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Youth Congress to define direction

THE Inyandza Youth Congress (IYC) is to define a political direction and its role in the first elections in a new South Africa.

IYC, the youth wing of the Inyandza National Movement (INM), will be holding its 10th annual congress from today until Sunday at Inkululeko Youth Centre at Matsulu near Nelspruit.

IYC spokesperson, Mcabango Phiri said they also wanted to shape the party into a formidable force to make a contribution to the future of the country.

There will be speakers from various progressive organisations country-wide who would be giving messages of support to the IYC members. Cultural activities would also be rendered by various groups in the area.

"It had been four years since the IYC was formed, and now the time was ripe for it to



Enos Mabuza

prepare for a just and peaceful society," said Phiri.

The speakers would include the former kaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza; Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa and kaNgwane Interior ministry and INM deputy president Elias Ginindza.

Meanwhile, the IYC was still waiting for a go ahead from the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) to merge the two parties, Phiri said.

He said: "Both the IYC and the ANCYL had a good relationship in the past, and this is why we decided to merge and strengthen the youth front."

Phiri added that the two parties were presently enjoying some kind of alliance. He said the IYC boasted of a membership of about 55 000 in the kaNgwane region.

JUDGE HITS AT ANC OVER BISHO

**'Large
share of
blame'**

A LARGE portion of the blame for the Bisho massacre on September 7 should be laid at the door of the African National Congress, according to the report of the Chief Justice of the Ciskei, Mr Justice B de V Pickard, released yesterday.

It was extremely likely the leaders of the mass action march that fateful

day had led a large portion of the marchers into the guns of Ciskei Defence Force members "like lambs to the slaughter", Mr Justice Pickard said in his 38-page report.

A total of 29 people were shot dead and hundreds were injured on that Monday afternoon.

"I cannot but gain the impression that, everything considered, it can be regarded as fortunate

that so few people were killed, given the number of shots fired and from where they were fired and the situation of the crowd which was being fired on."

Some of the Ciskei soldiers might have been justified in firing at the demonstrators, Mr Justice Pickard said.

The Ciskei Council of

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MK plans sabotage — Meiring

INDICATIONS were that the African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would commit acts of sabotage during the fourth phase of its mass action programme, the Chief of the SA Army, Lt-Gen George Meiring, told a military parade in Voortrekkerhoogte.

The ANC last night described the allegations as unfounded and aimed at "deliberately arousing passions" in the security forces against the ANC.

Gen Meiring said MK had plans to use so-called "Special Operations Teams" from the PWV area to undertake acts of sabotage against government installations and infrastructure in certain homelands and Black residential areas.

Indications were MK members would be deployed among mass action participants to provoke the security forces of South Africa and the TBVC states.

In the event of counter-action by the security forces, it was planned that MK would be used to create the impression among the broad population that it was a people's army protecting the people against the so-called aggressors, Gen Meiring said.

"Not only will the use of members of the

"Special Operations Teams" ensure good security during these operations, but also hamper attempts to trace the actions back to ANC members."

It seemed as if these Special Operations Teams were just another term for the notorious Self-Defence Units.

Citing acts of sabotage that had already been committed against government buildings in the Ciskei, Gen Meiring said this indicated these

Sabotage claim

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teams would probably be deployed in future.

"Apparently these actions will be extended to the RSA as well."

"Pseudo operations" were also used to place the blame for murders on the shoulders of the Defence Force, the SA Police or the government.

He cited the killing of Addo farmer Andre Maasdorp de Villiers, suspected of being killed by the so-called SADF "Hammer Squad", the murder of an Inkatha family in Northern Natal and recent killings at Umgaba-

ba, Natal, as examples where the victims had been murdered by people clad in security force uniforms.

The ANC said General Meirings allegations would be raised with the National Peace Accord.

"Gen Meiring is deliberately arousing passions in the security forces against the ANC, reinforcing perceptions that the South African Defence Force is the private army of the National Party."

"Clearly the top echelons of the SADF still consider themselves to be at war with the ANC and the people of this country." — Sapa.

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Ciskei rejects Goldstone's finding

THE Ciskei Government yesterday refused to admit its troops had acted "unacceptably and reprehensibly" during the Bisho massacre as found by the Goldstone Commission. Instead, it claimed they were obliged to open fire.

In line with Mr Justice Goldstone's recommendations, however, the discipline of the Ciskei De-

fence Force soldiers in the firing line would be investigated by CDF chief, Brig Marius Oelshig, and murder dockets had been opened and were being placed under the instruction of the Attorney-General's office.

The Ciskei's Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Leon Langeveld, confirmed the police had opened dockets and that the matter would be thoroughly investigated.

The government said, however, it did not deem it necessary for Brig Oelshig's conduct during the massacre to be scrutinised.

At a Press conference in Bisho yesterday, on the issue of its troops' conduct, the government said: "Members of the CDF were placed in a position where they, under the circumstances, were obliged to open fire".

In a statement read by the Justice Minister, Mr Don Brunette, the government claimed Mr Justice Goldstone had stressed the CDF's action was the "immediate result

Ciskei's reaction

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of the irresponsible actions of (ANC official Ronnie) Kasrils and his followers".

In his report, Mr Justice Goldstone said the conduct of the CDF overshadowed the actions of the marchers, was morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure.

Mr Brunette declined to be drawn on whether the Ciskei Government viewed the CDF actions as reprehensible, adding

"that is the purpose of the investigation into the CDF".

He could not say when the investigations would be completed nor if its findings would be presented publicly.

The Ciskei Government reaffirmed its commitment to the Peace Accord and to various freedoms including "reasonable and negotiated public mass action".

When pressed, Mr Brunette admitted, however, that the Ciskei Govern-

ment must naturally give emphasis and priority to its own laws first".

Mr Brunette added it was extremely difficult for the authorities to protect life and property and to trust the alliance to abide by peaceful actions while its followers created a climate of intimidation, violence and crime.

The government reiterated its welcome of the suggested censure of Mr Kasrils who led marchers out of the stadium.

—Sapa

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Govt is restarting negotiations

By Brian Stuart

THE government aimed to restart the negotiation process, and so end the spiral towards confrontation and violence and the mood of despair which

had gripped the country, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

At forthcoming multi-party talks, other parties were free to take views opposed to agreements reached between the government and the ANC. All parties had to participate in shaping the country's future.

The government also undertook yesterday to resolve matters which Inkatha Freedom Party

saw as stumbling-blocks to negotiation, in the same way it had done with the ANC.

It held out the hope that future multilateral talks would be attended by more parties than Codesa 2, including the PAC and Right-wing groups.

"The perception that the government has capitulated to any other party is devoid of all truth," Mr De Klerk told

a media conference in

Pretoria.

"The government's bilateral talks with the ANC on September 16 were not intended to exclude any parties with regard to their right to participate fully in constitutional negotiations on South Africa's future.

"On the contrary, the bilateral talks with the ANC were an essential step towards the resump-

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Restarting negotiations

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tion of inclusive multi-party negotiations, which remains the ultimate goal."

Government was committed to the widest possible consultation with all parties. This involved regular bilateral and multilateral discussions with parties across the political spectrum.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate a viable constitutional settlement which involves only some of the major parties. Simultaneously it is important to be inclusive with regard to all parties prepared to participate.

"Furthermore, the agreement reached between the government

and the ANC does not inhibit any other parties from adopting different positions at future multi-party negotiations."

Mr De Klerk specifically rejected the claim that the government/ANC agreement faced other parties with a fait accompli.

All the agreements relating to future constitutional developments were consistent with agreements on which broad consensus was achieved at Codesa, including some who now rejected the summit agreement.

"Since the Codesa deadlock, for which the government was not responsible, South Africa has been on a downward course towards confrontation and escalating conflict.

"A mood of pessimism and despair has replaced the confidence and growing goodwill which was evident during the Codesa process.

"International and national confidence in our economy has been further eroded, and this has led to further hardship and deprivation for many South Africans.

"There has been a disturbing level of violence in the country — particularly in Natal."

The summit with the ANC should have been a positive step to rectify all this, but it had been undermined by the negative reaction from some quarters.

"This is not the time for boycott politics or for the

politics of demands and division. This is a time when all of us should be throwing our weight towards the centre, and those forces which bind us together."

Mr De Klerk said the IFP was an important party, without which there could be no comprehensive solution to the country's problems.

The government may reconsider its intention to bring before the October sitting of Parliament a Bill to enable Mr De Klerk to set up a transitional government.

The Constitution Amendment Bill would empower Mr De Klerk to appoint people from outside of Parliament to Cabinet and other official posts in government.

Earlier, the government said that implementation of the Bill would wait until consensus had been reached in multi-party talks on the country's constitutional future.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Acting Minister of Constitutional Development while Mr Roelf Meyer is on leave, indicated at a media briefing yesterday that the government would not necessarily go ahead with the measure when Parliament meets this month.

"We do not want to do this unilaterally. Unless the parties feel we must continue, we will go on with consultations.

"We would like to do it now, but I have my doubts as to whether we will be able to do it." *

Bop No to mass action

By Sapa and Arthur Kemp

THE Bophuthatswana Government yesterday reiterated its rejection of mass action, stating democratic mechanisms existed for full and free political participation in the homeland.

It was reacting to Goldstone Commission recommendations that leaders of self-governing homelands should publicly declare their willingness to tolerate and facilitate mass demonstrations when they were reasonable and negotiated.

The Bophuthatswana Government condemned mass action and the "proven risk to life

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Bop No to mass action

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and property which inevitably accompanies it in the present volatile political climate".

It branded as mischievous or misinformed "assumptions" that Bophuthatswana was suppressing free political activity.

"For the past 15 years the citizens of Bophuthatswana have enjoyed a degree of democratic political freedom way beyond that enjoyed in most other African countries.

"Reasonable people will agree that there is

no question of any parallels being drawn between mass action in southern Africa at present and equivalent political expression in other Western democracies.

"It is an unfortunate fact that mass action in our part of the world is the guise behind which certain organisations attempt to undermine legally and democratically constituted authority in order to impose on their victims that with which these victims do not agree," the government said.

In its first reaction to the Goldstone Commis-

sion's findings, the South African Government said it hoped the report would be thoroughly studied and given the consideration it deserved.

The report illustrated the importance of the commission in providing an objective evaluation of the causes of violence in circumstances where it would otherwise be difficult or impossible to establish the facts.

The government was studying the report to establish what steps it should now take.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the NP, said that the NP "condemns the ANC's rejection of the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that the ANC/SACP militant, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, be censured for his role at Bisho".

"This is tantamount to (the ANC) thumbing its nose at the Goldstone Commission," said Dr Van der Merwe. Mr Kasrils is head of intelligence for the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The commission is an independent and impartial judicial body which delivered a considered opinion that Mr Kasrils had knowingly and negligently led his followers into danger of death and injury, and that this action was the immediate cause of what followed."

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

ANC 'gains'

THE government intended to do everything possible to resume negotiations with the Inkatha Freedom Party, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

And so it should.

For as Mr De Klerk admits, without the IFP there can be no comprehensive solution.

For the present, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, is not going to be easily mollified by any government assurances that he is not being sidelined.

The ANC's National Executive Committee has added further fuel to the fire by noting that important gains have been achieved in the Record of Understanding agreed on by Mr De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The NEC referred particularly to the release of political prisoners, steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons and the control of violence emanating from the hostels.

Mr De Klerk stressed that a perception that the government had capitulated to any other party was devoid of all truth.

But seeing what "gains" the ANC has achieved, Chief Buthelezi will no doubt feel the ANC has, indeed, attained some of its objectives at the expense of Inkatha and the Zulu people he represents.

Be that as it may, we wholeheartedly support Mr De Klerk's statement that the leaders of all the recognised parties should once again get together to resume multilateral talks.

As for Mr Mandela's promise that the ANC would review, as a matter of urgency, its strategy of mass action, it was an empty undertaking.

The NEC said that in considering the programme of mass action, it "resolved that all social and economic campaigns should continue as previously planned."

Additional precautions would be taken in future marches to minimise the possibility of any loss of life or injury, it said.

It also reiterated that "all mass action will be within the framework of the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone recommendations".

No mention is made of calling off the march on Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital.

No doubt the ANC will seize on Mr Justice Goldstone's latest edict that "the leadership of the TBVC homelands and of self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

"No-go areas are quite unacceptable and a barrier to any free or fair election."

We assume from this that the march on Ulundi would qualify as the kind of mass demonstration that Mr Justice Goldstone has in mind.

What better excuse for the ANC to go on with the dangerous march?

The ANC may play down its previous threat to march on Ulundi to topple Chief Buthelezi.

But even if we assume that the march is intended as a protest against homeland governments and the alleged lack of political freedom in KwaZulu (a claim that Chief Buthelezi rejects), the mere fact that it is a challenge to both Chief Buthelezi and the authority of his government makes this an explosive demonstration that could result in a repeat of the Bisho tragedy.

Incidentally, the ANC, which generally welcomes Mr Justice Goldstone's reports, this time rejects his call that it should censure Mr Ronnie Kasrils for irresponsibly leading marchers through a gap in the Bisho stadium fence only to have them shot by soldiers.

"The NEC wishes to state firmly that, if there was any error of judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies, for which we bear collective responsibility."

So let the ANC and its allies collectively censure themselves.

Taking added precautions to prevent loss of life and injury during mass marches is not enough.

What is required is that mass marches which endanger the lives of marchers should be abandoned.

One person hurt in latest Ratanda clash

AT least one person was injured in police action in the troubled Eastern Transvaal township of Ratanda, outside Heidelberg, yesterday.

Police said rubber bullets were fired when a crowd refused to disperse.

The Peace Action

monitoring group alleged, however, no order was given to disperse, and said birdshot had been used.

SAP spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer said police had ordered a group of about 50 people to disperse at 3.30 pm, and the order had been obeyed.

"Shortly afterwards they regrouped. Police asked them to disperse and they refused. Rubber bullets were used to disperse them."

Capt Van Deventer said that according to official police statistics, one person was injured in the incident.

