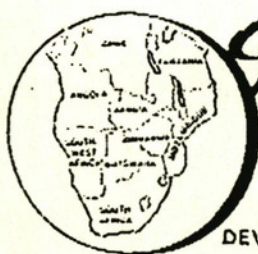


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Roca Report

A CONFIDENTIAL ASSESSMENT OF
DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

COSAG'S CONCERNS PUSHED ASIDE AT NEGOTIATIONS

Talks at the World Trade Centre, near Johannesburg, continue to move forward at a rapid pace without addressing the main concerns of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), namely the ending of the violence and a decision on whether the ultimate goal is a unitary state or a federation/confederation.

The negotiating council's decision on May 7 to set an exact election date, not later than the end of April 1994, within the next four weeks, was hailed as a major breakthrough. "This is a victory for the negotiation process," said Ramaphosa. However the final setting of the date, proposed by SACP's Joe Slovo, was subject to agreement being reached on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process. The IFP proposal on the disbanding of MK was passed on to the technical committee on violence.

Outside the negotiations, the main Cosag members, Bophuthatswana and the IFP, know exactly what they want. "There is no question whatsoever ... of Bophuthatswana giving up her independence," President Lucas Mangope said at the opening of Parliament on April 27. "We are surrendering nothing, and least of all would we consider relinquishing control over our loyal security forces." He insisted that the first thing to be decided must be the form of state and that the principles for a new constitution must be finalised and approved in a referendum before elections could be held. He warned that any dispensation without the full participation of Cosag would be doomed and result in a bloody backlash. Similarly Buthelezi insisted, on May 3, that violence must be the first item to be dealt with. Unfortunately, their positions do not seem to be strongly voiced at the talks.

The impression is thus created that the talks are so structured that Cosag is being outmanoeuvred or is being bamboozled by the negotiating philosophy. Either way, the NP/ANC plans are being steam-rolled through.

NEGOTIATING STRUCTURES

A new tool, in the form of technical committees (TCs), has been given to the already powerful planning committee (Roca Report no 51). "Academics and lawyers take over" is how the *Sunday Times* headline (16/5/93) signalled the appointment of the TCs, which are dubbed "deadlock-breaking" mechanisms. Theoretically, the TCs,

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Correspondence should be addressed to Roca, P O Box 35225, Menlo Park, 0102, South Africa

to the negotiating forum, scheduled to meet on June 3, largely to approve agreements already reached. The plenary, consisting of delegation heads, will meet for the formal signing of the agreements. In practice, the TCs have the ability to slant the papers and it appears that they are being accepted with the minimum of disagreement. The seven TCs were appointed to deal with matters like constitutional issues, the transitional executive councils, violence, human rights, independent elections, fair media and discriminatory legislation.

NEGOTIATING PHILOSOPHY

The negotiating philosophy is based on the principled, or "win-win", approach. Basically this says: "There are no enemies. Therefore we are not in competition with each other. We are all friends. Our enemy is the problem. In other words, we have a common purpose. We all want a peaceful, democratic new South Africa. Let's all work together to achieve it. We will then all win and only the problem will lose." In this atmosphere, anyone making demands or appearing unbending is quickly isolated, made to feel out of step and disruptive of the negotiating process. This makes it very difficult for him to maintain his position. He will most likely succumb to peer pressure.

In addition, controversial areas are avoided and discussion focuses on minor matters on which agreement can be reached quickly and easily. This is done to lock participants into the negotiation process, making it virtually impossible for them to break away at a later stage. In this way, those understanding and controlling the process are able to achieve their aims without their opponents being fully aware of what is happening.

The four main phases of the negotiating process are:

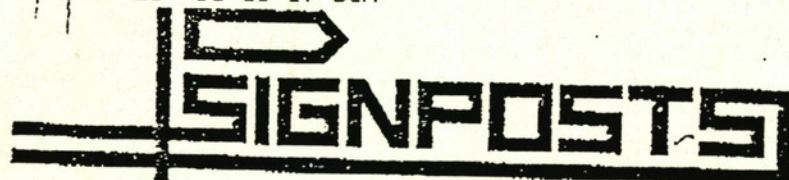
- Create and maintain a cooperative climate so as to develop a common understanding of the problem.
- Explore the interests and/or needs of all parties.
- Develop a deal that satisfies the interests and/or needs of all parties.
- Tie down the implementation of the deal very carefully.

The only way Cosag, and the AVF (if it gets involved in the negotiations) will achieve their goals is to make a careful study of the negotiation process and its philosophy and to plan to counter both. In addition, they must constantly have a clear picture of what they want to achieve and must not be side-tracked from it. They must not be deceived by nebulous terms like peace and democracy. They must clearly distinguish between what is negotiable and those values which they hold to be non-negotiable. They must reject the open agenda concept and rigidly maintain their basic positions. They must insist on the structure of the new constitutional arrangement which they believe will produce peace, as well as the way they believe will lead to the establishment of that structure. They must insist that violence will not end unless MK and Apla are disbanded.

They must acknowledge that there is no "win-win" situation and that they are being conned into accepting the solution desired by their opponents. They must realise that they are in a conflict situation which will produce winners and losers. They must also learn from the mistake made with the National Peace Accord - no penalties were attached to infringements. This put the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in a "win-win" situation. They were applauded for signing the accord but were able to break it repeatedly without damaging their "clean" image by incurring penalties. If Cosag approaches negotiations on this basis, they will see when their views are not prevailing and that they are being led into a trap. They can then pull out of the negotiations and seek other means to achieve their goals before the trap is sprung and all alternative options are closed to them. They can and should do so without acting emotionally, being hard on people or confusing the incorrectness of the views or conduct of a person from the worth of that person. By all means, let them listen to others, show their commitment to peace and their genuine intention to seek for peace. **BUT THEY MUST NOT BE TURNED FROM THEIR GOAL**

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DATE: May 21. 1993 TIME: 3:15pm

TO: Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

FAX NO: 0358 202070

SENDER: Dr. Ed Cain

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER NOTE: 2

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MESSAGE:

Dear Chief Minister,

Greetings in the Precious Name of Jesus.

I believe the attached analysis of the negotiating process is of the utmost importance. I urge you to study it carefully and to instruct the IFP delegates to the Multi-Party Conference accordingly.

Do be assured of our urgent prayers as the days in which we live become more critical.

Yours sincerely in Jesus,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ed Cain".
Ed Cain