

## Opinion

WITH few exceptions, black politicians preach racial harmony and reconciliation — and that after centuries of oppression and discrimination which have caused so much pain and humiliation for many millions of our fellow citizens.

Those qualities of patience and goodwill are to be found in the easily returned smiles of greeting between strangers in the streets of our cities or towns.

I experienced it, too, in the friendliness and co-operation of thousands of political detainees I visited in Transvaal prisons and police cells during the years of Emergency Rule between 1986 and 1989. Those qualities of patience and goodwill are there for all South Africans to see every day of our lives — unfortunately some among us are unable to appreciate it by reason of insensitivity or racial animosity.

Then there is religion. In other violent areas of the world there is religious animosity and division which fuels fear and even hatred. That is not true of South Africa where the churches are united in their positive contribution to the peace process.

## Peace process

The National Peace Accord and the multiparty negotiations which have now resumed are a reflection of the uniqueness of South Africa. In that context John Hall and I are here very much in representative capacities.

In our respective roles as chairman of the National Peace Committee and chairman of the Commission, we could have achieved little without the active support of so many of our fellow South Africans.

There are thousands of people actively involved in the peace process — at all levels. Most of them are volunteers who work long hours for no remuneration. They are driven by the belief that peace and democracy in South Africa are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, peace and democracy have more in common to bring us together than differences to keep us apart.

Of course there are forces working against a peaceful solution such as the poor state of our economy and political uncertainty. The most powerful enemy, however, is time. The expectations of the oppressed majority were raised to unattainable levels. That was unavoidable and has led inexorably to frustration and even anger.

The worse the economy the more difficult it is to reduce the levels of criminality and especially violence. So we are in a justifiable hurry to restructure the economy and to attract substantial foreign investments.

We have no time to fight the violence first and put the economy on the back-burner. We have to tackle both

# Radical solutions needed for SA as impatience grows

**EXTRACTS from the address by Mr Justice Goldstone at the special graduation ceremony at UCT on Friday at which he received an honorary degree.**

of these serious problems simultaneously. The economic lot of the vast majority of South Africans has not improved since the dramatic announcements by the State-President in February 1990.

Indeed, the contrary is probably true. In that respect impatience — understandable impatience — fuels support for radical solutions.

During the past three years of transition, many lessons have been learnt by South Africans. One of the most important is the necessity for consultation. For far too long black South Africans were not consulted even about the matters that concerned them most.

Not only were they not meaningfully consulted by Government, they were not even consulted by local or foreign non-political benefactors. Black South Africans were not made partners in respect of projects intended solely for them. Almost universally that has now changed.

The beneficial effect of proper consultation was the factor which resulted in what in my opinion was the most successful enquiry conducted by the Commission — the enquiry into the rules and procedures relating to mass marches and demonstrations.

In the 18 months after February 1990 over 10 000 public marches were reported to have been held in the streets of South African cities and towns. In the case of the majority, no permission had been sought, in terms of the law, from either the magistrate or local authority. In particular, black political organisations refused to comply with a law passed by an undemocratic and unrepresentative Parliament.

There was the potential for violence in respect of every one of those marches. Neither the police nor the marchers were able to anticipate the actions or reactions, respectively, of either of them.

Almost miraculously, there was a

death or injury in only three of these marches.

Beacuse of this potential for violence, in February 1992, the Commission announced the enquiry and requested interested parties to furnish it with submissions. Full and helpful submissions were received from the South African Police, the ANC alliance and the IFP. We decided to set up a panel of local and foreign experts to consider the views of those parties and to advise the Commission thereon.

## Private debate

That panel, under the chairmanship of Professor Philip Heymann of Harvard Law School, considered the submissions and prepared a report on them. That report was made public at hearings which were held during July 1992 at the Breakwater Campus of the Graduate Business School of the University. The KwaZulu Government and the South African Defence Force were also represented at the hearings.

After two weeks of public and private debate between the parties, the panel and the Commission, an agreement was entered into between the ANC, IFP and SAP in relation to the conduct of public marches.

With a handful of exceptions in one area, the parties have adhered to the terms of that agreement since it was made public in July 1992. It recognises not only the democratic right to public demonstrations but also the duty of the police to protect marchers and to facilitate public demonstrations.