Peace Action said, however, that a number

of people, who had begun marching in the township after returning home from staging a picket in Germiston, were shot by police using birdshot.

Peace Action spokesperson Venitia Govender said community leader Dan Nkosi was hit in the arm as he was moving towards a police Casspir to talk to the officer in charge.

"Peace Action monitors also reported that a number of people standing in their yards were shot."

Ratanda has been the scene of a number of confrontations this week between African National Congress supporters, hostel dwellers, and the police. — Sapa.

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THE CITIZEN

Govt approves more measures for hostel security

THE government had approved additional interim measures to upgrade security at hostels, National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Intensified policing, random searches of hostels and access control to prevent the carrying of weapons had been approved as additional measures to augment the government's hostel strategy.

These measures would apply only until violence and criminality had been

stabilised to the satisfaction of the Goldstone Commission.

According to a government document released yesterday on the re-evaluation of the hostel strategy, policing would be intensified by ensuring personnel were available for regular patrols in the vicinity of affected hostels, and to ensure police response within a reasonable time.

Routine and random

searches at hostels by the SAP had been approved to ensure that criminality was curtailed as far as possible.

The provision or repair of fencing at 21 hostels with a history of violence and criminality had also been approved, and the fences would be erected or repaired by November 15.

Once stability had been achieved, the upgrading or conversion of the af-

fectured hostels would be dealt with by negotiation and consensus in accordance with existing policy.

The Goldstone Commission would determine the stage at which hostels had been sufficiently stabilised to allow housing initiatives to be resumed.

Earlier, President De Klerk said the agreement on hostels and dangerous weapons between the government and the African National Congress had brought the ANC's original demands into line with the steps and guidelines which the government had already committed itself to.

The steps the government intended to take were "limited to a relatively small number of hostels" linked with violence.

The government's stance on hostels had been explained to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before the government's September 26 summit with the African National Congress, Mr Wessels said yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi has cited the lack of government consultations with the IFP on hostels, which he termed "Zulu concentration camps", as one of the reasons for breaking off talks with the government.

Mr Wessels said: "I am not claiming that I canvassed a complete agreement with Chief Minister Buthelezi and consulted with him how we should dot the i's and cross the t's," but there had certainly been interaction.

Mr Wessels said Chief Buthelezi did not, at the time, indicate they would react the way they did to the ANC/government's Record of Understanding reached last Saturday. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 02 OCTOBER 1992

Aborigines bid for strong election voice

BRISBANE. — Twenty-five years after Australia's indigenous Blacks won the right to vote, an attempt is being made to weld them into a political force for upcoming parliamentary elections.

Powerful

In a move which would give 500 000 Aborigines a potentially powerful parliamentary voice for the first time, applications have been lodged to register the Australian Indigenous Peoples Party (AIPP).

AIPP candidates will contest the elections for both houses of the Australian Parliament, the party's national secretary Sam Watson said yesterday.

The focus of policies would be on Aboriginal land rights and small business, he said.

"The AIPP is Australia's first Black people's

party but our policies are broad and should appeal to many White voters as well," said Mr Watson, a former Labour Party official.

"It is historic because it is 25 years since Black people were granted full citizenship and the right to vote with a 91,5 per cent majority in the 1967 referendum.

Hopes

"We hope to tap into some of that support again," he said.

An Aboriginal himself Mr Watson, who is a 40-year-old novelist, plans to stand for one seat.

Both government and opposition would "have Black faces staring at them across the floor of Parliament after the next election," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 02 OCTOBER 1992

Bill brings curbs on 'mass destruct' weapons

Citizen Reporter

A FAR-REACHING Draft Bill was published in the Government Gazette yesterday, which would allow the government to control and restrict products and technology which could lead to the manufacture and build-up of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear weapons.

The Department of Trade and Industry announced in Pretoria yesterday that after the Gulf War and with the disintegration of the East Block, greater emphasis was internationally being placed on disarmament initiatives.

These initiatives were mainly aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, which are regarded as a serious threat to world peace.

The department did not

spell out what was meant by weapons of mass destruction, but it is believed that these could include nuclear weapons.

The department said South Africa possessed technology, abilities and products, some of which the international community considered to be sensitive in nature because it could be used, or misused, for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

Consequently, it was expected that the international community would exert substantial pressure on South Africa to exercise control over these technologies, abilities and products, in order to restrict proliferation.

Without this control, trade with South Africa's traditional trading partners would be severely restricted.

An inter-departmental committee was appointed with a view to formulating an official policy on these weapons and to draft the

legislation.

It is envisaged that the Draft Bill would be tabled in Parliament during next year's parliamentary session.

The United States of America and other countries have already expressed concern over nuclear weapons technology being in South Africa's hands — especially with the political instability in the country at this stage and the unknown factor of how a possible future government could use this technology.

It is known that Armscor has developed a medium range ballistic missile, which, with a nuclear warhead, could create havoc for world peace if a future government should, for instance, export these to countries not friendly towards the West.

These include countries like Cuba and Libya — both of which have been identified by the ANC as "partners in their struggle".

First ANC march on KwaZulu this Sunday

PIETERMARITZBURG — The first African National Congress march against the KwaZulu administration takes place on Sunday at Ezakheni township in Ladysmith.

The march forms part of the campaign announced recently by the three Natal ANC regions to demand free political activity, the dismantling of KwaZulu's administration, the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police, and an end to plans to transfer 600 ha of land to KwaZulu.

The Ezakheni ANC branch will march to the

local township superintendent's office at 11am on Sunday to demand that Ulundi stop administering the township. The marchers will also protest against corruption.

The United Nations peace-monitoring team has been briefed about Sunday's action.

ANC spokesman Reggie Hadebe said there would be numerous campaigns in the province which would culminate with a march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

Campaign

The Georgetown, Edendale, ANC branch

met at the weekend and resolved to mount a campaign to oppose moves to transfer the area, outside Pietermaritzburg, to KwaZulu.

Edendale — an ANC stronghold and one of the few places in South Africa where, for many years, Blacks have had freehold rights to land — is among the areas rumoured to form part of the 600ha to be transferred to Ulundi.

The government has declined to confirm whether Edendale is scheduled to be transferred to KwaZulu. — Sapa.

enlarge

Traditional arms excluded

Citizen Reporter

PRESIDENT De Klerk yesterday denied that the proposed banning on the display and carrying of dangerous weapons in public included a ban on Zulus carrying traditional weapons for cultural or other purposes.

He also denied that the government's decisions concerning hostels and dangerous weapons had as their origin the agreement with the ANC.

"They arise from the

government's primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, from the Peace Accord and from the Goldstone Commission," he said.

Setting out the government's position in the Record of Understanding reached between the government and the ANC, and the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) objections to it, Mr De Klerk said it had always been the government's approach to consult with all parties.

Concerning intended steps at hostels, the hostel dwellers would be consulted and no steps impairing their human dignity or basic rights would be taken. Besides, the steps were aimed at only a small number of hostels.

Mr De Klerk said the perception that the agreement and the proposed legislation on banning dangerous weapons, was aimed at cultural weapons was incorrect.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 02 OCTOBER 1992

KwaZulu Govt calls for new rules on demos

ULUNDI. — Mr Justice Goldstone needs to urgently reconsider guidelines for peaceful demonstration, and to recognise that mass action which causes violence cannot be called legitimate or democratic, the KwaZulu Government said yesterday.

A resolution taken by the homeland's legislative assembly caucus said KwaZulu had never objected to legal demonstrations in the capital of Ulundi. These had taken place in many KwaZulu townships since 1990 when the African National Congress was unbanned.

In another resolution, the decision taken by KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom

Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to suspend discussions with the South African Government was fully supported.

On this issue, the caucus resolved: "To fully agree with and to underwrite the urgency of the need for South Africa to clearly tell (President) De Klerk that the time for bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC on national issues such as the release of political prisoners and the Umkhonto (we Sizwe, the ANC military wing) question, is now past."

These issues had to be made the subject of national multiparty negotiations, it said.

"The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus

(is) deeply aware of how precariously South Africa is balanced between possible negotiation successes and disastrous negotiations failures."

On mass action, the caucus resolved that legal steps would be taken to ensure that no march on Ulundi took place.

It also resolved: "To record our view that it is now urgent for Mr Justice (Richard) Goldstone to reconsider guidelines for the holding of peaceful demonstrations, and to recognise the mass action which threatens violence and death, cannot be classified as legitimate (and) democratic."

The caucus accordingly resolved: "To reject the Record of Understanding signed by Mr De Klerk

and (ANC president Nelson) Mandela on Saturday 26 September as binding on all South Africans".

Noting its support for Chief Buthelezi's suspension of negotiations with the government, the legislative assembly also noted this was pending wide-ranging consultations with like-minded parties and opinion-makers "who see the need to subject any agreement made between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela to multiparty scrutiny for acceptance, or amendment or rejection as need be".

Chief Buthelezi's call for a multiparty Conference of Review of negotiations and the peace process was also endorsed. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 02 OCTOBER 1992

Buthelezi again slams ANC-govt agreement

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday met a fact-finding delegation from the Organisation for African Unity in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

He reiterated his objections on constitutional grounds to the Record of Understanding signed at the weekend by the African National Congress and the government, and slammed as "cultural castration" plans to ban traditional weapons.

The agreement on a Constituent Assembly

would lead to a unitary state, he said. Only a federal system was a viable option in South Africa.

Referring to the Record of Understanding, the IFP leader said the agreement would lead to a resumption of multilateral negotiations but these would be directed and supported by extensive bilateral negotiations.

"This is a commitment to continue to hijack the negotiation process."

On cultural weapons, Chief Buthelezi described these as a sign and token of the militancy of Zulus

to defend their cultural and ethnic identity.

"These are not weapons, as weapons are understood in the modern world, and their primary purpose is not to cause injury to others ... taking away cultural weapons means depriving the Zulus of their chosen and traditional tools of self-identification."

Fencing hostels amounted to creating Zulu concentration camps, he claimed, and was aimed at intimidating and provoking a reaction.

— Sava.

We won't let ANC just storm in: FW

Political Correspondent

A SHARP warning to the ANC that it would not be able to "storm in, break down, and turn everything over" in a future government, was made yesterday by President De Klerk.

Earlier this week, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus threatened that apart from the freeing of ANC members, other amnesties granted by the government could be "temporary and shaky" as the ANC could in future reverse them.

"There is nothing to guarantee that we (an ANC government) might not withdraw that piece of legislation," Mr Niehaus said.

Mr De Klerk reacted bluntly at a media conference in Pretoria yesterday, saying that the government would not hand over to a constitutional system which allowed chaos in the country.

"The ANC and some of its spokesmen create an impression that much of

what we are doing will be undone at a future stage.

Mandate

"I would like to indicate that I am negotiating within the framework of a specific mandate, within the framework of principles which were put publicly during the referendum campaign. I regard myself bound to those principles.

"I do not intend to say Yes to a constitution — when this government hands over power to a transitional government — which would allow any party at random to undo that which has constructively been done in the interests of reconciliation, and in the interests of maintaining security and stability in South Africa.

"We are working for a constitution which will ensure that there will not be suppression of minorities. That that which exists will be the foundation and the cornerstone on which to build the future.

"By that I am not saying that future governments will not be able to amend present legislation.

"What I am saying is that we are not going to hand the country over to chaos, where any party — not my party, nor the ANC, nor any other party — will be able to storm in, break down and turn everything over.

"We must realise that there can only be long-term peace in this country if the interests, the fears and the aspirations of all South Africans are accommodated in a new dispensation.

"It is that sort of new dispensation for which we are working, and it is that type of constitution, with its checks and balances, which this government will settle for," said Mr De Klerk.

Wild

Mr Niehaus has already come under attack from the National Party, which said that continuous wild statements by Mr Niehaus "look increasingly like a deliberate attempt to retard the process of reconciliation".

"It has become time that the ANC disciplines the wild elements in its ranks," the NP said.

Bisho: Judge hits at ANC

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State requested Mr Justice Pickard to investigate the Bisho massacre and to present the report to the territory's military leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Mr Justice Pickard said in his report it was not his intention at this stage — without comprehensive evidence, proper cross-examination of witnesses and full representation by all interested parties — to come to a final conclusion on any matter.

"Accordingly, I shall attempt to refrain from drawing inferences or coming to conclusions in respect of any matter which I anticipate may be seriously disputed in the future."

He said the report could, in a sense, be seen as an interim one. Any party could approach him if they wished to have an opportunity to refute any finding.

Mr Justice Pickard said those Ciskei soldiers in the path of the group of demonstrators led by Mr Ronnie Kasrils "may, against the background of the whole situation, well have been justified in firing some shots from that position".

"However, the conclusion is inescapable that the shooting on the southern and eastern sides of the stadium (furthest away from the breakaway group of demonstrators) should never have occurred and that matters got entirely out of hand, and that the soldiers over reacted considerably."

The most reasonable probability for the soldiers on the southern and eastern sides opening fire was because they became "trigger happy", said the judge.

"One matter is clear, and that is that the CDF does not consist of the most sophisticated soldiers one can imagine."

"I am informed that a large number of them have something like a Standard Three certificate and numerous of them are entirely illiterate."

"Under those circumstances it seems very likely that, in the excitement of the moment and with the build-up that existed...they got out of hand and fired at random at the crowd," Mr Justice Pickard said.

"Regrettably, ill-trained and ill-equipped militia can often be more dangerous than well-equipped and trained militia."

"The weaknesses in the background of the CDF... obviously contributed to the seriousness of the situation."

Mr Justice Pickard said it was difficult for him to determine, in the limited time he had, whether shots were fired from the crowd as alleged by the CDF.

"Accordingly, I shall assume, for the purposes of this report, that the soldiers were not fired at, although it is clear that subsequently at least one hand weapon of Russian manufacture was picked up on the scene in the vicinity of the area where the crowd were running."

"That the odd shot may have been heard from the crowd cannot be entirely negated, but I express my gravest doubt about such a version."

