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___INTERNATIONAL NEWS 9

ANC maintains boycott
of constitutional talks

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

HE African National Con-
gress: yesterday an-
nounced it was maintain-
ing its boycott of constitutional

talks with the government, but |-

indications were that differ-
ences between the two sides are
no longer seriously entrenched.
In a statement issued after a
three-day strategy meeting of
its national executive, the ANC
said it was refusing to re-enter
talks until the government re-
leased remaining political pri-
soners and took immediate
and visible steps to end politi-
cal violence in the townships.
But, significantly, the libera-
tion organisation made no con-
stitutional demands as a pre-
condition for the resumption of
negotiations. And it confirmed,
by implication, that while the
talks have been officially dead-
locked, the negotiating process
has gone on behind the scenes.
The statement said that the

administration had conceded, among other things, that the constitution would be devised

by a constituent assembly, which would have to reach decisions by a deadline. The ANC had feared that the ruling National Party was hoping to lock the black political leadership into an endless lame-duck form of 'Interim' rule. * -

There are indications that the ANC is now hoping to extend its bilateral negotiating partnership with the government to the exclusion of other parties.

A strategy document which formed the basis of this week's national executive meeting told the - ANC leadership: 'It is essential we should restructure the negotiations process to bring it into line with the realities of the present balance of power.' This meant that 'resumed negotiations would resume of bilateral character, that is, they would be between an ANC delegation and the regime.'

The document, a copy of which has been obtained by the Guardian, added: "Once a settlement is agreed within the bilateral forum, this settlement would then be taken into a multilateral forum. But this lat.

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ter forum should not be allowed to undermine the basic bilateral agreement.'

Coming at a time when political groupings at both ends of the spectrum 'from rightwing extremists to the radicals of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation' are showing new interest in joining negotiations, this approach by the ANC could prove provocative.

A fresh set of proposals for interim government were also released by the ANC yesterday. It suggests that the country be

run by a single house of parliament, with 400 members, which will also sit as the constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution. Decisions would be taken on a two-thirds majority.

Disturbingly for civil rights activists, the ANC proposals offer little in the way of guaranteed rights, making freedom of speech and protection against abuses such as detention without trial subject to the interests of "the security of the state, public order, decency, or morality".

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THF, 'DAILY TELEGRAI'H

ANC snub puts peace

process o

SOUTH Africa's peace pro-
cess was shelved indefinitely
last night when the African
National Congress rej(â\200\231C!(â\200\230d
as â\200\234'pointlessâ\200\231â\204¢ a return 10
constitutional negotiations.
The setback came as a bit-
ter blow to President de
Klerk's government and to
an).G delegation led by Mr
Douglas Hurd, the Foreign

Secretary, who warned that

time was running out.

Mr Hurd said the â\200\234econ-
omy and South African soci-
ety are sufferingâ\204¢.

â\200\234Because time is not on
South Africaâ\200\231s side the
major obstacles can be lifted

the better.â\200\235* Mr Hurd said.
He said the EC would send

16 observers to join other

officials from the United

Nations and the Common.

wealth to monitor violence in
black townships
The delegation had timed
its mission to South Africa to
coincide with what it had
been led to expect would be a
breakthrough in the dead.
â\200\234lack over talks at the Confer-
ence for a Democratic South
Africa (Codesa). The ANC
decision is a victory for hard-
liners, led by the South Afri-

By Christopher Munnlon
in Johannesburg

can Communist Party, which believes the government can be toppled by revolutionary pressure.

Most observers believe the reverse is likely; Mr de Klerk's government will be obliged to apply brakes to

the reform process and

revert to increasing reliance on the security forces and repressive legislation to maintain control,

But Dr Pallo Jordan, the

ANC's information chief, said the organisation would continue to monitor the position using the channels opened up in private talks between Ml Roell Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and M Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general.

The ANC blamed the continuing violence as the main reason for staying away from the negotiations,

Its rejection came in a brief statement issued after a three-day meeting of its 85-member National Executive to debate the government's

on the shelf

response to the 14 demands it made when it withdrew from Codesa talks two months ago.

Most of the demands related to the escalating violence in the country. More than 10,000 blacks have died in what seems to be a regional and local power struggle between supporters of the ANC and the mainly-7uly Inkatha Freedom Party. , ; 2 The ANC has blamed the government for the violence, insisting that it is caused by a 'third force' of criminal groups within the police and military establishment.

The ANC wants the release of between 450 and 500 prisoners who should

have been {reed under previ-
ous agreements with the
government,

It also wants to see â\200\234visi-
ble movementâ\200\231 on control of
township hostcls, which it
sees as strongholds for Zulu
migrant workers.

The government said it

aegretted the ANC's decision

but pledged to press ahead
with its programme of
reform.

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6 OVERSEAS NEWS

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Hardliners
in ANC seek
Pretoriaâ\200\231s
surrender

By MICHAEL HAMLYN AND Ray KENNEDY

AFTER chree days of argu-
mer-. hardliners of the Aln-
car. Nanona: Congress nave
~ad iheirway and the organis-
22109 is now virtually demand-
â\200\230sz the unconditional sur-
-Â»ader of the govermmment. L
(ke cemards of the alhiznoe o
tFe ANC lnd the South Alri-
cun Commuyust Pasty are noc
satislied. it promises a fcurth
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pacn that has exacerbated
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et 10 respord. WWihen ot
yeEPINGS it mMust respona Gir-
ooty 0 the ANC, and our
nanonal 2xecutive commitiee
will judge whether that 1S
saiisfactory or not.â\200\235

There appear i0 be two key
issues. - The first concemns
township violence. The ANC
wants a more wholehearted
acceptance of the report of
Cyrus Vance, the United Na-
tions special envoy, and of the
report by the commission of
enquiry into violence and in-
timidaton drawn up by Mr
Justice Richard Goldstone.
The second issue is the release
of political prisoners. The gov-

ernment has already made
clear us general acceptance of
tke Vance report. and up 10 SO
UN meniors are expesied 10
armive n the country this
weekend 10 join the existing
indigenous peace SUruCTures.
The government Jast week also
dramancally reorganised the
police, wiriualiv sacking 13

police generals in the hope of
making way for more senior
black officers.

tast night. Douglas Hurd.
The foreign secretary, said
they are leaving for Nairobi (that
game was running out for
south Africa in its efforts to
achieve a post-apartheid
constituent. There is no way
in which apartheid can be
restored, no way an armed
struggle can deliver a prosper-
ous and democratic South
Africa. He said in Pretoria at
the end of a crowded, two-day
visit by three European Com-
munity foreign ministers.

Time is not on South
Africa's side. The economy is
suffering badly and the South
African people with it. Mr
Hurd said. He emphasised
that no solution could be
reached by the government
alone. There can be no
successful conclusions without

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View finders: Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary,
opinion at Alexandra township, near Johannesburg. o

the involvement of the ANC, he said, adding that the Zulu-
based Inkatha Freedom party
was also a main-role player.

In its three-day delibera-
tions the ANC's executive did
not consider the government's
reorganisation of the police
and saw the Vance and Goid-
SLOne TEports partly in terms of
what the government had
failed to do. In particular the

ANC insists that Pretoria has
not addressed the recommen-
dation of Judge Godstone
that the hostels for migrant
workers which have been a
source of violence in the town-
ships should be made secure.
The organisation says the
government has also failed on
the issue of the public display

of so-called Slturla weapons.

Precona has several fimes

who heads an EC delegation to South Africa, testing
n the resumption of talks between the ANC and Pretoria

said that it is underaking
negotiations on the closure or
fencing off of the hostels and is
drawing up legislation on the
public display of weapons. but
this is not good enough for the
militants in the ANC. â\200\234"We
have had promises and prom-
ises in the pastâ\200\235â\204ç Mr
Ramaphosa said. â\200\234What we
want now is acnon.â\204ç

That ihe task of the mili-

tants has not been easy is
demonstrateG by the fact that
the last day of discussions in
the executive commictee lasted
well into the small hours of
vesterday. The debate was
suspended for a time for Mr
Ramaphosa lo consult Roelf
Mever. the mimister of const-
tuzional development.

Majority rule. page 10

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tind atself entirely in the hands of
the white army officets whom it
loathes and distrusts

Were such a desperite enterprise
to get under way, others would
have cause and opportuniry o
cxamine their own separatist op-
tions. As 80 per cent of the
clectorate of the Western Cape is
white or eoloured. it is certain that
the region will produce a large â\200\224
and predominantly Afrikaans-
speaking .- anti-ANC majority
Already there ic a distinet trickle of
white migration to the Cape,
which, if civil order were to col-
lapse, would quickly become a
torrent. One could even imagine a
reversal of the Great Trek, with the
hard-bitten right-wingers of the
Northern â\200\234Iransvaal retracing the
steps their forefathers took in 1838
For, of course. if all else fuils, the
Western Cape is the natural
Bocrestat, even though a majority
of the Afrikancrs there have brown
rather than white skin

ike Natal, the Cape has a
long and fond memory of
a previous existence as a
separate colony, which it
could quite easily full back on. But
the general confusion and turmoil
created by secession would proba-

bly also encourage at least some of
the Tswanas of the Bophuthat.
swuana homeland to seek a merger
with neighbouring Botswana, and
clements within the Swazi â\200\234home-
land" of KaNgwane might make u
similar move towards Swaziland.
As Yugoslavia has shown, once the
dominoes begin to fall it is a matter
ol sauve qui peut.

South Africa has been a single
country only since 1910 â\200\224 which in
historical terms means that the glue
is hardly dry But thete ls Â« strong
sense of national commonality
among all groups, and there is
certainly nothing inevitable about
this sccessionist scenario, particu-
larly it & federahst solution can
be achieved

Vhe irony that neds to be
understood, however, is that noth-
ing would do more than ta advance
the cause of sceession than the
arrival in power of a radical,
centrahsing Â©lite, intent, as is the

ANC, on large-scale social engineering in a unitary state For this might well appear so threatening to some groups that they would feel they had been presented with a do-or-die choice -+ in which case a triumphant African nationalism might find. in its very hour of victory. (that the state was coming apart in its hands

INFATHA

EC team fails

to restart talks

in South Africa

AS A TRIO of European ministers, headed by Douglas Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary, ended their brief visit to South Africa in an attempt to jump-start constitutional negotiations, the African National Congress (ANC) said full talks would remain on hold until the government took steps to curb political violence and release the remaining political prisoners.

But crucial bilateral contacts between ANC leaders and the government's main negotiator will continue, keeping open the lifeline until there is sufficient common political ground for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks to resume.

