

Sinking into the abyss of disorder

SOWETO

24/04/91

MY telephone has not stopped ringing lately.

Half the calls are not work related. They are calls of desperation from taxi owners and motorists, from people under siege.

Mr Sol Vezziwe owns a fleet of taxis. But since December 1988, no less than 13 of his minibuses have been hijacked. Another was stolen.

The latest was hijacked in Medunwanda, Soweto, on Sunday night when his driver was overtaken by a car and forced off the road at gunpoint.

He was lucky they spared his life.

Mr Khehla Rampe, an SABC-TV producer, and banker Mr John Maswanganyi were not that fortunate.

AK-47s

The motive of car hijackers has become obfuscated. Is it only the car they want or do they enjoy making their acts even more serious by committing murder?

Surely anybody looking down the barrel of a gun (AK-47 rifles are favourites) cannot offer any resistance.

The hijackers are obviously not stupid. They know how intimidating an AK-47 rifle can be.

My scanning of newspapers is interrupted by the buzz of the phone.

Brutal

"Mr Thema, I don't know what to do," says Moss with a quiver in his voice.

I ponder why he did not call the South African Black Taxi Association. Surely he must be a member.

At the launch of the Motorists' Protection Clubs (MPC), there were three taxi owners who travelled all the way from Tsakane township on the East Rand to at-

FOCUS



DERRICK THEMA, former journalist and founder of the Motorists' Protection Clubs, analyses the murderous scourge of car hijackings.

tend the meeting at the Orlando YMCA in Soweto.

The brutal methods of car hijackers has created a siege mentality. It is ominous observing how few cars venture out in the evenings.

The awareness campaign to focus on this scourge has paid dividends. The media - print and visual - have been highlighting the issue. Police have become more visible.

But the menace continues unabated.

According to Colonel Jacques de Vries, who will address motorists at the Orlando YMCA on Sunday, an average of four cars are hijacked a day.

Some people want to believe that car hijackings, like the infamous Jack Rollers, is a fad that will soon disappear.

I believe it won't. It is a social issue that must be placed high on

the agenda of the negotiation process.

It is something that the liberation organisations must tackle at the same time as negotiations are pursued.

This is the role the Motorists' Protection Clubs must play.

Car hijacking is a statement. It is an indictment on us blacks.

It is inconceivable that motorists should club together and arm themselves against car hijackers. These are our brothers and possibly our children.

Hijacking

They are children of the lost generation.

There are a lot of factors at play in the mushrooming of car hijackings.

It all started when school pupils got onto the political platform. The brutalisation and, indeed, the dehumanisation of disenfranchised people took a turn for the worse.

Whatever organisation was responsible for the mass mobilisation of blacks, it had the effect of eroding the very basic tenets of our social fabric.

Boycotts

The desire to enforce collective bargaining gave birth to politics of coercion. Those that did not heed consumer boycotts were either sjamboked or forced to drink cooking oil.

Enter the era of "targets" where youths had the audacity to demand registration papers of cars parked in yards. Even if one was able to produce them, the car was forcibly taken.

A culture of violence was emerging.

Enter necklacing. Many of the perpetrators were kids when things exploded on June 16 1976.

Death became a common feature in the townships. Psychologically the kids themselves were

brutalised. How else can one explain the macabre death dance of children around the smouldering body of a necklaced victim?

We became a dehumanised people.

The collapse of education only helped to exacerbate the situation. It introduced a culture of defiance and ill-discipline.

Invariably, crime became an appealing proposition for many dropouts. With unemployment wreaking havoc, especially since the introduction of comprehensive sanctions in 1986, crime was the only outlet.

It was a way of getting back at the system. Politicised and radicalised, these criminals are more vicious and deadly - and they have access to AK-47s.

Economy

It is not that township tsotsis are not aware that they are wreaking havoc on their equally oppressed compatriots.

The economic stagnation is making them operate indiscriminately. Their cumulative terror has the capacity to result in areas like Soweto not receiving supplies.

It will get to a point where certain houses will be selected randomly and robbed. This is coming. The fear of people to buy new cars will also impact on the economy, making the situation even more desperate.

Education

Unless social issues such as the education crisis are attended to immediately, the townships will sink further into the abyss of lawlessness.

Not even a post-apartheid government will be able to break this circle of violence. A violence that is as scary in its magnitude as is black-on-black violence.

It makes me wonder about the journey into the new South Africa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

24 April 1991

ANC strategy

AFTER demanding that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, must go, the ANC is to go the whole hog and will demand that the whole government resigns.

Not now, however.

The government must resign only at a time designated by the ANC in terms of its strategy.

First there must be the removal of obstacles.

The government is obliging on that score.

Then comes an all-party congress at which the ANC will point out that it wants State President De Klerk and his government to resign as they cannot be "both player and referee at the same time".

The government, according to the ANC, will have to suspend the constitution and create an interim government that will rule by decree.

After that, an election will be held for a Constituent Assembly, which will decide the constitution.

The Constituent Assembly, in accordance with the Namibian example, will reconstitute itself as a National Assembly and the ANC, which hopes to win the election to the Constituent Assembly, will be the government.

It's all rather plausible.

Since the government has abandoned the apartheid policy which has been in force since 1949, why not abandon its right to rule as well?

We think the ANC is expecting too much.

It's one thing to accommodate its wishes on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and other matters raised by the ANC as obstacles to the negotiation of a new South Africa.

It is quite another to expect the government to abdicate and virtually hand the country over to the ANC.

Some ANC spokesmen have been pushing the idea of a Constituent Assembly for some time.

The campaign is beginning to surface abroad as well.

In an open letter to British Prime Minister John Major, the Anti-Apartheid Movement urged him to encourage Mr De Klerk to agree to the ANC's demand for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution.