"Even if this were so, there is no indication that any shooting from the crowd was of sufficient intensity or of such a nature as to justify the return fire

as occurred from the troops on the south or east of the stadium."

"To suggest that the march was an 'armed' invasion is not justified."

It was alleged at the time by Ciskei that the marchers had opened fire first, killing a Ciskeian soldier, which had triggered the armed response from the CDF.

However, according to Mr Justice Pickard: "I am reasonably satisfied from the postmortem report, the analysis of the metal found in the (soldier's) damaged brain, the ballistic tests done with his cap and similar other caps, that he was shot from behind the head with a high velocity bullet of the calibre which the soldiers used, and that he was probably killed by the fire of his colleagues who fired from virtually everywhere."

Mr Justice Pickard said further: "It seems rather a pity that in the knowledge of the enormity of the tension and in the knowledge of the fact that these two highly motivated and volatile forces were on a collision course... the march from the Victoria grounds (in King Williamstown) to the Ciskei border was ever permitted by the relevant South African authorities."

"The result would almost inevitably have met with disaster and to expect the peacekeeping (National Peace) Secretariat to avoid the inevitable was, to my mind, naive," Mr Justice Pickard said.

In blaming the ANC, he said in his report: "The video clearly shows how Kasrils misled the members of the National Peace Secretariat and, in

fact, lied to them about his intentions, thereby rendering them entirely impotent ...

"It seems, respectfully, to me that a large amount of the blame for what occurred on this fateful day should be laid at the door of the leadership of the ANC."

"It seems most unlikely that the bulk of the marchers themselves were aware of the risks they were running and it is extremely likely that a large portion of the crowd at least may have been led into the situation like lambs to the slaughter by their leaders who had a far better opportunity of assessing the risks than the average supporter."

"In the knowledge of all these risks, the leadership saw fit to lead them on and egg them on and, in my respectful view, it seems that their attitude was that they were prepared to sacrifice a number of their supporters for the cause."

Mr Justice Pickard said future marches or demonstrations should not be allowed "until full details are negotiated and settled well in advance and everybody undertakes to stick by the rules of the game".

He felt, however, that until intimidation on a day-to-day basis in the Ciskei ended, "it seems almost a waste of time to try and create respectful or reasonable structure to avoid violence".

Between June 1 this year and September 21, the Ciskei Police reported to Mr Justice Pickard that some 200 unrest-related incidents — "and very serious ones I might say" — had occurred in the Ciskei. — Sapa.

Govt and ANC head for the bush for next round of negotiations

THE ANC has agreed to meet government for a two-day "bosberaad" at the end of October to finalise outstanding issues.

It is understood that the two parties agreed to the bush talks after the ANC accepted President F W de Klerk's invitation of some weeks ago to break the impasse in negotiations.

According to the ANC, the bosberaad would have been held sooner but the two sides could not fit in a meeting due to current commitments. ANC president Nelson Mandela is abroad until October 12, then Parliament re-opens and De Klerk will be

tied up for two weeks.

Two foreign diplomats said ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki briefed the diplomatic corps yesterday and confirmed the bosberaad decision.

It is understood the ANC is hoping Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend the meeting of national peace accord signatories on October 17 so that he and Mandela can meet.

On Wednesday the ANC national executive committee (NEC) decided against a summit between the two leaders but were reportedly in favour of the two leaders

BILLY PADDOCK

meeting within the context of a broader gathering.

At the Union Buildings yesterday, De Klerk made an urgent plea for all signatories to attend the meeting. He has called for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet to contribute to lowering tensions in Natal.

De Klerk said it would be "the biggest achievement towards peace if we can get all the signatories" to the meeting.

He expressed disappointment that the NEC had not gone further in sealing down

mass action but welcomed its commitment to minimise the possibility of violence.

He criticised the ANC and some of its spokesmen for creating the impression that "much of what we are doing will be undone later".

De Klerk said he was negotiating within the framework of principles he had received a mandate for in the referendum, and no more.

"I won't say yes to a constitution that will allow any party to undo at random that which has been constructively done to maintain stability and security."

There could only be long-term peace if the interests, fears and aspirations of all South Africans were properly accommodated, he said.

De Klerk vowed to do everything he could to clear up misunderstandings of agreements with the ANC which had led to Buthelezi pulling out of all talks.

It was untrue that government had capitulated to the ANC. The summit talks were not intended to exclude any parties.

"The bilateral talks with the ANC were an essential step towards the resumption of

□ To Page 2

□ From Page 1

Bosberaad

inclusive multiparty negotiations, which remains the ultimate goal," De Klerk said.

Government was committed to the widest possible consultation and it was not possible to negotiate viable constitutional settlements if only some of the parties were present.

The agreements with the ANC also did not rule out or inhibit any other parties from adopting different positions at future multiparty negotiations, De Klerk said.

Since Codesa had broken down, a mood of pessimism and despair had replaced the confidence and growing goodwill. International and domestic confidence in the economy had been eroded, which had led to further hardship and deprivation for many South Africans, he said.

Referring to Buthelezi withdrawing from talks, De Klerk said the government/ANC meeting at the weekend should have made a positive contribution, but its posi-

tive effect had "unfortunately been undermined by the negative reaction from some quarters".

He said it was essential that all men and parties of goodwill should get together to put a stop to the downward spiral of the past months.

"This is not the time for boycott politics or for the politics of demands and division.

"This is a time when all of us should be throwing our weight toward the centre and those forces that bind us together," he said clearly indicating that he would try to get Buthelezi back but was not going to pander to him.

In a veiled reference to the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, De Klerk appealed to all parties to "exercise the maximum restraint and responsibility with regard to the volatile situation in Natal".

● Comment: Page 6

Dear Sir,
JACK Curtis's wanderings in the utopia of his own making were never more apparent than in his analysis of the major role players in SA (Letters, October 1).

His pro-socialist bias for the ANC/SACP/Cosatu power bloc makes him ever so keen to marginalise the power bloc represented by its major black rival — the free market, federal-supporting IFP — of which I am a member — to which he ascribes little support.

I have news for him. Not only does the IFP command the backing of an estimated 80% of the black people of Natal/KwaZulu, but it is also making steady gains in the Transvaal where it sows in ground made fertile by people's widespread disillusionment with the results of mass action and boycotts.

In the past month, 14 new branches were added to the 181 existing branches in the Transvaal, including branches in Sotho-speaking and Tswana-speaking areas. Branches can be up to 7 000 in number. Approximately 40% of the IFP's total membership is now non-Zulu, it may

surprise Jack Curtis to know.

Naked intimidation by the communist-dominated alliance which he supports is the IFP's major obstacle in spreading its influence. At election time it will be a real force to be reckoned with.

A J MACAULAY
Craighall Park

16/1/20

High-powered SACC delegation meets FW

CITIZEN 2-10-92

THE assassination of the general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, Mr Sam Ntuli, was raised at a meeting between President F W de Klerk and a delegation of church leaders in Pretoria yesterday.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Coun-

cil of Churches, said after the two-hour meeting Mr De Klerk had expressed his concern about the gunning down of Mr Ntuli at his Tokoza home near Alberton.

The high-powered delegation from the SA Council of Churches yesterday warned State President De Klerk that the credibility of the all-White private sector advisory committee set up to

investigate covert action allegations would be suspect to many Blacks.

In a lengthy discussion with Mr De Klerk, Finance Minister. Barend du Plessis and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in Pretoria, the delegation, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, exchanged thoughts on the state of morality in the country.

Later, Archbishop Tutu told reporters that church leaders were unanimous that there must now be a positive move ahead on negotiations.

"We say to all parties, get a move on and stop stalling."

At the Press conference after the meeting the Archbishop said that too many Blacks the findings of the advisory committee would be suspect, following their years of oppression and intimidation.

But he stressed that he had absolutely no doubts

about the integrity of the actual members of the advisory committee.

"For Blacks, in a sense, this committee means nothing."

"Many Blacks will look at it in its context of being a White committee only and say 'so what' if it makes a finding that it is satisfied that everything is hunky-dorey," said the Archbishop.

He added: "They would probably say 'so what', so what did you expect."

The SACC team backing the Archbishop included the President of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Wilfrid Napier, and the Dean of the Church of the Province in South Africa, Bishop Michael Nuttall.

Archbishop Tutu said that the talks were "very open, friendly, cordial and aimed at rebuilding trust in the wake of Inkathagate."

Voter education a Matla Trust priority

WITH SA's first nonracial elections imminent, educational and charitable organisation Matla Trust has chosen voter education as a priority in its programme of uplifting disadvantaged South Africans.

To this end, the trust has produced 320 graduates from eight two-week courses to train people in the concept of democracy and the electoral system. Matla Trust's community and citizen education programme national co-ordinator Terrence Tryon says.

Matla Trust was established in 1990 as a nonpartisan body serving the needs of disadvantaged people across the political spectrum, following ANC president Nelson Mandela's consultations on the issue.

The trust is being funded by money Mandela raised in overseas drives. To date, the Washington-based Free Mandela Fund has released R13m to the programme. It also receives funds from foreign governments, foreign and local business and individuals and non-governmental bodies.

As an educational and charitable trust under the chairmanship of lawyer Ismail Ayob, the trust subscribes to the adage: "When you give a man a fish, you feed him for a day, but if you teach him how to fish, you feed him for life."

The trust's objectives are to uplift

THEO RAWANA

disadvantaged people through educational, social, welfare, charitable and informative programmes.

It also aims to promote the development of a democratic society by teaching people about democratic principles, institutions and practices. The name Matla comes from the Sesotho word meaning empowerment.

In an interview last year, executive director Billy Modise said the voter education programme would "generally prepare South Africans for democracy".

He said SA was changing rapidly and if there were to be an election now, many people would be disqualified from voting for procedural or tactical errors.

The community and citizen education programme prepares people for elections by teaching them the basic principles, institutions and practices of democracy.

"We got 53 organisations from all over the country to select people to be trained and to go back and train their constituencies. These people will also act as election managers and serve as monitors during elections," Tryon said.

"It must be made clear that the programme is not for a particular organisation, but is aimed at getting as many people as possible to vote."

Hostel residents to boycott rents payments

TRANSCAAL hostel residents have decided to boycott rent payments in protest against government's plan to increase security at hostels identified as trouble spots.

Random searches of the hostels and tight access control to prevent the carrying of weapons were among the new measures announced yesterday by National Housing Minister Leon Wessels.

The measures, which include the fencing by November 15 of 21 hostels with a history of violence and criminality, would apply only until violence had been stabilised to the satisfaction of the Goldstone communis-

THEO RAWANA

sion, said Wessels.

But Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joe Kubheka said a meeting of the organisation had decided on mass action and a rent boycott.

The campaign was launched last night when about 300 association members, representing 22 hostels, protested outside TPA offices in Germiston while Kubheka presented their demands.

Kubheka said afterwards the TPA was working to government's agenda and

would not listen to his group's arguments.

He conceded that some hostels were linked to violence but said these should be dealt with in consultation with his organisation, which he said had 40 000 members.

A document on government's hostel strategy released yesterday said policing would be intensified through regular patrols in the vicinity of affected hostels, ensuring a quick response to incidents.

Once stability had been achieved, upgrading or conversion of hostels would be dealt with through negotiation.

● Picture: Page 3

Army chief accuses MK of sabotage plans

THE ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe plans to undertake acts of sabotage against government installations and infrastructures during the fourth phase of its mass action programme, says SA Army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring.

Available information made it clear MK members would be deployed among mass action participants during "exitgate" to provoke the security forces of SA and the TBVC states, Meiring told a military parade in Voortrekkerhoogte on Wednesday. Meiring's speech was released to the media yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night rejected Meiring's claims as "utterly untrue" and said the ANC was committed to a peaceful campaign of mass action which would be conducted within the parameters laid down by the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord.

Meiring said: "In the event of counter-action by the security forces, it is planned that MK will be used to create the impression among the broad population that MK is a people's army protecting the people against so-called aggressors."

In addition, plans existed to use so-called "special operations teams" from the PWV area during mass action to sabotage government installations and infrastructures in certain TBVC states and black residential areas, he said.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

"Not only will the use of members of special teams ensure good security during these operations, but also hamper attempts to trace these actions back to ANC members. It rather seems then that these so-called 'special operation teams' are just another term for the notorious self-defence units," Meiring told the parade.

He said acts of violence had already been committed against government buildings in the Ciskei, which indicated members of these teams would most probably be deployed in future.

Apparently these actions would be extended to SA as well.

Similarly, "pseudo operations" were obviously being used to place the blame for murders on the shoulders of the SADF, SAP or the government.

According to Meiring, only two alternatives existed in SA's future.

"We can attempt to negotiate for a joint future with built-in protection of minority groups, or we can settle our differences by using violence — in other words get involved in a civil war or a bloody battle."

However, the Defence Minister had given an undertaking that government would not rest until a new and just democracy was in place, and that government would continue to negotiate to achieve this goal. Meiring said.

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Federalism viewed from the shoulders of giants



*Using foreign models of federalism
could turn South Africa into another
Germany — or another Yugoslavia.
At a conference in Hannover,
Germany, last week various
academics put forward the options*



By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**

Inkatha leaders assassinated in Natal

THE military-style onslaught against Inkatha leaders in Natal continues unrelentingly. For more than a month there has been one or more mass killing virtually every 10 days.

On Tuesday evening this week prominent Ningizimu deputy mayor and Inkatha branch leader Gideon Sibiya was murdered. He was standing outside his business at the SJ Smith hostel in Umlazi when gunmen opened fire with AK47 rifles.

They also hurled a grenade at Sibiya and a colleague on the Ningizimu council, Mthembeni Xulu. Both Xulu and Sibiya tried to escape but died nearby. A third man, as yet unidenti-

Inkatha leaders in Natal are increasingly the victims of military-style attacks, reports

CARMEL RICKARD

fied, was also killed in the incident and three other people were hurt.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said his organisation was shattered by the killing of Xulu and Sibiya whom he said were well-loved and respected in the community. He said Xulu worked tirelessly to improve hostel conditions and that he had acted as a mediator to reconcile Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress factions in

the SJ Smith hostel.

