

PAC for planning talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The PAC, the KwaZulu government, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are set to formally join constitutional talks on Friday.

PAC sources said yesterday that the organisation's national working committee had decided on February 20 to attend the two-day multiparty planning conference which starts at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Although no consensus has been reached on the attendance of the KwaZulu government, it is understood that it will send a delegation.

A panel of seven chairmen for the conference, including Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, is meeting in Cape Town today.

Natal Inkatha leader killed

Inkatha leader Mbongeleni Zulu was killed and his Natal North Coast home torched on Sunday.

Gunmen kill five children

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Five children were killed near Maritzburg this morning when unidentified gunmen opened fire on a vehicle carrying pupils to school.

The shooting, in the Table Mountain area, brought a massive police response. Follow-up operations are still continuing.

Police liaison officer Captain Henry Budhram said this morning that he had no details of the attack nor any idea of the motive. "I believe there is still shooting going on in the area."

The bus driver was also injured in the attack.

The captain said he had heard that two other people had been killed in shooting associated with the attack.

A spokesman for Maritzburg's Northdale Hospital said seven children were still being treated in the casualty ward at midday. She said no details were available and the children had been too shocked and confused to explain to nursing staff what had happened to them.

Optimism must be tempered with realism as peace hopes rise, writes Patrick Laurence

SA needs wisdom of Solomon

OVER the past year South Africa has had enough Jeremiahs warning of pending doom. But Jeremiahs are not needed as national despair begins to lift at last.

A counsel of caution is needed, however, to guard against too much optimism now that multiparty negotiations are about to be resumed after the breakdown of Codesa 2 last year.

To a large extent the optimism has been generated by the agreement between the ANC and the De Klerk administration; forged in bilateral discussions, the agreement rests on an accord to establish a transitional government of national unity (TGNU) after the election of a constituent assembly.

The convergence of thinking between these two forces justifies the hopes for a settlement that they have aroused. But real problems still have to be resolved.

One relates to the TGNU itself; it is clear the ANC and the De Klerk administration are not at one on what it means.

The ANC, facing criticism from its own constituents for agreeing to share power with FW de Klerk's ruling National Party, has

emphasised that the proposed TGNU will not compromise the principle of majority rule.

While all parties winning more than five percent of the vote in elections for a constituent assembly will qualify to serve in the TGNU, minority parties will not be allowed to thwart the will of the majority party, ANC leaders have stressed.

If the ANC wins an absolute majority in the elections (more than 50 percent of the vote), its wishes will prevail in the TGNU. As the ANC puts it, the need for inclusiveness will not be allowed to impair the capacity of the TGNU to function effectively.

Against that, as the ANC notes, the De Klerk administration is still wedded to the notion of consensus, a notion which will enable smaller parties to halt the process of government if they disagree with the majority party.

Thus there is disagreement at the heart of what has been billed as a major agreement — or, in the eyes of hostile interpreters, as a "conspiracy" — between the ANC and the De Klerk administration.

It is clear from various statements — by the ANC national ex-

ecutive after its three-day meeting in Soweto in mid-February and in the ANC's subsequent "Negotiations Bulletin" — that the ANC envisages an executive-style president.

Thus the president — almost certain to be Nelson Mandela, judging from opinion polls — will have the power to reject nominees to the Cabinet from the minority parties if he thinks they are "unacceptable". The only qualifying rider is that he should state why he finds them unacceptable.

Against that, NP policy, as expressed in its constitutional proposals and by De Klerk himself in numerous interviews including last month's with Sir David Frost, favours replacement of the present executive presidency by a ceremonial presidency.

These problems are not insuperable and need not prevent the TGNU from coming into being; but they are real and their resolution will require wisdom and probably compromise.

Before then, however, another problem will have to be solved: how to accommodate traditional or tribal leaders at the multiparty conference. The ANC, and

the De Klerk administration concur that tribal patriarchs should be heard. They differ, however, on why and how.

The ANC is anxious to fulfil a request by the Congress of Traditional Leaders — which is not actually ANC-aligned — that chiefs should have a voice at the talks. It has proposed that each of the four provinces send a delegation of chiefs to the talks with the power to vote in plenary sessions but not at management committee meetings.