It also asked Mr Major to urge Mr De Klerk to make way for an interim government to preside over the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

We can expect that the ANC's demands will be taken up by other organisations, by sympathetic countries and by the United Nations, where a resolution on the lines of Namibia's Resolution 435 will no doubt be passed, calling for the election, under Untag supervision, of a Constituent Assembly.

South Africa, unlike Namibia, is a sovereign, independent country, however, and we doubt that such interference in our domestic affairs will be accepted by the Western powers.

But one cannot be certain of what will happen. That is why it is necessary for Mr De Klerk to spread the gospel abroad of the new South Africa that is about to dawn in a manner determined by him and his government — and that means negotiation of a constitution at a conference of all interested parties.

Thus far, he is undertaking this task with consummate skill.

At home, the ANC is roping in Cosatu, individual trade unions, radical organisations and liberal hangers-on in support of its demands.

We can expect mass mobilisation, stayaways, strikes and boycotts as the time comes for the ANC to demand the government's resignation.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, says the "government stands firm by its position against a Constituent Assembly elected on a simple majoritarian basis, and also against an interim government, amounting to an abdication of power by the present constitutional structures".

On no account should the government compromise, for if it does, it will be virtually handing South Africa over to the ANC on a plate.

'Winnie in OFS on assault night'

By **Stephane Bothma**

A KEY defence witness told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday Mrs Winnie Mandela had been in Brandfort to rescue ailing social-welfare projects on the evening the State alleged she had abducted and severely assaulted four youths at her Soweto home.

Mrs Nora Moahloli was a second defence witness called to corroborate the alibi that Mrs Mandela had been in Brandfort on the evening of December 29, 1988, when four youths had allegedly been kidnapped from a Methodist Church manse on her (Mrs Mandela's) instructions before she and others had severely assaulted them.

Mrs Mandela and two others pleaded not guilty to the eight charges against them.

Mrs Moahloli, a teacher in Brandfort for the past 27 years, also handed in two documents in support of her testimony that Mrs Mandela had attended a meeting in that town on December 30.

A notebook, in which Mrs Moahloli wrote down important events and appointments — referring to a social project meeting in Brandfort on December 30 — and informal minutes of that meeting — listing the names of the seven committee members who had attended, were handed to Mr Justice Stegmann.

In the minutes, the name Zanile appeared, which Mrs Moahloli testified was what she called Mrs Mandela.

Mr Chris van Vuuren, for the State, pointed out to Mrs Moahloli that not once in the notebook or on the informal minutes, did the name Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Mandela or Mrs Nomzamo Winnifred Mandela appear.

Mrs Moahloli agreed.

She said Mrs Mandela had arranged in November 1988 to attend the meeting to discuss social projects, such as a day-care centre. Her attendance had been confirmed in early December.

She had no doubt that Mrs Mandela had arrived at her Brandfort home on Thursday, December 29 that year, between 10 and 11 pm.

Mrs Mandela had left Brandfort after lunch on December 31.

Explaining why she had signed a police statement on February 1 this year which stated that Mrs Mandela had arrived in Brandfort on December 28 and had left on December 30, Mrs Moahloli said it had been a misunderstanding between her and the policeman who had written down the statement.

She said she had been approached by the police who questioned her about the social projects Mrs Mandela had been involved in in the town.

"The policeman said to me 'On December 28, 29

and 30, Mrs Mandela stayed at your house'," Mrs Moahloli testified.

She had requested him to speak in English, not Afrikaans, and had also asked the policeman if the 28th of December had been a Thursday, because Mrs Mandela had arrived at her house on a Thursday.

The policeman had taken notes during their

discussions and Mrs Moahloli had been asked to sign the statement. After initially objecting, she had eventually signed it after taking the oath, she said.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for Mrs Mandela, indicated yesterday that he would not call the editor of the Sunday Star newspaper, Mr John Hildyard, and a reporter of the

newspaper, Ms Nomavenda Mathiane, to testify.

This decision had been taken after Mr Hildyard had refused to consult with Mr Bizos and also refused to disclose either the name of the reporter who had written an article about Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement in the crimes or the source of the article.

About Ms Mathiane, Mr Bizos said she had consulted with Mrs Mandela's legal team, but she would not be called because matters relating to an article she had written had been proved by other evidence.

Another Star reporter, Ms Pat Devereaux, was called by Mr Bizos to testify about an article she had written after inter-

viewing one of the alleged kidnap and assault victims, Mr Kenneth Kgase.

Ms Devereaux said Mr Kgase had been very reluctant to grant the interview and had not asked for any money. As far as she knew, he had not been paid by The Star.

The trial continues today with Mrs Moahloli still under cross-examination.

Wednesday 24 April 1991

THE CITIZEN

'Jackals' threaten to kill Mandela, Slovo, Hani

By Tony Stirling

A PAMPHLET has been circulating in the Western Cape in the name of an organisation calling itself the "Jackals" in which threats are made to eliminate Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, Mr Joe Slovo, the South African Communist Party general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, chief-of-staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and "the rest of you scum".

A copy of the document has been sent to newspapers by the ANC.

In it, the "Jackals" are described as a "nation-wide conglomerate" of South Africans and "lovers of SA with a message for you Communist idiots".

It said that while they may have taken the "puppet government and a gullible public" for a ride by making them believe that

peace was on the cards, they had not spelt out how the country would be "messed up" when it was run "by a bunch of idiots like you".

It said the "Jackals" would not give the Communists an opportunity to wreck the country.

"We are going to get the lot of you, starting with Mandela, Slovo, Hani and the rest of you scum."

It said that the Jackals were specialists in explosives, communications, survival techniques and weapons.

"We have the advantage. We are White," it said. "... if you thought the Wit Wolwe, AWB and the rest were bad, wait — that was a tea party".

"When we fight it will be to keep SA White. This is a God-given task and he is on our side," it said.