However, Sibiya was a more controversial figure, whose role as a hostel leader recently came under severe criticism from the ANC. He played an important role in the Hostels Initiative Steering Committee, which is trying to improve hostel conditions and prevent hostel violence.

At the most recent meeting of the committee, the ANC presented a long complaint about Sibiya's behaviour. They said while they did not accuse him of violence, he behaved in an undemocratic way as though he "owned" the hostel.

The murder of Sibiya, Xulu and the third man followed just days after nine

people, including several key Inkatha officials, were killed in the Kengeshe area outside Richmond.

The attackers allegedly burnt IFP homes, then barricaded the road to stop anyone leaving, before firing on a group of Inkatha men, gathered to defend the area. One of the attackers was also killed. He was later identified by local people as an ANC supporter.

IFP officials said the security forces must increase protection for residents in the Richmond area. Inkatha, which wants Umkhonto weSizwe disbanded, blamed MK for the continued deaths and said the government must be forced to recognise its responsibility in halting the violence against the IFP.

Unfinished business holding up Codesa

SIGNALS reaching British and Commonwealth authorities in London suggest it will take about three months before Codesa in a revised form can be resumed, even if an African National Congress-Inkatha confrontation can be avoided.

Officials of the Foreign Office and the Commonwealth Secretariat called attention to a number of complex issues that figure as unfinished business in the record of understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela this

week.

This unfinished business lies at the heart of the difficulties besetting the major parties involved in the search for settlement. They range from the central problem of ending violence and the ban promised by De Klerk on the carrying of lethal weapons to creating the conditions for free political activity throughout the Republic including the homelands.

The matter of international supervision of the peacemaking and projected electoral processes has also aroused concern among British, Common-

*It will take three months
before there can be a new
version of Codesa reports*

ARTHUR GAVSHON

wealth, European Community and United Nations diplomats.

Despite plans for the introduction of scores more international monitoring units by non-governmental organisations, there appears to be a general recognition that the existing Peace Accord structure requires massive

reinforcement.

A senior Commonwealth official said: "The declarations by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the possibilities of full scale civil war may be rhetorical but need to be taken seriously. They may be his seeking to conceal rifts within the Inkatha movement but they would also spell bigtime trouble that would wreck the negotiating programme."

Underlining this, the informant disclosed that Mandela had asked UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali for a 400-strong monitoring

force. The UN chief was only able to commit himself to 50 because of his commitment in the former Yugoslav state, Cambodia and elsewhere.

Worse than that, the UN observer group is composed of what the diplomat described as "pen-pushers" — meaning secretariat officials with little or no experience of on-site monitoring and observer techniques. "What is essential in South Africa are monitors and observers with policing or soldiering experience," the official said.

The variety of problems still to be settled before fullscale negotiations can be resumed include:

- Completion by November 15 of the programme for the identification and release of political prisoners. This may require special new legislation.
- Identification by the Goldstone Commission of "problematic hostels" which are to be fenced and subjected to special policing arrangements.
- A government proclamation "within weeks" to outlaw "the public display and carrying of dangerous weapons". This would require action to implement such a ban which itself could trigger new trouble if Buthelezi's threats to resist this mean anything.
- ANC action to ensure all its regions respect Mandela's undertaking for calming tensions and promoting reconciliation, especially around kwaZulu and other homeland territories. This will involve reconsideration of the ANC's current programme of mass action.
- Joint moves to create a climate for free political activity throughout the land.
- The repeal of repressive security laws by the state.
- Ending all secret operations by the SADF's special forces.
- Effective measures by all the parties to avoid and control violence.

It's time to confess, FW

By PAT SIDLEY
A PROMINENT theologian from the Gereformeerde Kerk has called on President FW de Klerk to confess the sin of apartheid and apologise.

De Klerk, who is a member of that church, has consistently resisted these demands.

At a conference of the three white Afrikaans churches in Pretoria this week, to discuss South Africa's "moral crisis", Professor Amie van Wyk said: "There is little so liberating as a confession of guilt."

"Such a confession would have a greater effect and be more liberating if the state president would make it publicly."

However De Klerk's own opening speech showed no sign of contrition. He attacked the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party for being responsible for all the violence in the country.

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

THE WEEKLY MAIL

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Sweet and sour

NELSON MANDELA has been statesman-like in not rubbing in his victory at last weekend's summit with FW de Klerk, despite achieving all his major aims in exchange for a very tentative concession to reconsider mass action. But the outcome was an overwhelming success for the African National Congress and, despite all the criticism of its mass action, a vindication of its strategy.

The victory was not simply party-political: it was a triumph for everyone keen to see negotiations move swiftly to a democratic election. For the first time in many months, both sides acknowledged and acted upon the urgency of the situation.

The mood has been soured by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reaction. When Buthelezi, a man of formidable pride and ego, is in a corner, he resorts to his most dangerous weapon: belligerent Zulu nationalism. He quickly turns any opposition to him and his policies into an attack on all Zulus and in doing so is willing to evoke the most divisive chauvinism — and raise the spectre of Yugoslavia in South Africa.

Most South African media and Western diplomats have had a soft spot for Buthelezi because of a shared commitment to capitalism and opposition to sanctions and armed struggle. They have tended to overlook his dangerous tendency to resort to raw and aggressive nationalism when it suits him. Liberals have often sided with him because they believed Buthelezi to be more moderate than the ANC.

It is a mistake. There is nothing moderate about his bellicose ethnic ticket. It is, in fact, the greatest long-term danger to peace in this country.

A phoney comparison

It is fallacious to equate the position of ANC guerrilla Robert McBride with the psychopathic Barend Strydom. McBride has renounced violence and voiced his contrition. Strydom is a sick man, by all accounts quite capable of doing the same thing again. A better comparison may be with Dimitri Tsafendas, the demented assassin of Hendrik Verwoerd, who apparently still believes he is driven by a worm in his stomach.

The government released McBride reluctantly as part of negotiations. It released Strydom voluntarily, presumably as a pre-election attempt to offset rightwing criticism. This is part of an wider attempt to equate the evil committed in the name of apartheid with the activities of the ANC in opposing it.

There is no comparison. Apartheid was a systematic policy of racism, carried out ruthlessly and viciously. It was a crime against humanity that brought misery to the majority of the population. To treat this as the same as the excesses committed by the ANC in the fight against apartheid would be like putting the French Resistance in the Nuremberg dock alongside the Nazis.

Economic euphoria is pie in the sky

THE African National Congress and the government are no closer in their thinking on economic issues than they were six months ago.

That events like ANC president Nelson Mandela's talk of going back into negotiations because of the state of the economy represent some kind of sea-change in the ANC's viewpoint is wishful thinking.

Also, an impression has been given by media reports that ANC representative Trevor Manuel and Finance Minister Derek Keys did an impressive double act at the International Monetary Fund meeting in Washing-

ton, designed to soothe potential investors. It has even been reported that the ANC would not oppose an IMF loan for drought relief.

Manuel, it is understood, has learnt a lesson or two about what to say and what to avoid saying at such conferences. He now understands that it is better to present an appearance of sweet reason in such international forums.

"If I understand the situation correctly, the ANC position on IMF assistance has not changed. The policy position is still that as long as there is no interim government, there should be no IMF assistance as part of a pack-

*The ANC doesn't mention
nationalisation any more. But
to assume the ANC and
government are now of one
mind on economic policy is
wishful thinking, reports*

REG RUMNEY

age of financial sanctions," says Tito Mboweni, of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning.

Manuel's position, as Mboweni understands it, was that the ANC could not oppose humanitarian aid.

Similarly, Mboweni describes talk of a convergence of thinking as a political ploy, a blurring of divisions in anticipation of an election. That the ANC subscribes to ideas like having a market system or mixed economy is merely a sign it has come to terms with running a modern economy.

The structural adjustment proposed in government circles and the ANC's thinking about restructuring the economy is not the same, he says.

"Restructuring for us might mean a certain percentage of state spending would go on human resource development. We might want to spend more on scientifically based development, and a certain amount on research and development to boost our manufacturing competitiveness."

The IMF, Mboweni reminds, is not a development agency but a Bretton Woods institution designed to assist members with recurrent balance-of-payments deficits — a situation not applicable in South Africa.

But some have argued that the drought has led to enormous hardship, with losses of up R3-billion, and that the IMF should arrange a special loan for this. "That's a smokescreen, a political manoeuvre to try to get access to the IMF. The hope is that the South African regime will see a kind of re-entry into the international financial system."

The South African government has

no need of R3-billion from this source, says Mboweni. "The idea is to get the IMF stamp of approval and to outmanoeuvre the resistance movement by trying to fudge the question of financial sanctions."

Using IMF assistance beyond the level of the special drawing rights allowed each member, he points out, would mean subscribing to an IMF structural adjustment programme, which normally focuses on issues such as trade liberalisation and devaluation of the currency. This would tie the hands of a future government.

It is true, he says, the ANC has stressed the importance of macro-economic stability, a responsible fiscal and monetary policy. But he stresses the euphoria about a convergence of views is wrong: "There are many areas of tension."

He notes, for instance, that the government would like to privatise all public corporations. The ANC's stance is that public corporations would be rationalised but not privatised.

The government is emphasising its commitment to socio-economic development, but one has only to look at the government's record, he says, to see the divergence of thinking.

He believes Keys is trying to lessen areas of tension to promote debate in what the finance minister sees as a non-antagonistic way. Keys, he notes, differs from his predecessor, Barend du Plessis, in trying to smooth over differences of opinion. But those differences run deep.

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JUNE 14 1986. It was exactly one year, to the day, after a South African Defence Force sortie into Botswana left 12 people dead, only five of whom even had African National Congress links, and one of whom was a six-year-old child. It was two days before the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. It was two days after President PW Botha renewed his State of Emergency.

It was the day on which a powder-blue Cortina exploded outside the crowded Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront, killing three young white women and making horribly clear to white people what blacks had known for years: that, in the words of Oliver Tambo, "the distinction between soft and hard targets is going to disappear

I bombed Magoo's on ANC

in an intensified confrontation".

The car-bomb was planted by Robert McBride, commander of a Durban-based Umkhonto weSizwe cell. McBride was sentenced to death in 1987 — and released this week after an agreement between the ANC and the government over the weekend.

Was McBride a renegade firebrand acting on his own volition? Or was he a disciplined cadre acting, albeit reluctantly, on the orders of his exiled commanders? The question is critical, for it cuts to the heart of questions

Was Robert McBride really acting on orders? In a candid interview with The Weekly Mail, the recently-released MK commander sheds new light on the ANC 'soft target' policy during the years of the Emergency. By MARK GEVISSER

about what constitutes a "political murder" and whether McBride should have been released.

Upon McBride's release, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said: "Whatever he did he did on the instructions not only of MK High Command but the entire political

leadership of the ANC." And in April last year, in a statement to the Indemnity Committee, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo wrote: "At all times hereto McBride acted under the command and instructions of his superiors in Umkhonto weSizwe."

In his trial, McBride stated under

oath that he had been "undisciplined that day", and that he had acted against the orders of his superiors. But today he refutes this and is adamant that he was "acting under the express orders of my commanders, who instructed me to target the Why Not bar, next to Magoo's, as this was in keeping with the 'soft target' policy of the ANC".

McBride told *The Weekly Mail*: "I received this instruction from my commander when I visited Botswana a few days before the bombing, and I was told that it had to happen on June

orders, says McBride

14, in commemoration of those who had been killed in Gaborone exactly a year previously."

In a memorandum to the Indemnity Committee written while still on death row, McBride commented: "I queried my commander, expressing to him my serious reservations about planting a bomb in an area where people could get killed, (but) he reminded me of the decision which had been taken by the ANC at the 1985 conference in Kabwe." It was at that conference, only weeks after the Botswana tragedy, that the ANC

decided to attack "soft" targets (people) as well as "hard" ones (buildings), as this is what the South African security forces were doing themselves.

McBride was told to target the Why Not because the bar "had been identified by ANC intelligence personnel as a popular hangout of off-duty officers from the South African Police and SADF in Durban" and, he says, the choice of target hit home. "When I was under interrogation I received more than a few extra blows and kicks because, as my interrogators put

it, 'you messed up some of our buddies and you'll pay for it'."

Indeed, four of the five witnesses present at Magoo's and the Why Not who gave evidence against McBride during the trial were ex-members of the SAP.

But if McBride was acting on orders, why did he say exactly the opposite during the trial? He gave false evidence, he says now, "to protect the ANC and to increase the possibility of extenuating circumstances".

He is adamant, however, that

(2)

"although certain facts were altered, emotionally the issues remain the same: I was reluctant about planting the bomb where there might be casualties, and I was very remorseful about the deaths".

During the trial, McBride's defence was that he had wanted to place the lethal vehicle outside the Hyperama House and Home building, where much damage would be done but no lives lost, but that he had been "persuaded" by his accomplice, Matthew Lecordier — who was to turn state witness — to "take it down to the Marine Parade, because the people want white destruction".

At the trial, McBride stated that he had argued with Lecordier that "it wasn't the policy of the ANC to attack white people", but that Lecordier, his subordinate, won out: "I don't know what allowed me to be influenced by him," McBride told the judge.

Now he says he gave incorrect evidence to protect the ANC "because at that time the movement was under a lot of pressure to stop going for soft targets, particularly from the USA, and I did not want to implicate my commanders".

He also received legal advice that he would stand a better chance of evading the death penalty if he could convince the judge and his assessors that the action was not premeditated and had been planned in a heated conversation with an unstable comrade, Lecordier:

"They would not have drawn a distinction if I said I was acting under military instruction. I would have hanged anyway, as acting on instruction from MK in those days was in fact considered to be an aggravating factor.

"But if I could show myself to have acted in the heat of the moment under the influence of Lecordier, I might have had a fighting chance."

His decision to fabricate evidence was also designed to protect his co-accused, Greta Apelgren. By claiming that the Marine Parade decision had been made by him and Lecordier alone, he effectively saved her from the death penalty: she was sentenced to only two years, and was freed in 1989.

