

CAPE TIMES 7 JUNE 1993

# Election for healing — Mandela

MARITZBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

The ANC president also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27, 1994 election date to begin the healing process in violence-torn South Africa.

Mr Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the City Hall here yesterday before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr Mandela said despite the shortcomings of the National Peace Accord, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the Peace Accord to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum," he said.

The ANC president welcomed recent reports around the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, adding that this could be an important

subject to be addressed by a meeting of Peace Accord signatories.

The ANC welcomed all peace initiatives, said Mr Mandela, who commended a recent peace plan by the ANC southern Natal region and also by the group of concerned Zulus who have both called for urgent meetings between himself and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Referring to recent debate around the election date, Mr Mandela said: "Our country and people need to know the shape of the future to resolve the uncertainties and fears and address their concerns."

The larger-than-life bronze statue was unveiled by Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu in front of the building where bureaucrats humiliated Gandhi a century ago.

Gandhi said his philosophy of "Satyagraha" (passive resistance) emerged from an incident on June 7, 1893 when he was thrown off a segregated train in Maritzburg.

"It is ironical that we are dedicating a memorial to a man who refused to use violence, in a city which has over that past eight years become synonymous with violence," Archbishop Tutu said. — Sapa



Accord: Gandhi memorial statue unveiled

NI Mercury 7/6/93

# Mandela's call for urgent peace talks

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday called for an urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories to strengthen the accord and to give peace fresh momentum.

Speaking in a packed city hall at the unveiling of the Mahatma Gandhi memorial statue, he said: "The solutions we devise will need to be driven by leaders of every political formation. We need to unleash a mass movement for peace.

"Through an urgent meeting of the signatories of the peace accord we can ensure that the campaign for peace truly becomes a mass movement of our people. To this end I say we cannot delay a meeting any longer."

Despite the signing of the accord, the country had witnessed endless murders, he said.

He commended the ANC southern Natal region for its recent peace proposal and also welcomed

## Pietermaritzburg Bureau

the move of concerned Zulus who were discussing with King Goodwill Zwelithini the question of ending the violence and "bringing peace to our bleeding country".

Mr Mandela said the country was poised at a critical moment, and in the negotiation process April 27, 1994, had been set as "the day when all South Africans shall exercise their vote as equals".

"There has never been such a moment in our history as the forthcoming election. Let us all join unreservedly to make that moment a time of unity, of healing wounds. There is no turning back."

At a brief press conference before his departure from Oribi airport, Mr Mandela said he was confident the peace forces were "strong enough to be able to convince everybody that the future of South Africa lies in having these elections as soon as possible".



ANC president Nelson Mandela (left), Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Karan Singh, a senior representative of the India government, greet an enthusiastic and cheering crowd from the foot of the Mahatma Gandhi statue, which was unveiled in Pietermaritzburg yesterday. The one-and-a-half times life-sized bronze statue, by Port Elizabeth sculptor Philip Kolbe, stands in front of the Old Colonial buildings facing the city hall.

Picture by CHRIS JENKINS

16/1/11



# How deadlock at Codesa saved the ANC leadership

The Star

-93

**T**HE deadlock at Codesa last year and the breakdown in negotiations saved South Africa from a disastrous development: the rejection of the ANC by its own followers for betraying "the people".

Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, a husband-and-wife academic team, propound that thesis in their thought-provoking study of contemporary South Africa.

One of the worst scenarios is one where negotiated settlement is clinched but at the cost of the ANC leaders being perceived as sell-outs and Nelson Mandela as a co-opted stooge, Adam and Moodley say.

## Credibility

Rejection of an "accommodationist" ANC, and the sidelining of Mandela as a local Muzorewa, would have meant repudiation of the settlement and renewed strife, the authors assert.

But, they add, the deadlock at Codesa saved South Africa from that fate by enabling an "elitist ANC leadership", which had moved too far, too fast in its quest

## BOOK OF THE WEEK

**Negotiated Revolution: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa** by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. (Jonathan

Ball R59,95)

Reviewed by  
**PATRICK LAURENCE**

for a negotiated settlement, to reaffirm its credibility with its followers.

Adam and Moodley focus on — and offer an explanation for — an apparent paradox in the ANC: the three minority groups — white, coloured and Indian — are well if not over-represented on the ANC national executive.

They recall that of the 50 directly elected ordinary members of the ANC national executive, 21 are non-blacks, consisting of seven whites, seven coloureds and seven Indians.

Yet support for the ANC in these communities is low. Their conspicuous presence on the ANC executive apparently does little to

commend the ANC to the ordinary folk.

The answer, Adam and Moodley argue, is that whites, coloureds and Indians on the ANC executive are seen by their racial kinsmen as dissenters rather than representatives.

They write of the Indians: "They do not represent the Indian community; they are not active in the ANC as Indians but as marginalised dissidents from the Indian community."

A similar statement is made about whites; they are described as "self-confessed members of the SACP" who fought long and bitterly against the attitudes of the white community.

"While the sophisticated tolerance of an Albie Sachs attracts admiration among liberal whites, the actions of someone like Ronnie Kasrils — his unconventional behaviour, the manipulative

games he plays — serve to deter other whites from supporting the ANC."