The political organisations recognised the obligation to give full notice of marches and to negotiate with the authorities with regard to route, numbers, marshals and so forth.

I have no doubt that the adherence to and success of that agreement can be ascribed to it being the result of a democratic and full consultation. In that experience, I would suggest, lies another reason for hope in the future.

If a new constitution is truly the result of democratic consultation with a substantial majority of South Africans it is likely to have the respect and legitimacy essential for its effective implementation.



# Cape Times

MONDAY, APRIL 5 1993

## Dirty tricks

THE Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, is a former civil servant who rose to high rank in the Department of Constitutional Development and speaks with authority on the negotiating process. So his speech in the Budget debate last week, suggesting that there have been covert attempts by some elements in Military Intelligence to wreck the process, should be taken seriously. A man of his informed background and wide experience would not speak out like this without good reason.

Mr Jordaan has not disclosed his sources or produced any documents. But his statements call for an adequate response by the government, also in the light of President De Klerk's alarming disclosures of illegal activities in Military Intelligence following last November's raid by the Goldstone Commission on the HQ of a clandestine operations unit in Pretoria. As a matter of some urgency President De Klerk should disclose the findings of General Pierre Steyn who at his request last November investigated the alleged illegal activities by Military Intelligence.

Why has the Attorney-General of the Transvaal not made any announcement yet about possible prosecutions? Three months have passed since the raid. Was Mr De Klerk wholly mistaken in saying that illegal activities were afoot, which had led to deaths?

The MP for Umhlanga is not questioning Mr De Klerk's commitment to the establishment of a democratic system. What troubles him is the information he has received of a continuing anti-De Klerk conspiracy between elements in the intelligence community and elements in the so-called homelands who are bent on wrecking the negotiating process. Mr Jordaan's account in Parliament of his own experience as an official in dealings with Military Intelligence is chilling. And he urges all democrats to counter these destructive elements by insisting on the truth.

It would have been better if Mr Jordaan had been able to produce documentary proof of his assertions, of the kind that have now been handed in at the Goniwe inquest. Meanwhile, he has said enough to place an onus on President De Klerk to take the country into his confidence. Apart from sending a few generals and other senior officers into honourable early retirement, what has the State President done in response to the initial Goldstone disclosures of last November?

The best solution would be a report by the Goldstone Commission, summing up the whole situation. Are there really elements in Military Intelligence who are sabotaging negotiations? And what has been done about it?

## Call to arms

THE most serious deficiency in government's crackdown on illegal arms is that it didn't occur long ago, but it could also have been broader in application and even more severe in penalties.

In terms of the new legislation, people convicted of illegally possessing AK-47 rifles, machine guns, explosive devices and other military weapons now face a minimum of five years in jail without the option of a fine. Given the fact that the Bill provides for a 60-day amnesty to hand in the offending weapons, it seems fair to assume that those killing devices held back could indeed be intended for sinister purposes. In any event, the previous legislation evidently provided for a maximum sentence of 25 years, clearly without having sufficient deterrent effect. Hopefully, the mandatory minimum will have more impact.

At the end of the day, our gun laws can only be as good as their credibility, and that depends on their strict enforcement.



5 APRIL 93

CAPE TIMES

## LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

# When was secret plan drafted?

From **CAROLINE KNOTT** (Gardens):

THE Cape Times (April 2, 1993) carried a report of a secret National Party government document spelling out steps for the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa by as early as next month.

According to this plan the TBVC states will be effectively reduced to the status of self-governing territories. The report also indicates that the government intends to apply financial pressure to force these states to comply should they not do so voluntarily.

In February, during the debate in Parliament on the State President's opening of Parliament speech, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, called for just such action. He said: "...the system of Bantustans is much more expensive, much more racist, much more corrupt, and it has been going on for a whole lot longer than the own affairs system. It must go, and before NP speakers start talking constitutional drivel, let me say that Pretoria's financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over the so-called self-governing states is not in question at all," (Hansard, column 78, 1/2/93).

