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Two-and-a-half years down this road we are at an impasse. The essence of the problem is that the ruling minority government continues to look for ways and means by which it can guarantee itself continued exercise of power regardless of the support it can muster in democratic elections.

TIME HAS
RUN OUT

NELSON MANDELA
President of the African National Congress

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It is said that South Africa's progress has been based on economic windfalls and political disasters.

The political disasters continue. The economic windfalls have been supplanted by a wholly mismanaged economy.

Unemployment is running as high as 40 percent. Millions of rands of taxpayers' money, supposedly earmarked for black advancement, are embezzled by government officials with impunity. The social fabric of our country is being torn to shreds by the violence sweeping through the black townships. The National Party government, its surrogates, the state security forces and the police have been, and continue to be, directly and indirectly involved in this violence.

Such is the havoc created by the National Party government. Unless we immediately find a way out, it will cast a long shadow over future generations.

When the government of FW de Klerk yielded to pressure for a negotiated solution which would bring out a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, there were expectations that this process would soon realise a stable basis for addressing the numerous problems of our country.

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That is why they insisted at Codesa 2 that the Constituent Assembly should take decisions by an extraordinary high majority of 75 percent. That is why they still adamantly insist that the new constitution should not be a constitution enacted by an elected Constituent Assembly. That is why they insist on the decisions of the Constituent Assembly being subject to veto by a second house. And that is why they wanted regional powers, duties and functions to be pre-determined at Codesa so that the sovereign power of the Constituent Assembly shall have been eroded.

And yet on all previous occasions when whites among themselves adopted South African constitutions by referendum, the National Party has always maintained that a simple majority of 50 percent plus one suffices.

Our position is that the Constituent Assembly should take decisions by a two-thirds majority, as happened in Namibia.

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for a negotiated solution. If negotiations are to have any prospect of success, such pressure is now, more than ever, necessary.

There is indeed an explosive situation prevailing in our country. The reason for this lies in government intransigence and in its involvement by omission and commission in the violence.

We are not responding simply to the anger of our people. The angry mood of the people needs to be harnessed constructively to bring about a democratic order. Throughout history slave owners have been known to blame the slaves when they rise up against their enslavement.

Discipline has always been the hallmark of our campaigns. Commentators are un-

This would ensure that the new constitution has a broad enough base of support to lay foundations of a stable, democratic society in the future.

We cannot accept an undemocratic constitution in order to address the fears of a minority party about its own future at the cost of democracy itself. As long as the government of FW de Klerk insists on a minority veto, in whatever form, the negotiations deadlock will remain.

The longer this outcome is delayed, the more difficult it will be to reach an agreement and the more difficult it will be to govern in the future.

It is this stubbornness of the NP government in clinging to a minority veto that makes it inevitable that the voteless ma-

animous. The peoples' assemblies held on February 2, 1992, were peaceful and disciplined. So too were the more than 70 rallies held throughout the country on June 16. This is the tradition in which we have mobilised our people to exercise an inherent right no authoritarian rule can take away from us.

All the efforts of the ANC and all the energies of our people are being mobilised today to force the government away from the perilous path it is following. Now, more than ever, all South Africans, black and white, need to join hands for democracy, peace and justice. We can ensure that elections for a democratic Constituent Assembly take place before the end of this year. Indeed, we have to make sure that it happens. Time has run out.



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SUNDAY TRIBUNE, 5 JULY 1992

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South Africa is this week at a dangerous crossroads. If talks do not start again soon then the country faces a dark and violent future. Now it is critical that all political leaders find common ground.

Roelf Meyer, representing the Government, and ANC leader Nelson Mandela this week responded to questions by political correspondent JOHN MACLENNAN and provided their views on what has gone wrong, what must be done, and their vision for the future. Mr Mandela's article was written before President FW de Klerk's response this week to the ANC's memorandum of the previous week.

fority have to pursue genuine negotiations, side by side with exerting maximum internal and external pressure, particularly through a mass movement for democracy, peace and justice.

For as long as our people are denied the democratic vote, they shall have to vote with their feet.

It serves no purpose that the NP government whips itself into a frenzy trying to blame violence on the mass campaign for democracy conducted by the ANC and its allies. We have always sought solutions that will reduce conflict and defuse tension.

It was only through all-round internal and external pressure that the NP government was forced to acknowledge the need

FW's letter to Mandela

not all fire, brimstone

HOPE BEHIND HOSTILITY

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEMANDS 3 to 6: Terminate all covert operations including hit squads; disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals; suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; ensure that repression in the homelands is ended.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SATURDAY STAR,
Johannesburg
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DEMAND 13: Release all political prisoners forthwith.

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

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

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

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

BUSINESS DAY

Johannesburg
3 July 1992

FW calls for three-year interim rule

Constituent assembly rejected

UN chief asks all parties to approve mediation effort

LONDON — The UN stood ready to mediate in SA if all parties involved wanted it, secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

Boutros-Ghali met British Prime Minister John Major in London yesterday to discuss the possibility of sending a fact-finding mission to SA. Boutros-Ghali did not say whether it would be a UN mission or one by the EC. The UK heads the EC.

"The UN is at the disposal of the protagonists of the dispute," the UN chief told reporters. "If they want our assistance, if they want our mediation, if they want our presence, we are ready. But we can do nothing without their agreement."

UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who held talks with Boutros-Ghali yesterday, has said he has been in touch with the SA government about a visit by the so-called "troika" of EC foreign ministers.

Boutros-Ghali said he hoped to brief Security Council members next week on his recent talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister P.W. Botha and IFP leaders.

In Dakar, the OAU ended its annual summit by giving full backing to the ANC's campaign to involve the UN in efforts to end violence.

PATRICK BULGER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC said in a statement yesterday it would examine the memorandum and give its response within seven days. In a television address last night, De Klerk accused the ANC and its allies of sabotaging negotiations and said government was not alone capable of ending the violence. And in an earlier letter delivered to ANC president Nelson Mandela, De Klerk proposed the resumption of negotiations through a bilateral meeting with the ANC.

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

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

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

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

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

Interim rule

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

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

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

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