Downplaying the significance of the defection to the ANC by five white Democratic Party MPs, the authors focus on the failure of lib-

eral whites to win election to the ANC national executive at the organisation's 1991 conference.

"The ANC made no efforts to woo into its ranks some of its potential high-profile supporters people like F van Zyl Slabbert, Alex Boraine and Wynand Malan.

"The SACP faction, which in the past exercised the power of vetoing which whites were allowed to join the ANC, does not wish to share its monopoly with strategists of a different outlook."

These two statements lead to another theme in the study: an analysis of the role of the SACP in the ANC and an assessment of its value to the ANC-led alliance.

## Socialist

The authors believe that the SACP is a powerful but not benign force within the ANC; it is one which is trying to "piggyback" its socialist vision on to the populist ANC.

They identify the ANC's alliance with the SACP as "the single most important reason why so few whites, coloureds and Indians have formally joined the ANC"

and dismiss the view that "communists are only loyal members of the liberation movement from which they take their orders."

The authors are critical of the SACP's failure to speak out against the tyranny of Stalinism and its slavish obedience to the

Kremlin for decades.

"The party that in 1929 was told by the Kremlin to campaign for a black republic in South Africa subsequently supported the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan.

"Long after Arthur Koestler's seminal account of show trials in *Darkness at Noon* (1945), long after most European intellectuals on the Left had grown disillusioned with the Soviet Union, long after Eurocommunism and Solzhenitsyn, the SACP's solidarity with the Soviet Union remained unshaken."

They accuse the SACP leadership of political myopia, noting that in 1989, on the eve of the dramatic collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the party spoke glowingly of socialist countries as "a powerful interna-

tional force" leading the way to a new life where "there are neither oppressors nor oppressed".

Even after the fall of communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe and shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the SACP appeared incapable of adjusting to the new reality, the authors contend.

They quote an editorial in a 1990 edition of the African Communist, which declared: "Nothing that has happened in Eastern Europe or elsewhere makes us believe that (Marxism-Leninism) needs to be altered."

The attempt by Joe Slovo, SACP national chairman, to grapple with the problem is recognised and labelled "laudatory" but found wanting; it relies too much on "metaphor and euphemism" and does not really examine the causes of "Stalinist tyranny".

Adam and Moodley have written a thoughtful book with interesting chapters on several pivotally important themes, including the white right wing and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is analytical rather than reverential and deserves to be widely read. □

16/11



*We can't afford any more delays, says Mandela*

*D. News*

*7/06/93*

# Peace hopes rise

The news that Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed to meet has been greeted with acclaim, **Political Staff** reports.

**P**ROSPECTS of an imminent meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have rekindled hopes for peace as the country enters an 11-month campaign for its first one-man, one-vote elections.

Agreement yesterday between the ANC and IFP leaders to meet within weeks under the chairmanship of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Magoba boosted optimism about damping the violence plaguing South Africa.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said last night the "excellent" news significantly enhanced the prospects of peace. "It will help the cause of peace a lot in South Africa. It will send a

message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations."

Val Pauquet, spokeswoman for the National Peace Accord, said it was wonderful that the two leaders had agreed to meet. The Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories.

She said Mr Mandela's call yesterday for a re-affirmation of the Peace Accord was very encouraging.

Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttal would arrange the date of the meeting, scheduled for Archbishop Tutu's residence in Cape Town, Bishops court, in discussion with Mr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mogoba.

ANC and IFP officials have been meeting since late last year to arrange such a meeting, but the liaison channel has so far failed to produce any results.

At the unveiling of a Gandhi statue in Pietermaritzburg yesterday, Mr Mandela issued a call for the Peace Accord to be renewed and strengthened. He said the time had come for the signatories of the accord to come together again without delay.

"Some time back we signed a mutual peace accord, but we have since then witnessed endless murders," he said. Peace could come to South Africa if all the country's leaders sat down together to make a commitment.

"We cannot delay a meeting of the signatories of the peace accord any longer."

Mr Mandela also said in an interview that a free and vigorous Press must play an essential role in a future South Africa. It was important to all democratic countries. He said the Press could guarantee that democratic values were upheld.

"This is especially true in a country that has no tradition of democratic government."

Mr Mandela said the Press could mobilise all shades of opinion in the country's move towards peace and equality. "The Press has an important role in the battle to pull South Africa out of its present difficulties."

Mr Tutu said at the ceremony the new government of South Africa should disarm all sectors of the population. The new constitution of the country should deny citizens the general right to bear arms.

*16/1/11*



## ANC seeks 'massive' US aid

NEW YORK. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will ask President Bill Clinton for "massive measures of assistance" once free elections are held in South Africa next year, Time magazine reports.

In an interview with the magazine to be published today, Mr Mandela compared the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid to Europe after World War II and compared ex-

pected Western response to the post-war Marshall Plan.

"What we expect — and this is a matter which I'm going to raise with President Clinton — is that the Western world, led by the US, should ensure that massive measures of assistance are given to the people of South Africa so we can address their expectations," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC leader also said the ANC was on the verge of calling off sanctions.