The De Klerk administration has mooted a different formula: that the governments of the partially autonomous "homelands" be invited to attend, an arrangement which would allow them to include traditional leaders in their delegations.

Either format would provide a solution to a troublesome issue: demands by Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be given a place at the negotiating table.

The Government proposal would have the advantage of ending an anomaly: the presence at

the talks of the governments of the four "independent" black states — the TBVC territories — and the exclusion of the governments of their political siblings, the six partly self-governing states.

In the meantime, however, Buthelezi has signalled that he will pre-empt the issue: he will send two delegations to the preparatory meeting for the multiparty negotiations, one from the IFP and another from the KwaZulu government.

An even more difficult problem is looming: there is no evidence that De Klerk's men have been able to persuade the IFP that the best and safest way to a democratic and non-racial South Africa is via a constituent assembly and a transitional government; on the contrary, IFP central committee member, Ben Ngubane, has recently reiterated the IFP's objections to it.

The IFP argues that the order should be reversed: instead of elections preceding the drawing up of a constitution, it maintains that the constitution should first be drafted by the multiparty conference, sitting as a latter-day Na-

tional Convention, and that non-racial elections should then be held under the new constitution, provided that it is approved in a national referendum.

The IFP cites the case of Zimbabwe, where the constitution was drafted at the Lancaster House conference in London before the elections which brought Robert Mugabe to power; the ANC and the De Klerk administration counter with the example of Namibia, where a popularly elected constituent assembly drafted the constitution.

What happens if the deadlock cannot be resolved?

There is only the imprecise doctrine of "sufficient consensus" to fall back on. Forged during last year's failed Codesa talks, it holds that complete consensus is desirable but not necessary, that the multiparty conference can proceed if there is sufficient consensus. This, however, begs the question. If there is incomplete consensus, that constitutes sufficient consensus?

South Africa does not need any more Jeremiahs but it will need many Solomons to complete the journey ahead. □

APLA delays, then arrives for talks

GABORONE. — who delayed talks between the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress for a day, arrived in Gaborone shortly after 11 o'clock last night.

It is not yet known whether the unofficial commander-in-chief of the PAC's armed wing, Victor Phama, is a member of the APLA delegation.

South African Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, and Gen Jan Erasmus, from South African Defence Force headquarters, are attending the bilateral talks in the hope of holding discussions with Mr Phama.

The APLA commanders arrived with a large entourage of bodyguards to counter what they claimed was the government's attempts to identify them. They will apparently be using pseudonyms during the talks.

The group immediately began consultations with the PAC leadership, in preparation for the meeting with the South African Government this morning.

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Talks delayed

FROM PAGE 1

The APLA commanders arrived in Gaborone after the PAC chartered a private plane from Johannesburg to Harare to bring them to the talks.

The APLA delegation refused to travel to Botswana via South Africa.

Although the PAC refused to reveal the identities of the APLA men, it

is known that political commissar Romero Daniels will be part of the delegation.

PAC delegation leader and attorney Willie Seriti made it clear that the APLA and the PAC contingents were one and the same delegation.

"APLA is a component structure of the PAC and is subject to us." (APLA is the armed wing of the PAC.)

Mr Seriti said the PAC's top decision-making body, its annual congress, "will have to take a decision on APLA's activities".

"To say that today was a very frustrating day for the South African Government is an understatement," Minister of Law and Order Hermus Kriel told a news conference after the APLA delegation failed to turn up yesterday.

Mr Kriel was "cautiously optimistic" about the outcome of the negotiations scheduled for 8 am today.

"The first item on the agenda is APLA's armed activities. This has to be dealt with before we can move to other items on the agenda."

In any negotiating process, there was a process of give-and-take, he said, citing the African National Congress' suspension of its armed struggle as a product of negotiations.

Mr Kriel confirmed earlier PAC statements that the agenda included the question of violence from all quarters, a new negotiating forum or structure, transitional arrangements, and the role of the international community in South Africa's political transition. — Sapa.

GUARDIAN

22 MAR 1993

London

S Africa digs in for 'year of terror'

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

WHILE South Africa is being reduced to a state of explosive paranoia by a string of racial murders which continued yesterday with the random killing of a motorist near Johannesburg.

