a meeting to discuss the violence.

The draft resolution requests UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to urgently appoint a special representative to investigate the underlying causes of the violence, and urges the international community to maintain punitive measures imposed on South Africa "for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid".

ANC director of international relations Thabo Mbeki last night disclosed that the ANC had asked Mr Boutros-Ghali, and he had agreed, not to send a "goodwill mission" to South Africa until after Wednesday's meeting.

In a letter to Mr Boutros-Ghali earlier this week, Mr Botha asked him to urgently send the mission, led by former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance, before Wednesday's meeting.

● ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to attend the Security Council meeting, reports Sapa-AP.

Codesa is UN bound

Sowetan 10/7/92 *336*
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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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.

UN to Codesa:

336
ARC 10/1/92

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. P. K. 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 PEs 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 199-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



GOAL: Mark Anderson, the South African goalkeeper, is beaten by this shot from grounded Cameroon striker Jacob Edwelle 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: OSED ZILWA. The Argus

Argus Foreign Service

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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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Pik: 'Now I have a case'

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CT 11/7/91

By BARRY STREEK

THE government last night welcomed the UN Security Council hearing on South Africa because, with the abolition of apartheid, it had a case to put, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

"Far from fearing the meeting, I welcome it," Mr Botha said at a dinner in Stellenbosch, at the end of the National Party's national youth congress.

"I have been to the Security Council on seven previous occasions, but it's different now. I can walk into the council, take my seat and put a case. And I have a case, because apartheid is gone.

"In 1974 when I was a new ambassador, I said I could not defend discrimination based on the colour of a person's skin.

"Prime Minister John Vorster had to defend me on two occasions.

"Today I can go back to New York and say sorry it took so long, but I told you in 1974 it was coming."

He said he trusted that black South African leaders would also go to state their side of the story.

'Sign up ANC' challenge to Nats

Political Staff

NATIONAL PARTY youth were yesterday challenged by the Minister of Agriculture, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, to sign up members of the ANC as members of the party.

The youth of today had a chance to change South Africa, but "do you have the guts to do it?" he asked at the end of the NP's national youth conference in Stellenbosch, attended by 600 delegates.

● The NP leadership poured cold water over suggestions by members of its youth wing that it should change its name and form alliances with other groupings.

The reputation of the party was not altogether bad and in fact there was much good in its reputation, the NP's secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said.

However, he admitted that there were "many people" who supported the party's principles and Mr F W de Klerk but were not keen to join it.

● Moves were made yesterday to form a women's wing for the NP youth.

Mr Botha is to leave South Africa tomorrow night to head the government delegation to the Security Council hearing. Other parties at Codesa may also participate after being invited to do so.

He said the negotiations at Codesa with the ANC were now bogged down.

"There is no such thing as a nut that won't loosen with the right

oil. We must stay calm and fair.

"If the ANC has fair grievances, we will talk about them. I hope they will also realise that without power sharing there will be no real peace. When the NP is the majority party, we will also be prepared to share power."

He said people tended to forget how much progress had been made in the past four years—Namibia had still been South West Africa, South Africa had had to face growing isolation with UN resolutions becoming more severe and South Africa had still been at war with Angola.

Perspective

There had been 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, Moscow had been the capital of the Soviet Union and the Cold War had been in progress.

"People don't remember how cold it was for South Africa.

"We must place the past in perspective and remember how far we have come. Mental comparisons will show the vast distance forward we have moved."

He said the only way for the NP to become the majority party was to have a majority of black members.

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 Pk Botha "would go to New York 'with an open mind'". He said it was too early to say what government would tell 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.

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.

See Page 9

SA sends top govt team to UN meeting

81047 14 7/92 2289 336
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 Pruys 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-

TIM COHEN

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

336

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 peace-keeping 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 peace-keeping 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 Tobotti 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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THE UN Security Council meets tomorrow to help SA out of its current impasse. To most of the permanent members, and several of the impermanent ones as well, this is not a proper use of the council's time. Unlike the Balkan crisis, SA's problems do not constitute a threat to international peace.

Nor, at this stage anyway, do they involve a conflict between sovereign states, real or aspiring. However much they may affect the surrounding region, they are at root a domestic matter. In taking them on, the council is setting itself an uneasy precedent. Few countries can honestly relish the prospect of the UN presuming to act as arbiter of their internal disputes.

Nonetheless, if UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the permanent members can keep their heads — and hitherto they have — this week's session should prove a valuable exercise. With all 19 Codesa members, plus the nine African foreign ministers deputed by the OAU, having the right to speak, the superficial theatre will be unedifying — a throwback to the days before the UN found itself custodian of the New World Order and was merely a Hyde Park Corner for the self-styled wretched of the earth. Beneath the surface, however, important business should be transacted.

The principal function of the meeting and of the resolution that emerges from it must be to restore the primacy of those within the ANC alliance — principally, one assumes, president Nelson Mandela — who wish the Codesa process to succeed along the lines the parties have mapped out for themselves.

Seen from this remove, the collapse of Codesa II and the post-Boipatong hysteria are symptoms of the quite understandable difficulty the ANC is having in making the transition from liberation movement to political party, from strugglers to electoral competitors within a constitutional framework.

The nature of the difficulty is illustrated by a couple of draft papers

ANC alliance's options limited as crisis goes to UN

SIMON BARBER in Washington

336

allegedly prepared for the SACP's June 20 consultative conference. The authenticity of the first, which Ken Owen discussed in his Sunday Times column two weeks ago, has been established. The second, which landed on my desk last week, may be genuine but could equally be a plant. I assume it has already been circulated at home. Whatever its provenance, its analysis — which is offered in the first person on behalf of an unidentified "we" — seems acute.

The author contends there are now three basic "strategic outlooks" within the liberation alliance. The first, which he describes as "Don't Rock the Boat", sees "the path to democratisation as depending primarily upon negotiated pacts between elites. Elites deliver their constituencies. The job of constituencies is to be delivered."

"This perspective is grounded on the assumption that there is essentially a strategic convergence between responsible leaders on the side of both the regime and the national liberation movement. This 'moderate centre' must be allowed to congeal; it must be given the space and time to get on with the task."

The second outlook the author calls "turning on the tap", and is "essentially a militant version of the

first". Under this approach, mass action is conceived as a tool of the negotiating "elite" to strengthen their hand at the table. Like the first strategy, option two is said to appeal to those who view the ANC as a "government in waiting" and who "see themselves as future bureaucrats" when the waiting is over.

This "begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform narrowly into an electoral machine. Once more mass action will be confined to periodic spurts, this time in elections — yet another version of turning the tap on and off."

The third strand is "The Leipzig Way" — the mobilisation of truly spectacular demonstrations of the kind that brought down East Germany's Erich Honecker. This, says the author, is preferable to methods one and two in principle, and enjoys considerable support among less sophisticated, grassroots comrades. "The trouble is in the practicalities: 'How realistic is this option?'"

Not very, in the author's view. "Internationally, as we know, there has been a very rapid and absolutely radical change in the balance of forces. It was essentially this funda-

mental change that allowed mass demonstrations in Leipzig and Prague to act as catalysts for the rapid demise of governments." However, that same change has meant that the world balance of forces is now foursquare behind negotiated transitions, and thus "entirely unfavourable" to mass insurrection in SA.

Nor are the government and its "repressive machinery" about to fold. To the contrary, developments since 1989, particularly the disengagements from Angola and Namibia, have "parsecingly (sic) relieved the pressures on the SADF. Today, there are almost certainly more guns in the hands of the popular masses... than ever before. But we are further (and we are arguably never that close) from insurrection than we were three or four years ago."

There are several further problems with the Leipzig option. One is that it will succeed only in "winding the masses up" and then demoralising them when it does not bear the expected fruit. Second, "because the insurrectionary logic tends to be one of disengagement from the negotiation process, it is liable to open the way to the regime unilaterally steering the process of transformation". Another problem — and this

seems a particularly interesting point — is that the "insurrectionary orientation" has already "tended to become an elite, conspiratorial fixation" among certain groupings within the alliance, most notably the Youth League, proponent of the Leipzig variant it calls the "extended political strike". In other words, the author suspects that the third option's principal backers may see it as much as a means of seizing control of the liberation movement as of overthrowing the government.

Unfortunately, having critiqued what he sees as the three major strains of the alliance's thinking, the author stops short of offering any specific alternatives. He does, however, stress the need for achieving a unified line and does not rule out a strategy of rolling mobilisation that will leave the movement "maximally poised to exploit... a sudden insurrectionary moment should one occur".

Whoever wrote the paper — and such is its tone that it hardly seems calculated to generate a Red Scare any more than the other, certifiably genuine document now in circulation — its analysis, albeit mechanistic, makes sense. It suggests what ought to be fairly obvious anyway, namely that the ANC front, having failed to win a Sandinista-like ouster of the existing powers, has run into an ideological and strategic hard place and is flying apart at the seams. This possibility, rather than government's overweening constitutional demands and failure to "control" its police, may be at the root of the present breakdown.

What is needed now is to help the proponents of option one, even two, regain the upper hand. This is where the Security Council can help.

Those within the ANC who favour negotiation need bolstering in the eyes both of their constituents and their rivals. The council, as the official voice of the international community, can contribute to that. It can also indicate that there are limits to what the ANC can reasonably expect the government to concede.

If Mandela is the statesman he is billed as, this is why he has appealed to the UN.

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

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 the ANC 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 Brig 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 Ksop Panah 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.

SA accused of negligence

Sowetan Correspondent

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.

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

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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

elect interest group would have one representative and one vote (obviously backed up with a full team of advisers). Each member would assume chairmanship of the negotiating process by rotation on a monthly, annual or even individual meeting basis.

Give-and-take will ensure that basic issues are agreed on. Compromise will be necessary, but as in the UN Security Council, the interests of all groups will be protected. A sense of realism will have to emerge.

The process could lead to a new constitution or even become a form of future government. For example, the "Security Council"/"President's Council" could debate, and ultimately accept as a solution a canton system or any other modified version.

Using a one-man one-vote universal franchise approach, interest groups representing smaller communities with as few as, say, 100 000 votes could obtain a "seat" at a general assembly. This could apply to tribal groups, the AWP, Wit Wolwe, or for that matter a representative

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 M.D. of Woodburn Mann.

ANC lashes FW at UN

■ **FORUM ON VIOLENCE** Mandela calls on UN
to appoint a special envoy to probe SA violence:

Sowetan 16/7/92

IN an unprecedented debate on South Africa at the United Nations in New York last night, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela called on the world body to dispatch a special envoy to the country to probe the violence.

The council was also expected to be addressed by South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik

Botha, president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mandela, in a hard-hitting speech, said FW de Klerk's Government was responsible for the violence.

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NEWS Call for special UN envoy to SA • Pleas for Kobus

Mandela lashes at FW

Sowetan 16/7/92

■ **ANC LEADER** blames Government and

Inkatha Freedom Party for the violence:

THE ROLE of the United Nations Security Council would be undermined unless it took swift action to intervene in the South African situation, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela was speaking at the opening of the Security Council's special debate on South Africa's constitutional crisis.

He said the continuing violence which had forced his organisation to halt constitutional negotiations was clearly to blame on the South African Government and its "surrogate", the Inkatha Freedom Party, which it armed, trained and funded.

"It is the criminal failure of the Government to properly address the violence, which has cost too many lives already, and is tearing our country apart and making further negotiations impossible."

In his 30 minute address, Mandela referred in detail to many incidents which he said had been found by various independent inquiries and courts to prove the Government's role, either by omission or commission, in the violence.

The IFP, which he described as proven to be backed, funded, trained and armed by State forces, was nothing more than an extension or surrogate of the Government. It was therefore not an organisation that the ANC could conclude any agreements with, as the Government in-

sisted.

Mandela reiterated his organisation's commitment to peaceful negotiations aimed at a non-racial democracy, without minority party veto over the majority.

It did happen that members of the ANC and its allies in the democratic movement became involved in counter-violence.

The ANC remained firm in its commitment to non-violence but implementing this policy was difficult as the violence was clearly targeted at the organisation, with the purpose of weakening its position at the negotiating table.

Special envoy

Mandela formalised the ANC's call for the UN to appoint a special representative to investigate ways in which the world body could help end the violence, monitor measures implemented, and get negotiations going again.

"We call on the UN to intervene in the South African situation to end the carnage.

"In terms of the 1989 General Assembly declaration on South Africa, the UN must act firmly and with the necessary speed."

Apartheid was still in place, with a repressive white minority regime ruling over a majority that could still not determine its own future.

"We believe that this violence, like the system of apartheid itself, is a direct challenge to the authority of the (Security) Council, and a subversion of its global tasks of furthering peace and promoting the objectives contained in both the UN Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights.

"Failure on the part of the Council to act firmly and decisively cannot but undermine its prestige and authority at a time when the Council and the United Nations as a whole are called upon to play an even more active role in the ordering of world affairs," Mandela said.

The Foreign Affairs Minister of Senegal, Mr Djibo Ka, as the first speaker at the historic meeting, made an impassioned plea for a UN presence in South Africa as one of the ways to revive the stalled Codesa talks.

Speaking on behalf of the Organisation of Africa Unity bloc, Ka charged that the current violence in South Africa could drag not only the country and the continent into an abyss.

UN to urge renewed negotiations

Govt guilty of state terror, says Mandela

B/D A-1 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 govt 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 protestors after Bopatong.

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 Pk 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 Bopatong 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

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UN hearing

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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 despatch 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

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".

UN council meeting on SA kicks off

By Esther Waugh *SM*
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.

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Perfect timing — then along

came Coetzee

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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, tardy 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 P. W. 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 vet-eran 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 in-terprise. 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 re-turn to the negotiating table.

Further, the Government announcement would achieve the effect of addressing some of the ANC's latest demands while avoiding the political embarrasment of responding directly to the ANC. It was a clever tactic.

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.

tical move, typical of a Government experienced and talented in the matter of assessing crisis situations and finding ways to defuse them in the short term.

What the finest of Pretoria's strategic minds could not have factored into the equation, however, was the simultaneous revelation that two SA Defence Force members had been caught in London, up to no good. There will for some time be heated debate about whether they were acting under instructions or as mavericks, and whether they really intended to "monitor" or to kill renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee.

But in terms of the UN meeting this is not the point. The Coetzee saga, whatever the final details (if any) that emerge, is a political godsend for the ANC. It gives powerful circumstantial credence to the ANC's persistent claims that SA's security forces are indeed still up to their old dirty tricks. Dirty tricks are very much linked with current claims and counter-claims about violence — and that's what the UN meeting is all about.

The understandable inference that will be drawn by outsiders is that "hit squads" are perhaps not figments of overheated ANC imaginations after all. Mr de Klerk himself has confirmed key elements of the story, and so has the SADF. The name of General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, Military Intelligence supreme and alleged originator of the "Goniwe signal", has come up yet again.

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-of-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 dismantlement of controversial SADF battalions and Koevoet 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.

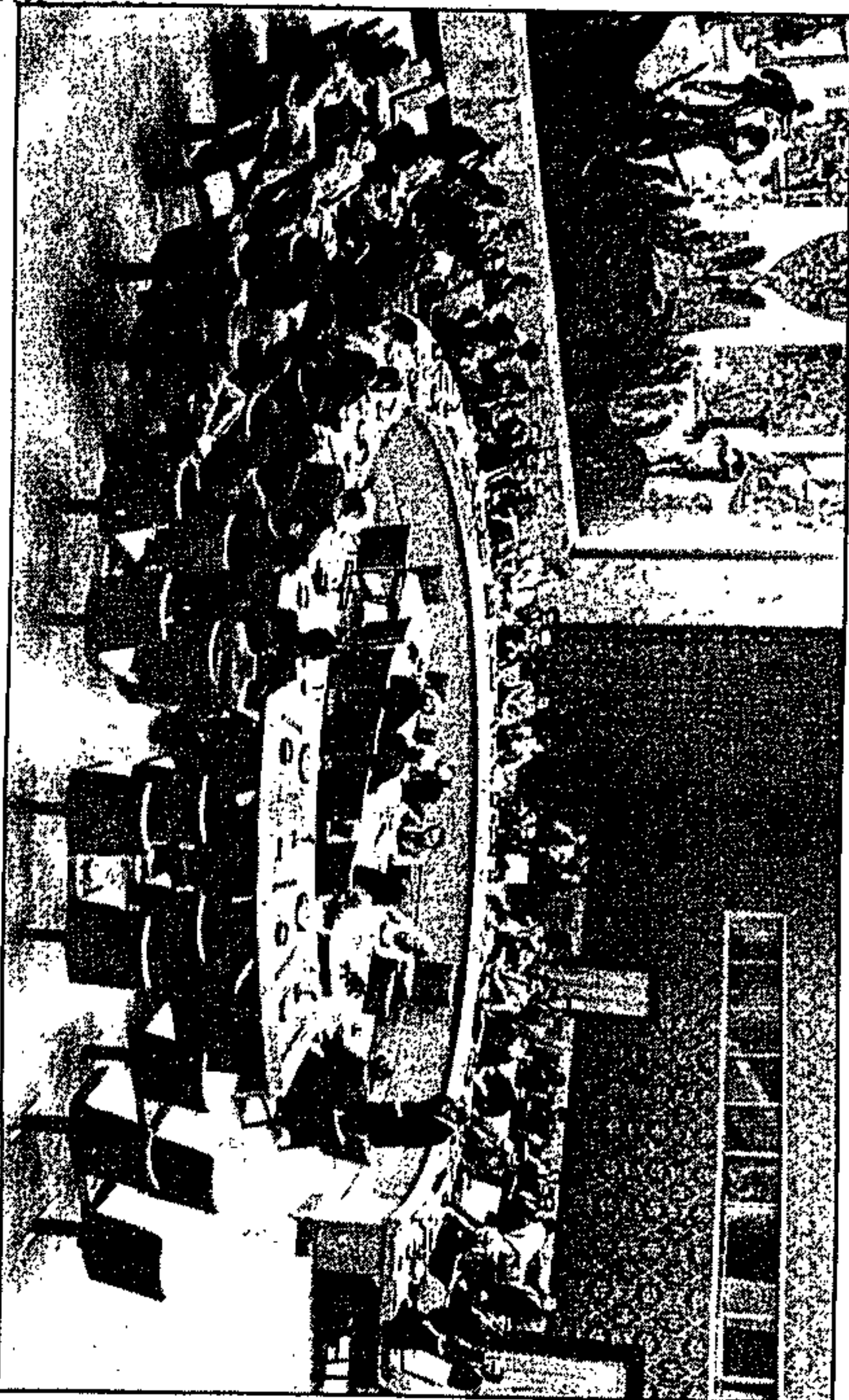
On the hostels, although Mr de Klerk's undertaking is vague, there is a chance that the intolerable delay in taking action might be drawing to a close. And on traditional weapons, there is the promise of firm legislative action at last.

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. □



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

World body sees 'racist regime' in new light



Flashback . . . the UN Security Council in the 1970s when South Africa was expelled.

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 then

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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.

pass a resolution against the 'apartheid regime'.

Professor Robert Shire 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.

"With 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 "strategy 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 Hermann Giliomee, 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 Giliomee 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." □

NEWS Pik Botha gives Government approval of UN mission



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 MOTSEP

Pik, Buthelezi hit back at the ANC

■ 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.

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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. ■

UN mission to SA is on

Savetam 17/7/92.

■ **SPECIAL TASK** United Nations gives go-ahead
for a special envoy to visit South Africa: *(336) (222) (227)*

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

Botha tells of alleged ANC weapons conspiracy from Zimbabwe

FOREIGN Minister

Pik Botha told the

United Nations Security

Council today that the

government had re-

ceived information ear-

lier this week of an al-

leged conspiracy by the

ANC-Communist Party

alliance to infiltrate

weapons into South Af-

rica from Zimbabwe.

The weapons, he al-

leged, included auto-

matic assault rifles and

grenade launchers and

were to have been

transported to the

northern border of the

Transvaal with the as-

sistance of the Zimbab-

wean army.

Mr Botha said the

weapons currently

were stored at Mash-

vinga in Zimbabwe, and

that the government

had learned that the in-

struction to move them

into South Africa had

come from the ANC-

Communist Party alli-

ance in South Africa.

He did not elaborate,

and declined comment

on the matter after his

speech. Zimbabwean

representatives at the

UN said they had no in-

formation about the

matter, but said they

had already reported

details of Mr Botha's

speech to Harare. No

officials of the ANC

were available for com-

ment in New York

today.

Mr Botha said a ma-

nor cause of death in

the violence in South

Africa was the use of

AK47 assault rifles.

"Only two days ago,

the ANC-Communist

Party alliance in a pub-

lic statement admitted

to the existence of arms

caches inside South Af-

rica," he said, before

going on to allege a

conspiracy to smuggle

weapons from Zimba-

bwe across the northern

Transvaal border.

"These facts illustrate

how difficult the task of

creating a climate con-

ducive to peaceful ne-

gotiations has become."

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17/7/92

THE FULL UN TEXT (31)

THE following is the full text of United Nations Security Council resolution 765 on South Africa, adopted unanimously in New York yesterday: ARG 17/7/92 (21)

The Security Council: Recalling its resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984), is...

■ 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 16th 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 the legitimate struggle for a non-racial, democratic society:

1. Condemns the escalating violence in South Africa 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;

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 on 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;

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, non-racial and united South Africa is established. — Sapa

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:

Southern 17/11/92

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. CONDEMNS 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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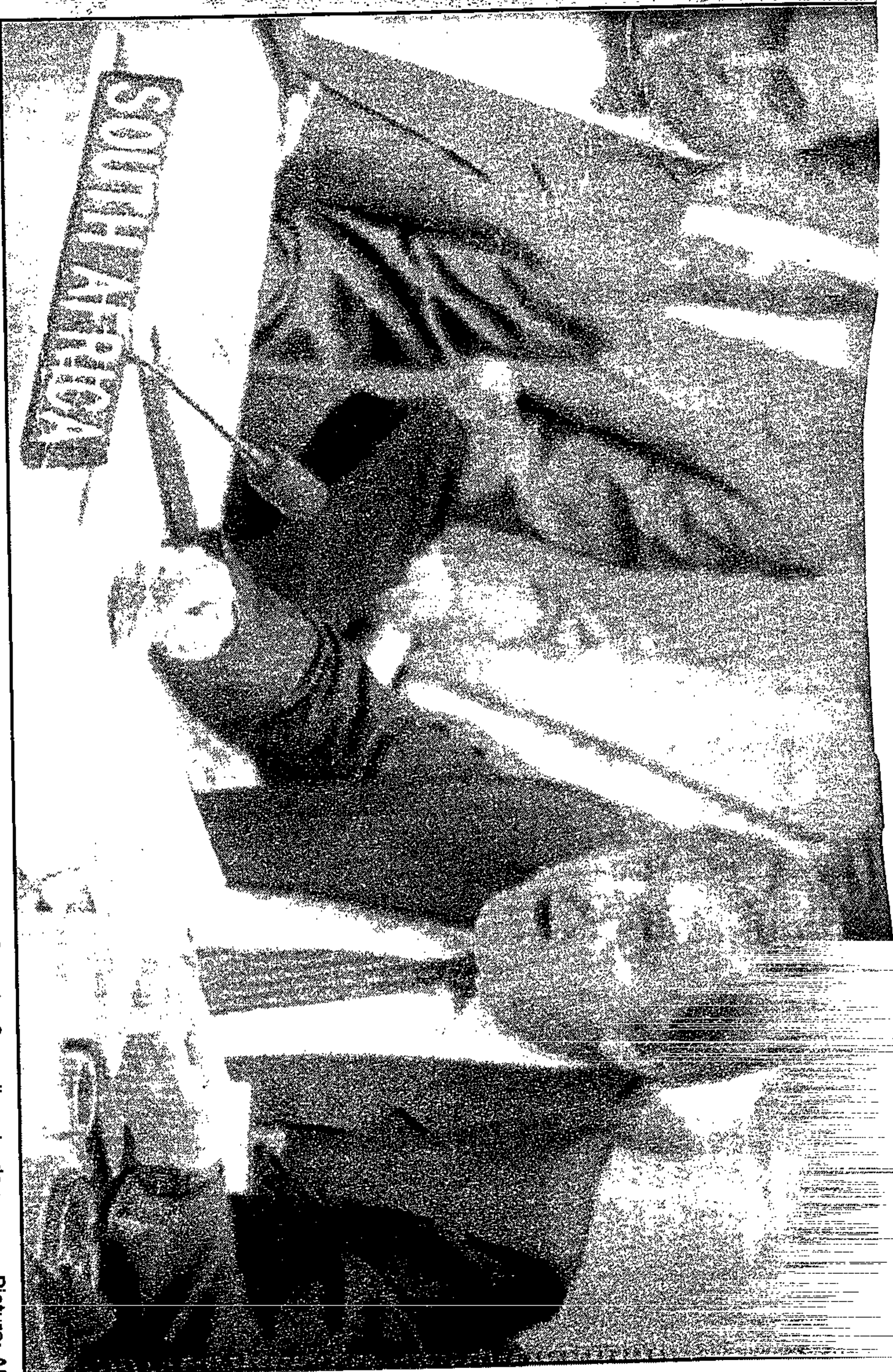
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5. URGES all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate; and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations;

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."



Call for resumed negotiations . . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha addresses the United Nations Security Council yesterday.

Picture: AP

Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the Security Council yesterday the Government had received information this week of a conspiracy by the ANC-SACP alliance to infiltrate weapons into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

The weapons included automatic assault rifles and grenade-launchers and were to have been transported to the northern border of the

Council told of ANC plot to bring weapons into SA from Zimbabwe

Transvaal with the assistance of the Zimbabwean army. Mr Botha said the weapons were stored at Masvinga, in Zimbabwe, and that the Government had learnt that the instruction to move them to South Africa had come from the ANC-SACP alliance in South Africa.

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He declined to elaborate on the matter after his speech. Zimbabwe representatives at the UN said they had no information about the matter. No ANC officials were available for comment. Mr Botha said a major cause of death in the vio-

lence in South Africa was the use of AK-47 assault rifles.

"Only two days ago, the ANC-Communist Party alliance, in a public statement, admitted to the existence of arms caches inside South Africa," he said, before going on to describe the alleged conspiracy to smuggle weapons from Zimbabwe.

ons from Zimbabwe.

"These reports should be seen against the background of the admission by an ANC National Executive Committee member, Joe Modise, of an ANC arsenal located outside Luanda . . . If these reports are correct, it is a cause for grave concern.

"However, there is therefore all the more reason for us to talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process."

LIVE ALL-11
'Mild' Security Council resolution calls for end to violence

UN's rescue mission to SA

REC 17/7/92

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HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

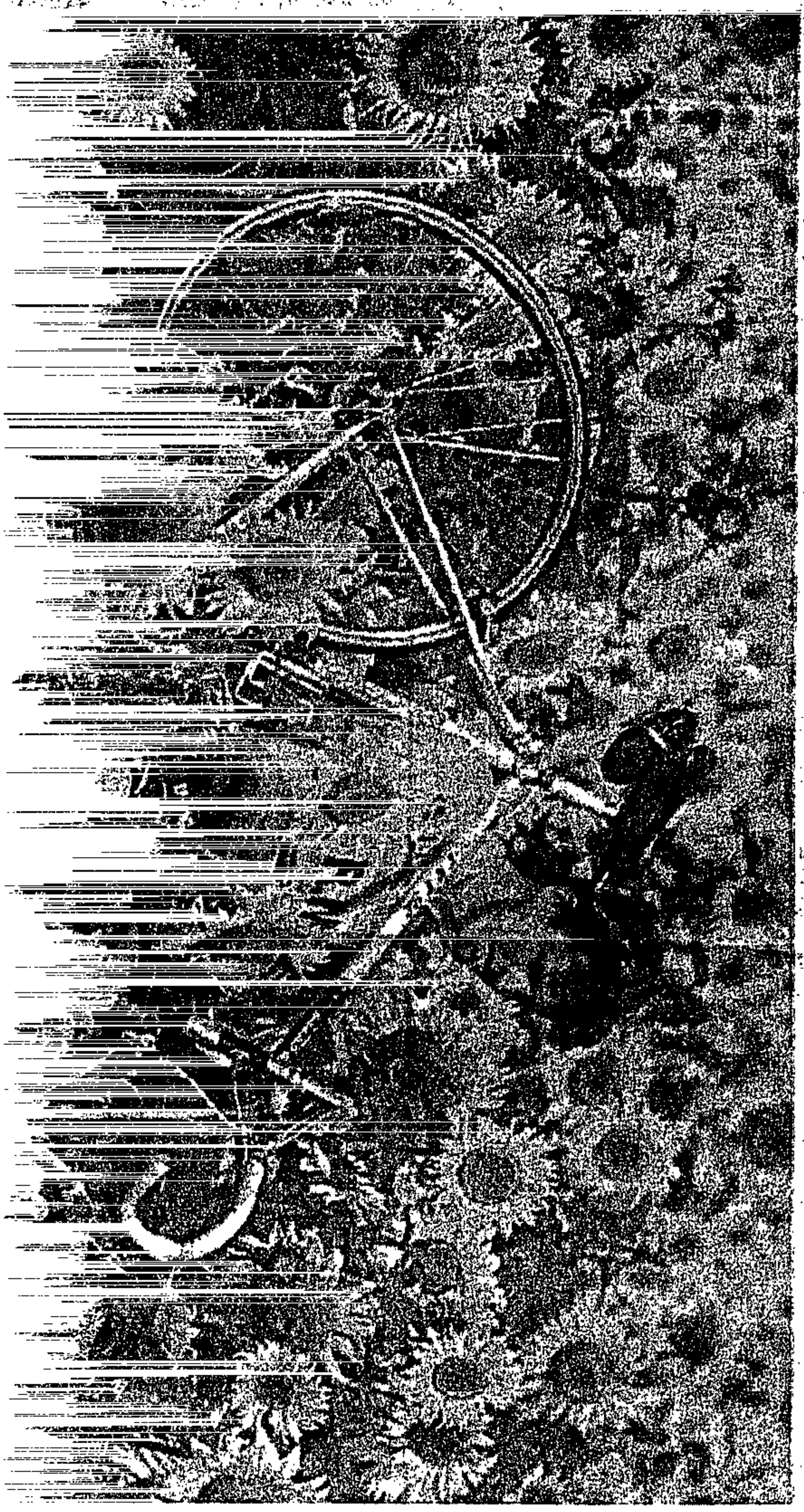
NEW YORK. — The 15 members of the United Nations Security Council have unanimously passed a resolution asking the Secretary General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to send a special representative to South Africa.

The council also called for talks to end the violence and to establish a new constitution.

The resolution was milder and more even-handed than most observers had expected and, to the surprise of many, it did not specify what role the Secretary General's special representative should play, leaving this up to Mr Boutros-Ghali and whoever he chooses to send.

The ANC had demanded that the representative specifically investigate the violence, and that his mission be followed by the stationing of a permanent UN presence in South Africa to monitor the violence and the implementation of UN recommendations to end it.

While the representative, widely expected to be a former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, almost certainly



TALKS TO END THE VIOLENCE AND TO
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While the representative, widely expected to be a former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, almost certainly would investigate the violence, he is not compelled to and may look at other issues as well, or may choose to limit his mission to getting some form of peace talks started at which the issue of violence would be the main subject on the agenda.

Slap on wrist

The resolution condemns the violence, without apportioning blame, and asks the South African government to take immediate steps to bring the violence to an end — a modest and restrained slap on the wrist in the light of the wide criticism which the government faced for having failed to act on recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

By passing such a neutral measure, the UN — and specifically the African countries, which had a major say in drawing up the resolution — have sent an important signal to all parties in South Africa that the UN intends playing a constructive role without becoming the battering ram of anyone.

UN officials say Mr Boutros-Ghali is determined to maintain international unity on the South African issue, meaning that he is not willing to engender the opposition of the five permanent members of the Security Council: the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China, and that any measures will have to be broadly acceptable and non-partisan.

The special representative is expected to consult all the parties in Codesa, as well as other groups, on what role they feel the UN should play. The representative is likely to set out for South Africa sometime later this month or early in August.

By calling for peace talks, the UN has also shown its impatience about the delay in negotiations, suggesting that the main strategy of Mr Boutros-Ghali's representative will be to bring the two sides together as part of a strategy to end the violence.



Call for resumed negotiations . . . Foreign Minister P.W. Botha addresses the United Nations Security Council yesterday.

Picture: AP

Star Bureau

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The weapons included automatic assault rifles and grenade-launchers and were to have been transported to the northern border of the Transvaal with the assistance of the Zimbabwean army. Mr Botha said the weapons were stored at Masvingo, in Zimbabwe, and that the Government had learnt that the instruction to move them to South Africa had come from the ANC-SACP alliance in South Africa.

Council told of ANC plot to bring weapons into SA from Zimbabwe

He declined to elaborate on the matter after his speech. Zimbabwean representatives at the UN said they had no information about the matter. No ANC officials were available for comment. Mr Botha said a major cause of death in the violence in South Africa was the use of AK-47 assault rifles. "Only two days ago, the ANC-Communist Party alliance, in a public statement, admitted to the existence of arms caches inside South Africa," he said, before going on to describe the alleged conspiracy to smuggle weapons from Zimbabwe.

"These reports should be seen against the background of the admission by an ANC National Executive Committee member, Joe Modise, of an ANC arsenal located outside Luanda . . . If these reports are correct, it is a cause for grave concern. "However, there is therefore all the more reason for us to talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process."

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 Codess 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 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 Codess.

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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● From Page 1

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.



Softly, softly UK tones down resolution

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, mainings, and the destruction of homes.

● International action "to prevent the South African regime from continuing to frustrate the process to establish a 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.

How the West was nearly won

w/ma 177-2317/92

By IAN WILLIAMS: New York
IN an interview here this week, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela dwelt at some length on the pressure exerted by mass action, and only rather perfunctorily added that the ANC also wanted to marshal international pressure.

But since the United States now decides what happens at the United Nations, and to what extent its resolutions are implemented, this is a good time for the ANC to invoke international pressure. A major cause of inaction over the West Bank and Gaza is that the Palestinians have no domestic leverage in the United States to combat the pro-Israel lobby.

Majority rule in South Africa is a cause with millions of American black votes, a majority of whites and the full weight of world opinion behind it.

The sidelining of Jesse Jackson in the Democratic Party may give hope to President George Bush's faltering presidential campaign that it can attract the support of black American voters.

Significantly, Mandela himself described Bush in his telephone conversations as "very forthcoming", and it may have been concern to keep a line open to the incumbent which led Mandela to refuse the invitation to address the Democratic Party convention in New York. The official reason was that he was needed at the Security Council.

The UN, not least because of a US refusal to pay its arrears, is hardly in a position to launch costly new initiatives in South Africa. But the Security Council hearing on South Africa has to put the issue firmly back in the centre of the world stage.

Mandela may have been dismissive — asking "Why now?" — but Western diplomats see President FW de Klerk's agreement to disband controversial special forces as betokening the effectiveness of Security Council intervention.

The importance the world attaches to the South African issue was reflected in the size of the



Hello, New York! ... Nelson Mandela greets the crowd outside his hotel this week. Photo: AP

Security Council session itself, with no fewer than 54 speakers going late into Wednesday night and resuming the following morning.

The marathon exercise was, of course, strictly for the record, since the resolution had already been agreed before the meeting in several days of bargaining between the West and the Non-Aligned Movement. The text was subjected to the now traditional post-Cold War process of dilution to escape the Western vetoes. (Russia and China are now so taken for granted that British and American diplomats now refer to the "P3" — the Permanent Three instead of the Permanent Five on the Security Council.)

But the ANC is not the only organisation to benefit from the hearing. With the West giving unqualified approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African government has come in from the cold in international terms.

The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk.

Despite being described in Mandela's speech as "an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate", Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi has also succeeded in raising his world profile.

The South African government, addressing the Security Council

for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr JN Reddy to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

US Ambassador Edward Perkins, formerly based in Pretoria, now at the United Nations, has stressed privately that any solution must be internal, between the parties themselves, and that in the "new world order", the UN will not act without Washington's agreement.

Mandela's circumspection when faced with the question of UN effectiveness shows that the ANC is not expecting the cavalry to come to the rescue flying UN colours. Nonetheless, the involvement of an outside party, backed as it is by the world's last superpower, allows all parties to claim and make concessions in a way that gets negotiations off the ground.

At this stage and in the foreseeable future, there is little likelihood of a sizable UN peacekeeping presence — even if Pretoria were prepared to accept it.

But since the precedent of allowing the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to help the repatriation of ANC and Pan Africanist Congress refugees last year, the fact that Pretoria is prepared to accept the special representative reflects a toe in the door for the UN.



Cyrus Vance to head UN mission to SA

(336)

NEW YORK. — Former secretary of state Mr Cyrus Vance will head a UN mission to South Africa to try to end the political crisis and violence, UN officials announced yesterday. CT197192

Mr Vance will leave early next week, according to a UN statement.

UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali named Mr Vance his special representative for South Africa, one day after the Security Council in a special session urged him to name an envoy.

The mission is a combination of fact-finding and goodwill, aimed at finding ways to help end the escalating violence and political deadlock and get the talks restarted.

Mr Vance will report back to the Security Council, which will decide what kind of role it could play to help achieve a non-racial multi-party democracy.

● In London, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku yesterday said he had made proposals to the three main political groupings in South Africa to try to halt the violence.

He told a news conference that on a recent trip to SA, he proposed sending officials from the Commonwealth to look at the political and technical aspect of violence in the country.

He said he put the proposals to the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

He proposed sending Commonwealth officials who were "suitably eminent and suitably qualified" to South Africa.

He also said that any Commonwealth initiative in the country would "not be incompatible" with any peace plan sponsored by the UN. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

● SA parties welcome UN decision — Page 2

Resolution commits all to peace - 1K

Mass action 'in defiance of UN'

JOHN PERLMAN
ESTHER WAUGH and SABA-AFP

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IF THE African National 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 18/1/92

● See Page 2 and Editorial, Page 10

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who met France's Junior Foreign Minister Georges Kieffer 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.

Pik's JOURNIE FORCEE AT U.N.

ST Times 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 F.W. 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 miscalculated 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. Yuliy 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 IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe the creation of a "joint monitoring body" with international observers, both

Mr. Perkins and the British representative, Sir David Hanbury, nodded appreciatively. This was precisely what they wanted to hear.

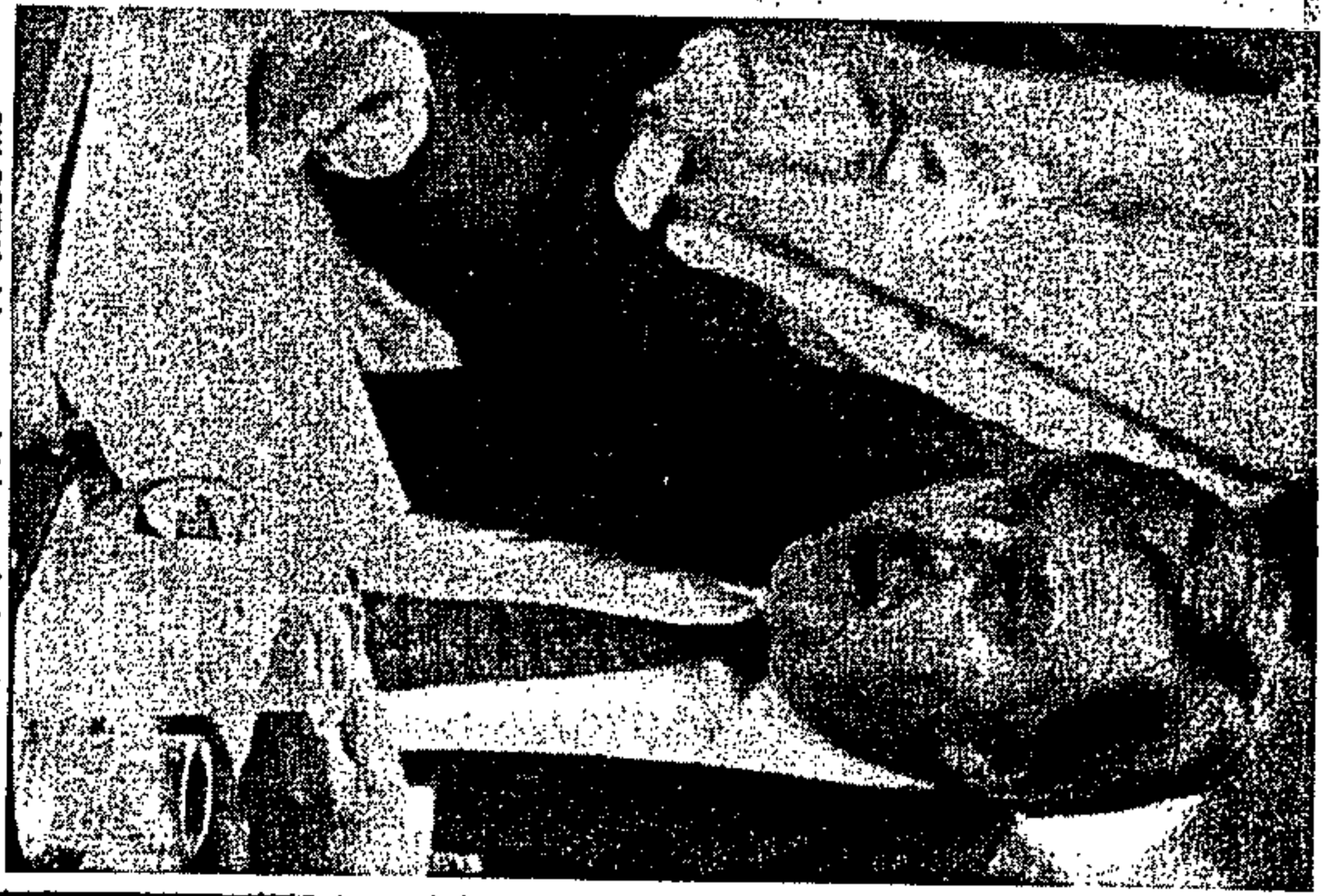
It was difficult to gauge the impact of Chief Buthe's presentation and those of the other Codesa parties. Many of their spokesmen, including the SACP's initially reluctant Essop Pahad, were on hand by accident, brought over by the National Democratic Institute to watch at the Democratic convention.

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

Yesterday's foe is today's VIP

By SEKOLA SELLO

C/Pres 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. 336

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. 337

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."

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

Press 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 contract 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.

"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!"

UN told of 'Harare's complicity'

ANC cadres smuggling arms

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17/1/92

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 Pik Botha charged before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiedly 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 organisation'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-



● BOTHA

Picture: AP

stone commission to ensure that mass action remained peaceful.

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

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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 welcome, 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."

Sapa reports Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the council yesterday. While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to

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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 stick of office to a packed council and said 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 slated 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

15/01/92

Vance faces tough SA test

SITimes 19/7/92

By SIMON BARBER and MIKE ROBERTSON

Pik wins over UN

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

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.

Bigger UN role likely after visit by special envoy

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The visit by Security Council special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance was the first step towards the deployment of further United Nations personnel in South Africa, ANC foreign affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki said.

Speaking on his return from New York last night, Mr Mbeki emphasised that Mr Vance's brief was to investigate the question of violence and not to get parties back to the negotiating table.

He believed the Security Council would convene in three weeks to decide what additional steps to take to help halt the bloodshed. They would be guided by Mr Vance's recommendations.

Mr Mbeki said he was "pleased" with the outcome of last week's historic UN debate and especially with the speed with which Mr Vance had been appointed.

He dismissed the claim by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha that the African National Congress had miscalculated the UN response and had come away with a solution that did not suit it.

Mr Vance is due to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow and will have meetings with ANC representatives on Thursday.

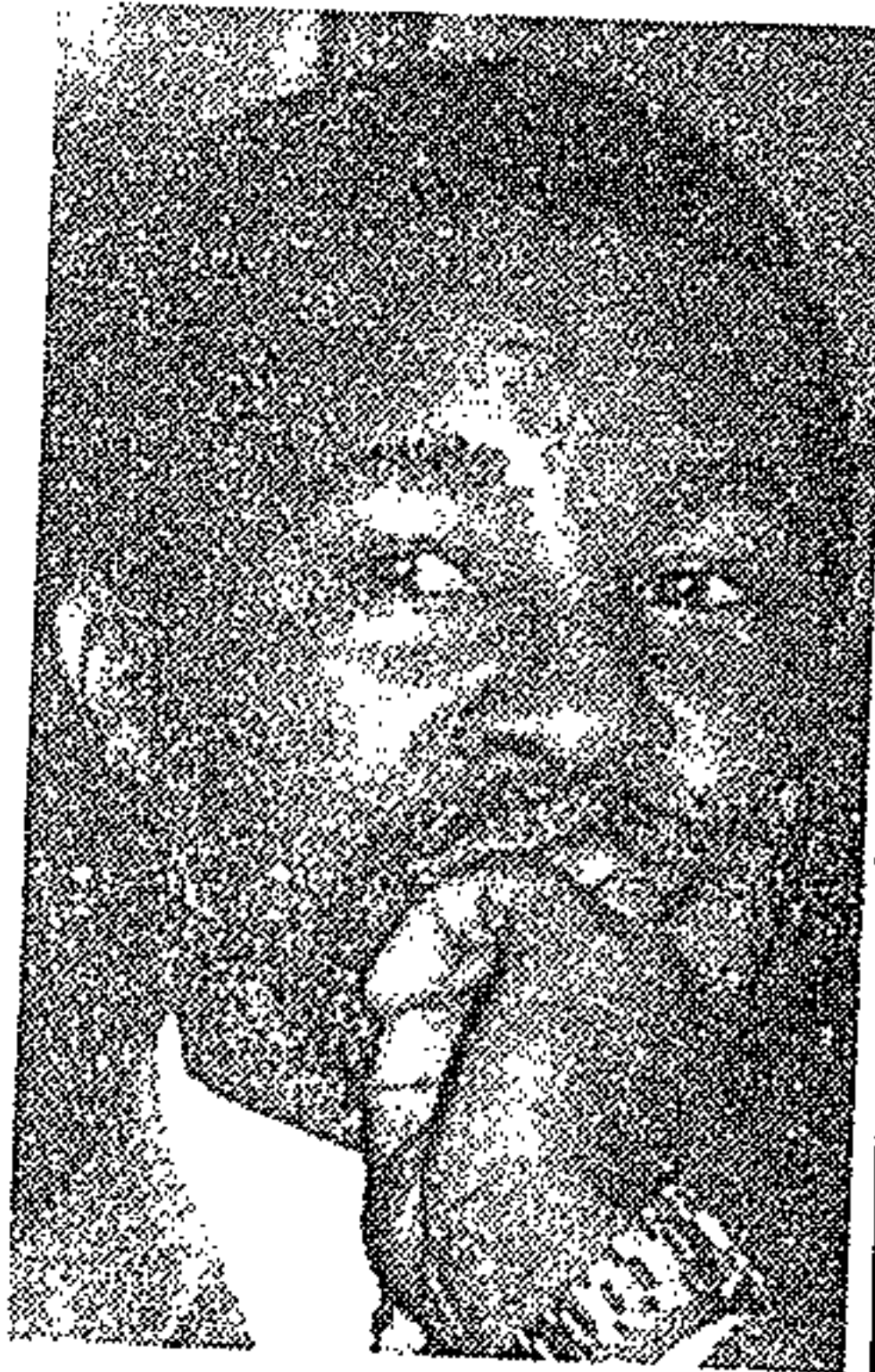
The ANC would "put forward steps which we believe the Security Council can and should take" to prevent further outbreaks of violence, Mr Mbeki said.

The National Working Committee of the ANC would meet during the first half of the week to formulate its position.

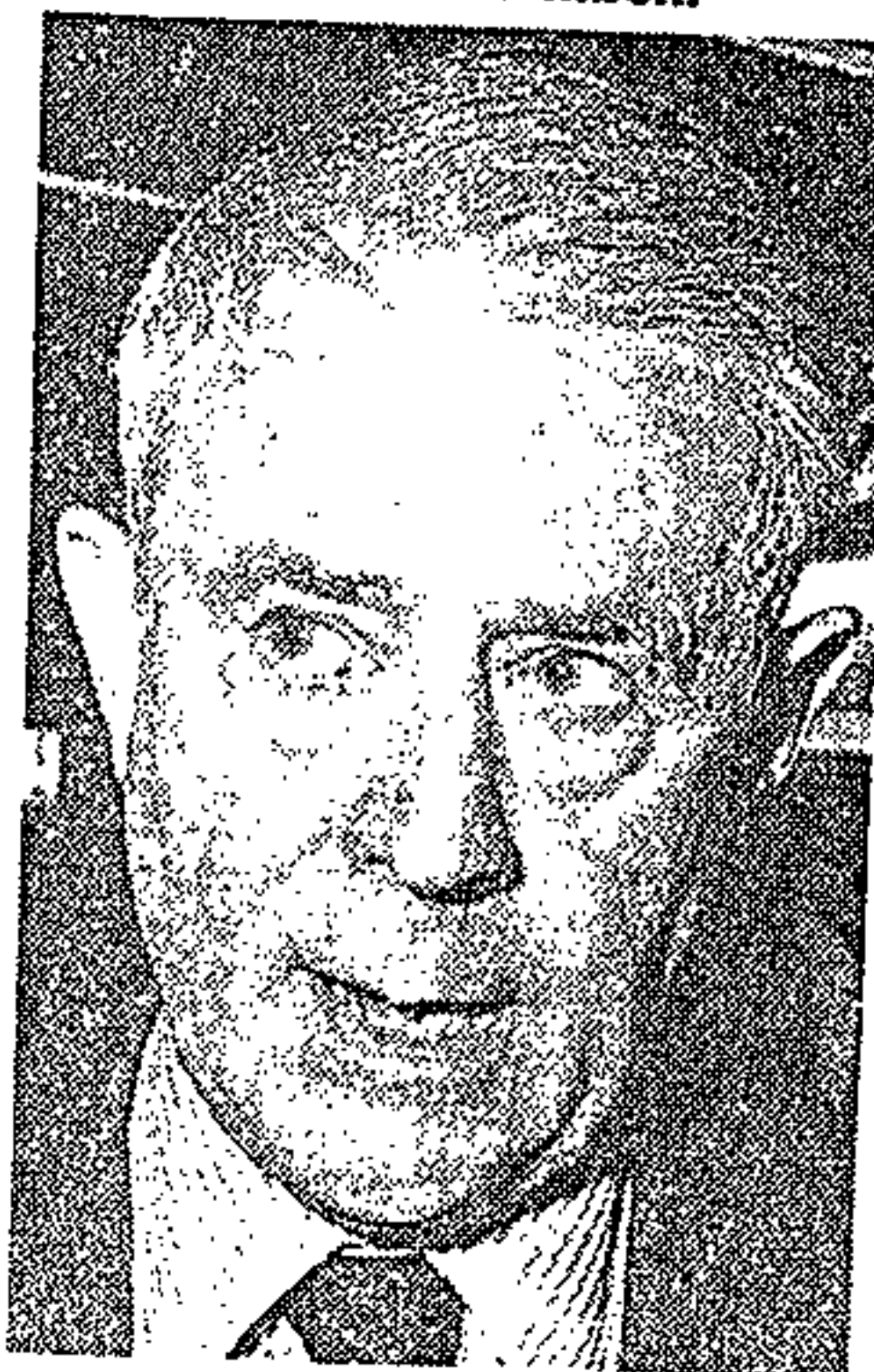
Mr Mbeki argued that it was a distortion of the situation to present the primary aim of Security Council resolution 765 on South Africa as the reconstitution of the negotiating process.

"Everyone in the Security Council is seriously concerned about the violence," he said, adding that this concern was embodied in the resolution.

● Sapa reported from Johannesburg that the Boerestaat Party wanted to meet Mr



Mr Thabo Mbeki



Mr Cyrus Vance

Vance for fear he would get the wrong impression about South Africa if he met only left-wing organisations.

BSP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the BSP would point out to Mr Vance that it was more concerned about the nature of negotiations, not about repairing them.

He said it would also show Mr Vance, a former US Secretary of State, that the days of unitary states were over and that the political trend was towards the re-establishment of nation states.

Mbeki: Vance visit only first step

By Jo-Anne Collinge ^{STAR} 20/7/92

The visit by Security Council special envoy Cyrus Vance was just the first step towards the deployment of further UN personnel in South Africa, ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki confidently predicted on his return from New York last night.

Stressing that Mr Vance's brief was to investigate the question of violence, and not to get parties back to the negotiating table, Mr Mbeki said he believed it would be possible for the Security Council to convene

in about three weeks to decide what additional steps to take to help halt the bloodshed. They would be guided by Mr Vance's recommendations.

Mr Mbeki said he was pleased with the outcome of last week's historic UN debate and especially with the speed with which Mr Vance had been appointed.

Mr Vance, who is due to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow, is set to meet ANC officials on Thursday. The ANC would "put forward steps which we believe the Security Council can and

should take" to prevent further outbreaks of violence, said Mr Mbeki.

The national working committee of the ANC will meet during the first half of the week to formulate its position.

Mr Mbeki argued that it was a distortion of the situation to present the primary aim of Security Council Resolution 765 on South Africa as the reconstitution of the negotiating process.

"Everyone in the Security Council is seriously concerned about the violence," he insisted, and this concern was embodied in the resolution.

Trust will bring us out of darkness

STAR 20/7/92

(336)

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha chose to end his address to the UN last week with the moving words of C Louis Leipoldt: "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 Botopang 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 council's 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.

The United Nations has revived hopes for a negotiated settlement after the Bolpatong 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.

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 Bolpatong 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, labelling the proposed senate a "loser-takes-all" system.

But in the wake of Bolpatong, 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 im-

mediate 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 en-

sure 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 formalism".

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." □

Sowetan
Shaky truce

Sowetan 21/7/92

NAIROBI - Forty-seven United Nations truce observers will go to Somalia this week after one of Mogadishu's two warring factions dropped its opposition to the plan, UN special envoy Mohamed Sahnoun said yesterday. - Sapa-AFP. (33b) (4)

High hopes for UN envoy's visit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance arrives in South Africa today amid high expectations that his 10-day visit will help breathe new life into the stalled peace and negotiation process.

The former US secretary of state, accompanied by four senior UN officials, will begin a hectic round of meetings and consultations with political, religious, business, labour and human rights

leaders.

In terms of Security Council Resolution 765, Mr Vance will be charged with consulting all political parties and reporting back 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 to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

The ANC, which is preparing

the representations it will put to Mr Vance later this week, said in a statement yesterday that it was confident his mission would make a positive contribution to the political climate in South Africa.

Government ministers believe Mr Vance's visit can assist both in curbing violence and in boosting the negotiations process.

Meanwhile, ANC department of information and publicity member Mr Carl Niehaus said that if

the government came forward with an "acceptable response" to ANC demands it would reconsider its mass action campaign. "We will not persist regardless of what happens."

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said: "We have got to put life back into the negotiations and there are openings we can use following the ANC's latest memorandum to the government."

UN special envoy arrives today

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

(336)

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-

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".

STAR 2117172

Envoy's tough task starts

■ DIFFICULT MISSION UN special representa-
Sowetan 22/7/92 336

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

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

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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.

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focus on peace

Socelan 22/7/92

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THE UN SPECIAL ENVOY to this country, Cyrus Vance, is said to be a skilled negotiator and a tireless worker - America's number one trouble shooter. He is known as a quiet, self-effacing team player who does not believe in individualism.

When he succeeded Henry Kissinger as secretary of state in 1976 under President Jimmy Carter, commentators immediately noted a sharp contrast between the two men.