In a separate interview with the magazine, President FW de Klerk denied he favoured a permanent power-sharing arrangement at the executive level for his National Party in the country's constitution.

"But we need more than five years to ensure that the various components of our community will all feel secure and that they need not fear suppression or the misuse of power." — Sapa-Reuter

## ANC plans campaign if Bop demands fail

PRETORIA. — Bophuthatswana will soon face massive stayaways, consumer boycotts and defiance campaigns if demands put to it by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP-alliance are not met, ANC NEC member Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing warned at the weekend.

Speaking at Erasmus and Hammanskraal, both near here, he said demands included Bophuthatswana's reincorporation into South Africa, that homeland residents be allowed to vote in SA elections and that South African labour laws be applied in the homeland. — Sapa

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 7 1993 ★

## Meyer: Democracy a certainty

JOHANNESBURG. — A constitution providing for strong democratic central and regional government would be successfully negotiated in South Africa, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said at the weekend in the United States.

Mr Meyer was addressing a

ceremony at the University of Massachusetts on Saturday where he and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary general and chief negotiator in talks with the government, were awarded honorary doctor of law degrees.

Mr Meyer predicted a future South African constitution

would provide for a "democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state".

"Apartheid is gone, it was wrong and after creating a new constitution we will still have to overcome many of its other consequences. The socio-economic reconstruction in South Africa is going to be a more

difficult task," Mr Meyer said.

Referring to resistance to the rapidly moving negotiations, Mr Ramaphosa said he hoped to keep as many factions as possible involved in talks and not to allow them to be derailed. The people of South Africa had victory in sight, he said. — Sapa-Reuter



2

1993

# Massive aid bid

FROM PAGE 1

said.

The South African leader, who is almost certain to become the next South African president when free elections are held on April 27, 1994,

also told the magazine the ANC was on the verge of calling off economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Our official policy was that until free and fair elections were held, we would maintain sanctions," he said.

"But the problems facing our country — seven million people unemployed, rocketing crime, the violence and so on — has made us revise our time frame.

"If the transitional executive council is installed and if an election date is set, we would call off sanctions," Mr Mandela said.

Asked about threats by South Africa's Right-wing to take up arms against Black majority rule, Mr Mandela said: "It's a serious threat, but we aren't overly concerned. We have to reorganise the police force and make sure it's capable of defending democracy."

In a separate interview with the magazine, President De Klerk said he favoured a permanent

power-sharing arrangement at the executive level for his National Party in the country's constitution.

"I do not think a permanent form of enforced coalition can be written into a final constitution," Mr De Klerk said.

"But we need more than five years to ensure that the various components of our community will all feel secure and that they need not fear suppression or the misuse of power. We must ensure that there will never be domination again in South Africa."

Mr De Klerk denied he was pressing for minority veto power.

"What I am pleading for is that we must move away from the winner-take-all system that we inherited from Britain. It works in homogeneous societies, but it is not the right system for a big country with vast regional interests and many language and cultural groups," Mr De Klerk said.

Sapa-Reuter.



# MANDELA TO SEEK MASSIVE US AID

NEW YORK. — African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela will ask US President Bill Clinton for "massive measures of assistance" once free elections are held in South Africa next year, Time Magazine reported.

In an interview with the magazine published today, the South African leader compared the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid to Europe after the Second World War and compared anticipated Western response to the post-war Marshall Plan.

"What we expect — and

this is a matter which I'm going to raise with President Clinton — is that the Western world, led by the US, should ensure that massive measures of assistance are given to the people of South Africa so we can address their expectations," Mr Mandela

TO PAGE 2



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## Denying gun for Slovo 'ridiculous'

THE African National Congress (ANC) accused the South African Police on Saturday of "ridiculous adherence" to apartheid laws by refusing a firearm licence to the Communist Party's chairman, Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Slovo, who is also a senior ANC leader and negotiator at the multi-party democracy talks, was recently the target of an alleged as-

sassination plot, for which a man was arrested.

Police have refused to give Mr Slovo a firearm licence, citing pending criminal charges against the former exile.

Mr Slovo and several other leading ANC figures were given temporary indemnity from prosecution on charges of murder, terrorism and sabotage to allow

ANC leaders to return from exile to negotiate with the government.

A police statement said Mr Slovo might still be prosecuted if permanent indemnity was not granted.

"The SAP cannot grant a licence to possess a firearm to Mr Slovo or any other member of the ANC who is in the same position," they said.

The ANC reacted strongly to the police statement, accusing them of implying Mr Slovo was guilty of offences for which he had not been tried.

"Instead of showing the slightest understanding for the very difficult and dangerous situation that Comrade Slovo is faced with, the SAP is demonstrating a ridiculous adherence to apartheid laws."

The assassination of the Black nationalist hero, Mr Chris Hani, on April 10 and subsequent revelations of White extremist plans to kill several leading ANC figures, including the ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has prompted the ANC to address the generally poor security surrounding its top leaders. — Sapa-AFP.



## Buthelezi, Mandela to meet soon: Tutu

CAPE TOWN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night.

