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WITH few exceptions, black politicians preach racial harmony and reconciliation $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 24$ 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. ; $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$

1 experienced it, too, in the friendli-

ness and co-operation of thousands of political detainees I visited in Trans-{ vaal 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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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 reli-_gious animosity and division which fuels fear and even hatred. That is not 1 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 ;'epresentative 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 â\200\224 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 in-

exorably to frustration and even an--

ger.

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

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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 an-

nouncements by the State-President

in February 1990.

Indeed, the contrary is probably true. In that respect impatience $\hat{a}\200\224$ understandable - impatience $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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 $\hat{a}200\224$ 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 ex-

perts to consider the views of those parties and to advise the Commission

 \hat{a} \200\230thereon.

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 agree-, ment 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 recog-

 $a\200\230$ nised the obligation to give full notice

of marches and to negotiate with the authorities with regard to route, numbers, marshals and so forth.

1 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 .-

T}IE Democratic Party MP for Umbhlanga, 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 â\200\230wide experience would not speak out like this without

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 \hat{a} \200\231s alarming

disclosures of illegal activities in Military

Intelligence following last November $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ 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.. ol

about possible prosecutions? Three months have 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 M De Klerkâ $\200\231s$ 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 socalled homelands who are bent on wrecking the negotiating process. Mr Jordaanâ\200\231s 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.

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?

THE most serious deficiency in government $a\200\231$ s crackdown on illegal arms is that it didn $a\200\231$ t cocur long ago, but it could also have been broader in application and even more severe in penalltlal $a\200\2$.

terms of the new legislation, le convicted of illegally poss&ssing?AK-ï¬\202pggl%s, 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

 \hat{a} 200\234 Call to arms

Why has the Attorney-General o e | their strict enforcement.

Transvaal not made any announcement yet

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 e ectively 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 Presidentâ\200\231s opening of Parliament speech, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, called for just such action. He said: $\hat{a}\200\234$. . .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 Pretoriaâ\200\231s financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoriaâ\200\231s sovereignty over the so-called self-governing states is not in question at all, \hat{a} \200\235 (Hansard, column 178, 1/2/93)

In his reply to the debate the State President spent most of his time in an emotional attack on Dr De Beerâ\200\231s call for reincorporation saying: â\200\234The necessity of achieving their co-

operation before their

rafted?

positions are changed is apparently rejected by the DP. He said of the homelands: \hat{a} 200\234If 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 heartâ\200\235 (Hansard, column 402, 4/2/93).

In a seemingly prophetic re-

sponse to the State Presidentâ\200\231s .

attack Dr De Beer said: $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am now quite confident that in the course of next year, or even earlier, we shall be hearing what steps the government will

taking to get rid of the system of territorial separation as well. \hat{a} 200\235 (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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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

plottins_to do just the opposite.

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 $a\200\224$ and this without a word of warning to the Post Office $a\200\231s$ customers. This delays receipt of an item by some 24 hours $a\200\224$ more if the recipient works and cannot get to the Post Office except on Saturdays.

The use of the Post Office by private indi-! viduals 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.

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o " a J1meEs

s Amdc 9s.

the March 26 edition of th Cape Times show exports to

African countries falling by 1 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 de-

~ tries in Africa.

First time

- Although exports to Afri-
- can countries remain fairly
 ~modest as a proportion of

total exports (89% in the

first half of 1992), a disprortionate 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

TRADE figures quoted; irn_ / veloping with other coun-

SA must work at good mutual

trade in Africa

Regional Notebook by ROB DAVIES

first six months of 1992 over 70% of exports to African countries (other than members of the Southern African Customs Union) consisted of products in seven categories comprised largely of manufactured goods (foodstuffs and beverages; chemical products; plastics and rubber products; arti-

cles of base metals; ma--

chinery and appliances; vehicles and related and miscellaneous manufactured goods).