Mr Hurd, after touring Alexandra, a Johannesburg township which is plagued by violence, said the European Community would send 15 observers to bolster a United Nations force monitoring the attacks. It would also send in, investigators to assist the Goldstone

Commission's inquiry into political killings. But the ANC is looking for substantive action by the South African government.

After a three-day meeting of its national executive, the ANC said there was no point in resuming full negotiations, broken off in June, until concrete measures were in place to deal with the immediate concern of many South Africans, principally blacks the daily fear of political murder.

The ANC feels that while the government makes the right noises and takes some very visible measures, such as the recent purge of hardline senior policemen, the white regime intends to continue to use the violence to undermine its opponents' support.

"The government still lacks the political will to take visible steps to stop the violence ... We have

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

come too far in the negotiations process for the people of our country to be lulled by continued government delay and double-speak,â\200\235 the ANC said. â\200\230The government attempted to express disappointment at the ANC decision, nî\202f\ough it was widely expected.

Cytil Ramaphosy, the ANC Secretary-General, said the organisation intended to intensify its mass-action campaign of strikes and demonstrations to press its case. The rolling campaign has been successful in showing the extent of support for the ANC's position in the country, although it has yet to force significant concessions from the government,

The ANC also released its â\200\230Transition to Democracy Act, which it plans to present as a constitutional framework until a new constitution is in place.

It would replace the present tripartite assembly with 2 single assemblies elected by proportional representation. The assembly would act both as a constitution-making and legislative body. If a new constitution was not agreed by a two-thirds majority within nine months there would be fresh elections.

The ANC said the government agreed in principle with its proposals, including the need for a time-frame and means of breaking any deadlock. But it was the government's insistence on an extended interim administration, over several years, and a three-quarters majority in the assembly on the important issue of devolved power to the regions that contributed to the breakdown of negotiations in the first place.

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Pl Humad Rights â\200\234The HRC makes no Declaration of Human
Commission yestcrday fl pretence lo being an Righls.a|\d in reporting
rcjccled any Suggcstion + academic research facts a3 accurately a8
that the information it Â¥ vody.but iis the first 10! possiblC.

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ence comributed in any medly ami-apanheld.
way to confontation. and to that extent bi-

The HRC eeacted tO ased.
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Relations claim that tbe wHowever We Â¢ wently for itself. Le* 18

violence CcOVerase and meticulous in measuring add that any.fut\xre gov-
reporting by certain the human rigpâ\200\230s record emment will 3lso be
monitoring organisa- of the apanhexd gover: measured bv the same
tions. including the ment against the stan- standards. the state-

HRC, was biased. Â\$ Â¢ Universal ment said. â\200\224 Sape:

wWe have no need to
manufacture or distort
any facts. 8\$ apnnhe'\dâ\200\230s

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Court Reporter

THE head of the intelligence department for the ANC, Mr Mosivoa G i Patrick Lekota, who recently travelled to Germany, America and England to advise those countries of progress in South Africa, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday after being arrested in Parktown for failing to appear in court, for alleged traffic offences.

He was fined R150 or 50 days for disregarding the Braamfontein robot, R300 or 60 days for disregarding the Rosebank robot. and R200 or 50 days on the first contempt charge making a total of R650 or 160 days,

the court was told by defence attorney, Mr v Senhane, that during the past three months the ANC had been robbed of a large number of motor vehicles.

During the first week in June the accused was in a motor vehicle with M, Thabo Mbeki. secretary for international affairs for the ANC. when the car was hijacked.

According to the defence. Mr Lekota's brief.

for

Case and diary were in the hijacked car and he could

not remember the final dates
The court was further

informed by the defence that the ANC was in-

involved in talks with the
government â\200\224 und pe.
Cause of Mr Lekota's pos-
ition he way â\200\234highly in.
involved in talks- and,

June 10 the 10th of July he
travelled overseas brief-

around the beginning MJ

ing countries regarding
the talks in South Africa.

After returning from
Germany in July, said the
defence, Mr Lekota con-
tacted the Johannesburg
Traffic Department, but,
since he did not have the
dates of the offences the
traffic department could
not assist him with the tri-
al dates and he was told to
await the warrants.

It was submitted that
his failure to appear in
court was beyond his con-
trol since â\200\234his extensive
travelling inhibited his
ability to ascertain the tri-
al datesâ\200\235,

The magistrate said it
was not reasonable to in-
quire in July if one had a
suspicion one should have
been in court some time
in June.

He was convicted on
one count of contempt of
court and found not guilty
on the second count of
failing to appear in court.

Asked to plead to two
traffic charges by the

contempt

prosecutor, Mr H Klue,
Mr Lekota pleaded guilty
to two charges of failing
to stop at red lights in
Braamfontein and Rose-
bank,

According to the de-
fence, Mr Lekota took
full responsibility for the
breach of law in respect of
the Rosebank lights, but,
regarding the Braamfon-

tein ticket he had first
looked to see if there was
oncoming traffic and then
has driven through the

red robot because he saw
a kombi â\200\234with suspicious

looking peopleâ\200\235 parked
level with the robors,

Passing sentence, the
magistrate said he would
keep in mind thar Mr Le-
kota was â\200\234 3 political fig-
ureâ\200\235; however, the court
could not allow people to
just drive through red ro.-
bots.

But. he took into ac-
count that Mr Lekota had
vislded und then driven
through the Braamfon-
tein robor while j was
red.

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Thyhe Chzean

TANC, police
in Vaal towns
co-operate |

v ton, Sharpeville and

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THE Atrican Nauonal

Congress and the South
African Police in Vaal
Triangle townships have
embarked on a pro-
gramme of reconcili-
auon in a bid to improve

the relationship be-
tween residents and
policemen.

ANC Sebokeng chair-

man Sam Mothibeli told
Sapa that 3 meeting.
jointly arranged by the
ANC Scbokeng branch
and township police sta-
tion commanders, had

â\200\224

Boipatong. are consid-

.+ ered extremely danger-
" ous for policemen with

incessant attacks having
already claimed the
lives of numerous offi-
cers. :

According to Mr Mo-
thibeli three resolutions
aimed st incrcasing co-
operation between the
SAP and the community
were adopted.

These were that focal
station cormmanders
would ensure the charg-

ing or release of de-
tained people, that lead-
ers of various organisa-
tions be allowed access
to the detsined people

and that township station commanders and two assistants each be present at meetings of the Vasil Local Dispute Resolution Committee.

Mr Mothibeli said the ANC would embark on a programme aimed at educating the community to accept policemen as one of them.

This would be done through public meetings where the concept of reconciliation would be explained, he said.

The SA Democratic Teachers Union and the Congress of South African Students would also be asked to spread the programmes message.

Mr Mothibeli said the ANC would also do everything in its power to ensure that policemen who had left the townships because of attacks on them be allowed to return.

g

been held yesterday.

The purpose of the meeting was to establish co-operation and a working relationship between the ANC and SAP in Vaal Triangle townships, he said.

The townships, which include Sebokeng, Evaton,

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The Cben

isinformation â\200\230puts
off negotiationsâ\200\231

A DEADLY mix of frus-
tration and feelings of
moral impunity is being
generated in an extensive
dizinformation campaign
by several human rights
groups, according to SA
Institute of Race Re-
lations executive director
John Kane-Bermaun,

In an address in Johun-
nesburg last night. Mr4
Kane-Berman spotlighted
flawed methodology he
said way used by agencies. ;
including Amnesty Inter-
national, the Internat-
ional Commission of Jur-
ists (ICJ), the Human
Rights Commission
(HRC) and Independent
Board into Informal Re-
pression.

â\200\234While they rightly cas-
tigate the IFP (Inkatha
Freedom Party) and the
police for their involve-
ment in violence, they
turn a blind eye to the
whole question of ungo-
vernability.

â\200\234At best the recent re-
ports of these agencies
are one-sided and simplis-
tic. at worst they amount
to disinformation.â\200\235

Mr Kane-Berman's ad-
dress was accompanied by
Ms Anthea Jeffrey's sum-
mary of her exhaustive
document â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Spotlight on
Disinformation about Vi-
olence in South Africaâ\200\235,
which analyses in detail
the monitoring of specific
incidents of violence by
Amnesty, the ICJ and the
HRC.

Mrs Jeffrey found there
was â\200\234â\200\230a common threadâ\200\235
running through the re-
ports of all three organi-
sations. She listed four

clusively on hostel resi-

points of focus common
to all of them involving
IFP and government
transgressions, and six |

! points commonly ignored i
involving ANC policies Â\$

and transgressions.

Mr Kane:Berman said
one of the consequences
of the disinformation
campaign had been to
hinder both peace talks
and constitutional nego-
tiations. â\200\234The side that is
exonerated will feel no
need to do anything to
stop violence emanating
from its own ranks or
strategies.

â\200\234This makes it impos-
sible to stop conflict which
is quite obviously emanat-
ing from both sides.

â\200\234The side cleared of all
blame for violence will
also feel itself morally jus-
tified whenever it with-
draws from constitutional
negotiations on the
grounds that there is no

point in entering constitu- |
tional agreements with

Human Rights, Idasa. the
Black Sash and church
groups on their attitude to
inaccurate reports on
which their names ap-
peared as â\200\234subscribersâ\200\231.

Commenting on Insti-
tute research into the
causes of political viol-
ence, he said reports by
Amnesty. the ICJ and
HRC all ignored the rules
of evidence.

They ignored the rule
of audi alteram partem,
to hear the other side, he
said, and they sought to
elevate allegation to the
level of fact.

The HRC in particular
reached findings â\200\234"on the
basis of unproved allega-
tion. unsubstantiated de-

duction, deliberate omission, uncertain legal evidence and in some instances, clear error,

« South Africa has a

new information scandal
a disinformation scandal.
Sapa.

parties killing its innocent followers with apparent impunity.

Mr Kane-Berman said another effect of the campaign was to provoke anger in those falsely accused, "and, so set the scene for more confrontation".

There was, for example, a current campaign to blame violence on the Reef almost ex-

dents while ignoring their own fear of attack.

This would heighten their already considerable insecurity and cause them to stockpile weapons.

Mr Kane-Berman

challenged Lawyers for

Ly [=

THE CITIZEN

_, COMMENT
ANCâ\200\231s No

THE decision of the African National Congress not to resume the constitutional negotiations and, instead, to intensify the mass action campaign is deplorable â\200\224 but does not surprise us.

For some time it has been clear that the hardliners in the ANC have taken over the movementâ\200\231s direction.

As we pointed out recently, ANC president Nelson Mandela has been publicly contradicted on key issues.

He is becoming more and more an elder statesman, the smiling face of the ANC, but his influence in the decision-making process is minimal.