He said in a statement the meeting, to be held at his official Bishops court residence, would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and him-

self.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate said he hoped the meeting would happen within the next few weeks.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between Black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand, in Pietermaritzburg. I then

met Mr Mandela today (Sunday) at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."

Archbishop Tutu said he followed up his discussions at those two meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday and was pleased to announce that both leaders had accepted an invitation to meet at Bishops court.

"The date and time of the meeting are still being discussed. I would like it to take place as soon as possible. I certainly hope it will happen within the next couple of weeks," he said.

"I am due to leave for London at the beginning of an extended overseas visit tomorrow (Monday) but I will cancel whatever engagements are necessary to return for the meeting," Archbishop Tutu said.

"Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal and Dean of the Church of the Province, will be fixing the date and time in discussion with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Dr Mogoba." — Sapa.



## Police board on visit to UK

*Citizen Reporter*

FIVE members of the Police Board — the multi-party body set up to advise on policing policy under the National Peace Accord — begin a visit to London today to study British experience in community policing.

The visit of the five follows February's visit to South Africa by the British Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baroness Lynda Chalker, who said that Britain hoped to share its experience in the field of community policing with South Africa when the time was right.

The group will during their week-long stay be visiting the main British police training college at Bramshill, meet officials and experts from the Home Office and New Scotland Yard, as well as from various independent bodies.

The delegation will be headed by the Police Board's chairman, Mr J van Vuuren, with the other members being Lieutenant-General Andre Pruis, Chief of Community Policing, Brigadier P M Mathe of the Gazankulu Police, Miss J Rauch of the University of the Witwatersrand, and an advocate, Mr L Visser, who replaces Mr Matthew Phosa of the ANC, who was originally nominated, but has had to withdraw.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### NP warning?

AS we move closer to an election, the question that becomes uppermost is whether the National Party can still command the support of most Whites.

State President De Klerk exudes confidence, in public and in private.

His government goes on with the reform process as if it hasn't a doubt in the world that it is doing the right thing.

Its close association with the African National Congress is more evident than ever.

And the fact that it wishes to be a leading member of a government of national unity in tandem with the ANC seems to motivate its every move.

At the same time, the African National Congress takes on the mantle of a government-in-waiting, confident that it can win a thumping 53 percent of the vote, if not more, and making demands on the government as if it cannot take any decisions without the ANC's approval.

At times, it deals with the government as if it is a temporary impediment, a caretaker government, a government that exists more in name than in reality.

All this grandstanding, this appearance of invincibility, this attempt to force the government to observe its dictates by mass action and other forms of pressure, has the effect of weakening the government in its own constituency.

And the last thing the ANC can afford is to have the NP losing support, since the NP, with its reformist zeal, is the partner of choice in a government of national unity.

As the NP is weakened, the Conservative Party is strengthened.

And though, with the support of Coloureds and Indians, the NP can still do well, it must maintain its White constituency to be an effective party.

An Omnichek survey should give the NP cause for concern.

White support for the National Party has shown a massive decline, bringing the party's popularity to the lowest levels ever recorded. Five hundred White males and 800 White females were interviewed in the PWV area, Durban, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The interviewees were asked which party they would vote for in an election.

The research showed since October 1992 support for the NP had slid from about 40 percent of White voters to 25 percent.

According to the Omnichek report, support for the Conservative Party has increased, particularly among White men, from 21 to 29 percent.

The DP had also gained support from younger voters, aged between 18 and 34.

Omnichek's director, Ms Binky Kellas, said: "The dramatic swing in voting intentions was an indication of the impact of APLA activities and the escalating incidence of Black on White violence".

There are other reasons, we are sure, for the NP's relatively poor showing. The crime wave, the insecurity of life, the fears for the future under an ANC-dominated government, the constant talk of a redistribution of wealth, the lowering of educational standards, the fear that the government is no longer in control are having a bad effect on the NP's image and support.

The government may be relying on better days economically once a Transitional Executive Council is in being and financial sanctions are lifted, but the overriding fear of an ANC takeover, even as the majority party in a government of national unity, is paramount in the minds of Whites.

Perhaps the NP is on a rollercoaster of reform and it cannot slow it down, but must go on until the end is reached.

But if the NP does not pay attention to its own constituency, if it does not do anything to demonstrate that it can still control the transition, if it cannot be strong enough to determine the kind of constitution and safeguards that can keep Whites from exploding in violence, the NP will suffer a further erosion of support.

It cannot ignore the warning signs.



Monday 7 June 1992

## ANC can't be drawn into battle: Manuel

CAPE TOWN. — The African National Congress and its allies could not afford to be drawn into battle by forces which rejected political engagement, ANC head of economic planning Mr Trevor Manuel said on Saturday.

"We need to be very careful and understand the traps that lie ahead," he told about 80 delegates at an ANC Youth League summit at the Peninsula Technikon.

An urgent effort was needed to recruit youth organisations, as they were the ones who "will create the conditions in which democracy will either flourish or founder".

Negotiations were the clear route which had to be followed if the ANC wanted a society marked by rights for all people, and where people were respected.