Unlike Kissinger's colourful style of shuttle diplomacy that dominated America's foreign affair policy before, Vance believed a Secretary of State should delegate key responsibilities.

Vance, who was born in West Virginia on March 27 75 years ago, is also said to be a man who does not like taking credit.

A US publication, *America Abroad*, said of Vance four months ago: "He was the most unquotable public figure in the 1970s. He still is."

The publication said although Vance helped in transforming Rhodesia into Zimbabwe, "it takes lots of luck" to get him to say so.

For example, after a breakthrough in the nuclear arms talks, in which Vance played a leading role for America, all he could say to reporters was diplomatic progress was achieved, "brick by brick, inch by inch".

He has a long-standing recipe for arbitration: "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 was Secretary of the Army under president JF Kennedy and Deputy Secretary of Defence under President Lyndon B Johnson.

A lawyer by profession, he went on to serve as President Johnson's personal envoy at home and abroad.

In the period 1968 and 1969, Vance was deputy chief delegate to the Paris peace talks on Vietnam.

Much as Vance is said to be a man less revealing, his alleged "winning person manner and moral idealism" are believed to have been built by his mother, a civic activist.

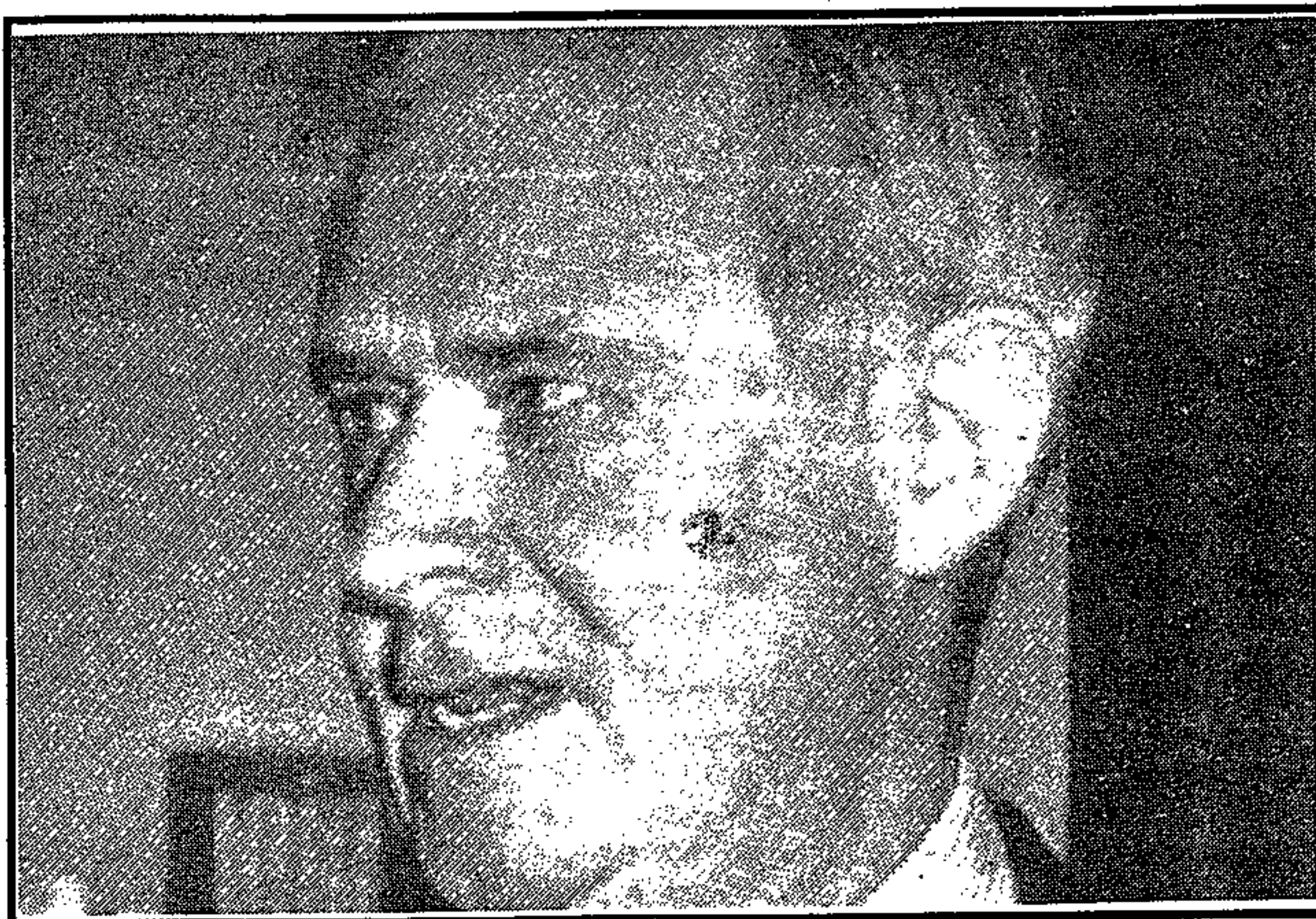
Amy, Vance's mother, "wanted her sons to do their best to be men in their own right," according to another US publication, *Current Biography*.

His leadership qualities date back very far when Vance became a senior prefect at the exclusive Kent School in Connecticut. He grew up strong even though he lost his father at three.

At Yale University, Vance's team mates in the hockey team nicknamed him "Spider" because of his gangly appearance.

At the Yale Law School where Vance obtained his LLB with honours in 1942, professors there are reported to remember him as brilliant.

Cyrus Vance, the man sent to South Africa by the United Nation's Security Council on a 10-day fact-finding mission to look into the violence and the negotiations, arrived in the country yesterday. **Abbey Makoe** looks at the man's track record.



Man of few words and much action

They said Vance was so adept at storing information that he seemed "to have a Rollex file in his head".

In 1958, he took part in hearings on National Space Act, which later established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Because of his unobtrusive approach, Vance is remembered by one participant as follows: "He had been around for two weeks before many of us realised he was there."

He was member of the peace-keeping team that was sent to Panama in 1964. He later reported to a commission, saying he was convinced that the "Castro communist" agents had intensified the Canal Zone disorder.

In 1965, Vance was a member of the four-man fact finding mission to the Dominican Republic that co-operated with the UN's peace-keeping representatives after rebel forces had overthrown the ruling Junta forces.

When a clash between Greece and Turkey threatened to escalate in 1967, Vance went to meet both parties and quell hostilities.

He worked with the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, leading a plan towards total independence for Cyprus and the withdrawal of unauthorised forces on the island.

He proceeded to restrain President Park Chung Hee from retaliating against North Korea for a series of attacks against the South.

But besides all the apparent triumphs, Vance undoubtedly distinguished himself first in 1967 when fighting broke out in Detroit. His handling of the situation, and the subsequent report on the event, are today known as the "Detroit book", a model for handling urban unrests.

He helped keep the lid in Washington when racial confrontations flared after the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King Jnr.

The UN Secretary-General could have prescribed South Africa the very missing medicine of Vance in a society torn apart by a senseless violence and where war talk is almost on everyone's lips.

Welcome Vance, give them a "sense injection".

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 Pk 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

Blom 22/7/92

RAY HARTLEY and
TIM COHEN

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.

UN envoy to meet FW today

CT 22/7/92

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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 F W 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 Delpont said negotiations must be resumed and the ball was firmly in the ANC's court. — Sapa, Political Staff

Welcome . . . Pk Botha meets UN special envoy Cyrus Vance at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.



Picture: Jacob Rylkiff

Vance to ³³⁶meet FW^{STAR} ministers

By Kalzer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter 224 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".

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 Boipatong 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.

SA parties welcome UN decision

Political Correspondent

THE UN Security Council decision to send a special envoy to South Africa was generally welcomed by political parties yesterday.

However, the ANC cautioned that the UN resolution did not necessarily mean the ANC would resume negotiations.

Speaking in Paris during a stopover yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the violence must end in South Africa before the ANC would consider resuming talks with President F W de Klerk.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe appealed to the ANC "to heed the calls of virtually every speaker in the debate for the parties to return to the negotiating table".

He said the NP welcomed the "limited UN involvement in the negotiation process".

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai gave qualified support to the UN resolution which authorises international monitoring of violence in South Africa — a key PAC demand. However, he said the PAC would have welcomed direct UN involvement in the chairing of the negotiations process.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said that Resolution 765 passed by the Security Council was "the best result we could have hoped for".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer described the resolution as "sensible, reasonable and constructive" and said the presence of a monitor would "put parties on their best behaviour".

Rejecting the UN move outright, CP spokesman Mr Tom Langley said his party was wholly opposed to foreign involvement in local matters.

Council was fair — Pik

JOHANNESBURG. — If the ANC's mass action campaign causes disruption and conflict, the organisation would be acting against the spirit of UN Resolution 765 on South Africa, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

Parties would be acting "against the resolution" if they embarked on mass action and did not resume negotiations, he said on his return from the United Nations.

"I left with the feeling that the Security Council was even-handed, fair and objective," he said.

— Sapa

UN envoy meets FW

■ **BUSH RETREAT** FW de Klerk and his Cabinet go to secret venue after meeting top level UN group:

Sovereign 23(7/92

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

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:

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 Hernus 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.

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Government briefs

Vance delegation

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 Herens Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Vance, accompanied by UN Secretary General staff member Virendra 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 BOTHTMA

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 yesterday the Justice Department would promulgate regulations within days to give liaison officer Col Dave Bruce said. 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.

□ Sapa reports that Goldstone said yesterday the Justice Department would promulgate regulations within days to give the commission powers to offer adequate witness protection.

COMMENT

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

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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.

COMMENT.

UN set to show it's no pussycat

STAR 23/7/92.

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Repeated Iraqi rebuffs of the United Nations have tried the patience of Security Council members and could lead to military reprisal. The continuing refusal by Baghdad to allow the inspection by UN personnel of a government ministry building may be the last straw, reports MARK NICHOLSON. If the UN does not take firm steps to enforce adherence to its resolutions, it risks jeopardising its operations in Cambodia and what used to be Yugoslavia.

AN AIR strike by the Gulf War allies against Iraq is more likely now than at any time since the war because of Baghdad's continued defiance of United Nations weapons inspectors, say United States and British officials.

Diplomats at the UN said there was unanimity among the 15 Security Council members that Iraq could not be allowed to get away with denying a team of weapons inspectors access to a ministry building from which it has been barred for nearly three weeks.

The US, Britain and France have begun consultations on the possible use of force if Iraq continues to resist the UN team's request to enter the building.

The revival of a serious military option against Iraq follows growing concern and frustration among the Gulf War allies, not just at Iraq's defiance of the inspectors, but also with an accumulation of other rebuffs to the UN and a spate of unexplained attacks on UN guards operating in northern Iraq.

Furthermore, US officials said the Security Council was determined it should not be seen to be a pushover while continuing tense operations in Cambodia and the former Yugo-



slavia. The council was not going to allow itself to be regarded as a pussycat, one diplomat said.

Sir David Hannay, the British ambassador to the UN, said publicly on Monday that military action against Iraq had not been ruled out. In private this week, senior British officials said the UN's patience with Iraq was on the brink of running out.

They believed an air strike could be made without further UN resolutions, given that Iraq's defiance of the UN in-

spection team constitutes a material breach of the Gulf War ceasefire resolution.

Nevertheless, US and British diplomats in New York shied away from reported comments by an anonymous Security Council diplomat suggesting that a strike against Iraq was inevitable and would take place within 10 days.

They pointed out that serious consequences for Iraq would be averted if it allowed the UN weapons inspectors access to the Agriculture Ministry building in Baghdad. Relays of inspectors have parked outside the building since July 5, demanding admission under ceasefire terms.

Raised tensions in the confrontation came amid unconfirmed reports that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been assassinated. The reports, filed originally by the Egyptian Middle East News Agency, were apparently prompted by an interruption in normal service on Baghdad radio on Tuesday morning, when programmes were replaced by readings from the Koran.

However, normal service resumed later and no information was available to confirm the rumours. — Financial Times News Service. □

Vance told Govt view of impasse

STAR 23/7/92.

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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 "bosberaad" where they are expected to decide on steps to break the negotiations deadlock.

Mild Security Council resolution calls for end to violence

UN's rescue mission to SA

ARG 17/92

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The 15 members of the United Nations Security Council have unanimously passed a resolution asking the Secretary General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to send a special representative to South Africa.

The council also called for talks to end the violence and to establish a new constitution.

The resolution was milder and more even-handed than most observers had expected and, to the surprise of many, it did not specify what role the Secretary General's special representative should play, leaving this up to Mr Boutros-Ghali and whoever he chooses to send.

The ANC had demanded that the representative specifically investigate the violence, and that his mission be followed by the stationing of a permanent UN presence in South Africa to monitor the violence and the implementation of UN recommendations to end it.

While the representative, widely expected to be a former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, almost certainly would investigate the violence, he is not compelled to and may look at other issues as well, or may choose to limit his mission to getting some form of peace talks started at which the issue of violence would be the main subject on the agenda.

Slap on wrist

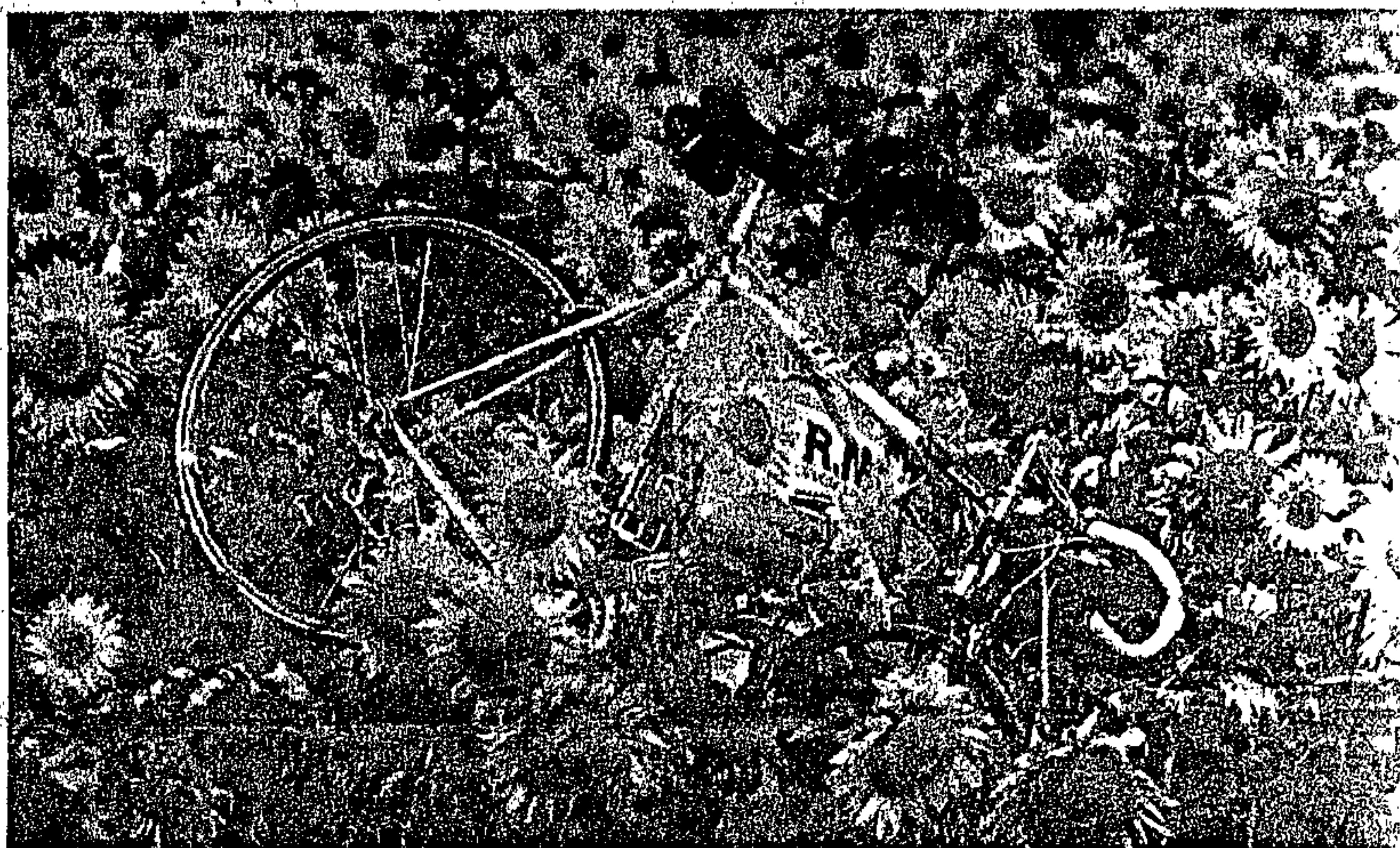
The resolution condemns the violence, without apportioning blame, and asks the South African government to take immediate steps to bring the violence to an end — a modest and restrained slap on the wrist in the light of the wide criticism which the government faced for having failed to act on recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

By passing such a neutral measure, the UN — and specifically the African countries, which had a major say in drawing up the resolution — have sent an important signal to all parties in South Africa that the UN intends playing a constructive role without becoming the battering ram of anyone.

UN officials say Mr Boutros-Ghali is determined to maintain international unity on the South African issue, meaning that he is not willing to engender the opposition of the five permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China, and that any measures will have to be broadly acceptable and non-partisan.

The special representative is expected to consult all the parties in Codesa, as well as other groups, on what role they feel the UN should play. The representative is likely to set out for South Africa sometime later this month or early in August.

By calling for peace talks, the UN has also shown its impatience about the delay in negotiations, suggesting that the main strategy of Mr Boutros-Ghali's representative will be to bring the two sides together



FLOWER POWER: French cyclist Pascal Lino sporting the yellow jersey carries his cycle through a field of sunflowers yesterday near to Dole where the competitors in the Tour de France rest before starting on the mountainous stage of the race. Picture: Agence France Presse

Zimbabwe denies SA arms claim

HARARE. — Zimbabwe has denied allegations by South African Foreign Minister P.W. Botha that its army is helping liberation movements to take arms to South Africa, Ziana news agency said today.

Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira said in a statement: "Zimbabwe has no weapons bound for South Africa, and the Zimbabwe National Army has never assisted the ANC or the PAC to carry arms bound for South Africa."

"While Zimbabwe supports the political struggle of the liberation movements, it has never involved itself in the armed conflict or violence there."

"To the contrary, we have recommended all parties to negotiate peacefully for the end of apartheid and transfer of power," Mr Shamuyarira said.

The statement said Mr Botha told the Security Council special meeting on South Africa that the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance had issued instructions to its representative in Harare to transfer weapons stored in Masvingo to the border with Transvaal, for movement into South Africa.

He said the weapons included automatic assault rifles and grenade launchers and would be transported with the help of the Zimbabwe army. — Sapa.



BURNT OUT: Mr Trevor Schoeman looks at the burnt out wreck of his friend's car which was set alight when a group of men kidnapped a mother of two in Hanover Park early today. Police believe the woman was abducted after a drug deal went sour.

Drug hostage drama

JACQUELYN SWARTZ
and JOHAN SCHRÖNER
Crime Staff

A HANOVER Park mother of two was kidnapped today after an alleged drug deal went sour — and her abductors are demanding R77 000 ransom.

Mrs Gaisa Solomons was grabbed from her home in Athburg Walk soon after midnight by about 15 men who opened fire on the house and a car parked in the grounds.

Mrs Solomons moved into the house, previously occupied by the alleged leader of the Americans gang, last week. Police believe her kidnap is a case of mistaken identity.

Police are hunting for her in Crossroads.

The kidnapping followed the alleged theft of a large quantity of mandrax from a Guguletu supplier.

The previous tenant of Mrs Solomons's house, who has moved two doors along Athburg Walk, apparently went to a Guguletu shebeen last night and negotiated a R77 000 mandrax deal with a man who acts as a bodyguard to the owner.

The bodyguard returned to the shebeen without the money, claiming he had been robbed by the alleged gangster.

Police said the shebeen owner and a group of men went to Athburg Walk, where Mrs Solomons led them to the alleged gangster's new address.

Mrs Fatima Karriem, who lives at the address, said Mrs Solomons was hysterical and banged on her front door, crying: "They have guns, they are going to kill me."

But Mrs Karriem, who saw about 15 people in a white minibus, was too frightened to open the door.

Turn to page 2



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Starting today, too, you can keep tabs on the Crystal Palace tour of South Africa, plus there is a new line for followers of British soccer. The Argus Help-U Lines, every day on the back of Classifieds.

Hopes that Cheryl Roberts | Polls give Clinton the lead

UN envoy for townships and hostels

Sowetan 24/7/92
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 Kalumiyi.

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.

The factors that shape world policy towards SA have changed, reports Hugh

Roberton

Waking up to a new Order

STAR 24/7/92

(336)

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.

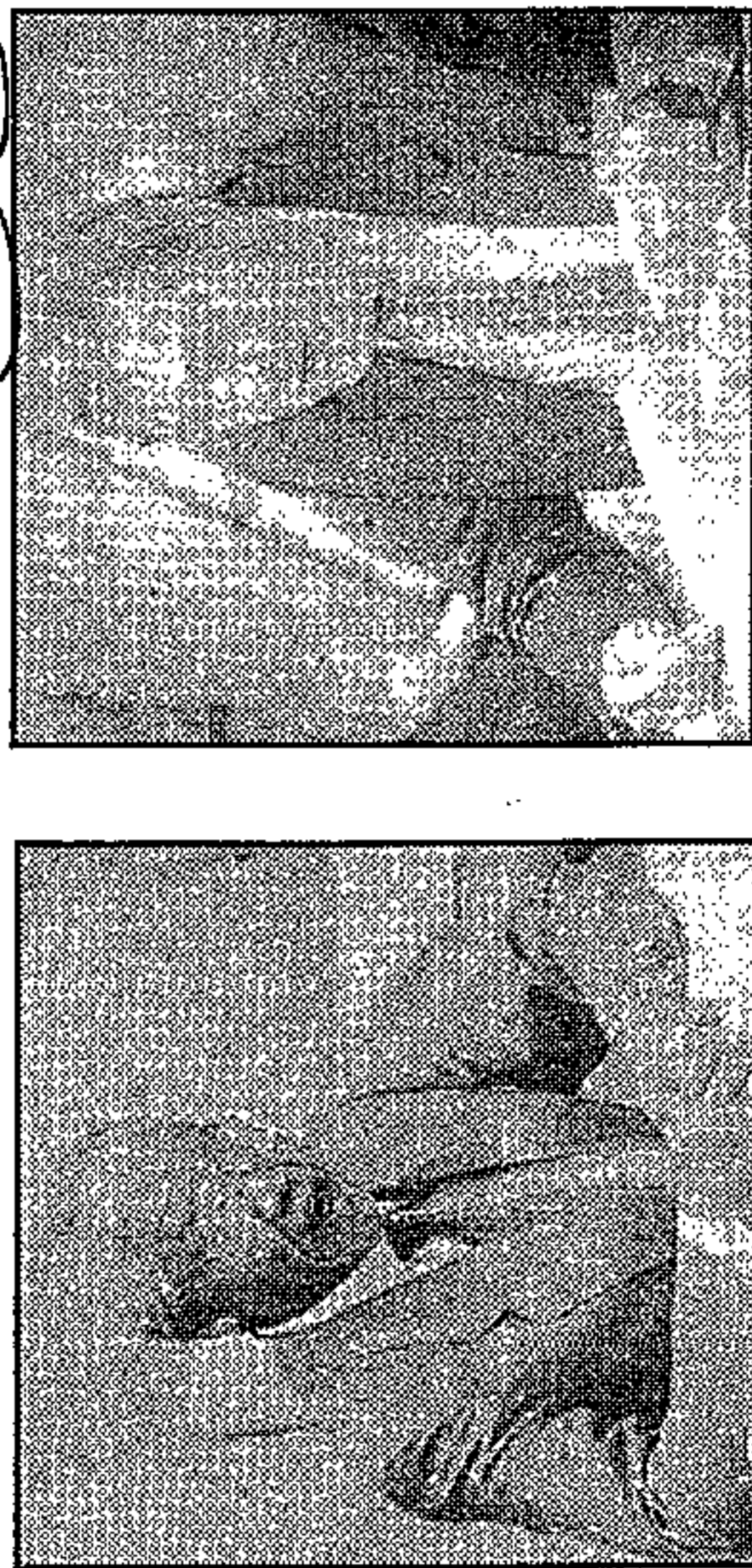
It is no longer the ideological arena of yesteryear, where liberation movements could count on the support of a Third World majority to ensure the passage of shrill resolutions and where the superpowers could be played off against one another.

While the ANC miscalculated badly in rushing to the UN for succour, 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.

get a more condemnatory resolution approved.

What is significant for all South Africans in this new flexing of American power is, paradoxically, the fact that America's power is not limitless and that increasingly it is being deferred to the UN in the form of consensus action, such as was the case in the Gulf, simply because the US does not have enough money or resources to do everything alone.

These limits on US power will apply no matter who presides in the White House, and the use of the UN as a means of exercising US power and spreading the burden of costs and resources will be a compelling fact of international life for a long time.

For the SA Government, this will mean that any domestic disputes that spill out of the country's borders will more than likely end up at the UN. If there has to

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. □

ANC hands Vance 2 new conditions

8/DA4 24/7/72

RAY HARTLEY

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NEW conditions for resuming talks — the release of 400 political prisoners and the scrapping of security legislation — were presented to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance by an ANC delegation yesterday.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki described the preconditions as "additional to the ending of violence".

Vance met leaders from the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and Azapo yesterday.

He would not comment on the meetings, but described his encounter with an ANC delegation, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, as useful.

Mbeki said the ANC continued to favour international intervention to end violence.

Mbeki said Vance had not communicated any of his discussions with government to the ANC delegation and was not acting as a go-between. Vance had not been asked to intervene to defuse mass action.

He said another ANC delegation, including president Nelson Mandela, would meet Vance next week.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had told Vance there could be no effective international intervention in SA until the violence had been ended. The ANC's mass action campaign was increasing tension, he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu said he had informed Vance of the PAC's rejection of Codesa and told him government was behind the violence.

WHAT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 765 SAYS

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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

FM 24/7/92
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.

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.

FW 2417192

THE ULTIMATE TROUBLESHOOTER

(336)

Cyrus Vance (75) arrived in SA this week. As the UN's special representative charged with smoothing the way for talks to resume and violence to end, he seems amply qualified for the task.

Time magazine's Strobe Talbot calls him "the ultimate troubleshooter"; fair-minded and tenacious, self-confident yet self-effacing and utterly dedicated to the musty idea that a private citizen should engage in public service.

After World War 2, he joined the Wall Street law firm of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett and for decades has been granted leave to devote long, unbillable hours to difficult tasks. His career is a monument to the concept of *pro bono publico*, according to Talbot.

As compensation for his assignment in Yugoslavia, he asked the UN for \$1.

He proved a distinguished mediator in 1967, when looting and burning broke out in the ghettos of Detroit. Later, he went

to head off a war between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus, then to Seoul to restrain South Korea from retaliating against North Korea. In the spring of 1968, he helped to keep the lid on Washington when the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr touched off racial conflict.

Talbot reports that Vance is the most unquotable public figure he has ever encountered — allergic to the first-person singular and prone to wooden understatement. But what makes Vance a tough interviewee makes him a good mediator. Because he has so little interest in getting credit, the contending parties are more likely to trust him.

His recipe for arbitration is: "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 gets to hear it all... again

W/med 24/7 - 30/7/92.

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 state-mate 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.

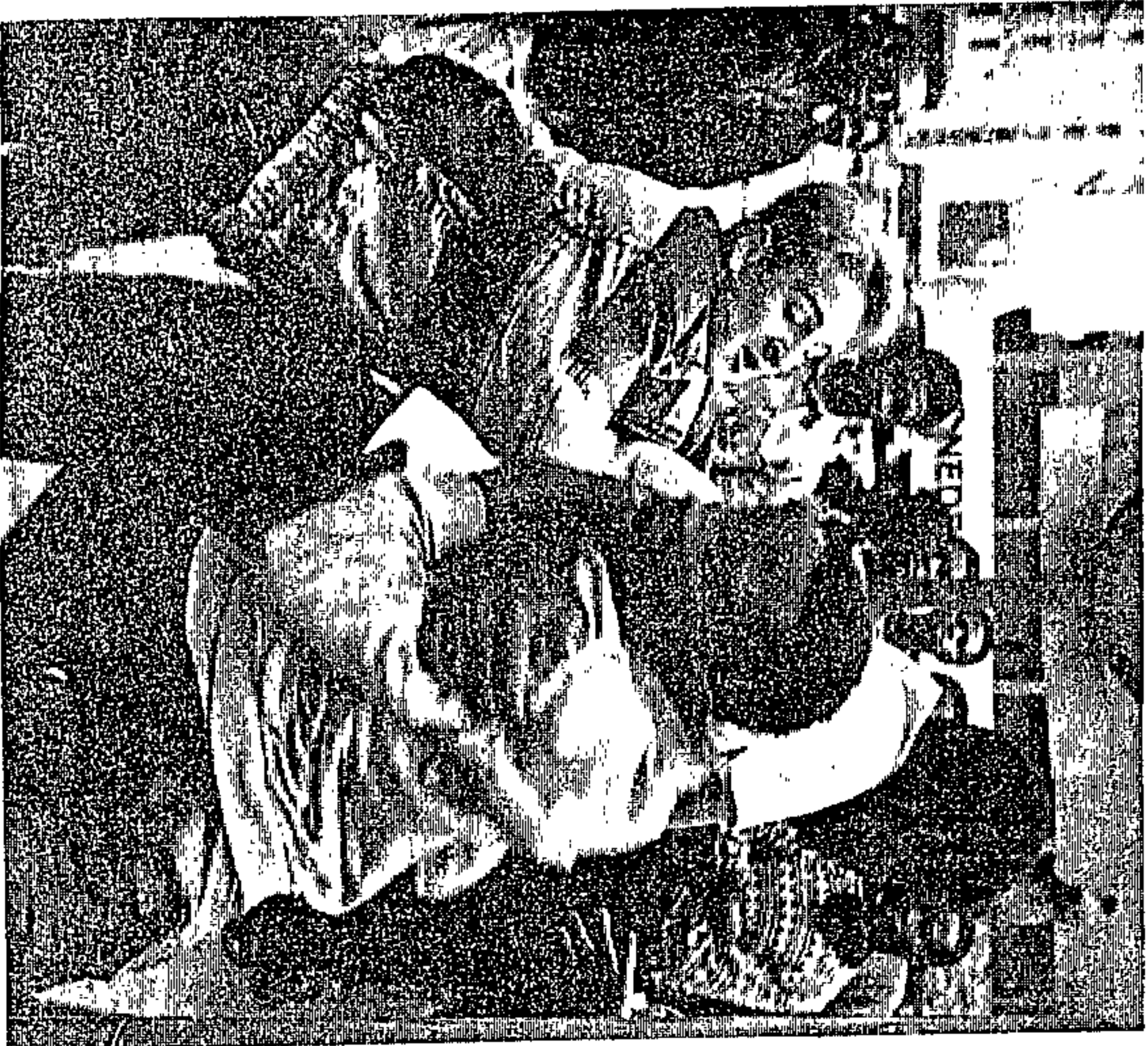
The fog that usually accompanies new moves on the constitutional front might help disguise a significant concession, offset by thundering rhetoric about mass action and signalled in morse code to the ANC, but this does not ease the conundrum. The ANC will have to take a visible gain back to its constituency 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 Koevoet 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 Koevoet.

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.



Vance holds talks with TBVC leaders

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

UN SPECIAL envoy Cyrus Vance continued his quiet diplomacy yesterday by meeting the leaders of the four nominally independent homelands.

Vance held talks with Transkei's Major General Bantu Holomisa, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda.

Mangope told Vance, who is in SA to canvass views on the country's constitutional impasse and the ongoing violence, that the crisis in the country spelt disaster for the region.

He called for the resumption of the Codesa talks, effectively halted by the withdrawal last month of the ANC.

"All parties must be persuaded to return to the process of discussion and negotiation with no threats, no demands, no preconditions. The brutal fact of the matter is that this subconti-

nent is on the brink of a disaster," Mangope said, and in thinly-veiled references accused the ANC seeking to make the country ungovernable.

"The tragedy is that no one is going to escape the consequences if sanity is not restored."

Mangope criticised the ANC's mass action campaign, which he said would "inevitably lead to an atmosphere of increased violence and a loss of many billions of rand to the economy".

Vance has already met State President F.W. de Klerk, an ANC delegation led by secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, a PAC group headed by president Clarence Makwetu, DP leader Zac de Beer, chairman of the National Peace Accord, John Hall and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Vance, who arrived in the country five days ago, was expected to spend most of yesterday in Soweto.

Political comment and newswire by K. Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by B. Keesa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Right man for the job

C/Pres 26/7/92

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THE man sent by the UN on what is generally regarded as mission impossible - to help bring peace to a bleeding SA - is no stranger to such difficult assignments.

Since the 60s former US secretary of state (for foreign affairs) Cyrus Vance has been mediating at some of the world's most difficult troublespots. *Time* magazine calls him the ultimate trouble-shooter. The magazine even regards him as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

But, unlike the flamboyant Henry Kissinger, he does not fire his diplomatic salvos from the hip.

Vance is said to prefer the quiet approach. And softly, he does it.

He has mediated between Greeks and Turks over Cyprus. He was also sent to South Korea to pacify Park Chung Hee from retaliating against North Korea. He was a key figure in the Camp David Accord in which Egypt's Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel's Menachem Begin.

Although the British played a leading role in transforming Rhodesia into Zimbabwe, Vance, under Jimmy Carter, also played a key role.

Vance has not been putting the fires out in foreign lands only. When riots broke out in Detroit ghettos in 1967, US president Lyndon B Johnson sent him in ahead of the troops.

It also fell on him to pacify angry Afro Americans in Washington following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968.

In recent months he has been trying to bring an end to the potentially explosive carnage taking place in Yugoslavia.

Such is the stature of Vance that he is acceptable to all the mainstream political groupings in SA, Inkatha, the NP, PAC, Azapo and the ANC. Only the loony right has questioned his coming.

Soon after it became known that Vance was coming as the special envoy of UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said he was looking forward to the arrival of the UN mission.

Although the Carter administration was one of Pretoria's harshest critics, Vance was literally given a red-carpet welcome.

The fact that Vance is acceptable to most of the parties makes his job easier.

But, whether he will succeed is the proverbial \$64 000 question.

His visit is a follow up to the recent jaunt by several SA political organisations to the UN headquarters in New York where they spoke on the current constitutional impasse.

In terms of the UN Security Council Resolution 765, Vance's brief is to meet all political parties in SA and then "assist in bringing an effective end to violence and creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA".

On the face of it, his task looks fairly simple. Most political parties in SA are committed to a democratic, nonracial and united (whether federal or not) SA. It is putting in place the brick and mortar of that envisioned society which is the real Gordian knot.

Each and every political organisations thinks its model is the correct one. This is one dilemma Vance, in spite of his formidable track record, can hardly overcome during his 10-day stay.

What is likely to prove an even more intractable problem is ending the violence which has left thousands dead since 1990.

But this may be Vance's toughest mission



MISSION IMPOSSIBLE ... If Cyrus Vance cracks this one, he well and truly deserves the Nobel Peace Prize.

CITY PEOPLE

By SEKOLA SELLO

Vance told a media briefing at Jan Smuts that he had come to SA at an "incredible moment" in the country's efforts to move to democracy.

Known for his laconic answers, when asked asked if his visit presaged greater involvement of the international community, Vance said he "would certainly hope not".

Much as Vance hopes that South Africans will resolve their problems without further international involvement, it would be a mistake to think he is going to wave a magic wand and resolve everything.

He comes to a deeply divided SA and the various political parties will no doubt listen to the elder statesman. Afterwards, the protagonists will once more get back into their trenches.

It will take more than one mission to end the hostilities. If, on the other hand, his efforts can halt the carnage, who can deny him the Nobel Peace Prize?

Sowetan 27/7/92
Human rights probe

HARARE - A United Nations human rights team is operating from Harare to monitor the observance of human rights in South Africa as it was refused permission to enter South Africa. - Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP.

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Calls for overseas arbiters in talks

■ 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.

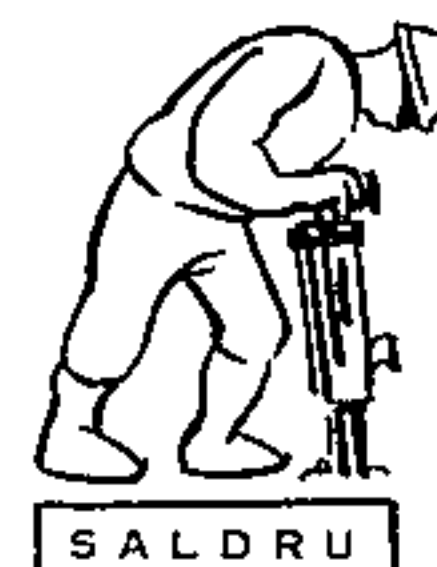
"Unless the South African regime clearly demonstrates its bona fides there can be no peace in South Africa," Holomisa said.

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



NEWS FEATURE The fight goes on to combat one of Africa's oldest problems



The face of hunger: Mrs Elizabeth and little Daniel Modise wait patiently for food aid in one of Lusaka's squatter camps.

Drought, war spark African refugee crisis

AIROBI - War and drought have forced up to 7.5 million Africans into exile, about a third of the world's total refugee population.

And a further 10 million have been displaced in their own countries, the United Nations estimates.

Africans in many nations, long afflicted by drought, have lost their ability to tide themselves over the lean years due to war and economic collapse.

The UN says some 40 million people in sub-Saharan Africa need international food aid this year - 10.6 million tonnes of it - and refugees are the most needy of all.

In the long-term, many African aid officials say, the underlying causes of poverty need to be tackled before stability can be restored.

"There can be no lasting peace or prosperity as long as millions of people continue to endure an existence defined by poverty and hunger," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a message to a UN World Food Council summit in Nairobi last month.

But Western donors who once pumped aid into the continent's development are scaling down assistance. With the end of the Cold War Africa has lost its strategic importance and help is needed in the former Eastern Bloc coun-

tries.

Conflicts in nations such as Ethiopia and Angola ended in the wake of the Cold War. Other old conflicts drag on, such as those in Mozambique and Sudan.

But new ones in nations such as Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia have erupted, driven by age-old ethnic hatreds that could spread to other states in the region.

In Somalia alone, 800 000 people or nearly one-in-six of the total population have crossed into neighbouring countries due to 18 months of tribal fighting and drought following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Tribal massacres in Rwanda forced hundreds of thousands of people from the Tutsi tribe into exile in the 1950s and 1960s.

That caused yet more civil strife when Tutsi rebels invaded from neighbouring Uganda.

"Many Rwandan refugees are not keen to go back after all these years, but all they seek is recognition, the right to go back, the right to a passport," an official of the rebel Rwandan Patriotic

WAR AND FAMINE UN fights to end the causes of instability in Africa: 336

From said.

After years in exile, the UN also found only 13 000 out of 20 000 South African exiles from the black nationalist movements fighting white rule wanted to go home this year.

"When they look at what's going on at home and what little those who have gone back have found, they want to wait," said Karen Abu Zayd, chief of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Staunching the flow of refugees will require nothing less than international political intervention, many analysts say. The Organisation of African Unity's annual summit this month resolved to try to end conflicts in the region but stopped short of creating a body that could intervene in them.

Many diplomats say the onus is now on the shoulders of the UN to solve conflicts African governments cannot.

But developing countries do not want UN intervention to be forced on them, saying the UN charter should respect states' sovereignty under all circumstances. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

CP among groups on Vance's schedule

STAR 27/7/92

By Peter Fabricius (336)
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.

tions have ignored an EC-
oked ceasefire, the 39th
ce fighting erupted in
ril, which was to have
ne into effect last Sunday.
A new round of talks has
en called for today in Lon-
n. — Sapa-Reuter.

stay indefinitely while others
could rotate.

The soldiers will help to
defend strategic places, and
search for hidden weapons
and Mafiosi. They will have
the power of arrest. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Refugees stranded on ship receive UN aid

NAIROBI — The UN
High Commissioner for
Refugees yesterday deli-
vered food, medicine and
water to 351 Somali refu-
gees stranded in a ship
for five days off the Ken-
yan coast.

Panos Moutzis, a
spokesman for the
UNHCR, said the agency
hoped to disembark the
150 children, 118 women
and 83 men today.

He blamed Kenya's
bureaucracy for the
delay in disembarking
the refugees.

The Jamaica-regis-
tered ship, which is also
carrying scrap alumin-
ium, was denied permis-
sion to dock at Mombasa
on Wednesday.

Authorities said a
nearby refugee camp
was congested and or-
dered the ship to Lamu,
about 250 km north of

Mombasa.

The captain, Nisar
Ahmad, of Pakistan, said
he had no fuel for the
journey.

Tens of thousands of
Somalis are believed to
have died from malnutri-
tion and factional fight-
ing in their country and
hundreds of thousands
have fled.

United Nations Secre-
tary-General Boutros
Boutros-Ghali on Friday
proposed a massive re-
lief programme for So-
malia, where the UN
says 1.5 million people
are on the brink of star-
vation and 4.5 million
more need assistance.

Somalia's crisis began
in January 1991 when the
rebel United Somali Con-
gress chased President
Mohamed Siad Barre
from Mogadishu. —
Sapa-AP.

Algerian killing: 10 held

ALGIERS — Ten members of Algeria's elite
presidential guard have been arrested in connec-
tion with last month's assassination of President
Mohamed Boudiaf, says the head of a govern-
ment commission investigating the killing. The
president was shot dead by a member of the
guard on June 29. Police arrested 2nd Lieutenant
Lembarek Boumaaraf but the commission said it
doubted his assertion that he was acting alone.

STAR 2717192

Bid to repair Mir

MOSCOW — A Frenchman and two Russian cos-
monauts blast off today to install new equipment
that may help prolong the lifespan of the Mir
orbital space station. A Soyuz TM spacecraft is
scheduled to take off from Kazakhstan and ren-
dezvous with the space station that has been the
workhorse of the Soviet space programme since
1986. It was feared the station might have to be
abandoned as equipment ages and its orbit
brings it closer to earth's atmosphere.

Kenyan rally broken up

NAIROBI — Riot police broke up a rally by sup-
porters of Kenya's largest opposition party, the
Forum for the Restoration for Democracy
(Ford), in Kagunduini, Murang'a. A government
official declared the rally cancelled and ordered
policemen to disperse hundreds of supporters
who turned up for the meeting on Saturday.

STAR 2717192

● Reports by Star Foreign Service, Sapa, Reuter,
Financial Times and Associated Press.

CP softens stance to hold talks with Vance

RAY HARTLEY

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

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'

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.

UN observer team not enough, says SACP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
28/7/92

An international force with investigative powers and access to security force documentation should be sent to monitor the violence in South Africa, the SACP has told UN special

envoy Cyrus Vance.

An SACP delegation has told Mr Vance that an observer team was not enough because it could, at best, only note statistical patterns of violence.

Effective international monitoring of the security forces was the most realistic way of

establishing the truth about their alleged involvement in violence.

The SACP also proposed that the international team should monitor "political players".

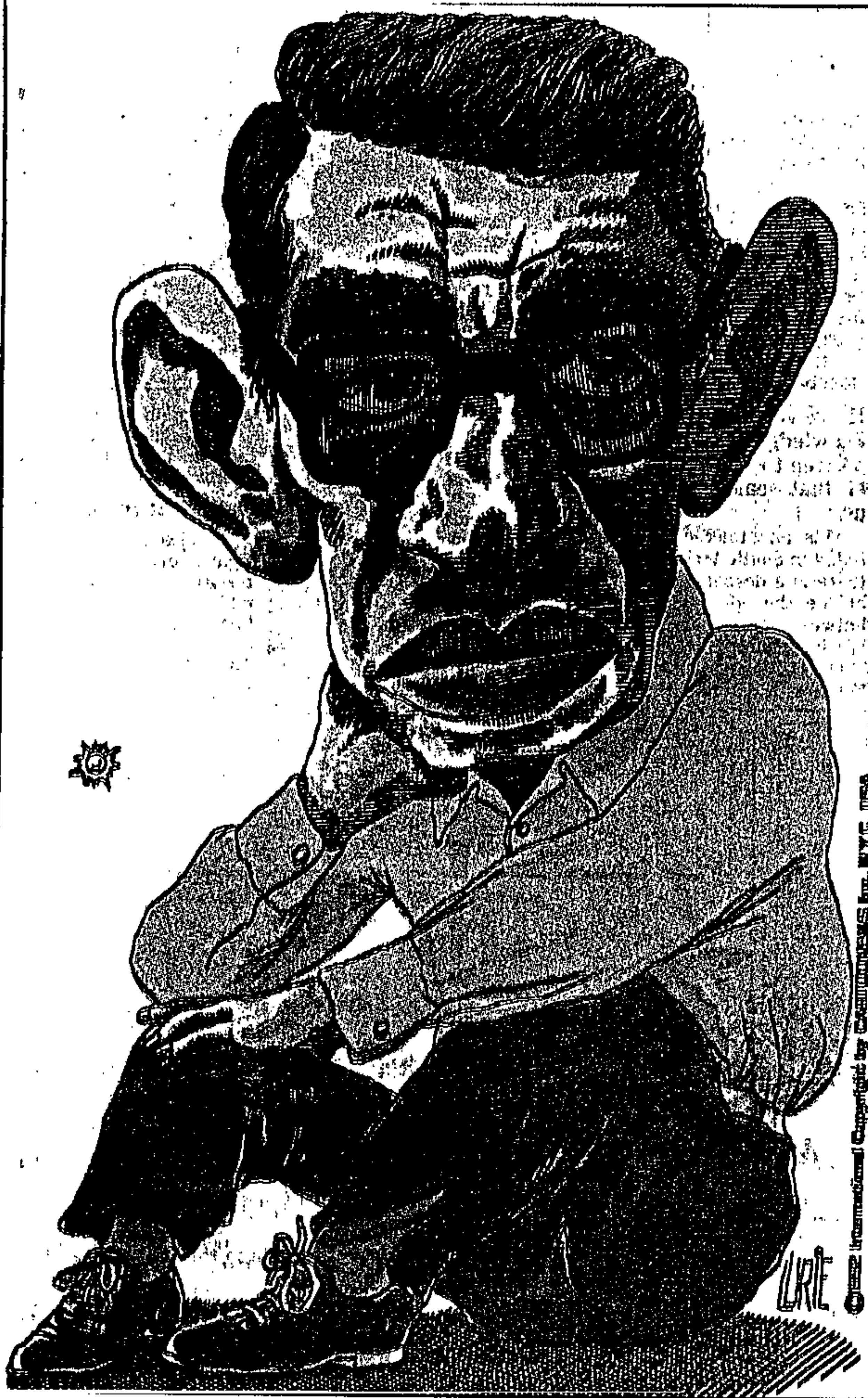
The SACP said there was circumstantial evidence pointing to strategically planned vio-

lence by the security forces.

Today Mr Vance is scheduled to meet Cosatu and the CP.

CP chief secretary Dr J A L Theron yesterday said a delegation headed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley would meet Mr Vance

(336) (197) (274)



Boutros Boutros-Ghali . . . row over his snubbing of "boring" Security Council meetings.

Boutros-Ghali ruffles many feathers at UN

STAR 28/7/92

(336)

THE OLD saw about the United Nations is that its leader is neither a secretary nor a general, but a political tightrope-walker whose power derives from his ability to work with the Security Council, especially its five permanent members.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali seemed a headhunter's dream come true when he was chosen by 11 of the council's 15 members last November as the ideal man to lead the UN.

Tailor-made

As an Arab, Christian politician, married to a Jew and hailing from the African continent, Mr Boutros-Ghali seemed tailor-made to turn the UN into a meaningful forum.

His election was an upset for Britain and the United States, for whom the 69-year-old patrician who played an important role in the Camp David accords was neither young enough, nor sufficiently reform-minded, to do much in five years in office.

In the spirit of post-Cold War consensus, neither country felt like imposing a veto.

But, to judge by the downcast faces of ambassadors emerging from Security Council meetings on Yugoslavia last week — during which Mr Boutros-Ghali complained that the UN was too involved in a "war of the rich" and not doing enough to help Somalia — many now believe Mr Boutros-Ghali was a disastrous choice.

On Friday he had a fight with the Belgian representative, and exchanged strong words with Britain's Sir David Hannay about UN peace-keeping in Yugoslavia.

It was not the first time a secretary-general had dug his heels in against the policies fos-

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is now being viewed by some as a disaster, reports LEONARD DOYLE from New York.

tered by big UN powers — in this case Britain and the EC — but the public manner in which it was being done took diplomats aback.

Unlike his predecessor, Javier Perez de Cuellar — a paragon of gentlemanly diplomacy — Mr Boutros-Ghali annoys ambassadors by going over their heads and speaking directly to their foreign ministers.

He has also all but done away with the ritual of ambassadors presenting their credentials or meeting the secretary-general for half an hour to discuss an issue of national importance.

More dangerous for Mr Boutros-Ghali is his snubbing of the Security Council by avoiding many of its meetings.

He says he has better things to do than be bored by endless discussions going nowhere.

Umbrage

His empty-chair policy backfired last week, when the council called on the UN to send more peace-keepers to Bosnia to collect and supervise heavy weapons.

Mr Boutros-Ghali took great umbrage at not having being consulted, precipitating a week-long row, the main outcome of which was that he now takes part in council meetings.

Some of Mr Boutros-Ghali's senior staff, who find him autocratic and ill-tempered, are talking of throwing in the towel if things do not improve. □



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 Codesa. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

CP softens its opposition to UN role after meeting Vance

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

CP softens line on UN role

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party yesterday indicated a softening of its opposition to UN involvement in monitoring violence in South Africa following its meeting with UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said after the meeting that his party did not question the UN's interest in South

Africa nor did it object to it monitoring or playing an observer role. What he did question was the extent of the involvement.

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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 Mr Jay Naidoo said his organisa-

tion believed that the only way to end the political impasse was for negotiations to progress and win public endorsement on the basis that they focused on establishing majority rule in a short time.

The CP also told Mr Vance that the party had reservations about the UN Resolution 765, containing Mr Vance's brief, as it was prejudiced in favour of a unitary South Africa.

UN 'is here to stay'

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CT 29/7/92

By BARRY STREEK

THE United Nations was in South Africa to stay until there was a new government elected by all the people, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

He said the "securocrats", not the politicians, were in control and security forces loyal to former state president Mr P W Botha "must have vowed to cut the ground from under Mr De Klerk and discredit him as a leader".

General Holomisa said the "masses will unmask any concealed efforts to bring about cosmetic changes only to leave the apartheid monster alive".

On a one-day visit to the Western Cape as guest of the ANC, he told an Independent Business Forum lunch that collusion between white capital and government had always been flagrant.

"If big business were to throw its weight behind the masses' demands for a genuinely full-blown democracy, the government would ... redress the legitimate demands of the dispossessed."

The UN was in South Africa because the attempt to solve the political situation without mediation had failed.

UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance was not a broker, but would table a report in the Security Council, which would then decide what to do.

General Holomisa later told a press conference that at the Security Council "De Klerk was defeated because they did not want the UN here".

The regime had tried to turn the issue around by pretending it was a government exercise.

"It is the Security Council itself which will evaluate the situation and decide: 'Yes, there is a need to poke our noses into South Africa because human rights have been violated, the liberation movements and homeland governments are involved in the violence and must we leave it to De Klerk's government to sort out?'"

"The answer will be a big 'no'," he said.

"It's a reality to accept that the UN is here to stay and we must close ranks and decide how best the UN can now serve us."

● General Holomisa was mobbed as he toured the townships and last night he addressed over 2 000 people at Mandela High School in Crossroads.



MEETING HIS PEOPLE ... Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa speaks at the Khayelitsha squatter camp named after him, flanked by the ANC's Dr Allan Boesak (left) and Mr Tony Yengeni. Picture: Alan Taylor



SNOOPER ... Dr Allan Boesak at the questioning of the alleged spy found noting car numbers outside the ANC's Woodstock HQ. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Little light at end of African refugee tunnel

STAR 29/7/92

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WAR AND drought have forced up to 7.5 million Africans into exile, about a third of the world's total refugee population.

And a further 10 million have been displaced in their own countries, the UN estimates.

Due to war and economic collapse, Africans in many nations, long afflicted by drought, have lost their ability to tide themselves over the lean years.

The UN says some 40 million people in sub-Saharan Africa need international food aid this year — 10.6 million tons of it — and refugees are the most needy of all.

Poverty

In the long term, many African aid officials say, the underlying causes of poverty need to be tackled before stability can be restored.

"There can be no lasting peace or prosperity as long as millions of people continue to endure an existence defined by poverty and hunger," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a message to a UN World Food Council summit in Nairobi last month.

But Western donors who once pumped aid into the continent's development are scaling down assistance. With the end of the Cold War, Africa has lost its strategic importance and help is needed in the former Eastern bloc countries.

Conflicts in nations such as Ethiopia and Angola ended in the wake of the Cold War. Other old conflicts drag on, such as

Many Africans who can not cope with drought have been forced into exile. By AIDAN HARTLEY in Nairobi.

those in Mozambique and Sudan.

But new ones in Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia have erupted, driven by age-old ethnic hatreds that could spread to other states in the region.

In Somalia alone, 800 000 people, or nearly one-sixth of the total population, have crossed into neighbouring countries due to 18 months of tribal fighting and drought following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Tribal massacres in the central African state of Rwanda forced hundreds of thousands of people from the Tutsi tribe into exile in the 1950s and 1960s.

After years in exile, the UN also found only 13 000 out of 20 000 South African exiles from the black nationalist movements fighting white rule wanted to go home this year.

"When they look at what's going on at home and what little those who have gone back have found, they want to wait," said Karen Abu Zayd, chief of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) South African repatriation programme.

Staunching the flow of refugees will require nothing less than international political intervention, many analysts say.

The Organisation of African Unity's annual summit this

month resolved to try to end conflicts in the region but stopped short of creating a body that could intervene in them — such as a peace-keeping force.

Many diplomats say the onus is now on the shoulders of the UN to solve conflicts that African governments cannot.

They add that the world body has been reforming its policy since the Gulf War last year, when it drew international criticism for not acting fast enough to help Kurdish refugees in Iraq.

Faced with limited funds, Mr Boutros-Ghali in February created a \$50 million (R140 million) humanitarian fund for quick use in crises rather than waiting for donor pledges in response to UN appeals.

Pressure

Overhauling the UN bureaucracy will mean getting various agencies, such as the World Food Programme, the UNHCR and the UN Children's Fund, to work more closely together and not duplicate efforts, analysts say.

The UN is putting greater pressure on warring parties in conflicts such as Somalia and Yugoslavia to give relief agencies better access to the needy, and has gone so far as to guard its operations with armed troops.

But developing countries do not want UN intervention to be forced on them, saying the UN charter should respect states' sovereignty under all circumstances. □

Monitor strike call to UN

Political Reporter

Cosatu has invited special United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance to monitor its general strike next week to ensure it goes peacefully. *STAR*

It asked him yesterday to observe the conduct of all parties, including the security forces.

Cosatu's memorandum to Mr Vance deals with proposals to end the violence, to unlock the crisis in negotiations, and the need for socio-economic upliftment. *29/1/92*

It supported the establishment of an international UN monitoring mission to complement local initiatives.