In his reply to the debate the State President spent most of his time in an emotional attack on Dr De Beer's call for reincorporation saying: "The necessity of achieving their co-operation before their

positions are changed is apparently rejected by the DP. He said of the homelands: "If we act rashly, using the powers that we have, we shall destabilise those areas, we shall destabilise education and we shall destabilise the necessary services which are being rendered there. Therefore we shall not misuse those powers. We shall act responsibly, because we have the interests of all the people who live in those areas at heart" (Hansard, column 402, 4/2/93).

In a seemingly prophetic response to the State President's attack Dr De Beer said: "I am now quite confident that in the course of next year, or even earlier, we shall be hearing what steps the government will be taking to get rid of the system of territorial separation as well." (Hansard, column 435, 5/2/93).

It is not clear from the Cape Times report when the secret government plan was first drafted, but it is very likely that it was being discussed in cabinet circles at the time the State President attacked the DP leader for calling for just such action. Either the plans had been kept hidden from the State President — in which case his attack on Dr De Beer can be explained, although his control over his own government must be called into question; or the State President knew exactly what was being planned but chose to play political games in Parliament with bland statements about not misusing the powers while plotting to do just the opposite.

# Higher the fee the less the service

From **MARIAN ROBERTSON** (Diep River):

THE extortionate new postal charges were announced on the day when I received an urgently awaited air letter from England 25 days after it was posted. The higher the postal charges go, the worse the service seems to become.

I hear the delivery of certified and registered mail items has been stopped — and this without a word of warning to the Post Office's customers. This delays receipt of an item by some 24 hours — more if the recipient works and cannot get to the Post Office except on Saturdays.

The use of the Post Office by private individuals must have declined. Many people no longer send Christmas cards because of the cost. Telegrams must now be way beyond the means of the average individual.

If the Post Office really is the business organisation it claims to be, it will use more imagination. It will counter declining custom not with higher prices and less service, but with better service and lower costs which will fight its competition.



TRADE figures quoted in the March 26 edition of the Cape Times show exports to African countries falling by 12% in February.

This contrasts with the general trend, evident since 1988, towards a steady rise in exports to other African countries. With the progressive removal of political barriers, exports to African countries rose by 40% in 1989, 22% in 1990, 26% in 1991 and 39% in the first six months of 1992.

While the reasons for the decline in February are not yet wholly clear, it does highlight the need for more thought to be given to the type of trading relationship this country should be developing with other countries in Africa.

### First time

Although exports to African countries remain fairly modest as a proportion of total exports (8,9% in the first half of 1992), a disproportionate part of this trade is made up of exports of manufactured goods.

Detailed figures, published for the first time this year after being embargoed since 1985, show that in the

# SA must work at good mutual trade in Africa

**Regional Notebook**  
by ROB DAVIES

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The upswing in trade with African countries since the end of the 1980s is

reported to have given an important boost to South Africa's steel, food, chemical and motor vehicle industries, among others.

By contrast, the figures for February record a decline of 17% and 19% respectively in exports of chemicals and plastic products.

### One-sided

The steady increases recorded between 1989 and 1992 appear to have fuelled an illusion that the underlying basis on which this

trade is constructed is sound and that all that is needed to guarantee further expansion is for other countries to remove any remaining political or other barriers to receiving South African goods.

What the expansion has obscured is that in some ways the existing trade relationship is not based on a very secure footing. Trade with African countries remains extremely one-sided. The figures for January-June 1992, for example, show a ratio of exports to imports of nearly five to one without even taking account of the Customs Union countries.

This is at least partly due to the existence of tariff and, more importantly, non-tariff barriers which hamper and restrict access by other African countries to the South African market.

Declining investment in South African manufacturing industries has also reduced the competitiveness of several products traditionally exported to "captive markets" in the Southern Africa region.

Many countries in Africa are facing increasing problems in generating the resources necessary to finance imports, and, in fact, levels of imports have declined in several countries.



16/1/11

Wednesday 5 May 1993

THE CITIZEN

# ANC opposed to minimum terms for weapons

THE African National Congress, while believing there should be greater control over the distribution of firearms and the circulation of illegal weapons, said yesterday it was opposed to the minimum sentence proposed under the Arms and Ammunition Bill.