It is the Communist-dominated National Executive Committee that calls the shots.

A statement yesterday by the NEC said without meaningful steps on the part of the government to deal with the violence, and by way of releasing political prisoners, it would be pointless to resume constitutional negotiations.

We can only say that the government has gone to extremes to end the violence.

It is accepting United Nations, European Community, Organisation of African Unity and Commonwealth observers to assist the National Peace Committee to monitor violence and, if possible, to defuse potentially violent situations.

It has armed the Goldstone Commission with extraordinary powers, agreeing to the commission having a police investigative force of its own.

It has accepted the restructuring of the National Peace Committee to the point where it is becoming a kind of peacekeeping mechanism.

The government is also restructuring the SAP to restore its credibility.

It has also retired 13 police generals and hopes to promote Blacks to the rank of major-general,

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It is thus doing everything it can.

But the violence will end only if and when the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party lay down their arms and agree to a ceasefire.

As for the release of political prisoners â\200\224the government says it has released them. the ANC says there are others who should be released â\200\224â\200\224 this is still the subject of negotiations.

It is therefore not an issue that should determine whether talks should be resumed or not.

The ANC accuses the government of â\200\234continued delay and doublespeakâ\204ç.

Doublespeak, in fact, is 2 charge that can be laid more appropriately at the ANC's door. since it keeps on talking about democracy when, in fact, it tries all the time, by mass action and other forms of political blackmail, to impose its will.

The ANC says the government has accepted the idea of a democratic Constituent Assembly.

But it claims this has been â\200\234attained through the struggles of the people of our countryâ\204ç. Since the government has accepted the Constituent Assembly, surely it is in the interests of the ANC â\200\224 and of the country â\200\224 if the negotiations are resumed so that other, equally important matters are negotiated? Instead, the ANC is going to intensify its mass action campaign, well knowing the effects it has on the economy and business confidence. Meanwhile, the talks between ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. and Constitu-

.. tional Development Minister. Mr Roelf

Meyer, will continue.

on a Constituent Assembly via these talks, / sees the discussions with Mr Meyer as the vehicle by which more of its ideas can gain government acceptance.

. â\200\230 Perhaps the ANC, having achieved agreement

â\200\230|* Mr Meyer is not a tough negotiator or a constitutional expert, but he refers matters to his â\200\234principalsâ\200\235; in other words, he is not mandated to take any decisions on his own.

The ANC nevertheless sees advantages in these one-to-one talks with him.

This is dangerous, because the impression

Â» should not be gained that the government is
1, once, mipte â\200\230deciding the: future in tandem
with the ANC.

&

TimÃ©not on SA\
side â\200\224 Hurd .-

ALL the parties the European Community troika had consulted during their two-day mission wanted negotiations to resume despite the obstacles, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Pretonia Mr Hurd said the talks the troika had with the government, African National Congress, Inkatha, Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, the Democratic Party and business and church leaders had been â\200\234excellent, friendly and constructiveâ\204¢.

He stressed the obstacles which remained had to be solved by South Africans themselves, but added that â\200\234time is not on South Africaâ\200\231s sideâ\204¢.

The impression the troika had gained during the various discussions was that the â\200\234channels which exist for further discussions will be usedâ\204¢.

Turning to the African National Congressâ\200\231s refusal to resume negotiations unless the government took concrete steps to address the violence and the issue of political prisoners, Mr Hurd said they â\200\234obviously hoped the talks would be resumed".

The ANC was crucial to negotiations as was the Inkatha Freedom Party which they regarded as a â\200\234necessary main force".

Everybody accepted that not only the government and the ANC but everybody had to be included in the talks.

Mr Hurd said investments that could flow into South Africa were stymied by the lack of political progress.

complex of the problems we are dealing with in South Africa.

South Africa was looking forward to continued close co-operation with the international and European community with regard to the whole process. Sapa.

The need for economic growth was evident for the well-being of all South Africans. '

Domestic and international investment was imperative as were the policies designed to attract that and make it fruitful.

Speaking after a second meeting with the troika in Pretoria yesterday, State President De Klerk said the government would continue to interact with the African National Congress until such time as all obstacles to negotiations could be removed.

This would be done because there was no alternative to a negotiated solution. in which all main role players agreed on the course of action in the country, Mr De Klerk said.

The follow-up discussions with the European Community delegation had been constructive and positive.

The group had made a few helpful suggestions which we will seriously consider on the road ahead.

Mr De Klerk said, I know they will take back a clear perspective of the

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AN

Executive Council held
on Monday, Tuesday and
yesterday. =

The proposed intensifi-
cation of mass action
could include strikes,
stayaways and other ac-
tions already used, as well
as additional measures.

ANC national spokes-
man., Mr Carl Niehaus,
said last night the new
types of actions under
consideration would not
be spelt out until all the
alliance partners had
taken their decisions.

The ANC's proposals
would be discussed by the
SACP executive, prob-
ably next week, and Co-
satu still had to be consul-
ted further.

The form the intensi-
fied campaign would take
would in all likelihood be
finalised at another alli-
ance campaign meeting
some time during the next
month.

Commenting on mass
action, Mr Ramaphosa
said the decision to inten-
sify the campaign fol-
lowed the NEC's en-
dorsement of proposals
which were intended to
be about the release of
further political pris-
oners, practical steps to

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to intensify. mass action

| end violence. free politi-
cal activity in the home-

lands and the election of 2
Constituent Assembly.

The NEC charged that
the National Party gov-
ernment still lacked the
political will to take vis-
ible-steps to stop the viol-
ence

â\200\234Without meaningful
steps on the part of the
government to deal with
the violence, and by way
of releasing political pris-
oners, it would be point-
less to resume negotia-
tions

â\200\234We have come too far
in the negotiations pro-
cess for the people of our
country to be lulled by
continued government
delay and doublespeak. â\204¢

Mr Ramaphosa warned
that the government's de-
lay in responding to the
14 demands made by the
ANC in June, when the
organisation initially
withdrew from Codesa,
was detrimental to the
country.,

â\200\234But we will continue
applying pressure. We
will not let the govern-
ment off the hook,â\204¢

It was the government
that now held the key to
ensuring that the dead-
lock was broken.

The economy |
â\200\234sliding into tattersâ\204¢ and)

Wan

companies would not in-
vest in uncertainties.

â\200\234All this amounts to
tremendous pressure on
the government to re-
spond.â\200\235â\200\231

â\200\234Mr Ramaphosa said
that when the govern-
ment addressed the
ANC's 14 demands satis-
factorily, then the organi-
sation would consider it a
basis on which it could
justify its return to the ne-
gotiating table.

He warned again that there could be no deal without the ANC being part of a constitutional settlement.

On a more positive note, the ANC said it had noted the government had gone a long way towards accepting the idea of a democratic Constituent Assembly

The ANC reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement, adding a speedy resolution of the issues its NEC had outlined rested with the government.

Jo &
ANC said-

â\200\234The NEC reaffirmed that mass action is a legitimate right of the people in any society and. in our situation, forms an

statement the

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pointed out of the statement:

of the ANC and its allies in pursuance of peace and democracy.â\204¢

The movement's demands include:

â\200\234Measures needed to achieve democracy, through an elected, sovereign Constituent Assembly, without delay:

Â® â\200\234Practical steps deal with the violence:

o

e â\200\234The immediate release of political prisoners'

o â\200\234Free political activity in all parts of the country, including KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and Right-wing controlled towns;

Â® â\200\234â\200\230Socio-economic problems including soaring food prices, housing and workers' rights.â\204¢

The statement said without meaningful steps on the part of the government to deal with the violence, and by way of releasing political prisoners, it would be pointless to resume constitutional negotiations,

South Africans had come too far in the negotiations process and too many South Africans had been killed. more than

6000 in political violence . since February 1990, for,

the people of the country to be lulled by continued government delay and doublespeak.

*We simply cannot accept vague assurances that steps are to be taken to curb the violence. We have learnt the hard way that such assurances from the De Klerk regime mean very little. The point is: visible and concrete steps must be taken immediately.

The NEC added that the government had ac-

cepted the idea of a democratic Constituent Assembly.

The government

agreed that the Constituent Assembly should be democratically elected. draft and adopt the new constitution, be bound only by agreed constitutional principles. have an agreed timeframe, have agreed - adequate deadlock-breaking mechanism and be elected within an agreed predetermined time period

The NEC agreed that acceptance of these principles by the government, though still provisional, is an important achievement attained through the struggles of the people of

the country!t, et e

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15 EC observersâ\200\235

FROM PAGE 1

initially send about 15
Peace Accord observers
from FEC member
uates. All the parties
had accepted this offer.

The EC observers
would be deployed in
co-ordination with the
United Nations, other
international organiza-
tions, and the Peace
Accord structures.

â\200\234So the UN itself will
send observers, the EC
will send observers, the
Commonwealth will
send observers, and
there may be others,â\200\235
Mr Hurd said.

The observers would
clearly be unique people
â\200\234who are down-to-earth
folk, who have practical
experience of police
work, who work with
the police in a com-
munity, so that they can
actually be there on the
ground in places like
Alexandra so as to re-
duce the flashpoints, to
keep the lid on violence
â\200\235,
On the violence, Mr
Hurd said the work was

â\200\234glad to hear that the
South African Govern-
ment fully accepts its re-
sponsibility to ensure ef-
fective control of the
police and security
forcesâ\204.

Mr Hurd said the
discussions with the
main role players â\200\224
State President De
Klerk, African National
Congress president Nel-
son Mandela, and Ink-
atha Freedom Party lead-

er Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it had been constructive.

Any contribution by the EC and others in helping to get the negotiation process in South Africa under way would be welcomed, Chief Buthelezi said yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi, who led an JFP delegation to talks with the EC delegation currently visiting the country, told a Picss conference after the meeting in Pretoria that he had stressed the importance of the international community assisting in the negotiation process and in the

-

monitoring of violence.

The deputy president of the I' an Africanist Congress, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who led 2 delegation to meet the EC group called, said the PAC had addressed the question of the negotiation process and the possible participation of the international community in monitoring violence in South Africa.

In another meeting, the Democratic Party and the EC delegation discussed various aspects, including a general amnesty and remaining political prisoners, DP leader De Zure de Beer told reporters.

Yesterday morning the EC delegation toured Alexandra.

It is still a shock to come here. Even though I came 10 years ago, it is necessary to remind oneself what it is actually like and how bad it is, said Mr Hurd told reporters.

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'EC to send 1

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observers

â\200\231retoria last night.