A UN monitoring team should be independent of the

National Peace Accord structures.

It should liaise with existing local monitoring groups and political, labour and other organisations, Cosatu said.

"The mission should have the brief of observing and reporting on the conduct of the security forces in action in attempting to deal with violence, the conduct of investigation and prosecution of offences and the dismantling of all covert operations."

A UN team should also ensure that the Government and political organisations complied with and implemented recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

UN monitors should be based at flashpoints of violence permanently, Cosatu said.

Vance likely to suggest modest UN mission

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.

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

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.

□ From Page 1

Nafcoc calls for UN force

604/5100-4 THEO RAWANA 336
30/7/92
NAFCOC is to ask UN special representative Cyrus Vance to recommend that an international force be sent to monitor violence.

The resolution, which called for "formidable numbers", was one of several taken at the end of Nafcoc's 28th annual convention at Sun City.

The organisation also called on the corporate sector to address its social responsibility in relation to unemployment by initiating training schemes and granting education loans.

Nafcoc should occupy a position where it would lead the formulation of a code of conduct for multinational investors. The organisation would help to prioritise investment.

Nafcoc also resolved to draw government and political parties together to resolve the present impasse in negotiations.

NEWS The new OPEC bids a mature role in the world economy

LONDON - Petroleum markets are entering a danger zone in which wild swings in the price of oil may put new strains on a fragile global economy.

"Probably at no time in the history of the oil industry have there been so many uncertainties," says the secretary-general of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Professor Subroto.

An urbane Indonesian with the background of a university professor, Subroto is not given to hyperbole.

His comments to a seminar held in Anchorage, Alaska, therefore had the petroleum industry sitting up to take notice.

Reborn from the ashes of the old cartel of the 1970s, OPEC confronts a daunting challenge as it bids to fill a new role as a mature player in international economic affairs.

Subroto listed three factors that could cause the sort of destructive instability in oil prices which the revamped OPEC says it is pledged to avoid.

Three vital factors

● Eventual return to an already well-supplied market of some three million barrels daily of oil from Iraq which is now shut in by a United Nations embargo.

That could cause a glut, if the other 12 members of OPEC were unable to agree on cuts in their quotas to make room for it.

● Turmoil in the former Soviet Union which was the world's biggest petroleum producer. There are a dozen other potential trouble-spots among oil-producing nations where supply could be interrupted to send prices up.

Wild swings in world oil prices feared

■ DANGER ZONE Expert's comments make oil

producers sit up and take notice:

Southern 31/7/92

Too high a price merely sets the stage for too low a price

"You are not immune from the risk of political upheaval anywhere in the world," says Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the former oil minister of Saudi Arabia.

● A perceived need for colossal investment - as high as \$700 billion over the next five years - to develop new oil fields and, especially in Russia, to refurbish old ones in order to meet global demand.

Third World demand, particularly in Asia, is accelerating by a million barrels a day each year. The West's thirst for oil may also revive if the US and other big economies can be made to expand again.

A new survey by Houston-based *World Oil*, a trade journal, predicts drilling for new oil and gas will drop 15 percent in 1992 with North America and the former USSR leading the decline.

OPEC says it is worried that would-be investors in oil production capacity may be scared off.

Political upheavals might have that effect.

Last big glut

So might anything like an Iraqi glut that cast doubt on whether oil prices could remain predictable and firm enough to guarantee a return on investment.

The last big glut occurred in 1986 and prices tumbled from more than \$80.4 per barrel to less than \$28. The average even now remains just under a target of \$58.8 which OPEC reckons is about right in present conditions.

An upward pricing "shock" might also keep big money out of investing in oil. Besides crimping economic activity in the short term, it would probably depress demand for petroleum and soon usher in a new period of weaker prices.

The last glut was a reaction to the price spiral of the 1970s which halved demand for OPEC's crude oil.

Big exporters such as Saudi Arabia are therefore particularly anxious that shortages should not threaten the market, just as they also worry about environmentalist pressure for a "carbon tax" intended to discourage consumption.

The Saudi role is critical, Western oil executives say.

Oil Minister Mr Hisham Nazer outlined the biggest exporter's strategy for the 90s in a London speech in 1989 when he said: "Too high a price merely sets the stage for too low a price."

The kingdom has subsequently endorsed \$58.8 per barrel (up from a goal of \$50.4 in the late 1980s) as a reasonable OPEC target for the time being.

Nazer refuses, however, to be cast in the role of the "swing" producer who would balance global supply and demand by turning the taps up or down on his huge production capacity.

He insists that other producers in and outside OPEC should help to maintain predictable, inflation-linked fuel prices.

The Saudis did raise output in 1990 to avert a price shock after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait shut in both of those states' oil.

But the Saudis also pressed others in OPEC to agree to join them in waiving the output quotas then in force.

Market analysts expect the Saudis to insist that OPEC must share out the inevitable cuts in quotas when Iraq eventually returns to the market.

Subroto calls this "potentially the biggest market challenge facing us in the short term". - *Sapa-Reuter*.

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Graham Linscott discusses the two options involving a UN presence here

Peacekeepers 'No', observers 'Yes'

Star 31/1/72

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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 republics 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. □

Members owe UN R5-bn (336)

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations is owed nearly \$1,753 billion (about R5 billion) in regular and peacekeeping dues and would have to cease operations at the end of the year unless there was an immediate inflow of cash, a UN report said yesterday. STAR 3/17/92

Alliance pledges itself to the code of conduct

UN watch on mass action

STAR 31/7/92

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporters

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to send representatives to monitor next week's mass action. (336)

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.

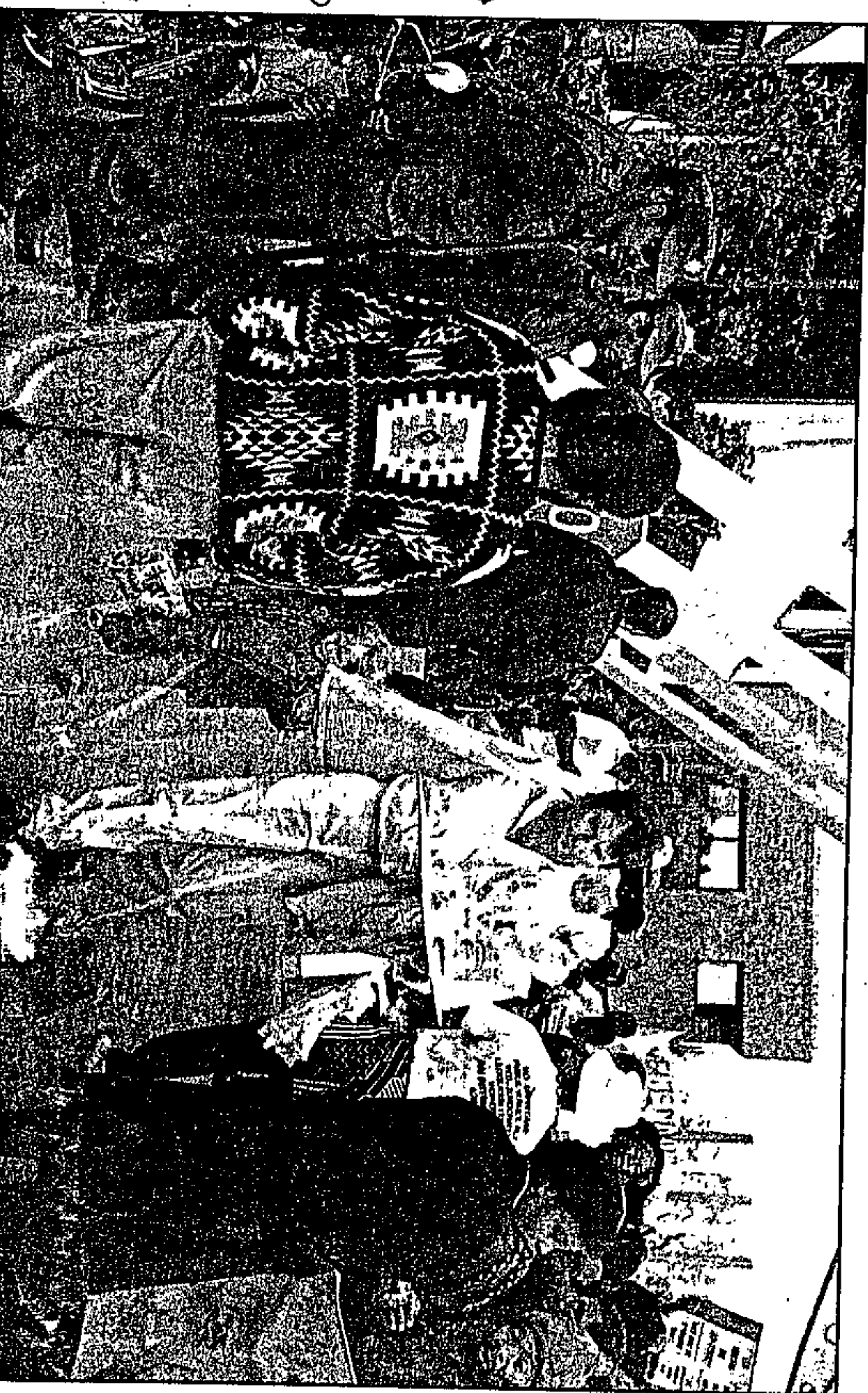
Full text of code — Page 3
No job protection — Page 10

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 workstayaway 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 "cam-

paign 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 Hennis 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.

Question mark over future of Boutros-Ghali

Guarillian [w/ Jim W. Moul] 31/7-6/8/92 336

THE United Nations, upon which so much is resting after the end of the cold war, is floundering, bogged down in intractable regional conflicts while its chief is stuck in wars of his own at UN headquarters in New York.

In January, the first ever meeting held by the UN Security Council at the level of heads of state instructed the new UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to look at ways of strengthening the world body.

When it appeared, Mr Boutros-Ghali's blueprint for a revitalised UN, Agenda for Peace, did not disappoint. In the climate of optimism after the collapse of communism, the secretary-general declared that an opportunity had been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter — a UN capable of maintaining

international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights, and of promoting social progress and better standards of life amid greater freedom.

"This opportunity must not be squandered. The organisation must never again be crippled as it was in the era that has now passed," he said.

But just months after that extraordinary Security Council meeting, the UN is paralysed in Yugoslavia, unable to cope with a flood of returning refugees in Afghanistan, and facing the prospect of a breakdown of the peace settlement in Cambodia.

While world attention has focused in past weeks on the bloody events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the march towards a resumption of hostilities in Iraq, the UN's most ambitious peacekeeping operation ever, in Cambodia, is coming unglued.

Almost 15,000 troops, 3,600 civilian police, and 1,020 other civilian staff, at a cost of \$1.8 billion, are trying to keep the peace and help run the country until elections next

year. But the Khmer Rouge has violated the ceasefire numerous times, and refused to disarm and gather in UN-supervised camps. It is doubtful whether elections can be held in the spring, and the danger of civil war looms once more.

Cynics will say that the seeds of failure were sown long ago when the US and its allies forced the non-communist factions to ally with the Khmer Rouge, bolstering its legitimacy. Typically, it is the UN which has to pick up the pieces.

The ramifications of failure could be felt far beyond Cambodia. Keith Eirinberg, an expert on Asia at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, predicts: "If the UN can't pull this off, they're certainly not going to have much success

By Mark Tran

getting money for peacekeeping operations elsewhere."

UN members are facing escalating charges in keeping with growing demands for UN peacekeeping. If the UN fails in Cambodia, Mr Boutros-Ghali's proposal that the UN possess its own standing army, which has met little enthusiasm, surely will be destined for oblivion.

Meanwhile, the UN, like everybody else, is paralysed as Serb forces pound away at Gorazde and Sarajevo in the pursuit of "ethnic cleansing".

Mr Boutros-Ghali has been engaged in wars of his own. At one level it is a bureaucratic battle, with Mr Boutros-Ghali complaining that he was inadequately consulted as the Security Council, and Britain in particular, committed the UN to an expanded role in Bosnia, to supervise heavy weapons of the three warring factions.

The dispute reflects a tug of war between Mr Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council on the future direction of the UN. Mr Boutros-Ghali believes that too much attention is being paid to Bosnia, "the war of the rich", as he calls it, at the expense of other regions, especially Africa.



Mr Boutros-Ghali

Indeed, although he complained that UN resources were stretched to breaking point in Yugoslavia, the secretary-general last week unveiled an ambitious plan to increase the UN presence in Somalia, where famine threatens a third of the population as the country slips into lawlessness. The secretary-general's report called for security forces, aid workers, and political negotiators in four zones in Somalia, where the government has virtually ceased to function. Diplomats say the plan will need thousands of UN troops and workers.

The secretary-general, however, has done himself few favours. The man supposed to be the world's top diplomat has managed to alienate practically everyone, including his core constituencies among the Arab world and the non-aligned countries, many of his staff, the press, and now the Security Council. Whispers are growing louder about a resignation at the end of the year.

"The problem is that he is not a creature of the UN, like Perez de Cuellar. He doesn't bother to schmooze with ambassadors, he prefers to deal with foreign ministers directly since he knows them well from his days in Cairo. But this guy is stubborn, so I don't think he will resign. And he is learning," said one top aide to Mr Boutros-Ghali.

UN team will watch from the sidelines if violence erupts

STAFF 18/12

MIKE LITTLEJOHN 336

NEW YORK — A team of United Nations officials is due in Johannesburg tomorrow to observe the planned week-long mass demonstrations and industrial action, but, a spokesman emphasised, not to try to intervene if violence erupts.

The mission constitutes a further extension of UN involvement in South African internal problems, begun even before Codesa, the Government acquiesced in

the dispatch of the UN team after Nelson Mandela proposed the idea, say officials in Pretoria and New York.

UN mediator Cyrus Vance was said to have endorsed the proposal and obtained the Government assent. UN staff member Hisham Omayada, who accompanied him to South Africa, will head the mission.

It is believed to be the first time that the UN has agreed to send staff members specifically to observe political demonstrations. However, UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said it was not an unorthodox action.

As the Government and the ANC had agreed to it, it was an appropriate measure "when you have massive demonstrations of a political nature organised in a country like South Africa, where

there are major problems of a constitutional kind".

He appeared unclear about the nine-person mission, which includes three Americans, a Japanese and a Portuguese. The only African other than the leader is Shola Omoregie from Nigeria. The remaining member is from Guyana.

Earlier, UN sources had said that most of the team would be Africans. It was not disclosed whether the

South African mission was consulted about the composition of the group.

A senior UN official emphasised that, regardless of nationality, they should be considered "independently". Omayada would report back to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "if there is anything to report".

He also stressed that the group would be co-operating with the National Peace Committee.

UN will monitor mass action: Vance

ARG 1/8/92 (336) 334
JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance said yesterday UN observers monitoring next week's mass action campaign would work in co-operation with the Peace Secretariat.

A statement issued on Mr Vance's behalf said: "We are pleased to be able to respond to the request of the parties to provide observers during the period of mass action next week. As requested, there will be almost a dozen UN observers, working in close co-operation with the Peace Secretariat." — Sapa..

Hands-off — even if violence erupts: UN team

336
ARG 1/8/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A team of officials from the United Nations is due in Johannesburg tomorrow to observe the planned week-long mass demonstrations and industrial action, but — as a spokesman emphasised — not to try to intervene if violence erupts.

The mission constitutes a further extension of UN involvement in South African internal problems, begun even before Codesa.

The government acquiesced in the dispatch of the UN team after Mr Nelson Mandela proposed the idea, according to officials in Pretoria and New York.

Cyrus Vance, the UN mediator, was said to have endorsed the proposal and obtained government assent.

One of the UN staff who accompanied him to South Africa, Hisham Omayad of Ghana, will head the mission.

It is believed to be the first time the UN has agreed to send staff members specifically to observe political demonstrations.

However, UN spokesman Francois Giuliani disputed a reporter's contention that it was an unorthodox action. As the government and the ANC agreed to it, it was an appropriate measure "when you have massive demonstrations of a political nature organised in a country like South Africa, where there are major problems of a constitutional kind," he said.

He appeared unclear about the precise modalities of the nine-person mission, which includes three Americans, a Japanese and a Portuguese. The only African other than the leader is Shola Omoregie of Nigeria. The remaining member is from Guyana.

Earlier, UN sources had said that most of the team would be Africans. It was not disclosed whether the South African mission was consulted about the composition of the group.

A senior UN official emphasised that regardless of nationality they must be considered independent.

Mr Omayada would report

back to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "if there is anything to report," Mr Giuliani said.

"It is a UN presence and they are observers," he stated when pressed to say whether the group might intervene in case of acts of violence during the demonstrations, either by the demonstrators or by security forces — as one reporter put it, "if the police crack heads."

He also stressed that the group would be co-operating with the non-partisan National Peace Committee.

All caveats aside, diplomats in New York said the UN move was in sharp contrast to the hands-off attitude the world body was forced to take at the height of the political confrontation with South Africa, when Pretoria regularly invoked the Charter prohibition on "interference in the domestic affairs" of a member state.

Regardless of what Mr Vance reports back next week, there is still speculation that Mr Boutros-Ghali himself may visit South Africa in September.

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PAC wants UN force to remain 'until elections'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE Pan-Africanist Congress has called for United Nations intervention to seek an end to political violence in South Africa and to supervise negotiations.

Proposals submitted to UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance also include a purging of the command structure of the security forces, the establishment of an alternative forum to Codesa for drafting a new constitution and other tough moves.

Details of some of the PAC's recommendations in a memorandum to Mr Vance were disclosed to Weekend Argus by Mr Barney Desai, PAC secretary for publicity and information.

One of the PAC's main arguments for UN involvement was that the National Peace Accord had failed and violence was increasing.

Mr Vance was told the PAC was prepared to co-operate with genuine efforts to bring an end to the carnage.

The PAC's recommendations include:

■ A UN commission of experts should be sent to South Africa by the Security Council "to investigate, monitor and adjudicate" and to remain until the election of a new government;

■ "Foreign mercenary forces" like the erstwhile Koevoet and Battalion 32 be "verifiably expelled" under the supervision of the UN commission;

■ A purging and legitimising of the command structure of the security forces, including the SADF, the police and the National Intelligence Service (NIS), involving the international community if necessary;

■ The SADF be confined to barracks under UN supervision until the election of a new government;

■ The involvement of the UN commission on violence be based on a definition of the violence as a "state-sponsored destabilisation war against the African people";

■ The UN commission "take notice of the primary manifestation of the violence which takes

■ The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) says South Africa's peace mechanism is "fatally flawed" and calls for United Nations intervention.

place in the form of well-trained, well-armed and well-financed hired killers".

On the issue of South Africa's political processes, the PAC said Codesa was incapable of handling inevitable deadlocks. The UN should, therefore, consider the establishment of an alternative forum.

Unlike Codesa, the new forum should allow the media access to its working. It should be representative, with parties elected to draft a new constitution and the percentage of seats should reflect the percentage of national support.

Other PAC proposals include:

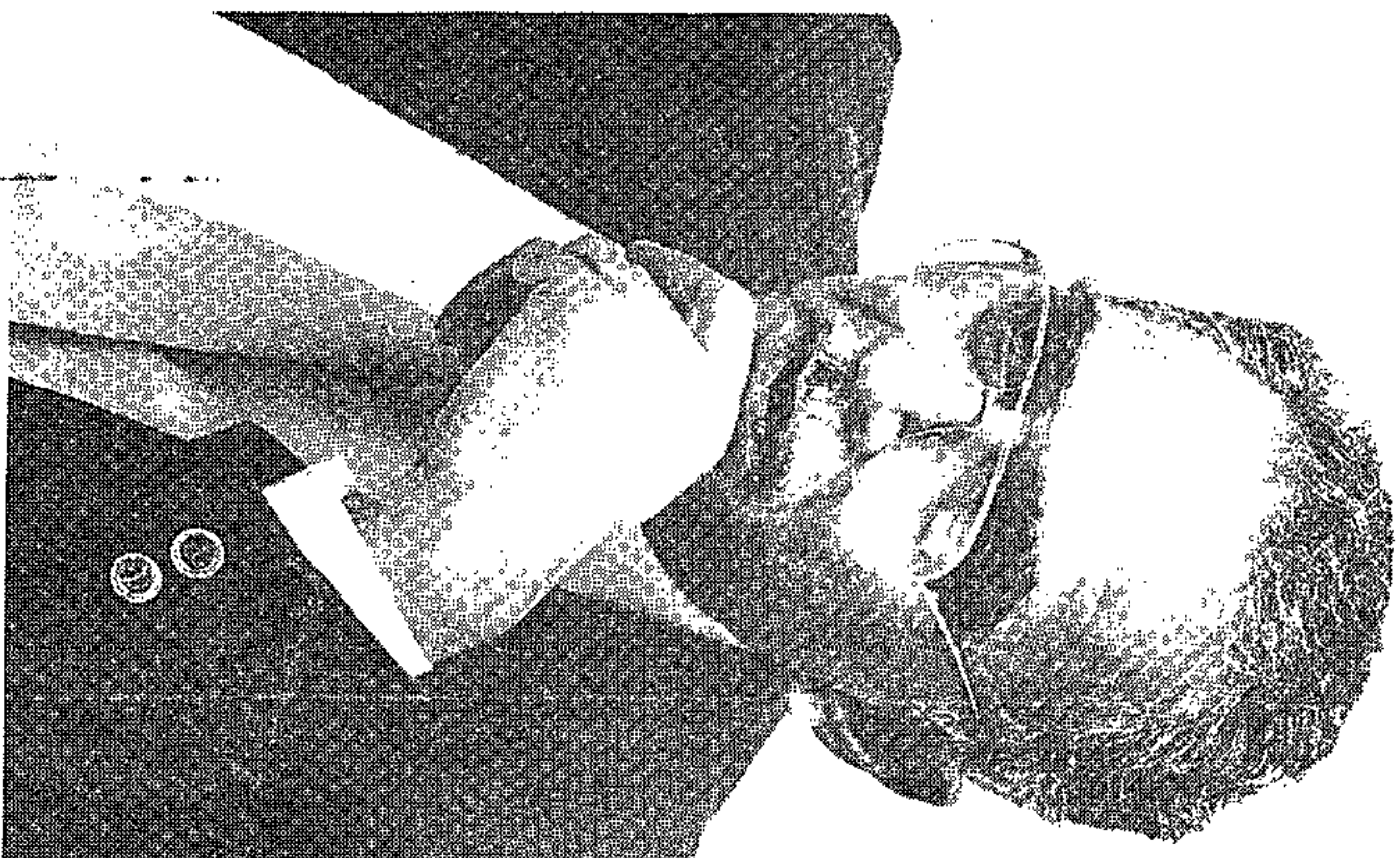
■ A constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. Pre-constituent assembly talks should focus on ways to establish such an assembly, including a voters' roll, voter's age, date of election and supervision of elections.

■ The UN should send a second team, to be known as the "political democratisation team", to supervise, convene, verify and underwrite discussions and agreements for the election of a constituent assembly.

Reasons given by the PAC for the failure of the National Peace Accord include:

Its failure to define the violence, or to consider the manifestations of the violence. It also failed to identify the alleged guilty party/parties to be investigated and called on perpetrators to be their own investigators.

"As a result the Accord is fatally flawed and is unable to deal with killers. Instead the Goldstone Commission interrogates victims instead of perpetrators," said the PAC.



□ Mr Barney Desai, Pan African Congress publicity and information secretary.

(33b) AUG 11/8/92

Observer

team from

STAR 3/8/92

UN jets in

By Louise Marsland

(336)

Seven United Nations observers landed at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to monitor the heightened mass action campaign.

The observers immediately flew to their separate destinations where, in conjunction with regional dispute resolution committees around the country, they will monitor the campaign along with three other UN colleagues already in the country.

Two Americans, Miriam Freedman and Rehana Ahmad-Haque, will be stationed in Klerksdorp and Pretoria (including eastern and far northern Transvaal) respectively.

M.G. Ramcharan from Guyana, South America, will be based in Durban, while his US colleague John Renninger will be staying in Maritzburg.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees representative in Johannesburg Kallu Kalumiya will join the monitoring team on the Witwatersrand and Vaal, along with team leader Hisham Omayad (Ghana) and Shola Omoregie (Nigeria), who arrived in South Africa earlier, as part of UN special envoy Cyrus Vance's delegation.

Other postings are: Shigeru Mochida (Japan) to Bloemfontein, Joan Seymour (United Kingdom) to Cape Town, Jose Campino (Portugal) to East London and Port Elizabeth.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, who will co-ordinate the visit, said the UN observers would file daily reports to a head office in Johannesburg.

"I think their presence here is going to give an objective picture — they will be the eyes and ears of the international community," he said.

● Witwatersrand/Vaal regional dispute resolution committee vice-chairman and MP Rupert Lorimer said yesterday the observers in that region would be taken up in a helicopter today to familiarise them with the area. They will also visit several townships.

UN monitoring hampered

By Michael Sparks

336

STAR 3/8/92

Diplomatic protocol and bureaucracy hampered the work of the UN team in South Africa to monitor the mass action.

Jose Campino, who was monitoring events in the eastern Cape, was barred from Ciskei yesterday.

However, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, who chairs the National Peace Secretariat, said last night that it appeared the issue had been resolved.

Kallu Kalumiya, who heads the mission of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees which is repatriating exiles to South Africa, withdrew from monitoring at the last minute because of a bureaucratic hitch.

The two remaining UN observers in Johannesburg reported a generally quiet day in the area.

Hisham Omayad, who heads the mission, helped resolve a dispute in Daveyton where ANC

Youth League members wanted to march, although permission had not been granted. The march went ahead.

After a helicopter flight over Soweto and the Vaal area, Shola Omoregie toured the Vaal area where he reported everything was quiet.

The UN team later met National Peace Accord representatives in Johannesburg to discuss the day's events.

General strike: UN group jets into SA

SDW/pea 3/8/92

■ **Ten to monitor week of mass action:**

336

A SEVEN-PERSON United Nations observer team jetted into Johannesburg yesterday morning, confident of fulfilling their mission of monitoring the planned mass action this week.

With the presence of the UN High Commission for Refugees and last week's visit by special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, the mission will be the third official presence in South Africa by the world body since 1960.

Head of the mission, Mr Hisham Omayad, said the team, which will consist of 10 members after the addition of three others currently in Johannesburg, will be based throughout the country.

"They will have free range to go anywhere in the area they are assigned. They will observe and cover all activities related to the mass action and will report through me to the United Nations secretary general and the Security Council," Omayad said.

He added that they will have access to all

regional and local committees of the National Peace Secretariat and political parties and will monitor scheduled and unscheduled activities related to the protest.

"This is the A-team from New York. We have made provision for them to be in South Africa for one week. During the protest, they will not stand off and wait if violence breaks out. They will also be involved in negotiations to end violence during the mass action," Omayad said.

ANC director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, who met the mission members, said their presence demonstrated the concern of the UN secretary general, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali,

and the Security Council about the violence in South Africa.

The monitors will be easily identifiable through UN armbands and other paraphernalia, and helicopters and other transport facilities will be available throughout the country to enable them to reach flashpoints quickly.

"We want to ensure there is no violence during the mass action," Mbeki said. "On our part, any member who engages in violence during the protest will be kicked out of the ANC. Besides local monitors from our organisation, our headquarters will keep a 24-hour watch on the event."



Mr Thabo Mbeki

Unions, employers agree on strike losses

THE impact on production of this week's mass action — particularly from Wednesday to Friday — will be limited by several agreements which have been reached between employers and unions.

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) assistant general-secretary Mr Marcel Golding said at the weekend that agreements for

members have indicated they would open their factories on Saturday to make up for Monday and Tuesday.

Similar arrangements have been made in the retail sector. Various Natal employer organisations and Cosatu have signed a declaration to "ensure that the risk of violence and intimidation is minimised".

They will jointly monitor the stayaway. In the Eastern Cape it is likely that workers will work on Thursday and Friday and hold lunch-time demonstrations.

Coinciding with the start of the mass action, NUM members in the metal, engineering, motor, tyre and rubber industries begin a national strike over wage and job security demands. — Own Correspondent and Finance Staff

'A-team' here for stayaway

CT 3/8/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Seven members of the UN observer team — described as the "A-team from New York" — arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were quickly dispatched to posts around the country where they will monitor for the ANC alliance's two-day stayaway.

The seven members join three other UN monitors who are already in the country after assisting UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who left South Africa on Friday.

Mission head Mr Hisham Omayed said the team members would act primarily as observers, although they would mediate between groups during the stayaway if called on to do so.

He stressed that team members would act in accordance with National Peace Accord



UN PRESENCE... Head of the UN monitoring team Mr Hisham Omayed of Ghana (right) and team member Mr Shola Omolegbe of Nigeria address journalists after arriving yesterday.

structures and would be briefed by the chairman of the local and regional dispute resolution committees.

They would be free to go anywhere in their areas and observe all activities related to mass action.

They could also attend meetings of the dispute resolution committees and would report daily to the team's temporary head office in Johannesburg.

Mr Omayed conceded that the number of monitors was small, but said "this is the A-team from New York", expressing confidence that they would be able to play a positive role in limiting violence.

The team was welcomed by NPS chairman Dr Antonio Gildenhuys, ANC head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and a government liaison officer.

"For us the most appropriate representation at the airport was that of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Gildenhuys, with whom we are working very closely," Mr Omayed said.

The UN observer assigned to the Western Cape is Mrs Joan Seymour, a former member of the Umag group that oversaw the Namibian transition.

A senior political affairs officer with the secretary's department of political affairs on Africa and the Middle East, Mrs Seymour arrived in the city last night and expects to be here until "at least Wednesday". — Own Correspondent, Sapa and Staff Reporter



Heckling at peace service

Staff Reporter

A SERVICE for peace was disrupted by loud heckling and a walkout by about 40 people in St George's Cathedral yesterday.

The service was hosted by the Western Cape Council of Churches to pray for peace during mass action today and tomorrow, and conducted by Dr Lionel Louw, of the WCCC, and a lecturer in Social Sciences at UCT.

The service was preceded by a short march for peace from the Parade and was attended by about 500 people.

In his sermon Dr Louw said that although the image of the leader of the oppressor had changed since the finger-wagging days of Mr P W Botha, the present leader (Mr F W de Klerk) was unchanged in substance.

At this point groups of people began leaving and others interrupted to object to his political references.

The service was suspended for one minute to allow those who wanted to go to leave.

CHURCH MARCH... About 500 churchgoers marched for peace in the city yesterday.

Picture: SEAN COO

ANC 'closed'

UN 'A-team' arrives for the stayaway

336

TIM COHEN

SEVEN members of the UN observer team — described as the "A-team from New York" — arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were quickly dispatched to posts around the country where they are to monitor the ANC alliance's two-day stayaway. 8/04/92 3/8/92

The seven members joined three other UN monitors who were already in the country after assisting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, who left SA on Friday.

Mission head Hisham Omayad said the team members would act primarily as observers, although they would mediate between groups during the stayaway if requested to do so.

He emphasised that team members would act in accordance with national peace accord structures and would be briefed by the chairmen of the local and regional dispute resolution committees.

They would be free to go anywhere in their areas and to observe all activities related to mass action.

They could also attend meetings of the dispute resolution committees and report daily to the team's temporary head office in Johannesburg.

Omayad conceded that the number of monitors was small, but said "this is the A-team from New York", expressing confidence that they would be able to play a positive role in limiting violence.

All the monitors are attached to the UN department of political affairs.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who was on hand to meet the mission members at the airport, said their presence demonstrated the concern of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council about the violence in SA.

He said the monitors would be easily identifiable by their UN armbands. Extensive transport facilities, including helicopters, would be available to them.

Mbeki repeated the ANC's commitment to ensuring that the stayaway proceeded peacefully, saying its head office would be observing the mass action closely.

● Picture: Page 3

● Comment: Page 6

U.S. ... in this sprawling

we spend the evenings chatting.

computer name: Amic. This little machine — there are

There is no place on Earth quite like the Olympic Village. □

UN to act on its conscience

STAC 3/8/92

336

STUNG by bitter criticism from United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that it is blind to the horrors of war and starvation in Somalia, the international community is preparing to dispatch four battalions of peacekeepers.

Thanks to a raging civil war between rival clans and sub-clans, drought and the collapse of all civil authority, more than a third of Somalia's 4.5 million people are likely to starve to death before the year's end, according to relief experts.

The peacekeeping force is needed to ensure that the enormous airlift of humanitarian aid which relief agencies are trying to get to Somalia gets safely to the starving population. Efforts to get food aid to outlying areas have been thwarted by the warring factions in Somalia, and only a few

The UN is to render aid and bring order to Somalia by the risky step of sending in hundreds of peacekeeping troops. LEONARD DOYLE reports from New York.

international agencies, such as the Red Cross, dare operate outside Mogadishu. The planned UN force would comprise four 500-strong battalions to be dispersed to four regions, diplomats say.

The UN has, itself, been trying to get 500 security personnel into the capital for months, but General Mohammed Farah Aidid, a clan leader, has threatened to kill them. Now, after months of patient diplomacy by UN envoy Mohammed Sahnoun, the organisation has been shaken into taking a much tougher stance against the clan leaders. The Security Council at first

balked at sending a peacekeeping force to Somalia, but has been chastened by the country's deepening crisis and the public rebuke by Mr Boutros-Ghali, that it was devoting resources to Yugoslavia, the "rich man's war", ignoring an equally horrendous conflict in Africa.

In response, the council approved an airlift of aid to Mogadishu airport, and it is expected to show very little resistance to the dangerous and costly plan to use peacekeeping forces to protect deliveries of food aid in a civil war. The airport has not been used to deliver aid since June 1,

when bandits stole six tons of food at gunpoint. Mr Sahnoun has drawn up plans to begin an emergency airlift immediately, however, without waiting for military and aid experts due to arrive in the country on Wednesday.

Despite months of warning from aid organisations, the UN has been embarrassed by Somalia's slide into chaos. Much of the trouble in the country can be laid at the feet of superpower rivalry in Africa, in which the Soviet Union and the United States saw the country as a strategic asset. Mr Boutros-Ghali also has "a bad conscience" about Somalia, Western diplomats say, because of his own failed efforts to resolve the conflict when he was Egypt's deputy prime minister. — The Independent News Service. □

many world-class athletes but of cheating. Earlier this year, a judge in cost to the defendants, all sanctions will collapse. Ser

the nation in brief

Ciskei spurns UN's Campino

CISKEI authorities yesterday refused a member of the United Nations observer mission to South Africa access after he had travelled to the area to observe mass action. (336)

Mr Jose Campino, who is one of the 10 UN observers of the ANC-led mass action, was refused entry at Mdantsane border post by soldiers who were manning a roadblock at the township entrance.

Campino, who returned to his hotel in East London to await further instructions from the head of the UN base in Johannesburg, said the incident occurred shortly after 12.20pm. Sowetan 4/8/92

Some members of the UN team flew over Soweto and Vaal Triangle townships in a helicopter yesterday before being taken on visits to Benoni, Daveyton, Alexandra and Soweto. They were accompanied by representatives of dispute resolution committees.

Leader of the UN delegation, Mr Hishan Amyayad, said their mission should be seen as more than a public relations exercise. - Sapa.

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 F 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 getting 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 disgraceful gloating 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 voting 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, but De Klerk's sudden willingness to co-operate with the UN, after years of treating the institution with fear and loathing, helped restore his own waning stature while further corroding that of the ANC and its partners.

All politicians, of course, claim victory 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 upon over the surprised objections of even radical types on the national executive committee (NEC).

As for resorting to the Security

Mandela helped to appoint the World as referee

B/DAY 4/8/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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.

The UN will not be the only actor, of course. The EC, OAU, the Commonwealth and the Islamic Conference Organisation will all be represented on the stage, as will a number of states in their unilateral capacities and a large array of NGOs and private individuals. Such multiplicity raises the risk that there will be rivalries and attempts by SA factions to play members of the foreign

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, Zimbabwean 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.

Vance due to submit report on SA

WASHINGTON — Special representative Cyrus Vance was expected to submit a written report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali late yesterday on his mission to SA. **BLD 4/8/92**

Diplomats said the former US secretary of state had spent the weekend drafting recommendations on how the Security Council could best help SA's parties deal with the violence and resume negotiations.

Boutros-Ghali will probably present the report to the council today to give members a chance to consult governments before the document is released later this

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week. If Vance recommends a UN presence larger and more permanent than the 10-member monitoring team now on the ground to observe this week's mass action, there will have to be a Security Council session to approve the funding.

Council members are understood to have agreed that there will be no formal debate on Vance's report. Instead, the council will simply announce how it intends to implement the recommendations.

Calm after the storm

(336) (28/12)

AR 5/8/92

UN observer takes break from violence on day two of mass action

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT was a relatively quiet day, nowhere near as full of smoke, stand-offs and mad dashes as her first day of observing mass action in the Western Cape.

But United Nations observer Ms Joan Seymour had anything but a rest, attending a series of meetings and an ANC rally, being mistaken for an ANC member — and being introduced with the name of a Hollywood actress.

Ever the diplomat, she declined to give journalists her impressions of what she had seen. But the senior political affairs officer, one of a 10-member UN group monitoring the mass action, was stirred by the ANC rally at Nyanga Stadium.

"I must say this is impressive," she told ANC regional executive committee member Mr Vincent Diba as she left.

Plans to introduce her to the crowd at the rally were dropped when she had to return to Cape Town.

Mr Diba, a former Robben Island prisoner, acted as Ms Seymour's translator during a fiery address by the secretary of Western Cape ANC, Mr Tony Yengeni.

Wearing a blue cap and armband identifying her as a UN observer, she listened attentively as Mr Yengeni criticised Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander for condemning mass action and advising the PAC to start its own programme of action.

She was introduced to civic association member Mr Johnson Mpa-kumpa, the survivor of an assassination attempt earlier this year.

He said: "I'm very pleased to see you. I think that by now you probably have the real picture of what is happening here." Ms Seymour did not comment.

After an early morning start and visits to Mitchell's Plain, Lavender Hill, Nyanga and Guguletu, she went to Mowbray to meet monitors from the Black Sash.

Then she left for Ravensmead and Kleinveit with Regional Dispute Resolution Committee secretary Mr Relief Oliver and Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee member Mr Sean Tail.

After a tour of Ravensmead the party chanced upon a group of about 50 marching behind an ANC flag.

But there was more urgent business in Kleinveit, where residents had occupied municipal offices and the civic centre.

A civic co-ordinator, Mr Basil Nefti, met her outside the civic centre and asked her if she wanted to speak to residents.

She said: "We don't want to disrupt anything, we just want to see what's going on."

As she entered the hall and walked on to the stage about 200 residents, apparently mistaking her for a senior ANC member, shouted "Viva ANC".

Mr Nefti told residents why she was there, turned to her and said: "What's your name again?"

Unruffled, she replied: "Joan Seymour".

In her soft voice she told residents she was pleased to have seen their demonstration.

Later Mr Nefti introduced her to women in the municipal offices as Jane Seymour.



UN team leader finds all round co-operation

STAR 518192

The United Nations team monitoring mass action should not be considered as just 10 people, but as including all those involved in local peace committees, head of the team Hashim Omayad said yesterday.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference, he said with the support they were receiving, they could do more than 1 000 observers without co-operation.

Mr Omayad said it was the first time the UN had monitored strike action.

He spent the day monitoring an ANC alliance march in Krugersdorp, which the AWB threatened to disrupt, but the march went off peacefully.

UN team member Shola Omoregie spent the day monitoring Soweto, including negotiations at Baragwanath Hospital between marchers and the hospital administration.

~~REDACTED~~ Enter 336

An agreement was reached that a regional peace committee representative would in future attend meetings between management and hospital workers.

Mr Omayad said he was pleased his colleague Jose Campino could enter Ciskei to monitor the march there after being refused entry on Monday. — Staff Reporter.

UN observers 'not hijacked'

Staff Reporter

FEARS that the United Nations observers monitoring this week's mass action campaign could be "hijacked" by political organisations were misplaced, Mr Corrie Bezuidenhout of the National Peace Secretariat said yesterday.

The 10 UN observers, under the leadership of Mr Hisham Omayad of Ghana, have been working in close co-operation with the Peace Secretariat since their arrival at the weekend.

Mr Bezuidenhout was replying

to questions about the Cape Town UN monitor, Ms Joan Seymour, who spent the whole of Monday with Black Sash and Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee (UMAC) monitors, who were apparently directed to riot areas by the ANC.

UMAC worker Ms Rachel Brown told the Cape Times that Ms Seymour teamed up with UMAC on the recommendation of the secretary of the Western Cape regional dispute resolution committee, Mr Retief Olivier.

She said the situation at Gra-

bouw would have been "a lot worse" if it were not for Ms Seymour.

Ms Seymour said last night that today she would meet the new chairman of the W Cape regional dispute resolution committee, Professor Jaap Durand, and police officers.

"I'm not only meeting UMAC but also other groups," Ms Seymour said and stressed that she would not be influenced by any single group.

Ms Seymour will observe today's march along the N2 to Grand Parade from a helicopter.

Talked over at Civic Centre

CLIVE SAWYER

Municipal Reporter

MORE than 1 000 SA Municipal Workers Union members occupied the heart of city government today, taking over the Civic Centre concourse as part of the mass action campaign.

Singing echoed through the centre as the workers prepared to hand a memorandum to executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander and mayor Mr Frank van der Velde.

The document calls on the city council to guarantee job protection, reject unilateral local government restructuring and ensure there will be no re-trenchments or privatisation.

In terms of an agreement between the union and council management, workers from outlying depots came to the Civic Centre for the protest and were due to leave by 9.30am.

They agreed the occupation of the concourse would be "a political protest but should not be seen as industrial action".

Workers will not be paid for the hours they spend demonstrating and a union request to use council vehicles to travel to and from the Civic Centre was refused.

● Following yesterday's ANC-alliance march through the city centre which started late, city council spokesman Mr Ted Doman said organisers of future marches would be told firmly to stick to agreed times.

In spite of the breach of the agreement to disperse by 3 pm, the council had no serious complaints about the running of yesterday's march.

According to the agreement, marchers were meant to leave the Grand Parade for their circuit of the city at 1 pm, but groups were still arriving at that time.

Councillors and officials will hold a formal post-mortem on the demonstration today.

Considering the size of the crowd, it was no surprise the event ran over time, said Cape Town Chamber of Commerce human resources manager Mr Charl Adams.

"We shall have to learn to live with things like this, but hopefully organisers of such events will stay in the limits agreed with local authorities."

Many businesses closed early to allow staff to get trains and buses home before the marchers left the city.

● See pages 2 and 3.

UN monitors 'yet to see violence' during protests

AKG b/g/92

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — After three days of monitoring the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, the 10 United Nations monitors have yet to see an incident of violence, said group leader Mr Hisham Omayad.

However, Mr M G Ramcharan, who is monitoring events in Natal/KwaZulu, had been taken to the scene of Sunday night's Empangeni massacre, in which 12 people were killed.

The group sent to South Africa is the first UN delegation to monitor mass protests. It is due to leave at the weekend and will report to UN Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali.

Some of the monitors have been involved in confrontational situations but negotiations involving the peace committees, police, right-wing groups, ANC alliance members and the monitors appear to have averted a number of clashes.

Mr Omayad, who was in Pretoria with Shola Omoregi and Rehana Ahmad-Haque to monitor yesterday's march to the Union Buildings, said it went off "very well" especially considering the large crowd.

"We were very pleased with the march and what we saw," he said.

Representatives of the regional and local peace committees, including National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonio Gildenhuys, were also at the Pretoria march.

Mr Bert Ramcharan, the UN monitor in Durban, said he and his colleagues aimed to be a calming influence, not to carry out investigations or influence events. "My appeal constantly is for peace, companionship and for fellowship," he said.

IPF man hits out at UN presence

DURBAN. It was a "disgrace" that South Africa had to call in outsiders to solve their problems. *U b/4/4*

South Africans should sit down and resolve their problems themselves.

This was said here yesterday by Mr Thomas Shabalala, a member of the central committee of the IFP and an executive member of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

He was speaking at a press conference chaired by Mr B G Ramcharan, one of the 11 UN observers in South Africa to observe the mass action.

Mr Ramcharan said the combi carrying the UN banner had been applauded and waved at in townships near here, adding people had been seizing the opportunity to put across their points of view.

Mr Ramcharan, a lawyer from Guyana who has been with the world organisation for 19 years, declined to say whether he felt optimistic or pessimistic about SA's political future.

He said he had been able to speak at a gathering on Tuesday and conveyed a message of "peace, compassion and friendship".

He said a colleague, American Mr John Reninger, had also been in the region during the week.

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.

UN relief aid for Somalia

Sowetan 7/8/92 (336)

NAIROBI - A team of top United Nations troubleshooters flew out of Nairobi yesterday to assess a huge international relief operation for Somalia.

At least 200 starving men, women and children are dying every day.

Officials said the team would first fly to the bombed-out capital, Mogadishu, and hold talks with rival warlords whose paid thugs divide the city into tribal fiefdoms and are preventing the distribution of tons of food already in the port.

Stung by criticism of double standards between its treatment of Somalia -

■ Accusation of bias in world's worst humanitarian crisis:

now widely labelled the world's worst humanitarian crisis - and the "rich man's war" in what was Yugoslavia, the UN is now edging towards some form of military intervention.

A senior UN official said the technical team would be a rubber stamp for sending in peace monitors "whether the faction leaders like it or not".

Somalia disintegrated into chaos after the fall of dictator former President Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

More than 18 months of vicious inter-clan feuding has destroyed all agriculture and wrecked the country's infrastructure.

He said the guards would not be proper UN peacekeeping forces but would simply protect relief shipments and staff.

Any UN action will take at least one month to organise by which time hundreds more Somalis will be dead. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Something's gone badly wrong

5 Mar 7/8/92

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SOMETHING has gone badly wrong at the United Nations.

Just when it ought to be more capable of concerted action to make and keep the peace than ever before, the organisation presents a sorry spectacle: wracked by petty squabbling, starved of funds, and confused about priorities.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the secretary-general, accuses Western members of the Security Council of hypocrisy, parsimony and worse. Western governments respond with leaks aimed at undermining him.

Mr Boutros-Ghali's frustration,

however undiplomatically expressed, is understandable.

It is, after all, largely at the behest of Western governments that the UN is being asked to confront an expanding range of tasks. The same Western governments are simultaneously refusing to give the requisite backing. They should remind themselves of the solemn commitments they made only six months ago at UN headquarters.

They should remember renewing their pledge to respect and implement the principles of the UN Charter. And asking Mr Boutros-Ghali to report on how the or-

ganisation's role in preventing and ending conflicts could be enhanced.

The result, produced in June, was an agenda for peace, an ambitious document calling for an intensification of preventive diplomacy and deployment of peace-keeping forces.

The world's latest convulsions have underlined the need for ambition on this scale. But the UN is sorely over-stretched already, with member states owing it \$1.75 billion (R4,84 billion) in overdue contributions for peace-keeping and other activities.

The secretary-general is trying to turn the UN into a real force for peace-keeping and peace-making with a coherent, international agenda.

The crux has been Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr Boutros-Ghali has asked why was the world worrying so much about Yugoslavia while ignoring the worse tragedy in Somalia?

In principle, Mr Boutros-Ghali is right to press this point. At the same time, he would stand a better chance of success if he adopted a subtler approach. — Financial Times News Service. □

UN observers STAR 7/8/92 calm hotheads

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The UN monitoring team has been observing this week's rolling mass action, **MICHAEL SPARKS** reports.

THE MONITORING team has yet to see an incident of violence or intimidation and is very pleased with the conduct of protesters during the mass action campaign, including Wednesday's march in Pretoria, according to the team leader.

Hisham Omayad believes the monitoring can be successful and achieve a great deal, even with just 10 people from the United Nations involved in the actual monitoring.

Earlier this week he said: "This is more than a public relations exercise on the part of the UN. Our 10 people have been provided with the infrastructure and support they need in all the various regions.

"If the UN had 1 000 observers without the co-operation of people on the ground, we would achieve less than we have been able to with only 10, but with the full backing of the regional peace committees," he said.

Some of the monitors have been involved in confrontational situations, but negotiations involving the peace committees, police, right-wing groups, ANC alliance members and the monitors appear to have averted a number of clashes.

One such incident happened in Krugersdorp on Tuesday when the AWB laid a charge against an illegal gathering and march to the town hall by the ANC alliance.

After much negotiating, the march went ahead, with verbal abuse and vulgar gestures by the rightwingers.

Asked whether this mediation brought into question the team's objectivity, Mr Omayad said: "We are not here as passive observers, we are interacting with all sides." Action to ensure peace did not contravene their mandate, he added.

Shola Omoreigi was also involved in a difficult situation outside the Meadowlands police station, which was surrounded by a crowd of 1 500 alliance supporters. After tense negotiations, a delegation was allowed to enter the police station to present demands.

Wits/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee co-chairman Rupert Lorimer said it was incidents like these which enabled monitors to "see the Peace Accord in action".

After his first morning of monitoring, Mr Omayad said he wanted to focus on the National Peace Accord and its implementation. "What is in (the Peace Accord) is very valuable," far more so because it was put together by South Africans, he said.

"The peace committee structures are permanent and have been effective. We are only here temporarily," he added.

Another Wits/Vaal committee co-chairman, Andre Lamprecht, gave credit to the UN group when he said: "We must recognise the significance and the international legitimacy that the UN Security Council has given to the Peace Accord and the role of the Peace Accord by sending a delegation to this country."

The monitoring group, sent by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is the first ever sent by the world body to monitor protest action in a country. □

UN considers aid push into Somalia

Guardian/W (in W/Mail 7/8-13/8/92) 336
NEW YORK (UN) — Diplomats at the United Nations consider that the resolution adopted by the Security Council on July 27 is the first practical step towards fulfilling the world body's "humanitarian duty to interfere" in Somalia, a country devastated by civil war where some 4,500,000 inhabitants are threatened with famine.

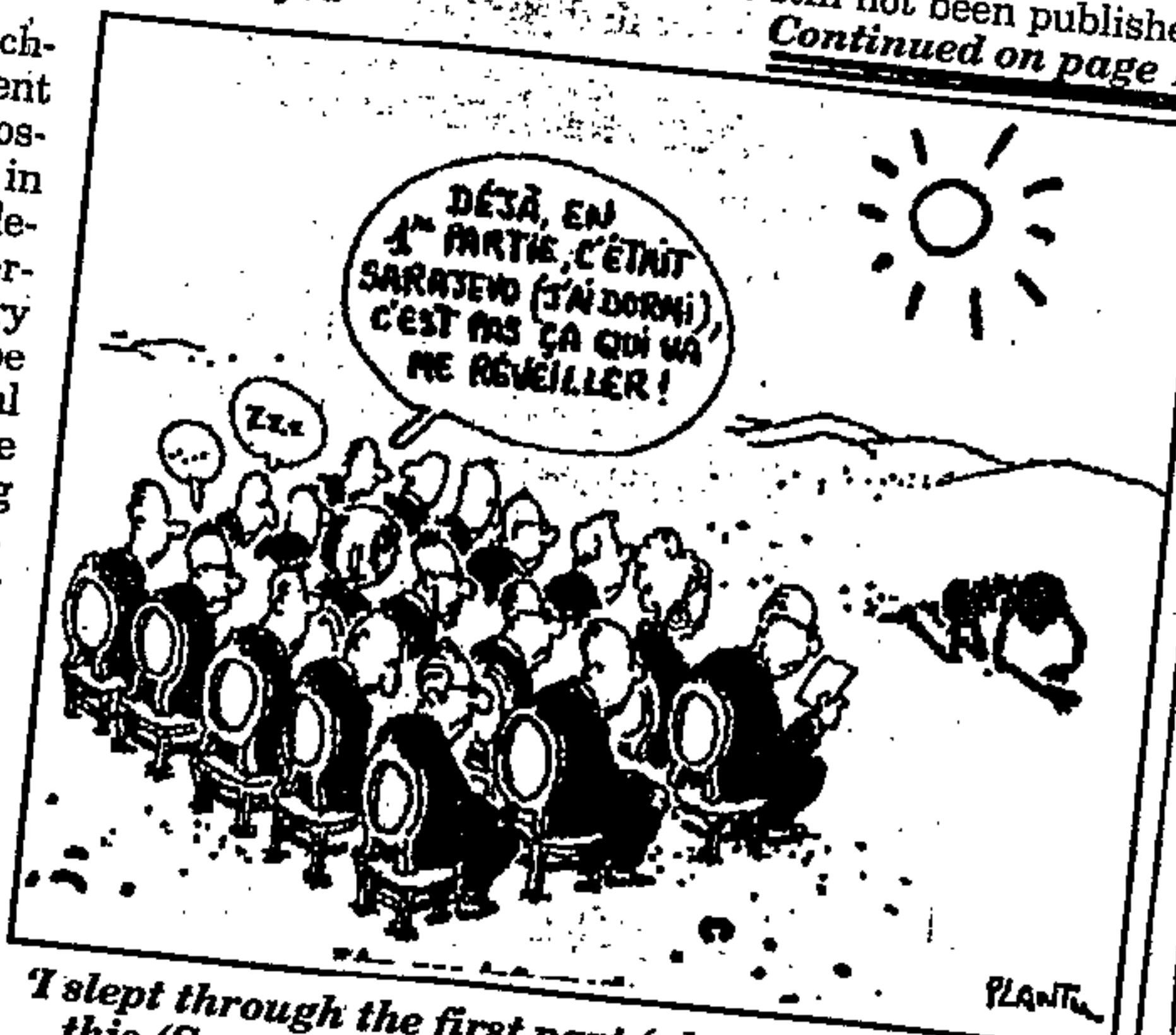
In a report published three days earlier, Boutros-Ghali proposed strengthening the UN operations in the country and he took the Security Council members to task for being excessively concerned with the crisis in Yugoslavia, which he described as "a war of the rich", and ignoring the tragedy being played out in Somalia.

He announced that a technical mission was being sent to Somalia to explore the possibility of recovering arms in exchange for food and to determine the size of the international civilian and military contingents that would be needed for setting up a local police force, disarming the population, and protecting humanitarian organisations. Though the Security Council described Boutros-Ghali's proposals as "very ambitious", it approved his report and adopted a resolution providing for a very substantial humanitarian operation. The Council's 15 members said they were seriously alarmed at the worsening situation in Somalia and pointed out that

it was urgent to move humanitarian aid as quickly as possible to all parts of that country. The Council asked the UN Secretary General to organise "urgently" an airlift and called on all the parties involved in the fighting to respect fully the safety of UN personnel and the security of humanitarian operations.

By Afsané Bassir Pour

"Good intentions" aside, what the Security Council approved for the moment is the dispatch of a technical team headed by Boutros-Ghali's special representative, the Algerian diplomat Mohammed Sahnoun. In a report which has still not been published, *Continued on page 16*



'I slept through the first part (about Sarajevo), and this (Somalia) isn't going to wake me up either'

What to

Aid push into Somalia

Continued from page 13 336
Sahnoun has moreover criticised the ineffectiveness of the efforts UN personnel have been making to distribute food aid in Somalia, "while the Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations are managing to function".

Plainly exasperated by the humanitarian situation in the country, Security Council members are now for the first time threatening to take "other measures" to ensure that aid is properly distributed.

Diplomats at the United Nations point out that since Resolution 688 was passed authorising aid to the Kurdish population in Iraq "countries are increasingly demanding that the humanitarian right to in-

terfere" be exercised by the world body. Given the situation on the ground in Somalia, the diplomats are in no way underestimating the difficulties of this "huge and dangerous" undertaking. It is estimated that several thousand men would be necessary for an operation of this size to succeed. But no evaluation of the cost has been made.