The Bill, now before Parliament, recommends a five-year sentence for anyone found in possession of certain categories of firearms, particularly automatic weapons.

The ANC said in a statement the Bill at-

tempted to punish people for possession of firearms without dealing with the reasons why there are demands for firearms.

This, the ANC said, was because of "personal insecurity arising out of the failure of the law enforcement machinery to adequately protect particularly Black South Africans".

Mandatory minimum sentences, the organisation said, removed the discretion of the courts to

distinguish an accused who was a law-abiding citizen with a genuine fear of safety who should not go to jail for illegal possession of a firearm.

"Minimum sentences do not distinguish between those who should receive a harsh punishment because they have come into possession or intend to use the weapon for anti-social purposes, and those who have not," the ANC statement said.

"There is a line of deci-

sions handed down by the courts, including the Appellate Division, which have strongly enjoined Parliament not to enact minimum sentences but to leave the question of sentence to the discretion of the courts."

The ANC said it was also concerned that for as long as there was, in reality or in perception, a racial bias in the access and/or distribution of firearms "this harsh measure will be seen as a measure designed to disarm Black people but not White".

"In particular, concerns have been raised about the modus operandi and status of the Firearm Recovery Unit of the South African Police, which is perceived to be predominantly, if not exclusively, concerned with the recovery of firearms from Blacks in general and ANC members in particular." — Sapa.





By ALLISTER SPARKS

THE disclosure that South Africa had atomic bombs comes as no surprise. It was one of those dark secrets everyone knew. The only surprising thing is the casualness with which the government has admitted once again that it has been lying for years.

Truth has become our cheapest national commodity. It counts for so little now that no one even notices when a president discloses that his ministers have lied. The nuclear project was launched in 1974 and in the years that followed we lied to the governments of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany about it, as well as to the United Nations.

We now know that in August 1977 Armscor was preparing to conduct an underground nuclear test at a site in the Kalahari, yet at the time Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the American ambassador that reports of this were "wholly and totally unfounded". He expressed his indignation that the French Foreign Minister, Louis de Guiringaud, should suggest such a thing after he, Botha, had made a "categorical denial".

### Wonder why

He assured Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher that South Africa's nuclear energy was being used for peaceful purposes only, and Kurt von Schirnding, then South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations, did the same to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

And today we wonder why other countries don't always believe our assurances.

It is a measure of the moral decay at the heart of this nation that such deceit elicits so little public indignation or even comment. It has become too commonplace. We have grown to expect and accept it, in some quarters even to admire its smartness. And so the standards of public behaviour decline and we get corruption, dirty-tricks, cover-ups and no accountability.

The trail of deception goes back a long way — at least to our first invasion of Angola in 1975, when Defence Minister P W Botha insisted for weeks that our troops were merely defending the Calueque Dam just across the border, when in fact they had penetrated more than 800km into Angola and were within striking distance of Luanda.

### Israel helped

I recall attending a briefing of newspaper editors in P W Botha's office at that time where we were given details of exactly where the South African troops were, which battles they had fought and which towns they had captured, all in the strictest confidence and not to be published — while outside our newspapers were being issued with official statements denying that we were there at all.

To cap it, Botha also told us that day, again in the strictest confidence, how Israel had helped South Africa develop a new high-speed strike craft for the navy — after which we were handed a press statement for publication stating that the craft had been developed by South African shipbuilders alone, with no outside help. Our reward scoop for the day: a blatant lie, which at least one newspaper published.

From there the trail moves to the Information Scandal, itself a massive exercise in systematic deception; to the secret funding of Inkatha; to the secret aid given to the DTA during Namibia's independence elections in violation of our international obligations; to Vlakplaas and the CCB and the most recent disclosure of Operation Katzen with its plans to stage a coup in Ciskei, to "take out" President Lennox Sebe, make his adviser General Fikile Zibi "disappear permanently" and then blame it all falsely on Transkei.