It also said the Com-

munist had succeeded in disbanding the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), Koevoet (the SAP anti-terrorist unit which operated in Namibia) and demoralising the security forces.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that the pamphlet would be handed to the police for investigation as a matter of course.

Police headquarters in Pretoria had not received a copy by late yesterday, while the security branch said at a senior level that it had no knowledge of an

organisation calling itself the Jackals.

Last year, after a spate of Right-wing terrorist incidents, the police succeeded effectively in halting the operations of organisations such as the Order of Death and the Orde Boerevolk, whose leader, Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is among those who has been released without charge in terms of the indemnity applicable to so-called political crimes committed before October 6.

Indemnity is no longer applicable.

Swazis grab ANC man on hijack charge

MBABANE. — Swazi land police yesterday confirmed that one of two men arrested after a taxi hijacking at the weekend, is a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Police said Mr Zwele Nyanda, who was arrested with another South African Mr Gabheni Mbokazi, was already known to Swaziland police after he shot dead Swazi football star Mr Mguyo David Zwane during an argument in Manzini in 1989.

Mr Nyanda was convicted but later freed on appeal and deported to South Africa.

Last weekend Mr Nyanda, Mr Mbokazi and two other men allegedly hired Manzini taxi driver Mr Phineus Simelane to drive them and two others to a destination near

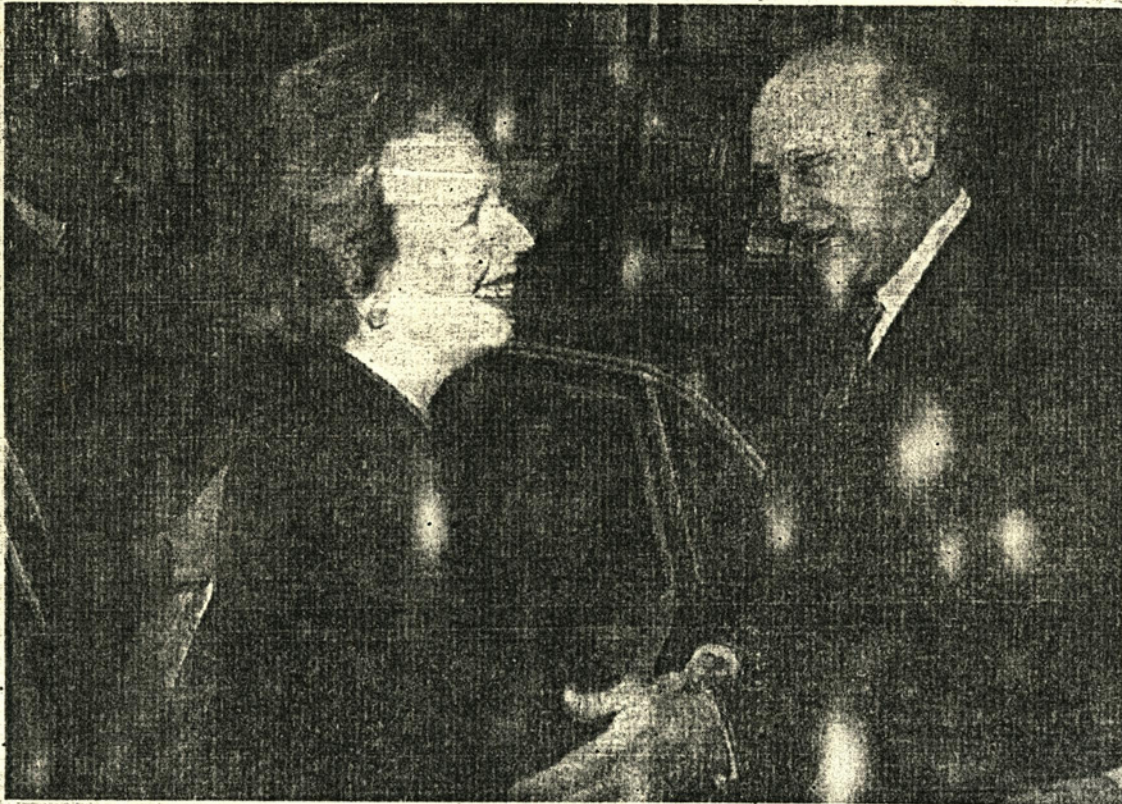
Manzini.

On the way they allegedly forced the driver into the boot of the car, robbed a store and then went to a Manzini shebeen.

On their return to the taxi they found the driver had escaped. Mr Nyanda and Mr Mbokazi sped off towards Mbabane and shortly afterwards were involved in a head-on collision.

Mr Nyanda and Mr Mbokazi were seriously injured, as were two occupants in the oncoming vehicle.

A police spokesman said Mr Nyanda and Mr Mbokazi would be charged with illegal possession of arms and ammunition, armed robbery and contravention of the country's immigration laws. — Sapa.



State President DE KLERK bids farewell to former British Prime Minister MARGARET THATCHER, after private talks at his London hotel yesterday.

Kinnock meets FW:

Citizen 24 April 1991

'Keep sanctions'

LONDON. — Britain's opposition Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock said yesterday after meeting State President De Klerk for the first time and listening to him, that he remained convinced it was still too early to lift sanctions against South Africa.

Mr De Klerk said the Labour leader had given him a friendly reception and that Mr Kinnock had been encouraging and

constructive about developments in South Africa and problems being faced.

Mr Kinnock, whose office made it clear he was receiving Mr De Klerk only at the President's request, said he had done so because the Labour Party

supported the peace process in South Africa.

"It wishes to do all it can to encourage successful all-party talks and the creation of a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa."

TO PAGE 2

Citizen 24 April 1991

R40-m mandrax: PAC man in Zim court

HARARE. — A former PAC deputy chief representative in Zimbabwe and a Pakistani appeared briefly in the Harare Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of illegally importing Mandrax tablets with a street value of Z\$40-million (R40 million), reports Ziana national news agency.