(July 29) 7/8-13/8/92

Le Monde

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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.

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.

CT 8/8/92
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. (336) (200000)

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

UN makes recommendations to bolster peace and Codesa

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — More international observers to help reinforce the year-old National Peace Accord and an "eminent and impartial person who need not be a foreigner" to keep Codesa on track.

That is the essence of the latest United Nations plan to break the political logjam in South Africa.

The proposals were made by Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, in a report to the Security Council based on the recent mission to the country by his special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

The Secretary-General recommended the deployment of

"some 30 observers" by the UN to serve in various parts of South Africa at locations to be agreed upon and where they would work in close association with the National Peace Secretariat, "in order to further the purposes of the Accord".

If necessary, he said, their number could be supplemented by other appropriate international organisations, such as the Commonwealth, European Community and OAU.

Practical arrangements should be the subject of "early and detailed discussions" among the UN, the South African government and the parties concerned.

While making these recommendations — based on Mr Vance's assessment — the sec-

retary-general emphasised that the task of negotiation was "uniquely the responsibility of South Africans themselves".

He said he was heartened by statements made to Mr Vance regarding the major parties' determination to return, as early as possible, to the negotiating table.

"I urge such a course of action, for the time otherwise lost is precious and even more so are the lives," he said.

Mr Boutros-Ghali called for the immediate release of all remaining "political prisoners," fair and objective reporting by the state-owned radio and television network and better co-ordination and greater transparency for the Codesa process.

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: *(3044)*

- 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; *(062)*

- A deadlock-breaking mechanism should be established at the highest political level. *(336)*

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.

Boutros wants to boost Peace Accord

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposes that South Africa receive international observers to help reinforce the year-old National Peace Accord and accept an "eminent and impartial person" to keep Codesa on track.

In a report to the Security Council based on the recent mission to SA by special envoy Cyrus Vance, Mr Boutros-Ghali on Friday recommended the deployment of 30 UN observers.

They should serve in various parts of South Africa in close association with the National Peace Secretariat and could be supplemented by representatives of organisations like the Commonwealth, EC and OAU.

Mr Boutros-Ghali urged the Government to speedily appoint justices of the peace and establish special criminal courts envisaged in the National Peace Accord.

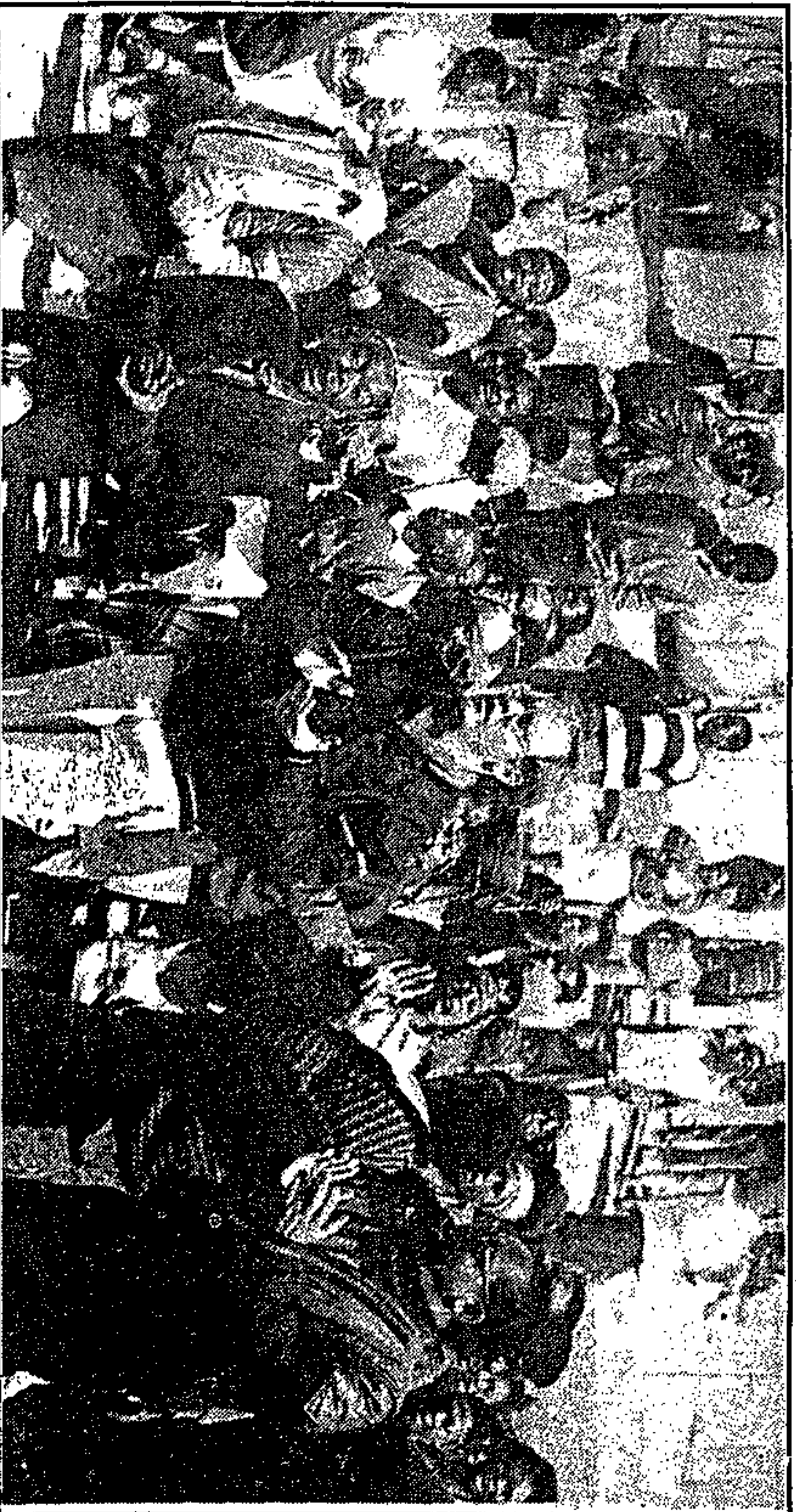


Boutros-Ghali . . . recommends deployment of UN observers.

He said he was heartened by statements made to Mr Vance of the major parties' determination to return to the negotiating table as early as possible.

Mr Boutros-Ghali called for the immediate release of all political prisoners, fair and objective reporting by radio and television, and better co-ordination and greater "transparency" for the Codesa process.

NEWS ANC welcomes probe into Umkhonto we Sizwe • News in brief



About 200 people took part in the Women's Day celebration organised by the ANC Women League in Alexandra Township yesterday.

SADF probe hailed

Sowetan 10/8/92

■ No problem with recommendations by both Judge Goldstone and UN Secretary-General:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has "no problem in principle" with Goldstone Commission and United Nations recommendations for an impartial international investigation into South African "armies and police forces" - including Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and the UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali last week strongly recommended the inquiry into the SADF, KwaZulu Police and the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army and MK.

The ANC's Mr Aziz Pahad said the

SADF and SAP had repeatedly been implicated "by omission or by commission" in continuous violence over the years.

The ANC would like to study the recommendations.

"We have nothing in principle against our people's army being investigated," Pahad said.

The UN recommendations follows the recent fact-finding mission by special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

Pahad said he was not sure if the UN's recommendation of 30 peace observers would be enough.

But it was encouraging that Boutros-Ghali had suggested the involvement of movements like the Organisation for African Unity, he said.

JUDGING by what Simon Barber wrote ("Mandela helped to appoint the world as referee", Business Day, August 4) forecasting the intentions of the UN Security Council towards SA remains, still, one of the favourite sports of some would-be media Olympians.

Barber has jumped to the conclusion that "the international community ... has officially entered the game to fortify the liberal democratic centre while there in time for it to be saved". For this result, which he clearly desires, he pays a back-handed compliment to ANC president Nelson Mandela and damns those whom he believes are opposed to such an outcome.

Leaving aside any interpretations of its Resolution 765, what really did the Security Council decide?

It condemned the escalating violence and, in particular, the massacre at Boipatong. It strongly urged the authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the violence. It called upon all parties to co-operate in combating violence and implementing the national peace accord.

It invited the UN secretary-general to appoint a special representative to recommend measures which would assist in effectively ending the violence and removing obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations. It urged all parties to co-operate with the special representative in carrying out his mandate.

Contrary to what Barber writes, the council did not reply to Mandela's submission "by telling the ANC to get back to the (negotiating) table". This interpretation of Resolution 765 is nothing but an athletic leap of imagination by Barber.

What the Security Council did say about negotiations was that it was "concerned at the break in the negotiating process ...". It then went on to say that, with the special representative having carried out his mandate, it "underlines, in this regard, the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the

ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN

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THABO MBEKI

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negotiating process as speedily as possible."

Mandela has "unleashed" no "foreign intervention" beyond what we sought when we requested a meeting of the Security Council.

Barber also says Mandela "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 voting majorities needed to ratify a new constitution."

Once more, leaving aside any interpretations of what Mandela asked for when he addressed the Security Council, what, in fact, did he ask for?

He asked for the council to request the secretary-general to appoint a special representative to make recommendations on the issue of ending violence. He also drew attention to the fact that the issues of political prisoners and security legislation constituted additional obstacles to negotiations which the special representative should act upon. As anybody should have expected, he explained the positions of the ANC with regard to the Codesa deadlock as well as our views concerning the matter of violence.

But he explicitly said we had not requested the council to meet on the issue of Codesa, that this was not a subject of its agenda and therefore had not "wanted the council to

endorse the ANC alliance's stated reasons for leaving the negotiating table" as Barber, quite wrongly, claims. Equally unfounded is his assertion that we sought the council to "take (our) side on the questions of violence".

As Barber will undoubtedly know, the Security Council meeting on SA was formally requested by the Africa Group at the UN. This was on the basis of an OAU summit resolution, drawn up with the full participation of ANC delegates at the OAU meetings held in Dakar, Senegal, in June and July.

If he cares to examine that resolution, Barber will see that it also called for the convening of the Security Council and the appointment of a special representative. It contained no suggestion that the council should endorse the ANC's views on Codesa or the question of violence.

If Barber had wanted to make an educated guess at the council's intentions, he would have been well advised to read Resolution 765 more carefully. He would have seen that the council "recalls" some of its earlier decisions on SA as well as the 1989 General Assembly "consensus declaration on apartheid and its

destructive consequences in southern Africa."

There was a specific purpose to the process of recalling earlier UN decisions.

Resolution 392 of 1976 called upon the SA government urgently to end violence against the African people and to take urgent steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination.

Resolution 554 of 1984 declared the SA constitution null and void and went on solemnly to declare that only the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented SA, could lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation.

Resolution 765 reiterates earlier positions of the council "to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society".

Space does not allow us to relate the provisions and outlook contained in the UN consensus declaration. Suffice to say that these contain a detailed presentation of the views of the UN against apartheid and in support of the people of SA in their struggle for a nonracial democracy. These various decisions demarcate the point of entry of the UN as

far as the political processes in our country are concerned. Barber writes that "the outside world is now engaged as never before, consensually and with a common purpose, to achieve a particular outcome rather than placing any specific party in power".

It is pleasing that he has made this discovery, however belated. This is precisely the objective contained in the Security Council resolutions we have cited, and especially the consensus declaration which we, as representatives of the ANC, helped to pilot through the General Assembly in 1989. This is the script from which the major players are reading their parts, and not one which Barber might fondly imagine.

In keeping with the established positions of the UN, the major function of the foreign intervention "can and will only be to expedite the process of ending the system of apartheid" and creating a "democratic, nonracial and united SA", as resolution 765 says.

There is nothing in existing UN policies, nor in the pronouncements of the major powers, to suggest that the international community wishes to insert itself in a mediating position, as a referee who is equidistant between racial domination and democracy, between those who continue to man an apartheid government and those who have, for decades, fought for a democratic, nonracial and united SA.

Mandela knew what he was getting himself into. He asked the Security Council to do various things. Having heard him better than, it seems, Barber did, it has responded as Mandela, other SA leaders, the OAU and other UN member states requested. We are pleased and greatly encouraged by this response, starting with the speedy convening of the council to the expeditious dispatch of the UN observers.

What did happen at the Security Council and in Mandela's head are clearly matters that historians will be interested in. At this moment, all that is required to present an objective picture of both matters are good journalists.

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**

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".

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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.

UWUTSIS

Urgent meetings

on Goldstone's

challenge on SADF

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government is locked in crisis talks after the Goldstone Commission threw down the gauntlet on allegations of security force involvement in violence and dirty tricks.

President F W de Klerk is expected to respond within days to the weekend announcement that the commission was ready to carry out an order by UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a full-scale probe into the SAP, the SADF and private armies.

It is understood that the State President met at least one senior government minister last night in a bid to deal with the politically explosive issue.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said the President would not respond to the Goldstone proposals until they had been carefully studied and the issue had been discussed with various ministers.

The UN proposal, endorsed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone at the weekend, stems from the recent visit by UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance to explore ways to curb violence and promote negotiations in South Africa.

Discussing the urgent need for a no-holds-barred probe into all alleged security force killings inside and outside the country, Mr Justice Goldstone said: "Unless the SADF and the SAP are fully investigated by a neutral and reliable body, they will have no prospect of receiving the trust, confidence and co-operation of the South African public."

Both the UN and the Goldstone Commission also want investigations into the KwaZulu Police, the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), and "certain security firms".

In the past the government has turned down demands for a judicial probe into alleged hit squad activities and charges that it was implicated in state-sponsored terrorism.

However, with both the government

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From page 1

and the ANC now having welcomed intervention by the UN to break the current political logjam, the parties will be under enormous pressure not summarily to dismiss its recommendations.

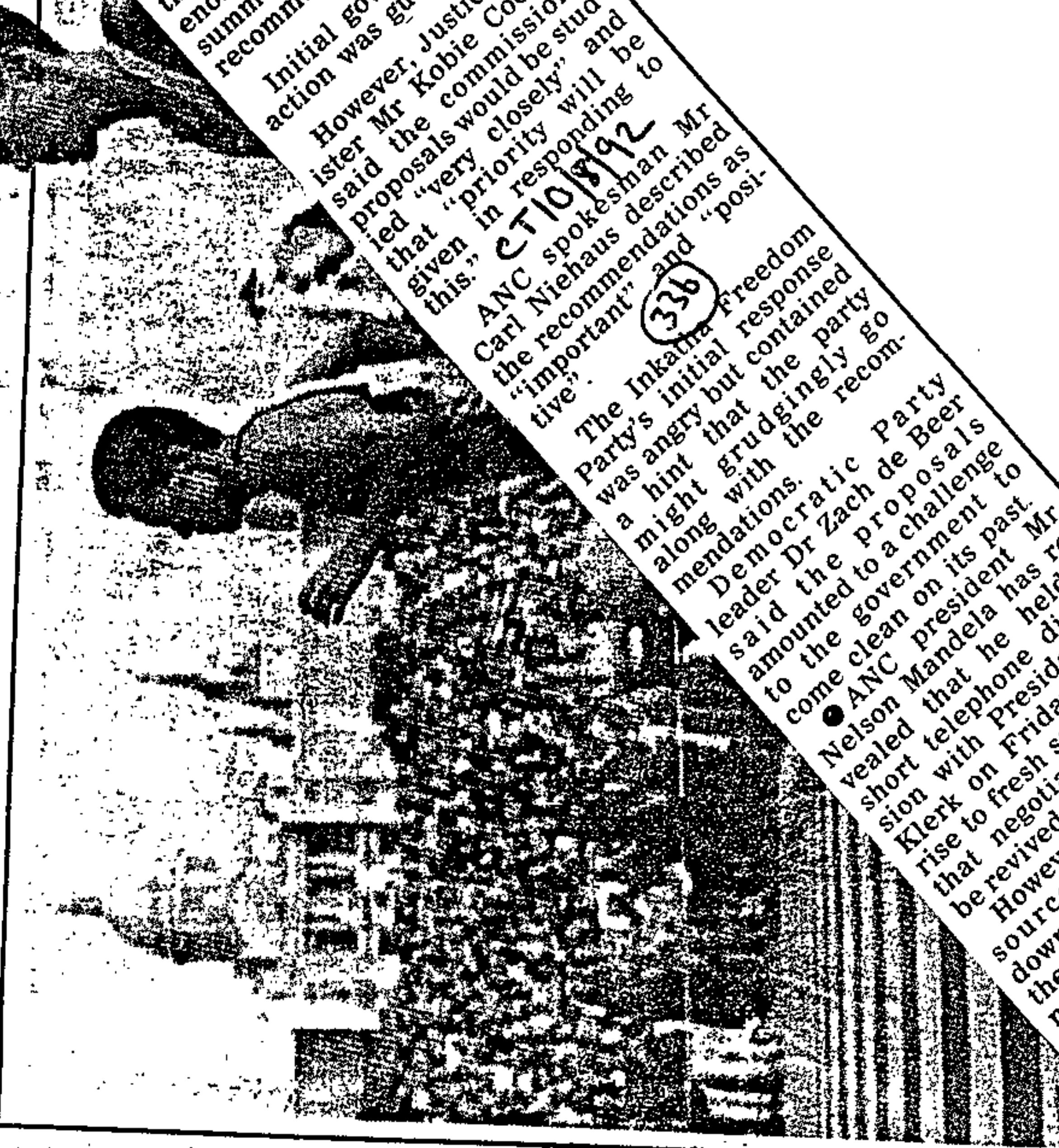
Initial government reaction was guarded. However, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the commission's proposals would be studied "very closely" and given "priority will be this."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described the recommendations as "important" and "positive".

The Inkatha Freedom Party's initial response was angry but contained a hint that the party might grudgingly go along with the recommendations.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the proposals amounted to a challenge to the government to come clean on its past.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has revealed that he held a short telephone discussion with President De Klerk on Friday, giving rise to fresh speculation that negotiations could be revived, Sapa reports. However, well-placed sources have played down the significance of the call and said it had nothing to do with talks but was an attempt by Mr Mandela to expedite his trip to the Ciskei that evening.



UN call for inquiry gets wide backing

STAR 11/8/92

By Peter Fabricius
and Helen Grange

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The National Party and other major political players have backed the United Nations' call for a probe by the Goldstone Commission into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the ANC and PAC's military wings.

But it emerged yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct would be controversial.

Concern has been expressed that a pre-emptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for the killing of high-profile activists such as the Cradock UDF leader Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and Democratic Party want full disclosure of the detail of any crimes by members of the security forces who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Judge Goldstone said in a weekend statement that unless the SA Police and SA Defence Force were fully investigated "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust ... of the South African public".

Yesterday National Party security spokesman Hennie Smit said the NP supported in principle

Mr Boutros-Ghali's call for a probe.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC national working committee would study the proposals before reacting.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said yesterday that the PAC would react fully once it had read Mr Boutros-Ghali's report.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Justice Goldstone's call for a probe.

He said that a finding by a person of Judge Goldstone's "high authority" would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Walter Felgate said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the KwaZulu Police, the KwaZulu government would not refuse to co-operate.

In another statement yesterday, Judge Goldstone explained his weekend statement that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to come forward and disclose any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved.

Mr Justice Goldstone offered his assistance in working out the amnesty details.

The ANC and the Government have already held discussions on the issue of political prisoners, where the idea of a general amnesty has been raised.

Up to 14 000 small firms creating 100 000 jobs is the aim

UN cash to aid exiles

By Michael Chester

STAR 11/8/92
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Thousands of former political exiles are to be given loans from United Nations funds to launch their own small business ventures.

As many as 14 000 new mini-firms are expected to be created under the scheme, which the planners estimate should generate jobs for 100 000 unemployed workers.

Cash from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has been ploughed into a special development fund set up by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation. The NCCR has, in turn, signed a contract to make the scheme a joint operation with the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), which will administer the fund, and offer basic advice and training.

The project will be set in motion with an initial R1 million allocation for loans of up to R6 000 — expected to create about 2 000 new business enterprises.

The scheme aims at expanding the number of new businesses launched to at least 14 000.

The launch of the scheme coincides with warnings from the SBDC of dramatic cutbacks in the normal flow of loans to budding entrepreneurs because of sharp reductions in Government subsidies for its loan programme.

SBDC managing director Dr Ben Vosloo said the Government had chopped state assistance from R100 million to less than R8 million in the 1992 Budget.

Slashed

The SBDC had already been forced to reduce new loans by 30 percent and the total could be slashed by half unless substantial new funds were injected.

Unfortunately, the cutbacks had had to be made at a moment when applications from potential new small businessmen were pouring in at more than 2 000 a day — double the rate of a year ago.

Under the scheme for former exiles, once applications have been evaluated and approved, loans will be allocated through the SBDC's six regional offices — in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein and Pretoria — and its branches in Pietersburg, Nelspruit and East London.

Dr Vosloo said: "The corporation is pleased to be able to make its infrastructure and countrywide network of facilities available to the NCCR.

The limited number of new entrepreneurs entering the economic arena by setting up new businesses is one of the major factors restricting economic growth. Hopefully, this kind of initiative will help to fill the gap.

NCCR head of development Archie Abrahams added: "Returnees come from a wide range of backgrounds, ranging from highly educated professionals to both skilled and unskilled workers. Many are experiencing problems with repatriation because they have no appropriate skills.

"Some of the professional people are experiencing problems because they have foreign qualifications that are not recognised here."

PAC, KwaZulu say no to UN violence probe

336 CT 11/8/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PAC and the KwaZulu government yesterday balked at the prospect of a full-scale UN-backed Goldstone probe into alleged violence by their security arms — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the KwaZulu Police (KZP).

However, Azapo and the Democratic Party welcomed the proposed no-holds-barred investigation into allegations of violence and dirty tricks by the security forces and private armies. PAC spokesman Mr Waters To-

boti said they "emphatically" rejected the proposals since the commission sought to address violence and intimidation.

"Apla is not involved in any violence and intimidation and can therefore not have its activities investigated."

Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu Minister of Police, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said it would be a waste of time and money to investigate his organisation.

He "would urge that any investigation of the KZP focus on the false accusations against the

KZP as well as on the police force itself".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed the proposal, saying: "Unless the SADF and the SAP are fully investigated... they will have no prospect of receiving the trust... of the South African public".

Azapo secretary-general Mr Dan Nkademeng said his party in principle welcomed the UN report and would make further recommendations once the report had been studied.

● New govt-PAC talks soon —
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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 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

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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AT 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

B/DA4 11/8/92

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 peacemaking 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's special committee on apartheid, 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 flatulent communiqués 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 remembered." 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.

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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 remedied.” 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

he 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.

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 left 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.

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.

UN cash added to business plan to create jobs for returned exiles

LOANS for more than 700 proposed small business ventures in SA from UN funds are being assessed as part of an initiative to create employment for returned exiles and former political prisoners, officials confirmed yesterday.

A special loan scheme set up at the end of June by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR) received a cash injection of R1m from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and is being operated in conjunction with the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC).

NCCR technical projects advisor Uffe Hansen said the scheme was attracting a rapidly increasing number of applicants and 100 projects were already on stream. They were processing 700 applications.

"Refugees don't just come back with half empty suitcases ... they have a lot of skills," he said.

Under the scheme, the NCCR and SBDC jointly evaluate the viability of the proposed ventures. Once approved, the SBDC administers project financing.

The NCCR estimates the value of re-

ceived loan applications at more than R3m, and that work for thousands of jobless returnees and former political prisoners can be generated.

SBDC MD Ben Vosloo is excited by the scheme as it is encouraging entrepreneurship at a time of funding cutbacks.

"We have been concerned at the limited number of entrepreneurs entering the economy, but hopefully this scheme will be able to fill part of that gap," he said.

The NCCR makes loans available through the SBDC to returnees and ex-political prisoners to a maximum amount of R6 000 an individual.

"We're trying to introduce returnees to reality and we're doing it in a soft way ... 20% of the loan is given as a start-off grant and the other 80% is paid back as a loan."

Loans have to be repaid into a revolving fund by the end of 1993, and ventures will be given a three-month trial period.

There is a wide range of proposals.

"Some people are also trying to set up co-operatives, which were quite successful in Tanzania," he said. — Sapa.

eral inquiry rather than a search for specific culprits.

Mr Coetsee was adamant that the Government would only consider the release of remaining ANC political prisoners — about 400 according to ANC sources — as part of a general amnesty which included offenders from all organisations, including the security forces.

Mr Coetsee would not say if the amnesty would include famous prisoners such as ANC bomber Robert McBride and right-wing mass murderer Barend Strydom, but observers believe that it will, as Mr Coetsee indicated that the amnesty would include the last categories of crime to be dealt with — murder and serious assault.

Mr Coetsee said that the Government still had to negotiate approval of the plan with the ANC and other parties.

He also indicated that the Government did not favour the idea of public identification of those who received general amnesty, pointing out that although the ANC offenders who had been indemnified had first to identify their offences, regulations prohibited this information being made public.

Mr Botha responded in detail to the recommendations of the Boutros-Ghali report:

● To the call for a total ban on the public display of dangerous weapons, he said the Government would like to discuss this further with Mr Justice Goldstone because there were "delicate aspects involved".

● To the call for increased security at hostels, the Government fully agreed that this was an urgent matter, but again believed discussions would have to be held through the National Peace Committee because opposing groups were involved.

● The Government agreed on a code of conduct for mass action and that all the main political parties should take steps to prevent their followers participating in violence.

● The Government supported recommendations that it should provide more money for peace structures and should second extra officials to them.

● The Government supported the recommendation that reports of the Goldstone Commission should be supplied to all Peace Accord signatories within 24 hours of receipt by the State President.

● It also agreed with the need to establish a special multiparty unit in the National Peace Committee structures able to respond on a 24-hour basis to flashpoints.

● On the call for an eminent and "impartial" person to convene negotiations, Mr Botha said the Government accepted the recommendation that this should be considered, but did not say whether the Government approved the idea itself.

● On the call for quarterly missions to South Africa by the UN, Mr Botha said that the Government had no objection in principle, but thought this should be less categorical and should depend on circumstances in SA.

This meant the UN had no intention of "interfering, prescribing or taking sides".

However, Mr Botha did not express approval of the UN's call for a thorough investigation of the SAP, SADF, KwaZulu Police and the armies of the ANC, PAC and other organisations. He said the Government first wished to discuss this recommendation with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the commission of inquiry into political violence, and other interested parties.

He indicated that because of their peculiar official status, the SADF and SAP should perhaps be dealt with differently from private armies, and he and Mr Coetsee also suggested that the probe into these organisations should be a more gen-

The ANC's national working committee last night rejected the Government's plan for a general amnesty for political offences committed by the security forces and all other official and private armies.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday that the Government had drafted a general amnesty plan — in an effort to "wipe the slate clean and bury the past".

At the same press conference, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the Government broadly accepted the United Nations plan to help curb political violence — including a permanent presence of 30 or more UN observers in local peace structures.

The head of the UN monitoring team in South Africa, Hisham Omayad, welcomed the Government's response to the UN plan as "positive".

But the ANC said at a press conference yesterday it did not believe the issue of releasing remaining ANC prisoners should be linked to a general amnesty for security forces. There were existing agreements on the unconditional release of political prisoners.

Since the Government had not implemented these, there was no relationship between the release of prisoners and a general amnesty.

A general amnesty could only be offered by an interim government, and the existing Government had no "moral competence" to grant it, the ANC said.

Welcomed

Mr Botha said the Government accepted UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report on SA "in broad outline" and agreed that the UN should send 30 observers to assist National Peace Accord local bodies and the Goldstone Commission in monitoring violence.

The Government particularly welcomed this recommendation because it meant that the United Nations representatives would be serving under a structure created by South Africans themselves. The number of 30 could even be "increased marginally".

The Government also welcomed the recommendation that Codesa must be continued, and agreed it should be better co-ordinated.

It particularly welcomed Mr Boutros-Ghali's observation that "the task of conducting negotiations is uniquely the responsibility of South Africans themselves".

Govt proposes to 'wipe slate clean'

ANC rejects amnesty

Star 14/8/92

By Peter Fabricius,
Esther Waugh
and Michael Sparks

UN team leaves with 'hopes up'

CT 14/8/92
JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations observers left yesterday, saying they had high hopes for peace here. (335) (272)

"I am very hopeful, particularly from what we saw last week," said Mr Hashaim Omajad, leader of the 10-member UN team which monitored the mass action.

His team had brief talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday. — Sapa

NEWS Group leaves after 10-day stay • State mum on IFP members' deportation

Mass action week went well - UN

By Victor Tsui

LEADER of the United Nations Security Council monitoring team Mr Hisham Omayad says his delegation was impressed by the way mass action week went.

He said this before flying out of Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The UN team and officials of the peace secretariat planted an olive tree outside the airport to symbolise peace and faith in the future of the country.

Omayad and his group completed a 10-day stay during which they monitored the mass action led by the ANC-

as symbol of peace and faith in future:

led alliance.

The 10-member team were observers in major centres where the general strike took place.

"We are very pleased with the co-operation we received from all parties concerned," said Omayad.

"We would also like to thank the National Peace Committee for making their services available to us."

The impression gained by his team was that "the mass action was peaceful".

AIRPORT CEREMONY Tree planted

Omayad's File

Nationality : Ghanaian
Title : Director, Department of Political Affairs
Birthdate: July 1934
Family status: single
Education: BA (Hons) history - University of Ghana 1957.
Date joined United Nations: 12 November 1964.

that it has renounced terrorism and prove that it no longer harbours terrorists or operates training camps.

Council President Li Daoyu, the ambassador of China, said after closed consultations there was "no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for

LOCKHEED, Scotland, in December 1988.

The council also demanded that Libya co-operate and make suspects available to a French investigation into the bombing of a UTA airliner over Niger in September 1989. Libya has said it would co-operate with the French probe. - Sapa-AP.

EC hails peace accord

■ End of Mozambique's 15-year civil war

LONDON - The European Community on Wednesday welcomed an agreement by Mozambique's leaders to end the southern African nation's 15-year civil war. *Sowetan* 14/8/92

The president of Mozambique, Mr Joachim Chissano, and the rebel leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama, committed themselves in Rome on August 7 to signing a general peace accord on October 1. They agreed to sign a ceasefire by then. - Sapa-AP.

'Bring cash home'

NAIROBI - Parliament has passed a motion requiring Kenyans with money in foreign banks to bring it into the country soon to help the country deal with the worsening economic situation.

MP Mr Kennedy Kiliku, who made the suggestion, claimed that over R8 million was being held overseas by Kenyans.

Assistant minister for finance, Mr Mathias Keah, said the government would approach the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for a list of Kenyans with foreign accounts

Africa in brief

Sowetan 14/8/92

so that "culprits and unpatriotic Kenyans" could be forced to return the money for the country's development. - *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

UN forces welcome

NAIROBI - All Somali's faction leaders have signed an agreement for 500 UN troops to be deployed in the port and international airport of Somalia's capital Mogadishu. *Sowetan* 14/8/92

UN envoy Mohamed Sah said on his arrival in the Kenyan capital yesterday: "We have signed an agreement today with the Somali leaders who were hitherto opposed to the deployment of 500 security guards from the United Nations."

The UN representative had returned from talks with the warlord of southern Somalia, General Mohamed Farah Aidid, at Bardera in the southwest of the famine-stricken Horn of Africa country, which is gripped by civil war. - Sapa-AP. *3336*

NEWS Minister tells cops to be impartial • New moves on negotiations welcomed

'Adapt or else' - Kriel

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 confidence 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 communities 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:

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

Different ways to keep the peace

STAN 14/8/92 336

THERE are many questions that Cyrus Vance, the United Nations special envoy to South Africa, has left unanswered. Would he recommend peace-keeping forces or international monitors? In what way would the international monitors relate to the SAP, the SADF, and other organs of the security network in the country?

These are pivotal questions because the success of international monitoring depends to a very great extent on the close collaboration and co-operation between these external actors and the security apparatus.

The fundamental problem the UN faces seems to be finance. By 1989 almost a half of its budget was going to peace-keeping efforts.

There are five ways in which the UN can involve itself in attempting to curb and eventually end political violence in this country.

Firstly, an international peace-keeping force, including soldiers, police and civilian administrators, could be deployed in the areas of greatest conflict to physically separate the combatants. This could be applicable to rural areas of Natal.

International experts could also help to administer the SAP and SADF.

A variation is to create a domestic peace-keeping force under international control. These could include the SADF, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA), IFP and defence forces of the TBVC states. This force could then be trained by UN or other international experts, and would serve directly under a designated international committee or representative.

After the transition, this force could be turned over to the new government as the core of a new, national, non-partisan police force.

In another scheme, the SAP and SADF are left intact but control over them is transferred to an international committee or representative. They could then provide the necessary expertise and training to transform the security forces into effective, non-partisan peace-keeping forces.

Another possibility is to allow the government in power to administer the security forces on a day-to-day basis, but invite the international community to monitor them.

These international representatives could then sit in the governing and policy-making bodies of the SADF and SAP.

With complete access to all necessary information they would report any human rights violations, participation in violence, or evidence of political violence to the Government, the National Peace Committee and/or the international community.

Lastly representatives from the international community could be invited to observe the violence and make public, but not official, reports and recommendations.

With this alternative, the interim government in place could avail itself of international community advice and recommendations, but would be under no obligation to act on them.

What should be clear to all is that it is South Africans of all colour, creed, religion and sex that will at the end of the day have to solve their own problems. The UN, EEC, OAU and the Commonwealth can only act as facilitators for propitious conditions for peace.

South Africans should also recall that the UN peace-keeping forces have been in Cyprus for almost 30 years. Initially they were to be there for only six months. □

● *Lebona Mosia teaches in the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University.*

Apla refuse probe: 'We are victims of violence'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) will not subject itself to a probe, chief political commissar Mr Romero Daniels said in a telephone interview from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, yesterday. (336) CT 15/8/92

Mr Daniels said: "There is no way in which we can agree to be investigated. We are the victims of that violence. How do you investigate a victim? You ought to investigate the perpetrators of that violence."

The United Nations has proposed a general amnesty to lead to investigations of activities of police and security forces, as well as members of the liberation movements. — Sapa

30 observers would be 'peanuts', UN told

MIKE LITTLEJOHN

NEW YORK — The Security Council will be asked to approve a far more ambitious UN operation in South Africa than the 30 observers proposed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, according to diplomats in New York. But a call for up to 400 observers has apparently been dropped in favour of a more general resolution.

Also, under the new plan, the mission's mandate would be expanded to monitor the situation everywhere in the country and help to avert violence from whatever source.

The council scheduled closed-door consulta-

tions yesterday and should be ready to act on a resolution by Monday, a sponsor of the proposals said. Jose Luis Jesus, of Cape Verde, co-ordinator of the effort, said it would be "peanuts" to dispatch only 30 observers. However, the sponsors would not specify how many UN staff would be adequate.

It was not clear whether the South African Government would accept an operation of the dimensions envisaged, or whether the Western powers would be willing to underwrite the cost.

UN will play key role

C/pren 16/8/92

UNtil a few months ago this observer, like numerous other observers and even members of the government, did not foresee any role worth mentioning for institutions like the United Nations in SA's settlement process.

The failure at Codesa II and the tragic events at Boipatong have changed all that.

Indications are that the UN, in very close co-operation with the Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission, will play a key role.

In this regard the ANC alliance has played a clever tactical role. Agreement was initially reached on the Cyrus Vance visit. He had not even completed his discussions when it was announced that UN "observers" would monitor the mass action.

The UN are poised to play a greater role in the peace process, especially by way of the Goldstone Commission and the Peace Committee. This would mean a major rethink by the main players on their general conduct. By Prof WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the University of Stellenbosch.

(336)

Nobody should be so naive as to think that the next steps would not include intermediating, facilitating and adjudicating roles for the UN.

Should the Vance proposals be accepted, these new developments must be perceived in close relationship with especially the activities of the Goldstone Commission.

In fact, if there is a body with credibility in SA, it is the Goldstone Commission. Neither the State, nor the ANC, the IFP or whoever are pres-

ently able to ignore or discredit this commission.

The big question is whether the issue of the expected UN involvement in SA, and the support which the organisation proposes to render to the Goldstone Commission would be a good or a bad development.

For one thing, UN involvement by way of the Goldstone Commission and the Peace Committee will hopefully ensure that intimidation will be contained. It could also have a positive effect on the countering of violence.

In short, the ANC alliance will discover that it cannot make accusations at random, wash its hands in innocence and expect the international community to accept its version of events.

The IFP will realise that finger-pointing and pious self-justification will not relieve it from responsibility for acts of violence committed in its name.

The government will find that delaying action against those who knowingly or unknowingly sabotage the process could cause it to fall very hard from its throne of high morality.

Nothing can hit the present government harder than the impression that it is politically sanction-

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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/imes*

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". *(S/imes)*

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. *(S/imes)*

336 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.

The release of political 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

Vance 'horrified'

□ From Page 1 *(S/imes)* demands and the ball was now in the ANC's court, a top cabinet source said yesterday. *(336)*

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

Bid to rescue UN food team

ZAGREB — UN mine-clearers braved fighting in eastern Bosnia yesterday to rescue peacekeepers who were stranded after delivering food to the besieged town of Gorazde.

A previous attempt to get aid into Gorazde, cut off from the outside world for four months by a Serb siege, failed last month when the UN convoy was ambushed in a minefield.

This time the food got through — to a relieved and welcoming population.

But the return trip was halted when the UN team came upon a mined bridge on Saturday evening that both sides in the Bosnian conflict, which pits rebel Serbs against Muslims and Croats, refused to unblock.

"The parties that control the bridge don't want to remove the mines because this would be an admission that they put them there," said Peter Kessler, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

To break the impasse, UN armoured vehicles set out from Sarajevo on Saturday, said Mr Kessler.

STAR 17/18/92
Troops plan

Three French armoured personnel carriers were due to reach the stranded convoy yesterday afternoon.

In the United States, President George Bush said he was wary of committing US troops to help in Bosnia.

France, Spain and Turkey offered on Friday to send

1600 troops and officers to Bosnia under a UN resolution that authorised military force in order to deliver urgent food and medicine to the troubled territory.

President Bush said "there may be other things we can do" instead of deploying troops but he did not go into specifics. Air strikes against Serbian positions around Sarajevo have been mentioned as a possibility.

The United States also expressed outrage over what it called the expulsion of New York Times journalist Chuck Sudetic, who was investigating allegations of Serb-run death camps. Sudetic left Bosnia after Serb authorities told him they could not guarantee his safety. — Sapa-Reuter.

(336)

Impasse not over yet - ANC

■ **PRESSURE ON** No talks unless 14 demands

are met immediately:

(4/11/92) (2/2/92) (3/3/92)

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

Sowetan
17/8/92

THE POLITICAL IMPASSE since the collapse of Codesa 2 three months ago is not over yet, the ANC has said.

Unless the Government moves substantially on the ANC's 14 demands of June 23, and releases all political prisoners forthwith, there will be no meetings between the two, the movement said.

It also understood that the United Nations special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, has piled on the pressure for the Government to move on the release of political prisoners.

The ANC yesterday confirmed that a single channel - between Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer - has been established for the Government to respond to the 14 demands only.

Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC yesterday in-

sisted: "This channel was not opened for any negotiations, only for Government to respond to the 14 demands."

The ANC and Vance have expressed their "horror" after Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has apparently backed off from an undertaking to release the remaining political prisoners, and his coupling of the release with a general amnesty.

This "sudden" call for a general amnesty, the ANC believes, was inspired by "the almost daily revelations of State complicity in violence and about the role of State officials in serious human rights' violations and abuse of power which resulted in crime and in some instances murder".

Meanwhile, the UN Security Council will today discuss the report of its secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, which calls for, among other things, the release of all political prisoners. The report has the backing of most of the major seats in the UN security council.

Botha reacts to UN resolution

ARC 18/8/92

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.

Africa in

Sowetan 19/8/92

UN access denied

NAIROBI - The UN High Commissioner for Refugees office in Nairobi protested yesterday after its officials were refused permission to meet some 1 000 Somali and Ethiopian refugees rounded up in the Kenyan capital.

UNHCR spokesman Panos Moutzis said Kenyan security personnel refused to allow a team of UN officials into the temporary shelter in the eastern Nairobi suburb of Embakasi where Kenyan immigration officials began screening the refugees on Monday. (15) B36

Kenyan principal immigration officer Frank Kwinga said he was not aware that the UNHCR team were denied access to the refugees.

UN, C'wealth monitors for SA

By BARRY STREEK

ABOUT 30 United Nations and 12 Commonwealth observers are to be deployed in South Africa soon to monitor the situation.

The UN Security Council decided late on Monday night to send the observers

following a report by Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the visit to South Africa by UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

The government found the report and the Security Council decision to be acceptable, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Awie Marais, a spokesman for the minister, said a decision had not yet been made how many UN observers there would be as this had been left to the secretary-general to decide.

He expected that his figure would not differ too widely from the 30 recommended by Mr Vance.

CT 19/8/92

(336)
(274)

and not been lent to calling a psychologist to testify in xed basis, and; ending to certain is she borrowed in re borrowed with y. leaded not guilty, in unaware she was rong and maintain- orisation to invest istrust.

The accused's mo- calling a psychologist to testify in mitigation. Harding stood clutching the hand of her daughter Amanda as she was told that she would be released on her recognisances on condition she re- ported to the Somerset West police daily and was not to obtain a pass- port. Petrus Marais of the Office for Se- rious Economic Offences appeared for the State.

Police 'failed to intervene when ANC man was killed'

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE had not intervened when former ANC guerrilla Lot Phalwane was shot dead in Alexandra on Monday, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe said yesterday. "During the shooting a police Casspir was seen driving past the house but, despite the gunshots, it did not stop," Mamoepe said in a statement.

Police spokesman Lt Wilkus Weber yesterday denied the police were involved in any way in the killing. "A murder docket will be opened and the case will be fully investigated," he said.

The ANC PWV region and the Alexandra branch of the organisation plan to investigate the killing which Ma- moepe said was "not criminally motivated".

In a separate statement Mamoepe said the ANC wel- comed a ceasefire between rival taxi organisations in the Ivory Park area. The ceasefire was brokered by the North East Rand dispute resolution committee on Mon- day after a weekend taxi war claimed at least eight lives. The committee's vice-chairman Pieter Geldenhuys said yesterday a formal agreement was to be signed between the Ivory Park, Alexandra and Tembisa taxi associations by Sunday, Sapa reports. Police said yesterday the house of a community coun- cillor was petrol-bombed in KwaThema, and a woman was stabbed to death in Alexandra.

burg where a 74% drop in company profits for the six months to end-June was announced. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Cosatu plans 'tax rebellion'

8/10/81 19/10/81

WILSON-ZWANE

COSATU is making plans for a "tax rebel- lion" campaign in which pressure will be put on employers to withhold from govern- ment PAYE payments by employees who do not have the vote.

The trade union federation is to put the idea to its alliance partners, the ANC and the SACP, at a meeting on Sunday.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said yesterday the tax monies collected should be redirected to a special trust fund for safekeeping until a "democratic" govern- ment had been installed.

The money could then be used to provide basic services to impoverished communi- ties, Coleman said.

The proposed campaign formed part of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass ac- tion, which began on June 16 and which was aimed at the speedy establishment of a new government and an "end to the mismanagement of taxpayers' money".

Coleman said the modalities of the trust fund had yet to be discussed with all inter- ested parties, but basic socio-economic

services, such as education and housing, were likely to be priorities.

"We don't intend making this a Cosatu campaign ... we would like to involve many forces, including churches, consum- er and human rights organisations, busi- ness and political parties," he said.

Coleman said the seeds for the tax rebel- lion were sown among Cosatu members by last year's disclosures of government's funding of Inkatha.

The constitutional structures of the Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance would meet in Johannesburg on Sunday to discuss the proposed campaign and other mass action- related activities.

He said if the alliance endorsed the cam- paign, the union federation would ap- proach employers to "discuss workers' de- mands for their taxes to be redirected".

Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha said yesterday the employer body would have to discuss the issue with Cosatu and look into the legal ramifications.

Commonwealth to appoint own observers

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LONDON — The Commonwealth said yes- terday it was organising about a dozen observers to help monitor the violence in SA. 8/10/81 19/10/81

Chief Emeka Anyaoku was asking govern- ments of the 50-nation organisation to sug- gest candidates for the observer group, which would arrive in SA at the end of September, the Commonwealth Secretar-

iat said in a statement. Anyaoku and UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had agreed the groups would work closely with each other and the national peace accord, it said. Meanwhile, SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in Pretoria yesterday the government found the UN resolution passed on Monday was "acceptable in its main components". — Sapa-Reuter.

UN to send 'up to 50' observers to SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

STAR
20/8/92

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.

UN observers 'nearer to 50'

The Argus Foreign Service

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 said here.

It is not known when they will arrive.

While secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed a contingent of 30, African and other Third World states successfully argued that this would be too few.

They wanted up to 400. The

Security Council compromised by leaving it up to Mr Boutros-Ghali to decide the final total.

(336) ARG 20/8/92
Following the Security Council's invitation to international organizations like the Commonwealth, the European Community and the OAU to join the observer operation, British foreign secretary Mr Douglas Hurd will lead a deputation to Pretoria next month.

This will include the foreign ministers of Portugal and Denmark.

Where do foreign missions fit in?

W/M 21/8-27/8/92
By PHILIPPA GARSON

LOCAL monitoring groups are accusing the National Peace Accord structures of sidelining them in the peace process. They are particularly unhappy about the proposed international observer teams slotting into NPA structures instead of linking up with them.

This will embroil the international monitors in the politics of the "flawed" NPA, denying them independence and access to non-aligned parties with first-hand experience of violence, say the domestic monitors.

According to United Nations Resolution 772, passed this week by the UN Security Council, the proposed international mission will co-ordinate with and strengthen the existing structures of the NPA.

While local monitoring groups, such as the Human Rights Commission (HRC), Black Sash and End Conscription Campaign, are in the process of co-ordinating their efforts into a national networking body, facilitated by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa (Idasa), the NPA is setting up its own monitoring structures into which the international teams are likely to slot.

The UN, Commonwealth and European Community have been in contact in the past week to co-ordinate the sending of observers. A representative of the Commonwealth

Secretariat in London said the aim of the different international initiatives was to "work separately but in conjunction".

The Organisation of African Unity has yet to announce its plans on the international monitoring mission.

A senior UN official, who participated in the 10-member UN mission earlier this month, said the fact that the earlier mission was able to link up with existing peace structures had allowed it to make "significant impact". Given the financial constraints limiting the size and extent of the UN mission, linking up with the peace committees of the NPA was of "critical importance", he added.

Rand Mines industrial relations executive Jan Hiemstra, who is co-ordinating the NPA's monitoring initiative, confirmed that the international teams would most likely fit in at this point. The peace secretariat and representatives from the regional peace committees will meet next week to get the process off the ground.

"What we have in mind is to put together panels of volunteers from the business and legal communities and other individuals recommended by the local dispute resolution committees," Hiemstra said.

The envisaged panels, which will need to be approved by the local and regional peace bodies first, will con-

sist of up to 100 people, depending on the level of violence in the regions concerned. They will be called on in groups of four or five to monitor events.

It is envisaged that the international monitors will link up with the NPA by accompanying panelists on their monitoring expeditions.

Monitors aligned to Idasa and the NPA's monitoring committee will meet next week to set up a working relationship and to avoid possible conflicts.

Ettiene Marais, of the Idasa-sponsored Policing Research Project, said the NPA tended to underplay the role that local monitors, with years of experience and extensive contacts on the ground, could play. In instances where the NPA initiatives had worked particularly well, local monitors had been involved, he added.

One of the problems with the NPA is that it excludes political parties like the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

An HRC representative commented that "political bickering" was one of the major problems in the NPA. It was vital, she said, that the international teams were independent of this and at the same time had sources close to the ground.

● See "Benchmarks" column on
PAGE 31

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Flight of refugees slows down • Duchess puts on brave face

Africa in brief

A goat for a Swazi job

MBABANE - If you want a job in Swaziland, you'd better have a goat, or even better, a cow. According to reports, recruitment officials of many companies based in the country's industrial sites are demanding bribes of livestock, or even cash of up to R200 from job seekers.

The racket was uncovered by a disgruntled job seeker who paid R200, but did not get a job.

7 militants killed in Egypt

ASYUT - Egyptian security forces shot dead seven Islamic extremists during a siege of their hideout in Manqabad, southern Egypt.

Election material stolen

LOME - A convoy of vehicles carrying election material for a planned vote on a democratic new constitution was ambushed and its contents were destroyed in northern Togo on Sunday. *Continued on page 7*

Food for starving millions

South Africa 25/8/92
MORE AIRLIFTS International community

NAIROBI - Efforts by the United States to feed the Horn of Africa's starving millions grew yesterday with additional airlifts to Kenya's northeast.

United Nations officials said relief efforts inside Somalia had apparently slowed the flight of refugees.

Also yesterday, a 45-truck relief convoy from the United Nations World Food Programme arrived in Gelib, in southern Somalia.

The convoy carried 450 metric tons of food, the first to reach the community of 40 000 since the beginning of the year, said spokesman Paul Mitchell.

The United Nations convoy and United States airlift are the latest in stepped up international efforts to feed the millions of people starving in the region and to reach the famine stricken in Somalia's previously unaided remote villages.

steps up efforts to feed famine-stricken Somalia:

Aid officials estimate 1.5 to 2 million Somalis suffering the effects of drought and warfare could starve to death in coming weeks if food is not delivered immediately.

Food is also needed by hundreds of thousands of refugees and drought victims in neighbouring Kenya and Ethiopia.

Slow to respond

Although slow to respond to the disaster which has been building since December when the International Red Cross issued its first warnings about the situation, the donor community in recent weeks has vigorously begun efforts to

stem the deaths. In addition to the United States and the United Nations, France, Britain and Italy are funding or operating airlifts that aim to infuse the region with food. Germany plans to follow suit soon.

The United States, which has announced plans to deliver 145 000 tons of food to the region, on Friday began flying food to the northeastern Kenyan town of Wajir.

The food is for distribution to Kenyan drought victims as well as the nearly 400 000 refugees living in camps along the East African nation's border, most of whom are Somalis. - *Sapa-AP.*

Numsa fears widespread sacking

By Thabo Leshilo
Labour Reporter

STAR
27/8/92

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) has expressed fears of widespread dismissals after Tuesday's interim ruling by the Pretoria Supreme Court declaring the strike in the iron, steel and metallurgical industries illegal.

The application was brought by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa). Mr Justice Myburgh said he was "satisfied it had been proved that a number of material irregularities occurred during the strike ballot".

Numsa spokesman Dr Bernie Fanaroff yesterday said management would "use the ruling as an excuse to dismiss workers at will". According to Numsa,

up to 1 500 members have already been dismissed since the strike began on August 3.

However, Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said employers could not summarily fire workers. The court decision still had to be communicated to Seifsa members to inform the strikers of the order. Seifsa, he said, had been inundated with calls from companies seeking guidelines on what options they could take in view of the ruling.

Dr Fanaroff claimed that the ruling had tipped the scales of collective bargaining in favour of employers, thereby endangering the process. Numsa, he said, would meet today to evaluate the strike and report back to the strikers. Seifsa has already informed the union that

further negotiations would serve no good.

Dr Fanaroff said Numsa would ask the Congress of SA Trade Unions, of which it is an affiliate, to embark on a campaign to have the Labour Relations Act changed because it afforded workers no protection. "The court ruling effectively means that workers cannot even go out on a legal strike," he said.

Seifsa executive director Brian Angus charged that Numsa had failed its members by misleading them into an "undemocratic and illegal strike".

He estimated that workers had already lost R90 million in wages for the duration of the strike, which has caused more than R600 million in lost production.

Austrian tipped to head UN observers

Star Bureau

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STAR 27/8/92

NEW YORK — A senior Austrian official in the United Nations bureaucracy is expected to be named to head the observer operation in South Africa.

Diplomatic sources said that Ferdinand Mayrhofer-Grunbuhel had been recommended for the post as special representa-

tive of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

A former director of the office of Security Council affairs in New York, he was transferred to Geneva as deputy head of the office of disaster relief coordinator M'hamed Essaafi.

Under pressure from African and other UN members, Mr Boutros-Ghali is said to be will-

ing to choose more senior level officers in the Secretariat than he had planned. He is said to have been influenced also by the intention of the EC, the OAU and the Commonwealth to name senior representatives.

The 50 UN observers will serve in 11 districts to help ensure implementation of the National Peace Accord.

APR 28/8/92
**SA debt to UN
now 3rd highest**

(336) 
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — South Africa's debt to the United Nations for the regular operating budget is approaching \$50 million (R140 million), placing it third among delinquent members.

South Africa also owes millions more on other accounts, mainly for UN peacekeeping operations.

The United States leads the debtors list at \$524 million (R1,4 billion), followed by the Russian Federation at \$138 million (R386 million).

The debt is not expected to be settled soon, given the virtual certainty that South Africa will not be permitted to reclaim its General Assembly seat this year.

Before the Boipatong massacre there had been hopes South Africa would be allowed back at the session opening on September 15.

UN fiddles while Somalia starves

S/Time 30/8/92

From
Scott Peterson
in Mogadishu

AS the last signs of life flicker from thousands of Somali children every day, the United Nations knows that much of the dying could have been prevented.

Although the world has finally woken up to the human tragedy — prompting a huge American military airlift and more Western aid money — the plight of the people has reached such proportions that for hundreds of thousands, it is already too late.

After pledging a further R500 000 in food aid this week, the famine relief agency Oxfam spoke for many welfare organisations when it said that for tens of thousands of people in Somalia, the UN's response had been "too little, too late".

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this month: "If only we had intervened last November... now we are paying the price."

A UN-brokered American military airlift of food for the starving began this weekend when the first aircraft touched down in Somalia carrying more than 34 tons of food supplies.

But the battle will be to keep it away from looters.

This year more than 140 000 tons of food have been sent to the country, but not all of it has fed the starving.

Somalia's new warlords have been building their huge empires based, at first, on weapons — and now on looted relief food.

Relative peace has sparked an economic revival based on systematic and well-organised looting. For Somalia's profiteers, and the warlords who can offer them protection, that means big business.

At Kismayu port, a ship from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), carrying 3 000 tons of sorghum, has been looted on several occasions.

No one is certain what happened, except that sorghum has flooded the market, causing a collapse in the price.

"The ICRC organised convoys, but they never got to their destination," said a UN official in Kismayu.

Mafia

"It is too dangerous to monitor the food distribution, so the lorries are diverted along the way."

Gunmen hired for security are young mercenaries who would rather do battle than guard food.

"You can follow the distribution map by charting the casualties as they come into the hospital," said a relief worker who can

tell by the increased gunfire when a food convoy is passing nearby.

"In the past few months the petty and random looting that we had before has given way to a more systematic, more organised operation run by a few people.

"This local mafia releases food on to the market and tries to control the prices," he said.

But the Red Cross says food brought into the country, even if it ends up on the black market, is not wasted.

To protect food convoys from looting, at least in Mogadishu, the UN Security Council has authorised the use of 500 armed UN troops. They have yet to join 50 unarmed ceasefire monitors already in the capital.

And this week, Mr Boutros-Ghali — noting the gravity of the situation — requested the deployment of 3 000 more armed troops. — © The Telegraph, London

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3 religions join hands on Bosnia

Muslims, Jews and Christians marched on the offices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Johannesburg on Monday to urge the UN to take action to halt the atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Two memorandums were presented to a UNHCR official. The march was organised by the Organisation for World Peace. — Sapa.