Remembering the evening of June 14 six years ago, Apelgren says: "Things were so confused. Robert and Matthew didn't seem to know where to park the car, and it seems like horrible fate that we found a parking place outside Magoo's." She acknowledges, however, that as she was just a "logistics person", it is possible that McBride had a specific intention that she simply was not aware of.

MK's Special Operations division, to which McBride belonged, remains as murky an operation as ever, and the ANC shows no signs of revealing who, precisely, gave McBride the instruction and on what authority. McBride too will not be drawn into discussion as to who his commander was and whether he had been instructed, after his arrest, to "take the rap".

Perhaps these inquiries into the arcane command structure of MK are no longer important: McBride, after all, is free, and the armed struggle has been suspended.

But McBride's revelations and the ANC's support of them prove that, far from being renegade and uncontrollable free agents, as was often inferred by the ANC in exile, at least some home-based MK operatives were acting according to the letter of their commanders.

(3)

Victims slate 'sick trade-off'

By LINDA RULASHE

THE brother of a woman who died in the 1986 bombing of Magoo's Bar in Durban said this week it was "sick to release murderers so that the government and the ANC can start talking".

And a municipal worker paralysed from the waist down in the 1988 Pretoria shooting spree by Barend Strydom expressed anger at news of the release of the man who had ruined his life.

Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride is the direct beneficiary of a government agreement to release 150 political prisoners by November 15, aimed at kickstarting negotiations. Strydom's release, to which the African National Congress did not agree, is clearly intended as a sop to the government's constituency.

Clive Pattenden, brother of Angelique Pattenden, who died in Magoo's Bar, said in the wake of "this sick trade-off, the only person I look up to now is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi".

"I was at home when the bomb went off, and was supposed to meet Angelique at the bar," he said. "We felt the shock waves in Durban North and my mother started screaming. It

didn't really hit me until later.

"I'm not politically minded, but I just don't understand why they had to do it."

He said his mother was too distraught to attend her daughter's funeral. "Through the years, my mother started drinking. She ran herself into the ground, until she died."

His mother had been determined to ensure that McBride got the death sentence and had written to President FW de Klerk and other influential people, he added. "I'm glad she's not alive now. She was very close to Angelique and her death alone put enough of a strain on her."

He could draw no distinction between McBride and Strydom, believing both should be punished for their deeds: "Both of them knew what they were doing."

A similar lack of forgiveness is evident in Strydom's surviving victims.

Geelboy Mabena (47), paralysed from the waist down by one of Strydom's bullets, first heard of the release on a radio broadcast he heard in the Kalafong Hospital's male orthopaedic ward. Mabena, who was readmitted to the hospital earlier this month after developing complica-

tions, said: "I'm angry because he left me this way."

A municipal worker, he was emptying a rubbish bin in Prinsloo Street on November 15 1988 when he saw Strydom run towards him with a gun in his hand. Shot in the side — the bullet passed through his body, damaging his spine — he no longer works and his family survives off his pension.

Another of Strydom's victims, John Sibiya, was waiting at a bus stop after work when he saw Strydom running down Prinsloo Street on his shooting rampage. "He shot a hawk-er nearby before running towards me. I ran into a shop and he followed me, shooting the Indian shop owner before he shot me."

Sibiya was wounded in both arms when he tried to fend off the bullets by raising his hands to his face. "I'm lost for words to say about his release. What I feel is anger and hurt because he almost killed me."

Sibiya believes Strydom should have gone to the gallows, as he is likely to commit other murders. "He should have been killed — or at least they should have made him suffer for the pain he caused."

(4)

By MARK GEVISSER

BY releasing Pretoria mass murderer Barend Strydom along with three African National Congress political prisoners following an ANC/government agreement, the government is claiming the rightwinger as one of its own.

This is the view of Paula McBride, Robert McBride's wife and a senior staffer at Lawyers for Human Rights. "If Strydom's release was part of an ANC/government deal," she says, "it squarely places him on the government side, and it gives us a glimpse behind the smiling face of FW de Klerk as to

'Release a sop to the rightwing'

who he considers to be his people."

The ANC has said that the release of Strydom was not part of any deal made at the bilateral summit over the weekend: "His crime was cold-blooded, premeditated murder founded on racial hatred. Black people were 'the enemy'.

Rehabilitation was considered impossible by the presiding judge."

A government source counters: "We made it clear to the ANC that we had to treat all prisoners on the same basis, and that in this regard, no preferential treatment could be given to people according to political affiliation. That's what fairness and balance is about."

McBride protests strenuously against this notion of "balance". He adds that, by releasing Strydom, the government has allowed the far-right to piggy-back on to a deal between itself and the ANC when it has not even entered the negotiating forum.

Inkatha three deny attacks

THREE Inkatha activists charged with five counts of attempted murder appeared in the Mtunzini Magistrate's Court this week. They were arrested after a series of attacks in Esikhawini on August 26.

After local police handling of the incident led to accusations of a cover-up, the Goldstone Commission sent a special representative to investigate and a Durban police officer is now in charge of the case.

The three — Mantengu Mathenjwa, Ben Mlambo and a minor who may not be named — first appeared in court last Friday, when they denied the charges.

They said they were not in Esikhawini at the time of the attacks because they were taking a message from an Inkatha official to a chief in the Nyoni area. Explaining injuries which they had sustained, they said they had been shot after delivering the message.

Forensic evidence heard in court was that their injuries were caused by a hand grenade. One of the attacks in which they have been implicated, on the house of National Union of Metalworkers official Bkeki Ntuli, involved AK47s, a hand grenade and a shotgun.

The state is opposing bail on the grounds that the three may interfere with witnesses.

Meet Buthelezi, UN asks Mandela

By PHILIPPA GARSON

UNITED NATIONS secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali made a personal appeal to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela early this week to meet Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi before his departure to China.

However, sources say Mandela is reluctant to concede such a meeting, and the ANC's three Natal regions are fiercely opposed to it.

Since the Inkatha leader withdrew from negotiations in protest against bilateral decisions taken at the weekend between the government and ANC, Mandela has come under strong pressure to meet Buthelezi.

President FW de Klerk has made several public appeals for the two leaders to meet.

After heated debate at the ANC's national executive meeting on Wednesday a decision was taken not to give the green light for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit — at least not yet.

Deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma argued strongly for such an encounter to take place, the sources said, but met opposition from representatives of the three Natal regions.

(1)



Mystery baron ... A portly figure in kilt and sporran, introduced by King Goodwill Zwelithini as a 'special guest' at Sunday's Shaka Day celebrations, has presented something of a mystery. Introduced as 'Baron Lee of Lanark', he was assumed to be another British eccentric indulging in the romance of the Zulus. But The Weekly Mail has had some difficulty tracking the title down. It does not appear in Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, the definitive guide to the British aristocracy. Inkatha officials were unable to help, beyond saying he was a close friend of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. A diplomatic source described Lee as 'a wealthy American who, for some unknown reason, acquired the title and owns a castle in Lanark (Scotland)'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Beware the cornered chief (2)

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a man in a corner — and those who know him well warn how tough this can make him.

For months, opinion polls have suggested that his support base has been diminishing and that he is no longer a contender for central political power. His international standing is at rock-bottom as the major Western governments, who feted him a few years ago, are now only willing to acknowledge that he can't be left out of negotiations because of the havoc his supporters could cause.

His most reliable support base, the kwaZulu Police, from which he has drawn many of his infantry in his bloody battle with the African National Congress in Natal, has suffered a barrage of criticism at the Goldstone Commission, in the courts and in the documents of human rights organisations. Exposure has meant the withdrawal of the covert support he was getting from the security and intelligence forces.

With the ANC dropping nationalisation as the pillar of its economic policy, Inkatha is increasingly losing appeal among both local and international businessmen. As funds from the government become less free-flowing in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal, the organisation is increasingly strapped for cash.

And this week, the government and the ANC dealt the final blow by taking a giant leap towards a political settlement and appear-

Even worse, they dealt with two issues particularly important to the chief and his political base: dangerous weapons and the hostels.

It may have been tactless for President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela not to pay some obeisance to Buthelezi's formidable pride and ego when they announced their Record of Understanding last Saturday, but a showdown with Buthelezi was probably inevitable. There was almost no chance that the government could meet the ANC's demands on dangerous weapons and hostels without a confrontation with Buthelezi.

Buthelezi's strong reaction did not come out of the blue. He had been sounding increasingly shrill in recent weeks in his protests against bilateral ANC-government talks. And as his national power base came under more and more pressure, he began to toy with ideas of regional power and new alliances, even secession.

"He feels the pressure of being isolated and marginalised. He doesn't feel the government is giving him much support in this regard. He is inclined to be desperate — to say and do things that he wouldn't normally do. It is important that he shouldn't be driven into this corner," says a senior ex-Inkatha official.

As Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi becomes increasingly isolated, those who know him warn that he is a dangerous man to put in a corner.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON and ANTON HARBER**

More than aware of his unpredictable personality and shrinking support base, some government figures would rather dump the Inkatha leader for the ANC, if the latter dropped the South African Communist Party.

It's no wonder he's looking toward — or at least threatening to look toward — an alternative power base with other homeland leaders like Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

All three have in common a hatred for the ANC and a terror of losing power when the homelands are reincorporated. Add the Conservative Party or recently formed Volksunie and a potentially significant pro-confederalist bloc with a dangerous emphasis on ethnicity looms.

Comments the director of the Centre of African Studies, Eugene Nyati: "No other homeland leader has the same kind of reach in the international community. Buthelezi has put together a considerable international support network. This is fast disappearing, however. There is a growing feeling in the West that Buthelezi has overplayed his hand. And the more big business is confident to do business with the ANC, the more dispensible Inkatha becomes."

What then will become of Inkatha, whose voter support ranges from 250 000 to three million, depending on whom one talks to. While the ANC continues to snub the Inkatha leader, the potential for civil war cannot be discounted.

ANC negotiator Matthew Phosa believes Buthelezi's capacity to unleash civil war depends entirely on the extent to which the government backs him. If kwaZulu is reincorporated, his capacity to thwart the transition to democracy will be significantly curtailed.

Phosa describes Buthelezi as a panicking leader — unaware, like Gqozo and Mangope, of the international pressure on the government to find common ground again with the ANC. "He is playing on the Zulu nation. It is the last card he can play politically."

It is significant that Inkatha's decision this week to withdraw from talks with the government was made by Buthelezi himself, without any reference to his central committee.

A former central committee member told *The Weekly Mail* that "Inkatha is nothing

without Buthelezi. Everything is streamlined and centralised. There is no debate.

"He has tended to dominate all the structures of the organisation. Any new leader would have to struggle to reconstruct the organisation so that it could become an accountable movement," the source said.

Liberal tendencies have emerged from time to time within Inkatha, particularly among sections of the youth eager for a less acrimonious relationship with the ANC. Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose and Youth Brigade leader Musa Zondi are seen as moderate leaders, perhaps capable of steering the organisation along a more conciliatory route.

But speculation about a successor to Buthelezi is generally regarded as taboo within the organisation. As one former Inkatha figure put it: "To talk about a possible successor is tantamount to treason."

The 64-year-old leader, despite his diabetes and eyesight problems, is a robust teetotaler who regularly visits health spas. He has steadily created a multi-faceted identity and power base that would rule out chances for any commoner to make a bid for power. He is a slick politician, chief minister of state, police and justice, and traditional chief all rolled into one.

Over the years Buthelezi has eroded the power base of the Zulu monarchy, while increasing its symbolic role. As he retreats to his most trusted support base as self-proclaimed leader of the Zulu nation, he appeals more desperately to Zulu nationalism and traditional respect for royalty. Despite his insistence on King Goodwill Zwelithini's presence at Codesa, the Zulu king is apparently dismissive of politics and couldn't care less if he was there or not.

The Inkatha leader has also tended to get rid of those within Inkatha who have generated their own power bases. Some believe that behind his appointment of whites to key positions in the organisation is the knowledge that they cannot threaten his individual power base.

Gerhard Maré, author of *An Appetite for Power*, says Buthelezi has won the support of many Zulu-speaking traders by protecting them with an "ethnic curtain" that forces Indians to trade outside kwaZulu.

But he has had less success among sections of the kwaZulu civil service. Whereas some years ago he bent over backwards to gain their support, he has recently called on them to pledge their undivided support or "get out".

When the ANC put Gqozo in a corner, he lashed out viciously, killing 29 demonstrators. Will the same happen with Buthelezi? "He is hanging in a tree without a ladder," says Phosa. "We will try to do everything to give him a ladder."

Ciskei opens murder dockets in about-turn on massacre

CISKEI police have opened murder and attempted murder dockets on the killing of 29 protest marchers by Ciskei Defence Force soldiers, says a senior Ciskei justice official.

In the wake of the Goldstone Commission's scathing report on the massacre at the Bisho Stadium on September 7, which indicted the CDF for indiscriminate use of lethal force against the African National Congress marchers, Ciskei deputy attorney general Leon Langeveld yesterday promised a comprehensive investigation.

He said his office was treating the investigation as a priority case and that the police would attempt to interview a broad range of witnesses, including some of the marchers and their leaders.

The Ciskei government's immediate response after the massacre was to state that the soldiers had fired in self-defence, after being attacked by armed demonstrators. However, the commission's preliminary report found that the only CDF soldier to have been killed was "in all probability" the victim of friendly fire.

The commission's 36-page report, handed to President FW de Klerk on Tuesday, lambasted the Ciskei troops for firing indiscriminately for a prolonged time on the unarmed crowd and recom-

mended that Ciskei's attorney general investigate charges against "any person responsible for death or injury".

It found that the actions of Ronnie Kasrils and others who led the marchers through a gap in the stadium fence towards Bisho in violation of a court order were the immediate cause of the shooting. It recommended that the ANC publicly censure Kasrils and others who had led the marchers into the danger of death and injury. The ANC has refused to do this, arguing that Kasrils was acting on a collective decision of the organisation's leadership.