# Truth is now our cheapest national product



**LOUIS DE GUIRINGAUD:** French Foreign Minister's allegation angered Pik Botha.



**HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER:** Germany's Genscher was falsely assured.



**KURT VON SHIRNDING:** South Africa's former ambassador to the United Nations.



**LENNOX SEBE:** There was allegedly a plot to "take out" the former Ciskei president.

*Page I*



# Cease 'Red Cross thinking' — Lambsdorff

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA would have to wait for years after the establishment of an interim government before attracting significant foreign investment, the leader of the German Liberal Party, Count Otto Lambsdorff, warned yesterday.

He urged the ANC and other par-

ties to abandon all "Red Cross thinking" that there would be a surge of "charitable" investment from abroad once a multi-party government of national unity was in place.

"It will take years — there will be no miracle overnight just by pressing a button."

Count Lambsdorff is the Euro-

pean chairman of the Trilateral Commission — a private "club" comprising many powerful business and political figures in North America, Europe and Japan.

He is also president of Liberal International, the association of all liberal parties worldwide, and has twice been Germany's Minister of Economics.

Count Lambsdorff said yesterday that investor confidence in South Africa would not be created "in a month" after the installation of a democratic government.

Although a few significant investments were possible these would not be motivated by charitable feelings.

"You don't need a Salvation

Army here — you need a business community," he said.

● Since arriving on Friday, Count Lambsdorff has met President F W de Klerk, Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer and Sea Point MP Mr Colin Eglin, who is vice-president of Liberal international.



16/1/11

## Wolwe to battle ANC — Strydom

THE Wit Wolwe (WW) yesterday displayed posters stating that the organisation was "taking up the battle against the African National Congress", WW leader Mr Barend Strydom said.

He said this had been done in response to calls at a weekend ANC rally at Khayelitsha for Boers and farmers to be killed.

Asked where the posters had been put up, he only said "in Brits and on the Reef".

Mr Strydom also expressed his dissatisfaction that ANC supporters had fired shots into the air "with unlicensed firearms" at slain SA Communist Party Chief Chris Hani's funeral while "police just stood by and watched".

Mr Strydom said the government tacitly approved the ANC's "violent tendencies", and this would leave the Boer nation with no alternative but to defend itself "during this lawless period".

Mr Strydom shot dead eight blacks during 1988, was convicted and sentenced to death, later reprieved and then released under an amnesty last year. — Sapa.



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This is at least partly due to the existence of tariff and, more importantly, non-tariff barriers which hamper and restrict access by other African countries to the South African market.

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Many countries in Africa are facing increasing problems in generating the resources necessary to finance imports, and, in fact, levels of imports have declined in several countries.







# La parola ai lettori

*Il Giornale ringrazia i lettori che scrivono e si scusa se sarà costretto a ridurre alcune lettere senza tuttavia modificarne il senso. Per evitare errori di interpretazione, si prega di scrivere a macchina o comunque in modo leggibile e di firmare per esteso.*

## Cosa conviene al Sud Africa

Caro direttore,  
ho letto con grande interesse le corrispondenze inviate dal dr. Cervi durante il suo recente viaggio nella Repubblica del S.A. Specialmente le interviste, unitamente al corrispondente dr. G.C. Coccia, al presidente De Klerk e al presidente dell'Anc Nelson Mandela.

Sarebbe stato logico attendersi un'intervista al terzo personaggio di rilievo nel contesto politico di quel Paese con lo stesso rilievo delle

due precedenti. Ed essa è puntualmente arrivata il 17 su tre colonne senza la partecipazione del dr. Cervi, quasi a voler sottolineare la minore importanza del dr. Buthelezi, alto rappresentante della Nazione Kwa-Zulu durante le discussioni in corso in S.A. per il futuro del Paese. Il signor Buthelezi è forse tenuto di riserva, nelle discussioni, per essere esibito all'ultimo momento come ago della bilancia? Egli conta tra i suoi aderenti molti bianchi anche

aderenti al Partito Nazionale e ha un grande ascendente nell'intero Natal. La sua propensione ad un futuro Stato federalista trova molti aderenti anche in seno ai Xhosa, agli indiani ed ai coloured in contrasto all'Anc legato sia pure in minor misura di prima al SACP (Partito comunista sudafricano) del lituano Slovo ed alle sue nazionalizzazioni.