Warning against being drawn into battle by "those who do not want to engage us politically", Mr Manuel said this option should not be taken up, "no matter how good we feel about

the Makarov (pistol) tucked in our trousers, or the petrol bomb in our hands".

Sarajevo was not the example sought by the ANC. "Youth rights are not an issue in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is the easiest thing to turn South Africa into a Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are not struggling for a situation like that."

The sense of alienation experienced by youths was one of the greatest factors which inhibited bringing about the kind of society which would seek fulfilment through basic rights and obligations.

Appealing for an end to the stonings on the N2 highway outside Cape Town, Mr Manuel said up to 93 percent of violence was attributed to people between 18 and 28 years.

Life, the most fundamental right, seemed to have little meaning. It had to be asked what was happening when knives were drawn on priests, who were among the most respected members of society.

"It is time we start thinking about these issues and debate them."

The struggle for youth rights would not end with the election of a government of national unity in April 1994, but would rather be taken to a higher level.

Arguing against a separate Cabinet portfolio dealing with the youth, he said: "We must ensure every Minister and department takes youth development seriously."

Of the 10,7 million people aged between 16 and 30, only 12 percent belonged to political organisations.

"We need to act with great speed and get to the youth who are not part of us." — Sapa.



# Volksfront, govt to hold 1st talks on Friday

By Charmaine Pretorius

DELEGATES from the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the government will meet in Pretoria on Friday for the first time, to discuss a Volksfront proposal that constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre be suspended.

General Tienie Groenewald, a member of the executive board of the AVF, said the meeting would be with senior Ministers. The suspension of negotiations until law

and order has been restored would be on the agenda.

The AVF delegation would be appointed tomorrow and the agenda for Friday's meeting finalised.

Gen Groenewald said other demands by the AVF, handed to the gov-

ernment by General Constand Viljoen, would also be discussed at the meeting. They were, among others, the issue of violence and the establishment of an interim transitional council.

Referring to the proposed election date of April 27, Gen Groenewald said this would also be discussed. "It is ridiculous that negotiators propose an election date when they don't even know what they're voting for."

Gen Groenewald said that as soon as an agreement had been reached on an election date, negotiations would effectively cease. "The ANC will sit back until the time of elections. Then they will just go about drawing up a constitution as they want it because they will have a majority vote."

"This we in the AVF have to prevent."

He said Friday's meeting would be a result of

talks held by Gen Viljoen and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, of the AVF, with State President De Klerk on Wednesday last week.

"From the meeting it was clear that the government's point of view was very distant from that of the AVF and that the only way to get closer to each other was through bilateral talks. That is the purpose of Friday's meeting."

"While the government is still the rightful government of the day, the AVF sees it as its duty to consult with them on issues that are important to us and our supporters. The government does not have the faintest idea how the people on the ground feel or what they are thinking."

Gen Groenewald expressed the hope that the willingness of the government to talk with the AVF was not a smoke-screen, to divert attention from the establishment of a transitional council.



# No divisions in caucus, says NP

By Sapa and  
Hugo Hagen  
CAPE TOWN. —  
There were no divisions in the National Party caucus but vigorous and constructive

debates took place on all important issues, National Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

"After all, we are the

governing party which takes responsibility for all our actions," Mr Van Schalkwyk said in reaction to media reports about serious divisions in the NP caucus, following news of the resignation of Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers from July 1.

"Sometimes there are differences in emphasis with regard to specific issues, but that is the very nature of a political party with internal democracy."

He said the NP was

TO PAGE 2

## 'No divisions'

FROM PAGE 1

deeply aware of its responsibility to play a leadership role, "not only during this turbulent and uncertain transitional period, but also after the first fully democratic election".

The NP was aware of the uncertainties with which its supporters struggled daily and was still convinced that the present process was the only viable option open to all South Africans.

Responding to news of the resignation of Mr Scheepers, Mr Van Schalkwyk said being a politician implied certain risks.

"In terms of our own proposals on power sharing with other parties, there will be fewer NP Ministers in the future. It is only natural that some politicians will start to consider their other options and it is also a healthy phenomenon before every election."

Referring to the proposed election date, he said it was important to

note that no election date had been finally decided.

"The NP, along with some other parties, at last Thursday's Negotiating Council indicated its preference for April 27 next year.

"We requested that it be debated at this coming Thursday's meeting to enable us to try to convince some of the other parties that the date is not only in the country's best interests, but in their own best interest as well.

"Tremendous progress has been made during the past few weeks and it is also important to note that we proposed that the date must be made conditional on further progress in certain specified issues.

"In terms of the timetable announced by the State President in November last year, we are in favour of an election date before the end of April next year."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the NP was working full-time on an election strategy and was busy getting its election machinery in place.



# Farmers to target APLA, MK: Gouws

By Charmaine  
Pretorius

CADRES of APLA and MK will most probably be declared legitimate targets to farmers at a meeting of the top management of the OFS Agricultural Union on Wednesday.

President of the OFS Agricultural Union, Dr Piet Gouws, said from Cape Town yesterday that farmers at grassroots level have already taken the decision to take law in their own hands and to declare structures of the ANC/SACP and PAC as legitimate targets.