As the country braced itself for a revenge campaign by rightwing extremists, black gunmen using AK-47 assault rifles ambushed a car in the Vaal Triangle south of Johannesburg, killing a white man travelling to work with a friend.

Simultaneously the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) staged a roadblock at the scene of an attack on motorists on Friday, in which a mother and her two children were killed. Chanting racist slogans and brandishing placards, about 300 uniformed demonstrators forced traffic off the Vereeniging Johannesburg road, south of the commercial capital.

The first evidence of revenge attacks on blacks came in the form of a bizarre announcement from another extremist organisation, the White Wolves, claiming responsibility for the wounding of a five-year-old black girl near the town of Nigel, east of Johannesburg, on Sunday.

Police said a man had been arrested in connection with the incident on charges of attempted murder and drunken driving.

Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, continued to be blamed for the attacks, but the organisation has made no coherent statement or disclaimer of responsibility.

The minister of law and order, Hennis Kriel, made a public-relations visit to the scene of Friday's killings and told reporters that the cabinet would be discussing a response this week. But there was no firm indication as to its nature.

It is believed that, after similar attacks on whites last year, the security forces were on the brink of launching retaliatory strikes at alleged Apla bases in the Transkei homeland, but backed off because of political considerations.

Pressure on the government

to take action is fast mounting. Radio chat shows were inundated yesterday with calls from listeners demanding revenge. Anger was fuelled by the news of the death of the third of the victims of Friday's attack, Clare Silberbauer, aged 13, who had been battling for life with a bullet wound to the head.

The tragedy was hammered home by a poignant statement from the girl's parents. Referring to a brain injury she suffered when she fell off a horse at the age of six — from which she had seemed to be recovering after a series of operations — the statement said: "Men with guns, who wish to change this country with violence, you may have many reasons for anger as a result of this sad country's politics. Clare so many times in her short, young life had unfair blows to bear and reason for anger, but never would she take the road of violence, not even stand on an insect..."

White agitation over the killings — in which five people have now died since Friday, including another teenager shot dead at a hotel in the Eastern Cape — is compounded by mounting insecurity caused by the high level of crime.

The division between politically-motivated and "ordinary" crime is becoming increasingly blurred, in part because robbers seem to be justifying their crimes on political grounds.

An example was an attack on a white motorist south of Johannesburg at the weekend. Barnard Buys, aged 23, was dragged out of his car and beaten up by gunmen searching for money and firearms, whom he quoted as saying: "You Boer, you are going to die. You must know 1993 is the year of terror. Old white people and white children will be murdered." Knocked unconscious, he came round in his burning car, and managed to get out.

But blacks also continue to die in the political violence, as always with less fanfare. The latest killings included four people shot dead by a pedestrian who opened fire on the occupants of a pick-up truck, which had stopped to give him a lift in Natal.

Police were also investigating reports that a bus crash in the Transkei, in which 10 passengers were killed, was caused by gunfire.

Starvation in Natal

STARVATION was rife in rural areas of Natal where scores of people had died in the past few months, Operation Hunger regional director Phillipa Yarker said yesterday. There had been an increase of nearly 300% in the number of families the organisation was feeding.

ANC reassures public servants

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Public servants affected by an affirmative action programme would get a fair deal from the ANC, but extravagant retirement settlements would be eliminated, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was enlarging on a statement by the ANC's NEC last week that a major conference was planned in the next four months to design clear policies for restructuring government. This would include the judiciary and the public service.

He said the extent of retirement settlements would be negotiated with the various staff associations. "We have no intention of throwing people out of jobs without fair compensation."

The NEC also recommended a morato-

rium be placed on all public servants' gratuities except for contractual ones.

Niehaus said the civil service of a government of national unity would have to be more representative of the whole population. The restructuring of the service was being studied.

Costly duplication and overlapping of functions and services would be eliminated. The main aim, Niehaus said, would be to cut government costs, raise efficiency levels and allow in more qualified blacks.

In the process there would inevitably have to be early retirements. But he stressed there were no plans to "mass fire" white government workers.