Ubaldo Panico

Milano

Caro Panico,

le rispondo per incarico del direttore. Le ragioni della mia mancata intervista a Buthelezi sono molto semplici: il leader del Kwa-Zulu mi fissò, per l'incontro, una data che ero nell'impossibilità di rispettare. Di comune accordo fu stabilito che dell'intervista si sarebbe occupato Giancarlo Coccia, e così è avvenuto. Nessun proposito, dunque, di tenere in sordina il ruolo di Buthelezi, uno dei protagonisti dell'attuale svolta africana. Senza il suo consenso - lo sanno sia il presidente De Klerk sia il leader dell'Anc Nelson Mandela - non si arriverà a nessuna soluzione pacifica.

Sono d'accordo con lei sulla sensatezza d'un assetto federalista - anche se il termine verrà probabilmente evitato, e si parlerà di regionalismo - per il Sud Africa di domani. Ogni tentativo di integrare il Kwa-Zulu in uno Stato centralizzato dominato dai neri - ossia in pratica, dominato dai Xhosa, che de-

gli Zulu sono nemici - provocherebbe un immenso bagno di sangue. Già il sangue scorre in abbondanza ora, e non siamo che alle prime schermaglie d'una possibile guerra civile.

Ho scritto - e confermo questa mia impressione - che il Sud Africa affronta molte incognite: ma almeno la storia ha dato una mano per indurre l'Anc e il SACP (Partito comunista sudafricano) a qualche resipiscenza. I dogmi marxisti sono crollati, i sogni del socialismo reale - del quale fu tentata l'importazione in Africa, con risultati spaventevoli - sono alle nostre spalle, i finanziamenti di Mosca e dell'Est in generale ai «movimenti di liberazione» sono finiti. Gli unici bianchi sui quali i neri del Sud Africa possono adesso contare sono quelli che hanno in casa. È meglio che se li tengano buoni o sarà, anche per questo grande Paese finora salvato dal degrado, la catastrofe.

Mario Cervi



LETTERS

BOX 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

# When was secret plan drafted?

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# Mandela admits violence by ANC

PRETORIA. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for peace, political tolerance and discipline — and acknowledged that his organisation was “just as” involved as any other group in the violence sweeping South Africa.

Addressing a 4 000-strong rally in Mamelodi at the reburial of former uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as bitter enemy Inkatha, to organise freely.

On the issue of violence, Mr Mandela said: “I’m not going to blame the IFP and the government only. We must face the truth — our people are just as involved in violence.”

The country’s political leadership and especially women should stem the bloodshed, he said. Perpetrators of violence did not serve the cause of freedom.

Mr Mandela’s peace call comes in the wake of a meeting with State President F W de Klerk in Cape Town on Monday to discuss violence in SA.

Mr Mandela said ANC supporters found guilty of participation in violence would face the “strongest disciplinary action” or even dismissal.

“Our strength is not in violence but in correctness of our policies. We practise democracy and allow people to criticise us.”

In countering criticism within his organisation’s own ranks about a Government of National Unity, Mr Mandela said such a government was necessary for parties to jointly address the country’s problems and to avert a situation similar to that in Angola.

It was possible that in the forthcoming elections the ANC could be defeated if other parties organised more effectively.

He urged supporters not to be complacent, therefore, but to organise and each to recruit “10 members for the rest of the year” to secure an election victory.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would persuade other political groupings, including those participating in the multi-party negotiation forum, to join in the Patriotic Front.

Failure to participate in the PF would give the NP government a chance to continue ruling SA, he said. — Sapa

## Pupils urged to show discipline

PRETORIA. — Schoolchildren should exercise discipline in their struggle for a single education system, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a rally in Mamelodi marking the reburial of former uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela said the ANC supported the formation of a single education system and the scrapping of exam fees and would intervene in the crisis if education bodies wanted this. — Sapa

## ‘Cosag group’ ‘basis for Savimbi option’

DURBAN. — The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) could be the basis for a “Savimbi option” after democratic elections, the ANC’s Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande said yesterday.

Speaking to about 3 000 supporters at a Solomon Mahlangu commemoration rally here, he said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s “federal alliance” should be taken seriously as potential spoilers after democratic elections. “The IFP is armed and controls the KwaZulu Police.”