The case in which Ramudi Michael Maphai and Ali Shaukati are alleged to have contravened a section of The Dangerous Drugs and Allied Substances Control Act was remanded until May 7.

One of the members of

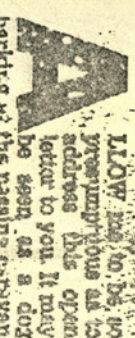
an alleged group of drug traffickers, Dawood

Mohammed Syad, an Indian national from Bombay, who originally appeared in court with Maphai and Shaukati, was last month convicted in the High Court and jailed for 18 years by Mr Justice Chinengundu, who warned that Zimbabwe could not be used as a conduit for drug trafficking.

Syad, who admitted being involved in a drug trafficking conspiracy masterminded by "drug lords" from Bombay, India, had imported into Zimbabwe 938 kg of

Mandrax tablets, allegedly destined for South Africa. — Sapa.

DEAR MR. MANDELA



LETTER TO YOU. It may be seen as a dog barking at the passing caravan — I can't pretend fully to understand the complexities of the present situation, my reading is prejudiced, and a letter is a poor substitute for helping to staunch the spouting wounds of our society — but everything must be done to alert as many people as possible to the consequences of state and communal violence. From the poor man's Belurt in the Reef townships to the mindless mayhem in the Cape's squatter camps, the killing fields of Natal and the much bigger explosion looming in the Eastern Cape, this country is at the point of tearing itself apart. Many anguished voices have cried out to warn that no political motive, no strategic advantage, no cause, and no strategic cause can justify our cynical indifference to the issue of death. This killing is not just mopping-up the attempts to negotiate a different kind of South Africa; not just voting society with its waste of corruption and revenge and beatality, we are also all being progressively brutalised and driven down the road towards the abattoir of a repressive state.

Now the ANC, by your hand, has belatedly spoken out, making future negotiations dependent upon a resolution of the violence. It is good that you recognised the urgency. Indeed you, Sir, would have had no further national role to play unless you were seen to be responsive to the agency of the population, and perceived to be effectively leading the ANC out of this vicious circle.

I notice that the government and those media which have always been white-skinned about black death, maliciously interpreted your letter as an admission of weakness; the result of internal strife, a spilling technique, it was to be foreseen that they would do so, and under other circumstances these would have been justified perceptions of the ANC's troubles. But they refused to read the reason for your letter: that nothing can be solved until the killing spawned by poverty and hatred — and the feeding of these — is stopped.

I have just returned from a few days in the Midlands region of Natal. I was taken for a drive through Klot and saw the most expensive properties in South Africa, a veritable paradise for the white rich on the heights above Durban. Then, within a stone's throw, as you dip over the crest you came to where the earth suddenly fell away and the rolling hills are clothed with the shacks of rural KwaZulu's poverty. Cattle wander over the road, and young unemployed men loiter against the wall of a splendid isolation of black holes, the first World, and the raw utility of a misery to subsistence living creak by now. More: this is a war zone, the

spine broken by internal contradictions and the weight of popular expectations. De Klerk is in the hands of the monsters created by a totalitarian, profoundly immoral state.

It is my conviction that the war never stopped. For the authorities, "negotiations" were a means of continuing their war of attrition against the population of South Africa. I believe there was never a "third force". From the outset Inkatha was intended as a national vigilante force. Now the government Broeders have stretched out hands, slippery with blood and crocodile tears, to hoist Buthelezi to national eminence.

Yes, the government may well win this war in the short term, wheeling out its Parliamentary Forum and joining up with Inkatha and dissident or corrupt black community leaders. They may destroy, as in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia, but ultimately they cannot construct; they cannot win the peace. You cannot rule against the majority. The government's "victory" will be pyrrhic, propagate the seeds of South Africa's demise.

It is the tightening of the heart, it is the vision of this death-in-waiting. Sir, that permitted me to write to you, to join my voice to those weeping in the townships. And to reaffirm, come what may, that your cause is mine also. If only you will lead.

With fraternal respect,
Breyten Breytenbach
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Breyten Breytenbach is an exiled Afrikaner poet and novelist.

ries of apartheid; and thus to start narrowing the gap between the starving and the stuffed, to create the conditions for democracy, to lay the foundations for a society in which we can take pride. That, to my belief and satisfaction, is what the ANC's constitutional proposals are pointing towards.

THERE must be local and regional and national elections; there must be an elected constituent assembly; there must in the meantime be a caretaking neutral authority, an interim government or some form of international supervision.

And all this can come about only through sustained popular mobilisation, participation — but let's please ban that disdainful 19th century terminology of "masses" — and brave and visionary leadership.

You may well ask why I didn't write this letter to President De Klerk? It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political, and human terms. I have no doubt that this present dissolution was programmed: judiciously controlling resources; profiting from a modified world environment; destabilising the population; vying for bogus "moral high grounds" (that coming from national death masters!); dragging out the process in the hope that the ANC will crack, in the "African way" along ethnic lines, its

pleasant recognition that the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation; that it still shows a hegemonistic drive back to intimidation; that it was never a vector for revolution. The ANC is a resistance movement fashioned from the suffering of generations; it is the only organisation capable of preserving and perhaps realising the dream of South African-ness. And it is in the process of feeling (and sometimes fiddling) its way to becoming a responsible political structure.

You must show us the way, Sir, by admitting that it is now counterproductive to be plaintively insisting upon sanctions in a world suffering from historical memory loss and a recrudescence racism, where money will always flow to where there can be exploitation. Why should we maintain the fiction and the absurdity of a cultural boycott which has seen the empowerment of mediocre cultural commissars and would-be impresarios?