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

reported to have given an important boost to South Africaâ\200\231s 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 under-

lying basis on which this

 \hat{a} 200\230trade 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, nontariff 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 \(\frac{1}{200\234captive markets \(\frac{2}{200\235} \) in the Southern Africa region. :

Many countries in Africa are facing increasing prob-

lems in generating the resources necessary to finance imports, and, in fact, levels of imports have declined in several countries. p

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CITIZEN -
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THE African National
Congress, while believ-
ing there should be
greater control over
the distribution of fire-
arms \hat{a}200\230and the circula-
tion of illegal weapons,
said yesterday it was
opposed to the mini-
mum sentence pro-
posed under the Arms
and Ammunition Bill.
The Bill, now before
Parliament, recommends
a five-year sentence for
anyone found in posses-
sion of certain categories
of firearms, particularly
automatic weapons.
The ANC said in a
statement the Bill at-
{!')!Vâ\200\231 v VDUGUIlUï¬\202VV J
g T T
ANC opp() a\200\234S' A@d""t'o
minimum terms
for weapons
tempted to punish people
for possession of firearms
without dealing with the
\hat{a}200\230reasons why there are de-
mands for firearms. .
This, the ANC said,
was because of \hat{a}\200\234personal
insecurity arising out of
the failure of the law en-
forcement machinery to
â\200\234adequately protect par-
ticularly "Black South
Africansâ\200\235.
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Mandatory = mimimum

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. â\200\234Minimum sentences do not distinguish. between those who should receive a harsh punishment because they have come into possession Orf intend to use the weapon for anti-social purposes, and those who have not, \hat{a} \200\235 the ANC statement said. $a\200\234$ 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.â\200\235

The ANC said it was also concerned that for as long as there was, in reality or in perceptlon, a racial bias in the access and/or distribution of firearms a\200\234this harsh measure will be seen as a measure

designed to disarm Black | people but not Whiteâ\200\235.

â\200\234In particular, con-

cerns 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 ex-

clusively, concerned with the recovery of firearms from Blacks in general and ANC members in particular.â\200\235 â\200\224 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 â\200\234wholly and totally unfoundedâ\200\235. He expressed his indignation that the French Foreign Minister, Louis de Guiringaud, should suggest such a thing after he, Botha, had made a â\200\234categorical denialâ\200\235.

Wonder why

He assured Germanyâ\200\231s Hans-Dietrich Genscher that South Africaâ\200\231s nuclear energy was being used for peaceful purposes only, and Kurt von Schirnding, then South Africaâ\200\231s ambassador to the United Nations, did the same to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

And today we wonder why other countries donâ\200\231t 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 $a\geq 00\geq 30$ we get corruption, dirty-tricks, cover- $a\geq 00\geq 30$ was and no accountability.

The trail of deception goes back a long way â\200\224 at least to our first invasion of Angola in 1975, when Defence Minister PW 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 news-paper editors in P W Bothaâ $\200\231s$ 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 â\200\224 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 highspeed strike craft for the navy $\hat{a}\200\224$ after which we were handed a press statement for publi-

veloped 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 Namibiaâ\200\231s 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 â\200\234take outâ\200\235 President Lennox Sebe, make his adviser General Fikile Zibi â\200\234disappear permanentlyâ\200\235 and then blame it all falsely on Transkei.

LOUIS DE GUIRIN-

GAUD: French Foreign

Ministerâ\200\231s allegation angered Pik Botha.

KURT VON SHIRND-ING: South Africaâ\200\231s former ambassador to the United Nations.

Truth is now our cheapest national product

HANS-DIETRICH

GENSCHER: Ger-

many \hat{a} 200\231s Genscher was falsely assured.

LENNOX SEBE: There

was allegedly a plot to

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ take out $\hat{a}\200\235$ the former Ciskeian president.

cation stating that the craft had been de- $^{\prime}$ fagp L.

2 Cape Times, Monday,

April 5 1993 %

Cease â\200\230Re

" 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 $\hat{a}200\234Red$ Cross thinking $\hat{a}200\235$ that there would be a surge of \hat{A} charitable $\hat{a}200\235$ investment from abroad once a multi-party government of national unity was in place.

 \hat{A} «1t will take years \hat{a} \200\224 there will be no miracle overnight just by pressing a button. \hat{a} \200\235

Count Lambsdorff is the Euro-

d Cross thinkingâ\200\231

pean chairman of the Trilateral Commission $\hat{a}\200\224$ a private $\hat{a}\200\234$ club $\hat{a}\200\235$ 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 \hat{a} \200\231s Minister of Economics. .