Star 2/9/92

Southern 3/9/92
More action, NAN

JAKARTA - UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday that non-aligned nations should be more active within the world body rather than trying to reform it.

He said a long-standing non-aligned demand to change the composition of the UN Security Council would require a revision of the UN charter, which can only be done with approval of the five permanent members of council. (336)

Woman boss for UN's team in SA

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
Weekend Argus Correspondent

336

APR 5/9/92

NEW YORK. A Jamaican senior official of the UN Secretariat will head the world body's observer operation in South Africa and serve as Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's principal representative.

The official is Ms Angela King, who is serving as director of the staff administration and training division in the Office of Human Resources Management at UN headquarters in New York.

Ms King is due to arrive in Johannesburg towards the end of September.

However, an advance party of a dozen UN observers is expected to arrive in South Africa next Wednesday or Thursday under the leadership of Mr Ismat Steiner, a Tanzanian, who will serve as Ms King's deputy.

Mr Steiner saw UN service in Namibia.

The secretary-general's first choice for the post in South Africa was Mr Ferdinand Mayrhofer-Grunbuhel of Austria, who is of the same rank as Ms King, but his duties at the UN office in Vienna were said to be too important to permit his release.

Ms King will head an observer mission of at least 50, the bulk of whom are expected to be in place by the end of the month.

If Ms King recommends that this number is too few to do a proper job, Mr Boutros-Ghali is empowered to expand the operation.

The advance team will be deployed in Johannesburg and Durban.

Jamaican to lead UN observer team

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Mrs Angela King, a senior United Nations official from Jamaica, will head a UN observer team leaving soon for South Africa to monitor and help deter violence, UN sources said.

An advance party of about a dozen observers will leave for South Africa on Friday but Mrs King's departure will be delayed a few days to enable her to take care of personal business, the sources said.

Additional observers will follow at intervals until the full complement of 50 is reached.

(336) ARG 9/9/92
The advance party is expected to set up two offices, one in Durban and the other in the Johannesburg area.

The Security Council on August 17 unanimously authorised the stationing of an unspecified number of UN observers in South Africa.

They are to work closely with the National Peace Secretariat, set up to curb violence under an accord signed by all the country's main political parties, trade unions, religious groups and civic organisations.

Mrs King, who holds the UN rank of director — one below that of an assis-

tant secretary-general — heads the division of staff administration and training.

She has been a member of the UN secretariat since 1966, serving mainly in its department of economic and social affairs.

Before joining the United Nations Mrs King was a member of Jamaica's UN mission. She has not previously visited South Africa.

In a report last month UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali recommended sending 30 UN observers, while the African National Congress said about 400 were needed.

UN to come at weekend

NEW YORK (336) Leader of the UN observer mission to South Africa has been named as Ms Angela King, a Jamaican UN official.

Her appointment will not be announced officially until Wednesday.

The first 12 members of the team were to leave for SA on Friday, said Mr Francois Giuliani, spokesman for UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"Now that the Secretary-General is back he wants to review with them the ... mission before they leave," he said, without mentioning the massacre on Monday of 24 ANC supporters by local troops in Ciskei.

About 50 UN observers are to come to SA in the coming weeks to study ways of encouraging the transition toward non-racial democracy. — Sapa-AFP

CT 9/9/92

tion instead of the current six. The subject dropped is likely to be the second language, meaning students could choose to drop English or Afrikaans.

The initial document proposed second languages be compulsory up to Std 9 in the formerly whites-only schools of the Education and Culture Department. In Department of Education and Training schools, current leg-

option to study an African language thereafter.

The revised document incorporates contributions and comments from a broad range of organisations. After it has been debated on Friday, the committee will decide whether to recommend changes suggested to National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais.

Last November, following proposals

Taxi war: Local Road Board 'uninterested'

THE Local Road Transportation Board (LRTB) showed a complete lack of interest in investigating the causes of the taxi war in the Western Cape, the Goldstone Commission into taxi violence heard yesterday.

This was said by city council consultant and former Cape Town Peace Committee (CTPC) member Ms Helen Zille, during cross-questioning by Mr J A le Roux, for the Department of Transport (DoT).

Ms Zille said LRTB chairman Mr Stephanus Dörfling had not attended any CTPC meetings to which he had been invited.

She conceded that Mr Dörfling had attended a meeting of the Taxi Liaison

Committee (TLC) to explain permit allocation criteria, but had given "what amounted to misinformation".

When Mr Le Roux put it to her that other LRTB and DoT officials had attended TLC meetings, she said the TLC was "ineffective and not addressing the issues".

Ms Zille said she had learned from taxi operators that taxi permits were "randomly and arbitrarily" issued by the LRTB.

When the permit system "got some coherence", the perception developed that the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) was receiving preferential treatment over its rival, Lagunya.

CT 9/9/92

UN observers on the way

ARG 10/9/92
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced today that he was sending 50 official UN observers to South Africa this week to monitor political violence in 11 areas of the country, including the homelands.

His announcement follows intensive consultations today with the 15 members of the Security Council following the massacre at Bisho, and includes an announcement setting up a UN observer mission headquarters in Johannesburg.

The action is being taken under the powers vested in him by Resolution 772 of the Security

ty Council, which was passed on August 17, and which has the approval of the South African government.

Unlike the resolutions of the UN General Assembly, all resolutions of the UN Security Council are binding in international law on all UN member states, including South Africa, and it is incumbent on states to do all within their power to ensure compliance with the resolution. South Africa thus would have an obligation to persuade the homelands to accept the UN observers.

Mr Boutros-Ghali said an advance party of 13 observers, under Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, would leave for South Africa tomorrow.

SA nearing zone of intensive care

SPAN 10/9/92

FOR a Government that for more than four decades furiously resisted foreign interference in its domestic affairs, Pretoria suddenly has become remarkably accommodating. Soon you will scarcely be able to turn a street corner without bumping into a foreign observer.

A very good thing it is, too. In the aftermath of the Ciskei massacre, particularly, South Africa needs all the help and guidance it can get. It can stop pretending, too, that the observers are there just to observe. If they can mediate or conciliate or in any way assist the warring sides to find their way out of the mess they are in, they should be free to do so.

At least South Africa is not in intensive care yet, with a UN peace-keeping force flown in to patrol no-go zones.

There are 12 such peace-keeping forces in the world at present, and if there is one more Boipatong or Ciskei, the clamour will go up for a 13th force to be sent to South Africa. The UN has done as much peace-keeping in the past four years as in the past 40. This is the way of the world these days, and may there be more of it.

Before long, there may be 50 UN observers in South Africa and some 15 from the European Community. In May, a five-member team from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was admitted, the Commonwealth has sent its emissaries, and the National Peace Committee has invited ex-President Kenneth Kaunda and ex-President Julius Nyerere to mediate in the remorseless conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

Less realistically, the ANC has proposed that the new Southern African Development Community (ex-SADCC) should intervene as a regional monitor to assist in the transfer of power to the black majority (a faint hope), and some OAU members, against internal opposition, want the organisation to create a Bureau of the Summit to intervene in continental conflicts. Involvement is now the name of the game.

The arrival of foreign observers in South Africa has taken place with the consent of both the Government and the ANC — because there is common cause both among the observers, and also between them, the Government and the ANC, to keep negotiations on track until a settlement is reached. It is a fairly unique situation, and one South Africa should make the most of.

Not only are the numbers of foreign observers increasing, but the ambit of their involvement is widening. By invitation, a British

criminologist, Dr Peter Waddington, has delivered a report that may well turn out to be a catalyst in dealing with the whole question of violence. The Government is also showing a willingness to allow its policemen to be re-trained by foreigners.

Sceptics ask what useful purpose foreign observers can possibly serve in South Africa. The answer should be obvious. South African politics have become a kind of spaghetti junction, and a neutral observer may be just the kind of person to help unravel it. But then both sides must play by the rules. There are influential figures in both the National Party and the ANC who resent the intrusion of foreign observers and they should not be allowed to make these observers feel unwelcome.

The function of foreign observers, it seems to me, is to ring-fence the political disputants, and then gradually tighten the ring. They can do this without transgressing South Africa's sovereignty (President de Klerk has acknowledged that their behaviour so far has been circumspect) or by showing partisanship against the ANC (the ANC, after all, was primarily responsible for inviting them).

Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd spelt out some of the priorities as foreign observers see them: time is not on South Africa's side, there is a limit beyond which a sliding economy will not easily recover, for recovery to begin there must first be a political settlement, the starting point for such a settlement is to deal with township violence, and Inkatha is just as crucial for successful negotiations as the ANC are.

These priorities are well known to South Africans, but the specific function of the observers (through the UN, EC, etc) can be to keep telling the warring sides to keep their eye on the ball. Actually, there are no loopholes through which either the ANC or the Government can escape. Sooner or later, the fence will close around them.

This is the overriding mission of the observers — to get the Codesa parties (and others) back to the negotiating table. And now that they are in the country they should not easily go away, however inhospitable the climate may become.

The wording of the Security Council resolution on the pivotal issue of violence is their marker: they will remain involved in the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established. □

Stanley Uys reports from London

UN team start leaving for SA

NEW YORK — A UN official from Tanzania, Mr Ismat Steiner, will lead an advance party of 13 UN observers leaving for South Africa tomorrow to help monitor the violence, the UN announced yesterday.

Additional observers will follow at intervals until a full complement of 50 is deployed, probably around mid-October, other sources said.

The observer team will be headed by a senior Jamaican UN

official, Ms Angela King. But she is not expected to leave for SA until late next week.

The observers are to work closely with SA's National Peace Secretariat. (336) CT10/9/92

The announcement of Ms King's appointment, and of Mr Steiner as deputy chief of mission, was coupled with a statement saying Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali "deeply deplores the loss of life which occurred in Ciskei on Monday during a de-

monstration organised by the African National Congress".

Ms King, who holds the UN rank of director — one grade below that of an assistant secretary-general — heads the division of staff administration and training. She has not previously visited SA.

She has served mainly in the UN department of economic and social affairs.

Mr Steiner, who serves in the UN office of ocean affairs and the law of the sea, has paid a private visit to SA. — Sapa-Reuter

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Swanie trial adjourns

Sowetan 11/9/92
THE Swanieville massacre trial stood down yesterday because the defence needed time to translate a magazine interview with one of the witnesses.

Defence counsel Mr A Burger told Mr Justice C Botha in the Rand Supreme Court that the translation of the interview, published in a black magazine, was essential for cross-examination. Other witnesses to the attack apparently also gave interviews. The trial will continue today. *(12/1)*

UN observers in SA ³³⁶

THE first group of United Nations observers will arrive in South Africa tomorrow. *Sowetan 11/9/92*

The group of 13, led Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, is an advance party. The remaining 37 will arrive at intervals over the next month. The full complement of 50 will eventually be led by a director at the UN, Ms Angela King of Jamaica, who will arrive later this month.

- Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

Pakistani UN troops off to tense Somalia

MOGADISHU — Tension is high on the eve of the arrival of the first armed UN troops in Somalia, as starvation kills thousands each day despite massive relief efforts.

An advance force of 60 Pakistani UN troops — the first of 500 "Blue Berets" armed with light weapons to protect relief food from looting — will arrive in US military aircraft tomorrow.

They will fly into a city divided about their usefulness, amid a "force begets force" mentality in which all order has disintegrated.

The UN troops will deploy first at the airport, and at the port when their compatriots arrive on September 25.

Head of the UN operation in Somalia Brig-Gen Imtiaz Shaheen, has heard rumours that gunmen are preparing a "test" for his troops, to see how they respond under fire.

"This place is bad news," he said yesterday. Three gunmen were killed at the airport this week.

Relief workers hope the UN troops will end the cycle of violence and looting that has closed the port for nearly two weeks and now prevents 10 000 tons of desperately needed warehoused food from reaching the hungry.

An International Committee of the Red Cross relief ship has waited offshore for days for security clearance, while 200 ICRC feeding centres, running low on food, have cut their daily ration.

A group of 50 unarmed UN ceasefire

Own Correspondent

monitors deployed since June have watched gunmen — often hired as relief agency "security guards" — raid food stores. The port was closed on August 28 after two monitors were wounded when looters sealed the port to steal 300 tons of relief food and 199 drums of fuel.

Though a US, German and French military airlift to hard-hit famine areas in the interior is underway, Mogadishu port is a crucial channel.

In Baidoa, which should have received 1 000 tons of food from the port last week, 1 334 bodies were collected in lorries for burial in the first six days of September.

The UN Security Council has approved the deployment of 3 000 more UN troops, but Somalia's strongest warlord, who nominally controls two thirds of the country, including the port and airport, believes they are a vanguard for an even larger UN force.

Fresh in the mind of the arriving Pakistani soldiers will be the example of Bosnia, where two French UN troops were killed and three wounded in an ambush on Tuesday while protecting a relief convoy.

The success of the UN troops hinges on whether Somalia's main warlords can be convinced the UN wants to get food to the starving, not to occupy the country.

Critics of the UN troop deployment say that, in Somalia, force must be met with equal force. — Daily Telegraph.

Thousands of children in Masvingo face starvation

MWENEZI — Schoolchildren in the Mwenezi district of Zimbabwe's Masvingo province faint in classes from starvation, in spite of the introduction of supplementary feeding in June, according to reports.

The district administrator for the area, Tinaishe Chigiga, said a serious lack of food and water was threatening the closure of schools in the district.

"Since the opening of schools, we have been receiving disturbing reports concerning the shortage of water and food resulting in pupils fainting in schools."

More than 10 000 children under the age of five

are on the supplementary feeding scheme, but the food is not enough.

Chigiga said the water shortage was critical.

"Boreholes sunk in the area have begun drying up. The Mwenezi River (which feeds Manyuchi Dam and is a water source to thousands of people) is virtually dry."

The district had started dam construction projects under the public works programme expected to benefit 12 000 people.

The Lutheran World Federation was also assisting with maize, beans and finance to help more than 100 000 people ward off disaster. — Sapa.

BIG STAKES.
BLUE CHIPS.



Govt asks UN to send peace envoy

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government has cast aside its remaining reservations about international involvement in SA, calling on the UN secretary-general to send a personal representative to SA. **BIDA 11/9/92**

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news conference yesterday that over and above the 65 UN, EC and possibly Commonwealth peace monitors, government had asked UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send his special representative to assist the national peace secretariat.

Botha suggested the representative attend the proposed meeting of the national peace accord signatories as an observer and enter into talks with the main political role players, with a view to helping to end violence and removing the remaining obstacles to resuming negotiations.

Later, a senior government source said Boutros-Ghali had not yet responded to SA's request.

Government would like the representative to be the UN's previous special envoy Cyrus Vance or someone of his standing.

Botha said that until recently, he would not have believed that he would be calling for international intervention in SA.

Sapa reports that Botha said that if violence continued, the industrialised world could withdraw from SA. "My concern is the world is going to forget us... There is a growing tendency in the US and elsewhere to write off this place."

The world looked at the unrest, instability, famine, disputes and wastage of aid

☐ To Page 2

UN envoy

and tended to accept the marginalisation of Africa south of the Sahara. "If we carry on like this — Boipatong, Bisho — what next? There will come a time when the industrial world will say: 'Let's get out of here... it's a messy place.' The ship will pass us by and then it doesn't matter who governs the country," Botha said.

He said government had also urged the UN secretary-general and Security Council members to demand that the ANC/SACP alliance abandon any further provocative actions which put the lives of innocent South Africans at risk.

He criticised Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo for the apparent violation of the national peace accord, but avoided questions about whether SA would apply sanctions against Ciskei. He did say that should Ciskei fail to observe agreed measures to

regulate mass action, "then SA will take steps of a coercive nature".

He said SA would welcome a referendum in Ciskei because SA was critical of the non-representative nature of all three of the military governments in the TBVC states. But it was an open question whether a referendum was possible in the current environment.

The 20-page memorandum sent to the UN and released by Botha yesterday stated that government was in contact with the Goldstone commission on the Bisho issue and believed the commission had a role to play.

A commission source said yesterday that the problem was that the commission's founding legislations restricted it to investigating issues in SA, although it was collecting information on Bisho.

☐ From Page 1

21. Ereksulêre Missie van Swede

Mnr. C. E. Moore.

22. Ereksulêre Missies van die Verenigde Koninkryk van Groot-Brittanje en Noord-IerlandMnr. J. L. Fletcher.
Mnr. G. P. Knowles.**23. Ereksulêre Missies van Uruguay**Mnr. J. L. Cabral.
Mnr. F. X. Novoa.**21. Honorary Consular Mission of Sweden**

Mr C. E. Moore.

22. Honorary Consular Missions of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern IrelandMr J. L. Fletcher.
Mr G. P. Knowles.**23. Honorary Consular Missions of Uruguay**Mr J. L. Cabral.
Mr F. X. Novoa.

No. 2574

11 September 1992

NOTICE

It is hereby published for general information that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in terms of section 4 (c) (i) of the Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act, 1989 (Act No. 74 of 1989), has granted to the WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME (hereinafter referred to as the WFP), the principal United Nations Agency to coordinate the food aid import programme on behalf of the countries of the Southern African Region, the following immunities and privileges for functional and administrative purposes only:

PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

1. The Government shall, for functional and administrative purposes only, extend to the WFP, its staff and property in South Africa, and to services and goods procured in South Africa, the privileges and immunities of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 13 February 1946, as set out hereunder.
2. "WFP staff" means all members of the staff of the WFP employed under the Staff Regulations of the United Nations, excluding locally recruited staff.
3. Staff of the WFP shall—
 - (a) be immune from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts performed by them in their official capacity, such immunity to continue even after termination of employment with the WFP;
 - (b) be accorded the same immunities and facilities, in respect of their official baggage, as are accorded to diplomatic envoys;
 - (c) be immune from any military service obligations or any other obligatory services;
 - (d) be exempt, with respect to themselves, their spouses, their dependent relatives and other members of their households, from immigration restrictions and alien registration;
 - (e) be exempt from taxation in respect of salaries and all other remuneration paid to them by the WFP;
 - (f) enjoy exemption from any form of taxation on income derived by them from sources outside South Africa;
 - (g) be accorded prompt clearance and issuances, without cost, of visas, licences or permits, if required;
 - (h) be permitted free movement within, to or from the country to the extent necessary for the carrying out of WFP relief programmes;
 - (i) be permitted to hold or maintain within the country foreign exchange, foreign currency accounts and moveable property and the right upon termination of employment with the WFP to take out of South Africa their funds for the lawful possession of which they can show good cause;

- (j) be accorded the same protection and repatriation facilities with respect to themselves, their spouses and dependent relatives and other members of their households as are accorded in times of international crises or national emergencies to diplomatic envoys;
 - (k) be permitted to import for personal use, free of duty and other levies, prohibitions or restrictions on imports—
 - (i) their furniture and personal effects in one or more shipments and thereafter to import necessary additions to the same, including automobiles, in accordance with the regulations applicable in South Africa to diplomatic representatives accredited in South Africa and/or resident members of international organisations;
 - (ii) reasonable quantities of certain articles for personal use or consumption and not as gifts or for sale.
4. The premises of the WFP shall be inviolable. The property and assets of the WFP, wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation and any other form of interference, whether by executive, administrative, judicial or legislative action.
 5. The archives of the WFP, including all the papers, documents, correspondence, books, films, tapes, registers, databases and computerised documentation belonging to or held by it, shall be inviolable.
 6. No restriction shall be placed on the WFP introducing foreign currency into South Africa to fund its operations nor on the repatriation of any such funds to any countries abroad. The same privileges in regard to movement of funds related to their activities shall be accorded to the WFP as are made available to all foreign embassy bank accounts in South Africa.
 7. The WFP shall buy and sell foreign exchange at the commercial rand rate of exchange as quoted by the authorized dealers in South Africa.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION, CUSTOMS DUTIES, PROHIBITIONS OR RESTRICTIONS ON IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

1. The WFP shall be exempted from all dues and taxes, direct or indirect, personal or real, national, regional or municipal, other than such as represent payment for specific services rendered. Thus, the Government shall exempt the WFP from excise duties, sales tax and value added tax, and from taxes on the sale or purchase by the WFP of movable and immovable property in South Africa. The WFP and Government shall agree on the appropriate administrative arrangements for the disposal of movable and immovable property and for the remission or refund of the amount of duty, tax or levy where it is not feasible to make direct exemption.
2. The WFP, its assets, income and other property shall be exempt from—
 - (a) all direct and indirect taxes provided that the WFP shall not be entitled to exemptions for charges for public utility services;
 - (b) customs duties, prohibitions or restrictions on articles imported or exported by the WFP for their official use provided that the articles imported under such exemption shall not be sold in South Africa, except under conditions agreed upon with the Government;
 - (c) customs duties, prohibitions or restrictions in respect of the import and export of its publications.
3. Any materials, articles or goods imported or purchased locally by the WFP in connection with the discharge of its functions as principal UN Agency to co-ordinate the food aid import programme on behalf of countries of the Southern African Region shall be exempt from all customs and excise duties, prohibitions or restrictions.

COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

1. The WFP shall enjoy, in respect of its official communications, treatment not less favourable than that accorded by the Government to any other government, including its diplomatic missions, or to other inter-governmental/international organisations in matters of priorities, tariffs and charges on mail, cablegrams, telephotos, telephone, telegraph, telex and other communications, and rates for information to the press and radio.

2. The Government shall secure the inviolability of the official communications and correspondence of the WFP and shall not apply any censorship to its communications and correspondence. Such inviolability, without limitation by reason of this enumeration, shall extend to publications, photographs, slides, films and sound recordings.
3. The WFP shall have the right to use codes and to dispatch and receive correspondence and other materials by courier or in sealed bags, which couriers and bags shall be accorded the same privileges and immunities as those accorded to diplomatic couriers and bags.
4. The WFP shall have the right to erect and operate radio and other telecommunications equipment, on UN registered frequencies that have been co-ordinated with the Government and on frequencies allocated by the Government, between its offices, within and outside South Africa: Provided that this right shall not, without the consent of the Government, extend to point-to-point radio communication.

ENTRY, RESIDENCE, DEPARTURE AND TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

1. The staff of the WFP shall have the right to enter into, reside in and depart from South Africa from agreed points of entry and exit. UN *laissez-passers* held by the WFP staff shall be accepted as valid travel/identification documents by the Government, and holders of such documents shall be granted facilities for speedy travel to, through and from South Africa as promptly as possible.

WAIVER OF IMMUNITY

1. Privileges and immunities are granted to WFP staff in the interests of the United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals concerned. Accordingly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or any other person authorised thereto, may waive the immunity of any of the WFP staff where, in his opinion, the immunity would impede the course of justice, and it may be waived without prejudice to the interests of the United Nations or the WFP.

DEPARTEMENT VAN KORREKTIEWE DIENSTE

No. 2517

11 September 1992

STAATSDIENSBEURSSKEMA: 1993

DEPARTEMENT VAN KORREKTIEWE DIENSTE

1. Die doel van die Beursskema is om voltydse beurse aan applikante beskikbaar te stel ter verwerving van die volgende kwalifikasies:
 - BA (MW)-graad.
 - BSc Rekenaarwetenskap/B Comm Inligtingstelsels.
 - MA Kliniese Sielkunde. (Alle registrasiekategorieë.)
 - B Pharm-graad.
2. **Algemene maatstawwe en vereistes:**
 - 2.1 Die aantal beurse in elke rigting word bepaal deur die Departement van Korrektiewe Dienste se behoefte aan opgeleide personeel in die onderskeie rigtings en die beskikbaarheid van fondse, en applikante ding volgens meriete om beurse mee.
 - 2.2 **Applikante moet—**
 - van voorneme wees om 'n loopbaan in die Departement van Korrektiewe Dienste te volg en aan alle aanstellingsvereistes voldoen;
 - Suid-Afrikaanse burgers wees;

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

No. 2517

11 September 1992

PUBLIC SERVICE BURSARY SCHEME: 1993

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

1. The purpose of the Public Bursary Scheme is to make full-time bursaries available to applicants to attain the following qualifications:
 - BA (SW) degree.
 - BSc Computer Science/B Comm Information Systems.
 - MA Clinical Psychology. (All registration categories.)
 - B Pharm degree.
2. **General criteria and requirements:**
 - 2.1 The number of bursaries in each field is determined by the requirements of the Department of Correctional Services in regard to trained staff in the various fields and by the availability of funds, and applicants compete for bursaries on merit.
 - 2.2 **Applicants must—**
 - intend to take up a career in the Department of Correctional Services and to comply with all appointment requirements;
 - be South African citizens;

UN role at peace meeting unlikely

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — It will be difficult, if not impossible, for the United Nations Secretary General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to agree to a request from Pretoria that he send his representative to a proposed urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories.

If he cannot do so, he may ask the leader of an advance team of UN observers in South Africa, Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, to attend.

However, Mr Steiner — due to arrive in the country today — would not have the prestige and power of the secretary general's personal representative.

The request that Mr Boutros-Ghali send his representative to South Africa was made yesterday in a letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said the government wanted a National Peace Accord meeting "as a matter of the greatest urgency, within a matter of days" and that the UN representative would "assist in the strengthening of the National Peace Secretariat and its regional structures".

UN officials pointed out that Mr Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as Mr Boutros-Ghali's representative in South Africa so far, was so preoccupied by the crisis in Bosnia that he had moved his home and headquarters to Geneva.

His mission in Europe had reached a point of such intense activity that the chances of him being able to undertake a mission to South Africa in the next few days were "probably zero", the officials said.

They added that the chances of Mr Boutros-Ghali finding a replacement acceptable to the major parties in South Africa in a matter of days, and sending him to the country fully briefed and ready to play an active role in the peace process, were very slim.

Such a representative, they said, would have to be not only a person "of sufficient stature and ability" but also someone "who clearly would have to be free to be actively involved for some time to come".

There was also a possibility that the person who would eventually lead the UN observers in South Africa, Miss Angela King of Jamaica, would be asked to fly to the country sooner than expected.

UN rules delay observers

By SIMON BARBER: Washington

THE 13-strong UN observer group due to arrive in South Africa yesterday has been delayed by a day, reportedly because of General Assembly resolutions barring UN staff from flying SAA.

The team, whose arrival date was announced last week by UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, had been booked on SAA's Friday night direct flight with the help of South Africa's mission in New York.

But they were obliged by the UN travel office to change their plans within hours of their scheduled departure and fly British Airways via London instead.

The change resulted in thousands of dollars in increased costs for the cash-starved secretariat.

There were rumours the sudden shift

from SAA to BA might have had more to do with in-fighting between senior UN officials than with SA's lingering pariah status.

Bureaucratic turf wars have already been responsible for delays in selecting a leader for the UN team, whose presence in South Africa, it was remarked bitterly last week, might have helped avert Monday's Bisho massacre.

The final selection, Jamaican Angela King, was named on Wednesday, a day after a UN spokesman announced the Friday departure date of the first group of observers.

But diplomats say Mrs King, head of the secretariat's personnel department, has been delayed for family reasons and will be arriving in South Africa later this week.

The observers will be based in Johannesburg and will operate in 11 areas.

UN observers will meet leaders today

RAY HARTLEY

THE 16 UN observers who arrived in SA yesterday would meet political leaders and begin making arrangements for their Durban and Johannesburg offices today, deputy UN mission chief Ismat Steiner said yesterday. *BIDA 14/9/92*

The monitors would adhere closely to UN resolution 772 which required them to observe potential conflict situations and report directly to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Steiner, who is from Tanzania, met national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys last night to plan activities. He met Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and ANC officials Thabo Mbeki and Aziz Pahad earlier.

Steiner said they hoped to strengthen national peace accord structures.

Steiner said a second group, including mission leader Angela King, was expected in the next 10 days. A total of 50 observers would be in the field when the monitoring team was at full strength in October.

He said King would head the team's Johannesburg office and he would head the Durban office.

NEWS UN and OAU observers here to m

UN mission arrives in SA

336 (336) (336)
Sawetan 14/9/92.
■ FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT International

groups to play role in peace process in SA:

SOUTH AFRICA's difficult and violent political transition yesterday officially opened up to international scrutiny.

The first group of an expected 50 United Nations observers arrived in South Africa yesterday and an Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) mission of eight experts arrives here today.

Both groups will help monitor violence crippling the peace process.

Yesterday's pilot party of 18, led by a UN official from Tanzania, Mr Ismat Steiner, was met on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Aziz Pahad of the ANC's department of international affairs, and the National Peace Secretariat's Dr Anthonie Gildenhuys and Mr Corrie Bezuidenhout.

Pahad said the arrival of the UN team was particularly significant in that it gave South

Africa's traumatic transition "an international dimension" and was sure to have "a positive effect on the transition".

The PAC's secretary for Relief and Aid, Ms Patricia de Lille, said "the objective" of liberating black people in the country was being blurred by the continuous violence.

She said: "The PAC (and ANC) have become so busy with funerals and bringing peace to the country..."

The remaining UN observers are due in the country at various intervals over the next month and will ultimately be headed by Jamaican UN official Ms Angela King.

Today's arrival of OAU officials follows consultations between the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and OAU Secretary-General H H Salim Ahmed Salim in Jakarta recently.

PEACE DRIVE

CT14/1/92
UN corps

starts work on eve of summit

Political Staff

PEACE drives to arrest South Africa's spiralling violence go into high gear today with meetings between the government and the ANC and with the vanguard of the United Nations observers which arrived yesterday.

Deputy UN mission chief Mr Ismat Stehner said they would start work immediately. He said the mission would adhere closely to UN resolution 772 which required them to observe potential conflict situations and report directly to UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali. A total of 50 observers would be in the field when the monitoring team was at full strength in October. In further developments:

• Chief government and ANC negotiators Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet in preparation for a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Although they differed sharply on pre-conditions for the summit when they appeared on SATV's Agenda last night, it seems they are close to agreement on these issues.

Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, said he thought it would take "one or two meetings" between him and Mr Meyer to resolve the outstanding problems and this agreement could be reached in a short space of time.

• The Oskel's Brigade's Oupa Gqozo has been summoned to meet Foreign Minister Mr P. Botha in Pretoria today. Brig Gqozo took a defiant line yesterday, telling the government and the ANC: "I am nobody's push-over. I'll be here for a while yet."

To page 2

From page 1

Responding to a report that the government was poised to give him his marching orders following the Bisho massacre, he said: "I don't think they have a chance of playing that game — of selling me down to the ANC as openly as that."

Brig Gqozo spoke on his return from the Kwa-Zulu capital Ulundi where he had been given a hero's welcome by both Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king.

On the Agenda programme Mr Ramaphosa said that ANC wanted to see practical steps on the ground to stop the "cancerous violence" in the country.

These involved the question of political prisoners, the implementation of security measures at hostels in line with Goldstone Commission recommendations and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons throughout the country.

While the question of an interim government and a constituent assembly — two of the ANC's original 14 demands before negotiations could be resumed — had more-or-less been satisfied, the issue of political prisoners and the 11 demands on violence had not yet been met.

Mr Meyer said it was "time for us to stop playing political games in this country".

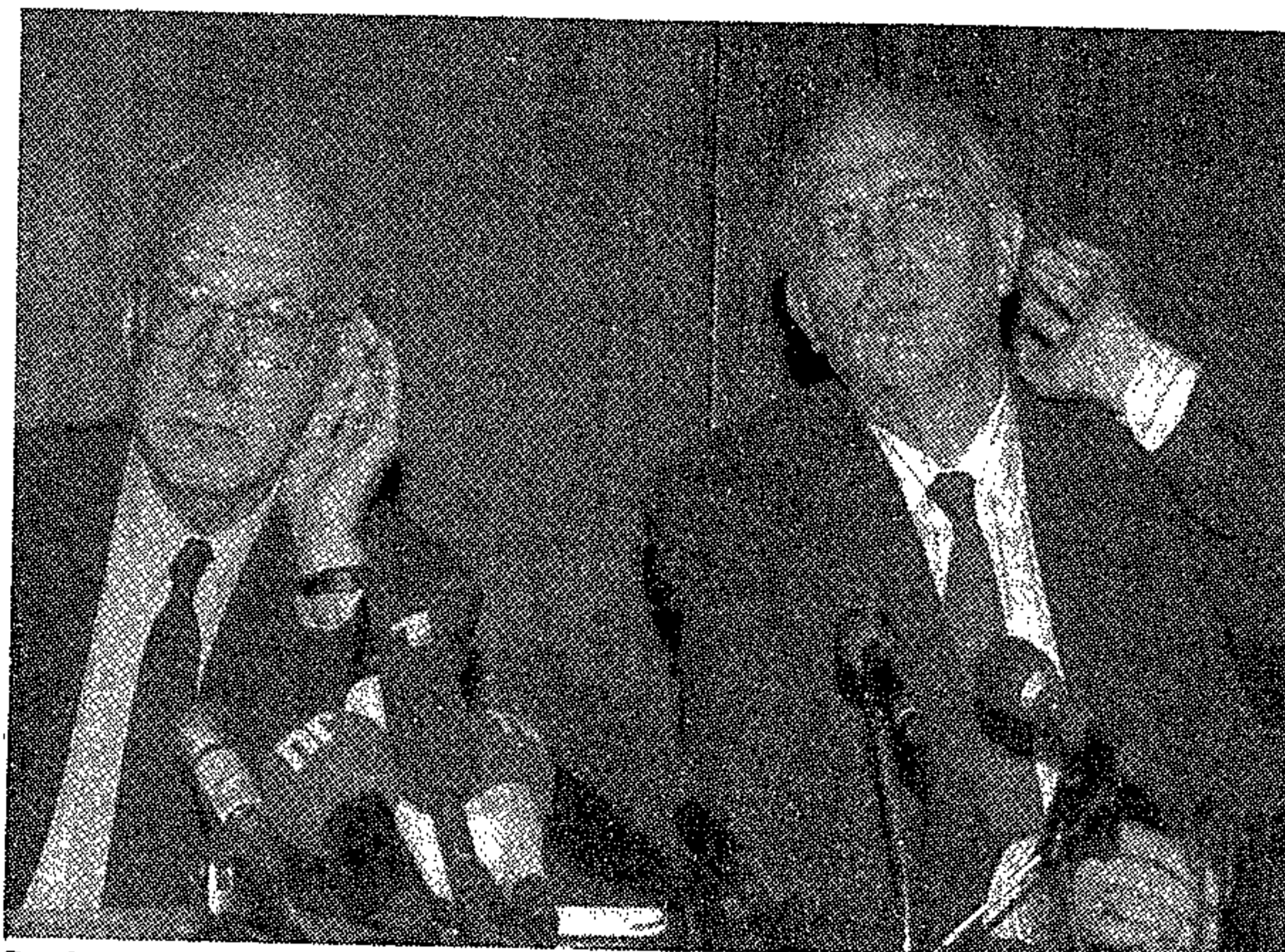


He said the government was not opposed in principle to mass action, but it rejected mass action that led to confrontation and violence and this issue had to be addressed.

The government was also concerned about the role of the communists within the ANC.

"Unless we can resolve that as well, we will time and again come back to the same problem."

RLD



Bundesbank president Helmut Schlesinger, left, and deputy Hans Tietmeyer take questions on the German bank rate cut at a news conference in Frankfurt yesterday. Picture: AP.

Drop a must for recovery — UN

8/10/92 15/9/92
GENEVA — Major industrial countries, facing the prospect of a weak economic recovery this year and next, must cut long-term interest rates and keep them low, a United Nations report has urged.

The report was written before the German central bank announced modest cuts in its record interest rates yesterday.

Hampered by the recession, global economic activity in 1992 is forecast to expand by a mere 1.5% and by 3% next year, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

"The world economy is in a period of uncoordinated, disparate and overall weak growth, with little prospect of a vigorous recovery in the near future," the UN agency's economists wrote in their annual trade

and development report.

"For recovery to be sustained, long-term interest rates need to fall and to be kept permanently low," the report added.

The UN agency accused industrialised nations of greater protectionism for failing to open up their markets to increased exports from developing nations — themselves struggling to maintain commodity prices and often democratic stability.

"This shortcoming needs to be corrected in wrapping up the Uruguay Round," the report said, referring to stalled six-year-old negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to liberalise global commerce. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN head picks envoy for SA

HUGH ROBERTON

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has appointed distinguished former UN official Mr Virendra Dayal as his special envoy to South Africa.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has instructed Mr Dayal to pursue the government's request for UN help in strengthening the functioning of the National Peace Accord.

Mr Dayal is a former Under-Secretary General of the UN and he will be assisted during his mission by the director of the Department of Political Affairs, Mr Hisham Omayad.

The seniority of the two men within the UN structure indicates the importance which Mr Boutros-Ghali places on their mission.

They will arrive in South Africa within the next 48 hours and will remain in the country until September 22.

Officially they will hold "follow-up discussions" in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution 772 of August 17, but they have been given a wide-ranging mandate with the authority to interpret it as they feel necessary.

They will meet the chairman of the Goldstone Commission,

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, as well as representatives of the government, the ANC and other groups.

Essentially the mission will attempt to reinforce efforts to end political violence and will seek to entrench the UN presence as a neutral monitoring body.

Last week Mr Boutros-Ghali announced the dispatch of 50 UN observers to South Africa, the first 13 of whom arrived at the weekend. The others are due to arrive within the next three weeks and will establish a headquarters in Johannesburg and regional offices in all major centres of the country.

No UN monitors for W Cape

Staff Reporter

NONE of the 13 United Nations violence monitors who have already arrived in South Africa have been assigned to serve in the Western Cape.

Mr Retief Olivier, secretary of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, said yesterday that the reason for this was that other areas, in which there was a higher level of political violence, had much higher priority.

336 CT 17/9/92
He added that by mid-October another batch of UN monitors was due to arrive. At that stage at least one person would be assigned to work in the Western Cape, based with the RDRC which was setting up an office in Bellville.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the UN's special envoy to South Africa, Mr Virendra Dayal, arrived here yesterday afternoon.

Mr Dayal, who was part of the recent UN mission led by Mr Cyrus Vance, said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport that the aim of his visit was to promote Resolution 772, which contained Mr Vance's proposals on South Africa.

Mr Dayal, who will be in South Africa until Tuesday, will liaise with the UN observers who arrived in the country at the weekend.

Stick-a-Pic delight . . .
Achilles Zoulas, adver-
tising co-ordinator,
Steers head office,
hands over a R20 000
cheque to Steers Stick-
a-Pic winner Raymond
Beyrooti of Boksburg.



UN monitors needed on South Coast ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC yesterday called for the immediate stationing of United Nations monitors on the strife-torn Natal South Coast, saying ongoing killings in the region were "totally unacceptable". *57/17/19/92*

According to the organisation, up to 195 people had died in the conflict there last month.

The ANC decried "a steady build-up" of propaganda to create the impression it was responsible for ongoing killings. The police had, without foundation, re-

peatedly spoken of "ANC men wearing police or army uniform", and when men in uniform killed people, the public concluded that they were ANC members.

"Whoever is responsible must be brought to book. The repeated reports of KwaZulu Police involvement (in the violence) warrants urgent, independent investigation," the ANC said.

It called for the immediate stationing of UN monitors in the region, adding that they had to be backed up by a thorough investigation into all the incidents by the Goldstone Commission.

Natal woman acquitted of kidnapping

DURBAN — The prosecution of a 40-year-old woman charged with kidnapping was stopped and she was acquitted after a psychiatric report was handed to a Durban Regional Court magistrate yesterday.

Sheila Mary Reynolds pleaded not guilty to kidnapping the son of Agnes Zulu in West Street.

The magistrate heard earlier that blind Mrs Zulu was begging. Mrs Reynolds gave her money, then picked up the child and went off.

The report said Mrs Reynolds had a long history of maladaptive behaviour. — Sapa.

Emissary's mettle will be tested

STAR 18/9/92

RECEIVED 336

Some consider new UN envoy Virendra Dayal more a bureaucrat than a diplomat, reports MIKE LITTLEJOHN from New York.

VIRENDRA Dayal, the special envoy of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali now on a mission to South Africa, made his name as the consummate "bureaucrat's bureaucrat".

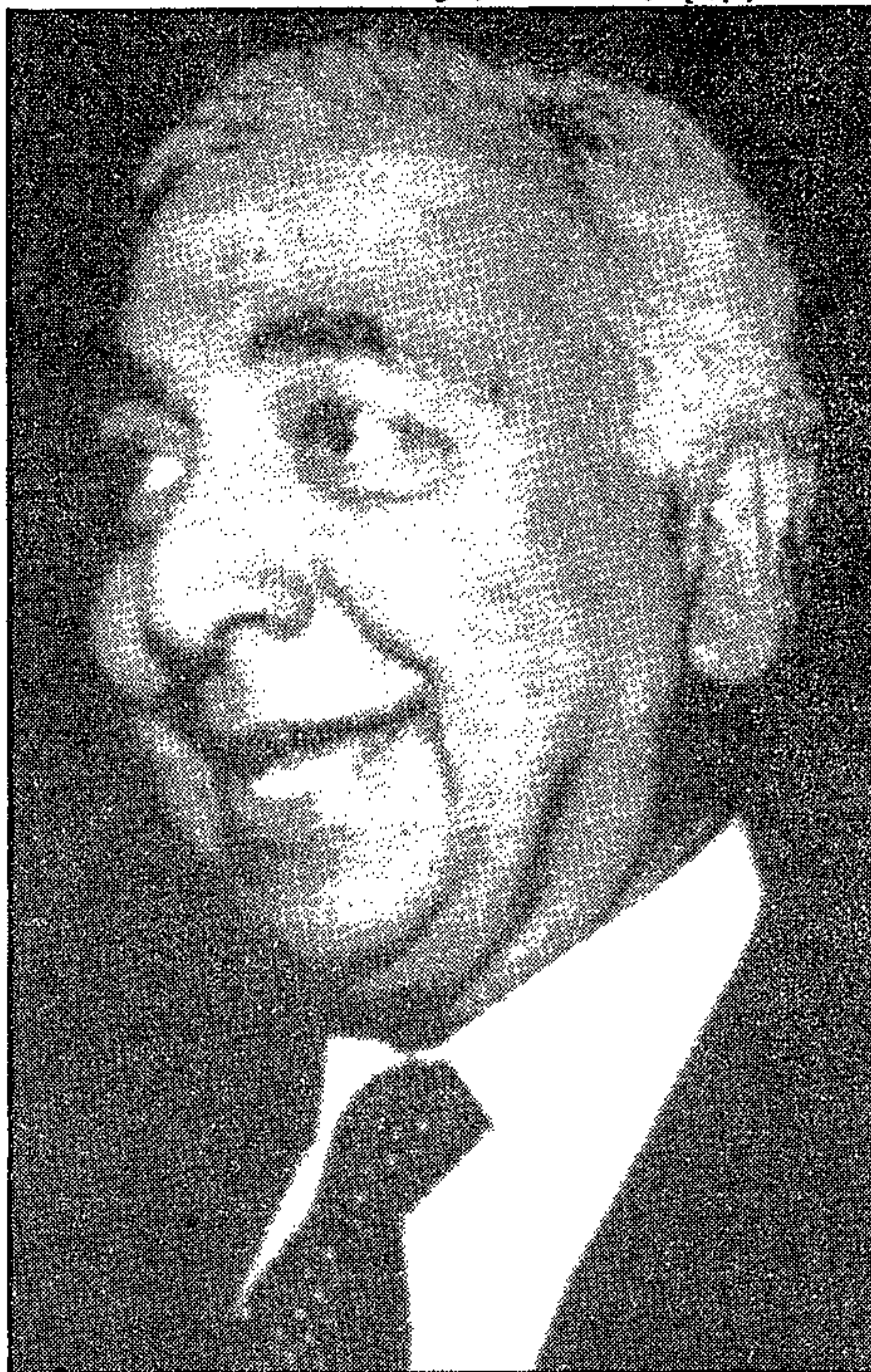
With 17 years' experience in the Indian Administrative Service, known for its punctiliousness, he was ideally equipped for eventual high office in the UN secretariat and ascended to the rank of undersecretary-general.

Hitherto, negotiation has not been among his more conspicuous skills — in part, perhaps, because he has worked mainly as an oiler of the wheels in New York rather than as a field operator.

His discussions in coming days with senior South African officials and others involved in the National Peace Accord will test his mettle.

Those who know him well are confident that he will rise to the occasion. Still, he has big shoes to fill in succeeding former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the South Africa assignment.

Mr Dayal served for more than nine years as Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's chief-of-staff, the pinnacle of a UN career stretching back to 1965. Replaced after Mr Boutros-Ghali's accession, he accepted a handsome tax-free lump sum and a generous pension and was expected to



Virendra Dayal . . . conjecture about his ability to fill Cyrus Vance's shoes.

retire to New Delhi, where the Indian government had bestowed its highest civilian honour and awarded him a sizeable cash prize.

However, the new secretary-general evidently thinks so well of him that Mr Dayal has remained in New York

ready to respond to his bidding — as he did in helping to draft "An Agenda for Peace".

This is an important series of recommendations to the membership mandated by the first-ever summit meeting of the Security Council, held in January.

Still, the South Africa mission breaks new ground for an official generally known for his extreme caution.

He has not always been so discreet. When the important post of UN High Commissioner for Refugees fell vacant, Mr Perez de Cuellar nominated his chief-of-staff to fill it — in part, apparently, to retain the relatively young Mr Dayal in UN service after a new leader came in.

Mr Dayal is only 57 and the normal pensionable age is 60, although staff may retire at 55.

Incidentally, Mr Dayal had seen previous service with the refugee agency as head of its New York office before joining the UN special political affairs department.

But the US and Britain, among others, questioned whether he had the clout to raise the large sums needed by the agency or the expertise to supervise its worldwide operations, and Mr Perez de Cuellar somewhat testily withdrew the nomination.

Uncharacteristically, Mr Dayal called in a group of reporters to complain angrily that his rejection was racially motivated and that if he were a western European, there would have been no problem.

In fact, the job went eventually to a Japanese woman, Sadako Ogata, who has handled the difficult post with extraordinary skill.

Educated in Delhi and at Oxford, Mr Dayal has the accent and manners of the Indian upper class. A workaholic by nature — one who maintained a grinding schedule as chief-of-staff — he suffered a mild heart attack some years ago, but appears to have fully recovered his stamina. □

UN envoy meets FW, Ministers

STm 18/9/92
UN special envoy Virendra Dayal met President de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday to discuss ways of ending political violence.

336
Mr Dayal is scheduled to meet senior PAC members, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and National Peace Committee chairman John Hall today.

● Report — Page 11

Pik positive on UN

JOHANNESBURG. — The presence of UN observers in South Africa would have a salutary effect on curbing violence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday (336)

"The UN observers' most important role will be that of eyewitness," he said. ARG 19/9/92

"Parties' and leaders' plans will be affected. If they believe they can get away with it, it is easier to do wrong." — Sapa.

World could break into 400 weak states, warns UN chief

Sowetan 21/9/92 336
■ Fragmentation of Yugoslavia sets dangerous example:

NEW YORK - United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali feels the world could splinter into 400 economically crippled mini-states unless the rights of minorities move to the top of the international agenda.

In an interview at the weekend as the 47th session of the General Assembly got under way, Boutros-Ghali said he feared the break-up of Yugoslavia might set an awesome example for the 21st century.

"The new danger which will appear in the world in the next 10 years is more fragmentation," he said.

"Rather than 100 or 200 countries, you may have at the end of the century 400 countries," he said. "And we will not be able to do any kind of economic development, not to mention more disputes on

boundaries."

One solution was to find ways to protect minorities by "offering the strongest machinery possible to defend human rights", including further action by the Security Council.

As North American and Western European states were attempting to break down frontiers, he said, Eastern Europe and other areas appeared to be going the other direction.

He said a hypothetical example of a worst-case scenario would be in Africa, already split into 50 countries.

"There are 5 000 tribes. Suppose each tribe would say it has the right to self-determination, you will have a kind of new micro-nationalism with small states of 50 000 or 100 000 people." - *Sapa-Reuter*

8/10/92 249/92

Boesak for UN inquiry

ANC NEC member Allan Boesak has been asked to serve on a commission to examine the future direction of the UN. The commission will review the system and institutions of international co-operation created for the post-war era. (10) (336)

King-sized job for UN team leader

336 204
5712 24/9/92
By Jo-Anne Collinge

Angela King, head of the United Nations observer group in South Africa, touched down at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning, ready to get down to the daunting task of helping check political violence.

No, she had not for an instant considered refusing the South African assignment, said Mrs King. "I was asked — and I'm an international civil servant."

Besides, as a seasoned and senior member of the UN secretariat, she associated herself with the "new image that the UN is getting as more oriented towards peace-keeping".

Among those at Jan Smuts to meet her were National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Minister of Education and Training Sam de Beer and Mrs King's deputy Ismat Steiner, who has been in South Africa for about two weeks.

The full UN team here will eventually number 50.

Boesak to help chart UN future

Political Staff (336) ARG 24/9/92

DR ALLAN BOESAK has been asked to serve on a commission which will chart the future of the United Nations.

Dr Boesak, Western Cape ANC chairman, is the only South African and one of three Africans serving on the New Independent Commission on International Co-operation.

Former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal will chair the commission which will produce a report and concrete proposals for discussions at the UN's 50th anniversary in 1995.

The first meeting is in Geneva next week.

Welcoming Dr Boesak's appointment, the ANC said it was yet another example "of the decisive and important contributions our leadership is playing both with the national and international arena."

Star 25/9/92.
Boesak for UN body

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak is to serve on a commission to chart the future of the United Nations. (336)

Dr Boesak will serve on the New Independent Commission on International Co-operation which will produce proposals for the UN's 50th anniversary discussions in 1995.

UN monitors in homeland

JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations monitors met various organisations at Rooigrond in Bophuthatswana yesterday to discuss violence and intimidation in the homeland. (336)

The ANC said representatives of its Western Transvaal, PWV, Western Cape and southern Free State branches held talks with the National Peace Secretariat, Lawyers for Human Rights, UN monitors and the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum.

— Sapa CT 25/9/92

from Plat, near Dubrovnik, to Visegrad has been established and the highway Gacko-Foca unblocked." The Serbs are trying to es-

begins. "All experts agree it is very late for winter," said Adnan Abdul-Razek, spokesman for the UN Protection

world to help his people. "We have many friends in the world, some warm, some cold," he said on his arrival at the start of a two-day visit to Pakistan. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN envoy set to discuss Somali crisis

MOGADISHU — The UN starts consultations with Somalia's neighbours this week to try to end civil war and mass starvation in the Horn of Africa country.

Special ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun was due to fly to Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan to discuss peace initiatives and plans to feed millions of starving people, UN sources said yesterday.

Mr Sahnoun, UN special representative for Somalia, would meet Kenyan Presi-

dent Daniel arap Moi in Nairobi today.

They would assess prospects for bringing Somalia's warring clans to a round table in the Kenya capital, UN officials said.

Somalia's clan warlords have so far refused either to meet each other or attend talks outside their country.

The UN initiative has assumed added urgency because of concern for 400 000 Somali refugees in Kenya.

Relief officials said they

were alarmed by reports the Kenyan government wanted to start repatriations.

● The International Red Cross resumed its airlift to the western Somali town of Belet Huen, eight days after it was suspended when a US relief plane was struck by a stray bullet.

Also yesterday, US military personnel manning an American airlift from the coastal Kenyan town of Mombasa achieved a record number of flights on a single day. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Rebels kill aid worker

336

NAIROBI - Relief agen-

cies withdrew staff from Sudan's south yesterday, one day after officials confirmed that rebels had killed a UN employee and a Norwegian freelance journalist.

Sowetan
A Kenyan driver for the United Nations and a Filipino woman working for the aid group InterAid were still missing.

11/10/92
Aid work will be reduced in Sudan's south until relief officials are assured the safety of their staff can be guaranteed. - *Sowetan Africa News Service and Sapa-Reuter-AFP.*

Bid to thwart German demand at UN

Guardian 14 June 1974

By Hella Pick in New York

2/10-8/10/74
336

GERMANY'S first tentative move to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council has come up against a solid wall of resistance from Britain and France, though the United States has expressed a reluctant willingness to consider changes.

Diplomats from the three, all of them permanent members, have said that by pressing its case Germany would be opening a Pandora's box.

"In principle we think the whole issue probably deserves to be looked at, but it will be a while before anybody can figure out exactly what the solutions are," Lawrence Eagleburger, the acting UN secretary of state, said last week.

Britain and France want the German drive to stop in its tracks — otherwise demands from Asia, Africa, and Latin America for permanent council seats will be difficult to ignore. The council's five permanent

members, which include Russia and China, have veto powers. The rest of the places on the 15-seat body are rotated on the basis of two-year terms without veto.

Enlargement from the existing 15 seats to possibly two dozen would make the council unwieldy, British diplomats at the UN asserted.

Klaus Kinkel, Germany's foreign minister, told the UN General Assembly last week that debate on Security Council reform was already under way. "Germany will not take the initiative in this respect," he said. But "if a change in the council's membership is actually considered we, too, shall seek a permanent seat."

Germany would prefer to let Japan take the lead — and the brunt of the criticism — in pressing for a permanent seat, with Bonn backing it up. Japan's foreign

minister, Michio Watanabe, told the assembly that Japan was seeking a permanent seat on the Security Council by 1995 the 50th anniversary of the UN.

Signalling that the German campaign was beginning in earnest, Mr Kinkel assured the UN that the coalition government in Bonn was determined to change the country's constitution to allow German forces to participate in UN peacekeeping operations.

Germany would put an end "to any discrepancy between our verbal commitment to peace and human rights and our active involvement in their defence."

Mr Kinkel has decided to bring the issue into the open in the belief that German economic and political power justify the same big-power status at the UN as its allies have.

Frustration at the refusal of Britain and France to consider compromising by giving up their Security Council seats in favour of a single European Community seat has also fuelled Germany's actions.

Mr Kinkel said that the "prospects for a joint EC permanent seat on the council are less realistic than the prospects for enlargement of the council" by, for example, the admission of Germany and Japan.

The African, Asian, and Latin American blocs in the UN have long been arguing that the veto power must either be extended to some of their members, or abolished altogether. Brazil has proposed another variant, a three-tier Security Council where the existing five permanent members could retain their veto power, while Germany, Japan, and countries such as Brazil, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Egypt could be given permanent status without veto.

UN bid to heal ANC, IFP rift

JOHANNESBURG — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been in touch with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to encourage them to communicate.

The head of the UN Organisation Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), Ms Angela King, confirmed this yesterday.

She told a Johannesburg press briefing she had made an ap-

pointment to see Chief Buthelezi on October 8. (33b) CT 3/10/92

Ms King stressed UNOMSA would not "instruct, manoeuvre or manipulate" local political players, but aimed at facilitating the peace process.

The national peace secretariat was presently conducting negotiations with the government, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to prepare for the handling of the ANC's planned mass marches on

KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

The UN team in Durban had made "appropriate representations" through NPA structures to the local dispute resolution committees to open the way for talks on the issue, she said.

Another UN team had held discussions with Bophuthatswana, SA ministers and the National Security Council on the October 9 march in Mmabatho.

"Both sides wanted peace," she said. — Sapa

Hopes high for talks as UN team leaves SA

By THEMBA KHUMALO
and SAPA

OBSERVERS from the United Nations, OAU and Commonwealth countries left SA this week with high hopes that democracy talks would soon be back on track.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been in touch with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to encourage them to keep the channels of communication between each other open.

Chief Buthelezi at the weekend angrily broke off talks with the government in response to bilateral agreements reached between State President FW de Klerk and Mandela.

Head of the UN Organisation Mission in SA (UNOMSA) Angela King said at a media con-

ference in Johannesburg this week that she had made an appointment to see Buthelezi on Thursday, while a complement of eight UN observers in Durban had been in close touch with the IFP leader and his representatives involved in Natal National Peace Accord structures.