Conference 'too rushed'

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night slammed this weekend's multiparty planning conference as "rearranging the kitchen chairs", saying it would be too rushed.

He had hoped the conference would open debate on constitutional issues.

Buthelezi said this in an interview at the Johannesburg Civic Centre where he was attending the induction of Johannesburg's new mayor, Les Disb. He confirmed that the IFP was unhappy about the presence of Transkei representatives at the conference.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March 2 1993

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Meeting tackles differences

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC meet today and tomorrow to try to resolve differences on constitutional issues and prepare for Friday's planning conference on ways of countering opposition to the unity government proposal.

The meeting will also deal with report-backs from the seven sub-committees which have been trying to facilitate agreements on a range of issues prior to the resumption of multiparty talks.

The ANC wants agreement in as many areas as possible "so that when we get to the multiparty table the negotiations will be much smoother and there will be less chance of deadlocks developing", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The subcommittees have been discussing a range of constitutional matters, especially the differences in interpretation of a unity government and power sharing preliminary agreement.

Other matters to be discussed are a new independent SABC board; an elections commission, the reincorporation of the TBVC states; details of the planning conference, especially Inkatha's insistence on negotiating substantive constitutional issues; and finalising an agreement on the

powers and authority of the transitional executive authority and its sub councils.

Meanwhile, the steering committee finalising the arrangements for the planning conference met last night in Cape Town to discuss the agenda and set timing for the conference.

All the senior negotiators are part of the committee. These include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Ramaphosa, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, the DP's Colin Eglin and senior members of the AVU, the CP and homeland governments.

Inkatha rejects outright that the planning conference is merely to plan the resumption of negotiations and insists that the form of state — unitary, regional or federal — must be decided at the meeting because this would affect the form of the new negotiating forum.

The Inkatha central committee ended its deliberations on the planning conference and discussions with Meyer and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont on Sunday but party spokesmen would disclose any details yesterday.

Seven killed in Ntl weekend violence

DURBAN. — Violence in Natal continued this weekend with seven people being killed.

At Clermont near Durban, a policeman and the suspect he was attempting to arrest were killed by an angry crowd on Sunday.

A second policeman was seriously injured when he was shot in the head.

Three policemen were about to put the wounded suspect into their van when the victim's mother

shouted that the suspect would not be tried and would be set free.

The crowd surged forward and the policemen were forced to release the suspect, who was then chased by members of the crowd. The man was later found dead.

Other members of the crowd attacked the policemen, hacking one to death. Another was shot in the head and the third escaped unhurt.

Two men were killed in

separate attacks in the KwaMthethwa reserve, northern Zululand.

Eric Khumalo (27), was hacked to death by a group of people after they converged on his father's house on Sunday night.

The previous evening, Elias Zulu (30), was burnt to death after his house was attacked by armed men.

At Kwambonambi Reserve, police shot and killed two men in a shoot-out on Sunday. — Sapa.

Demos arrested at ANC arms trial

POLICE arrested 76 singing demonstrators inside the Bethal Magistrate's Court yesterday where African National Congress members were standing trial in connection with arms smuggling.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman W/O Izak van Zyl said the protesters were arrested for being within 500 m of a magistrate's court.

The demonstration,

which began outside the building, then moved inside where the protesters sang songs and waved flags.

All 76 appeared in court about 7pm and were granted bail of R300 each. The case against them was postponed until March 24.

Seven people paid bail immediately, W/O Van Zyl said.

Four men, three of them members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, were appearing for allegedly trying to smuggle a large arsenal of weapons across the Swaziland border.

They were remanded until March 29 for the completion of investigations. No bail application was lodged. — Sapa.

ANC supporters show backing for MPLA

HUNDREDS of chanting African National Congress supporters braved pelting rain in downtown Johannesburg yesterday to voice support for Angola's ruling MPLA government and to hand over an open letter to American President Bill Clinton.

The letter was handed

over by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu to the Acting United States Consul-General in Johannesburg, Karl Danga.

Addressing the toy-toting crowd outside the consulate before handing over the letter, Mr Sisulu said the demonstration was to show solidarity with the people of An-

gola.

"On this day we call on all democrats to show solidarity with the people of Angola.