Count Lambsdorff said yesterday that investor confidence in South Africa would not be created $a\200\234$ in a month $a\200\235$ after the installation of a democratic government.

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

 $a\200\234$ you don $a\200\231$ t need a Salvation

â\200\224 Lambsdortt

Army here $\hat{a}\200\224$ you need a business community, $\hat{a}\200\235$ 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.:

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" Wolwe

THE Wit Wolwe WwWw)
Yesterday

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organisation was â\200\234takg up the battle against the African National Congressâ\204¢, 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 â\200\234ip Brits and on the Reefâ\204¢.

Mr Strydom also expressed his dissatisfaction that ANC supporters had fired shots into the air â\200\234with unlicensed firearmsâ\204¢ at slain SA Communist Party Chief Chris Haniâ\200\231s funeral , while â\200\234police Just stood

by and watchegâ $\204$.

Mr Strvdom saig the government tacitly approved the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234violent tendenciesâ\204¢, apnd $a\200\230$ this would Jeave the Boer nation with no alternative byt to defend itself $a\200\234$ during this lawless periodâ\204¢.

Mr Strydom shot dead eight blacks during 1988, was convicted ang Ssentenced to death, lat- â\202¬I reprieved and thep released under an am-nesty last year. â\200\224 Sapa.

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Aesd gs .
the March 26 edition of th
TRADE figures quoted in % Z
Cape Times show exports to / i
African countries falling by
12% in February. .
@ This contrasts \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30 with the
general trend, -evident
since 1988, towards a steady
rise \hat{a}200\230in exports to other
African countries. With the
progressive removal of po-
litical 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
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can countries remain fairly
\hat{a}\200\230 modest as a proportion of
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*ly of manufactured goods ":a^200^234'clinef of 17% and 19% re.a^200^231
total exports (8,9%, in the
first half of 1992), a dispro-
portionate part of this trade
is' made up of exports of
manufactured goods.
-*Detailed figures, pub-
lished for the first time this
year after being embargoed
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Regioual N\hat{A}^{\circ}teb\hat{A}^{\circ}\hat{A}^{\circ}k : June 1992, for example,
by ROB DAVIES - o e e . " imports of nearly five to
; \hat{a}200\230one without even taking
reported to have given an 2ccount of the Customs
â\200\230important boost to South -Union countries. -
first six months of 1992 over -
70% .of exports to African
countries (other than mem-
.bers of the Southern Afri-
\hat{a}200\230cal and motor vehicle in-".to the existence of tariff
dustries, among others. . - and, more importantly, non-
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miscellaneous manufac- ¢
tured goods). " corded between 1989 and
1992 appear to have fuelled
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Many countries in Africaâ\200\231

55 \$-duced the competitiveness R $\hat{a}\200\230$ tive markets $\hat{a}\200\235$ in the South-The upswing in trade ern Africa region. : with African countries 'an illusion that the undersince the end of the 1980s is lying basis on which this are facing increasing problems in generating the resources necessary to finance imports, and, in fact, levels of imports countries. g have declined in several Africaâ\200\231s steel, food, chemi- * -This is at least partly due -. the South African market. .2 Declining investment inâ\200\231 South African manufactur-° -.ing industries has also re-, of several products traditionally exported to $a\200\234$ cap-!

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.unedi 5 aprile 1993

il Giornale

Lap

Per evitare errori di interpretazione, si prega di scrivere a m

Carodirettore, . - ho letto con grande interesse le corrispondenze inviate daldr. Cervi duranteilsuorecente viaggio nella Repubblica del S.A. Specialmente le interviste, unitamente al corrispondente dr. G.C. Coccia, al presidente- De Klerk e al presidente dellâ $\200\231$ Ancâ $\200\231$ Nelson Mandela. 3 Sarebbe stato logico attendersi unâ\200\231intervista al terzo personaggio di rilievo nel contesto politico di quel Paese con lo stesso rilievo delle

due precedenti. Ed essa & puntualmente arrivata il 17 su tre colonne senza la parfecipazione del dr. Cervi, quasi avoler 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-si-

gnor Buthelezi & forse tenuto
di riserva, nelle discussieni, -

per essere esibito all'ultimo momento come ago della bilancia? Egli conia 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; allâ\200\231Anc legato sia
pure in minor misura di prima al Sacp (Partito comunista su:}africano) del lituano