The delegation, which was on a three week fact-finding mission, said their hopes were boosted after consulting a wide spectrum of key players involved in the negotiation process.

Delegation spokesman Sam Ibok said that after meeting Buthelezi on Thursday they were not worried about his threatened withdrawal from the peace process.

Ibok said: "One has to view Buthelezi's objection to last week's bilateral agreement between De Klerk and Mandela in the

correct context.

"The impression we got after talking to him was that he was not pulling out of talks completely," Ibok said.

He said throughout their consultations with various leaders, the delegation emphasised that it was a mere facilitator, by encouraging the parties to talk to one another.

"The solution of the country's problems lay solely in the hands of local leaders," said Ibok.

King said the National Peace Secretariat was at present conducting negotiations with the government, Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to arrive at a plan for the handling of the ANC's planned mass marches on KwaZulu and Bophuthatawana.

Another UN team had held discussions with Bophuthatawana, SA ministers and the National Security Council on the

planned October 9 march in Mmbatho.

"Both sides wanted peace."

"They wanted to avoid violence and they also wanted to open up negotiations," she said.

The delegation criticised sharply "violent rhetoric because it doesn't serve the purpose of achieving peace."

Among other leaders they met were Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and members of the notorious 31 and 32 Battalion.

According to King, early indications were that the presence of UN observers had helped to defuse tensions in areas where they had been employed.

The UNOMSA so far consists of 23 observers with 50 expected to be deployed in 11 regions throughout the country by the end of October.

UN ready to give SA drought aid

5 Times (BUSS) 4/10/92 - (336) (222)

By KEVIN DAVIE: New York

THE United Nations is prepared to help SA with aid and advice in alleviating the effects of this century's worst drought.

Aliou Sallah, Southern Africa chief of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), says the UN has formed a division to provide humanitarian aid.

The division has considered the effects of the drought on Southern Africa.

If domestic political accord could be reached on this issue, UN agencies would move quickly to assist with drought-relief programmes. Mr Sallah says they could include agricultural projects, food provision and programmes for children.

Flow

"The whole UN family would come to assist. The drought is very serious," says Mr Sallah, who returned last week from Southern Africa.

"The secretary-general would consider a request from the political parties seriously. We're not talking politics here, we're talking humanitarian aid."

Mr Sallah says UNDP is ready to facilitate the flow of large grants and project assistance to a new government in SA. UNDP will open one of its largest offices in

Africa once the transition has begun.

It is premature to estimate the amount of aid which UNDP, the world's primary source of grant finance, could help to bring to SA, but it would be large in the longer term.

Key

Mr Sallah stresses that UNDP's key support is in technical advice on sound development policy. UNDP has begun a needs study with the World Bank focusing on agriculture and the socio-economy.

"Our consultants have visited SA. We are awaiting the report."

UNDP has also begun a study of domestic and external aid flows to provide a catalogue of assistance to SA.

"We've been approached by a number of agencies to find out if we have such a directory."

UNDP was involved last year in 6189 development projects worldwide, continuing projects totalling \$5.42-billion. About 32% of these projects with a value of \$1.8-billion are in Africa.

Mr Sallah indicates that SA could get large grants be-

cause it is a big country which will face growing problems in the political transition. Assimilating the homelands will be a major challenge, for example.

UNDP specialises in programmes to help human development, such as small-scale agriculture, skills and management training and job creation. It acts as the key organisation in the United Nations family, which includes trade and development body Unctad, education specialist Unesco, industrial development agency Unido, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the International Trade Centre (ITC) and food and agriculture body FAO.

Poor

Thirty-one specialist agencies including the IMF and World Bank are represented in the UN group. Mr Sallah says SA should qualify as a developing country and receive grant finance.

Governments typically co-finance UNDP projects. They aim to help people by supplying infrastructure and know-how to free the poor from dependency.

18-million face starvation in southern Africa UN

NJELELE — The mighty Limpopo River is dry, a broad belt of dirt snaking through a landscape ravaged by a drought that has pushed millions of people to the edge of starvation.

Where a torrent of green water hundreds of metres wide should be flowing, there is dust. People say they remember nothing like it. "You can't grow anything. The earth is dead," said peasant farmer Hani Mkansi.

Across southern Africa the worst drought in 100 years has stripped many areas bare. Villagers in some places eat mud to stave off hunger pains.

Fields are patches of windblown dust, hundreds of thousands of cattle are dead or dying and millions of desperate people depend on food from aid agencies.

Up to 20-million people, or about a fifth of the population, are struggling to survive in the 10 nations of southern Africa. But aid workers do not expect a repeat of the disaster ravaging Somalia to the north, except possibly in Mozam-

bique, where the UN says 3-million people face death from famine.

"With less than 50% of average crop yields anticipated during 1992-93, at least 18-million people face the spectre of starvation," said a UN report.

A quarter of Zimbabwe's 10-million people get food aid, but almost as many have been turned away. Large parts of Swaziland depend on 21 overworked government water trucks.

In SA aid groups feeding at least 2-million people have been forced to cut food allowances because they are overwhelmed by demand. "It is worse, much, much worse than we anticipated," said Operation Hunger head Ina Perlman.

Everywhere, the drought's impact has been made worse by incompetence and bureaucratic red tape, politics, corruption and violence.

Millions of tons of food must be distributed across southern Africa to help keep people alive until next March and April, when the first crops normally bloom. Average summer rains are expected in many areas, but many impoverished farmers need seed and fertiliser to raise a new crop.

Haunted by past African famines, Western nations have been sending food. But some aid has been delayed by lack of transport or tardiness by some donor na-

tions in meeting promises.

"Physical condition can deteriorate quickly. Almost overnight, you can reach a situation where people are beyond the point of no return," said John Hicks of the US Agency for International Development.

The problem is exacerbated by the inefficiency of many area governments.

Bureaucrats in some areas make hungry people apply in writing for food; aid is sent to areas with food surpluses while famine areas are ignored; and theft takes a daily toll.

Zimbabwe sold off 2-million tons of maize in 1991 that was held as food reserves. Now it is importing maize at three times the cost of local crops, putting huge strain on its economy.

Food aid in Malawi has been diverted to the north in an effort to calm opposition to the authoritarian government of President Kamuzu Banda.

Some European nations cut aid to Namibia after President Sam Nujoma spent almost \$30m on an executive jet. Nujoma said the jet was needed for trips to seek drought aid.

In SA, the worst suffering has been in the homelands. "It's been a mess for years, now it's a lot more critical," said Johann Rissik, an Operation Hunger worker in Lebowa. "It's desperate. People are fighting over water." — Sapa-AP.

'GLASS palace" was John Vorster's scathing term for it. And as little as a year ago, the idea of involving the United Nations in solving South Africa's problems was unthinkable.

Yet by the time the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) set up office in Johannesburg last month, it blended almost immediately into the South African political scenery.

"I think South Africans have adjusted exceptionally fast to the idea of transition towards a democratic society," said Angela King, chief of the mission, in an interview at her office in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. "The reaction to our arrival has been warm and welcoming."

Jamaican-born King (54) moved into the Unomsa hot seat — her first UN post as a "field worker" — from a position as director of staff administration and training in the UN office for human resources management. Before that, she was director of recruitment and placing.

Why was a personnel manager chosen for a peacemaking job? "You'll have to ask (UN secretary general) Boutros Boutros-Ghali," she says, adding that effective use of people's skills is as crucial in human resources management as it is in a UN mission.

She bristles at the suggestion that the mission is a "second division team", foisted upon South Africa because more seasoned observers were busy in other trouble spots. In part, the perception arose because of the mission's small size — 50, as compared with 800 in Yugoslavia.

"This is not a 'second eleven'. We have a clear mandate from the Security Council. The numbers of the force and the nature of their deployment were left very much to the discretion of the secretary general.

"The original team in Yugoslavia was 30-strong. UN people also went to Namibia in phases. They started with probably 150, and then as they established themselves on the ground it went wider. By the time of the election it was 800."

King stressed that the size of the mission was linked to requirements on the ground. In Namibia, for instance, the UN was involved in anything from setting up electoral districts to training workshops on how to run an election. In Cambodia, the UN was asked to move into virtually every government department and get the country running again.

The UN and the Security Council looked very carefully at the African National Congress' demand for 400 monitors, King said. It decided that because of the sophistication of the peace infrastructure in South Africa, observers, not monitors, were appropriate.

UN team is no second XI — King



The UN's Angela King

The United Nations mission in South Africa is seen as a 'second XI', reflecting the country's low international priority.

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK spoke to its Jamaican-born head, Angela King

"In South Africa you have well-developed structures, you've got the National Peace Accord (NPA), you've had Codesa. We will liaise with these structures and report back to the secretary general on whether the UN mandate needs to be broadened.

"The decision was that the mission should be enlarged in a phased way rather than by pre-judging the situation. The Security Council did give the secretary general the authority to deploy any amount of people, and a total of 400 has not been ruled out."

The delay in the arrival of the full UN team has fuelled criticism that the demand for a UN presence in regional disputes around the world means it cannot give South Africa the

attention it needs.

So far 23 observers have arrived in the country, with a total force of 50 expected to be in place by the end of the month. A third of the Unomsa team was expected to arrive from Angola with the conclusion of that country's first democratic elections. With uncertainty surrounding Unita's response to the results, a delay is inevitable.

"It would be naive to say that those conflicts have not affected our mission," says King. "But any UN mission would be affected. They are all equally affected by very severe cash-flow problems in the UN."

King is aware of suspicion of Unomsa in some anti-government circles, based on a perception that it works hand-in-glove with the authorities. There has also been criticism of the UN allowing the security forces to provide them with transport in certain cases.

"We've been at pains to be in touch with all parties involved in the NPA," she explains. "We have had offers of assistance not only from the government but from the major parties concerned, for transport, arranging meetings, and so on. But we have for the most part been relying on the National Peace Secretariat.

"If a local dispute resolution committee chairperson drives ahead to show the way, in some areas this may translate into a police escort. That is co-operating with the dispute resolution committee — we don't see it in any way as co-operating too closely with the police."

Unomsa's assertion of its neutrality ranged from the liberal use of UN flags and stickers on cars to its refusal to go on platforms that were not part of NPA structures.

The NPA has itself been under fire, however, for being tied to its signatories and not having a life of its own. But rather than undermine the role of Unomsa, says King, this makes it more vital. The Security Council resolution (number 772) that created Unomsa specifically requires the mission to "strengthen and reinforce the indigenous mechanisms set up under the National Peace Accord, so as to enhance their capacity in the building of peace".

South Africa's network of peace structures, says King, in fact offers tremendous hope for the future, because "so much work went into thinking out the structures — the UN did not have to amend the structures, and were able to leave the political process to the South African signatories".

The real role of Unomsa, in short, is not to tell South Africans what to do.

"We are here to try and help, by our presence, to defuse tensions which may prevent the transition to democracy. The structures are there and the means are there for it to happen."

STAR 9/10/92

UN postpones debate on SA

NEW YORK — In a rebuff to the ANC, the UN General Assembly has agreed to postpone debate on what is known as "the question of apartheid" until mid-November. (336)

Officials said the ANC, backed by a number of African members, pressed for debate to begin on about October 15 so that Nelson Mandela might attend on his return from an official visit to China.

But many delegations were said to have made the point that a month's leeway would allow the situation within South Africa to settle down and permit a more responsive exchange.

This argument prevailed. November 16, 17 and 18 have been pencilled in as the dates for the debate. — Star Bureau.

SA troops may be called on for UN duties

MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus Political Staff

336
ARC 10/10/92

TROOPS from South Africa could find themselves keeping the peace in foreign climes in United Nations peace-keeping units once democracy here has opened the way to full participation in international politics.

This prospect was raised yesterday by Canadian ambassador in South Africa, Mr William Westdal, at a foreign policy seminar organised by the South African Institute for International Affairs and the Canadian Embassy.

The seminar focused on likely shifts in South Africa's future foreign policy.

Mr Westdal predicted the new South Africa would become increasingly active in international trade and political forums. "A host of multilateral roles beckon," he said.

In the defence and security sphere there was a global trend toward UN peace-making and peace-keeping and it was likely the new South Africa would be called upon with other members of the United Nations to do its part.

"As middle powers with highly trained armed forces, Canada and South Africa are both well equipped to respond to the UN's regular need for effective peace-keeping forces," he said.

In a regional context, South Africa might seek to establish a co-operative security policy with its neighbours which could include joint military exercises, open skies agreements, bilateral border patrols, joint training schemes and regional discussions.

"These are some of the exciting possibilities."

The country would also be able — and be expected — to play a part in contending, regionally, with environmental control, drug trafficking, terrorism, illegal migration and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

A critical area of foreign policy was trade and investment.

Mr Westdal said: "In an increasingly competitive world, South Africans will have to defend their economic interests vigorously."

He predicted that South African consumers and producers "can look ahead to benefits from full involvement in the international trading finance system" which encompassed agreed trade rules, trade standards, trademark protection, commodity agreements and International Monetary Fund support and advice.

Star 13/10/92. (336) 248

UN chief sketches plan to enforce Mozambique pact

NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday outlined plans for a new UN peacekeeping operation to help implement an accord between Mozambique and Renamo rebels.

The treaty, signed in Rome on October 4 by President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama, ends a 16-year civil war that has devastated the country.

Mozambique's parliament yesterday unanimously ratified the peace accord.

In a report to the Security Council, Boutros-Ghali said he planned to

appoint immediately an interim special representative who would be in overall charge of the UN operation.

It is similar to one being completed in Angola — like Mozambique, a former Portuguese-ruled territory — following the signing of an accord in May 1991 between the Angolan government and Unita rebels.

The Mozambique operation involves helping to monitor the ceasefire, expected to come into effect no later than Thursday; overseeing the separation of the two sides' forces; the forces' concentration in designated assembly areas; and the demobilisation within six months of troops not en-

listed in a new Mozambican defence force.

The UN will also monitor and help organise presidential and legislative elections, to be held a year after the start of the ceasefire, and co-ordinate humanitarian programmes.

Boutros-Ghali said his special representative, to be appointed with Security Council approval, would immediately be sent to Mozambique with an advance team of up to 25 military observers and administrative support staff.

The team, whose military personnel would be drawn from existing UN peacekeeping operations, would be stationed in Maputo, Beira and Nampula. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN rains food on Somalia

NAIROBI — The UN has expanded its air drops of food into inaccessible rural areas of Somalia. (17)

A UN world food programme statement said a Canadian military transport plane on Sunday dropped 12 tons of wheat at Dinsor, a remote village which had not received food aid since the famine began. (336)

About 1 000 tons of food would be air-dropped in several areas of central and southern Somalia in the coming weeks. Mobile teams would travel to air drop zones to help with distribution.

The air drops were to provide a "flexible response" to the rapidly changing emergency in war-ravaged Somalia, where 1 000 people a day are reportedly dying of famine and disease.

The UN had sent nearly 210 tons of supplies into Somalia in the past six weeks. However, it could only reach places with airstrips suitable for large transport planes. 15/10 AM 13/10/92.

Moving food overland was difficult because of poor roads, looting, shortages of trucks and spares and extortionate transport and security costs — about \$110 a ton of food delivered. — Sapa-Reuter.

Amnesty Bill likely to draw flak from all sides

BIDAN 16/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's controversial Amnesty Bill, which is to come before Parliament for discussion today, is expected to draw flak from most quarters.

De Klerk has several times in the past two weeks said he does not care about opposition to his unilaterally going ahead with the legislation to grant amnesty to security and state officials.

The ANC alliance, the PAC, the DP and the Labour Party have all expressed opposition to the Bill.

The ANC rejected government's offer to trade off the release of political prisoners for the general amnesty, insisting that only an interim government of national unity should be entitled to grant amnesty in a bid to forge reconciliation.

It insists that government cannot grant amnesty to its own members and has threatened to reverse the legislation later.

De Klerk, after meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela last month, said the legislation would be based on the same principles used in deciding on the release of the ANC's political prisoners.

The Bill would provide for full disclosure, to government, of the deeds for which the person was seeking amnesty.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP yesterday proposed that amnesty apply to political offenders only if there was full disclosure and following

adjudication by a competent tribunal.

In an amnesty policy document released yesterday, the DP emphasises that no person should be allowed to escape disclosure and identification as a perpetrator of a political offence.

A general amnesty should not be pre-emptive of the process of reconciliation but should be a product of such a process, it says. "It is inapplicable and inappropriate that the present government should introduce or attempt to invoke amnesty proceedings. Accordingly amnesty legislation should be introduced by an interim government of national unity."

The DP document notes that every person seeking amnesty would have to be adjudicated by a competent tribunal which would investigate and report on the acts or omissions which led to the offence in respect of which amnesty was sought. "Any person who does not avail himself/herself of the amnesty process and procedures will be liable to criminal prosecution for whatever acts or omissions he or she might be charged with."

The DP also proposes that amnesty legislation should make provision for the victims of serious offences and human rights abuses, to be given recognition symbolically and substantially "subject to the resources of the state".

UN 'will be impartial in SA'

WASHINGTON — The UN could no longer take sides in SA, a senior UN official told a conference in Washington yesterday sponsored by the pro-ANC Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

The UN had supported the ANC and PAC at a time when black South Africans could not speak for themselves, but that time had now passed, said UN special political questions director Hisham Omayad.

He made it clear that the role of UN agencies like the Centre Against Apartheid, which earlier this week held a session in honour of SA political prisoners, was being downgraded.

In strong contrast, ANC constitutional expert Dullah Omar suggested that the liberation movements should continue to

receive preferential treatment from the international community because they had a higher "moral claim" than government.

He was supported by journalist Allister Sparks, who attributed the root cause of violence in SA to efforts by elements in the security establishment to destabilise the ANC, with at least partial support from President F W de Klerk.

Omayad headed the first team of 10 UN observers sent to SA to monitor mass action in early August, and accompanied special envoy Cyrus Vance and his deputy, Virendra Dayal, on their subsequent missions.

He said while the UN could act as a catalyst for constitutional negotiations, it "will not get directly in-

volved" in a process that had to be conducted by South Africans.

Omayad was involved in setting up elections in Namibia in 1989.

Omayad predicted that there would be "a minimum" of 100 international observers helping to defuse violence in SA by the end of the year, which would include the 50-member UN contingent.

However, the success of the teams being supplied by the UN, Commonwealth, EC and OAU, did not depend on their numbers, but "on the support they get on the ground", he said.

KIRCHMAN
DRADETIC

(336)
ET 19/10/92
**UN eases up
on SA issues**

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The role of United Nations agencies like the Centre Against Apartheid is being downgraded, a senior UN official told a conference here sponsored by the pro-ANC Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

Mr Hisham Omayad, director of the UN's special political questions, said the UN could no longer take sides in South Africa.

The UN had supported the ANC and the PAC at a time when black South Africans could not speak up for themselves, but that time had now passed, he said.

In strong contrast, ANC constitutional expert Mr Dullah Omar suggested that the liberation movements should continue to receive preferential treatment as they had a higher "moral claim" than the government.



Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN security council. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide by midday today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela violated the national peace accord during an address to the UN in July. *B/DM 20/10/92*

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been refusing to attend peace accord meetings since late July in protest at Mandela's statement to the UN. *(234)*

(234) RAY HARTLEY *(234)*

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate.

A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides. *(336)*

Inkatha vows to defy ban

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC connivance, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President

B/DM 20/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK
FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month. *(234)*

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicated Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle,

have called on the marchers to lay them down either.

AK-47s, of which "the ANC had thousands stashed in arms caches", were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa reports gunmen shot and killed five people in Natal yesterday, taking the death toll in two days to 18 in the strife-torn province.

KwaZulu police said three people were gunned down in Umbumbulu township, another in Esikhwini near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in Kwamakhuta, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal, where more than 1 200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 20 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umgababa by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.

RISON.

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1563

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 21 OCTOBER 1992

Hansard

1564

- Makatini Flats
- Ingwavuma Townlands
- Ubombo Townlands

1.12 IXOPO DISTRICT (23 609 ha)

- Platt Estates
- High Flats/Texas Valley Area
- State land distributed in the Ixopo District

1.13 KLIPPRIVIER DISTRICT (29 078 ha)

- Driefontein Block
- Compensation 4231 (Sub 1, 2, 3)
- Klipfontein 1159
- Brakfontein 1214 (Sub 4)
- Davelshoek 1080 (Sub 3)
- Jernanuskraal 1186 (Remainder; Sub 17)

- Qimisa Settlement area
- Qimisa 15312 (Remainder)
- The Remainder of the Kliprivier Area

1.14 KRANSKOP DISTRICT (2 455 ha)

- Krantz Kloof 1176 (Remainder; Sub 1-8, Sub 13)
- Buffelshoek 2067 (Sub 1)
- Broedershoek 1343 (Lot AB)

1.15 LOWER UMFOLOZI DISTRICT (34 585 ha)

- Reserve No 4 No 15823
- Ntshabana Farms

1.16 LOWER TUGELA DISTRICT (3 966 ha)

- Grootville Area:
- Charlotte Dale 2710 (Sub 5)
- Charlotte Dale 6014
- New Groot Field 4683 (Sub 1)
- Waterfall No 1205 (Sub 10)
- Bulwer No 1 No 5995 (Remainder; Sub 4)
- Bulwer No 2 No 5994 (Remainder; Sub 2)

- Essiena No 3 No 6307 (Sub A1)

1.17 LIONS RIVER DISTRICT (1 619 ha)

- Riet Valley 1043 (Remainder; Sub 2)

1.18 MAHLABATINI DISTRICT (795 ha)

- Mahlabatini Townlands

1.19 MAPUMULO DISTRICT (30 ha)

- Mapumulo Mission Reserve No 4679 (Sub 1)

1.20 MSINGA DISTRICT (7 982 ha)

- Etembeni Mission Reserve 8312
- The Mission Station Ehlanzeni 4605

- The Mission Station Etembeni 4696
- Ehlanzeni Mission Reserve 7444
- Pomroy Townlands

- Kliprivier Location No 4665, known as Msinga Residence

1.21 MTONJANENI DISTRICT (19 426 ha)

- Ulundi Farms/Wit Umfolozi Area
- Melmoth Farms

1.22 MTUNZINI DISTRICT (5 461 ha)

- Annexe Reserve No 8 No 14264
- Red Hill 12238
- Ngoye Forest Reserve 15784

1.23 NDWEDWE DISTRICT (2 228 ha)

- Inanda Location 4675 (Sub 7)
- Italamasa Mission Reserve 8314

1.24 NEWCASTLE DISTRICT (329 ha)

- Kliprand 8627 (Sub 1)
- Krondraai 8626 (Sub 2)

1.25 NEW HANOVER AND UMVOTI DISTRICTS (3 533 ha)

- Umvoti Slopes Area

1.26 NKANDLA DISTRICT (4 242 ha)

- Devondale 11039 (Remainder; and Sub 1-8)
- Qudeni 13905 (Remainder)
- Qudeni Town (Sites 1-15)
- Westville 11014 (Remainder; Sub 1)
- Nkandla Forest Reserve No 15439
- Nkandla Townlands

1.27 NONGOMA DISTRICT (124 ha)

- Nongoma Townlands

1.28 NOUTU DISTRICT (8 591 ha)

- Nqutu Townlands

- Nqutu Farms

- Nondweni Townlands

- Vechtkop 168 (Sub 7-9)

- Kandaspunt Prison

- Kandas Prison No 14755

- Twyfelhoek No 174 (Remainder; Sub 4)

1.29 PAUL PIETERSBURG AND NGO-TSHE DISTRICTS (937 373 ha)

- Dhlamini and Mhletwa Tribal Areas

- Land adjacent and between the said Tribal Areas

- Frischgewaagd Settlement area

1565

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1.30 PIETERMARITZBURG DISTRICT (6 042 ha)

- Ashdown/Imbali/Edendale Area

1.31 PIET RETIEF DISTRICT (6 706 ha)

- Ngqolosi Tribal Area

1.32 PINETOWN DISTRICT (1 135 ha)

- Ngqolosi Tribal Area

1.33 POLELA DISTRICT (1 905 ha)

- Distributed in district/Versprei in distrik

1.34 PORT SHEPSTONE DISTRICT (7 678 ha)

- Margate Corridor
- Meringa
- Cherrywillingham Park No 9323
- Frankland No 2 No 9598
- South Gate 9428
- Langold 9427
- Frankland 8280
- Remainder: Port Shepstone Area

1.35 RICHMOND DISTRICT (2 059 ha)

1.36 UMLAZI DISTRICT (289 ha)

- Amanzimtoti Mission 4689
- Bucknell 11562
- Umlazi Mission 4680 (Sub 16)

1.37 UMZINTO DISTRICT (31 790 ha)

- Amnahlanguwa Mission Reserve 8317
- Ifafa Mission Reserve 8319
- Campania 3484
- Lot 71 No 3538
- Umtwalumi Area
- Lot 60 Umtwalumi 3476
- Land distributed in Umzinto district

1.38 UNDERBERG DISTRICT (775 ha)

1.39 VRYHEID DISTRICT (5 822 ha)

- Goodluck Farms
- Keza 13149 (Sub 2 of 1)

1.40 MTUNZINI DISTRICT (37 636 ha)

- Reserve No 9 No 15829

1.41 COMPENSATORY LAND (3 866 ha)

- Oliviershoek 14071 (Sub 1, Remainder)
- The Lake 15683 (Sub 1, Remainder)
- The Wedge 8177 (Sub 1, Remainder)
- Vaalkop 1164 (Sub 10)
- One Tree 8599 (Sub 4)

- Riversmeet 14541 (Sub 12)
- Enhlabeni 14658 (Remainder)

Transfer of State land: Natal region

360. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

- (1) Whether any steps are being taken in respect of the transfer to his Department of any State land in the Natal region currently being held by other State Departments; if so, what steps;

- (2) whether his Department is considering acquiring any such land for the purpose of residential and agricultural settlement by Black rural residents in the said region; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (3) whether his Department plans to acquire any other land in the Natal region; if so, for what purposes?

B858E

THE MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1)-(3) It is not intended to transfer State land held by other departments to the Department of Regional and Land Affairs. The South African Development Trust, which purchased land for residential and agricultural purposes for Blacks has been abolished, and the Central Government does not intend to further purchase any considerable areas of land, as was done by the said Trust in the past. In this regard please refer to paragraph A 2.11(a) of the Government's White Paper on Land Reform.

The Government is at present investigating the possible establishment of a financial assistance scheme to assist underdeveloped communities to purchase land.

The Government is also still negotiating with the KwaZulu Government about a variety of land matters, but no decisions in this regard have been taken.

UN/OAU: costs of representatives

361. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

1567

Hansard

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Hansard

(1) Whether the Government is responsible for paying the costs of representatives of the (a) United Nations and (b) Organization for African Unity who recently visited or are currently visiting the Republic as observers; if so, (i) to what extent, and (ii)(aa) what are these costs to date and (bb) in respect of what period is this information furnished; if not,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the financing of the above-mentioned visits?

~~336~~ (336) B859E
The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) As far as the UN and other observers are concerned the Department of Foreign Affairs did not pay any expenditure to date.

(b) (i) and (ii)

Only certain transport costs in accordance with international practice. From 14 September 1992 to 4 October 1992 and amount of R9 550 has been paid.

(2) The general worldwide practice in the case of such missions is that the host country where a team is being deployed, provides financial assistance with regard to office accommodation and related expenditure. It could thus be expected that certain costs will indeed be paid. The amount cannot be provided at this point in time because there still have to be discussions about the extent of the services.

Special representative of Secretary-General of UN: costs of visit

362. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether the Government is responsible for paying the costs involved in the visit to the Republic in August this year of Mr Cyrus Vance, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; if so, (a) to what extent and (b) what were the costs involved; if not,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the financing of this visit?

B860E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) Not applicable given the answer under (1).

Imizamo Yethu settlement at Hout Bay: site

364. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether the Imizamo Yethu settlement at Hout Bay is situated on a site of approximately 18 hectares agreed to in the second phase of the development in this regard; if not, what are the relevant details; if so,

(2) whether his Department has any plans for extending the above settlement; if so, what are these plans;

(3) whether these plans have been discussed with the liaison committee representing the Hout Bay communities; if so, when; if not, why not? B862E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes.

(2) No; the activities of the Western Cape Regional Services Council on the relevant site of approximately 34 ha have been influenced to such an extent that they have to acquire an alternative site. Consequently the Cape Provincial Administration is obliged to purchase the whole area of approximately 34 ha.

(3) Although no formal plans for the development of the additional approximately 16 ha have been discussed, the Hout Bay Liaison Committee has agreed that the residential component will be confined to approximately 18 ha. The future utilisation of the additional approximately 16 ha is thus still to be decided upon in consultation with the local communities. This land could possibly be utilised for community facilities.

Pine forest area in Hout Bay: cutting down of trees

365. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

1569

Hansard

WEDNESDAY, 21 OCTOBER 1992

1570

Hansard

(1) Whether his Department has any plans to cut down any trees in the existing pine forest area near the Imizamo Yethu settlement at Hout Bay; if so, (a) what trees and (b) why?

(2) whether an independent environmental impact study has been made regarding the possible effect of the cutting down of these trees; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) by whom;

(3) whether he will make public the findings resulting from such a study?

B863E
The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes;

(a) only those trees that have been identified during a scientific investigation to be dead, or are in the process of dying, as well as a limited number of trees which will hamper the alignment of roads or services in the development;

(b) the retention of the dead trees is a risk to the lives of people and property. It would also not be cost effective to re-align roads and trunk services for purposes of retaining a small number of trees.

(2) Yes;

(a) in June 1992;

(b) by Ms E L van and Honert, M.Sc. (Botany) employed by Messrs Hill, Kaplan and Scott, consulting engineers;

(3) Yes.

Single care grants: children of each race group

367. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health:

How many children of each race group were receiving single care grants in terms of the Mental Health Act, No 18 of 1973, in respect of each province as at 30 September 1992 or the latest specified date for which information is available?

B865E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Province	White	Coloured	Indian	Black
Orange Free State	7	0	0	18
Cape	98	0	0	580
Natal	44	0	101	307
Transvaal	141	0	19	459
Total	290	580*	120	1 364

*Figures are not kept per province.

SA citizenship: independent Black states

368. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether any Blacks in the independent Black states have applied to regain their South African citizenship in terms of the provisions of the National States Citizenship Act, No 26 of 1970, as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, No 13 of 1978; if so, in respect of each such state, (a) how many applied, (b) how many applications were approved and (c) for what specified period is this information furnished?

B866E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Owing to the provisions of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), which came into effect on 1 July 1986, no Black of any of the independent states applied in terms of section 3 of the National States Citizenship Act, 1970 (Act 26 of 1970), as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978 (Act 13 of 1978), for South African citizenship since that date.

Particulars of applications prior to the commencement of the above-mentioned Restoration of South African Citizenship Act are not readily available.

Telephone installations: North Rand

369. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

Whether any applications for telephone installations for (a) residential, (b) facsimile and (c) business purposes were outstanding at the North Rand office of Telkom as at 1 October 1992; if so, (i) how many in each case and (ii) when is it anticipated that these backlogs will be eliminated?

B867E

Africa

in brief

Exiles to be sent home

NAIROBI - About 32 South African exiles and refugees who fled their country to seek political asylum in Kenya are to be repatriated soon, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees here has said.

Mr Panos Moutzig of the UNHCR said 87 South African exiles had returned home in the past six months. But hundreds of others who had registered as refugees had not yet expressed a willingness to go back home, he said.

The repatriation programme follows an amnesty announced last year by the South African Government after an agreement with the UNHCR.

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23/10/92
Soweto

Deputy minister told lie

Political Star

THE Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. Danie Schutte, had told "a lie" when he said on television that all parties supported the Further Indemnity Bill and their only objection was that they had not enough time to study it, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

"This is a lie and Mr. Schutte knows it is a lie," it said in a statement issued by one of its representatives on the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Justice, Mr. Douglas Gibson.

Mr. Gibson said the Motion of Desirability was defeated at the Standing Committee when all parties, apart from the National Party and the AVU, voted against the bill.

Govt, PAC meeting 'amicable'

GABORONE. — Talks between the South African government and the Far-Africanist Congress continued into last night here, with both sides describing the discussions as amicable.

Mr. Seretse said the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in South Africa could not be dealt with under the general item for inter-racial violence.

As yet there were no indications as to whether both parties had agreed on any items on the agenda. — Sapa

Name list incorrect, says ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE ANC said last night that the list of names published yesterday of alleged torturers in its camps in exile was "inaccurate" and included names of people who could in no way be connected to any of the allegations.



NAMED ... Chris Hanl

NAMED ... Oliver Jambou

The ANC's response followed the publication in the Weekly Mail of what the newspaper billed as "The names the ANC tried to hide".

The names published included those of key ANC officials, including some still in leadership positions.

Earlier this week the ANC released details of "abuses of the most chilling kind" contained in its own Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Complaints by former ANC prisoners in the organisation's camps.

However, the ANC stopped short of naming the individuals accused and the organisation said last night that it had begun the process of setting up an independent commission of inquiry before names were disclosed.

The Weekly Mail reported that its own investigation had revealed that:

● A number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were allegedly personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These included one of Mr. Nelson Mandela's bodyguards (Mr. B. Mavuso or "Jomo") and

others who are still in the department of intelligence and security (including "Africa Nkwe" or Oupa Shadrack Khumalo and "Sizwe Mkhomo").

● Others allegedly involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Mr. Andrew Masondo, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Mr. Thembuwe Mthintso, the "hero" of the report and allegedly one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help the detainees.

● A number of the most senior ANC officials appeared to know about the conditions in the camps but allegedly did not do enough to change things. These include the then president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, commander of UMLA, Mr. Nelson Mandela's bodyguard and Mr. MK chief of staff Mr. Chris Hanl.

ANC to challenge 'ban' in KwaZulu

DURBAN. — The ANC intends going to the Supreme Court to challenge the KwaZulu authorities' alleged virtual banning of public meetings by the organisation and its allies.

This was announced at a news conference here yesterday, where the ANC said it was to consult lawyers.

Plans for court action followed the latest unsuccessful attempt by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to secure a public meeting in Sandtonville township, outside Mandini.

Four previous applications have been

turned down by the Inkatha-dominated local council.

An ANC spokesman said township authorities had cited procedural problems and the volatile situation in the area as the reasons for the refusals.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, in a statement yesterday, said the ANC's demand for free political expression in KwaZulu was "akin to the pot calling the kettle black when considering that ANC political activity was always accompanied by terror tactics".

● Five Commonwealth observers New

Lubowski killing 'was CCB project'

JOHANNESBURG. — The murder of Swapo executive member Mr. Anton Lubowski was a Civil Co-operation Bureau project but the shotgun killing of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr. David Webster was not, the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Colonel Jumbo Smit, told the Webster inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Colonel Smit told the inquest that the head of the CCB's Region Six, Colonel Staal Burger, and operative Mr. Calla Botha were involved in a conspiracy to kill Mr. Lubowski.

He tried to contact Colonel Burger and other CCB members possibly connected to the Lubowski killing for a statement before Namibian independence on March 21, 1990.

After that date he had no authority to warn people in South Africa who were possible suspects in a murder case and get them to make a statement.

Colonel Smit said he had a statement from CCB operative Mr. Abraham "Stang" van Zyl in which Mr. Van Zyl said he had been at a CCB "in-house" meeting awaiting Colonel Verster where the "Lubowski thing" was to be planned.

Mr. Van Zyl and Mr. Botha were told



NEW HOME. ... Conservationists encourage some of the six zebra relocated at the Groot Schuur Estate, near UCT, to move into their new home yesterday. The zebra are part of a programme to selectively breed a quagga.

'Quagga breeders' come to city

SIX plains zebra — all part of the controversial quagga breeding project — were freed yesterday on the Groot Schuur Estate near the University of Cape Town.

The five-year-old quagga project, the brainchild of Mr. Reinhold Rau of the SA Museum, is trying to breed an animal as close as possible to the quagga, which was hunted to extinction near the end of the last century.

Mr. Rau, a taxidermist, discovered through genetic tests that the quagga was a sub-species of the plains zebra.

The theory is that quagga characteristics are present in certain zebra, and selective breeding may concentrate these genes.

Mr. Rau is confident the project will culminate in a quagga-like animal, despite the scepticism of detractors.

"Whether it will be 100% genetically the same as an original quagga we will never know," he says.

Boipatong: Attackers not pursued

VERENIGING. — The local Internal Stability Unit did nothing to identify, pursue or arrest the attackers in the Boipatong massacre which left more than 40 residents dead on the night of June 17, two members of the unit told the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Lance Sergeant Vorster Schlebusch and shift commander Sergeant Deon Kruger told the commission, which is hearing evidence on the massacre here, that they both considered it a priority to stabilise the area before pursuing suspects.

Sergeant Schlebusch said it was the duty of the following morning to establish who the attackers were. He said if he could have identified the attackers he would have tried to arrest them.

Sergeant Schlebusch said that the attackers were identified by witnesses as IFP members from Kwamadala hostel.

Sergeant Kruger said that he, too, had done nothing to stabilise the area. I could not give attention to arresting the attackers. I can't be in two places at once."

It also emerged yesterday that one of the homes attacked, in which two children were killed, belonged to a special constable attached to the police here.

Constable Patrick Njoli's two children, Ndo, 14 and Theslela, 8, died of back and stab wounds, and his wife Martha was stabbed and shot. — Sapa

Two policemen shot dead

DURBAN. — Gunmen shot dead two policemen in separate incidents in townships around Durban on Thursday in a wave of attacks on officers that has left five policemen dead this week.

The deaths brought to at least 65 the number of policemen killed in Natal so far this year. Authorities say 170 policemen have died nationwide.

Four other people were reported killed in Natal on Thursday, one of them a 17-year-old girl who was gunned down as she rode a motorcycle.

Commission chairman Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone said the committee would comprise Mr. G. S. S. Moshidi, a Johannesburg member, and Mr. S. Moshidi, a Johannesburg attorney. The committee would sit from November 9 to 13 in Pretoria. — Sapa

Observers' costs shared

THE costs of visits by United Nations and Organisation of African Unity observers are not being borne by the South African taxpayer.

Foreign Minister Mr. P. W. Botha said the government would provide financial assistance to the observers for office accommodation and related expenditure.

These expenses were usually borne by the host country where an international observer team was deployed. Mr. Botha said in reply to a question from the CP MP for Brakpan, Mr. Frank le Roux.

UN monitors ensure peaceful march



Thomas Jansen of the Villiersdorp Civic addresses the people after the march

By Justin Pearce

South
24/10-28/10/92

against the marchers.

IT COULD have been a re-run of the Bisho massacre when Villiersdorp residents marched illegally though the town centre on Saturday in protest against evictions.

But despite the notoriously repressive role of the police in the area, the march went off peacefully under the surveillance of United Nations monitors. In the past police have been accused of siding with the municipality and white farmers against the town's black communities and civic association.

The Villiersdorp Municipality had refused permission for the march.

Mr Thomas Jansen, chairperson of the local ANC branch, said it was only the presence of United Nations observers and representatives of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) that prevented the police from acting

"Without the monitors we wouldn't even have got as far as the Main Street," Jansen said.

About 200 marchers walked from Goniwe Park squatter camp to the main street, where Jansen addressed several hundred more people who gathered, and invited them to join the march.

He was greeted with cheers, but most onlookers seemed afraid to join in the demonstration.

The marchers then proceeded to the municipal offices, where a memorandum was handed to Town Clerk Mr Johan Serfontein.

The memorandum called on the municipality to reinstate two families evicted from their homes three weeks ago, and not to evict approximately 35 families currently threatened with eviction.

Jansen, who was also evicted three weeks ago, subsequently won a

Supreme Court interdict declaring his eviction illegal.

"These demonstrations will be regular until the municipality meets our demands," promised Mr Tadise Shexane, chairperson of the Villiersdorp Civic Association.

Cosatu regional treasurer Mr George Ngqwebo called on Villiersdorp farmers to let Cosatu organise farmworkers in the area.

"It is time to stop hiding behind the racist Labour Relations Act," he said.

Police who were present appeared to be mostly from the local police station.

The Paarl-based Internal Stability Unit, implicated in most of the allegations of harassment against Villiersdorp activists, was represented by a small contingent.

Most of the town's white population stayed behind closed doors until the march was over.

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Repatriation programme 'being abused'

THE UN High Commissioner for Refugees had suspended flights ferrying returning exiles to SA from Mozambique because its repatriation programme in that country was being abused, sources said yesterday.

The sources said socio-economic problems in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia meant nationals of those countries were taking advantage of the UN programme to leave their countries.

It was reported about 80 people in the PWV region alone had fraudulently entered the country. Some were in the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles' centre in Sebokeng.

This figure did not include people who, after gaining entry into SA, did not report to the committee's centres.

The sources stressed, however, that the problem was not confined only to people in the Frontline states. People as far afield as

□ To Page 2

Repatriation

Sierra Leone and Guinea had also abused the programme.

UNHCR mission head in SA, Kallu Kalumiya, confirmed his mission was in contact with head office about the repatriation of the people in question.

Kalumiya said in terms of the agreement reached by government and his organisation last year, returning exiles had to be subjected to "vigorous scrutiny" in the countries from which they were repatriated to SA.

However, because of the clause that exiles' citizenship should be resolved in SA,

not in foreign countries, a number of people had managed to sneak in.

Kalumiya said once the exiles were in SA, they became the responsibility of the UNHCR. It was also the organisation's responsibility to send back those "exiles" who were not South African.

Kalumiya said a number of returning exiles had been harassed. He claimed harassment took the form of arrests, torture and interrogation by the police.

There were 50 verified cases of harassment, which the police said they were investigating this week.

Speak out, women told

■ Seminar told of domestic violence which most women are afraid to talk about: *Sowetan 29/10/92*

By Ruth Bhengu

VIOLENCE stunts black women's growth and contributes to their feelings of helplessness and inferiority.

This came out in speeches given during the seminar on Women and Violence, Health and Education at the YWCA hall in Soweto on Sunday.

The seminar was at-

tended by women from different organisations including the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), South African Council of Churches (SACC), Girl Guides, National Council of African Women and the Township Aids Project. It was called by the Young Women's Christian Association.

The aim of the meeting was to find ways in which

young women could achieve health and education and help to stop the violence that has become part of their lives.

Clinical psychologist Thandeka Mgoduso outlined the different types of violence that women were subjected to.

There was domestic violence which most women are ashamed to talk about. Mgoduso stressed the need

for women to talk about the physical and psychological violence they experienced in their homes. She encouraged women to form support groups and organisations.

"They should know that they have a right to be safe in their homes and that the more secretive they are about the violence that is taking place in their homes, the more it will increase."

Movements keep UN places

■ Motion to remove SA liberation organisations' status at the UN is defeated: *Sowetan 29/10/92*

SOUTH Africa's liberation movements will continue to enjoy observer status at the United Nations after successful argument led in New York by the PAC's representative at the UN,

Mr SEM Pheko.

The resolution on the Observer Status of National Liberation Movements was opposed mostly by European and former communist countries and particu-

larly by the United States and Israel while the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the Arab states and African nations supported the resolution.

Pheko successfully ar-

gued that apartheid had not yet been dismantled in South Africa and that to revoke the status at the United Nations of the liberation movements would, therefore, be premature.

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Wessels of two of his portfolios, and | port was submitted to the council but

UN urges SA (336) ARG 5/4/92 to resume talks

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A resolution submitted to the United Nations General Assembly urges a resumption without delay of broad-based negotiations on a transition in South Africa to a new constitution.

It also calls for what is termed a phased application of "appropriate measures" by the international community in support of the process.

The South African authorities are urged, meanwhile, to end the violence in the country.

The draft forms part of the an-

nual report to the Assembly by its special committee against apartheid and is expected to be debated in mid-November when the world body again takes up the South Africa question in detail.

ANC president Nelson Mandela is due to address the session.

The committee, dominated by Third World extremists, yesterday again mounted its hobby-horse of alleged nuclear and military co-operation between Israel and South Africa, declaring this to be of great concern and urging the Security Council to act to end it.

According to the UN panel, the political process in South Africa

remains fragile and vulnerable, with violence continuing to create fear and horror.

Continuing socio-economic inequalities could undermine a peaceful, stable transition, the report says, adding that the economic price of a delayed settlement was growing rapidly.

Until an interim government was formed, the committee could not endorse the view that apartheid was a closed chapter.

The dismantling of that system would not be achieved "without difficulties and pain".

Moreover, the legacy of apartheid would take many years to overcome, the report says.

FM 6/11/92

336

keeping, she adds, with the world organisation's perceptions of its role in peace-keeping and it certainly fits Secretary-General Boutros Ghalli's philosophy and vision for expanding the UN's agenda for peace.

A Jamaican with the winning smile so often associated with West Indians, King dresses with a casual elegance and talks about herself with reluctance. She reads widely: "I have catholic tastes but I confess to a weakness for good spy stories." Enjoying classical music is a relaxation and she maintains strong links with the development of Caribbean literature and art.

A historian and sociologist, King joined the UN secretariat in 1966 after a brief period in Jamaica's foreign ministry, during which she served in her country's high commission in London and its permanent mission to the UN. "I had pretensions to doing law and even got as far as eating some of my dinners at Gray's Inn, London, but I was sidetracked," she admits.

King is cautious and diplomatic about Unomsa's role and deflects most questions with practised ease. But she adds that "it would be wrong for people to think we see things through rose-coloured spectacles. We know the novelty (of a UN presence) will wear off and we're quite prepared to meet

ANGELA KING FM 6/11/92

Keeper of the peace 336

There's not much doubt about the occasional flash of steel in Angela King's eyes or the determined set of her lips when she discusses a controversial matter. The aphorism often used when describing Margaret Thatcher applies: "The lady's not for turning."

The recently arrived Chief of the UN Observer Mission in SA (Unomsa) is not amused when asked about the security of her staff in the immediate environs of central Johannesburg. Recent muggings of some UN personnel raised her ire. But she says her team has generally been welcomed with warmth, openness and promises of co-operation.

"I consider my appointment the greatest challenge of my 26-year career at the UN," says King (54). Unomsa's task is fully in



**King ... the greatest challenge
of my career**

any difficulties in executing our mission."

She is clearly determined to fulfil her role, which she defines as being one of preventive diplomacy aimed at reducing tension. King is also the Secretary-General's eyes in SA and she intends to be watchful. ■

Oil embargo might not go

NEW YORK — A UN body yesterday recommended retaining a non-mandatory oil embargo against SA.

A report approved by the 10-member intergovernmental group to monitor the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to SA said premature lifting of the ban would harm negotiations for nonracial government.

"It is against this background that the group believes the oil embargo against SA should be maintained for the time being," the group said. It was set up in 1986 to monitor an embargo enacted by the UN General Assembly.

The group was convinced "the oil embargo may be lifted when an interim government representing the majority of the population of SA has been established and when such a government requests the lifting of the embargo".

It noted "rapid political developments" in SA, saying: "Some of these developments were positive, particularly the continuing conviction among the political parties... on the need for negotiations..."

However, a "premature lifting of the oil embargo against SA would be counter-productive". — Sapa-
Reuter.

Separating the bullets from the ballot

W/m and 6/11-12/11/92.

A Angola teeters between a return to civil war and a fragile ceasefire, the crisis in the country holds out important lessons for the regional peace process.

No longer can it be assumed that a ceasefire and internationally monitored elections are sufficient to establish a lasting peace in a country torn by years of bitter civil strife. The major lesson is that there must be strict demobilisation and disarmament of both forces before elections take place.

The United Nations-brokered ceasefire has held since Tuesday, with only sporadic gunfire heard throughout Luanda. It has been reported that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi intends to meet President José Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

The tension remains so high, however, that foreign embassies and aid missions continue to evacuate all non-essential personnel from Angola. The British government made an emergency airlift of its citizens on Wednesday and the UN flew some of its personnel to Windhoek. The Portuguese government is using planes and ships to

If the United Nations had run the Angolan elections, instead of merely acting as a monitoring group, perhaps they would have had more chance of success, writes

ANDY MELDRUM

remove its citizens, who number 40 000.

In one sense, the week's events could pave the way for a more durable settlement. After being beaten back from Luanda after a violent bid for the power denied him at the ballot box, with many of his top officers killed or taken prisoner, Savimbi may be more inclined to compromise.

But there is a very real possibility that he will divide Angola in two and keep control of the southern half. Unita retains control of Angola's second city, Huambo, along with the arid central and southern areas where the rebels have ethnic support from the Ovimbundu people who make up



Angolan refugees ... A Brazilian mother and her child were among the refugees arriving in Windhoek

Photo: AP

about 30 percent of Angola's population.

It appears Unita also holds strategic Lobito, whose deep-water Atlantic port will be essential if the movement sets out to create a secessionist state in southern Angola.

The UN monitoring team in Angola, Unavem, openly admits that only 50 percent of the armed forces had been demobilised just one week before the elections. This figure hides the fact that most of the demobilisa-

tion had been of the government troops, leaving Unita's smaller but disciplined force, fanatically loyal to Savimbi, largely in place.

A larger UN team and peace-keeping force could have insisted on complete demobilisation and disarmament of both forces. The election campaign should not begin until the international team can confirm that both sides have been disarmed and dispersed and a new joint force is in place.

It also appears unwise in retrospect

that a notoriously corrupt government was entrusted with the administration of the election process.

Some of Unita's specific charges of vote rigging are valid, though they would not have changed the overall outcome of the election. But charges of balloting irregularity were almost inevitable if Unita lost.

Rather than exercising a monitoring role, it appears the UN should have run the election itself, as it did in Namibia.

In Namibia in 1989, the UN had close to 9 000 officials running elections for a population of just under two million. In Angola, the UN had 500 officials to monitor polling by up to 12-million people.

While Angolan leaders paid lip service to the election process, both sides used loopholes in the peace accord to create guards in the run-up to the elections which reflected their lack of faith in the polling.

Using loopholes in the peace accord, the two sides sent out a sinister message that they did not trust the elections to settle matters.

Wednesday November 11 1992 SO

NEWS Reservation

Secret ops targeted

336 327
Sowetan 11/11/92

■ UN men handed document:

UNITED Nations observers have received a document detailing plans aimed at ending all State covert operations beginning next January.

The document was released to the Press at a briefing yesterday by the Coalition Against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), a pressure group comprising 50 broad-based organisations including the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and human rights groups.

The document, *Coming to grips with covert operations: Who does what and where*, suggests a two-phased plan regarding the State's Special Forces regiments and its elite units.

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Bank rate down to 14%

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

THE bank rate will be cut today from 15% to 14%, which should result in a 1% cut in short-term lending rates, giving further help to hard-pressed consumers and bringing down business costs.

But there is unlikely to be any further drop in mortgage lending rates, as banks and building societies had already

brought their standard home loan rate down to 17.25% from September 1 in expectation of a 1% drop in the bank rate.

Announcing the cut last night Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals appealed to deposit-taking institutions not to cut their deposit rates too steeply, which would cause hardship to elderly investors. Dr Stals said the cut should "lend support to similar reduc-

tions in certain market interest rates, and in particular to the prime and other lending rates of deposit-taking institutions".

"Deposit-taking institutions are, at the same time, requested to exercise caution in the further reduction of their deposit rates, and to maintain a sound and competitive margin between their deposit and lending rates," Dr Stals said. Yesterday's announcement

follows an appeal to the Reserve Bank from bankers, who said their corporate customers were getting deeper into the red.

Dr Stals said he had decided to cut the bank rate "against the background of the more stable financial situation in general and the expectation that the rate of inflation will decline further in the near future".

Battle for Stone

On the second day of a bitter court case, a woman and her former child began quietly yesterday at dawn in accordance with the law for total secrecy. The woman, who wed her ex-husband one month before his death, is now being divorced. The proceedings, which started on September 13, were kept in a private court. The woman, who wed her ex-husband one month before his death, is now being divorced. The proceedings, which started on September 13, were kept in a private court. The woman, who wed her ex-husband one month before his death, is now being divorced. The proceedings, which started on September 13, were kept in a private court.

UN hits at Buthelezi

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the General Assembly yesterday that he is losing patience with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a report to the Assembly, Dr Boutros-Ghali said he was "particularly concerned" by Chief Buthelezi's "rejection" of the September 26 agreement between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I have emphasised to all concerned the need... to remove any remaining obstacles that might impede the resumption of negotiations."

Diplomatic sources said the secretary-general had written to Chief Buthelezi but had received no reply and had also not been able to raise him by telephone.

While Dr Boutros-Ghali was encouraged by the De Klerk-Mandela pact, he stressed that "great perils persist, not least in the volatility of the political atmosphere and the tendency to resort to political violence".

He indicated he had little interest in expanding the size or scope of the UN Observer Mission (UNOMSA).

The 44 observers at the end of October had been "well received" by the National Peace Accord structures, with which they were working "effectively".

However, UNOMSA's mandate could be contentious. A draft resolution prepared by the ANC and front-line states wants the General Assembly to endorse the possibility of splitting the observers from the NPA, turning them into independent monitors.

This is unlikely to go through as the Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid opposes it.

● If the government and the ANC believe their Record of Understanding is "good for South Africa, they" should put it to a multi-party conference of review, Chief Buthelezi reiterated in an address to Canada's official opposition Liberal Party caucus in Ottawa on Monday. — Sapa



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UN team 'can't cope'

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CT 18/11/92

DURBAN. — The UN observer team in South Africa was unable to deal effectively with the violence, ANC northern Natal regional spokesman Mr Bongani Msomi said yesterday.

He called for the immediate deployment of an international peace-keeping force under UN control.

Communities affected by violence had lost all confidence in the South African, and particularly the KwaZulu, Police, Mr

Msomi said.

"We need a body to intervene to curb violence, prevent intimidation and also to stop crimes connected to current policing," he said.

● In continuing Natal violence a first-year student, Mr Elton Mkhwanazi, was shot and killed at the Indumiso College of Education at Imbali near Maritzburg on Monday night following an argument between students and security guards in one of the residences.

● In Empangeni's Esikhawini township, near Richards Bay, four people have been shot in clashes since Saturday.

● In Springs two gunmen were shot dead by their comrades after an attack on a taxi rank early yesterday in which a man was killed and three others were wounded.

East Rand police said the gunmen were apparently shot by their accomplices when their escape attempt after the attack was foiled. — Sapa

UN leader criticises Buthelezi

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has told the General Assembly that he is losing patience with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a report to the assembly timed to coincide with the start of its annual debate on apartheid yesterday, Boutros-Ghali said he was "particularly concerned" by Buthelezi's "rejection" of the September 26 agreement between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

"I have emphasised to all concerned the need for a renewed and determined effort to put an end to the violence and to remove any remaining obstacles that might impede the resumption of negotiations."

Diplomatic sources said the secretary-general had had no success in efforts to contact Buthelezi.

SIMON BARBER

336

While Boutros-Ghali was encouraged by the De Klerk-Mandela pact, he stressed that "great perils persist, not least in the volatility of the political atmosphere and the tendency to resort to political violence and intimidation". *BJDA 18/11/92*

He indicated he had little interest in expanding the size or scope of the UN observer mission, saying it had been working "effectively" and "expeditiously" with the national peace accord structures.

A draft resolution prepared by the ANC seeks to have the General Assembly endorse the possibility of disconnecting the observers from the peace accord and turning them into independent "monitors".

UN committee calls for boycott of military show

336
BPM 20/11/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA



Abdul Minty at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. The Oslo-based executive member of the World Campaign Against Nuclear Collaboration With SA is in the country on a private visit.
Picture: ROBERT SOTHMA

THE UN Anti-Apartheid Committee and the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA yesterday called on governments and other institutions not to support Armscor's armaments exhibition.