Spcaking at the end
of a two-day round of
discussions with South
Africaâ\200\231s political lead-
ers, the EC uoika lead-
el also annownced the
EC would sccond ex-
perienced investigators
to assist the Goldstone
Commissionâ\200\231s invesliga-
tive task focce.

Mr Hurd said the troi-
ko wanted to have an in-
tesnational expert on
cach of the five investi-
gative teams cnvisaged
by Mt Justice Gold-
stone.

Mr Justice Goldstone
wonted these teams â\200\234to
be in action all the time.
He has to work out what
he. wants the internat-

iondl member of those
teams 10 doâ\200\235. said Mr
Hurd.

The EC would also
assist in training the SA
Police in the spuit of the
Peace Accord.

â\200\234This question of
police tsaining ls crucial
w the new approach 10
policing in the new
South Africa.â\200\235 Mr Hurd
told a news conference
at a Pretogia hotef.

In addition, the EC
would act on a Peace
fïr-\202ccord reqeust to assist

in existing programmes
helping victims of the vi-
olence.

He said the EC would

THE European Community will send 15 oâ\200\230gq
servers 10 South Africa 10 monitor violence as |
part of a package of measures announced by !
British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in !

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- TO PAGE 2

SUA,

prp d31-â\200\224

;{NKATHA and the Mozambican
enamno rebel movement jointly

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committe

d themselves to uphold-

Â» ing free enterprise,
: freedom and. full d

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g yester-

the movement's

human rights,
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

om : emocracy at
meeting in Johannesburg i

day between

leaders,
and Afonso Dhlakama.

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BLOEMFONTEIN â\200\224 Next week's summit
on federalism was not an opportunistic
attempt by government and its allies to
gang up on the ANC, Constitutional Devel-
opment Deputy Minister Tertius Delpont

said yesterday.

He told delegates at the NP Free State

ANC should stop throw-

Qummit â\200\230does not pose threat

B BILLY PADDOCK |

tion, the government considers it essential
{or different ideas on regionalism and fed-
eralism to be explored and compared, and
placed under the magnifying glass.â\200\235

It was essential at this stage to obtain

congress that the

reaction to the summit.

hoped, simulate
alism. This is our on

ism, or federalism.

ing tantrums and desis

sised that the discussions on

t from hysterical
â\200\234]t must be empha-
federalism

arranged by the State President will. it is
an open debate on feder-

ly aim.â\200\235

Delport emphasised that President F W
de Klerk was inviting parties that wish
to take part in such a debate.
need to, and will not, take part in the
opportunistic formation of groups.
â\200\234The NP will never form a group against
any other party â\200\224 the NP co-operates with
other parties on a pr
Delport said the majority of parties &t
Codesa had declared themselves in favour
of strong regional government.' regional-

â\200\234We do not

incipled basis.â\200\235

Since then, some par-

ties had also referred to confederalism.
â\200\234At a time when SA stands on the brink
of a radically new constitutional dispensa-

larity about and

models appropriate to SA, he said.

The NP and
ederal princip

evaluate constitutional

other parties advocating
les should subject their

sepdpoints to public scrutiny to prove
once and for all the â\200\234ridiculousness of the
assertion that federalism is an instrument
for clinging to powerâ\200\235.

Delport said critics of the NPâ\200\231s stand-
point. including the ANC, should rather
explain why they were so vehemently op-
posed to federalism, "which after all em-
bodies internationally accepted democrat-
ic principlesâ\200\235. -

He had no doubt that the major reason for the ANC pulling out of talks following Codesa 11 was that agreement had been reached in principle on the entrenchment of regionalism in the constitution. He pre-

dicted that this issue would be the most difficult point to resolve once negotiations

resumed.

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ANC transition â\200\230Actâ\200\231 \ _
outlined -~

THE ANC's National
Executive Committee
has adopted for dis-
cussion legislation
which should serve as a
constitutional frame-
work for the transition-
al period pgnding the
adoption of a new con-
stitution by a constitu-

ent assembly. e

Dunng its three-day

mecting this week, the;
NEC adopted its Tran{!

sition to Democracy Act
which is to be discusse
by its regional branches
and the public before a fi-
nal draft is drawn up.

The Act abolishes the
Tricameral Parliament,
the distinction between
Own and General Af-
fairs, the all-powerful
Presidency, the Presi-
dentâ\200\231s Council and other
features of the tricameral
system.

â\200\234The transitional law
achieves this result by del-
eting major provisions
contained in the Republic
of SA Act of '1983," said
an explanatory memoran-
dum.

It envisages the TBVC

states will simultaneously
make appropriate provis-
ions to cnsure the imple-
mentation of a uniform
agreed* plan for their re-
incorporation inte a

democratic South Africa.

The Act also makes provision for a Parliament consisting of a House made up of 400 people elected on the ba-

sis of one person one

vote.

An electoral law will, inter alia, make provision for an electoral system based on proportional representation system so as to ensure that parties are represented in Parliament in direct proportion to the number of votes won by them.

The Parliament will act as the country's constitution-making body and the law-making body during the period of transition.

The Act also makes provision for a transition period which is not indefinite.

single |

If a two-thirds majority by the Parliament cannot be achieved when voting on constitutional issues, procedures such as the adoption of a new constituent assembly, have been created which will ensure that a constitution is finally adopted within a stated period.

If this process fails, then a referendum will be

held and the constitution will have to enjoy a majority of 55 percent to be adopted.

The memorandum says that in addition to the Transition to Democracy law, measures giving legal effect to all agreements designed to level the playing field will also have to

be adopted.

On the issue of regions, |
the memorandum said

distribution of . power
functions and regional
structures and the demar-
cation of new regions was
the prerogative of the con-
stituent assembly.
Sapa.

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Code of conduct
for bonds likely T

WILSON ZWANE and ADRIAN HADLAND

i AN INTERIM agreement on a code of
/| conduct to regulate financial institutionsâ\200\231
dealings with low-income homebuyers is
likely to be reached today.

The Association of Mortgage Lenders
(AML) meets the SA National Civics
Organisation (Sanco) today to thrash out
details of the agreement which will re-
define bank lending policies, establish
home loan centres in townships and set out
the role of financial institutions in the de-
velopment process. This follows calls by
Sanco for a national bond boycott.

The likelihood of agreement being
reached today was enhanced by a provi-
. sional agreement on community-orientat-
1 ed banking reached between the Perm and

the Civics Asgociation of the Transvaal this
week. A communitly developmient trust to
provide housing and development opportu-
nities to the underprivileged in the south-
ern Transvaal was established.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso, who
hailed the Perm agreement, said the pro-
â\200\230posed code of conduct would be based on
'the premise that bankers had to change

. their operating procedures â\200\234radicallyâ\200\235 to
i'do business in the new SA. People in ar-
| i'rears on housing bonds and future borrow-
â\200\234â\200\230ers would gain relief from such a code.

; Perm devetopment GM Denis Creighton
'said the Perm had accepted Sancoâ\200\231s pro-
posal for a banking code of conduct, but
' would not elaborate. The AML could not be

reached for comment.

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/3 PATRICK BULGER

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free political aclivit
The ANC said it had no interest in seiz-

ference.
ing power in the Ciskei.

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In a2 memorandum yesterday, the alli- |
ance said the wave of violence anc intimi- |

dation in Lhe Ciskei had reached alarming
proportions
climale of

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he ANC and its alliance partners, the
absent

n Lhe Ciskei,;

has demand-
leader Brig Oupa

0z0 as head of state and the downgrad

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reparing for a show of
n, aim to march on Bisho while

Pretoria at governmenlâ\200\231s fed-

gth when it marches o

pital of Bisho on Monday â\200\224
of the territoryâ\200\231s independent status

NC to march on

HE ANC â\200\224 p
SACP, Cosalu and the SA National Civic

ed the removat! of Ciskei
Organisatio

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Savings to finance fixed investment

Keys unveils
plan to slash
govt spending

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys said
yesterday government would slash
spending by 3% in real terms through 1
cutting the number of public servants |
â\200\224 a move that would entail thousands
of job losses. |
He told a news conference in Pretoria |
talk of a 5% cutback ip statf numbers was |
â\200\234about rightâ\200\235. â\200\234The President has chal-
lenged the heads of departments to see if \
they can come up with productivity im-
provements which would help them to
achieve that real cut (3%) in expenditure.â\200\235
As the central government accounted -

tion spending, discussions were also under :
way with the TBVC states, the self-govern- y
ing territories and the provinces.

Public Servantsâ\200\231 Association GM Hans
Olivier said public servants had no need at
this stage to fear large-scale sacking.

Keys said the move was aumed at free-
ing up savings to finance flxed investment,
â\200\234If we wish to have an economy capable of
growing fast enough to improve the post-
tion of each member of our growing popu-
lation, we shall have to restrain the growth
in consumption spending of government in
favour of a much higher rate of fixed in-
vestment 1 new preductive caps city.â\200\235

He acknowledged that this adjustment
could be achieved only over a period of
several years, but emphasised government
was not â\200\234planning the unilateral restruc-
turing of the economyâ\200\235.

He invited suggestions for the next Bud-
get. By November, the Finance Depart-
ment would be able to share its economiÂ¢

for less than 80% of government consump- \

[GRETA STEYN]

model with interested parties, "We want to discuss the possibilities for restructuring against the background of an economic model which provides a realistic indication of what those possibilities could be."

He said the proposed economic forum could be used to discuss the model, and he hoped the body would provide a critical audience for government proposals, and a meeting place of ideas from which policy can be developed. As confidence is gained on all sides, government's involvement could become more direct.

However, he saw Cosatu's campaign against income tax payments as a stumbling block in setting up the forum.

Asked whether government should not take measures to stimulate the economy, he said it was enough to "grin and bear" a deficit of 6% of GDP in the present fiscal year. "That is as adventurous as I would like us to be." He said the deficit could be even higher than 6% (against a budgeted 4.5%) if government decided to speed up drought relief.

But it would be counter-productive to raise taxes to finance the shortfall. "The bond market seems to be capable of financing the overrun from non-bank sources without materially slowing the downward movement in interest rates."

From an economic perspective, the four critical issues facing SA were stopping the violence, getting a representative government in place, pursuing economic growth and tackling underdevelopment.

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BILLY PADOOCK
and PATRICK BULGER /

THE ANC's national executive com
at the end of three-day talks, said yester-
day it was not yet ready to return 10
negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister
Roelf Meyer said in Bloemfontein yester-
day that government and the ANC had
come within a whisker on Wednesday of
sealing a deal on restarting constitutional
talks. He and ANC secretary-general Cyril
Ramaphosa had simply run out of time
before the end of the NEC meeting in
trying to broker an agreement that would
launch full bilateral talks.