Speaking for the farmers he represents, Dr Gouws said organisations like the ANC and PAC have declared themselves as legitimate targets with their repeated calls on supporters to kill farmers.

The government had contributed to the situation through doing little to act against leaders who made such calls.

"The union will have no other choice but to support farmers in their decision. We risk losing our farmers at farm level if we don't act immediately."

Dr Gouws said pressure from farmers had

reached a stage where it was now very difficult to handle.

He said the killing of yet another farmer, Mr Schalk Barnard, 60, from Hertzogville, had served to contribute to the bitter feelings of farmers. "We are expecting a bitter message from the farmers at the meeting on Wednesday."

"I suspect a unanimous decision will be taken by farmers on immediate reaction against these terrorists. Farmers now have to protect themselves."

Dr Gouws said he was saddened that things had to come to a point of no return. He added that the

government would be solely responsible for whatever happened. "Over the past two years they have done the minimum to try and save the situation."

"ANC Youth leader, Peter Mokaba, made calls to his supporters to kill farmers in 1991 already. This call to kill farmers is not a new thing that happened yesterday."

"We cannot trust justice to go its course any more. The government had two years in which to act against these instigators of murder. Wasn't that enough?" Dr Gouws asked.



## Mass peace movement urged

MARITZBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet, strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

He also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 1994 election date to begin the healing process in South Africa.

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"We urge all South Africans to look to the future and consider their reservations so that this momentous election becomes a unifying occasion in our strife-torn country." — Sapa.



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## Free press essential

— Mandela

Own Correspondent

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## Rousing ovation for Roelf, Cyril

By Peter Fabricius  
Washington Bureau

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their feet to acclaim the two key negotiators, who were the undisputed stars of the event.

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Meyer and Ramaphosa were both honoured in particular for their vital role in keeping the democratisation process alive by maintaining personal contact when formal negotiations broke off last year.



### **5 die in weekend E Rand violence**

The bodies of at least five people have been found since Friday in East Rand townships, police said last night.

Four of the bodies were found in Katlehong, police spokesman Lieutenant Janine Smith said.

— Sapa.



# The Star

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## Polling sense

**S**OUTH AFRICA has an election date — April 27 1994. It's not final and there is still considerable dissent. But an important milestone on the road to democracy has been reached.

There are pros and cons to this development, but we believe the advantages outweigh any negative factors. Setting a date was delayed at one point because it was felt that the violence should first be addressed. But a clear indication that a poll will be held within a reasonable time may well ease tensions. If the election is seen as the final stage of the liberation struggle, there is no reason to fight for something which has already been achieved.

Similarly, the imperative for rolling mass action falls away. Mass action was a tactic, an instrument, which gave the voteless a lever, but even the ANC concedes that the country's economic and social fabric suffered every time it was used. In the words of the SACP's Joe Slovo, further delay in setting a date could lead to "unpredictable consequences".

Also important is that an election date should finally bring an end to the sanctions era. Coincidentally, a report by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade points out that sanctions cost South Africa about R40 billion between 1985 and 1989.

The ANC, a chief protagonist of the economic squeeze on Pretoria, has recognised for some time that sanctions was a double-edged sword. It can now, without losing face, call more urgently for remaining sanctions to go. It can also claim to have delivered on its promise to achieve the setting of a poll date.

On the negative side, there is the danger that electioneering will take precedence over negotiation. Many substantial issues remain to be decided, such as whether we have a federal or unitary state and how the new constitution will be written. Also, the real disagreements within the Negotiating Council may have been obscured — at least to the public eye, and there is the danger of new and false expectations arising among the previously disenfranchised.

Achieving democracy via universal franchise is an indispensable prerequisite to a new and better order, but it is not a panacea. It does not guarantee housing, jobs and social relief. But South African politicians would have had to face these problems sooner or later — and perhaps sooner is the healthier option.

Importantly, however, the negotiating process itself is showing maturity. A majority of the 26 parties accepted a compromise on the election date through "sufficient consensus" and the next deliberations will take place on June 15 "to maximise consensus" before a final decision is announced, hopefully, on June 25. That is sensible caution, a way of making haste slowly.



## CP 'under pressure to pull out of talks'

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This week could prove decisive to future Conservative Party participation in negotiations as some in its ranks contemplate a form of "mass action" to strengthen its hand at the talks.

CP sources said the party was facing increasing pressure from its constituency to pull out of the negotiations.

A member of the CP negotiating team said yesterday: "We are being asked whether it is worth continuing if we cannot achieve anything."

He said the growing percep-

tion was that ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were "just forcing things through and using us to give the process legitimacy".

CP spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder echoed his words, saying: "We are frustrated and feel we are not going anywhere there (at the talks).

"They say they want an inclusive solution, but force through bilateral agreements."

Mulder said the CP was continually reviewing its participation in talks.

And it is understood that a report-back from negotiators to

the CP caucus on Thursday could be particularly significant. Some in the CP's ranks believe it could mount a highly effective form of mass action, with supporters in key jobs across South Africa being able to bring the country to its knees within days.

However, it is not known how seriously the party leadership is considering such action at this stage.