Slovo ed alle sue nazionalizzazioni. :

: -Ubaldo Panico

Milano

m . wtm

11 Giornaleringraziai lettori che scrivono e si scusa se sara costretio a ridurre alcune le ttere senza tuttavia modificarne il senso

acchina o comunque in ¥:10do PFggibile e di firmare per esteso

Cosa conviene al Sud Africa

Caro Panico, gli Zulw-s0nio neginililing - p. wvochercbte

le rispondo per incarico del direttore. Le un immenso bagno di sangue. Gia il sangue ragioni della mia mancata intervista a Buthelezi sono molto semplici: il leader del alle prime schermaglie dâ\200\231una possibile guer-

Kwa-Zulu mi fisso, per Vincontro, una data | ra civile. .

che ero nellâ200231impossibilita di rispettare. Dico- Ho scritto â200224 e confermo que sta miaimpres-

mune accordo fu stabilito che dellâ200231intervista | sione - che il Sud Africa affronta molte inco-

si sarebbe occupato Giancarlo Coccia, e cos?â200231 gnite: ma almeno las.oria ha dato una mano

& avvenuto.-Nessun proposito, dungue, dite- | perindurre U'Anc e il Sacp (Partito comuninere in sordina il ruolo di Buthelezi, uno dei | sta sudafricano) a qualche resipiscenza. I protagonisti dellâ\200\231attuale svolta africana. | dogmi marxisti sono crollati, i sogni del so-

Senza il suo consenso $a\200\224$ lo sanno sia il presi- | cialismo reale - del quale fu tent ata l'impor-

dente De Klerk sia il leader dellâ\200\231Anc Nelson | tazionein Africa, conrisultatispaven tevoliâ\200\224

Mandela $a\200\224$ non si arrivera a nessuna soluzio- | Sono alle nostre spalle, i finanziam enti di

ne pacifica. Mosca e dellâ\200\231Est in generale ai Â<movimenti

Sono dâ\200\231accordo con lei sulla sensatezza \mid di liberazione» sono f.niti. Gli unici b ianchi

d'un assetto federalista $a\200\224$ anche se il termine sui qualiineri del Sud Africa posson o adesso

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ verra probebilmente evitato, e si parlera di | contaresono quelli che hanno in cas a. E me-

regionalismo $\hat{a}\200\224$ per il Sud Africa di domani. | glio che selitengano tuonio sara, anc he per

Ogni tentativo di integrare il Kwa-Zulu in | questo grande Paese finora salvato dal deuno Stato centralizzato dominato dai neriâ\200\224 | grado,la catastrofe. ossia in pratica, dominato dai Xhosa, chede- Mario Cervi From CAROLINE KNOTT (Gar-

~dens): %

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 inâ\200\230o South Aï¬\201-iga

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. : :%i}"

In February, during the de-

ment speech, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, called for just such action. He said: $a \geq 0 \leq 34$. . .the system of

Bantustans is much more ex-

pensive, much more racist, much more corrupt, and it has been going on for a whole lot

¢] longer than the own affairs sys-

tem. It must go, and before NP

speakers start talking constitu- -

tional drivel, let me say that Pretoriaâ\200\231s financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoriaâ\200\231s sovereignty

over the so-called self-govern-

ing states is not in question at all, \hat{a} \200\235 (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 Beerâ\200\231s call for reincorporation saying: â\200\234The necessity of achieving their co-