â\200\234We have actually come very close, 3 Â°

disappointed Meyer said after the NP's
Free State congress.

Hopes dashed for
resumption of talks

The ANC said it was not reaay to resume
negotiations, but said government had in-
dicated support for an elected constituent
assembly which would be democratic.

Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg news
conference government had agreed the
constituent assembly should be bound only
by general constitutional principles, that it
should have a time frame and adequate
deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

The ANC agreed to maintain the channel
of communication between Ramaphosa
and Meyer.

Meyer, speaking before the NEC state-

'l;iks

-violence and release

ment, warned that government would not simply accept an ANC decision to restrict talks to bilateral discussions. Last night he said his comments still applied. A fuller government reaction is expected after a Cabinet meeting scheduled for today.

Ramaphosa said government had to take immediate and visible steps to end political prisoners. The ANC wanted a complete and country-wide ban on the display of dangerous weapons. Without meaningful steps on the part of government to deal with the violence and by way of releasing political prisoners it would be pointless to resume negotiations.

Meyer described the current state of play in negotiations as inconclusive.

â\200\2341 have to get a mandate from my principals to see if we want to proceed on the current basis.â\200\235 he said. However, it seems unlikely government could afford to be seen as spoilers.

â\200\231 He said differences between govern-

O From Page 1

ment and the ANC on a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity had been â\200\234largely removedâ\200\235.

The major area of dispute between the two sides was the basis on which political prisoners would be released, he said.

It is understood the ANC is demanding a blanket release of people it regards as political prisoners, while government wants the release to be related to generally agreed principles such as amnesty.

Meyer said the ANC's demands on the end of violence were â\200\234not related to realityâ\200\235 because government had introduced a number of mechanisms and instruments to address the problem.

Earlier he said his talks with Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit. But he criticised the â\200\234recklessâ\200\235 attitude of some â\200\234radicalsâ\200\235, saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Ramaphosa said the NEC had endorsed the intensification of the mass action campaign, reaffirming it as legitimate.

L R e

| 1L BLILSYH eheviston salire
i Spitung Image portrays
Margaret Thalcher as a
hard-drinking has-been
who tells her social worker:]
used to be prime minister, you
know.â\200\235 But Thatcherism seems
ahve and well in SA even as
growing dole gueves in Britain
suges i the Thatcher revolution
failed to create a sound basis for
Jong-term growth,
i Finance Minister Derek Keys yes-
| terday announced measures that
would impress anyone with an Jron
Lady approach lo cconomics. He
wants to slash government cousump-
tion spending by 3% in real terms in
the mexl fiscal year. This is to be
achieved by a cul of 5% in stall and a
2% imcrease in productivity.

As hopes fade of a decisive up-
swing nex! year, it is clear he will
need an iron will (o achieve that
What is Keys hoping (o achieve, and
should he he taking this action at this
point in the business cycle?

Keys's worry over government
consumption spending hinges on the
use of long-term debt to finance cur-
rent spending. As government bor-
rows o pay public servantsâ\200\231 salaries,
the debl mounlain grows while the
economyâ\200\231s produclive capacity stays
unchanged. Keys himise)! savs his
main concern is with increasing SA's
productive capacity. He does nof
want govermmnt consumplion fo
absorb finance that could be used for
fixed investment.

voting IMF calculations, he said
carlier this vear thal SA needed lo
invest 26% of GDP, instcad of Lhe
present 19%, il it wanted (o grow at
35% a year. By reducing govern-
ment consumption, finance would be
released lo raise SAâ\200\231s invesiment
Tale and put it on a long-lerm growth
irack. Government would have lo
start saving.

Slashing staff numbers will pre-
sumably be done with care. Teachers
and nurses are nol in the same cate-
gory as TBVC bureaucrals. Some
current spending ls an investment in
human capital and does add o the
countryâ\200\231s productive resources.

The reasoning behind slashing
â\200\230overament consumplion echocs the
rgument for replacing GST with

Keys's iron-fisted
tactics may be right;
but is the timing?.

GRETA STEYN

How is it going?

VAT: by doing away with sales tax
on capital goods, billions of rands
would be freed to be spent on fixed
investment.

But fixed investment continued to
fall in real terms after the imple-
mentation of VAT. Private sector
investment fell by an annualised 2%
in the second quarter of this year
after shrinking by 55% in 1991,

With VAT, South Africans were
asked to accept an unpopular tax
with benefits for long-term growth.
The tax is still unpopular and there is
little sign yet of benefits.

Keys is now asking South Africans
again to accept more unemployment
in the short term for a plan that will
yield benefits for long-term growth.
He should not be surprised if the plan
is not greeted with too much enthusi-
asm. Three years of falling GDP and
the prospect of another year of no

growth clouds the judgment.

One cannot help but wonder at
Keys's timing. While his thinking
cannot be faulted from a longer-
term perspective, he has chosen the
wrong time to announce and imple-
ment a plan that entails more unem-
ployment in the short term. Even if
his savings next year were spent
immediately on capital projects,
there is usually a lag in getting these
projects on stream and creating new
jobs. Keys did not mention any new
capital projects yesterday.

Conservative economists steeped

Z KEYS

Puroar NCEIAT POIHE

m Thalcherism and Reaganism say government and the central bank have no role in smoothing the economic cycle. But the widening deficit in the UK and the sharp falls in US interest rates illustrate that policy-makers all over the world have abandoned this approach.

Fiscal policy has cushioned the recession here as well. South Africans would have become even poorer.

D10y

these past few years if government consumption spending had been less (2002 GDP fell) in 1991 in spite of the stimulating effects of a 55% real rise in government consumption.

Key's statement yesterday acknowledges that government has a role in cushioning the effects of recession, but says the pain cannot be deferred indefinitely. But should the pain not be deferred until the political situation looks better? He notes violence and the achievement of a representative government are the first of four critical issues facing the economy. Can he realistically take measures that yield only long-term benefits before those issues have been resolved?

It is, however, possible that Key has reasons for his actions other than the longer-run economic gains. Government faces a revenue crisis and cutting back current spending is one way of dealing with the problem.

Revenue from VAT is running way below budget and could end the year billions of pounds below expectations. That is the main reason why the deficit before borrowing will be at least 6% of GDP in the present fiscal year, compared with a budgeted 4.5%. If government wants to reduce the deficit next year it will require some creative thinking.

It cannot increase the VAT rate because of political problems. It cannot raise company taxes as it has

Srleisy

made a commitment to reduce them, - and individuals are already taxed. Look at the bill because of bracket creep. So

any action on the deficit will have to be on the spending side.

If the short-term revenue problem is the reason for the timing, one must question the wisdom of chasing a

deficit target at this point in the -

economic cycle. The deficit is not much worse than the UK's, where the chancellor has all but given up on the target of balancing the budget over the business cycle.

Whether Keyns will be judged a Thatcherite will depend on what next year's savings are used to finance. He used to reduce the deficit, the Iron Lady would be proud. If used

to finance new capital projects, he is a

taking the right action at the wrong

time. If used for social spending. -

however, he would be spot on. More so. The pity, then, that he did not give a

clear indication of what (he savings

would finance.

for slashing government consumption-

Keyns is not the same as arguing for big increases in government spending. -

ing The general principle cannot be

lauded. Government's debt burden could crush future economic growth. But taking action now is rather like kicking a dog when it is down unless the money is used in a way that will soon offset the hardships created by the policies.

While Keyns must be applauded

for his focus on the need for investment, it seems the present government will not be able to use economic policy to any great extent to achieve this longer-run aim. Perhaps government should put policies with long-run objectives on hold if they cause hardship in the short run.

The VAT debacle has illustrated the consequences of perceived unilateral restructuring. Fiscal policymakers, unlike their monetary counterparts in the Reserve Bank, cannot act purely as economists. Policies aimed at the long run might have a chance of success only if reached by agreement through a body such as

the national economic forum |1
there was any good news in yester-
dayâ\200\231s announcement, il was that the
forum was still on track. Now that is
a body Thatcher would not like.

To argue thal the tiring 1s wrong |

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THE ANC yesterday published compre-

- ANC plots path to

new constitution
by

hensive proposed amendments to the SA
constitution to facilitate the establisAiment
of an interim government and a constitu-
ent assembly.

The ANC described the proposed â\200\234Tran-
sitional to Democracy Act 1992 as a draft
for discussion within the organisation and
among its allies and the publie

Its provisions replace the own affairs
and tricameral system and the President's
Council with a single 400-member national
assembly, elected by proportional repre-
sentatton, to serve as an interim legisla-
ture and a constitutien-making body.

It defines SA by its 1910 boundaries,
eliminating the homeland system. It side-
steps the issue of regionalism by retaining
for the interim the existing provincial sys-
tem as the only form of regional govern.
ment â\200\224 leaving the future of constitutional
regionalism to the constituent assembly.

he president would be elected by a
simple majority of the national assembly.
The Âcabinet would have a multiparty char-
acter and take decisions by a two-thirds
majority, as would the assembly when sit-
ting as a legislature.

All parties with 5% or more of the mem-
bership of the assemby would be entitled
to nominate cabinet members. Each par-
ty's cabinet entitlement would be in pro-
portion to its assembly representation.

Deputy ministers need not be assembly

y f ALAN FINE

members, and this would facilitate the ap-

. pointment of individuals from excludedâ\200\231

groups, including from â\200\234civil societyâ\200\235.

The proposed law includes an interim bill of rights.

With regard to constitution-making, it includes a detailed deadlock-breaking mechanism. The ANC proposes a new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority. If not achieved within nine months, fresh elections would be called and the second constituent assembly would have a further six months to complete its task.

If this can still not be done, 2 proposed new constitution would be put to a referendum and adopted by a 55% majority. If not, a new election would be held and a new constitution adopted by a simple majority of the third constituent assembly.

The constitution would have to adhere to previously agreed principles, and a seven-member constitutional panel would be appointed to adjudicate on disputes over whether principles were being adhered to.

In the pre-election period, multiparty commissions would be established to ensure a level playing field. These would control the security forces and the media. And an independent electoral commission would be appointed to prepare for and conduct the elections.

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IFP, Renamo m

â\200\234joint dec

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Mozambican Renamo rebel movement have jointly committed themselves to upholding free enterprise, human rights, freedom and full democracy.

This emerged at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday after the leaders of the two movements. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the IFP and Renamo's Alfonso Dhlakama, held a one-and-a-half hour meeting at a downtown hotel â\200\224 the first talks between the two groups.

â«QOur discussions dealt

with several topics. including the violence in southern Africa, the dis-

information campaign against movements like ours and the persistent economic problems in the region,â\200\235 Chief Buthelezi said at a brief Press conference.