The CP talks source said: "Negotiations is but one of the means to achieve your goals. It is the easiest one, but up to now we have not got anywhere and it seems we must still prove ourselves."



## Proposed election date meaningless, says PAC

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander yesterday warned of the dangers of setting a tentative date for the country's first democratic elections.

The Negotiating Council has set April 27 next year as the proposed date — to be ratified at a meeting of the council on June 25.

Alexander said there was "little reason for optimism" about the election date.

"The date is meaningless if it

is not linked to immediate voter registration and the setting up of an internationally supervised electoral commission. We do not want a repeat of the Angola elections problem caused by lack of foresight."

This week seven technical committees are to meet at the World Trade Centre behind closed doors. Their reports will be discussed at the Negotiating Council next week.

● The ANC national executive committee will meet for four days this week to discuss its negotiating strategy and election campaign.



### SADF, MK talk about new force

Senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers met for the third time in a month last week to discuss structures of a future defence force.

The delegations, led by SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg and MK chief Joe Modise, met in Pretoria on Thursday and Friday. They are due to meet again after an ANC national executive meeting this week.

Sources on both sides remained tightlipped yesterday.

It is understood, however, that considerable progress is being made on all the issues. —  
Political Correspondent.



## 15 PAC members charged

By Charmeela Bhagawat

Fifteen Pan Africanist Congress members arrested in a nationwide-swoop last month have been charged with crimes ranging from murder to the possession of illegal firearms and explosives.

But SAP headquarters spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert declined to name them.

Five of the 15 were arrested during follow-up operations.

In addition, four suspects were being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act for allegedly planning to bomb the popular Bellevue nightspot, Rockerfella's.

Mostert said police had completed the investigation into activities of the PAC's military wing, Apla.

More than 70 PAC members were arrested in a dawn swoop on May 20.

Mostert said 61 of the 81 PAC members and alleged Apla operatives captured in the raid and in follow-up operations were released by Friday.

Five others were later charged in connection with murder and possessing illegal firearms and explosives. One was being held in Natal in connection with two murders.

Mostert could not confirm newspaper reports that 12 weapons confiscated from some of the detainees were stolen from a Transkei armoury in April.

Transkei Defence Force Colonel Derek Ngwebi was quoted in a Sunday paper as saying the weapons removed from the armoury were taken by someone with access to the keys.

Mostert said police would investigate the link between the robbery and the confiscated arms.



## IFP youth leader slain

Staff Reporter

The chairman of an Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade branch was stabbed to death and partially burnt in the western Transvaal at the weekend, police said.

Paul Dintoe (17), the youth organisation's Ipelegeng chairman, was found near an old Schweizer-Reneke mine yesterday.

His body had multiple stab wounds. Police said he had been kidnapped on Saturday night.

Police are unsure of the motive for the killing.

IFP spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said the IFP was shocked at the "senseless" killing of its members.





Nelson Mandela



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet

# Tutu opens the door to peace

## Staff Reporters

In what could be a major boost for peace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night that he had brokered a long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Tutu hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishops Court in Cape Town. He said in a statement he and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would chair the talks.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night could not contact their leaders to confirm the agreement.

Vos said should such a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a meeting of the National

Peace Accord signatories.

National Peace Accord media liaison officer Val Pauquet said the Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mandela and Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said last night that Tutu's "excellent" news significantly enhanced the prospects of peace. "It will help a lot for the cause of peace. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two of the most important organisations."

Tutu said the Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttal would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mandela, Buthelezi and Mogoba.

Tutu leaves today for an overseas visit, but he said he would "drop everything" to return for the meeting.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand, in Maritzburg. I then met Mr Mandela yesterday at the celebrations in Maritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee."

"I followed up discussions at those two meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday." He said both agreed to the meeting.

Welcoming the meeting, Mogoba, who is the vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord, said: "We are hoping that there will be a positive spin-off in respect of the work of the Committee and Secretariat of the National Peace Accord, as well as the Goldstone Commission."

"It is also obvious that a fruitful meeting—between these two leaders will have long-term benefits for the negotiations for a future constitution currently taking place," he added.



**Winnie gets top civic post**

Winnie Mandela was yesterday voted southern Transvaal chairman of the SA National Civic Organisation.



# Squatters' new home, new life

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Two years after a bloody massacre and threats from the right wing tore their community apart, the Swanieville squatters on the West Rand are moving to Lusaka.

Lusaka, South Africa, that is. A resident said the name of their new home indicated peace and safety. And the running water, flushing toilets, refuse removal service and graded roads in the new development represented another chance.

On May 12 1991, 53 people were killed and 83 shacks burnt in Swanieville. Residents alleged that the IFP had been responsible for the attack. Squatters were also threatened with removal by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Now residents are moving of their own free will with the help of the TPA.

## Donations

Situated about 1 km away from Swanieville squatter camp and its bitter memories, the Lusaka development has been financed by loans and donations from the National Housing Commission and the West Rand Regional Services Council.

Each day, a truck moves about 25 squatter families to the new area. By the end of the year all the Swanieville residents should be living in Lusaka.