He said the IFP leader was trying to gain participation for the Zulu King in constitutional talks as a fall-back position to demand recognition for King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu kingdom should he lose the elections. — Sapa

## Hani criticises Apla stand on attacks

JOHANNESBURG. — SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani yesterday criticised the Pan-Africanist Congress for continuing the armed struggle and called for the political isolation of those disrupting the peace process.

Mr Hani was addressing thousands of ANC supporters on the East Rand before a march to demand the release of political activists.

“I don’t accept people calling for war and I don’t accept the PAC’s talks of the years of the great storms because I feel we have achieved something in this country,” he said.

PAC’s national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivanani reiterated Apla’s stand yesterday. — Sapa

## Stay away from Tanzania, Apla tells SA government

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) warned South Africa yesterday to “keep away” from Tanzania or “face the consequences”.

Speaking from the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam, Apla spokesman Mr Romero Daniels told Sapa in a telephone interview that the South African government would achieve nothing by asking Tanzania to stop supporting Apla.

Tanzania had been used as a base for over 30 years by Apla and its political wing, the PAC.

“The regime is only up to its dirty tricks of harassing and destabilising African countries north of the Limpopo,” he said.

“We have our roots here and Pretoria cannot have things their way. Their time is over.”

He was reacting to a top-level meeting in Tanzania last week between the South African and Tanzanian governments which focused on Tanzania’s support for Apla.

Mr Romero said Apla had its “army, bases and support right inside Azania (South Africa)”. — Sapa



## Dragnet out for Vaal killers

POLICE have launched a huge manhunt for gunmen who killed eight people in the Vaal Triangle.

Five people were shot dead and two injured in Evaton on Friday night when they were attacked by five men armed with pistols.

And on Saturday night, three people were killed and five injured when gunmen stormed into a house in Sebokeng's Zone Three. The killers escaped in a car belonging to one of the injured.

Police spokesman Maj Piet van Deventer said "a lot of detectives" had been deployed in the area to investigate the incidents.

Motives for the attacks were not yet

GAVIN DU VENAGE  
and WILSON ZWANE

known and there was no evidence to link the two incidents.

Meanwhile, the two men arrested in connection with last month's attack at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, are to appear in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court today on charges of murder and attempted murder. A woman and a boy were killed in the attack and a girl died later in hospital.

A Vaal Triangle ANC spokesman has complained that, despite claims of the two men's alleged ties with the ANC, the organisation had been denied access to them.

□ To Page 2

## Killers

The ANC has accused the police of harassing known Umkhonto we Sizwe members and their families in Sebokeng since the Eikenhof incident.

Van Deventer denied that there was a "witchhunt" for Umkhonto members. Police investigated crime in the area and MK members were sometimes arrested in connection with criminal activities.

Sapa reports ANC regional secretary-general Obed Baphela said it had been established that the men were ANC members, but they did not belong to Umkhonto.

Vaal Triangle Deputy Commissioner of Police Brig Floris Mostert said the suspects' ANC membership had expired.

Van Deventer said the two were being detained under Section 29 of the Security Act which entitled police to detain people for up to 10 days without appearing in court. Investigating officers could deny access to the prisoners if they felt it could jeopardise investigations and if the case was of a sensitive nature.

THEO RAWANA reports that organisations from 19 East Rand townships yesterday

□ From Page 1

committed themselves to working for peace and promoting the spirit of political tolerance.

The organisations, attending the three-day East Rand peace summit in Johannesburg, resolved that the ANC-led alliance should convene a regional summit of "mass democratic movements" to discuss the development of a common programme for the attainment of peace.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki told the conference that regions should embark on actions to assure South Africans that ANC rule would bring about peace and political tolerance.

Mbeki said decisions taken at the end of the conference should be implemented immediately, and urged the ANC PWV regional committee to approach the national executive committee for assistance.

"You have the responsibility to inspire confidence that you can lead the country, to act in a manner that can produce peace and tolerance and empower all the people of SA," he said.