Armscor's attempts to sell arms to foreign countries were a breach of UN Security Council Resolution 765 and of international law, Oslo-based World Campaign executive member Abdul Minty said at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Minty is on a private visit to SA. The six-day Defence Exposition of SA (Dexsa) at Nasrec south of Johannesburg runs until tomorrow.

Minty's call to boycott SA's first major defence exhibition was supported in a statement by UN Anti-Apartheid Committee chairman Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria.

"The committee urges governments not to support the exhibition in any manner inconsistent with the let-

ter and spirit of the Security Council resolutions, including the attendance by their representatives," Gambari said.

By allowing Dexsa to take place, government went against Resolution 765 calling on all UN member states to maintain punitive measures, including the arms embargo against SA. The resolution was adopted in June this year and was supported at the time by government.

Minty said Armscor's claim to offer "battle-proven weapons" and to be "worldbeaters" in the armaments industry was an insult to the rest of Africa because all SA wars were "wars of aggression against Africa."

SA had in the past sold arms to various countries through Turkey and had also supplied arms to Iran and Iraq in breach of UN resolutions, he said.

The US, UK and Nordic countries

had not accepted Armscor's invitation to visit the exhibition, Minty said. Armscor said earlier that about 200 foreign guests, representing 46 countries, were attending Dexsa.

The ANC and the SA Council of Churches (SACC) also objected to the staging of the exhibition.

"We challenge the global community to avoid the affair, the SACC said in a statement.

The ANC pointed out that the exhibition was in violation of the arms embargo.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Armscor said yesterday the exhibition had elicited unprecedented international interest.

Armscor PRO Johan Adler said dozens of people had flown from all over the world to attend.

Between 200 and 300 guests, including foreign ministers, defence force chiefs and representatives, had also attended, he said.

Picture: ROBERT SOTHMA

JOB MARKET

EC and UN grants

Give work to 6 000

By TERRY BETTY

THE European Community has granted R2,3-million, which together with the United Nations' R1-million donation will provide employment for at least 6 000 returning exiles.

The R1-million UN grant has since July financed 204 projects. The two grants will fund about 600 loans, each of which is expected to employ 10 people.

The loan was channelled through the National Co-ordination Committee for Repatriation (NCCR), which has contracted the assistance of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC).

The SBDC's experience, infrastructure and countrywide network has helped to get the projects off the ground.

NCCR head of development Archie Abrahams says: "Only people the UN classifies as returning exiles qualify for loans."

The average value of each loan is



ARCHIE ABRAHAMS: Seld-help the best

R6 000, which is repaid over 15 months at 18% interest.

Mr Abrahams says there are plans to extend the repayment time to two years.

He says the NCCR has also financed capital-intensive projects costing R15 000 to R30 000 "because we would like to stimulate middle-

level enterprise. There are enough informal spaza shops."

Mr Abrahams says the entire loan has to be repaid. People should be responsible for their own lives and not depend on charity.

"The repayments will go into a revolving fund that will help the successful enterprises expand later on."

About 75% of enterprises met all their repayments in the first three months, and Mr Abrahams will consider the project a success if bad debts remain at that level.

Houses

The SBDC and NCCR screen all applications for loans and make suggestions for ideas to be improved or redirected into more profitable markets.

Mr Abrahams says that only loans that will benefit the community are granted. They are not merely for an individual's benefit.

For example, a returned exile secured a R1,5-million contract in Batshebelo, Bloemfontein, to build 400 brick houses and outdoor toilets.

Mr Abrahams says this contract will benefit the entire community. The venture provides 80 jobs and is expected to expand.

Although not every project is as ambitious as the Batshebelo one, Mr Abrahams says the NCCR gives preference to loans that will eventually employ at least 10 people.

The NCCR has project offices around the country to monitor development. However, Mr Abrahams says this is insufficient to give adequate after-care to the projects.

"It would be sad if projects had to fail merely because the people lacked a little more advice."

Mr Abrahams hopes the business community will become involved and either provide office space or give practical advice. Many of the self-employed people have little business acumen.

Limited

"We would like to have a mentor system whereby successful businessmen pop in twice a month to see how things are going, offer advice and generally help to educate people."

SBDC managing director Ben Vosloo says: "The limited number of entrepreneurs setting up businesses is a major factor inhibiting economic growth in SA."

He hopes the NCCR initiative will help fill the gap.

By A

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positional might avert Angolan-type election disaster

More UN troops

Sowetan 24/11/92
Sowetan Africa News Service

■ FRENCH PLAN More UN

MAPUTO - France, one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, will back the deployment of enough UN troops in Mozambique to implement the peace accord.

This was said by French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman, who has also suggested that the Zimbabwean troops guarding the transport corridors through Mozambique might be allowed to remain under UN supervision.

Sufficient number

Kiejman said that France "will express the need to send a sufficient number of UN personnel to Mozambique to implement the peace accord".

So far only 20 UN monitors have been sent to supervise the gathering of Frelimo government and Renamo rebel troops at 49 assembly points in preparation for their demobilisation and for an election.

The head of the UN military team, Lieutenant Colonel G P Sinha, said he needed five observers at each assembly point - a total of 245 in addition to headquarters staff. The

monitors and troops are to be sent into Mozambique:

UN is struggling to respond to growing pressure to provide peacekeeping forces in various parts of the world. Inadequate UN monitoring of the election in Angola has been partly blamed for irregularities which have enabled Unita to reject its defeat at the polls.

Fears have been expressed that a similar situation might develop in Mozambique unless an adequate UN presence is established.

Mr Kiejman said he did not know whether the UN would send troops to protect the Beira, Limpopo and Nacala corridors, which link landlocked Zimbabwe and Malawi to Mozambique's ports.

Under the Rome peace accord the Zimbabweans were to have pulled out by November 15 but have remained, with the Harare government saying they were asked to stay by the UN and the UN denying having made such a request.

3 die as radicals firebomb flats

■ Two women, girl (10) killed in neo-Nazi attack:

BERLIN - Radicals firebombed two west German flat buildings early yesterday, killing two Turkish women and a 10-year-old girl.

This was the worst neo-Nazi hate crime since Germany reunited and a wave of xenophobic violence spread over the land.

The attack in the village of Kurstadt near the North Sea, which has a population of 18 000, followed perhaps the worst weekend of rightist violence.

Authorities said that shortly after

midnight somebody set fire to two flat buildings about 500 metres apart. Three people were killed and nine injured.

The attack occurred shortly after midnight and an anonymous caller told police: "A house burns on Muehlen and Ratzeburger streets. Heil, Hitler," said prosecutor Guenter Moeller.

The buildings have been home to Turkish families for years.

Moeller said the victims had lived in Germany for years. Sapa-AP

'Change or disorder'

■ No to white domination:

LONDON - South Africa would get it "more or less right" in the end, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, predicted yesterday.

In a speech to the Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid in the British House of Commons, he said there might be smooth progress to democratic elections or a slide into anarchy.

There would not be a return to white domination. Overwhelming opposition ruled that out. - Sapa

Sharp increase in rural poor, says UN report

Blom 24/11/72

336

NEW YORK — The number of rural poor in developing countries has jumped 40% over the past 20 years, an indication that many international aid programmes have failed, says a new study released yesterday.

A report on rural poverty in 114 nations with a sizeable rural land-holding population maintains that the trickle-down theory of economics and attitudes towards the poor prevent them from being integrated properly into a country's economic structure.

The report by the International Fund for Agricultural Development, a Rome-based UN agency, said most development programmes were too heavy on capital investment and measured results only by a country's gross national product, which obscured reasons for lack of growth.

"Development is not something that happens in spite of the poor. It is something that happens because of them," it added.

The crucial point is that... societies will not need massive infusions of foreign aid as farmers will generate their own savings and invest them in local production," the report said.

Of the 4-billion people in 114 developing nations surveyed, more than half lived in rural areas and a billion or 36% were below the poverty line, an increase of 40% over 20 years ago. About 15-20-million people died each year from starvation or malnutrition-related diseases.

The sharpest increase in rural poor over the past 20 years occurred in Sri Lanka, Zambia, Mali, Brazil, and Kenya.

According to an index relating food production, consumption, income distribution, access to education and health services, the worst-off rural poor were in Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Somalia, Mauritania and the Sudan.

The five states at the top of the list were Cyprus, Malta, South Korea, Barbados and Mauritius. — Reuter.

Bandits hamper aid groups

Sowetan 26/11/92
■ Relief organisations may pull out of Somalia unless UN provides better security:

MOGADISHU - Aid groups are finding it increasingly difficult to work in Somalia because of attacks by bandits and may have to pull out unless the United Nations provides better security, relief organisations have said.

InterAction, an umbrella group of private humanitarian agencies, yesterday said the UN had allowed itself to be taken hostage by clans and warlords who dominate various parts of Somalia.

"It's time for governments and the United Nations to take Somalia seriously," said John Hammock of Oxfam America, one of more than two dozen organisations pro-

viding aid in Somalia.

About 3 500 UN troops have been authorised to provide security for relief shipments but most have not been deployed because of problems in negotiating security agreements with clans.

"We are asking for adequate security so we can get a bowl of rice to the people of Somalia so they will not starve to death," Hammock said.

The call for security help came as a UN-chartered ship carrying food was hit by an artillery shell as it approached Mogadishu harbour. - Sapa-AP.

(336)

Peace pact accepted

STAR 27/11/92
NAMIBE (Angola) —
 The Angolan government and the former rebel movement Unita have agreed to honour 1991 peace accords and adopt a ceasefire.

High-level officials from the two sides yesterday had their first meeting since fierce fighting killed thousands nearly a month ago.

They met on the relatively neutral terrain of this southern coastal city not far from the Namibian border in the presence of UN, Portuguese, Russian and US observers, representing the major powers overseeing the accords which ended

16 years of civil war.

A joint communique said the two sides agreed "to fully accept the Angolan peace accord as the only solution to the Angolan problem and to reiterate and effectively apply the ceasefire in the entire country".

The statement also called for UN peace monitors to remain past their November 30 deadline.

Diplomats said the meeting could be the last chance to avert a resumption of full-scale civil war.

Conflict has been brewing since Unita disputed September 29-30 elections and began occupying more than

70 percent of Angolan territory.

Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, "Nando", who headed the four-member government delegation, said Unita would have to face the consequences if it violated the May 1991 peace accords and truce again.

Unita information secretary Jorge Valentim said there would be another meeting at an unspecified venue next week and perhaps a summit between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos soon.

The meeting followed the opening in Luanda of

a new 220-seat parliament, in which the ruling MPLA has 129 seats. The opening was boycotted by Unita's 70 deputies, claiming they feared for their safety.

Nando said one issue which had to be dealt with was how to bring Unita into the parliament and a national unity government.

Savimbi last week said he would accept the results of the legislative poll, which he still believed fraudulent, and would face a second presidential round.

Dos Santos narrowly failed to win the 50 percent of votes necessary to avoid a run-off with Savimbi. — Sapa-Reuter.

80weten 27/11/92

guns says PAC boss Makwetu

■ Call for greater UN involvement in curbing violence:

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday welcomed the planned summit meeting on violence between African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but expressed regret it had not taken place sooner.

Makwetu referred to his statement to the United Nations' General Assembly on November 18, in which he said the PAC had reiterated its call for the exclusion or confinement, under international supervision, of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia who were still in South Africa.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated," he said.

Asked to amplify this statement, Makwetu said members of 32 and 31 battalions, Koevoet members, Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in South Africa.


"These people must be expelled from the country or at least put under UN supervision," Makwetu said.

About the presence of UN observers in South Africa, Makwetu said he had told UN Secretary General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the UN observers should not merely observe violence and collect statistics, but be "pro-active in ending the violence".

"The most effective way the UN can contribute is to demand the immediate and verifiable expulsion of the mercenaries from our country or their confinement under international supervision."

On the PAC's proposed representative multilateral forum, to the exclusion of bilateral deals, he said this suggested body should have an independent, neutral, foreign chairperson.

The PAC negotiating team would meet a Government delegation on December 9 in Pretoria to discuss this more representative forum, Makwetu disclosed. - Sapa.



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PAC demands expulsion of 'foreign mercenaries'

THE PAC yesterday demanded the expulsion under UN supervision of foreign mercenaries it said were fomenting township violence. But it suggested it would not allow independent scrutiny of its own armed wing, Apla, which has claimed responsibility for a string of killings of policemen.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who recently returned from a visit to the UN and Norway, said he wanted the UN to press Pretoria to expel or confine mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, working in the SA security forces. "Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated."

He said members of 32 and 31 Battalions, Koevoet members, Mozambican Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in SA.

He said Judge Richard Goldstone should investigate the actions of mercenaries "and not witch-hunt against those not responsible for the violence."

Goldstone has said he wants to probe all the armed forces, including those of government, the black opposition groups and right-wingers.

A PAC spokesman said the organisation had not yet decided whether to allow the Goldstone commission to investigate Apla.

"We don't know what Goldstone wants from Apla. Goldstone is studying a specific form of violence and Apla is engaged in a different form of struggle. The matter is still pending," he said. — Reuter.

UNIQUE
NEW WINE
FROM
HAMILTON
RUSSELL
VINEYARDS



Mlangeni inquest told of bungling

THE police investigation into the murder of attorney Bheki Mlangeni was fatally flawed from the start, a Rand Supreme Court inquest was told yesterday.

Presiding Judge B O'Donovan reserved his findings. Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when a Walkman cassette player with explosives in the headphones, intended for former police captain Dirk Coetzee, exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

All the parties represented at the inquest — the family of the deceased, the police, the SADF and the State — said in closing argument that on the totality of the evidence, no finding could be made as to who was responsible for killing Mlangeni. "It is submitted that had a proper investigation been conducted, the findings could have been dramatically different and public confidence and satisfaction could have been promoted," counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach argued.

He called for an admonition of the SAP and the manner in which they conducted the whole investigation.

Rautenbach said deficiencies in the investigation included the fact that it took police 15 months to apply their minds to the investigation of suspects.

Herman Broodryk, for the State, submitted that no factual finding as to the com-

licity of members of the SAP could be made on the evidence at the inquest.

He told the court that a great deal of time and money had been involved in the police investigation and that no expense had been deemed too costly.

"If the SAP themselves were involved, they would hardly have gone to all this effort and expense," Broodryk said.

Etienne du Toit, representing the SAP and individual policemen, agreed with Broodryk that "nothing whatsoever in facts or in allegations" before the court implicated any of his clients.

Evidence about the SADF Military Intelligence project Echoes — the visit of Capt Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores to the UK to determine the extent of the activities between ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the IRA — was irrelevant to the inquest, the court heard.

"To determine whether Flores had any hidden agenda or whether the police were involved in monitoring Dirk Coetzee after the death of Mlangeni would not bring the court any closer to fixing legal responsibility for the death," Du Toit argued.

Anton Mostert SC, representing the SADF, argued that no room existed for linking Mlangeni's death with the SADF. "In the circumstances, the court is asked to exonerate the SADF," he said.

Mozambican denies affidavit on killings

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna yesterday effectively denied he had participated in the killing of ANC members in a Durban township last year before abruptly cutting short his evidence before the Goldstone commission.

Giving evidence before a one-man commission, Cuna substantially contradicted the contents of an affidavit which formed the basis for a recent report in *Vrye Weekblad*. In the affidavit, he claimed to have participated in the shooting of between seven and nine people with AK-47 rifles together with a black man and a white man.

He told the inquiry that during the trip to Durban, he, and men he said were policemen, had collected AK-47s from the home of a Portuguese speaker. Nothing else of significance had happened during the trip, he said.

Cuna substantiated other elements of the affidavit, confirming the logistical details of the trip, including the places where the group had stayed and met.

He confirmed that he had provided a Johannesburg lawyer with a statement, but claimed that it was not read back to him.

After giving evidence for about two hours, Cuna hung his head and did not respond to questions being asked by the lawyer for the commission.

After granting an adjournment, commission chairman Rob Wise said he had been informed that Cuna was extremely afraid and had declined to provide further evidence as part of an open hearing.

The chairman adjourned the hearing in order to ascertain by means of a personal interview whether Cuna's fears were justified.

Wise said however undesirable it might be in principle, it could become necessary for Cuna to give evidence in the absence of the public and legal representatives if this was the only alternative.

'Exiles targets of harassment'

DURBAN — Returned exiles, who came back into the country following the 1990 Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the South African government, are targets of various forms of harassment by members of the SADF, the SAP, Kwazulu Police and in certain instances members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This was evidence in a report by the Natal officials of the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles, presented at the second sitting of the Goldstone Commission at the Durban City Hall this week.

NCCR Natal Co-ordinator William Leslie said: "Our legal department

has been inundated with reports of severe assaults, arrests on false charges and harassment of the returnees and their families by members of the SADF, the SAP and Kwazulu Police."

According to the NCCR report, 35 returned exiles have been arrested and charged with various charges including armed robbery and unlawful possession of firearms.

However, the commission heard, their arrest on these charges were mere excuses to have them in custody where they were severely assaulted and forced to divulge the names of the returnees living in their areas or give information on Umkhonto we Sizwe activities.

Some of those arrested have been refused bail with the State arguing that because they were returnees they might fail to appear for their trial.

To substantiate these allegations, the case of Qeda Buthelezi, who is currently in custody for an alleged robbery, was cited.

NCCR paralegal officer Banquo Makhanya told the commission that Buthelezi was tortured by police and forced to divulge information about MK activities.

Although Buthelezi's bail application is still pending, Makhanya told the commission that it would be turned down because the applicant was a returnee.

The report also indicated that returnees were not only victims of

harassment but also were also killed. (236)

In the past 12 months, at least 25 returnees have been killed under suspicious and brutal circumstances, according to the report.

Six were said to have been killed by the police and one by members of the SADF.

The report cited the death of Nkosinathi Sylvester Mabaso, for which an inquest is currently being held.

He was allegedly killed by members of the C R Swart murder and robbery unit at Ezingolweni earlier this year.

Police firearms have been confiscated and sent to Pretoria for ballistic investigation. — Sapa.

UN to decide on troops

Star Africa Service

MAPUTO — After weeks of delay, the United Nations Security Council is expected to decide this week on the number of UN troops to be sent to monitor the peace process in Mozambique.

Aldo Ajelli, heads of the UN monitoring operation in Mozambique, has been waiting in New York for the Council to act on his report.

Details of his recommendations have not been disclosed. The Mozambican newssheet, Mediafax, said it had been told by sources in New York that the Security Council would be asked to station 7 000 UN personnel in Mozambique to monitor the ceasefire, the demobilisation of the rival armed forces and their integration into a single army and the preparations for an election.

There is no certainty that the UN will provide so large a force, for its resources are said to have been stretched to their limits to meet demands for other peace-keeping forces.

Mozambican president Joaquim Chissao has told the ruling Frelimo party that it was responsible for ensuring that war did not return.

THE ASSOCIATION SAID THE MEDIAN EXPECT- stimulus, analysts said. — Sapa-AP.

World trade volumes 5% up in first half

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GENEVA — World trade grew 5% in volume in the first half of 1992, GATT economists said yesterday.

However, they forecast slower expansion in the second half because of weaker economic recovery.

Sweden's ambassador Lars Anell, serving as chairman of GATT's annual meeting in Geneva, also called on trade delegates to wrap up the Uruguay round of trade negotiations by year-end.

Opening a two-day annual GATT meeting, he released moderate growth figures prepared by the secretariat's economists.

"While GATT economists have estimated that the volume of world merchandise trade in the first half of 1992 was more than 5% higher than that of the corresponding period in 1991, the gain for the year as a whole will be smaller because the strength

of the economic recovery has slackened."

He gave no precise figure for trade volume expansion in the second half of 1992, nor a closer estimate of an annual rate.

Imports into North America, Latin America, the Middle East and Asia — with the exception of Japan — buoyed trade in the first six months of the year.

"The somewhat downbeat assessment for the rest of the year reflects, in particular, weakness in demand in western Europe and Japan," Anell said, quoting the economists.

Trade between members of the Commonwealth of Independent States "virtually collapsed" in the first half of 1992.

However, imports to the EC from eastern Europe had risen sharply.

Of the Uruguay round, he said: "As

never before, we appear to have both an opportunity to conclude the round and — at the highest levels of government — a substantial political will to settle."

Last week the trade negotiations committee, the steering organ of the six-year round, agreed to try to reach a "successful political conclusion" to the talks on liberalising trade in agriculture, industry and services by year-end.

"It is also clear that a successful conclusion of the round would give — both for psychological and economic reasons — a much needed boost to the world economy."

"In fact, it is one of the few decisions governments can take without economic risks in order to stimulate the world economy," Anell said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Somali warlords meet aid groups

ADDIS ABABA — Western aid agencies and Somali clan leaders meet under the shadow of UN military intervention today to discuss the slow progress of relief efforts in the starving African nation.

The meeting in the Ethiopian capital, scheduled since October, takes place

as a three-ship US battle group takes on provisions in Kenya ready to sail for Somalia as the advance guard of a UN plan to get food through by force.

The UN aid agencies and Western donors are disgusted by the clan gunmen who demand increasingly high payments to guard food convoys in Somalia and are widely blamed for looting up to 80% of the relief that arrives.

Sources close to the talks said at least 22 Somali clan leaders had accepted invitations to attend and were being flown to Addis Ababa at UN expense.

But the key protagonists — self-styled interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and rival warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed — were unlikely to attend as they consolidated their claims to rule Somalia before the UN intervention.

The Security Council reached broad agreement on Tuesday to authorise a

US-led military operation in Somalia because of Western exasperation at the wholesale plundering of food aid meant for 2-million people starving to death.

The role of the force and its size are still taking shape but it will overshadow the three-day discussion in the Ethiopian capital of a 100-day plan launched in October to speed up help for Somalia.

"Inside Somalia, more than 2-million Somalis continue to be at grave risk and some 500 000, mostly displaced women and children, remain on the brink of starvation or death from disease," said a UN report to be discussed at the talks.

"Compounding the situation, threats from armed gangs against relief workers, extortion and robberies have made the delivery of relief assistance increasingly hazardous," the report said. — Sapa-Reuter.



IE LIFE

is ended 30 September 1992

Six months to 30 September (Unaudited)			
1992	1991		
£ million	£ million	change	
109.1	74.0	47.4	

UN 'did Angola on the cheap'

W/mail 4/12 - 18/12/92
By CHRIS MCGREAL: Luanda

THE seeds of failure were sown in Angola even before the peace accords were signed in May 1991. The United Nations, burdened by increasing demand for its services and reluctant financiers, decided to do Angola on the cheap.

The underlying flaw lies in the UN's mandate. The UN pressed the MPLA government and Unita into agreeing that its role should be limited to the sidelines. Unlike Namibia, where the UN ran the election and flooded the country with personnel, in Angola it only monitored the ceasefire and elections.

It had no authority to enforce the provisions of the peace accords. Both sides agreed to disarm, but both manoeuvred to maintain at least some of their forces. When the process went sour, the troops simply picked up their guns and walked away. The UN did not even have enough monitors to notice.

The mandate's shortcomings

were compounded by elementary errors. When fighting broke out at the end of October, the UN mission discovered it could not use its planes to negotiate a ceasefire around the country. They had no war insurance because the mission is a peace-keeping operation and the monitors had to borrow aircraft from other UN agencies which are covered to fly in battle zones.

The UN's mandate expired on Monday. It was extended by two months. Both Unita and the MPLA say they want an expanded role for the UN. The Security Council is reluctant. It will not come without a firm and enforceable agreement to disarm. There is talk of blue helmets to enforce demobilisation, a second round of presidential elections conducted by the UN and a monitor for every polling booth. It will require a new mandate — the mandate the UN should have had all along.

A U.N. Protectorate For Somalia?

Guardian Weekly
By Sharon LaFraniere

4/12-10/12/92

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine—As U.N. officials continued to consider options for an expanded role in Somalia, a senior Bush administration official suggested the United Nations may be compelled to install an interim government and organize elections in the east African country, now devastated by war and famine.

A proposal by the US for a large-scale military operation to deliver food and medicine may need to be followed by an ambitious U.N. effort to end anarchy in Somalia.

"Somalia has no government now, none. It needs some kind of structure," said the official, who traveled to Kennebunkport with President Bush for the Thanksgiving holiday. "You may need . . . a U.N. protectorate, which the U.N. would manage and (then) try to turn back into a state."

As a possible model for such an arrangement, the official cited the United Nations' involvement currently in Cambodia, "maybe even something longer-term . . . where the U.N. would go in and actually set up an interim government and hold elections."

It is not clear whether Bush wants actually to recommend such a course to the United Nations. In fact, the whole question of Somalia's ability to govern itself may be left to the incoming Clinton administration, while Bush advisers spend their final two months in office trying to ensure the delivery of relief supplies.

The senior administration official said U.S. troops could "probably" be out of Somalia in less than a month, although Pentagon officers have estimated the operation could take three to six months to complete. In any case, the official

suggested that the upcoming change of administrations in Washington means a decision must be made quickly.

"It's a complicated situation given the time and our own transition. So if something were to be done and the U.S. were to be a part of it now, it sort of has to be done fairly rapidly," he said in the interview, which took place late Saturday.

"It's not fair or even possible to ask the Clinton administration to participate in any serious way. They don't have the people in place, other than the president-elect and the vice-president elect, to analyze in any kind of detail . . . if this is something they want to do."

The division of ground troops offered by the United States is intended to serve only in the initial phase of the operation, which U.S. officials expect would also involve military forces from other nations. The U.S. troops would be used to secure strategic sights such as ports and air strips, guard relief vehicles, and protect food distribution centers.

U.S. officials have stipulated that any American forces sent to Somalia would have to remain under U.S. command but, as in the case of Operation Desert Storm against Iraq last year, could act under a broad grant of U.N. authority. The U.S. proposal envisions that the American troops would after a short period be replaced by an international peacekeeping force.

The military action "could be repeated as necessary," the senior Bush administration official said. "Having had that kind of operation would be a pretty good object lesson. It would create a new environment."

336

UN sends peace force to Somalia

NEW YORK — The United Nations launched the world's biggest armed humanitarian rescue last night, sending a force led by 28 000 Americans to silence the guns of Somali bandits and help feed hundreds of thousands of starving people.

President George Bush ordered United States forces to prepare to go.

An announcement was expected after he consulted Congress today.

Once Bush gives the order, 1 800 troops on board a three-ship strike force floating in the Indian Ocean could land on Somali beaches within hours, and the full force of 28 000 could arrive within weeks.

The 15-member UN Security Council, outraged by the plundering of relief aid destined for refugee camps filled with the dying, voted unanimously for the huge operation, and asked other member states to contribute troops and money.

France was to send about 2 000 soldiers. Belgium, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Kenya also offered troops. Italy promised aid.

For all the boldness of the move, it came more than a year after severe food shortages and civil unrest were first reported in Somalia.

And the UN Security Council mandate was vague: to use "all necessary means" to create "a secure environment" for relief operations.

The resolution did not say if that might mean creating some kind of UN-controlled civil government in chaotic Somalia, or whether the troops would try to disarm

bandits and militiamen.

It said nothing about who would pay for the operation, or how long it would last.

"No longer than is necessary," US ambassador Edward Perkins said, adding that troops would steer away from political interference.

"It is for the Somali people to decide their own future," Perkins said.

Somalia, a country with no functioning government, was represented at the meeting by Fatun Hassan, the charge d'affaires of the Somali UN mission.

It was not clear which clan leader, if any, she represented.

The clans have been battling in Somalia since the collapse of President Mohamed Siad Barre's rule in January last year, worsening a famine that has killed 300 000 people and put 2 million at risk of starvation.

Well-armed militias, mostly untrained young men and boys, have stolen at least half of the food and medicine shipped to Somalia, and paralysed a 500-member UN peacekeeping force in place since September.

The port and airport of Mogadishu — the country's two main delivery points — have been virtually shut down by the threat of banditry.

The maddening delays created by the port's closure could be seen yesterday at a beach north of Mogadishu, where the Red Cross unloaded a ship filled with rice donated by French schoolchildren.

The food was put on board fishing boats and tugged within 10 m of the beach. — Sapa-AP.

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US Marines stand by to help feed Somalis

WASHINGTON — An amphibious task force of 1800 US Marines arrived off Somalia yesterday and was standing by to spearhead an expected UN military operation to provide food to starving Somalis, the US Defence Department said.

The US amphibious warships Tripoli, Juneau and Rushmore also carry 23 transport and attack helicopters.

They could provide an initial launch base for a more massive military operation to protect humanitarian shipments.

The UN Security Council was scheduled to resume debate yesterday on a resolution to authorise use of force to protect humanitarian food shipments from warring factions and bands of gunmen.

That resolution is expected to put the military operation, which could include as many as 20 000 international troops — most of them Americans — under US command and UN oversight.

In Mogadishu, Somalis looked to US troops to bring feuding warlords to heel while relief agencies stockpiled supplies for a 1800-man advance guard of peacekeepers.

The capital city, lashed by the first heavy rains of the season, was calmer than it had been for weeks as residents awaited the final UN decision to send troops to the famine-stricken country.

Some Somali warlords resisted deployment of an earlier 4200-man UN force, intended to protect relief convoys from marauding bands of gunmen.

Bound by strict UN rules that required the warlords' approval for any move in Somalia, a Pakistani contingent of 500 troops has been largely confined to barracks since it arrived in September. It has moved only as far as the airport.

Last Friday Mogadishu warlords Mohamed Farah Aideed and his bitter rival Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who jointly overthrew dictator Mohamed Siad Barre last year but then fell to feuding, said they would welcome the US-led force.

But last week rockets were fired at the base of the Pakistani contingent in the UN force. Three mortar bombs landed near the soldiers' camp, causing no injury.

Not since the Katanga crisis in the Congo (now Zaire) in the early '60s has the UN sent armed troops to a conflict in Africa. The move could establish a precedent in the post-Cold War era on a continent beset by famine, ethnic unrest and war.

Tens of thousands of Somalis have died in the war and about 300 000 were killed by starvation in the last two years.

Relief agencies in Mogadishu stockpiled food and readied hospital operating theatres ahead of the troops' arrival.

Canadian deputy commander of some UN forces already in the country Colonel James Cox, said: "We have rations for about two weeks," adding that two operating theatres staffed by two surgeons had been set up in case of emergency.

In addition to the Pakistanis, the UN staff in Mogadishu includes 94 unarmed military truce observers, staff officers and members of a logistics support team and about 200 civilian workers.

There are about a further 200 foreign civilian staff working for independent relief agencies.

Cox said that if UN medical facilities were overstretched the world body would call for help from the foreign medical teams that have been struggling to cope with the sick and war-wounded for the last two years of civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mocambique needs \$1,1bn

MAPUTO — The Mozambican economy needs foreign funding in 1993 of \$1,198bn if it is to continue with the economic and social recovery programme, according to a World Bank report.

The report, prepared for next week's meeting in Paris of the consultative group on Mozambique, says this figure includes emergency food aid and presupposes that this year's severe drought does not continue.

Of the total, \$419m is debt rescheduling.

The report stresses that the finance for programmes arising out of the peace agreement with Renamo — demobilisation of troops, resettlement of displaced people and refugees, and preparations for the country's first multi-party elections should not be at the cost of the economic and social recovery programme.

Demobilisation costs are estimated at \$11,1m to \$14,3m for food, infrastructure and administration of assembly points and

a further \$41,5m to \$58,9m for demob pay and transporting demobilised troops to their home areas.

The report puts the costs of next year's elections at between \$40m and \$80m. Support for resettlement of displaced people and refugees will need donor finance of up to \$87m.

The World Bank report takes an optimistic view of the impact of the recovery programme on the Mozambican economy, despite poor growth rates since 1990. In the first three years of structural adjustment (1987-1989), GDP grew at an average annual rate of 5,4%. But from 1990 to 1992, the bank estimates the average annual growth rate at 0,8%.

It attributes the decline to the continued war, the 1991/92 drought and reduced foreign support. The bank estimates that if drought had not devastated this year's harvests, there would have been 5% growth in GDP. — Sapa-AFP.

Unita holds on to provincial towns

UN and Unita officials travelled on Friday to two rebel-held cities in northern Angola to secure a withdrawal of Unita forces. (S)

The government has threatened all-out war if rebels don't pull out of Uige and Negage and their military bases. C/Pren 6/12/92

UN military observers hope to make good a promise by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi that his troops would leave. (336)

The rebels captured the cities over the weekend in violation of a ceasefire agreement reached only days before.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has demanded surrender of the cities and Unita participation in a coalition government within one week.



SOMALIA-BOUND ... a US sergeant says goodbye to his son

The Cavalry Option

MORE than 28 000 American troops will begin deploying in famine-racked Somalia this week in what may turn out to be one of the great defining events of the post-Cold War era.

In ordering the intervention late last Thursday, the UN Security Council effectively reserved the right to occupy nations deemed by the international community to be incapable of governing themselves or serving their citizens' basic humanitarian needs.

The extraordinary step was taken in terms of chapter seven of the UN Charter, which in the past has been used to justify multilateral military action against identifiable human actors — most notably the North Koreans and Iraq's President Saddam Hussein.

In this instance, however, the council determined

US troops fly to the aid of Somalia, which warlords have made ungovernable

From *STW* 6/12/92
Simon Barber
in Washington

— with somewhat strained logic — that it was "the magnitude of the human tragedy" in Somalia which constituted the "threat to international peace and security".

Muscle

Extreme measures were necessary to "restore peace, stability and law and order, with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations", the council

resolved. Somalis were told to cooperate.

To ensure that this demand was fulfilled, the council agreed to authorise the display of raw (but compassionate) US muscle, offered to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali by President George Bush.

Bush pledged that the troops would not stay "one day longer than is absolutely necessary".

He said 1.5-million people were in danger of dying. "The people of Somalia need our help, especially the children. We must help them live. We must give them hope."

(336)

The function of the US force — preliminary units are ready to hit the beach from the the Marine Amphibious Group already off Mogadishu — is more than to simply guarantee the supply of food and medicine to the starving population.

It is to convince the warlords their militias and the roving gangs of armed predators who have been blocking the relief effort that the international community means business. In other words, pacification.

Optimistic

General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, explained that US troops would arrive ready to "dominate" the country if necessary. Their orders were not only to secure and protect the relief pipeline, but to be ready to take "pre-emptive action".

He likened the expedition to "the cavalry which comes to the rescue". Once the US force had completed its task, "marshalls" — a UN peacekeeping force — would move in to "restore order".

He added: "We are pleased that the factions have indicated they will co-operate. It would seem that the decision to deploy so large a force has begun to pay dividends."

The Security Council has insisted on having a small liaison presence in the US HQ, mainly to assuage the fears and wounded pride of the African bloc, but the show will be run in the main by Powell, with Marine Lieutenant-General Robert Johnston on the ground.

Scots-born Johnston was General Norman Schwarzkopf's chief of staff in Operation Desert Storm.

The Pentagon brass, with Defence Secretary Richard Cheney's support, have also made it clear that they will not be hurried by Bush's wish to have the operation concluded by the time he hands over to President-elect Bill Clinton on January 20.

"We are not bound by artificial deadlines unrelated to the situation of our troops on the ground," Cheney said, a position Clinton appeared to endorse from his Little Rock, Arkansas, base camp.

The official hope is that most of the US force — which is to include a 16 000-man contingent from the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, 10 000 from the Army's 10th Mountain Division, 600 Air Force personnel and a carrier task force offshore — will

be able to leave within two months, although military planners privately believe this is optimistic.

In theory, the American peacemakers will hand over to a more typical multinational peacekeeping mission, but even Boutros-Ghali is disconcertingly vague about what will develop. It was a matter of seeing how the "first phase" turned out, he told Ted Koppel on Nightline on Thursday.

Justifying the intervention to the American public in a nationally televised address, Bush said: "There is no government in Somalia. Law and order have broken down. Anarchy prevails."

Trusteeship

Then, to the Somalis, he said: "I promise this: we do not plan to dictate the political outcome. We respect your sovereignty and independence."

It is hard to see how putting 28 000 troops on the ground with a view to ending anarchy is not tantamount to helping dictate some kind of political outcome.

The logical scenario, already adumbrated in the UN resolution, is that once pacification is in hand, the Security Council will turn Somalia into a trusteeship and ready it for another stab at independence. Have the winds of change started to blow backwards?

Now Unicef has set up shop in SA

STAN 7/12/92

LAST week, another UN missioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in this country.

Not long ago, anyone who suggested the UN would soon play an important role in South Africa would have been scorned, writes MICHAEL SPARKS. But that is exactly what is happening.

Unicef, the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) joined the offices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees

Unicef has a separate budget of R15 million, with more money in reserve, and will help with the reintegration of the returnees, particularly women and children. By building clinics and creches the programme will make returnees less of a burden on the community. The facilities will be open to all.

UNHCR chief of mission Kallu Kalumiyia says the world body's involvement in South Africa really began when it monitored the Namibian elections in 1989.

That eased the way for South Africa to agree to UN involvement with the repatriation of exiles, effectively solving a dilemma for the Government, which did not want to spend money on bringing supporters of the liberation movements back home.

But before the agency took up office, President de Klerk said the UN must act "without prejudice to the position of my Government on the question of non-interference in our internal affairs".

The year-old programme has already brought 14 000 people back to South Africa, with an estimated 5 000 in the pipeline, and a further 5 000 waiting to see the direction of political developments before returning. Kalumiyia believes there will be

another peak of returnees once an interim government is in place.

Since the UNHCR began its mandate in September 1991, there have been a number of missions by the UN to monitor events, including the ANC's mass action campaign in August, and one which assisted the Goldstone Commission. The UN aims to have at least 50 observers in the country by the year end to monitor the violence.

The country became an issue at the world body's headquarters in New York when a Security Council meeting, called in August to discuss the ongoing violence, was addressed by

most political organisations. Kalumiyia spoke not only of the reticence about South Africa allowing the UN on to its soil, but the world body also had a number of concerns, not least of which was involvement with a government that had been censured for its apartheid policies for decades.

But a good working relationship has developed between the UN and the Government. So much so that other agencies, such as the Development Programme (UNDP), now says it will be prepared to come into the country once a firm agreement is reached between all

parties on the timetable for an interim government.

Kalumiyia says this is a significant shift from the UNDP's earlier standpoint of waiting until an interim government is in place. The urgency is partly because of the rapidly deteriorating economy.

"Unless things are arrested sooner and turned around, it will take that much longer and be that much more costly to get the economy moving again," Kalumiyia says.

He adds the UN is very aware that the returning exiles mission has implications beyond its actual mandate, and that if it does a credible job, the world body is likely to gain greater stature here.

So much so that a special code of conduct was created for all UNHCR staff coming to the South African mission. □

UN plans Mozambique task

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday recommended a major UN operation in Mozambique involving 7 000 to 8 000 troops to oversee the peace process and general elections.

The UN contingent would include troops, police and civilians responsible for the political, military, electoral and humanitarian aspects of the operation, Boutros-Ghali said in a report to the Security Council.

The UN force in Mozambique would be responsible for monitoring implementation of a peace agreement signed in Rome in October by the Mozambique government and the Mozambique National Resis-

tance (Renamo) rebel movement, ending a 16-year civil war. (330)

The UN operation would monitor the disarmament and demobilisation of forces on both sides and the establishment of a new military. 8/12/92

It would oversee the return home of five- to six-million refugees and displaced persons.

It would also monitor distribution of humanitarian aid and the organisation of presidential and legislative elections.

The peace accord set the date of the elections for October 1993, but might have to be delayed depending on conditions on the ground, Boutros-Ghali said. — Sapa-AFP.

WORLD



A Somali clansman shows off his rocket launcher outside Mogadishu's main port yesterday. Groups of armed men are often seen driving through the city with machine guns mounted on the roofs of their vehicles. Picture: AP

UN report on Unita forces disputed

LUANDA — A top Angolan government military chief said yesterday he was not convinced Unita rebels had left two strategic northern cities occupied last week.

Gen Higinio Carneiro described as superficial a UN report that opposition forces might have started to pull out.

"There are still Unita forces in Uige and Negage," the general told state-run radio. "We have still not received a response confirming the withdrawal."

The occupation more than a week ago of Uige, 300km northeast of Luanda, and nearby Negage, the most important air

base in the north, was a major advance for Unita, which has taken about 75% of Angola since disputing the results of elections held in September. (336)

The UN special representative, Margaret Anstee, said at the weekend that according to preliminary reports Unita had apparently begun to leave the two cities.

But diplomats expressed scepticism and UN sources later said privately it appeared Unita still maintained a presence there and government forces had not regained control. — Sapa-Reuter.

9/12/92
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Supporting efforts towards peace

SfA 10/12/92

Before leaving South Africa at the end of a two-week visit, UN Special Envoy Ambassador Tom Vaalsen gave his impressions to the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, RICHARD STEYN, and senior political writer PATRICK LAURENCE.

MY GENERAL impression (on the situation in South Africa) is somewhat mixed.

Overall, after meeting all the parties participating in the negotiations, I am cautiously optimistic. Over the past few weeks there have been a number of encouraging developments putting the negotiations, so to speak, back on track.

There is obviously a convergence, a meeting of minds among some of the principal players. Also, the decision to convene a meeting of signatories of the Peace Accord, and parallel efforts aimed at resuming a multiparty conference in some form.

On the more negative side is the high level of violence, but I am encouraged to see that there is broad agreement that the violence must not be allowed to frustrate efforts aimed at a negotiated solution. Another negative is the economy, which is not able to provide new jobs.

One thing that I have stressed in all my meetings, right across the board, is that the negotiating process should be inclusive.

On Chief Buthelezi's federal option:

I see the proposal put forward by Chief Buthelezi a few days ago as a draft that will be one of the inputs to the negotiations when the multiparty conference is reconvened.

I have not spoken to him since the announcement. I have spoken to some of his chief advisers, which confirms the impression that this is a draft, one of many that will be on the table as they start negotiations.

On Apia and its alleged campaign of violence:

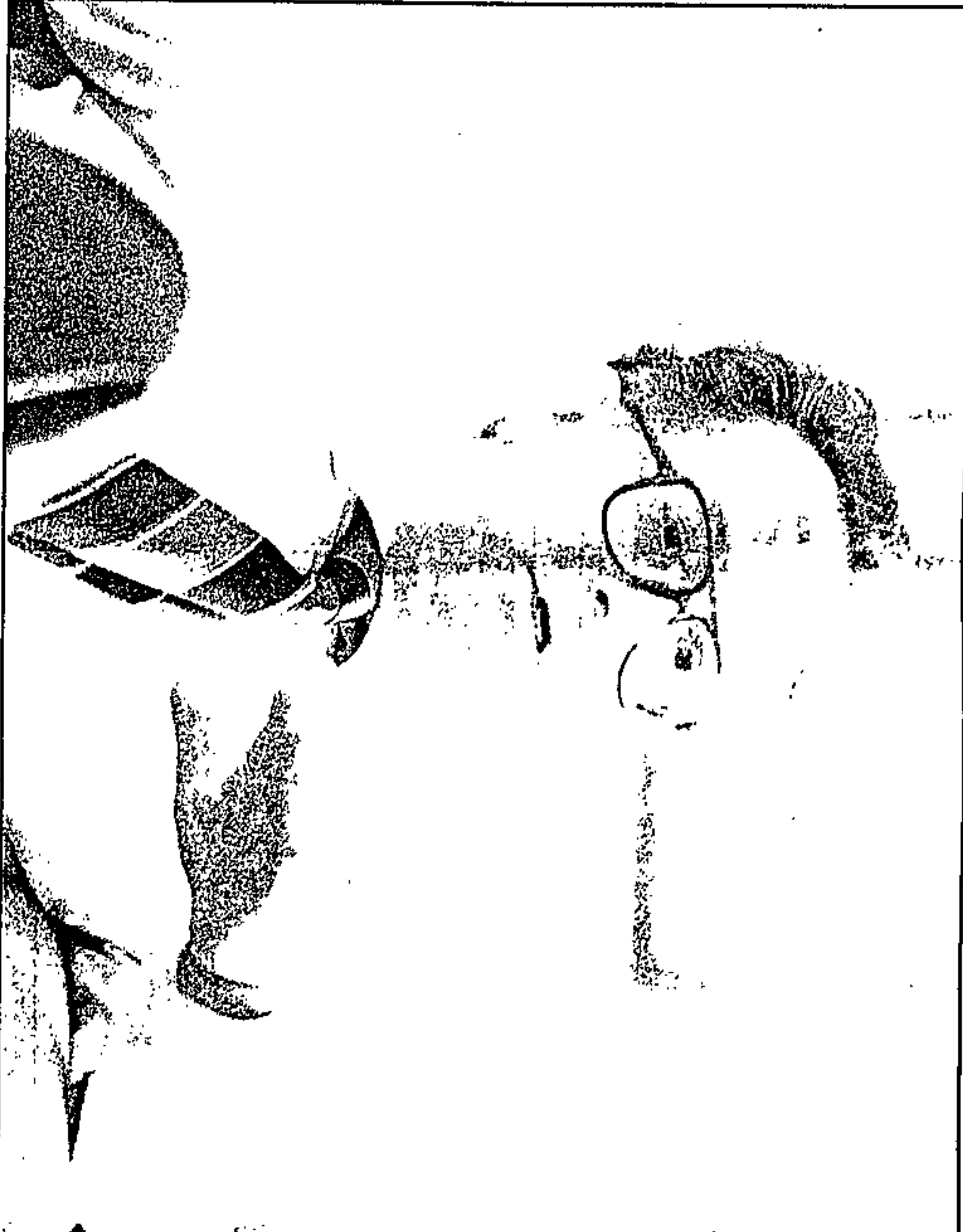
Any kind of violence in whatever form and from wherever it comes must be condemned. That is absolutely clear. I would encourage the PAC to take a very clear position on this. Whatever their relationship with Apia, I believe the PAC should come out very clearly and disassociate itself from or condemn this kind of activity.

You have probably seen the statements made both by the OAU representative and by the UN Observer Mission, as well as those of the Government and the ANC and others, which are unanimous that these types of activities are to be condemned.

On the UN's role so far:

The UN's main objective is to be supportive of the peace process. Its aims and efforts are to achieve a negotiated solution to the problems of the country, and to arrive at a new dispensation for SA. The UN is not here to interfere or to impose any kind of a solution; it is for the South Africans themselves to work it out. The Security Council has taken a decision that observers are to be deployed to work with the Peace Secretariat and to be supportive of the peace structures.

We believe that the Peace Accord is a very important element and part of the structure that you need in order to arrive at a negotiated solution. I believe the observers are doing their job. This is my impression and, from speaking to people, the comments I get are favourable. It seems that the efforts



Optimistic... UN Special Envoy Tom Vaalsen believes negotiations are coming back on track.

made by the observers are generally appreciated, so I think that is adequate for the time being. I do not think we need to consider changes in the mandate. I think they have sufficient flexibility.

As to the number of observers:

Well, for the time being, if I

should recommend changes, it might be only a slight increase in the numbers. But, generally speaking, it's enough.

On the UN's concern with South Africa:

The UN has been concerned with the situation in SA for decades. The fact that Mr. Vance came, and that I'm here now, is

an expression of continuous concern on the part of the UN Secretary-General at the level of violence and the situation as far as negotiations are concerned.

It is also an expression of a desire on the part of the Secretary-General to be as supportive and helpful as possible in promoting and supporting the

process. I don't think one should underestimate the concern that you find not only in the UN but in the international community in general.

On the UN's image in SA, and his reception by South Africans:

From the UN's point of view there is a recognition that SA is

a totally different situation now than it was four years ago. I have been extremely well received by all parties, the State President, the Cabinet, by the ANC and all the principal actors. They have been very cooperative; they have been very generous with their time and my impression is that they appreciate the interest of the international community and of the UN.

On perceptions of the UN as an honest broker:

I have not met anyone who has questioned the impartiality and the objectivity of the UN.

On the people he met:

There is nobody I wanted to see that I wasn't able to see. Right across the spectrum, all have been very generous with their time.

On the role of the media:

It is extremely important. In this country, as in my own country, the media, to a large degree, set the agenda, via the electronic medium, TV/radio, or print. They should bear this very much in mind in the way they deal with the information they receive. I would wish that the positive things that happen get as much coverage as the more negative things. Unfortunately in this country, news tends to be negative, and the good things that might be small don't get the same kind of attention. So I think there has to be a balance here.

On his future role in SA:

That is for the Secretary-General to decide, because he is under an obligation to report to the Security Council at regular intervals and to provide the council with objective and impartial information so that it can act on the basis of such information. So I'll submit my report to

him and then he, in turn, will submit his own report to the council. Whether there is anything more in the future for me, that is for the Secretary-General to decide, that's his prerogative.

On the Goldstone Commission:

I believe the work Mr. Justice Goldstone and his commission is doing is extremely valuable to the whole process. It attempts to create confidence in the country and the UN is very supportive of what he is doing. If he should need support over and above what he is given, we would consider that favourably.

The UN is encouraged by the decision of the Government and the ANC to work with the judge and his commission on investigating the security forces and other armed formations. We sincerely hope that the remaining actors, so to speak, Apia and KwaZulu, will do the same. Judge Goldstone made an appeal the other day for support from the international community, particularly the UN, and we will do whatever we can to be supportive of him.

On investigation by Goldstone into Apia:

The PAC has said that the political leadership is separate from Apia, that Apia acts independently and that if Apia is to be investigated, so to speak, by the commission, a request will have to be made to Apia, and not the PAC.

Whether the UN profile should be higher:

There might be some who would like to see the UN taking on additional tasks, but nobody has put forward specific proposals. Changing the mandate of the UN is, after all, up to the Security Council. Generally speaking, there is satisfaction with the role the UN is playing. □

Renamo calls for UN aid in peace process

STAR 10/12/92

HARARE — Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama has called on the United Nations to speed up the Mozambique peace process, saying the Maputo government was dragging its feet in implementing the agreed programme.

Dhlakama, who is due to meet Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe today to discuss the accord, said he was ready to move from his bush headquarters in central Mozambique to the capital Maputo as soon as the government found him suitable accommodation.

"It is important that

the UN sends in troops and sets up the machinery to speed up the process," he told reporters yesterday on his first official visit to Zimbabwe.

Dhlakama, who flew in from Kenya, said he hoped his talks with Mugabe would consolidate the peace pact.

The plan agreed under a truce signed by Renamo and President Joaquim Chissano's government in October is running behind schedule on several issues, including the confinement of troops to designated points. — Sapa-Reuter.

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UN to back Goldstone

574-12 10/12/92
The UN would give Mr Jus-
tice Goldstone every assis-
tance in investigating activi-
ties of the Azanian People's
Liberation Army (Apla),
Tom Vraalsen, special envoy
to the UN secretary-general,
said in Johannesburg yester-
day. (336) (332)

Mr Justice Goldstone
called on the international
community last week to help
him launch an inquiry into
Apla activities. (336) (332)

Vraalsen said such an in-
vestigation would be broad-
ened to include Umkhonto
we Sizwe, the security forces
and homelands police —
Staff Reporter. (336) (332)

● Interview — Page 23

press

UN, OAU tour hostel

ADRIAN HADLAND

SOWETO's troubled Meadowlands hostel was visited yesterday by UN observers and OAU representative Shaddy Sibajene in an effort to comprehend the violence that has reduced large sections of the hostel to a burnt-out shell.

The visit comes in the wake of a recent agreement signed by the ANC's PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association in which reconciliation between hostel dwellers and nearby communities was deemed essential before upgrading and development could be undertaken.

ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said joint rallies between hostel dwellers and members of surrounding communities would be organised as a way to encourage the peaceful reintegration of the region's 32 hostels. Sexwale reiterated the demand of the association/ANC agreement that funds earmarked by government for hostel upgrading be transferred to the National Housing Forum.

He called on business, the churches and the UN to contribute to the upgrading programme and said visits to other hostels were to be arranged.

Meadowlands hostel chairman Wesley Dlamini, who showed the UN, OAU, ANC and media representatives the condition at the hostel, said the hostel issue had to be depoliticised if any progress was to be made.



ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale, centre, inspecting Meadowlands hostel yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT SOTHA

Shakeup in the SAP is set for January

RAY HARTLEY

A MAJOR police shakeup including the appointment of two new deputy commissioners of police and the launch of the community relations division will take effect from January next year.

Visible policing head Lt-Gen Lotwrens Malan and criminal investigation chief Lt-Gen Basie Smit would both become deputy commissioners in January, a police spokesman said yesterday.

General Johan van der Merwe would continue as police commissioner.

Lt-Gen Simon Chetty, who will head the new community relations division, is expected to be appointed to the 22-man police board, which includes community representatives, but this could not be confirmed by police yesterday.

Wits policing research project spokesman Janine Rauch said both Malan and Smit had good reputations as leaders in the police, but the appointments failed to inject much-needed new blood into police leadership.

She questioned the fact that Smit, Malan and Van der Merwe all had backgrounds in security policing and would hold the three senior positions in the police.

Smit is a former head of the security branch. The new community relations division would only succeed if it consulted directly with communities over its strategies, Rauch said.

She said a consultative committee, which included community representatives needed to be established to avoid unilateral decisions by police on community relations.

Malan headed up operations during the "Battle of Ventersdorp" last year when police and right-wing demonstrators clashed outside a meeting addressed by President F W de Klerk.

Both Malan and Smit currently serve on the police board.

SADF forced to cut back on personnel

6/04/92 10/12/92

INTERNAL unrest in SA would continue for at least another 10 years and it would be necessary to maintain an effective defence force, SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday.

More SADF troops were presently being deployed internally on a daily basis than during conventional war situations in Angola and Namibia, Liebenberg told a media briefing in Voortrekkerhoogte.

Despite this situation, reduction in government spending had forced the SADF to cut 6 110 army, navy and air force jobs in the 1992/93 fiscal year.

Liebenberg said that since 1989, the SADF's share of state expenditure had dropped from 15,7% to 9,6%. However, the defence budget was still too high and the SADF had been forced to introduce further cuts in terms of guidelines laid down for the next financial year.

Until tabled in Parliament, the new defence budget was secret, he said.

"Government had provided the SADF with new strategic guidelines as early as October 1989 and started implementing our Plan 2000. The financial cutbacks were more severe but, most importantly, more consistent each and every year than what we expected," Liebenberg said.

The SADF was now focusing on staff in its rationalisation because it could not afford to further cut its capital expenditure programmes for the updating and renewing of weapons systems.

"Further cuts on these programmes would have destroyed technology retention and para-

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

lysed the SADF and the arms industry's capability for technical renewal and replacement of weapons into the new century," he said.

SA Air Force chief Gen James Kriel told the briefing that 3 872 SAAF jobs would be terminated by the end of 1995.

Since last year, 2 789 jobs had been cut, including five brigadiers, 41 colonels, 44 commanders, two captains and 1 665 non commissioned officers.

The SA Army had to effect a cut of about R174,5m in full-time personnel strength by March 31 next year, SA army chief Gen Georg Meiring said. The army would have to reduce by 1 722 permanent force members, 530 civilians and about 860 general assistants, he said. Since 1989, the SA Navy has retrenched 22% or 2 400 of its personnel, Navy chief Vice-Admiral R. Simpson-Anderson said.

In addition, the marines were disbanded, the area commands were closed, six naval bases in commercial posts were closed and operational command and control was centralised at naval headquarters, he said.

Although the Navy this year suffered far less from rationalisation than the other services, an additional 450 personnel would be retrenched by closing down SAS Jalsena in Durban, rationalising the SA Naval Dockyard, Simon's Town and SA Naval Works and the "fine tuning" of previous rationalisations.

SADF Medical Services escaped with no immediate staff cuts because an earlier rationalisation programme had been completed.