Clutching a handful of nails while TPA employees loaded her dismantled shack on to a truck, Caroline Kula smiled broadly. She said she had lived in Swanieville for eight years and was very happy to be moving to the serviced area.

Removal truck driver and Swanieville resident Butman Dlupe said residents had always feared further attacks on the squatter camp, and felt safe in the new area. "There is safety because there are plenty of people and houses," he said.

Moray Hathorn of the

Legal Resources Centre has been involved in the negotiations between the TPA and the Swanieville-Lusaka community. He said the development was "in accordance with the expressed wishes of the community" and he was satisfied that the residents' future has been secured.

An issue that may have to be addressed in the future is service charges, which some have said are too high. According to Amos Makokomale, a committee member of the local civic association, R92 for services and R20 for water was far too much to expect, considering the high

level of unemployment in the area.

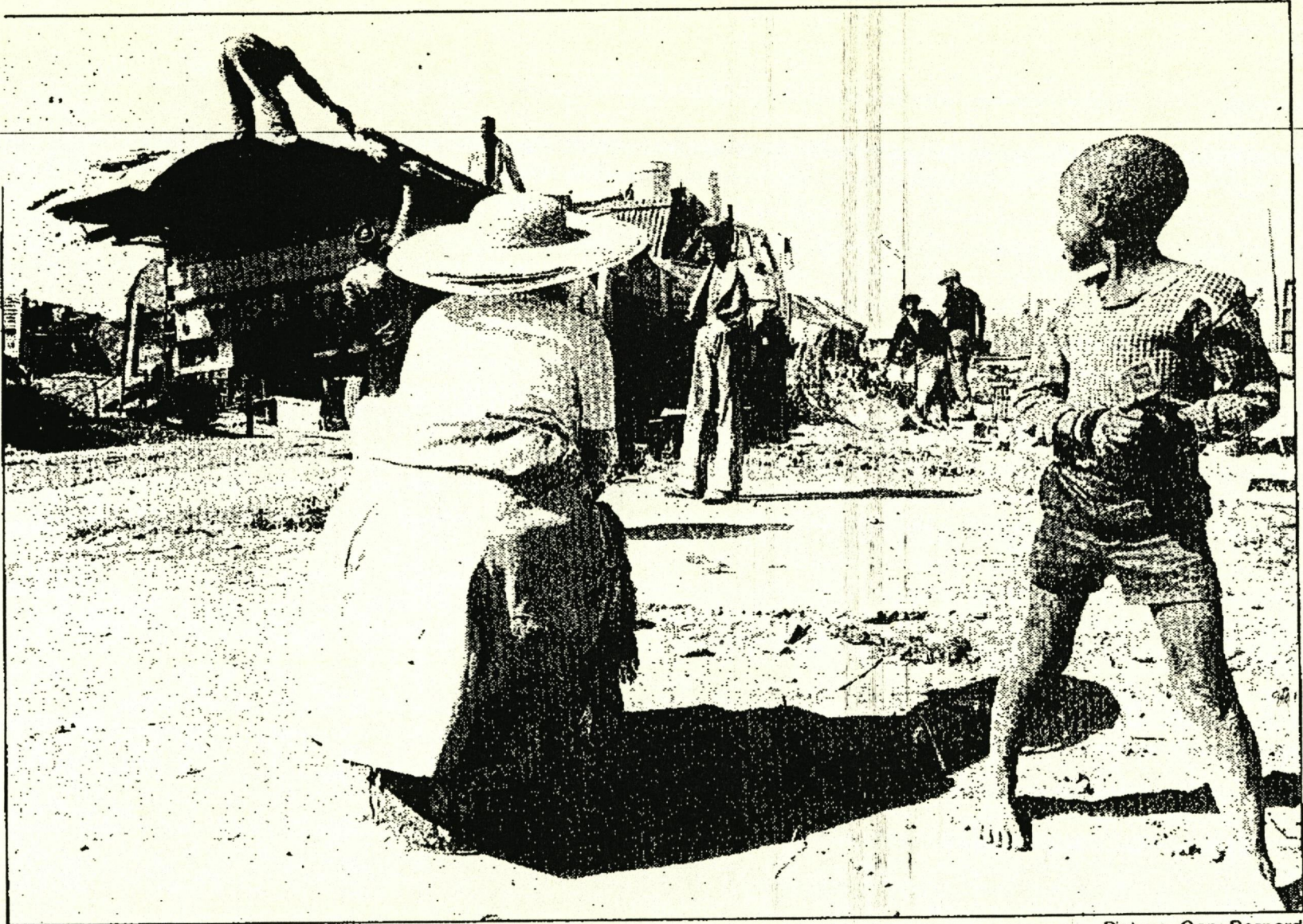
Others said many residents approved of the fees. It was important that the previously demoralised community was now safe, Makokomale said.

The head of the ANC in the area, Elijah Moaba, also felt

the service charges were too high. "At least we are moving to a serviced place, although we have certain things to get right," he said.

Residents also told The Star that the community was plagued by local vigilantes as well as various political differences.





Moving house . . . residents of Swanleville squatter camp pack up to move to the Lusaka camp.

Picture: Gary Bernard



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