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operation before their '
Lo
positions are changed
Fore, ks xS
is appar- -
ently rejected by the DP. He \hat{\mathbf{A}}^{\circ}
< said of the homelands: \hat{a}\200\234If we
lise those areas, we shall desta-
destabilise the necessary ser-
-vices 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 heartâ\200\235 (Hansard, column 402,
4/2/93). \hat{a}\200\234.
. sponse to the State Presidentâ\200\231s
- attack Dr De Beer said: â\200\234I am
\star - now quite confident that in the
bate in Parliament on the State -
Presidentâ\200\231s opening of Parlia--
\hat{a}\200\234course of next year, or even
rearlier, we shall be hearing
+-what steps the government will
In a seemingly prophetic re- . certified and registered
\hat{a}\200\230act rashly, using the \hat{a}\200\230powers \hat{A}^{\circ}
that we have, we shall destabi- Sty
* THE extortionate new '
bilise education and we shall 4
From " MARIAN
"ROBERTSON (Diep
..River): -: |
postal charges were an-
nounced on the day
when' I received an ur-
gently awaited air letter,
from \hat{A}^{\circ} and 25 days
after it was posted. The
"higher the postal
charges go, the worse the
i service seems to be-
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: come. - '

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- be taking to get rid of the sys-"
"It is not clear from the Cape
.- Times report when the \hat{a}\200\230secret \hat{A}¢
â\200\234government plan was first
a\200\234drafted, but it is very likely that
\tilde{\ }:tem of territorial separation as \hat{\ }
. well.\hat{a}\200\235 (Hansard, column 435, -
L RBB), e e
Â¥
.. it was being discussed in cabi-
net circles at the time the State
President attacked the DP
:leader for calling for just such -
a\200\230 action. Either the plans had
. been kept hidden from ^{\prime} the
'-State President â\200\224 in which
case his attack on Dr De Beer
can be explained, although his
control over his own govern-
ment must be called into ques-
a\200\234knew exactly what was being
a\200\230Planned but chose to play po-
litical games in Parliament
with bland statements about
. not misusing the powers while
plotting to do just the opposite. \hat{A}^{\circ}
I hear the delivery of
mail items has been
stopped \hat{a}\200\224 and this with-
out a word of warning to :
the Post Officeâ\200\231s custom-
ers. This delays receipt
of an item by some 24
hours \hat{a}200\224 more if the re-!
cipient works and can- ;
not get to the Post Office
except on Saturdays. =
<The \hat{a}200\230use of the Post
Office by private indi-
viduals must have de-'
clined. Many people no
longer send Christmas
cards because of the
-cost. Telegrams must
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-now be way beyond the

means of the average individual. . $\ensuremath{\mathtt{g}}$

If the Post Office really is the business organisation it claims to be, it

3 .will use more imagination; "or the State President '

tion. It will counter declining custom not with higher prices and less service, but with better service and lower costs which will fight its competition.

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sday,
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dela yesterday called for peace, politicial tol-,1 erance and discipline \hat{a} 200\224 and acknowledged: that his organisation was $\hat{a}200\234$ just as $\hat{a}200\235$ involved as ' any other group in South Africa. =+ - 'Addressing a 4 000strong rally in Mamelodi -at the reburial of former, â\200\230uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela â\200\230urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as bitter enemy Inkatha, to organise freely. :On the $\hat{a}\200\230$ issue $\hat{a}\200\234$ of violence, Mr Mandela said: $a\200\234I'm$ not going to blame the IFP and the government only. We must face the truth \hat{a} \200\224 our people are just as involved in violence. \hat{a} \200\235 = .: $a\200\230$ The country $a\200\231$ s political leadership and especially women should stem the $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ bloodshed, he said. Perth_e violence sweeping Pupils â\200\230urged to show _discipline â\200\230PRETORIA. â\200\224 Schoolchildren should exercise' discipline in their strug-' gle for a single educa-! - tion systemn, ANC presi-; .dent Mr Nelson Mandela: \hat{a} \200\234said yesterday. : . TR1 T LT R LED B S TR .- -Addressing a rally in! - Mamelodi marking ~the! $a\200\230$ reburial of former ._uMk-!

honto $\hat{a}\200\234$ we Sizwe cadre! $\hat{a}\200\230$ Solomon Mahlangu, -Mr

Mandela said the ANC:

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supported the formation : of a single education sys- | a^200^234tem and the scrapping of exam fees and would in-a^200^231
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' DURBAN. = Ty 6 Concornad Bosth Africr.s Gras .
(Cosag) could be the basis for a a^200^234Savinsg? sol();tl;::a^200^235
after democratic elections, the ANCâ\200\231s Natal Mid-
::;1::y deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande said yes-
Sple:nk;:g tov'a'bout 3:)'00 supporters at a Solomon
! commemoration rally here, he saj
leadc; -â\200\2311' Chief Mangosuthu Bnth{lezi'se â\200\234f:d::ag alll;{
:;:: dslmuld ':f tarm iseriously as potential spoilers
emocratic elections. â\200\234The
controls the KwaZulu Police.â\200\235 e f"Pis - and
He said the IFP leader was trying to gain pt;rticibai '
I I eidie Tic !.tâ\200\230i COEREL 2â\200\2341 _
: f -y d.,\hat{a}\200\230 &1 - k p -
JOH_ANNE.S'BU'RG."{; a 200 224,: SACP general a 200 230 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. - . . . t T
;. Mr Hani was addressing thousands of ANC sup-
porters on the East Rand before a march to demand
fhe release of political activists. *,.;- 5z \hat{A}©. . -
\#: \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 341 \mod 200 \geq 31t accept people calling for war and I don't
.accept the PAC\hat{a}200\231s talks of the years of the great
â\200\230storms because I feel we have achieved something
in this pi^201pgg'? \hat{a}200230, \hat{a}200230::-:h sald. .0 et sl :
- \PACâ\200\231s national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadziv-
hanani reiterated Aplaâ\200\231s stand yesterday. â\200\224 Sapaâ\200\231
Χ
S â\200\224
from Tanzania,
tells SA' govern
ment
\hat{a}200\230-.\hat{a}\200\234The }\tilde{A}Ogime is only uh to its di
tnc_ks of haras.sing and destabilisilx-g
~African countries north of the Limpo-
Po, \hat{a}\200\235 he said. - :
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JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 The Azanian

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petrators of violence did
not serve the cause of
freedom. .<:- i o e</pre>

education bodies wanted this. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa . . .

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s peace - call comes in the wake of a President F W de Klerk in discuss violence in SA.: SRMAUE

Mr Mandela said ANC supporters found guilty of . participation in violence would face the $\hat{a}\200\234$ strongest disciplinary action $\hat{a}\200\235$ or even dismissal.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340ur$ strength is not in violence but in correctness ! of our policies. We practise democracy and allowâ\200\231 people to criticise us.â\200\235

In countering criticism within his organisation $200\231s$ own ranks $200\230a$ bout a Government of National Unity, Mr Mandela said such a government was necessary for parties to jointly address the country $200\231s$ problems and to avert a situation similar to that in Angola.

It was possible that in the forthcoming elections the ANC could be be defeated if other parties organised more effectively. e TR Sl "He urged supporters not to be complacent, there- 'fore, but to organise and each to recruit $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 3410$ members for the rest of the year $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ to secure an election

victory. .:i'.; - niaid A 3 SR
-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. . . -, S e e
Failure to participate in the PF would give the NP
gov; rnment a chance to continue ruling SA, he _said.â\200\231
â\200\224Sapa ., TN e . GRS

meeting with State Cape Town on Monday to

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 $a\200\230$ tervene in the crisis if.

) forover 30 years by

he consequencesâ\200\235. o Speaking from the Tanzanian cap-

ital, Dar es Salaam, Apla spokesman

Mr Romero Daniels told Sapa in $a\hat{a}\200\230$

telgphone interview that the South

Afnqan government would " achieve

nothmg. by asking $\hat{a}\200\230$ Tanzania to stop supporting Apla. -

Tanzania had been lused as a base

A a a - . n. B

cal wing, the PAC. R

. (South Africa) \hat{a} 200\235, \hat{a} \200\224 Sapa

 $\mbox{a}\200\234\mbox{We}$ have our roots here and Pretorig cannot have things their way. Their time is over. $\mbox{a}\200\235$

- o , \mathbf{H} _te \mathbf{W} was reacting to a top-level meet- \mathbf{I} ng in \mathbf{T} anzania last week between the
- . South African and Tanzanian govern-

ments which focused on Tanzaniaâ\200\231

support for Apla. 2 Mr Romero said Apla had its $a\200\234$ army,

bases and support right inside Azania