"(Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is not for peace. We think the time has come for the world to recognise the MPLA government elected by the people of Angola," said Mr Sisulu, who called for the peace in war-torn Angola.

The letter said the United States could make an important contribution to the peace process in Angola in its capacity as a United Nations Security Council member and one of three observer countries of the Bicesse Accords.

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We'll go on despite Civics' terror: DP

CAPE TOWN. — The Democratic Party would continue to hold meetings and organise people, despite the SA National Civics Organisation's hell-bent attempts at introducing a reign of fear and terror into politics, DP spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, said yesterday.

Mr Leon said Sanco general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng's scathing statement regarding the DP's domestic workers' rally over the weekend was further evidence of authoritarian facism in the southern Transvaal and elsewhere.

Mr Mofokeng said at the weekend that the

domestic workers attending the rally were "political hostages", and had been bribed by the DP to vote for the party by providing food, shelter and employment.

Said Mr Leon: "This statement is riddled with errors and reeks of bile."

It had been typical of the extremist and undemocratic posturings of Sanco.

"The DP will continue to hold meetings and organise people, wherever and with whom ever it pleases. Mr Mofokeng and his unrepresentative clique will certainly not prevent us, nor will ordinary people allow him and his cronies to be self-appointed gatekeep-

ers of the people."

The statement had been laughable, as the DP had never used bribery and coercion to enforce attendance at its meetings, unlike the Civics, which were infamous for street committees, people's courts and arbitrary punishments.

Mr Leon said Sanco specialised in negatives such as boycotts, disruptions and intimidation.

He challenged Mr Mofokeng to stop hiding behind Press statements and debate with him to determine whether his brand of brute authoritarianism, or the DP's version of real democracy, should prevail in the new South Africa. — Sapa.

Pretoria Seeks Guarantee of Rights It Long Denied

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 2 — President F. W. de Klerk's Government today proposed a bill of rights aimed at forcing future black governments to honor human liberties and property rights that white rulers have ignored for three centuries.

The document would forbid discrimination on the basis of race or sex, confiscation of private property, limits on free speech or political activity, restrictions on travel or residence, detention without trial, random searches, exile or expulsion and an array of other practices that were routine in the years of apartheid.

The Government said it would demand that some version of these safeguards be enshrined in the constitution before it will hand over power to a more democratic order.

The document appeared to have two purposes: to reassure followers of the governing National Party who fear wide scale retribution under a black government, and to burnish the party's image for coming elections.

Critics assailed the Government proposal today as the last great hypocrisy

of the party that invented apartheid and an attempt to entrench ill-gotten white privileges in the guise of human rights.

While the notion of a bill of rights has almost universal support, the Government's critics say it should be the work of a democratically elected new government, not the last-minute legacy of a governing party elected when blacks were denied the vote.

"To talk of adopting a bill of rights in a situation when 75 percent of the people do not have the vote is quite grotesque," said Dullah Omar, a legal adviser to the African National Congress.

Leaders on both sides said if the Government insists on enactment of a bill of rights, the issue could impede a negotiated end of the white monopoly and delay the first universal elections, now expected by April 1994.

Under Mr. de Klerk, the Government has purged the major apartheid-era laws that kept blacks in a state of isolation and servitude. But the Constitution is still based on a doctrine of racial separation; blacks are still disfranchised, and many other remnants of the old system remain in effect.

Moreover, South Africa has no bill of rights for any of its citizens, and no constitutional court to which citizens can appeal. Under the present system, Parliament is supreme.

One opposition member of Parliament pointed out that as recently as a few months ago Mr. de Klerk was introducing legislation that would be forbidden to his successors under the proposed bill of rights.

'Change the Situation Positively'

In October Mr. de Klerk forced a bill through Parliament allowing state officials to seek amnesty for past crimes committed with a political motive. The new proposed bill of rights today would prohibit any future government from indemnifying "a person in the service of the state" for killing or injuring civilians.

"The politics of it is just rank hypocrisy," said the opposition lawmaker, Tony Leon of the Liberal Democratic Party. "Three months ago we were passing legislation completely contradicted by what they're proposing today."