We must all break loose from the ban of a culture of "security", secret brotherhoods and cabals, manipulation, arbitrariness, intimidation, cooption, elitism, indifference to human life and dignity... The government must not be given reason to believe you are like it. To enter into its cynical games is to betray your heart and deaden your tongue.

Somehow we must all inspire and articulate the national will: to stop the violence, to become productive and autonomous, so that we may be freed from the humiliation of hand-outs, to change those economic structures which are the beneficia-

laughed in the way only the bomb-shocked do. I learned that only the physical presence of a few concerned whites in the townships can prevent the police from initiating, aiding, and abetting the killing.

The ANC has been outmanoeuvred by the state. A senior minister remarks to me that, in the government's view, there is a vacuum below the top leadership of the ANC, and people lower down are only interested in making money. It must mean that the government has tried and is trying to co-opt you, thus hoping to split you from your followers. It is blackmailing you by locking you into the "objective conditions" of collaboration. A new South Africa is dangled before your nose, and the state president obstinately refuses to admit to the intrinsically criminal nature of the apartheid state and culture, which he is trying to rescue by dint of reform and international acceptance.

Can one blame him when "the enemy", the ANC, is so weak? You will lose nothing but dead illusions if you point out that the ANC is victim to its own propaganda and the creation of myths and aspirations that can never be satisfied, such as that there was an "armed struggle"; or the "necklace" could be a tool for liberation; the whites could be prevailed upon to "hand over power"; the world worries about our plight, and it owes us solidarity; or that which has died the death of ignominious conceptual and structural failure in Eastern Europe can be resuscitated here.

We must own up to the un-

visual manifestation of the heart of violence. With the naked eye one can judge where "Comrade land" ends and "Inkatha land" begins. On the one side the wasteland of roofless houses and burnt-out schools (their inhabitants now refugees elsewhere), on the other (of the same community) the maize patches and mango trees of areas where the rule of warlords hold sway. It was explained to me how one could sit on the privileged heights, in a grandstand position, and watch the Inkatha impis sweep down to "clear out" the Christians or communists, or trade union or civic or teachers' or students' association "scum". Kombis filled with firearms would speed along the ranks to deliver the instruments of killing. A helicopter with Chief Minister Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Vlok on board would whirr above the battlefield. "Bring me the evidence," Vlok would later say. And: "The ANC is the common denominator to all violence."

A GAIN and again I was given graphic descriptions of police collusion. A warlord would at last be charged with multiple murder, his docket would be "misplaced", necessitating a postponement of the trial, and the witness would be killed before the case could resume. In Harry Gwala's office, he of the paralysed arms, I met people who had just escaped a third assassination attempt by hit squads. I listened to the shrill tone in the voices of the survivors and the body-counters, those who got drunk and

(i)
DEAR MR
MANDELA
The
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Without fear of ridicule, the South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, stated last week that President F W de Klerk had conquered the "moral high ground" of his country's politics. Mr Botha also felt himself able to say that South Africa, by which he meant the government, had regained international respectability. At the level of conventional perceptions in Britain, indeed in the West at large, this is true — which is remarkable.

No less remarkable is the perception gaining ground that the African National Congress is an undisciplined rabble and that Nelson Mandela, today's visitor at 10 Downing Street, is a floundering figure incapable of controlling his youthful supporters, "black-on-black" violence and, of course, his own wife.

This situation is testimony to Mr de Klerk's political cunning and Mr Mandela's lack of it. For morality, as Mr Botha knows very well, has absolutely nothing to do with it. It has all to do with Mr de Klerk's skill at shaping public perceptions — a game the ANC does not even know how to play — and his ability to maximise his influence on South African politics.

No one has been more naive than Mr Mandela, who from the day he left prison, and virtually every time he opened his mouth during the next six months, described Mr de Klerk as "a man of integrity". Mr Mandela, and other "moderates" in the ANC leadership, took Mr de Klerk at face value. They believed that the government and the ANC would be equal partners on the voyage to the "New South Africa", that apartheid would go and they, as the natural majority party, would glide into power.

Last summer, when both men were in London, they were basking in a political honeymoon. Talks had begun, majority rule beckoned, it seemed to Mr Mandela. Members of the ANC national executive were returning home after long exiles and planning the carpets for their ministerial offices.

In one sense Mr Mandela's trust was not misplaced. Mr de Klerk will remove apartheid from the statute books. He will, when it suits him, release the political prisoners. But this was never the issue; he knew from the day he came to power that this was what had to be done.

South Africa is changing, but so far the ANC has been constantly outwitted, says John Carlin

The real issue was to retain power, to perpetuate white privilege and the economic status quo after apartheid had gone.

This was what the ANC did not realise. Or rather not "the moderates", the ones who until now have prevailed. The hardliners in the ANC leadership, on whom the government routinely vents its fury, are the ones who have counselled caution all along. The best definition of an ANC "moderate" is one who trusts the government, of a "hardliner" one who does not.

The moderates' first mistake was to convince themselves that the "armed struggle", international sanctions and internal "mass struggle" had bludgeoned

The National Party machine chose the moment to dismantle the apartheid laws

the government into negotiating a deal that would amount to an honourable transfer of power. Thus the alluring myth of equal partnership in the transition period, government at the end of it.

But that was not a correct reading of the balance of power. The ANC was dealing with a National Party machine that had been in power since 1948 and which itself chose, judging its own best political interests, the moment to set about dismantling the apartheid laws. Such an enterprise would mean next to nothing without a massive reallocation of state funds, as far as the day-to-day realities of black life are concerned.

The ANC's arrogance, as much as its naivety, blinded it to the fact that the scales were tipped heavily against it. It is true that when Mr Mandela emerged from prison in February last year, the ANC had far more numerical support than any

other political party or potential rival coalition. They almost certainly still preserve an edge, but the government is chipping away and come the first post-apartheid election in three or so years' time, few would now bet with total confidence on an ANC victory.