The KwaZulu leader said the common ground between the two movements did not mean he morally supported Mr Dhlakama in the forthcoming Mozambican elections.

â\200\234That (the elections and who wins) is a matter for the Mozambicans. But the mere fact that elections are taking place are good for southern Africa."â\200\235 he added.

Mr Dhlakama, who initiated a peace pact with

laratior

Mozambique's President
Joaquim Chissano in
Rome in August, said the
time had come for serious
peace and negotiations.

â\200\234There are still many
problems, but we believe
in freedom. democracy
and human rights.â\200\235

Asked about the stalled
negotiations in South
Africa, Mr Dhlakama
said it was natural that
conflicts and stumbling
blocks arose during settle-
ment talks.

â\200\234We believe, however,
a solution to this coun-
try's problems can be
reached. In any kind of
negotiations, stalemates
sometimes take place.â\200\235
the Renamo leader said.
â\200\224 Sapa.

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Sharp acceleratlon
in number of police
7 murdered

By Tony Stirling

THE killing of police-
men has reached un-
precedented levels in
South Africa, with 2
record 161 policemen
killed so far this year
and a recent sharp ac-
ccleration in the num-
bers of policemen be-
ing murdered.
According to the Police
Directorate of Public Re-
lations in Pretoria. the de-
mands being made on
members of the force at
present excced those at
the height of the border
war, and the year 1992

will go down as the blood-
iest ever.
With almost four

m.-nth of the yvear still to

e ea @ s s . â\200\224

gu. the number of pohce-
men killed is already 16
more than [last year,
which saw 145 policemen
die violently, whiÂ¢ch was
iteelf a record

The last threc months,
uccording to 3 spukes-
man, have been partcu-
larly shocking, with 21
killed in June, 28 in July
and 24 in August, show-

ing 3 disturbing upward spiral in the number of attacks on the police.

â\200\234The fact that 161 policemen have already died this year should fill every South African with shock and revulsion.â\200\235 the

spokesman said.

â\200\234Never before have so many young members of the force been callously murdered in the execution of their duties,â\200\235 he said. Attacks had also been directed against the families of policemen in which children and other family members had been wiped out.

Some of the murders of policemen had been gruesome in the extreme.

Recently in Sebokeng.

Const Skuta Marumo was fatally literally torn apart by a

mob and his head used as a football, while pieces of his body were draped

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over roadsigns, the spokesman said.

Others had been burned alive.

â\200\234It is only logical that the horrible methods being used to kill have had a negative impact on all members of the force.â\200\235 he said.

According to the police, the targets have been mostly Black policemen living in the townships. although a number of Whites have also died.

More often than not. are being killed while off duty in the

: | townships. but a number

have also died in shoot-
outs with criminal cle-
ments.

In one of the most re-
cent incidents, Const Z P
Phuwane was shot three
times on Wednesday
while travelling in a police
vehicle with his daughter.
Portia (3). He died short-
ly afterwards.

The police say there is
little more that can be
done to protect members
than is presently being
done. and that a change
in public attitudes to-
wards the police is needed
before the situation im-
proves.

The number of police-
men killed has risen
steadily over the past
three years. In 1990. 107
members were killed.

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SACOB upset;g

THE South African
Chamber of Commerce
and the Johannesburg
Chamber of Commerce
and Industryâ\200\231last night ex-
pressed regret and con-
cem at the African Nat-
ional Congressâ\200\231 refusal to
return to constitutional
negotiations.

Stating his organmisa-
tion's disappointment
that substantive negotia-
tions were not likely to be
resumed in the near fu-
ture, SACOB president
Mr Hennie Viljoen, said
the breakdown of talks
had already had serious
consequences for the
conomy over the past
few months.

â\200\234Since the collapse of
Codesa 1, the economy
has detcnorated further,
unemployment has risen

and business confi
at a low level.â\200\235

Mr Viljoen appealed to
all the main political play-
ers to continue to Ã@xplore
all possible ways of re-
instating substantive pol-
itical negotiations.

JCCI president Stuart
Morris said the economic
musery of millions of
South Afncians would
both continuc and multi-
ply as long as the political
impasse coatinued. â\200\224
Sapa.

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to get

â\200\230A FURTHER 1600
members of SA
Police Internal Stabil-
ity Division are to be
permanently transfer-
red to major unrest
areas in the country.

more

division chief Lt-Gen
Johan Swart an-
nounced yeste rday.

He said in a statement
that, according to statis-
tics, areas mainly af-
fected by unrest werc

Major unrest areasâ\200\231
police)

the Witwatersrand,
vaal Triangle, Soweto,
Natal, Eastern Cape
and the Cape Peninsula.
â\200\234in order t0 stabilise
these areas, as a matter
of utgency it has been
decided that immediate
steps be taken in this re-
gard and 2 further 1 600
members of the Internal
Stability Division will be
pemancntly transferre
to these areas.â\200\235
Gen Swart said statis-
tics showed 86 percent
of the total unrest inci-
dents reported occurred
in these areas. A total of

7 706 incidents were re-
ported during the past
year. of which 6 649
were in the aress which
would now be strength-
ened.

â\200\234The Internal Stabili-
ty Division is committed
to serving the people of
our country. We will do
everything possible to
stabilise these areas so

that all people may have
peace,"â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234J would like to invite
all the peoples of South
Africa to assist us in
bringing peace and sta-
bility to our country so!
that together we can
look forward to a bright
future.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

SN i o ek e

Reduced NPP
Loroup for talks
on federalism

THE He would not

National Pcoples clab-

Party, one of the Codesa :

groupings invited 1o next
Monday's Nadonal Party-
sponsored meeting on fe-

deralism, is expected to !

send a reduced delegation
following last-minute
scepticism expressed Dby
some of its members.

Withdrawal

The party's chief whip
Desmond Padayachy an-
nounced his withdrawal
fcom the NPP delegation
vesterday â\200\234because of
certain doubts I have
about the meetingâ\200\235.

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orate.
â\200\230 Doubtful

| NPP leader Amichand
i Rajbansi is also 2 doubt-
iful starter after initially
accepting the invitation to
attend. He is expected to
decide on his attendance
during the weekend.

Mr Rajbansi said he
had already intimated to
the organisers that he had
a pror commitment,
which he was trying to re-
schedule. He also ex-
pressed certain reserva-

tions about the organising

of the event, â\200\224 Sapu. -

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ANC threatens to
occupy Bisho x

EAST LONDON. â\200\224
The African National
Congress vesterday
called on State Presi-
deat De Klerk to rec-
move Ciskeian ruler
Brig Oupa Gqozo from
power, and threatened
to occupy Bisho from
Monday â\200\224 for days if
necessary â\200\224 until a re-
sponse was received.
The ANC and its al-
lies plan to march {rom
King William's Town to

Bisho on Monday.

b Ciskei and would super-
Il vise the process of re-in-

dum with the South i corporation into South

\â\200\230 In 3 joint memotan-
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African National Civics

i Congress faxed to Mr

| De Klerk's office the
ANC said Brig Gqozo
should be replaced with
an interim administrat-
jon 3cceptable to ail
parties.

The administration

| would have as its pri-

s

| mary goal the impartial

. administration of the

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; Africa,

memorandum

proposed that Section
43 of the Ciskei Nat-
jonal Security Act,
which prohibits {ree pol-
itical activity, be
scrapped and that South
African military intelli-
gence personnel be re-
moved from the Ciskei.
â\200\224 Sapa.

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ANC

No to

resuming
- talks

By Sapa and
Chiis Sleyen

TIE African National
Congress yesterday
dashed governmenmt
hopes of an early ie-
sumption of conshitu-
tonal ncgotiations
and, instead, an-
nounced an intensifica-
tion of (he mass action
campaign.

The organisationâ\200\231s scc:

retary-pencral, Mr Cysil
Ramaphosa, said the only
channcl lhat the ANC in-
tcnded keeping open with
the government was that
which existed between
himscil and Constitution-
al Deveclopmnt Minister
Rocll Meyer.
This chanmcl woulkd
,only bc used lo discuss
the steps government
should take fu address the

ANCâ\200\231s_14 demands fetiT

\ng to violcuce, constitu-

TO INTENSIFY
MASS ACTION

tional mattecs and the re- [

lease of political pris-
oners, hie added.

â\200\234Other thaw this, we do
not intend resuming ne-
gotintions with the gov-
eroment o consulling
them on any issues.â\200\235

He was speaking at an
intcmational Press con-
fesence in Johannesburg
10 report on the meeting

of the ANC's National

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(hat could be expected at this stage, but confidence was expressed that this in turn would lead the two major parties back to the negotiation table.

.+Mr Rolf Mcecr, Minister of Constitutional Development, yesterday expressed willingness to continue his discussions with ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said yesterday that at this stage it would be pointless to discuss the situation, as it would not be in the

ion. Significantly, however, it added that it would continue to talk to the government through M Laphasa.

There was no official government comment on yesterday's statement by the ANC, but government sources said there was disappointment that the ANC had decided against the immediate resumption of formal bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Ms Meyer told a media conference in Bloemfontein yesterday that he and Mr Ramaphosa had not concluded the discussion.

The government:

It would have to evaluate these discussions and the ANC decision on how the situation could be taken further.

Earlier problems surrounding a constituent assembly and an interim government had been largely dealt with in the talks between himself and Mr Ramaphosa. However, finality had not been reached.

The issue of the settlement of political prisoners was one of the most fundamental obstacles

cles remaining between
the government and the
ANC. said Mr Meyers.

>Govt is still talking to NCU

FROM PAGE 1

Because of their divergent
views, it was one of the issues
on which the ANC and the
Government, had yet to
find agreement.

Mr Meyers said all parties
concerned about the
violence should join
efforts to deal with violence
by means of the
peace instruments that
had been created for this
purpose.

De Zure of the
Democratic Party leader
and a member of the ANC,
commented last night that
the agreement between
the ANC and the govern-
ment, set out in the Pre-
torian Minute and the
Matan Accord, made it

LN

SN\200\224\200\224\200\224

Disappointed,

\200\224y | g

but govt still
talking to ANC

\200\224-\200\224\200\224\200\234

By Brian Stuurman
CAPE TOWN. \200\224

It is clear that not every political
personnel would be
released.

as discussions.
The same

While the government
is disappointed at
(the ANC's statement

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The ANC decision not

to resume full negotiations was a cautious disscard of South Africa's need for economic recovery, the NP said last right.