● Picture: Page 3



## Manuel spells out ANC nine-point plan

DURBAN — A select group of businessmen welcomed a tough nine-point reconstructive economic policy spelled out for them by ANC economic planning chief Trevor Manuel at a business forum on Saturday night.

Addressing an audience of about 80 people, including Durban Mayor Margaret Winter, JSE director Rajen Pillay and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Manuel said the reality of SA's apartheid economy was horrifying.

"Our economy is not just going through a bad cycle ... but it is wrought with a very, very deep structural crisis."

He said government's latest economic plan was cosmetic and would not address the problem of the 42.6% of economically active people who were unable to get jobs.

### Own Correspondent

The nine-point plan aimed to:

- Add value to raw exports by building up the manufacturing sector. Manuel pointed out that SA could not compete with Pacific Rim countries in manufacturing electronic goods.
- Restructure banking and demonopolise the private sector. Manuel said 84.6% of shares on the JSE were owned by six conglomerates. "There are too many pyramids that squat across everything that moves in our society," he said.
- Enshrine free and fair competition including the elimination of tariff barriers.
- Broaden control and ownership of business. "We need to create new stakeholders in terms of the ownership and control of businesses", Man-

uel said:

- Stimulate investment, including foreign investment and investment by South Africans in the country instead of in offshore concerns;
  - Understand SA's markets and trading advantages;
  - Review budgeting. Manuel said SA spent more than most countries on education and health, yet its infant mortality rate was higher than Sri Lanka's.
  - Review monetary policy. He said loopholes had been found which undermined the financial; and
  - Restructure markets and labour.
- Asked whether the ANC had softened its line on the redistribution of wealth, he said the organisation's budgetary and anti-monopolistic policies were "unashamedly redistributive".



## More secrets

**T**HERE is no possibility that any of the "independent homelands" could survive on their own, so there is every reason for them to seek reincorporation into the new, soon-to-be democratic South Africa. Nevertheless, it would be unfortunate if they had to be blackmailed into doing so by the government which created them.

Government has hopes that the reincorporation could happen as early as next month — well ahead of any constitutional settlement. Transkei and Venda are in favour of reincorporation in principle — if not according to the NP timetable — while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are less certain. Their minds could be made up for them by the Nats, who have apparently

threatened to "turn off the financial taps" unless they agree.

While we share concern at the cost to taxpayers of sustaining these pseudo states, a test of public opinion within those territories would be valuable — if only to confirm — if this is indeed the case — that most people favour reincorporation. This would undermine petty politicians presently acting without public support. Alternatively, if they do have substantial support, this would have to be taken into account.

In typically South African fashion, current negotiations are going on in secret, so distrust and rumour are inevitable. The whole matter should be brought into the open so that people know where they stand.



## Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have set in motion concerted efforts to persuade the nominally independent homelands to accept a transformation from "independence" to self-governing status prior to the first round of elections in a year's time.

The key to resolving this problem would be progress in negotiations on regionalism and security of tenure of political heads and officials under a new dispensation.

A senior government source said yesterday the approach to Bophuthatswana was different to that being employed with the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Venda and the Transkei were "reasonably keen to come back into the fold" but Bophuthatswana was more difficult.

Officials and politicians in Bophuthatswana had a great deal more to lose than those in the other administrations.

However, despite Venda and the Transkei having committed themselves to reincorporation, they would not move and the ANC would not accept it if Bophuthatswana was not treated equally.

The government source said it was very difficult to persuade Mangope's administration to accept reincorporation prior to elections. But he said the evaluation the territory had done on the viability of continuing independence had surprised Mangope considerably.

It had gone a long way to show that the territory really could not go it alone. Government was in regular discussion with the homeland to persuade it that the advantages of reincorporation far outweighed any disadvantages and that to remain separate was virtually a guarantee of economic and social collapse.

The government source said the major exercise was going to be the negotiations over regionalism. He said the ANC was already contributing largely to settling nervousness through regular discussions with the homeland leaders and shifting not only their position on regionalism but also their language: "Instead of marching on Bop they are talking."

Ciskei, which appeared to be backing off its earlier commitment to reincorporation, would be easier to persuade, especially if Bophuthatswana was moving towards acceptance.

● Comment: Page 4