What does the government have on its side that so outweighs the ANC? First, it has a strong leader, a tight cabinet, a unanimous party. The ANC still has to transform a heterogeneous mass of people, joined more by what they reject than what they want and led by competing groups of former exiles, prisoners and "internal leaders", into a coherent political movement. It also has to indoctrinate its youth away from revolution to compromise.

Second, the government can manipulate the media which still gives far more prominence to white issues than to black. It has a virtual broadcasting monopoly through the SABC, which, transmitting to all races in all languages, remains as much a tool of government propaganda as ever; only, as befits the de Klerk times, more subtly so.

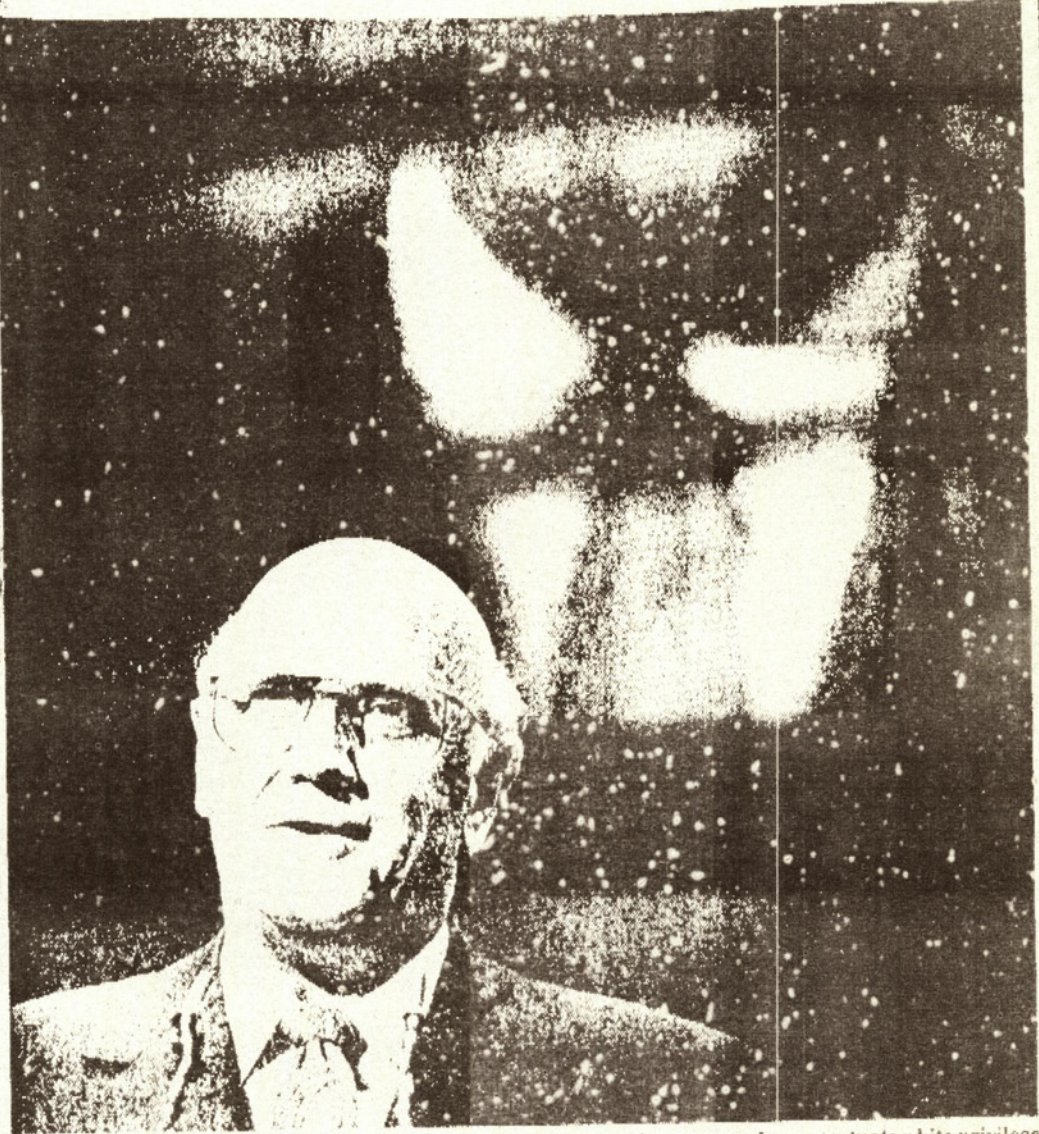
Third, and most important, the government has control of the security forces. That this, finally, is what gives Mr de Klerk the edge is demonstrated by the protests by the government against the recent ANC decision to set up self-defence units in the townships (even though the white suburbs are awash in private armies to guard against crime); and by Mr de Klerk's reluctance to fire his defence minister General Magnus Malan and the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and set about the purge of the police the ANC has recently demanded.

"Recently" is the word. In the past three weeks, the ANC has toughened up. The hardliners, conventional wisdom has it, have won out. That is not quite right. The hard line has won out. In the open letter to Mr de Klerk on 5 April, containing the demands for the ministers' resignation and the clean-up of the security forces, the ANC admitted that violence in Johannesburg's black townships during the past nine months, in which 1,500 have died, had caused them more political damage than all the detentions and imprisonments of recent times.

The letter went on to say that Mr de Klerk and his government

Wednesday 24 April 1991

Too clever for Mr Mandela



Mr de Klerk in London yesterday: the real aim for him was to retain power and to perpetuate white privilege

had encouraged the violence to discredit the ANC, rendering it impotent in the eyes of the black population, and preparing the ground for the National Party and its allies to persist in power. The ANC has not been able to prove that, which makes it look shrill and foolish.