The report stressed that the criticisms which could be made against the organisation of the demonstration and the decision to lead the protesters through the fence could not in any way be used to justify or excuse the conduct of the CDF soldiers.

"That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers," the report said.

At the time of going to press, the Ciskei Council of State was holding a media conference on the Goldstone Commission's findings. — Eena and Sapa

A country and its conscience

Two articles by Hugo Young reporting from South Africa

THIS is a strange time for anyone to seek British advice on constitutions, federalism, and the building of a community of nations, but South Africa is desperate. The turbulence in the ERM has been good for the Rand. Neither the threadbare consent for Maastricht nor the bloody carve-up of Yugoslavia seems to shift the South African elite from a belief that Europe has something to contribute to forging one nation out of the starkest ethnic conflict in the world. As proof of faith in the capacity of rational dialogue to impose itself on ferocious, irrational, copiously bleeding reality, the British-South African Conference here in Durban shone optimistically for three days.

It is not the first such exercise. One academic I know says he could spend every week of the year at similar conferences somewhere in the world, all expenses paid. The place should be suffering from conference-exhaustion. But the obsessive two-way fascination has not diminished. We come from all over to inspect this country we think we know so much about and, thank God, we

are not like. They receive us, touchingly reluctant to believe that their problems, about which they once often told us to mind our own business, are intransigently unique. They even tolerated, without barracking her, a speech of rich colonial condescension from Baroness Chalker wishing them well.

But there are limitations in this process. To listen to it you might imagine that one thing South Africa did not suffer from was an absence of sincere goodwill. The Boer lies down with the Xhosa, and comity reigns in the corridors of impotence. These people knew each other well. They were veterans of the circuit. Mostly men, mostly white, entirely middle-class, they nonetheless had jovial relations with senior participants from the ANC and Inkatha, and they have a passionate dedication to easing South Africa towards the new black-run nation everyone acknowledges it must become.

Of its nature, however, this kind of meeting is an exercise in optimism. The pessimists and desperadoes keep quiet or do not come. The organisers try their level best to

broaden the company, but in the end the band is narrow and the consent, aided by an equal British desire to be helpful, too facile. Since the Guardian descended here mob-handed in 1990, in the wake of Nelson Mandela's release from prison, objective circumstances have become much worse. Economic growth is even further distanced from population growth. Confidence is at its lowest ebb. More than 8,000 people have been murdered this year alone. Although talks towards a political settlement have resumed, massive constitutional principles have still not begun to be determined. Before these harsh realities, awaiting visceral choices by a handful of leaders, the discourses of the seminar sometimes seemed beside the point.

And yet, in the end, not quite. For one unexpected reason. There were two representatives from the ruling National Party, including a minister, and two parliamentarians from factions of Afrikaner conservatism. It appeared to be some time since these men had talked without descending instantly into the anathemas of treachery. To a hard-

line Afrikaner no specimen is more odious than a compromising Nat. For their part, the compromisers view the diehards with furtive alarm. Here they underwent collegial therapy which they acknowledged had been good for them.

More to the point, the Conservatives now in the business of arguing for an Afrikaner homeland, sat in the room with ANC politicians at whose feet they must very soon be supplicants. It was the first time they had ever done so. Previously, the caucus forbade all public dialogue with the ANC. This became the first significant forum in which the forces of right and left had come together and heard each other in sentences longer than television sound-bites. We heard the dual nature of the Afrikaner's new appeal.

One part was familiar, the threat to "turn this country into a graveyard overnight" if they don't get tribal protection. The other was addressed to us as much as the ANC. "You liberals", we were chided, have won the battle for the majority. Now that the majority would rule, they had no further need of the liberals' help. It would now, improbably, be the Afrikaner who "occupied the moral high ground". We had been warned of the moral reverses we would have to undertake: also of the crudity with which Afrikanerdom is preparing to deny that historic justice and prophetic wisdom must both continue to place black concerns absolutely at the forefront of this country's needs.

There was a second intimation, such a meeting as this was perhaps only the beginning of something more serious. It turns out that international witness might be convertible into international help. After four decades in the laager, the whites now spectacularly failing to run this country do crave the assistance of the outside world. Instead of repelling UN observers as an offence against national sovereignty, they've welcomed them as possible guarantors against township or homeland conflagrations. A single British adviser on how to reform police training and practice is cited as if he were bringing the gospel to a heathen land. The sense is strong that South Africa cannot expect overseas investment until domestic economic confidence, following a reduction in the violence and a political deal, is established. But in facilitating such a deal, foreigners may yet have their part.

There can be no substitutes for Mandela and de Klerk. How far each is prepared to challenge his constituency and imperil his own position is a question that may be answered soon. But there never has been a more fraught exercise in constitution-writing. Most successful constitutions have been written by detached experts behind closed doors, and strongly imposed on the political reality whose rules they determine.

Among the precedents for more public processes, the Founding Fathers in Philadelphia, with Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson and the rest conducting arguments of timeless elevation, are a long way from the armless elevation, are a long way from the armless elevation now going on in Pretoria against a background of mindless slaughter in the night. The ANC and the Government are supposed to be negotiating partners. But they are also intense political competitors. They cannot be sure of their own constituency: they are looking for converts from the other sides. As the charismatic organiser of this conference, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, put it, the idea is that while you negotiate to level the playing-field, you hope the other man ends up with nobody on his team.

David Owen, mercifully, is otherwise engaged. But before these talks are done, an outside professional counsellor would help: the one man in the game without a political interest in winning it.

Pressing on towards peace

IN SOUTH Africa, negotiation is still the chosen route towards majority government. Scores of people are being murdered every day. For many blacks, the biggest question is whether they will make it through the night. They are not very interested in constitutional settlements. But talking, as F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are still striving to show, continues to be the preferred way of doing business.

Moreover, the main parties seem to agree on many things. They all accept universal suffrage. They all want election by proportional representation. They all say that regional power will be essential to both the curbing and the viability of the central government. They all loudly believe in the importance of a Bill of Rights as the crucial unifying guarantee of the rule of law.

Nor is this like putting up their hands for motherhood. The two parties around which all this revolves have made concessions that are not always comfortable. De Klerk's National Party accepts that the horrendous thought of majority rule is the only way forward, and is whistling to keep its courage up with the line put forward by the irrepressible foreign minister, Pik Botha, and others. As the new party boss in the Transvaal, Botha brags that the Nats will actually win the first election with black voters, which ought to take place some time in the next 18 months.

The ANC's most visible concession is of a different order. It is intellectual. Since I was here in 1990, the leadership has acquired a clearer grasp on economic reality. They understand that foreign investment must be lured here, and that socialistic nationalisation can no longer coexist with it. They also see that time is running out. The how and the how-much of economic redistribution, an absolutely unavoidable component, are impossible to promise. The militant ideologues who fence Mandela in on one side do not recoil from a scorched-earth outcome. But after they overplayed their hand at Bisho and were accessories to a massacre, the realists began the process that took them back towards the conference-table.

A deeper reality conduces that way, sooner or later. For everyone knows, do they not, that there is no other way? The Nats see it as their only hope. Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki, the two ablest men around Mandela, utterly understand it. What is

more, it is expected in the streets. Many blacks think a new life beckons. The white business community, small or large, talks with the blind fatalism common to business people everywhere. Things should be all right, they tend to say, "when those politicians have got themselves sorted out". This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal. It's also an underdeveloped country with the same irrefutable need. The skyscrapers and the shanty-towns equally proclaim that the politicians cannot fail.

Their task, however, is a challenge to more than rationality. Although the negotiating machine stops and starts, it is driven forward by these compelling realities. Yet behind them are other realities which have the power to overwhelm the most rational and obvious compulsion.

For one thing, although the consensus

*'This is a developed
country, whose future cries
out for a rational deal'*

sounds grand and is in historic terms amazing, it masks large areas of dissent. There is not even the beginning of agreement on the following essentials: how and where to write the constitution, when and for what body to have the first election, of whom and for how long a transitional government should be composed, what are principles and what are details when it comes to writing a constitution, what sort of proportional voting would be sensible, what sort of rights a Bill of Rights should protect. This list could be extended by another hundred elementary items. Perhaps most critically, the truly federal government the whites now regard as vital to their power-sharing ambitions is far removed from the merely regional government the ANC is prepared to settle for.

They are at the very start, in other words, of a process which, perhaps because it began by engaging hundreds of people and many fragmentary interest groups, has arrived at exceptionally few decisions. The formality of constitution-making is intertwined with an incessant power-struggle, the need to make compromises flawed by total uncertainty about the willingness of those no longer at the table to accept them. These, the excluded parties to the deal, have a vile reputation.

This is no doubt another necessary part of the process. If Afrikaner Conservatism and Zulu separatism had had to be accommodated before de Klerk and Mandela got to work, nothing whatever would have happened. Their power of veto is relegated to the back of the negotiators' minds for this again would impede all progress if anyone paid it too much attention.

Yet their veto, on peace if not on a deal, emphatically exists. Chief Buthelezi may be a discredited figure, but he has a few legions behind him, all aware — such is the co-option of the ANC into the fashion of the moment — that the slaughter of Inkatha Zulus seldom gets a fraction of the attention the international media give to deaths among the ANC. The Conservative Afrikaner, excepting the wild men already running their own militias, is a voice that has yet to be heard. He waits and watches. People say he will never sacrifice his BMW for the impoverished white sub-state of which he seems to be dreaming. He is unlikely to be put to this test, because the idea is outlandish. But the Afrikaner is born to fight, and we haven't seen him fighting yet.

Nor can anyone imagine he will be alone. Another note the negotiators have no space for is a note of caution. They have bound themselves to the only wheel that destiny allows them, which is supposed to be progressing, as far as most blacks are concerned, towards the promised land. But generations will live and die before it gets there: an obvious platitude, yet one that the charismatic liberator at their head, perhaps understandably, does not choose to emphasise. Even if a deal is done and the ANC comes to power, the fury as expectations are not met is bound to be horrific. The Bill of Rights may be essential. All parties say as much. But it is hardly a sufficient bulwark against the culture of the outlaw which can be sensed a millimetre below the skin of this society.

What's happening here is an attempt to meet peacefully a price that history is exacting. It is a valiant effort. Men of intelligence and belated goodwill have seen what they must do, and have bent themselves to the task. It is trite to say they must succeed. Of course they must. But the enterprise is asking more of history's victims than they have paid in any other country, and more of history's winners than they have ever been known willingly to offer up.

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SOUTH AFRICA was thrown back to a fresh political crisis at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced he was pulling out of negotiations in protest against what he described as government "connivance" with the ANC to rig a settlement, *writes David Beresford*.

The chief's angry announcement came just hours after President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela had concluded a deal to bring the ANC back into the negotiating process.

The ANC leader and the president signed a "record of understanding" on Saturday which set out a basis for the resumption of negotiations, including agreement that the country's new con-

stitution will be thrashed out by an elected constituent assembly, and that there will be a non-racial interim government. The "understanding" confirmed government undertakings on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of migrant worker hostels, and the outlawing of "cultural" weapons.

In front of well over 10,000 warriors brandishing "cultural weapons" including spears, axes, and clubs, Chief Buthelezi, dressed in traditional leopard skins, declared any attempt by the government to disarm them would be defied, fencing outside their hostels would be destroyed "with their bare hands", and any a constituent assembly would be "emphatically rejected".

Nelson Mandela tried to smooth over the crisis, assuring the country that the views of all political leaders would be taken into account.

President de Klerk said later it was "a pity" that Chief Buthelezi had reacted in this way. He said peace seemed unlikely in South Africa "until Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela have made their peace".

The chief's furious response to the de Klerk/Mandela rapprochement follows hints that he is considering leading his homeland of KwaZulu to secession. The threat is seen as hollow, but his boycott of negotiations will hugely complicate the reform process.

The dangers posed by Chief Buthelezi's

defiance were also underlined in the densely populated Durban township of KwaMashu on "Shaka Day", commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation after a service addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

Thousands of armed Zulus surged through the streets, a large group wrestling with heavily armed riot police in one incident, in which an unidentified gunman fired shots without apparent effect. As evening fell at least one woman was reported to have been shot dead and five people injured in random gunfire from moving vehicles. On Saturday, in another area, 11 Inkatha members were reported killed by unidentified gunmen.

months. They should be congratulated on recapturing something of the earlier spirit of cooperation. That they were able to do so also testifies to the urgency of the crisis and the knife-edge nature of South Africa's progress towards multi-racial democracy.

If Mr de Klerk gave more ground in Saturday's deal, it was because his government's earlier prevarication and covert activity required paying a higher price to restore confidence. But there were concessions on both sides. Against the release of "political prisoners" who committed violent actions to oppose apartheid, there appears to be ANC agreement in principle to a broader amnesty for white security officers who (on a much greater scale) have defended apartheid by the same means. The unresolved issue is when to offer such an amnesty and how to account publicly for the crimes which will be effectively pardoned.

The second concession by Mr de Klerk to fence off the largely Zulu workers' dormitories involves a scaling-down of the ANC's original demand that they should be closed down. The third concession—a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — was also long overdue. It was hoped that the inclusion of a clause allowing a board of judges to grant exemptions to the ban might mollify Mr Buthelezi. By this means, genuinely traditional Zulu gatherings might be licensed to carry "cultural weapons" while provocative rallies of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would be denied the right.

Though threatening, Mr Buthelezi's defiance at the rally on Sunday need not be taken completely at face value. The broader complaint was that bilateral government-ANC negotiations had squeezed the IFP out. But if multi-party constitutional talks can resume, Inkatha's right to participate will not be challenged. Saturday's agreement on setting up a constituent assembly to write the new constitution leaves the political problems which halted the Codesa process still pending. But a return to the larger forum is the essential next step. Mr Buthelezi's backers should warn against a second Boipatong. The first almost shattered South Africa's fragile chances of political peace: they would hardly survive another blow.

Forward, back

SOUTH AFRICA took two steps forward at the weekend when Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk somehow found a new formula for compromise. But the furious reaction from Chief Buthelezi drives it at least one step back. The Inkatha organisation which has so often served the purposes of the white government threatens now to block its path. History has a way of repaying unwelcome debts.