Hendrick J. Coetsee, Mr. de Klerk's Minister of Justice, told reporters that

the recently approved amnesty measure "deals with the past, leveling the playing field," while the new proposal embodies a philosophy for the future.

"We say that in the past, human rights in this country have been infringed," Mr. Coetsee added. "We do not claim to be proud of such infringements, but we do claim the right and the privilege to change the situation positively."

Mr. Coetsee said that the Government would promote its proposal by distributing leaflets in 11 languages and staging conferences, but that the final version would be negotiated with other parties before being sent to Parliament for enactment.

But if other parties balk at a bill of rights, he warned, "it could really delay the process." He added, "I don't see how we can go into an election" without such a bill.

The African National Congress, the most powerful representative of black interests, argues that the existing Constitution should be amended just enough to assure fair elections, but not enough to pre-empt the future government in its constitution-writing.

Brutal death in South Africa

02/03/93

17:41



SEB BALK/Associated Press

African National Congress supporters question a man (top left), whom they suspect is a spy for the rival Zulu Inkatha party. The ANC supporters stoned the man and stabbed him (top right), before pouring gasoline on him and burning him to death. The incident occurred Saturday outside a hostel for workers in the South African township of Soweto. Fighting between the two major black parties has killed hundreds, and has been blamed for slowing the pace of reform in the apartheid nation.

Despite Critics Right and Left, Mandela Pushes Talks With de Klerk

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 17 — Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, said today that mounting alarm about South Africa's economy had created a new sense of urgency that he believes will bring the end of white rule this year.

In an hourlong interview before he left for Washington to attend the inauguration of President-elect Bill Clinton, Mr. Mandela brushed aside one by one the obstacles that have made some politicians pessimistic about the path ahead.

These include sharp differences with the Government on details of the new order, resistance from leaders of some black homelands, threats of violence from the white and black fringes, an army and police force that Mr. Mandela still regards as hostile to black rule and the restiveness of more militant members of his own organization.

Dissent Within

Mr. Mandela defended the A.N.C.'s plan to share power indefinitely with the white minority after elections, a concession that has ignited dissent — most recently from his estranged wife, Winnie Mandela — and complaints that he is giving away too much.

"We know how to handle pressure and heat," he said when asked about the danger of losing his grass-roots following by seeming to be too solicitous of white concerns.

Mr. Mandela's buoyant mood reflects a new marriage of expediency with President F. W. de Klerk after repeated breakdowns in negotiations and periods of recrimination.

The anti-apartheid leader said the delays "cramped into the minds" of him and other politicians the danger

that a three-year recession and the wariness of foreign investors would leave a new democratic Government with no means to begin satisfying the expectations of the black majority.

Standing Outside, for a While

Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk have agreed to push for the country's first nonracial elections by the end of the year, or early in 1994 at the latest. Voters would choose an assembly to write a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament.

Mr. Mandela, 74, said he did not intend to run for an assembly seat or seek any interim post, preferring to

Trying to avoid poverty, political or financial.

campaign for the presidency after a permanent constitution is in place, which is not expected before 1995 or 1996.

"It would be wrong for the president of an organization to get himself bogged down in details of government when it is an interim government, instead of building his organization for the final election," he said.

By remaining outside the interim parliament, Mr. Mandela would also remain a symbol of the fact that majority rule was not yet complete.

An Appeal to Clinton

While Mr. Mandela is in Washington this week, emissaries from the A.N.C. and the de Klerk Government are to

meet to clinch agreements on the mechanics of transition. The Government and the leading black organization would then go to multiparty talks as a united front, where they would try to win over such skeptics as Chief Mangosuthu Buthe of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr. Mandela said his "high expectations" for the year had been enhanced by the election of Mr. Clinton, who is expected to listen attentively to Mr. Mandela. The black leader said that in his two telephone conversations with the President-elect, he had appealed for help in keeping the transition smooth, but he declined to say just what kind of help he expected.

Despite President de Klerk's purge last month of 23 military officers suspected of conspiring to sabotage the transition, Mr. Mandela said he did not believe the Government had brought its security forces under control.

"It's not just a question of removing generals, it's a question of removing the whole structure," he said, adding that the A.N.C. would insist that the police and army be put under multiparty control during the period leading up to elections.