But the police have been criminally lax both in hindering and prosecuting the storm-troopers of the anti-ANC onslaught. Inzatha. For Mr Vlok — who always blames the ANC, but never Inkatha — to say that the ANC cannot control its own

supporters is not untrue. Inkatha, the government's political allies of the future, started the fighting and the cycle of revenge set in. But this has only compounded the ANC leadership's problems. And whether Mr de Klerk has been unable or unwilling to get the police to act impartially, their actions and inaction have suited his strategic political interests.

The ANC realises it has acted with what it calls excessive good faith. Mr de Klerk, after all, has only been doing what politicians, not least National Party

politicians, have always done — everything they can get away with to obtain, or keep, power.

Now that the ANC has understood the game, it will attempt to restart it on different terms. The de Klerk-Mandela honeymoon is over. In alliance, as from only last week, with the more radical and uncompromising Pan-Africanist Congress, the ANC is digging in for a hard, unsmiling political contest. What is at stake is whether apartheid goes and everything remains the same, or whether apartheid goes and everything changes.

Independent Times - London
24/4/91



Fond farewell: Mr de Klerk says goodbye to Mrs Thatcher after a private session of talks in London yesterday

Mandela follows in president's footsteps

By DAVID WATTS
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

NELSON Mandela arrives in Britain today as President de Klerk leaves for Denmark but the deputy leader of the African National Congress (ANC) denies that he is trying to upstage the presidential visit. "It is pure coincidence," a spokesman at their London office said. Predictably, he will follow in Mr de

Klerk's footsteps by seeing the prime minister and Neil Kinnock, but less predictably he will also see his likeness unveiled at Madame Tussaud's. The main purpose of his trip, according to the ANC, is to see Oliver Tambo, the leader of the congress, who has lived in London since he had a stroke.

Taking advantage of his return from Japan, Mr Mandela will bring Mr Tambo

up to date on developments in South Africa and discuss the ANC national conference in June. Mr Tambo is expected to return to South Africa after medical treatment. Before he left Japan, Mr Mandela accused the security forces of conniving in the violence plaguing black townships and urged foreign governments to consult blacks before lifting sanctions.

Defence witness confirms alibi

FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS
IN JOHANNESBURG

A KEY defence witness testified yesterday that Winnie Mandela was doing social work with her when four youths were allegedly kidnapped and assaulted at Mrs Mandela's home in Soweto, outside Johannesburg.

Nora Moahloli, a school teacher, said she confirmed Mrs Mandela's alibi that she was 200 miles away in Brandfort when the four were allegedly attacked. "She was at my place," she said.

Mrs Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress deputy leader, and three co-defendants deny eight counts of kidnap and assault. Prosecutors say the defendants abducted four youths on December 29, 1988, and beat them at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mrs Mandela has testified she was in Brandfort with Mrs Moahloli from the evening of December 29, 1988 until new year's eve. She said she was doing social work in the town, where she was sent by the government for nine years for anti-apartheid activity.

Mugabe meets Pretoria official

FROM JAN RUTH
IN HARARE

PRESIDENT Mugabe of Zimbabwe has held his first known meeting with an official of the South African government since shortly after independence in 1980.

His discussions on Monday with Desmond Krogh, a senior adviser to the governor of the South African Reserve Bank, are seen as a demonstration by Mr Mugabe, previously Africa's bitterest opponent of apartheid, that he regards it as time to end the international isolation of South Africa, especially by the rest of Africa.

Dr Krogh yesterday said that the meeting, arranged at short notice, had been a private one and that he bore no message from either his bank or President de Klerk. But any doubts over the signals Mr Mugabe intended to transmit were dispelled by the treatment given to the meeting by the state press. *The Herald*, the main daily newspaper, carried on its first page a picture of a delighted Mr Mugabe, clasping the hand of the genial Afrikaner.

DEPENDENT - LONDON

Wednesday 24 April 1991

De Klerk rejects ANC call to resign

London — President F W de Klerk of South Africa yesterday rejected a call from the African National Congress for his cabinet to cede power to an interim government before multi-party talks on a new post-apartheid government, writes Sarah Helman.

Giving his first response to the proposal issued by the ANC on Monday, Mr de Klerk said: "We are opposed to the concept of an interim government if that means suspension of the present constitution and the creation of a constitutional vacuum." But he repeated assertions that his government was open to discussions about the form that negotiations should take during the transition period.

Mr de Klerk, who has been meeting politicians and bankers, stressed the need for economic development in South Africa well in advance of the dismantling of sanctions. He said investment was vital if political changes were to be achieved.

Meanwhile, Amnesty International has criticised Mr de Klerk, for failing to give a clear signal to security forces that unlawful killings and torture are unacceptable. Laws allowing detention without trial have not been repealed, lethal force is still used in crowd control, covert assassinations of government opponents continue, and there has been seemingly active collusion by the police with those attacking government opponents, the human rights organisation said.

Too clever for Mr Mandela, page 21

Mr de Klerk reacted strongly to the suggestion that his government is running behind schedule on its commitment to release political prisoners by the end of this month. He said that progress on prisoners and returning exiles was going according to plan. He denied the figure of 1,300 political prisoners quoted by one human rights group and said fewer than 200 were being held.

The Human Rights Commission of South Africa said that in July 1990 there were between 2,500 and 3,000 political prisoners in detention. About 200-300 have been freed in recent months. Mr de Klerk promised that targets for releasing prisoners would be met and that he would make a full accounting at the end of the month.

Mr de Klerk said that a bill would soon be published setting up a standing commission on violence, headed by a judge, which would gather evidence and take complaints. The national summit which he has called for May 24 and 25 would confirm that it was the responsibility of all leaders to bring the violence to an end.