De Stoffel van der Merwe, NP secretary-general, said the NP learned with great regret (that the ANC had once again allowed hardliners in its ranks to stand in the way of the immediate resumption of negotiations. — The reasons advanced in its statement make one thing abundantly clear:

, the leadership of the ANC is unable to put the interests of South Africa before their own petty political interests.

The release applied to those prisoners who met the demands of certain principles laid down in the agreements.

They have it on private but good authority that

in every one of these cases

has been looked at by judges, and the judges have said that in terms of the present agreements, nobody else qualified for

release.
=)

yesterday. both the
overnment and the
ANC have said they
will keep talking in the
weeks ahead, aimed at
2 resumption of formal
negotiations.

Otier Codesa soufces
said continued bilatcral
Lalks between the ANC
and govcmment were all

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Did Holomisaâ\200\231
plan the coup

Â«ag HE Transkei mutiny was not aimed at
?Major General Bantu Holomisa. In fact,
3 itappears to have strengthened his hand.
Holomisa acquiesced in the rebellion by
junior officers, which enabled him to purge
dissident officers. There are even suggestions
that he may have engineered the mutiny. '

PAGE 5

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, EoAlibin \Gâ\200\231?Z
Was Holomisa behind the "Kei coup?

A coup attempt in Transkei
has been quelled. But it is

unclear why it took place at
all. By CLAIRE KEETON

HE mutiny by junior officers of
the Transkei Defence Force

(TDF) early this week has

strengthened the hand of
Transkeiâ\200\231s military ruler, and the
African National Congress can breathe
a sigh of relief that the territory remains
a strong base for the organisation.

Major General Bantu Holomisa
appears to have acquiesced in the rebel-
lion by junior officers, which may have
enabled him to purge dissident top
brass from the defence force. There are
even suggestions that he may have
engineered the mutiny.

The last 23 senior officers were yes-
terday freed by the troops of Ncise mil-
itary base, outside Umtata. In return,
Holomisaâ\200\231s military council agreed to
a â\200\234restructuringâ\200\235 of the TDFâ\200\231s com-
mand. It seems likely the officers who
were detained after falling out of favour
| with the rank-and-file will lose their

posts.

. Announcing the restructuring,
Holomisa said the acting commander
of the TDF, Brigadier Themba
Matanzima, would not be affected, nor
would any of the detained soldiers be
expelled from the TDF.

The mutiny has added to mounting
concern that Transkei is out of control.
Critics from business and the civil ser-
vice complain that Holomisa has been
too tolerant and let liberation move-

ments rule the roost.

This week, Umtata was thick with
theories and rumours about the real rea-
sons for the soldiersâ\200\231 action. Few
seemed to accept that the coup was

it merely about pay parity
either. Some believed

v+ that rank-and-file troops were unhappy with officers they saw as sympathetic to South Africa, and opposed to Holomisa. '

A] Other sources suggested that Holomisa was criticised by certain colleagues on the military council for supporting the ANC's August mass action. And two weeks ago Holomisa was apparently informed by Junior soldiers that they knew some of their seniors were plotting to oust him. They wished to oust these soldiers from the TDF, but Holomisa warned against it. .

What is confirmed, however, is that on Tuesday afternoon about 300 soldiers surrounded the Botha Sigcau government building in Umtata and shots were fired. Civil servants were told to evacuate the building. Matanzima, his second-in-command and Army Intelligence chief Colonel Washington Nswayiba were arrested along with Commerce Minister Colonel Derrick Mgwebi and Local Government Minister Colonel Lusapho Bengu.

At the same time, soldiers were rounding up other senior officers as hostages. Around 3 000 soldiers at the

Ncise base held these officers under armed guard. _

Holomisa had left town after lunch to address soldiers at the Maluti military base in northern Transkei. On his return around 5pm, he was met by soldiers who wanted him to speak to the troops at the military base. .

He assured journalists that there was no coup. However, only after a second late-night trip to the base was Holomisa able to secure the release of the military council members. On Wednesday, negotiations continued while troops remained in control of the Ncise base.

In the afternoon, Holomisa reported to the troops that the government had agreed to restructure the TDF command, and in the early hours of yesterday morning the remaining captives were released. 200/224 Elnews

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SAP unit to
investigate

complaints
against KZI

By CARMEL RICKARD
KWAZULU Police commissioner
Jac Buchner has agreed to allow a
special investigation unit of the
South African Police to investigate
complaints against the KZP by Fol-
weni residents.

Buchner made this significant
concession after hearing some of
the many complaints by Folweni
refugees who fled their homes
some weeks ago following almost
nightly attacks.

During a visit to the refugee
camp, Buchner, with SAP Briga-
dier Jan Lourens and African
National Congress members, dis-
cussed with members of the com-
munity plans for them to return
home.

Howevet, many people were
adamant they could not yet go
home, as no action had been taken
against those responsible for the
violence. They alleged that in a
number of cases those responsible
were members of the KZP. They
also spoke of many affidavits
which were lying atound the KZP
police stations, but no action was
taken. Folweni is an area of KZP
jurisdiction, and the refugees also
called for the SAP to come back to
keep control of the region.

Asked what should be done 10
help prepare people to go home.,
community members asked that
the Legal Resources Centre should
ke statements from the refugees.
Buchner suggested that a copy of
these statements should be made
available to the SAP and the KZP.
Officials of the two forces should
then establish a special investiga-

tion unit, staffed by SAP members,
10 investigate the allegations .

The complaints could relate to
both alleged KZP actions and inac-
tions, and also to the original inci-
dents of violence. After the special
unit had completed its investiga-
tions, a report would be sent to
Buchner and to Lourens, outlining
what had been found.

Buchner's suggestion has been
seen as having potential. However,
ANC lawyers said the plan still had
to be considered at a meeting
between themselves, the ANC, the
KZP and the SAP.

Inkatha officials said any move
which facilitated peace was to be
welcomed. Democratic Party mon-
itors said it was a step in the right
direction, but that SAP investiga-
tion units had not proved success-
ful in the past and that the Folweni
community would have to monitor
the work of the investigation unit
very closely.

Buchner confirmed he was pre-
pared to have such an investigation
unit set up. He also confirmed that
patrols of the Folweni area involv-
ing KZP and SAP had begun.

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USPICATION is growing of an attempted
cover-up following last week's killing of
eight people at Esikhawini in northern Natal.
'One of the intended victims, National Union
of Metalworkers shop steward Bheki Niuli, lives
close to the Esikhawini police station.

He received no help from the KZP despite being
within carshot. During the attack on his home, Niuli
returned fire. A few minutes afterwards a hand-
grenade was thrown at his house. It bounced back
and exploded away from the walls.

Several hours later three men with gunshot and
shrapnel wounds were admitted to Eshowe hospi-
tal, 50km from Esikhawini. All three gave false
names and addresses.

African National Congress, Numsa and Demo-

cratic Party officials believe these men were part of
the attacking group. They say the KZP and local
SAP officers are not taking the investigation seri-
ously and claim a cover-up was planned.

DP monitor Roy Ainslie visited the Eshowe hos-
pital three days after the incident. Police officers
promised to put the three men under SAP guard.
But the next day they appeared to have lost their
enthusiasm for investigating the case and would not
accept Ainslie's objections that the men should be
held until an investigation had taken place.

Two of the three wounded men have since left
the hospital. Although the KZP have not arrested
the two, nurses said the wounded men were taken
from the hospital by KZP members. The two are
now believed to be in hiding. The third hospital
superintendent AJ Nel said he carried a KZP

reservist card remains in hospital but on
Wednesday he was not under guard.

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Afief complaints by the Jocal ANC branch about
the original attacks, the Goldstone Commission
sent a Lieutenant Colonel H Heslinga to invesli-
gate. By the time he appointed a riot unit captain
from Durban to head the investigation, two of the
men had disappeared.

Jurisdictional problems have been raised by SAP
members. They said they could not take the matter
further as Esikhawini fell under KZP control.
According to Ainslie, the jurisdictional issue was
also raised by Heslinga although he has since
brought in an officer of the SAP Riot and Violent
Crime Unit in Durban to head investigations.

Ainslie said the KZP and the local SAP should

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up suspectedâ\200\231

be criticised for theis role, as there was enovgh evi- ~
dence to lead 10 arrests.

Local SAP officers have said they could find no evidence against the thiee wounded men. They said there was â\200\234no complainantâ\200\235 who had laid charges against the three, and the SAT had no reason lo detain them. All three had given satisfactory explanations for why they used fictitious names and how they sustained their injuries. They said hey had been shot at in the Enyoni area and had laid a charge at the Enyoni police station and the police were now investigating charges against the unknown attackers.

Police could not explain why the Enyoni station commandet had no recosd of these charges os of any recent incidents in the area involving firearms.

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cannot sit with the enemy,â\200\235
declared the African National
Congress Youth League
(ANCYL) after the first

National Youth Forum in Johannesburg at the
weekend. It was this kind of militant postur-

ing which torpedoed efforts to bring together
the countryâ\200\231s fragmented youth.

Despite a surprising degree of consensus on
the economic, political and social needs of
South Africa's young people, the forum dele-
gates could not reach agreement on a coalition
to campaign for the resolutions it adopted.

Branding other movements as â\200\234the enemyâ\200\235,
the ANCYL spurned a proposal for the for-
mation of a broad front of organisations which
" would work to address the needs of youth,
arguing instead for bilatera) contact.

The league seemed to imagine that it was
following the lead of the ANC, which has bro-
ken contact with the government. But ANC
strategy has been to build strategic alliances,
with an eye to future elections.

This is not the first time the league's reflex
militancy has left it at Odds with its mother
body, to which it has, paradoxically, unques-
tioning loyalty. This has often led to a danger-
ously literal application of ANC rhetoric.

It is often seen to be aligned with those in
the ANC who favour an insurrection to over-
throw the government as a way out of the cur-
rent constitutional deadlock.

Another instance was the ANCYL's stand
on the March whites-only referendum called
by President FW de Klerk. The league was
poised to urge a boycott â\200\224 only to be pre-
empted by the ANC's effective call for 3 â\200\234yesâ\200\235
vote.

The forum, held last weekend at the World
Trade Centre, venue of the deadlocked
Convention for a Democratic South Africa,
brought together the youth movements of 13
political organisations.

Among those attending were the ANCYL,
the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade,
National Party Youth Action. the Democratic
Party Youth and the youth wings of the
Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweg-ing. Azanian
National Youth Unity, the youth movement of

the Pan Africanist Congress, refused to attend the conference.

An interesting sidelight was the attendance of the youth wing of the newly formed 'new right' Afrikaner Union Party the Conservative Party youth were conspicuous by their absence. :

This reflects the 'new right's' greater tacti-

sleep
with 'the
enemy'

Despite a large degree of consensus on a range of issues raised at a national gathering of youth movements, the ANC

Youth League refused to participate in a broad front of organisations.