A Conciliatory Gesture

In a move to alleviate the fears of the white minority, the congress agreed late last year after fierce internal debate that if it won the election, it would invite the losing parties into a coalition government for an indeterminate period. Mr. Mandela said today that such a promise was necessary to prevent a "counter-revolution" by white civil servants and security forces, and to assure foreign investors of a stable economic climate.

"When we win an election, we don't then gain power," Mr. Mandela said. "We merely hold political office. To

gain power means that we should have control of the civil service, of the South African police, of the South African Defense Force, of business. That is going to take some time for us to achieve."

Mr. Mandela said powersharing must not be enshrined in the constitution, but would be at the invitation of the winning party, and would continue as long as necessary. Some congress leaders have said powersharing would last 5 to 10 years, but Mr. Mandela declined to give a time frame.

A Wife's Opposition

"How long it is going to take us to inspire foreign investors with confidence to invest in our country is something only a prophet can predict," he said.

The agreement has already come under fire from more militant members of the A.N.C., including Mrs. Mandela, who in a funeral homily 10 days ago denounced any powersharing arrangement "between the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors."

Mr. Mandela contended the issue had been fully debated and "there has not been a ripple, in so far as the masses of the people are concerned."

"Why attach such importance if poor Comrade Winnie expresses a view she believes in?" he said.

Other points of view
on the Op-Ed page
seven days a week.
The New York Times

By BILL KELLER

The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 27 — A Mercedes-Benz pulls into the scorched, wretchedness of Phola Park squatter camp, and from the nimbus of dust and glare a family of black women emerges, all business in a tangerine-colored suit.

Residents lured out of their shanties by the apparition simultaneously grin and stiffen to attention. Winnie Mandela, their patron and prophet, is back. In South Africa's more comfortable quarters, Winnie Mandela is regarded, if she is regarded at all, as the changed and embittered wife of South Africa's most revered black leader, Nelson Mandela.

After being convicted in May 1991 of kidnappings carried out by her renegade bodyguards, Mrs. Mandela has formally separated from her husband, and she has official posts in Mr. Mandela's African National Congress and government by the black majority.

Free on \$70 Bail

At forsaken places like Phola Park, "Comrade Winnie," free on \$70 bail to make appeal, is more than South Africa's first lady of liberation.

She does everything for us, the South African leader in the squatter camp south of Johannesburg. Mrs. Mandela is organizing a health clinic and day-care center, and she is an independent power base for the government.

forsaken
places, 'Comrade
Winnie' is still
revered.

The 36-year-old Mrs. Mandela is known for the most volatile segments of the congress's constituency: regions of impoverished and illiterate, the restive demobilized guerrillas, militant young unemployed who they are not quickly appeased by a black government might follow Mrs. Mandela, or someone like her, to the top.

Many of them mistrust President F. W. de Klerk as a double-dealer, and they mutter with equal resentment to their own leaders (including Mr. Mandela) who have moved their farmsteads from the townships to white suburbs and now contemplate sharing the land indefinitely with the white mi-

A Warning Shot

Early this month Mrs. Mandela fired a warning shot during the Soweto funeral of a longtime anti-apartheid champion, Helen Joseph.

Mrs. Mandela decried the notion of power-sharing as a bargain between "the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors" and accused congress leaders of "the distortion of a noble goal in favor of a short-cut route to Parliament by a handful of individuals."

In a remark that some listeners took to be a gibe at the venerated congress elders, including her 74-year-old husband, Mrs. Mandela attacked "the notion that suffering at the hands of the enemy automatically qualified a person

"Nobody has got greater access to the masses of the people than the A.N.C.," Mr. Mandela said. "We are a team, we are a collective, and our impact on the masses of the people is much more formidable than that of a single individual."

But her few outspoken defenders within the organization say black leaders ignore Mrs. Mandela's warnings at their peril.

"She has got support that no one else has in the squatter camps," said Peter Mokaba, the president of the congress's youth league and a close friend of Mrs. Mandela. "The duty of the A.N.C. should be to bring her into the fold."

Married to a Cause

Mrs. Mandela is a woman toughened by apartheid adversities in some ways more grueling than her husband's.