UN envoy urges SA to press ahead with talks

WILSON ZWANE

UN SPECIAL envoy to SA Tom Vraalsen said yesterday acts of terror should not be allowed to derail constitutional talks.

Speaking to journalists in Johannesburg before his departure to New York, Vraalsen said he was convinced the movement towards multiparty talks, which had gathered momentum in the past two weeks, indicated eagerness on the part of major political parties to "get down to business".

Alluding to the recent killings at King William's Town and Queenstown, he said these "developments" threatened to disrupt the multiparty talks.

"They should not be permitted to do so. I firmly believe that it is time for all parties in SA to renounce violence and come to the negotiating table."

Vraalsen appealed to all parties to co-operate with Judge Richard Goldstone during his investigations into the activities of security forces and liberation movements, including the PAC's armed wing Apla. Vraalsen said he would present a report on his findings to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali tomorrow. He would not be drawn on the contents of the report.

TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that a 20-page briefing, in which the SA intelligence services were described as a "headless monster", was handed to UN monitors recently.

Military Research Group member Rocky Williams delivered the briefing before recent revelations by the Goldstone commission linking military intelligence to planned acts to discredit the ANC.

He said it was becoming increasingly clear that President F W de Klerk did not enjoy the confidence of the major actors within the security establishment.

Williams, formally both an SADF sergeant for eight years and an MK member for five years, told the monitors it was important to avoid conspiracy theories when dealing with the existence of current covert operations. The approval of these operations by executive levels had yet to be proved, he said.

The undoing of the UN

Guardian 11/12/92

By Jonathan Eyal, director of studies,
Royal United Services Institute

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THE DECISION of the United States government to make its troops available for humanitarian efforts in Somalia is a quantum leap in the history of United Nations operations. Unfortunately, it is also a move accomplished with little thought of its long-term consequences. For, even if the effort in the Horn of Africa is ultimately crowned with success, none of the fundamental questions about the role of this international organisation, raised in their most acute form in the case of Yugoslavia, would have been answered.

Despite high-flown ideas about a "new world order", the reality is that the UN remains an instrument of last resort. When war broke out in Yugoslavia in June 1991, it was the European Community which assumed responsibility for solving the conflict. Brussels bureaucrats negotiated unpleasing ceasefires and warned of dire consequences if violence continued. Serbia correctly assumed that the filing cabinets in Brussels did not represent a military threat and continued with the war regardless. Thus, the UN was called upon to intervene only after all other efforts had failed. And, in the words of a senior Western diplomat, the Yugoslav operation continues to

resemble a dog's breakfast. The UN swiftly moved in to support a precarious ceasefire. The Serbs, who claimed to defend their co-nationals, were appeased by the promise that peace-keeping forces would defend the Serbian-populated enclaves in Croatia and the Croats were assured that the presence of UN forces would never affect their republic's frontiers. The UN troops in Croatia were supposed to disarm all local militias and allow for the return of refugees. In fact, nothing of the kind has happened: bereft of political support, the UN has merely succeeded in postponing the ultimate day of reckoning between Serbs and Croats.

Croatia is determined to ask the UN forces to leave when their original mandate expires early next year. Members of the Security Council hope to avoid this issue by putting pressure on Croatia not to ask for the peace-keepers' withdrawal. They may succeed, but they are already failing in preventing a wider confrontation between Serbs and Croats. Indeed, the UN presence may actually fuel further war: Croat military incursions into Bosnian territory are designed to encircle Serbian enclaves from the south in preparation for future war.

Yet the biggest mistake was to assume that the Yugoslav conflict could be handled piecemeal. From the beginning, the Security Council concerned itself only with Croatia and pretended that bloodshed in Bosnia could be averted through the simple expedient of having the UN headquarters in the Bosnian capital. The trick did not work and after a few abortive ceasefires European states turned again to the UN. But the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Chali, refused this time to pull the politicians' chestnuts out of the Bosnian fire.

Boutros-Chali lacked the resources to mount such an operation. But, more fundamentally, the UN Secretary-General was determined to show that his organisation cannot become the dustbin of the world's insoluble problems without the necessary political backing. Thus began the second phase of peace-keeping operations in Yugoslavia which promises to end in disaster.

Since no central UN support was on offer and public opinion demanded action, governments asked their military to do "something". The generals, aware of the pitfalls, over ensured by providing troops with equipment for every eventuality.

The result was a huge cost and massive overlapping of resources, especially in communication systems: for the first year, the Bosnian operation cost \$500 million. The UN did ultimately help by providing financial experts who identified the common costs (such as transport and food) which could be shared by all participants. Yet, although these may amount to 12 per cent of the total, all bills still have to be paid by the participating states rather than centrally by the international organisation.

The worst may still come. First, no country knows how long it could maintain its present commitment. The Canadians, who have contributed so much to UN operations over decades and got little political credit in return, know better than most that, once established, peace-keeping forces are difficult to disband. The UN operation in Cyprus has lasted for 28 years. And the same could happen in Bosnia. Despite all the statements to the contrary everyone knows that the old Bosnian republic cannot be reconstructed and that refugees cannot return to their places of residence. At best, a Muslim Bosnian state will be created on some territory, a country which will need international protection for many years.

More importantly, there is still little co-ordination between governments as to what should be done if troops in Bosnia come under fire. To complicate matters even further these troops are unlikely to be presented with a straightforward choice between returning fire or beating a retreat. In an ominous development last week, peace-keeping troops in both Bosnia and Cambodia were kidnapped by supposedly unknown groups. Kidnapping soldiers may well prove to be the way of the future, for the tactic avoids outright military confrontation but is just as effective in sap- ing the morale of troops on the ground. And the wider reality is that peace-keeping operations can never be confused with war-making capabilities and cannot provide for long a fig leaf to governments who are not prepared to consider other options. Quite apart from their heavy costs, peace-keeping forces are best at freezing a situation on the ground and little more. The UN forces in Cyprus started by trying to dismantle road blocks erected by fighting ethnic communities. They then accepted these barriers with resignation and ultimately even painted them with the UN's own colours since no political

Continued on page 9

The UN must beware of the fine line between aid and peacekeeping, argues Colin Leg

Helping hand or mailed fist?

STAR 11/12/92.

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WHEN the international community fails to act effectively in responding to famine and war-related tragedies, condemnation is universal; but when there are proposals to act forcefully (that is, by military force) criticisms come from two different quarters — aid relief workers and those whose outlook urges care “not to get sucked into conflicts in which foreign intervention only multiplies the problems”.

There is also a third view — call it the Dag Hammarskjöld doctrine — that UN peacekeeping troops should never shoot except in self-defence. This doctrine has hitherto prevailed.

The choice of options open to the international community was limited during the period of the Cold War since the two superpowers invariably took different sides — even when the issue related only to the provision of humanitarian aid. Now, with the end of

the Cold War, a more rational approach is possible in considering the UN's role and responsibilities. The opportunities for achieving consensus at the UN have never been greater than at present.

The central issue of the current debate is whether the UN should ever agree to the use of military force in situations requiring urgent humanitarian aid and/or peacekeeping operations. These two challenges usually present themselves as separate issues. For example, in the case of Somalia the issue is only how to deliver humanitarian aid effectively, whereas in the case of Bosnia, it is difficult to separate the issues of aid and peacekeeping.

The challenge in Somalia is a stark choice between getting relief to two million people who are starving to death (300 000 have already perished), or allowing gunmen to prevent food and Americans from reaching the dying; it is not primarily a question of peacekeeping. However, the introduction of a military force with the right to

shoot and, if necessary to kill, will possibly result in armed conflict between the UN force and either or both the rival armed camps in the country.

The challenge in Bosnia is different. There, food is used as a weapon of war by the Serbian forces who seek to establish the dream of a greater Serbia by forcing non-Serbs out of their homes through a policy of genocide, euphemistically called “ethnic cleansing”.

The greater Serb movement, therefore, sees the relief effort as weakening their war aim; they can be counted on to resist militarily any international force that has the right to shoot in order to protect relief columns.

The situation is even more complex than that since a military-supported relief programme for Bosnia will almost certainly involve the Serbian army. Unlike the forces in Somalia, the Serbian army is an effective fighting force. The reason why Nato has refused

to support military intervention is because of its fear of getting “sucked into” the wider conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

And yet, the core of the problem in Bosnia is the same as in Somalia: it is whether to allow gunmen to prevent food from reaching starving populations.

The generous US initiative to commit 30 000 American soldiers to a UN operation has provoked angry reactions from two different quarters: the non-governmental relief agencies, and the knee-jerk anti-American lobby led by Iran and Iraq. The latter suspect American motives — an attitude allowing no rational argument.

The harder case to answer is the widespread fear of the humanitarian lobby that the introduction of a strong military force will jeopardise the work and safety of relief workers. Such fears are well-founded. But what alternative policy does the humanitarian lobby have to offer?

The present level of military

support to protect the transport of food and medicines in Somalia is limited by the constraint on them not to shoot except in the case of self-defence. This constraint has resulted in only 20 percent of relief aid getting to the actual victims; the rest is looted by gunmen who use the food either to enrich themselves or to bolster the strength of the combatants at the expense of the starving.

This is clearly unacceptable. The two predictable results of continuing with a policy of “no shooting” are that up to 2 million people will perish miserably, and that the looted food will strengthen the capability of the two rival forces to continue their civil war.

If the humanitarian lobby is right that the safety of relief workers will be jeopardised as a result of military intervention, the choice is between accepting the withdrawal of relief workers, or ensuring that the maximum amount of food gets into the stomachs of those in need.

The second choice must be the better one. There is no reason why the interventionist military force should not itself take over the function of distributing food — a task within the capacities of the army's well-organised supply service units.

But — and this is crucial — the purpose of the UN force should be limited to ensuring the safety of the food shipments — not to act as a peacekeeping force engaged in keeping the rival Somali forces from continuing their struggle; external forces cannot resolve the internal problems of Somalia.

Those who talk about the UN taking over responsibility for Somalia as a temporary mandate damage the chances of a successful operation. There is no way in which the OAU and the wider membership of the non-aligned movement will tolerate even a temporary colonial role for the UN. The quicker this idea is firmly scotched, the greater the chance of ensuring an effective UN operation. □

Peace becomes a serious mission

NOT SO long ago, many people were dismissing United Nations soldiers as "a bunch of long-haired Swedes".

There was some justification for this disdain: it was possible in some neutral armies to spend an entire career in tax-free and relatively safe UN work, often in sunny climes.

The efficiency of these operations was doubtful. Even where they kept the peace — for example along Cyprus's Green Line separating Greek Cypriots from the Turks — the UN soldiers' presence has only masked failure to reach lasting political settlements.

Extreme

As the deployment in southern Lebanon showed, a determined opponent — in this case, Israel — could sweep through the UN lines unhindered.

But this negative view has changed dramatically. Since the end of the Cold War, many of the world's simmering conflicts have reached a settlement, allowing a newly-invigorated UN to swing into action and keep the peace.

The UN has done more peacekeeping in the past five years than in the rest of its history.

Current UN operations — 12 of them, with a 13th

From *S/Times* 13/12/92
Alan Philips in London

planned in Mozambique — span the globe, from the Sahara to Cambodia. Some operations are tiny, with only around 40 ceasefire monitors on the Indo-Pakistani border. Others are massive, such as that in Cambodia.

The Cambodian operation is testing the UN's ability to maintain global law and order to the extreme.

The UN is fielding 16 000 troops and 69 000 civilian and local employees — at a cost of £1.1-billion (about R4.6-billion) — to put the country back together after the horrors of rule by Pol Pot and the Vietnamese. The UN is to govern until elections can be held.

Since the Cold War ended, the list of countries taking part in peacekeeping has grown. Traditionally, it was a job for the neutral countries — the Nordics, Austria, Ireland and Canada. That has changed.

For example, the UN Protection Force in Croatia consists of troops from 19 countries, including Argentina, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Britain.

This rapid expansion of

peacekeeping has led to near-intolerable strains on the UN bureaucracy. Although the world continues to believe the UN should do something in every trouble spot, the New York peacekeeping staff is overwhelmed.

The annual peacekeeping budget was £155-million (about R713-million) five years ago. This has shot up to £2-billion (about R9.2-billion).

Peaceful

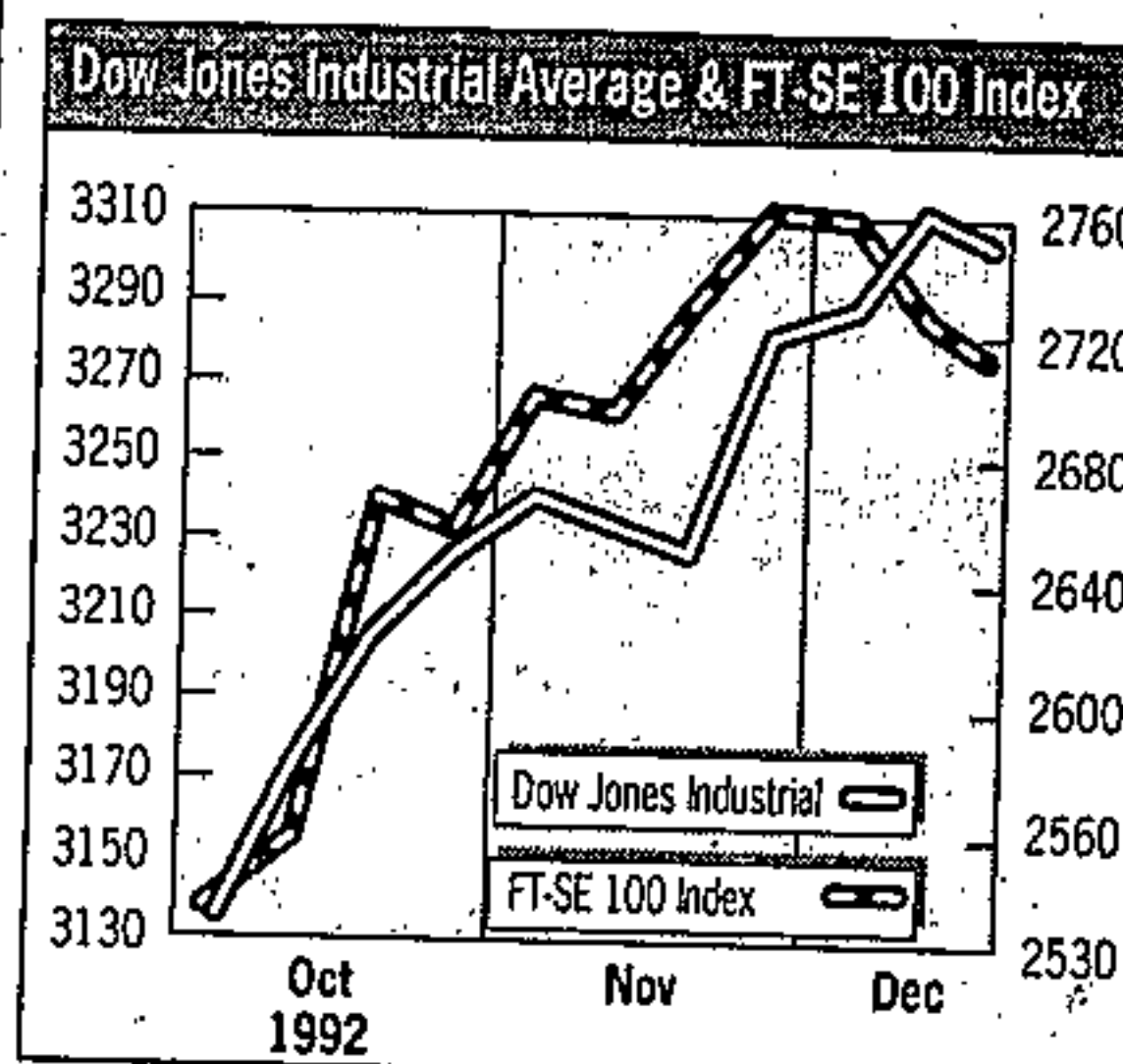
When UN troops were sent to Bosnia, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali acknowledged that his New York headquarters could not cope with the financial strain. Countries sending contingents were asked to pay their own expenses.

Somalia has shown an-

other weakness: with blue-helmet troops obliged to co-operate with the authorities on the ground — even if they are bandits — the UN has not even been able to deploy its 3 500 troops.

Meanwhile, in Mogadishu, Somalia's two strongest warlords have paved the way for a peaceful end to two years of civil war by agreeing to an immediate "cessation of hostilities".

American and UN diplomats, who sponsored the first face-to-face talks between the once-allied warlords in more than a year, looked on approvingly as General Mohammed Farah Aidid and self-styled interim president Ali Mahdi Mohammed embraced and kissed each other in apparent reconciliation.



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DJ IA CLOSE:
3304.08**

**FRIDAY'S
FT-SE 100
CLOSE:
2716.2**

**FRIDAY'S
NEW YORK
GOLD CLOSE:
\$335.25**

**YESTERDAY'S
HONG KONG
GOLD CLOSE:
\$335.25**

Graham Linscott reports that Somalia could become a UN mandate

Kicking the Strategic Horn again

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AMERICAN marines wade ashore to take possession of the Land of Punt. No, that's not Naas Botha's Northern Transvaal (which is rather landlocked anyway), it's what the ancient Egyptians used to call what is now known as Somalia.

How the world has changed, and not just since the days of ancient Egypt. A few years ago the mere suggestion of 28 000 American troops landing in an independent African country, for whatever reason, would have had Nato and the Warsaw Pact on full nuclear alert and the Non-Aligned Group at the United Nations in hysterics.

All right, the current operation in Somalia is a UN one, just as the Gulf War was a UN effort. The fact that the military command and the bulk of the troops are

American really has nothing to do with it. Yes — tell it to the marines.

Somalia is the strategic Horn of Africa. It commands the Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea and the northern reaches of the Indian Ocean. It is a bridgehead to Africa and a jumping off point to the Arab world. Few regions are as geopolitically sensitive. For decades the CIA and the KGB played nasty games to decide who should control the strategic port of Berbera.

Yet suddenly it doesn't matter. This is, of course, an outcome of the collapse of communism and the end of the bi-polar international system and the Cold War. It is more or less what we have come to expect.

But almost as astonishing — and barely remarked upon so far

Star 14/2/92

— is the way something that looks very much like a version of neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism is being tolerated by the African continent. Africa has a history of its inhabitants first being sold into slavery, then being placed under colonial rule. It has been hypersensitive, since the post-war process of decolonisation began, to the slightest suggestion of neo-colonial dependence — let alone allowing in Yankee soldiers.

Yet there is serious talk of Somalia becoming a UN mandate once the American, or UN, troops have secured the situation, whenever that might be.

And the Somalis have been that route before. The country is made up of former British Somaliland and former Italian Somaliland, which became a UN mandate

after the defeat of Mussolini in World War 2. They united to take independence in 1960.

Suddenly they are back to foreign occupation and probably dependency status for the foreseeable future. It's surely not a judgment on the Somalis themselves that their country should have lapsed into such a condition of banditry that international/American intervention was required to save millions of people from famine. It is rather a judgment on the cynicism of the Cold War and the arms supplies that accompanied it. All-out war with neighbouring Ethiopia was certain to degenerate in the end into internal warlordism.

They've been kicked around a lot in the Land of Punt. □

836
STAR 17/12/92
**UN troops
to move in**

NEW YORK — The United Nations established yesterday its fourth major peacekeeping operation this year, authorising 7 500 troops and civilians to monitor a ceasefire and elections in Mozambique.

The vote in the 15-nation Security Council was unanimous.

The UN Operation in Mozambique (Onumoz) will oversee a peace accord signed in Rome in October by the MPLA and Renamo.

The world body, owed more than \$1 billion (almost R3 billion) by members in regular and peacekeeping dues, estimates Onumoz will cost more than \$330 million (R990 million) by the time its mandate expires at the end of next October. — Sapa-
Reuter.

DEVELOPMENT AID

Down to basics

Official development assistance — channelled primarily through nongovernment organisations (NGOs) in SA — is expected to

increase considerably by the end of the decade from this year's record US\$343m.

A recently published Development Co-operation Report on SA by the UN Development Programme shows that education & training accounts for nearly 43% of development aid of which a "considerable portion" is intended as bursaries for tertiary study. The other main recipients of money are community development, rural development and human rights and legal services, which will each receive 11% of the total.

Continue

Sectors that will receive smaller grants include policy research & planning, institutional and management development & public administration.

The report says SA's NGOs "acquitted themselves relatively well in the accountable management of the funds and the implementation of development activities" — in spite of lacking the material infrastructure or human resource support systems available to government aid recipients in other developing countries.

The lack of previous comprehensive studies means it's not possible to define or measure trends in aid flows, but the report says available evidence indicates that 1992 disbursements will represent the largest amount of external aid to SA during the past 10 years.

The UN programme concludes that the value of aid to SA and the number of agencies in the country are likely to increase over the next few years due mainly to political reform initiatives.

Harnessing foreign and other aid in a co-ordinated initiative is a goal of Independent Development Trust CEO-designate Wiseman Nkuhlu. He wants to see the establishment of an independent panel to co-ordinate the efforts of SA's development agencies and determine priorities (*Current Affairs* December 4).

Nkuhlu believes a co-ordinated develop-

ment effort will also encourage new support from foreign governments and agencies who are sometimes confused by conflicting demands from what may be perceived as rival SA organisations.

He says alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life of SA's poor are the most important goals. These can be done through the promotion of small and medium-sized businesses and farmer support programmes to develop a successful black commercial agricultural sector.

Nkuhlu says it's also essential that people should have access to clean water, housing, electricity and basic health care. ■

'NEW WORLD ORDER'

FM 18/12/92

336

Take me to your larder

The proposal to send 8 000 UN monitors to Mozambique to preside over the hoped-for cessation of hostilities brings a little closer to home the interventionist nature of what George Bush called the New World Order. Such exercises have ranged from full-scale warfare — Operation Desert Storm — to the handful of observers in SA.

Not even in the case of Somalia do they amount to what was once termed neo-colonialism. The interventions are primarily on humanitarian grounds, though they are unquestionably dependent on the will of the US to provide the major military framework without which elements of the UN are simply swept aside by the Israelis, Bosnian Serbs or whoever.

This circumscribing of the powers of the intervening forces is natural, given America's experience of Vietnam. It allows the UN to gauge — as objectively as possible — how much sheer firepower is needed to achieve specified ends and, if possible, to place a time limit on its presence.

Excluding the Gulf action, the operation in Somalia is certainly the most ambitious to date. It is rightly justified on the basis that millions will die unless it takes place, which is another way of saying that "pacification" of unruly and artificial nations is again in the lexicon of the great powers, such as they are, under the UN flag.

The dangers are obvious. Even if everyone in Somalia who can be saved is saved, what then? Who will pay for and restore their infrastructure, including law and order, and sow the crops? Even if the US troops are withdrawn, they would almost certainly be replaced by OAU troops — which could mean the recolonisation of an African nation by other African nations.

Indeed, the success of Operation Restore Hope in Somalia might mandate the use of a third force through Africa in tempestuous, increasingly ungovernable countries. Candidates would be Zaire, Angola and Mozambique. The 8 000 blue berets in Mozambique will have the same task they had in Angola — determining whether elections are free and fair — with, quite possibly, the same unfortunate outcome.

It has not gone unnoticed that swift and decisive action has not been mandated in Cambodia and Yugoslavia, where any outside troops would be unable to quell factions weaned on guerrilla warfare:

At least, in current circumstances, no-one will call on South Africans to go forth and do good in neighbouring States. Perhaps this is for the best; unless we can forge and maintain peace for ourselves, someone may want to come along and do it for us. ■

Violence is scaring off foreign investors, says UN's Angela King

SA POLITICAL leaders and businessmen were unaware of the extent of the effects of violence and instability on foreign investment, UN observer mission leader Angela King said.

She said in an interview that recent efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys to explain the poor state of the economy to political parties were going some way to addressing the problem, but SA remained unattractive to foreign investors.

"I don't think that with the degrees and levels of violence and instability that SA would be a good investment option. It

would be difficult for us as a community to invest in the country or fully lift sanctions. It was feared (earlier this year) that the country was out of control and violence was escalating."

King said political rivalry, electioneering and leaders' tendency to abandon forums where there was disagreement instead of talking through differences were obstacles to negotiations.

"No party or group of parties should try to stall the process or hold the process hostage by incidents of violence or petty personality issues. In KwaZulu and the Wit-

RAY HARTLEY

watersrand there is a tendency for certain parties, if they can't come to agreement, to leave forums rather than sit down.

"Our job is to be of nuisance value. We just have to make sure that everybody keeps talking."

There appeared to be an organised force behind much of SA's violence, but there was insufficient evidence to label this a third force, she said.

"It does seem that there is an element of engineering in what happens. In the Wit-

watersrand area, for example, the train violence is not the ANC and Inkatha, it is random killings.

"I am convinced that everybody wants peace and that if they talk about armed conflict or the use of force, this is the very last resort. But they don't always have mechanisms, or want to accept mechanisms that lead to a meeting of the minds or a greater understanding," she said.

"We have been pressuring government to put out a proclamation (prohibiting the carrying of weapons). They have to do something very quickly about it, because

the guns keep on coming in across the border and they are very cheap."

King described the record of understanding between government and the ANC as "a major coup", but said Inkatha's rejection of it had led to greater caution on all sides. "There was a pulling back on several sides," she said. Government had perhaps not expected Inkatha's reaction and the ANC had perhaps begun to realise it was not helpful to be seen to side with government.

She said she was confident the UN mis-

□ To Page 2

Angela King

sion had established its neutrality with most parties, and added that the only way to deal with apartheid was not by armed struggle but by negotiation.

SA remained in a good position to cope with violence.

"In this country you have a government, you have structures, you have forces of law

□ From Page 1

and order, whether you support them or not is irrelevant.

"We are still at the preventive diplomacy stage where we're trying to contain the dispute. The next stage is peacemaking which we are also doing to bring hostile parties together around a table," she said.

● Comment Page 6

Pik welcomes

UN resolution

PRETORIA. 1/12/92
A latest UN resolution on South Africa adopted yesterday "at last reflected the realities of the South African situation", Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said.

In a statement issued by the Foreign Affairs Department last night, Mr Botha said the resolution was in accordance with the report of UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in calling upon all parties in South Africa to co-operate in combatting violence. — Sapa

US intervention in Somalia has sparked a heated debate in diplomatic circles in the UN and in the US. JOAO SANTA RITA looks at the issues.

In a growing and heated debate over the implications of US

intervention in Somalia, SA has been mentioned as one of the African countries which could soon "qualify" for foreign intervention because it is sliding into chaos.

The UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, and analysts agree that the concept of sovereignty is dead and the international community has the right to openly and actively interfere in a country's internal affairs.

Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has already dubbed the new thinking as the doctrine of "humanitarian intervention" - although he warned there were dangers in such a doctrine.

Former US president Ronald Reagan proposed that the new American policy should be a "velvet glove backed by a steel fist of military force".

Somalia opens up a new ball game

CIPNew 20/12/92

"The world's democracies must enforce stricter humanitarian standards of international conduct," he said.

Analysts, however, point out that the US is presently the only country in the world with the capability of rapid intervention on a large scale.

Therefore if the new Clinton administration doesn't choose an isolationist policy, the US will have to be in the forefront of the new interventionist policy.

US military intervention followed by some sort of international political authority in the targeted country is advocated by many as the right solution.

Conservative historian Paul Johnson wrote recently that one way to solve the African problems was to resurrect the trustee-

mandate system in some form, "if not with individual trusts then with collective Security Council ones".

He warned that SA was "now in danger of joining the ranks of the African casualties".

An article written in the prestigious *Foreign Policy* magazine, by former US diplomat Gerald Helman and US State Department official Steven Ratner, has caused a stir in the UN.

They argued that traditional forms of help to those newly independent states had failed and that in some cases the international community had no option but to take over control of certain countries.

Jeffrey Clark, a consultant on refugee problems, said America should "lead a wholesome

reform of the UN so that next time, 300 000 people won't have to die before nations find the will to act".

Ghali supports the right of the UN to actively intervene in countries in distress.

American and UN intervention in Somalia has also had the public support of many leading black American liberals who, in some cases, have supported the idea of some kind of international trusteeship.

Michael Clough, of the New York-based Council for Foreign Relations, pointed out, however, that to support a trusteeship over a given territory would amount to support the introduction of modern-day colonialism.

"Church and relief groups could end up in an odd political alliance with

the US military establishment which is on the lookout for a new global mission to justify its intervention capabilities," he said.

While warning that trying to impose internationally prescribed constitutional arrangements for Africa would not work, Clough supported the idea that the UN and the US should take the lead in "pushing" African leaders to address their problems.

However, some conservative commentators have come out against this new policy of intervention.

Writing in the conservative *Washington Times*, commentator Samuel Francis said the new interventionist policies would amount to give UN the power to intervene in any country.

"The Somali adventure is a precedent, the first step toward realising this transnational monstrosity. A New World Super Power, independent of any and all nations that would supersede nationality and independence," he wrote.

De Klerk's plan hailed

■ UN observer mission
impressed: ~~336~~ 336

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's determination to weed out illegal activities in the SADF was on Saturday welcomed by the United Nations observer mission in South Africa. *Sowetan*

In a statement in Johannesburg it said: "Unomsa is gratified at the speed with which the inquiry of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn's investigation has proceeded so far. 21/12/92

"It further welcomes the State President's decision to make available relevant information to the Goldstone Commission.

"The international community concurs that any individual or organisation which fans violence or promotes conflict, is standing in the path of the overwhelming majority of all South Africans." - *Sapa*.

UN chief warns of dangers of rapid pull-out from Somalia

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on Monday that despite Washington's insistence for a rapid pullout of US troops from Somalia, he still is not prepared to endorse such a move until security conditions in the famine- and violence-racked country can be better evaluated. In a 22-page report to the Security Council that he described as a "conceptual plan," Boutros-Ghali said his discussions with US officials, while "useful," have brought to light "certain differences" of approach concerning the timing of any withdrawal.

The secretary general's report, mandated when the Security Council authorized the US-led rescue operation which began on December 3, constituted the latest entry in a running debate between Boutros-Ghali and the Bush administration over how soon US troops should be withdrawn and replaced by a UN force. The administration repeatedly has said the bulk of the US forces will be out by the time President-elect Clinton is inaugurated on January 20.

"I share the United States authorities' wish that this work should be undertaken as soon as possible," Boutros-Ghali stated. "But in my view the moment for it has not yet come."

The (US-led) Unified Task Force has been on the ground for only 10 days and it is too soon to make an evaluation of its success in establishing a secure environment for humanitarian operations and of the resources that will be required to enable (the United Nations) to maintain that environment."

The secretary general also reiterated his belief that US forces should gain control over all of Somalia and not just those areas where the famine is most severe. He said that if Somalia's armed gangs retreat to areas outside of US control, the objectives of the international effort will not have been achieved because the gangs could resume their harassment at a future date.

In an effort to bridge the gap with Washington on some points, Boutros-Ghali suggested that rather than carry out a complete disarmament, US troops should focus on heavy weapons by either concentrating them in certain areas

for observation or destroying them. He said the United States and "thereafter" UN troops should "do all they can to induce individuals" to hand over their weapons.

In his report, Boutros-Ghali suggested that something more than a conventional UN peace-keeping force ultimately will be needed once the United States pulls out. He said one option involves an entirely new kind of intervention — what he called a "peace-enforcement" operation that would be similar to the current US force except that it would be under UN command.

By Trevor Rowe

Boutros-Ghali said such a force has been urged by Washington because traditional peace-keeping forces rely on the goodwill of all sides, something that cannot be counted on in Somalia. He said Washington has recommended that the UN force's proposed "mandate, concept of operations, level of armament, and rules of engagement ... be little different from those of the Unified Task Force."

"It was argued that a force man-

dated and organized on normal peace-keeping lines would not be capable of protecting humanitarian activities from factional forces or gangs which would not have been neutralized or disarmed during the presence of the Unified Task Force in Somalia."

In his report, the secretary general did not commit himself to any specific option for a future UN force. Rather he simply stated the need to rethink the mandate of the current peace-keeping force there, which numbers about 560 troops. However, he did suggest that any force created to replace the US-led operation be made up of "substantial" numbers of troops in order to minimize the risk of any deterioration in the security established by the Unified Task Force.

Boutros-Ghali also suggested that any US pullout be done progressively. First, he said, some kind of political process must take hold in the shattered country, and US troops should be reduced "as the political process advances and the new national army and police force become operational."

"Without improved security the political process cannot prosper,"

Boutros-Ghali said. "But there is little prospect of a sustained improvement in security unless the political process does prosper."

However, the secretary general did not specifically spell out the precise conditions needed before he will feel comfortable with a US withdrawal. He did say that one indicator will be the meeting on January 4 of Somali clans and political factions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

"It would be a tragedy if the premature departure, or remodeling, of the Unified Task Force were to plunge Somalia back into anarchy and starvation and destroy the fragile political progress of recent weeks. For all these reasons, I recommend that the Security Council defer a decision on these questions until the situation on the ground in Somalia becomes clearer."

He noted that he has told US officials that some American logistic units will be asked to stay on to support the UN operation. He also said that the overall success of the UN operation will depend on whether sufficient countries are prepared to volunteer troops.

— Washington Post

UN urges Angolan rivals to start talks

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council urged the Angolan government and Unita yesterday to enter into reconciliation talks, warning that the world would not support peacekeepers in Angola forever.

A council statement approved by all 15 members appealed to President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's invitation for a meeting in Geneva or Addis Ababa next month. Boutros-Ghali will visit Europe and Africa in early January.

Savimbi said he would attend but Dos Santos wanted Boutros-Ghali to come to Luanda, apparently feeling he should not leave Angola during this tense period.

The council said both sides needed to produce "early evidence" of their willingness to work together so that UN members would "feel encouraged

to continue to commit its scarce resources" to Angola.

The UN organised parliamentary elections in Angola in October. They were won by Dos Santos's MPLA and immediately challenged by Savimbi, who renewed the country's civil war. Both men are supposed to participate in a second run-off presidential election. (336)

Unita forces have since occupied more than two-thirds of the country. Thousands of people were killed in early November when government troops ousted Unita from the capital Luanda. 810AM 24/12/92

The council's statement was in response to a letter from Boutros-Ghali, who said there was "disturbing evidence that both sides are continuing their preparations for a resumption of war on a large scale".

He said that if the two leaders

showed willingness, he would ask the council to enlarge the peacekeeping force, including some armed troops in Luanda so that Savimbi and other Unita members could participate in a new government.

The council also urged Unita to withdraw from the northern cities of Uige and Negage, captured on November 29. Unita has withdrawn only some of its forces from these towns.

Meanwhile, seven members of the SADF's medical services corps who were posted to an Angolan hospital were due to return to SA last night after the souring of relations between the two countries.

The medical crew, including a doctor and dentist, had to travel overland to Namibia from the hospital at Mucusso because Pretoria was unable to obtain landing rights from Luanda. — Sapa-Reuter

Top UN team to tackle Africa's economic woes

Blomay 29/12/92
GENEVA — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday called for fresh approaches to spread prosperity and democracy through Africa.

"Some are inclined to write Africa off as hopeless. I reject such views. It is our approach that has failed," he said.

Boutros-Ghali spoke at the inaugural meeting of a nine-member panel of experts, whom he appointed to advise on "how development in Africa can be better co-ordinated and focused".

He said three issues "must be tackled afresh" if African economies were to grow: cutting crushing debt burdens; boosting markets within Africa's regions; and moving economies away from reliance on a small

range of exports.

The group's tasks included looking at how Africa's raw material exports could be marketed more aggressively, and how to promote foreign investment.

He urged African countries to co-operate more in building a common infrastructure such as roads and telecommunications, and to link up industries.

Democracy and human rights had to be the basis for development.

To diversify their economies, African countries had to gain more expertise in investment decisions but rich countries also had to open their markets wider to goods from poor countries.

The panel is expected to submit recommendations to Boutros-Ghali next summer. — Sapa-AP-AFP.

new cases of tuberculosis.

portunities next year will be the informal

and 7-million had little or no sanitation.

'Biased Goldstone report contains lapses' Inkatha

DURBAN — Inkatha said yesterday the Goldstone commission's third interim report was partial and included several serious lapses.

Although recognising the practical merit in some of the report's recommendations, Inkatha said the commission had not reported "as objectively as it should".

There was merit in the suggestions that adequate notice be given to existing authorities of public meetings, breaches of the peace accord be penalised, the release of suspects on bail be reviewed, the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised and parties refrain from inflammatory attacks on present authorities, Inkatha said.

However, the commission did not refer to the "fullscale assault" on Inkatha's rural constituency as a major cause of violence, and also ignored Inkatha requests to investigate the "eight massacres of Inkatha members and supporters that have occurred since August".

In Maritzburg, Inkatha's Natal Midlands leadership said Inkatha objected to some of the commission's findings relating to the Mootriver-Bruntville area.

They said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the ANC agreed to abide by the national peace accord. Inkatha spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional leadership had also never agreed

to the fencing of the Bruntville Hostel.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that national peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday a joint public meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthezi was needed to bring about peace.

Reacting to the commission's report, Hall said that at the end of the day, all roads led to political leaders. He said that leaders' involvement in driving the peace accord home to grassroots peace committees would eliminate violence and intimidation as political weapons.

Goldstone's recommendations, which called for a drive to promote political tolerance, were also contained in the provisions of the national peace accord, Hall said. It was, however, the responsibility of leaders to discipline their members who did not obey the accord.

□ The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called on foreign benefactors of organisations implicated in political violence to discontinue funds until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the commission's report which said rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was the main cause of violence in the Mootriver area of Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". — Sapa.

ANC, PAC slated on business ties

THE ANC and PAC have declined to utilise or encourage black business in SA, Centre for African Studies economist Eugene Nyati claims.

Writing in the Portfolio of Black Business in SA 1993, Nyati said the relationship between the ANC, PAC, trade unions and black businessmen remained disjointed and fractured.

"Despite their declared commitment to black empowerment, black liberation movements still prefer to do business with white institutions even when they could get comparable service from black business," he said.

The ANC had "never made any serious effort" to have many of its requirements catered for by black-owned businesses, Nyati said.

The management of pension and other black trade union funds had been handled mainly by white firms.

"The millions of rands (from the funds) would appear to be logical resources to help actualise the much talked about empowerment of the oppressed," Nyati said. 30/12/92.

"If black political and business leaders cannot co-operate with each other before liberation, it is arguable whether things will be any different after a majority government takes power," he added.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, left, and ANC international relations head Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's peace talks in Durban.

UN officials probe rampage by returned exiles in Durban

KATHRYN STRACHAN

UN OFFICIALS returned to Geneva this week after investigating an incident at the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returned Exiles of Durban earlier this month when staff were held hostage for seven hours by angry returned exiles.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Jonas Foli said the two officials left Johannesburg on Sunday, and would be delivering their findings to the UNHCR head office in Geneva.

Foli said the "little crisis" occurred when 25 exiles took staff hostage when they were told there was no money to pay their grants. The situation was defused after the ANC intervened.

Reports said the refugees went on the rampage, assaulting staff and destroying pictures. Jewellery was also reportedly taken from a number of staff members.

Sapa reports Durban police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo saying police were called to the offices, but were not investigating because no

charges had been laid. In response to questions on why the exiles had not received their grants, the committee's chairman Moss Chikane said: "We have just run out of cash." He said the committee had received a budget of R53m from the UNHCR for the year, but the budget had not covered the needs of the organisation.

"Many people are still coming in on their own steam and hoping to get grants when they arrive, but there was a shortfall," he said. Chikane said his organisation hoped the discussions with the UN officials would result in increased funding.

Chikane added that the organisation was being scaled down as it believed government would assume greater responsibility for accommodating exiles in the new year. It was also cutting back on staff to leave more funds available for assisting returnees, he said.

Washington Post

The Guardian Weekly
Dec 30, 1992 to Jan 7, 1993

What To Do With The Disintegrating Nations?

Guardian (w in w/mail 30/12-7/1/93 336)

IT IS HARD figuring out how to live in the 19th century, an experienced and able European diplomat observed recently. "Almost none of us have any experience at it."

We were talking about the bloodletting in the Balkans. But his remark could apply to disaster areas in Africa or Asia as well. Instead of Francis Fukayama's "end of history," we get its return — with a twist, if not vengeance.

In Eastern Europe, northern Iraq, Somalia, Cambodia, and ex-Yugoslavia, assumptions built up over the course of the 20th century about sovereignty and the nation-state are under philosophical or even physical attack. Nation-building turns out not to be the irreversible march forward many expected.

U.S. Marines landing in Somalia found conditions not unlike those that greeted colonialists wading onto the same rocky shores in the 19th century. The Leathernecks found no national government, warring clans that need to be separated, and human misery that needs to be attended by outsiders carrying medicine, food, and guns.

This is a disorienting trip back to a square one that political history was supposed to have left behind, moving in a straight line from empire, wars of national liberation, decolonization, and on to independence. But the nightly footage of the shattered streets of Mogadishu shows that history has a reverse gear too.

In nearly a score of African countries, colonialism's supposedly civilizing imprint and the moral authority of the national liberation theories that colonialism spawned have both been expunged with startling thoroughness. The material disaster of these societies is matched by moral and political debilitation.

Somalia exists as a state in news

accounts and in debates at the United Nations. But on the ground, it appears to be a post-national collage of horrors, in which the horizons that were supposed to progress outward from family to clan to tribe to nation to "international community" have telescoped backwards into solitary, hand-to-mouth existence.

The concept of the "international community," with the United Nations as its embodiment, is being temporarily strengthened by the stark needs of nations that are deconstructing themselves. Discussions about the need for a new "trusteeship" system run by the United Nations were politically taboo a few months ago because of

By Jim Hoagland

Third World sensitivities. This idea is now surging into the open as U.N. organized or -blessed military operations proliferate.

Speaking to U.N. officials, diplomats and journalists in a small village a few weeks ago, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's traditional ruler, employed irony to describe the situation created by the presence of 20,000 U.N. troops and administrators charged with keeping the peace, organizing elections and running parts of Cambodia's existing interim government:

"Cambodia is no longer sovereign," Sihanouk said. "Before we were a protectorate of France, but we had only one master. Now we are again a protectorate. The difference is that we now have many patrons, many masters. . . But I know that next year we will be independent again. The U.N. will not have enough money to stay."

Sihanouk for once goes to the heart of the matter, not only about Cambodia but other ex-colonial

lands as well. Will having "many patrons, many masters" from outside imposing their more diffuse vision of order and justice produce more durable effects than the era of "one master"? Or will an international body with no tangible economic or political advantages to gain by staying be even more likely to cut and run?

That is what the colonialists did, usually at a time or in a manner guaranteed to leave behind even greater disasters than those they had come to resolve. In Orwellian fashion, the disorderly European retreat from their colonies after World War II was described as an exercise in nation-building by indigenous forces, when it was the reverse: The spent colonialists usually left behind the borders they drew and the state structures they organized.

The price of admission to the United Nations for the new entities was acceptance of these outside, artificial arrangements.

Their breakdown is increasingly visible in the wake of the Cold War, as is the fraying of the earlier outside arrangements of the Balkans, Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) and the Central European lands following World War I.

The broadening of the debate about international humanitarian responsibility and U.N. crisis-management sparked by the emerging thousand points of upheaval around the globe is healthy.

The point of departure for the debate has to be meeting the urgent needs of the peoples of Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia, and elsewhere. But as Prince Sihanouk suggests, the still fragile international community has to be mindful of the limited nature of its resources and the damage it could do itself by repeating the mistakes of other well-meaning outsiders of a bygone century.

UN will send more observers

NEW YORK — The United Nations will bolster its presence in South Africa by sending another 10 observers, bringing the total to 50, the UN secretary-general said in a report released yesterday.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali said he decided to send more observers because "continued uncertainty over the country's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

"Given the delicate situation now prevailing in South Africa, characterised by unacceptable and, in some locales, rising levels of violence, I intend to modestly reinforce the UN presence," Boutros-Ghali said.

Despite the rising violence there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa".

The secretary-general urged the South African Government to expedite implementation of agreements on releasing political prisoners and banning the carrying of dangerous weapons.

He also urged authorities to address concerns of women's organisations. — Sapa-AFP.

A Chance For The Children

Guardian/W x n w/mail

30/12/92 - 7/1/93

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FEELING grim about Somalia? But at least its agony got discovered, and international help is on the way. The fact is, its ordeal is merely a more dramatic and televisable form of the desolation that is the normal and largely unattended condition of several billion people.

The number of Somali deaths that has galvanized the world — 300,000 — is about the number of preventable child deaths that is quietly racked up every week every year in the poorest reaches of the Third World.

It is sobering to contemplate the quirks by which crisis deaths can draw more sympathy and resources than routine deaths, although underdevelopment is the root cause of both.

One who refuses to be numbed by the irony is James Grant, single-minded chief of UNICEF, the international lobby for children. For his holiday gift he has brilliantly packaged, in his annual report, the contention that it is now possible to achieve "one of the greatest goals that humanity could ever set for itself — the goal of adequate food, clean water, safe sanitation, primary health care, family planning, and basic education for virtually every man, woman, and child on Earth."

You read it right. Grant terms it feasible within a decade to give almost all the world's children a fair start — "to bring to an end the age-old evils of child malnutrition, preventable disease, and widespread illiteracy." Money-wise, it would take about \$25 billion a year extra, he figures, to be spread among poor countries, rich countries, and the international banks.

Grant is a preacher, but here he is not just preaching; he is drawing an analysis from some little-noted developments of the past decade.

The success of UNICEF and others in extending immunization programs lets him say that the "outreach capacity" now exists to put the basic benefits of scientific progress at the disposal of the vast majority of the world's poor — and even in the poorest countries. Here it matters greatly that community health workers are cheap to train and field.

Falling fertility rates let him argue that with the annual number of births soon to be stable or de-

clining, health and education providers can break out of the discouraging trap of having to run just to stay in place.

This is how he becomes impatient with economists who oppose his preference for "specific targeted interventions" for children; with an international order that puts expensive weapons into the hands of poor governments and that expects those governments to pay their debts; and not least with journalists who do not meet his call for "a new kind of journalism-against-poverty."

"If today's obvious and affordable steps are not taken to protect the lives and the health and the normal growth of many millions of young children," says Grant, "then this will have less to do with the lack of economic capacity than with the fact that the children concerned are almost exclusively the sons and daughters of the poor — of those who lack not only purchasing power but also political influence and media attention."

Abrasive, overstated, and, at its core, true.

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

By the world leaders' summit for children it organized in 1990, UNICEF helped local advocates extract an extra measure of pro-child commitment from their political leaders. To steer that commitment from paper to reality is the promise now. With his eye on the global surge of democratic, women's and environmental movements, Grant suggests that popular demand can alter the ethical climate and make the current daily toll of 40,000 preventable child deaths as repugnant and unacceptable as racism.

In the big development agencies there is a tendency to admire (though sometimes to bristle at) Grant's style of advocacy and to feel that he emphasizes the small picture of child health over the big



Measuring up to moral standards

STAR 30/12/92 (336)

THE end of the year is assessment time for human rights. In Europe, Scandinavia and the US, civil servants and non-governmental organisations are busy scrutinising and measuring how countries all over the world have performed during the last 12 months.

Is Sri Lanka still "disappearing" its trouble-making citizens? Indonesia persecuting the east Timorese? Guatemala murdering its unwanted street children?

In the weeks to come, the end-of-the-year verdicts will see the light of day in the annual reports of Amnesty International, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the US State Department's reports and the Human Rights Watch Report.

Measurement of human rights performance remains a live issue, particularly with governments which dislike what they see as too bald a condemnation of their misdemeanours.

Most human rights organisations, in fact, prefer to present their evaluations country by country, with careful analyses of numbers of political prisoners and the state of play over multiparty elections, without comparing one with another.

However, one assessor — the late Charles Humana — acted entirely on his own and was seldom willing to document his sources. He died a few months ago, shortly after publication of his updated World Human Rights Guide.

Humana's reports are competitive and statistical. Iraq, in 1992, scored 17 percent on an overall human rights rating, New Zealand 98 percent and Brazil 69 percent.

Crude as this index sometimes appears, there is something irresistible about comparing Humana's 1992 edition with his first, in 1983, when Iraq scored 27 percent, New Zealand 96 percent and Brazil 70 percent.

Irresistible perhaps, but not everyone will agree with Humana's optimistic words in his new index that a study of his figures leads to the conclusion

that human rights performance as a whole has been getting better — that in the last five years alone the average world rating has risen from 55 percent to 62 percent.

Precise measuring in political science acquired respectability among academics and think-tanks in the early 1970s, but spread to the human rights world only in the last three years.

When the UN Development Programme decided in 1990 to try to produce some easily assessable criteria with which to calculate the record of countries when it came to torture or unfair trials, the idea of having a reliable index seemed attractive in a world increasingly interested in relating economic aid to a country's human rights performance.

One of the first plans was to base criteria on Humana's index. But this quickly foundered when governments which scored very badly protested that these stark assessments were in breach of customary UN vagueness in such matters.

A much-watered-down version, giving general regional trends, was all that appeared in the 1992 Human Development Report.

Attempts to pin down governments which blatantly transgress the very international laws and covenants they have cheerfully signed and ratified are, however, increasingly popular.

But Humana's guide is proof of how far they still have to go to become reliable as true transgressors remain hostile to all forms of investigation.

Bangladesh scores a fairly respectable 59 percent in the World Human Rights Guide and is praised for showing improvement. Yet in April this year, the 10th in a long series of massacres of tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in south-west Bangladesh resulted in the deaths of about 1 200 more people.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts have been officially sealed off under military rule for the last 15 years. — The Independent News Service. □

Pik lauds

UN chief's stand on

violence

STAR 30/12/92
Political Staff

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not seem to be fully aware of the complications that made the issues of hostels, dangerous weapons and notorious SADF Battalions 31, 32 and Koevoet difficult to resolve overnight, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Reacting to Boutros-Ghali's report to the UN Security Council last week, Botha said the Government was prepared to elucidate these matters with UN representatives.

Botha said he was pleased to note the recognition given by the UN secretary-general to the work of the Goldstone Commission. He urged foreign governments to note Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's comment in his third interim report that he would welcome assistance from the international community and the UN in securing the co-operation of governments which hosted training camps and bases of armed movements operating in South Africa.

Boutros-Ghali's call on all political leaders to actively discourage violence and to take part in meetings of signatories of the National Peace Accord was important, Botha said.

He said the Government had undertaken to carry out its share of this responsibility and was doing everything it could to curb violence.

He welcomed the guarded optimism in Boutros-Ghali's report, but noted the UN secretary-general's concern about violence and intimidation against women.

The Government shared Boutros-Ghali's aspirations concerning democratic parity for women in South Africa, and had signalled its intentions in this regard when President de Klerk announced in August that the Government had decided to sign three major international conventions relating to women and women's rights.

The United Nations cannot cope with the civil conflicts it faces, writes Adam Roberts

A hydra-headed threat of war

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“A LL empires die of indigestion.” Napoleon’s remark applies not only to his own bitter experience of imperial overstretch, but also to our own times.

It helps to explain the end of the Soviet empire, which manifestly lit off a great deal more than it could chew. And now a new nightmare looms in the tragedies of Somalia, Yugoslavia and at least a dozen other countries. Will the United Nations, like so many other empires before it, die of indigestion?

The feeling of overstretch is apparent in much that the UN does, and does not do, in the many crises of the post-Cold War world. The familiar statistic — that more UN peacekeeping operations have been set up in the past five years than in the preceding 42 years — probably understates the gravity of the crisis which the UN is trying to confront. Despite the veneer of optimism

in New York, conveyed strikingly in the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s “Agenda for Peace” report in June, there is an underlying stratum of deep concern. The UN, and its members, simply cannot cope with the terrifying “Agenda for War” that is emerging in the ruins of collapsing empires.

The concern within the UN about overstretch was evident in the letter of November 30 about Somalia with which Boutros-Ghali stirred the Security Council into action. He warned: “The Secretariat, already overstretched in managing greatly enlarged peacekeeping commitments, does not at present have the capability to command and control an enforcement operation of the size and urgency required by the present crisis in Somalia.”

The UN’s position is perhaps even grimmer than these words suggest. In Cambodia, it is engaged in a vast operation to put that country together again — an

operation which has run into deep trouble because of the refusal of the Khmer Rouge to participate in the implementation of the 1991 Paris agreements.

In what was Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force), set up to create the necessary conditions for a settlement, now finds itself engaged in humanitarian relief.

So serious is the sense of overstretch that, during the past year, the UN Secretariat has used procedural sleight-of-hand in the Security Council to avoid involvement in at least one of the conflicts of the former Soviet Union — that in Nagorno Karabakh.

The UN Secretariat and Security Council are simply not well suited to coping with deep and bitter internal conflicts.

The UN Charter is largely a document about inter-state conflicts. But in large areas of the world, communal violence and civil war have long been seen as a much more serious problem. Now there is the bizarre specta-

cle of an international organisation which was set up to deal with international war having relatively little to do in that regard, but having to cope simultaneously with a dozen or more civil wars.

The UN has had some important successes. In Namibia and Nicaragua, it has helped monitor elections and end long-standing conflicts of a partly internal character. But when a country is driven by old and bitter animosities, whether or not classified as “ethnic”, the UN may have as much difficulty as any other outside power in ending the conflict.

The UN’s difficulty may actually be made worse by the contemporary rejection of most manifestations of imperial control. The crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, strongly suggests the need for some kind of trusteeship arrangement — for the simple reason that Bosnia has never cohered as a state and will not do so in the foreseeable future. Yet such is our commitment to

an anti-colonial ideology that we talk about military intervention in Bosnia without ever daring to specify what political or administrative arrangements the interveners might find themselves either protecting or imposing.

Can the United States succeed where the UN has failed? Twice in the past two years — first with resolution 678 of November 29 1990 (giving Iraq a deadline to get out of Kuwait), and then with resolution 794 of December 3 1992 (on Somalia) — the UN Security Council has authorised the United States and partners to do its military work for it.

This may well set an enduring pattern for the manner in which the UN will operate in a world of sovereign states. Both operations, however, have provided plentiful evidence of a reluctance by the US to impose its own political order on a notionally sovereign state, and both have shown its anxiety to end an operation as quickly as possible.

There is little sign of recognition that international involvement in contemporary civil wars may well be very long-term; may require imaginative and difficult administrative as well as military programmes; and may be best avoided if there is not the willingness to stay the course.

Nor is there much recognition that the anti-imperial instincts of both the US and the UN may make a minority of problems harder, rather than easier, to tackle.

The day may yet come when the hard-pressed UN Secretariat, far from feeling liberated by the non-use of any veto in the Security Council since May 31, 1990, and the UN’s new-found capacity for action, hankers for a return to regular use of the veto to save it from involvement in seemingly necessary but possibly hopeless operations. □

● The writer is Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University and a Fellow of Balliol College.

UN bolsters its SA team

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UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations will bolster its presence in South Africa by sending another 10 observers here, bringing the total to 60, the UN Secretary-General said in a report released yesterday.

Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said he decided to send the additional observers because of "continued uncertainty over the country's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

"Given the delicate situation now prevailing in South Africa, characterised by unacceptable and, in some locales, rising levels of violence, I intend to modestly reinforce the UN presence," he said.

Despite the rising violence, he said there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa".

However, "the goal of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa must remain one of the highest priority".

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has responded to a UN report enumerating criticisms of the government, suggesting that Dr Boutros-Ghali was not fully aware of all aspects surrounding problem areas in South Africa. — Sapa