By PAUL STOBER

cal flexibility and their success, in the relatively short time they have been formally constituted, in capturing conservative youth.

Participants at the conference were astonished by the ANCYL's hardline opposition to the coalition concept. ANCYL president Peter Mokaba had given a remarkably conciliatory speech at the opening of the conference, while league delegates were central to pulling the conference together. :

The league has historically backed the idea of a youth parliament which would bring together young activists of all political stripes.

Other than a broad commitment to discussion, the league did not appear to have a clear objective in helping convene and attending

*he conference.

NP Youth Action leader and member of parliament for Randberg, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, believes the ANCYL backtracked on the agreements reached in group discussions because these did not reflect league policy. 'The youth league painted itself into a corner. Even its allies dissented from its position.'

ANCYL spokesman Parks Mankahlana dismissed accusations that the league was alone in its objections to further meetings of the forum. .

â\200\234Only the [FP, DP and the NP spoke on the issue, everybody else kept quiet,â\200\235 he said.

Explaining the leagueâ\200\231s position, Mankahlana said: â\200\234We did not want the conference to give the impression to the country and the world that there was some form of unity, because of our deep differences.

â\200\234We did not want the conference elevated to some kind of negotiation. We went to exchange views with others.â\200\235

Mankahlana argued that the league had merely mirrored broader policy of its mother body, which had withdrawn from talks with the government.

In response, DP Youth chairman Fredenick Nel argued that the youth movements needed to distance themselves from party politics.

â\200\234We obviously pushed general DP policy but certainly compromised on issues where the senior parties could not.â\200\235

Not everyone was depressed by the forum'â\200\231s apparent failure to chart 2 way forward. Said Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa â\200\224 which hosted the conference â\200\224 tepresentative Simon Ntombela: â\200\234The conference should not be seen as a carbon-copy of Codesa. The youth were not there to draw up a new constitution. The key objective was to draw all youth together to define the role of youth in the present political set-up.â\200\235

Despite the disagreement at the end, the conference has laid the foundation for further bilateral contact between youth movements, which all favoured.

Mankahlana commented that in the various committees â\200\234we found a lot of convergence of positions and a degree of movement towards consensusâ\200\235. Representatives of the DP Youth and NP Youth Action echoed these sentiments, e

It has to be said, however, that the youth movements were not asked to commit themselves to concrete policies â\200\224 except on the launch of a coalition.

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N official multipartite alliance doc-

wment throws into sharp relief

the African National Congressâ\200\231

TSION 10 \$4eP Up Mass AcLiovt

and sides clear of multilateral talks wni)
few of its key demands are met.

The ANC announced yesterday that
unless political prisoners were freed
and more substantial steps were taken
to curb the violence, it would not return
to multi-party talks.

The group acknowledged
movement by the government towards
accepting a democratic constituent
assembly, implying that constitutional
issues no longer stand in the way of
resumed talks.

The document, seen by The Weekly
Mail and due to be published in full by
the SA Lebowe Bulletin tomorrow,
assesses the two-month mass action

campaign, charts the way forward for !

further mass actionâ\200\224 including 3 pos-
sible boycott of PAYE tax â\200\224 and
argues for bilateral talks with the
government before multi-party talks
resume.,

â\200\234To be essential that we should restruct-
ure the negotiations process to bring it
into line with the realities of the present
balance of power,â\200\235 says the document.

Outlining further mass action activi-
ties, the document was widely dis-
cussed at the three-day NEC meeting
this week. It argues that mass action

was largely successful in rejuvenating

life for the country
Pressure on the government, but at
times lacked strategic direction.

The ANC said yesterday that it
would not resume negotiations until
the government released remaining
political prisoners and 100k more visi-

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We don't talk any more

demands are met, says ANC

A new policy document sets out
widespread mass action will
continue unless the
government frees political
prisoners and quells
the violence.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

ble, concrete steps to end the violence,
tighten policing of the hostels, placing a

agreed unanimously that
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ANC's demands are unsatisfactory on

the key issues of violence and the
release of political prisoners, "We are an ANC
government and we are not going to be
satisfied with the current situation."

Acting the government of backing
the will of the state-sponsored vio-
lence, it said: "We cannot simply
accept vague assurances but steps are?
to be taken to curb the violence. We?
have learnt the hard way that such
assurances from the De Klerk regime
mean very little."

This is despite frenzied press specu-
lation and recent optimistic state-
ments by President FW de Klerk at the
National Party's Free State congress

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ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa

that multilateral talks will soon be back on track.

(It appears, however, that further bilateral talks are likely to take place soon. { Already, 12 talks involving more than one ANC leader took place with the government this week.

Spelt out in the document is an outline for the new forum for negotiations,

multilateral forum should not |

a5 .
This is likely to confirm suspicions in some quarters

RIS PR W the /IXL and]
government are set to make binding

decisions irrespective of the views of

It is allowed to undermine the basic principle of
agreement.

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sbending months negotiating 3 new forum, the document recommends that the composition of the multilateral forum be decided nearer the time. According to the statement released yesterday, bilateral talks between ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Ministers Roelf Meyer have shown that the government has

should be elected democratically.
IBE national constitution without
vetoes S 107 3 specified Rone frame,
It means of
It is certain agreed majorities, and resort
to agreed deadlock-breaking mechanisms, the ANC has conceded.

The organisation is due to announce 2 more detailed programme of the next phase of mass action, which will intensify the campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

However, the document charts some of the measures likely in the next major wave of actions: stepped up city occupations, campaigns for the release of political prisoners, an end to corruption and murder, 2 more democratic SABC,

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Weighing up the shortcomings of
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racy is also iikely to ke place in mid-
Oxtobex, 10 coincide with the govern-
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ammend the consniution 10 make way
foraninterim govesnment. The ANC is
feercely oppased 10 the governmentâ\200\231s
altempdas 10 proceood with â\200\234unilateralâ\204¢
constitutional amendments. It also
views the gouvemmeni-convened con-
fesence on federalism 10 take place next
week as a â\200\234non-eventâ\200\235. ANC sources
swongly rejecied that the organisalion
was being placed under greal pressure
by internasional players, such as the del-
egalion of ihree Ewopean Community
foreign ministers currently engaged in
12lks with leaders here, 10 retuin 10
mubh-pany talks.

The alliance document questions the
future of the Patrotic Front, noling lhe
â\200\234opportunism and ineffectivencss of Â»
aumbes of pollicat fosmations (such as
the Pan Afiicanist Congress and
Az2p0) whose main mission has been
[0 compete with the ANC alliance
rather than laking on the regime. This
throws opest the whole question of Ihe
lerms on which we rebwid the Patriotic
Fromtâ\204¢,

The ANC yesterday lelexsed its pro-

posed Transition to Democracy Act, o
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ra) patlismens wath 2 Jegal and
constitutional framework until 2 new
constitution is drafted by the constituent
assembly.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli
Moosa told The Weekly Mod the pro-
posed Act would amend the existing
constitution â\200\234only in so far as 15 neacs-
sary in order for there to be a consti-
tutional framework for the interim gov-
ernment of national unity and the con-
stituent assembly. It is an effective reply
to the regimeâ\200\235s claims that the ANC's
approach would lead to 2 ... constitu-
tional hiatusâ\204ç, said Valli. -

The proposal spells out how elections
for 2 constituent assembly should take
place. The 400 MPs elected on 2 pro-
portional representation basis would
complete the drawing up of a new con-
stitution within nine months. It not ral-
fied by 2 two-thirds majority, fresh
elections would be held for a 2 new con-
stituent assembly. The second con-
stituent assembly would have only six
months (to agree on 2 new constitution
â\200\234 3 two-thirds majority failed to ratify

it, 2 constitution passed by a simple

majority would then be put to a referen-
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Opinion. | . . CAE. T E=,

THE confident prediction by Mr Pik
Botha at the Free State NP congress
that a general election will be held
within a year and that it will be won
by the National Party and its allies
is hardly convincing.

It is not clear whether Mr Botha
was talking about an election for a
constituent assembly to approve a
new constitution â\200\224 or a general
election on the basis of a new consti-
tution to form the,first government
of the new era. |

Either way, the chance of the NP
and its allies winning a majority is
remote, in all conscience. Current
levels of violence would seem to pre-
clude fair and free elections any-
way.

The best way ahead
would be for Mr Nelson
Mandela and the State
President, Mr De
Klerk, to reach agree-
ment on a pre-election
pact between the
National Party and the
African National Con-
gress, taking the heat
out of electoral poli-
tics.

Such an pact would provide that
â\200\230the first government under the new

\constitution would be a coalition of
,national unity, drawn from all par-
\ties with siipi}â\200\230iã@ht rã@presentation
in the new legislature.

Whatever the result of a general
election, the principal minority par-
ties would join the majority party in
K forming a Cabinet.

On this route, according to some
leading political analysts, the
chances are maximised of a return
to stability and of business and in-
vestor confidence. /

Real world ,ã@, ,_,_____

The coalition would continue to govern until the need for confidence-building had fallen away, according to this scenario, and all-out competitive elections could be held without plunging the country into chaos.

Despite the NP's proclaimed con-

fidence and optimism, in the real world it is difficult in current conditions of violence akin to low-intensity civil war to see how an election could be held at all. It is likewise hard to see how a general election campaign could be held in the absence of a pre-election pact and with literally everything at stake would not degenerate into high-intensity civil war.

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So it seems there is a measure of old-fashioned bluff in the air. The new political strategies emerging in the NP are cutting across prospects of an NP-ANC pre-election pact and pointing strongly in the opposite direction. What the NP has in mind, it

rection.

seems, is to transform what has been

, a covert and illegally state-funded

alliance with Inkatha against the ANC into an open electoral alliance.

This is risky. For a decade and more the Botha counter-insurgency tactic of divide-and-rule set Inkatha and the ANC (or their UDF surrogates) at each other's throats, so

much so that the intense political

rivalry between the two degenerated into all-out violence. %

First in Natal, and then later in

7 The carfe 7
phalist bravado at the NF
es comes ill from a gover ning party
which has been so profo undly tor-
rupted by power. In the NPâ\200\231 eager-
ness to retain power, is thi Ã©re no hint
of shame or regref for what they
have doneÃ© to the country:

It has seemed on ocÃ©asic)n recently
that Mr De Klerk is losing his states-
manlike touch, in spite o f bold and
impressive gestures to l-eform the
SAP and strengthen the Goldstone
Commission. â\200\230

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