When Nelson Mandela wooed her, he was already a prominent figure in the anti-apartheid movement, an eloquent 38-year-old lawyer, the divorced father of three, and facing trial on charges of treason. She was a beautiful and fiery 22-year-old social worker.

In a remarkably frank autobiography, she described it as a marriage in the cause, loving but devoid of romance.

"Even at that stage, life with him was a life without him," Mrs. Mandela wrote. Three years after their wedding, he disappeared altogether, first into the underground, then into custody. He was in prison for more than 27 years.

Meanwhile Mrs. Mandela was repeatedly arrested, banned from political activity or public gatherings, and then banished to a rural settlement. She spent 17 months in solitary confinement. Her house was firebombed.

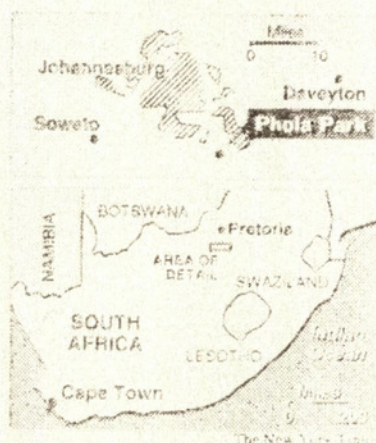
Rise of Mandela United

With leaders of her cause mostly in prison or exile, she learned to fend for herself, ultimately surrounding herself with young thugs whom she outfitted with soccer jerseys and called the Mandela United Football Club, although their only sport was terrorizing those regarded as Mrs. Mandela's enemies.

When Mr. Mandela was released in 1990, friends said, he discovered a woman stronger and more independent than he had left behind.

The age gap between them showed in their political styles — he, the patriarchal, unvengeful organization man who had already begun negotiating with the white Government while in prison, and she, the headstrong, street-savvy militant who has said the Afrikaners who run South Africa understand no language but violence.

Mrs. Mandela was frustrated in her husband's shadow. She resented the whispers of Mr. Mandela's loyalists that she had grown proud on the



Winnie Mandela is revered in squatter camps like Phola Park.

son to be a leader. "Leadership ability," she said, has "nothing to do with how many times you were detained, how many decades you spent in prison, or how many years in exile."

On Sunday she stepped up the attack in a newspaper commentary, chiding the congress's "leadership elite" for their newfound love of "silken sheets" and warning that the violent anger once directed against the white minority could turn some day against an out-of-touch black government.

Mrs. Mandela, who lives in an eight-bedroom mansion in the Soweto neighborhood dubbed Beverly Hills, stressed that she was not criticizing the life style of black leaders, only their forgetfulness of the people they represent.

Nelson Mandela, in an interview, dismissed his wife's remarks, saying "poor Comrade Winnie" was entitled to her views. He scoffed at the notion that her comments about a black elite reflected a broader discontent in the ranks.

THE NATAL
MERCURY

Federal bugbear

THE BIGGEST bugbear of future constitutional negotiations is whether South Africa should be a unitary or federal state, or should embrace some regional autonomy along the lines the Nationalists suggest.

This much is clear from Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's demand at the weekend that the matter be settled forthwith. It seems in his view the earliest opportunity for such discussion is the multi-party conference in Johannesburg this weekend, which other parties — most notably the Government and the ANC — envisaged rather as a planning session.

It would be deeply regrettable if at this delicate point, when the parties are just beginning to gravitate back to negotiations, the applecart is again upset by pre-conditions of this kind. It would have been more constructive and have made far greater sense had Dr Buthelezi waited for the weekend conference before putting his demands. That would have been more in keeping with the spirit of reconciliation required for ending the impasse and getting on with the job of constructing a new constitution.

But about one thing the KwaZulu leader and his Inkatha Freedom Party are perfectly right. The form of state should be decided sooner rather than later. To prevent any hijacking of the system, it should happen both before an interim government is put in place and before an election is called.

The choice between the centralised structure of a unitary state and the decentralised government of a federal system will have a vital bearing on our future style of rule and the way regional interests are accommodated. Anyway, it would be pointless first to settle less controversial issues only to have these undone by disagreement later over the issue on which the ultimate success or failure of resumed negotiations depends.