The compromise between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk was proof that, against many expectations, their political shrewdness has survived the enormous strains of recent

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OBSERVER

London 14/10/92



No surrender: Chief Buthelezi, who cannot claim to be the one authentic Zulu leader.

Klerk's National Party. Although Buthelezi proclaimed last week that Inkatha was 'a national political force', he has clearly abandoned his efforts to build a national constituency and is beating the Zulu ethnic drum in a frantic bid to consolidate regional support.

He is said to be trying to follow a 'Franz-Josef Strauss strategy', using his regional base to project himself on to a national stage.

But with even his regional base in doubt, he is becoming more frenetic, seeking alliances with other 'homeland' leaders whom he once despised, such as

Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and the 'butcher of Bisho', Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. He is even courting white extremists of the Conservative Party and Boerstaat Movement, in what looks suspiciously like an attempt to build a secessionist alliance.

The one thing Buthelezi cannot afford is an election. 'The IFP will not participate in a (constituent assembly) election and it will join forces with every true democrat in South Africa who rejects an early election,' he declared in his walk-out statement last Sunday.

Clearly what South Africa

needs with increasing urgency is an election. It must clear the decks, sweep away the straw men and establish clearly who speaks for whom — and for how many. The authenticated leaders must then negotiate the new constitution.

What it cannot afford is a prolonged campaign of vicious electioneering between the major players, which cripples their attempts to negotiate a settlement, and acts of sabotage by the bit players who want to stave off the election — all of which keeps the country mired in a morbid interregnum of frustration and violence.

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her former associate Winnie Mandela. As the wife of Walter Sisulu, the deputy president of the ANC and one of the most respected political figures in South Africa, she is used to taking a back seat. A quiet operator, she deliberates each question, squeezing your hand or patting your thigh to emphasise a point. Yet her unostentatious championing of women's rights has won her credit: at 74 she is known as the Mother of the Nation.

"At the moment many black women are working for white women, for very little pay, looking after their children and doing their cleaning while they go to the hairdressers or to the gym. The women are owned by them. This has got to stop. To get rid of the apartheid system we need to have women working together, showing they are equals," she says.

The ANC women's league has 300,000 active members and Mrs Sisulu wants to see it embrace all South African women. "We are organising a charter for women's rights. First you must get women better represented in negotiations. Then we need to get women into a new parliament," she says.

In the three years since it was unbanned the league has also set up projects to "empower" black women with training skills, management techniques and education. There are already bricklaying,

agriculture and reading classes at the new adult education centres and there is a campaign to teach women how to vote. "Most women are illiterate. We must get them to read so they can be properly enfranchised," Mrs Sisulu says. "Women who work have nowhere to send their children. There are still so few schools. So we have also set up creches, pre-schools and primary schools for them."

Mrs Sisulu sees education as a vital factor in forging a new South Africa. "White schools are too far away and most blacks cannot afford them. We need many more schools but we also need to integrate them fast so the new generation can grow up together."

And then there is the violence. "Women and children suffer most. There are parentless children because of the violence. At Sharpeville we had no word from our white sisters. But it is the work of all South African women to ensure peace," she says.

Her Xhosa name means blessings, but Mrs Sisulu's life has not been easy. She was brought up in the Transkei and both her parents died by the time she was 15. "My father was a mine worker. One day he started coughing, the next week he began losing weight and soon he could hardly breathe. It was very painful to watch," she says. "He

called all five children in and said, 'Look after each other.'"

She swore never to marry, but to dedicate her life to bringing up her brothers and sisters. Her friends at her Catholic school called her the Virgin Mary because she refused to loiter with the boys at the train station on the way home. But her grades were excellent and the priest offered to help her with a bursary for further education.

"I suggested I became a nun so I could always look after my older brother who was illiterate and the youngest who was only a baby. The priest told me a nun would have to be married to the church. So I became a nurse," she says.

Her training in Johannesburg was to alter her life. At college she met Evelyn, Nelson Mandela's first wife and Rosabella, Walter Sisulu's cousin, who introduced her to him.

She warned him she was not the marrying type. "I said I have children already," she says. "He dropped my hand immediately and asked how many. 'Three brothers and one sister,' I replied. 'How did you get them?' he said. I explained and he said, 'Look, you are the right person to marry me.'"

After only a few years of normal married life Mr Sisulu was elected

secretary general of the ANC and in 1948 Mrs Sisulu joined the women's league. In the 1950s she was involved in the introduction of education for blacks and helped to organise the gathering of 20,000 women outside the offices in Pretoria of J.G. Strijdom, the then prime minister, to protest against the pass laws. She was imprisoned for two weeks.

Between 1953 and 1963 Mr Sisulu was himself imprisoned eight times, before being given a life sentence for his ANC activities. Mrs Sisulu was taken from her five children, detained in solitary confinement and then spent much of the next 18 years under house arrest.

"Walter was a prophet, he told me everything," she says. "He briefed me about life so that when he left I knew what to do."

Mrs Sisulu became a self-effacing rock for the troubled movement. Even when her children, nephews and nieces were arrested, and although at first she could visit her husband only twice a year, she never exposed her pain or anxiety, according to friends.

"We have a very close family," she says. "My children were wonderful. But I could see the trauma for them every time they saw the police abuse their father. In the end the Roman Catholic community

helped us to send them away to boarding school in Swaziland."

When things got really bad and there was no money for food, she prayed. Her faith has been a solace as well as a provider. "If there is any good in the church it is that it helps you to face the world and to understand that there is only one being above you," she says.

In 1989 she was visiting Mr Mandela in prison when they heard Mr Sisulu had been released. "Our marriage is closer than it has ever been but it took time for Walter to rehabilitate. He is getting stronger by the minute," she says.

In the past three years Mrs Sisulu has devoted herself to rebuilding the ANC's women's movement while her husband became the ANC's internal leader. She is not disillusioned by recent setbacks but is loath to discuss the violence. "The world has decided that the violence is black on black. But the violence is the government's baby. They created it to work against the ANC."

Her dream, she says, is of a democratic non-racist non-sexist South Africa with a government elected by all the people. "Whether that government elects a black or white president, it must be a government run for the people and voted by the people — and that includes women," she says.

De Klerk seeks to soothe Inkatha on ANC talks

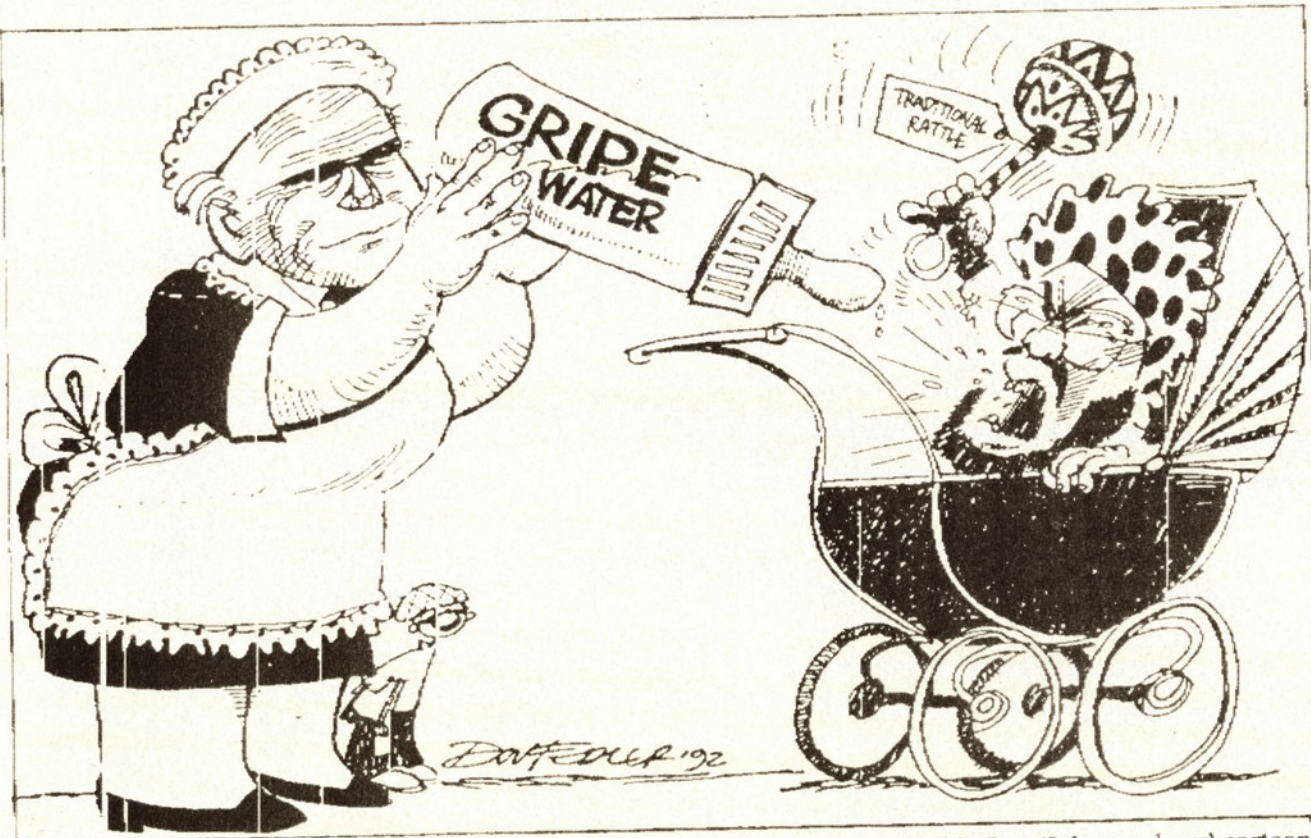
FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN PRETORIA

SOUTH Africa's government has been stung by the complaints of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, that last weekend's bilateral talks with the African National Congress have damaged his interests and those of his Zulu followers.

Yesterday Mr de Klerk called a somewhat ostentatious press conference, and an entire garden party of diplomats. Into a chamber watched over by bronze busts of the fathers of apartheid, among the pillars, fountains and ceremonial staircases of the Union Buildings, he led a parade of ministers.

But there were no new policies. Mr de Klerk simply wanted to use the occasion to address the Zulu prince and the other two insecure homeland leaders with whom he has allied himself. Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo of Ciskei.

He wanted to explain that Dr Buthelezi had not fully understood what went on when he met Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, for the first time since the breakdown of talks at the second plenary session of the



Nanny state: President de Klerk is pandering to Chief Buthelezi, according to this *Star* (Johannesburg) cartoon

Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Mr de Klerk said that Inkatha was "an important party" without whom there could "be no comprehensive solution". He

would do everything he could "to address the misunderstandings and concerns which have arisen in our relations with the IFP [Inkatha] with a view to resuming bilateral and

multilateral negotiations as soon as possible". The president issued a statement explaining to Dr Buthelezi that the constitutional agreement contained in the "record of

understanding" drawn up with the ANC was merely a reaffirmation of agreements already reached at Codesa — which enjoyed consensus backing from all the main

players, including the three now disaffected parties.

The statement says the agreement on making secure the township hostels and on the carrying of dangerous weapons does not originate in ANC demands, and that ANC demands were in fact brought into line with government policy through negotiation. The hostels at issue were few in number, Mr de Klerk said, and some were controlled by the ANC anyway. As for the weapons, "the perception that the proposed proclamation is aimed primarily at cultural weapons is incorrect". Carrying traditional weapons for genuine cultural purposes would be acceptable. The Goldstone commission is to suggest exemptions.

● **Luanda.** Unofficial returns in Angola's first elections after the civil war indicated yesterday that President dos Santos was increasing his lead over Jonas Savimbi, his former enemy, Angolan radio said. However, Dr Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) said he was doing well. The radio also said that in the ballot for the legislature, the ruling MPLA was ahead of Unita, although Unita claimed to be leading. (Reuters)

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De Klerk tries to win back Chief

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE South African State President, F. W. de Klerk, yesterday made a tortuous effort to placate the homeland leaders — notably Zululand's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — over his recent peace agreement with the ANC which has produced yet another deadlock to talks.

But it emerged yesterday that the ANC leadership is deeply divided over proposals to stage a peace summit between Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — regarded by many as the only way of getting multi-party talks back on the rails.

It is understood that the issue was strongly debated at Wednesday's meeting of the ANC's national working committee and that bitter opposition to the summit from Natal representatives effectively vetoed the proposal. Appeals to Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi are believed to have included an intervention from the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The present deadlock in constitutional talks was triggered by Chief Buthelezi's decision to quit the peace process, accusing the government and the ANC of rigging negotiations. The allegations were prompted by last Saturday's deal between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela which produced agreement on a broad set of negotiating principles. This included agreement that the new constitution would be drawn up by an elected, constituent assembly. There would

also be further releases of political prisoners, migrant workers' hostels would be fenced and tighter restrictions imposed on the carrying of shields and spears by the chief's supporters.

President De Klerk and his minister for prisons, Adriaan Vlok, yesterday issued lengthy statements suggesting that the agreement with the ANC did not result from Saturday's meeting, but were merely the "reaffirmation" of agreements previously agreed at multi-party talks, together with recommendations made by the Goldstone judicial commission on violence.

"I wish to state that the perception that the government has capitulated to any other party is devoid of all truth," President De Klerk said. "The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important party without which there can also be no comprehensive solution."

The South African security forces, meanwhile, continued to show their deep antagonism towards the ANC yesterday. The police issued a statement which amounted to a political diatribe against the ANC's mass action campaign, dressed up as an appeal to victims of "intimidation" to report incidents to a telephone crime line.

The South African Defence Force released the text of a speech delivered by the Chief of the Army, General George Meiring, claiming that the ANC was deploying "special operations teams" to sabotage government installations in the homelands and black residential areas.

The Guardian - 2/10/92
London

THE INDEPENDENT

Friday 2 October 1992

THE INDE

De Klerk pleads for help from all sides

FW DE KLERK press conferences have always been models of authority, polish and control. Yesterday at Pretoria's Union Buildings, the seat of white power, Mr de Klerk and three of his cabinet ministers looked and sounded weaker, more defensive, less confident than at any point since coming to power three years ago.

Adriaan Vlok, the erstwhile minister of police who is now in charge of prisons, captured the mood in an extraordinary, and quite unprompted, plea to the assembled reporters. "I beg you not to stir up emotions," he said. "To my friends in the media I say, 'Help us!'"

Whatever doubts remained that the South African government had received a hammering in the talks last week with the African National Congress (ANC) were dispelled by yesterday's performance. If anything, Mr de Klerk reinforced the point when he protested: "I wish to state that the perception that the government has capitulated to another party is devoid of all truth."

The ANC, in fact, gave nothing away either in the talks or in the summit between its leader, Nelson Mandela, and Mr de Klerk that followed — save, perhaps, for a woolly commitment, ratified by the ANC leadership on Wednes-

From John Carlin in Johannesburg

day, to adjust its policy on "mass action". On the other hand, the release at the weekend of the ANC prisoners — notably Robert McBride, who killed three people in a car bomb attack — was a summit pre-condition which the government ceded only with extreme reluctance.

Unexpectedly rubbing salt in the wound was the reaction of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), publicly identified by government officials as important partners in a future electoral alliance against the ANC. On Sunday, Chief Buthelezi, deeply offended at his exclusion from the summit, announced he was pulling out of all talks with the government. In petulant mood, he insisted that the government should treat him as a major political player, as a leader of equal status to Mr Mandela.

Otherwise, the chief strongly hinted, he would disrupt the government's best-laid electoral plans and seek alliances with the secessionist right. Today, indeed, the Inkatha youth are due to hold a meeting in Johannesburg with their counterparts from the right-wing Conservative Party.

The objective of yesterday's

press conference was to restore the crumbling edifice, to woo back Inkatha, to reassure doubters — the security forces included — in the white constituency and to restore, besides, the wavering fidelity of the South African press.

Otherwise, one hour with the nation's leaders yielded nothing of any news substance — as demonstrated by yesterday's afternoon edition of the Johannesburg *Star*, which reduced the event to three paragraphs.

What was interesting was the tone of what Mr de Klerk and his ministers said, and to whom they were addressing their words.

The President began proceedings with a statement in which he reassured Inkatha that it was "simply not possible to negotiate a viable constitutional settlement with only some of the major parties". There was no intention at the weekend summit, he reiterated, "to exclude any parties". "The IFP is an important party without which there can be no comprehensive solution."

However, he criticised the delay caused by Chief Buthelezi's outburst: "This is not the time for boycott politics or for the politics of demands and divisions."

For the benefit of outraged whites, Mr de Klerk felt compelled publicly to repeat the obvious for the third time in a week. "The release of these prisoners does not signify condonement of the crimes they committed."

In a clear reference to the failure of the government in the talks to placate the army and police by securing from the ANC a linkage between the prisoners' release and a general amnesty, he gave an assurance that his own plan unilaterally to proceed with such an amnesty would not be overturned by a future ANC government.

The government would not approve a constitution that would allow a future government "to at random alter or undo what we have done in the spirit of reconciliation and the maintaining of security and stability in South Africa", he said.

Mr de Klerk's final words to the press, many of whom have been projecting the notion that he has sold out to the ANC, were: "I call upon all to handle the debate with regard to our meeting with the ANC in a such a manner that existing tensions will not be further exacerbated." Mr Vlok's "Help us!" plea a few moments later revealed that the tensions in question lie most pressingly within the government itself.

2/10/92

PAINY Telegraph - London

Both sides confident of Angola poll victory

By Scott Peterson in Luanda

RESULTS of Angola's first multi-party elections began trickling in yesterday, with both main parties claiming they would win.

Although only seven per cent of the votes had been counted by nightfall, Angolan television reported that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was winning three times as many votes as his rival, the former rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

In parliamentary elections, President dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) also held a three-to-one edge over Dr Savimbi's Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

The early results, however, were mostly from the capital, Luanda, and other major towns, where Senhor

dos Santos had been expected to do well.

A tally of rural areas, where Dr Savimbi derives most of his support, will take time to arrive in Luanda, though the count has already been made locally.

Unita said that in Jamba, its south-eastern guerrilla base, 15,000 people voted for Dr Savimbi, and only 88 for Senhor dos Santos.

"We are confident in the process," said the Unita spokesman, Jorge Valentim. "What Radio National is doing is provoking our supporters, though we call on them not to be provoked."

Dr Onofre dos Santos, Director-General of Elections, estimated that 90 per cent of the 4.86 million Angolans registered to vote cast ballots.

'We will not hand over to chaos' says de Klerk

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT de Klerk of South Africa gave warning yesterday that he had no intention of "handing the country over to chaos" after the African National Congress said it would not abandon its mass action campaign.

Mr de Klerk was reacting to a decision by the ANC executive to continue with strikes and protests despite an agreement he reached with Mr Nelson Mandela. ANC president, last weekend that could see an early resumption of talks.

The ANC said the agreement indicated "sufficient movement" to enable it to return to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), but negotiations "require careful preparation to ensure they are fruitful".

Mr de Klerk said such

statements were creating the impression that much of what the government was doing would be undone at a future stage.

He said the government would not approve a constitution that could allow a future government to alter "what we have done in the spirit of reconciliation and the maintaining of security and stability".

"We don't say that any future government cannot amend legislation, but we are not going to hand the country over to chaos," Mr de Klerk said.

● South African paratroopers intervened to help soldiers in the homeland of Ciskei repel a grenade and rifle attack on a police station, a South African army spokesman said yesterday. — AFP

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- K. Thomson

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Albertina Sisulu
was once a mother
to her orphaned
siblings. Now,
Alice Thomson
reports, she is
mother to millions

Outside the wind is howling down Blackpool promenade, jangling the illuminations and jolting the tram. Inside the Winter Gardens conference centre the fax machines have jammed, public relations women are losing strained and coffee cups and sandwiches are strewn over the tables. The Labour conference is half-way through and everyone at the centre is on their mobile telephones seeing how many events they can squeeze in that night and wondering who to have breakfast with.

Only Albertina Sisulu appears impervious to all this as she browses among Christmas cards at one of the stalls. The deputy president of the ANC women's league has not come to the Labour conference to harangue the Conservative party over their economy or to go on the big wheel. She is in Blackpool at the invitation of the charity, One World Action, to talk about women in South Africa and their future.

"Poverty, homelessness, illiteracy and unemployment are rampant among blacks in South Africa, but they affect women particularly badly," Mrs Sisulu says. "Our women are oppressed three times over. They are oppressed by the traditions and customs of our society that expect them to stay at home as carers, by the government and by the men folk. All family decisions, however trivial, are made by the men, and yet it is the women who feel desperately responsible for their children's future."

Mrs Sisulu uses none of the clever rhetoric of the politicians around her or the flamboyance of



"It is the work of all South African women to ensure peace": Albertina Sisulu, head of the ANC women's league, in Blackpool yesterday

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tralism" still burns bright in the hearts of many in the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The US constitution provides something of an answer to both of these objections. As an American legal academic pointed out, the philosophical underpinning of the US constitution is to avoid the "tyranny of the majority", a phrase which I noted the government member of the South African delegation eagerly scribbling down.

The US does this by dividing power and parcelling it out horizontally between congress, the presidency and the judiciary, and vertically between the federal government and the states. It does not provide a special dispensation to privileged groups or minorities.

For the rightwing, this is its very deficiency. It does not address the question of minorities and potential racial or ethnic conflict.

Among the federal constitutions that do set out to accommodate adversarial group rights are Belgium and Canada. Because of our history, there is no way that South Africa can turn back the clock on apartheid and reimpose racially based legislation.

And because of our geography, federalism on its own can do nothing about group conflict in South Africa: each region is to some extent a microcosm of the whole. The likelihood is that for Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweg-

ing supporters in Pietersburg, Roodepoort or Welkom, federalism would impose not just one, but two tiers of ANC rule over their heads.

And, far from resolving the conflict between the Zulus of the Inkatha Freedom Party and those of the the ANC, strong regional government in Natal will simply decentralise the winner take all struggle into a huge regional conflagration.

What the NP is not saying out loud for the moment is that it proposes to deal with ethnic and political conflicts through power-sharing, at a national and a regional level. Under this scheme, Natal will be governed by the three strongest parties, who will probably be the ANC, the IFP and the NP.

Unfortunately, power-sharing also eliminates democracy in that it creates permanent political elites and cabals in government. People can never vote a government out of office or rely on a strong and viable opposition to keep a government on its toes.

By rigging political society and simultaneously creating a federation we would be setting ourselves up for a model that no one in their right mind would willingly follow: Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is often thrown about loosely by rightwingers as a kind of threat of what will happen in South Africa if their demand for a Boerestaat or a Zulu state are not accommodated. The reality is far more complex, as eminent professors from Bel-

grade and Zagreb were able to tell the conference.

Professor PS Nikolic was blunt. Yugoslavia failed, he said, because it was not democratic. "There was no democratic political regime throughout the development of Yugoslavia. There was no way to develop authentic federalism to resolve the national question..."

"Federalism presupposes a democratic form of government. It has been realised most convincingly in those centres where democracy has reached its highest level — Germany, the US and Switzerland. Where it has been undemocratic there is failure, for instance Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union."

The overwhelming message at the conference is that while democracy is its basis, every country should find its own way to federalism. We cannot pluck out, say, the German model and hope that it will thrive in South African soil.

Besides, after 44 years of NP gerrymandering, South Africans have every reason to be sceptical. If people on the ground are to be convinced that they are not being snared in another trap, federalism or regionalism will have to be explained in terms of very good reasons they can understand and that have meaning in their lives, and not just as the outcome of a fix between political parties.

A blueprint imposed from the top

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It was an inspirational oration, closer to Goethe and Hegel than modern political science. It was enough to rouse a sleepy delegation of South Africans assembled last week at the philosopher Leibniz's house in Hannover for a conference on changes in federal systems.

"We are dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants," declared Professor Peter Haberle of Bayreuth University, pressing his palms together as if in prayer and closing his eyes as if the vista from the giant's shoulders could best be seen from inside one's head.

No South African constitutional discussion should be so complex as Haberle's erudite journey through such concepts as fiduciary federalism. Yet we too stand on the shoulders of giants, the experiences of other countries permitting us to see further than those on whose shoulders we clamber.

For instance, Europe, from west to east, is gripped by far-reaching and fascinating constitutional change that South Africans could usefully deploy in the debates ahead.

Last weekend's record of understanding between the National Party and the African National Congress, designing the gateway to democracy, has elevated "basic constitutional principles" to the top of the negotiations agenda.

Before democratic elections for a constituent assembly, the question of whether South Africa is to be a unitary or a federal state — and how entrenched the powers of regional government should be — has to be decided.

There were representatives from five political parties at the Hannover conference. For them, the difficulty was, for a moment, to stand outside the deeply ideologised South African debate and to ask questions in a different, more open-ended way.

Distrust of motivations and intentions has turned federalism into the f-word of South African politics. Opponents of the government are deeply suspicious of the NP's embrace of a concept that it so comprehensively scorned, to the extent of abolishing the provincial councils and imposing centrally planned social engineering on the country, with disastrous results.

Having clung to exclusive centralised power for 44 years, it is highly fishy that the NP underwent a sudden conversion to the virtues of a weaker central state on the eve of majority rule.

The NP deepens suspicions that it has a double agenda by proposing minimal powers for central government that would amount to a loose confederation, and which would deny the central government even the right to draw up a budget — and hence to redistribute wealth.

The allies that the NP invited include all the old homeland suspects such as Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo, whose interest in federalism can only be inspired by the belief that it will save their political hides by preserving vestiges of the old apartheid system that created them.

From the other side, there is a legitimate concern that the flame of the old Leninist dogma of "democratic cen-

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by a few smart politicians won't work. Africa is a graveyard of political systems imposed by colonial administrators. The NP should remember this in its haste to front-load the constitution and cast as much of the system into tablets of stone before the constituent assembly sits.

There is a lesson here from Canada, whose very survival is at stake in a referendum on October 26. Professor Lloyd Brown-John, of Windsor University, pointed out that the process whereby federal systems are developed must be legitimised. "Major constitutional adjustment requires in some manner the involvement of the people affected."

Brown-John himself sat on one of the commissions appointed by his government to sound out the views of the people. He visited small-town Canada to hear thousands of submissions from activist groups and individuals. Still, the final outcome has an even chance of being rejected.

The same problem of legitimacy has arisen over the unification of Europe and the Maastricht treaty. It is a rebellion against bureaucrats developing a new Europe and changing people's lives without consulting them.

At a deeper level, the fear of centralisation in the advanced capitalist societies is a rejection of the new world order, of globalisation and anonymity.

It is a rebellion against MacDonald's hamburgers, bad American movies and television, and the trend to dismal uniformity.

Thus, it was fascinating to hear from Italian and Spanish constitutional lawyers and academics of a vibrant regionalism that has developed in these countries and which is moving them from unitary states towards becoming federations. Regionalism, in another memorable phrase from Haberle, has become the little brother of federalism.

There is a hint of this same principle in President FW de Klerk's recent espousal of regionalism and federalism, which he said are "able to guarantee a better, purer and more lasting democracy". Among the reasons he gives for this is bringing government closer to the people.

There is nothing objectionable in this. In fact, there are many in the ANC who would support that same principle. But it has to be built from the grassroots, as in Spain where becoming a federation is proving to be a long, complicated process. "What is important is that we agree on the conditions for this to take place," said a Spanish professor, Antonio Lopez Pina.

Regionalisation in Spain takes place in the context of a constitution that provides for the "harmonisation of living standards between all Spaniards".

To be a Spaniard, to have that identity, is not a shallow nationhood comprised only in waving a flag and singing an anthem. It is to be one among equals.

Far from blocking the redistribution of wealth, federalism and regionalism can facilitate it — as it has done, and is doing right now, in Germany. Now I wonder if that's what De Klerk has in mind.