Later, speaking to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Mr de Klerk rejected an interim government, but said he was prepared to consider certain transitional arrangements. "The government of South Africa has no hidden agenda. It is not seeking to secure any form of white privilege by stealth in the future of South Africa. The concept of democracy the government is committed to achieving is the same concept as that understood in the Western world."

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY APRIL 24 1991

De Klerk calls for trade to underpin reform plans

By DAVID WAITS, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT
AND GAVIN ZELL IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH Africa needs the removal of the remaining obstacles to trade to help build a "vibrant economy" to underpin change, according to President de Klerk, in London on a mission in search of investment.

"Economic development goes hand-in-hand with constitutional development ... Any new government will face high expectations and expectations are high ... constitutional reform must be underpinned by a vibrant economy," he said yesterday. The country needed a steady growth rate of 6 per cent to

keep pace with its population growth, to build the material and social infrastructure required by reform.

But Mr de Klerk was not revealing whether his meetings with British bankers and financiers had met with success, though he said that the removal of restrictions on trading in kruggerands and steel had helped to increase trade. In an oblique admission that South Africa was not yet seen as a worthwhile investment target in these recessionary times, he admitted that what his country needed most now was confidence.

"We don't ask for handouts; we don't ask for donations," he said. "We ask that all impediments be removed and then we have no doubt we will get a flow of private sector investment ... private companies are ready, willing and able to invest in South Africa." He confirmed that he had invited the prime minister to South Africa and that Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, would also be visiting shortly.

Mandela to seek new Moscow aid - Hani

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela would visit the Soviet Union soon to discuss new assistance agreements, ANC executive member Chris Hani said on United States television last night.

The chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, on a visit to the US, was speaking on the Washington-based Howard Television Channel.

He was questioned on the links between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP), the

American Communist Party's sponsorship of his tour, and on the relationship between the Soviet Union and ANC.

He said he was rather surprised that people were upset that he had been invited to America under the auspices of a coalition of anti-apartheid groups.

His relationship with the Communist Party was not the issue, he said. The ANC had been working with the SACP for more than 30 years. They had struggled together and had respect

for one another.

People should rather focus on apartheid which had oppressed people for so long, he said.

Mr Hani, also an executive member of the SACP, predicted that the party and the ANC would work closely to gether for a long time to come in order to consolidate democracy and independence.

The ANC retained a very close relationship with the Soviet Union. The Soviets continued to train ANC soldiers. He said the SACP did not threaten the interests

or security of whites in South Africa.

"We say the country belongs to all its inhabitants and we want everybody to feel free and comfortable," he said.

The SACP favoured socialism, but wanted to use democratic means to achieve this.

He said the main focus of his visit to the US was to tell people not to lift sanctions.

The reform process would be irreversible only when power had been transferred from the white minority.

ANC would free Winnie if she were jailed, says Hani

24/4/91
If Winnie Mandela were jailed, the ANC would release her immediately on coming to power, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said in Washington yesterday.

Sapa reports that Hani, who is touring the US at the invitation of the American Communist Party, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that the ANC believed Mandela's trial was politically motivated.

Mandela is on trial in the Rand Supreme Court on charges of assault and kidnapping. Hani said mass action would be triggered if she was convicted.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that Hani said there was no chance of the SACP becoming independent of the ANC until a new government was formed.

"For a long time now and after we are free, the party and the ANC will work together to consolidate democracy," he said in an interview with the Howard University television station on Monday night.

"We shall tackle the huge socio-economic problems together. There is no question of the party and the ANC parting in the near future."

Pressed on the issue at the Carnegie forum, Hani said that if he were asked to stand for election he would run for the ANC — despite his SACP membership.

"We are fighting for liberation. At this stage we follow the ANC totally," he said.

Despite events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, his Marxist convictions had been strengthened since he joined the SACP in 1961. Capitalism, he argued, was facing as great a "crisis" as socialism.

Conceding that "all of us were shocked" by revelations of what had happened in the Soviet Union, he asked the Carnegie audience to "sympathise with us".

Conditions for ANC/SACP cadres in the Soviet Union were such that "we were never able to make our own judgment".

In the television interview, he said the SACP's recognition that there had been "gross violations" in the Soviet Union was why it was now espousing "multipartyism and pluralism". He said it would not make the same mistakes when it ruled SA.

He said relations between Moscow and the ANC/SACP remained very good.

Asked to confirm that he had been invited to the US by the US Communist Party, he said he was there under the auspices of a "coalition" of anti-apartheid groups.

He suggested that he had no political ambitions of his own and that he was looking forward to returning to Transkei to become a teacher.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

24/4/91

ANC strategy

AFTER demanding that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, must be dismissed, the ANC is to go the whole hog and will demand that the whole government resigns.

Not now, however.

The government must resign only at a time designated by the ANC in terms of its strategy.

First there must be the removal of obstacles.

The government is obliging on that score.

Then comes an all-party congress at which the ANC will point out that it wants State President De Klerk and his government to resign as they cannot be "both player and referee at the same time".

The government, according to the ANC, will have to suspend the constitution and create an interim government that will rule by decree.

After that, an election will be held for a Constituent Assembly, which will decide the constitution.

The Constituent Assembly, in accordance with the Namibian example, will reconstitute itself as a National Assembly and the ANC, which hopes to win the election to the Constituent Assembly, will be the government.

It's all rather plausible.

Since the government has abandoned the apartheid policy which has been in force since 1949, why not abandon its right to rule as well?

We think the ANC is expecting too much.

It's one thing to accommodate its wishes on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and other matters raised by the ANC as obstacles to the negotiation of a new South Africa.

It is quite another to expect the government to abdicate and virtually hand the country over to the ANC.

Some ANC spokesmen have been pushing the idea of a Constituent Assembly for some time.

The campaign is beginning to surface abroad as well.

In an open letter to British Prime Minister John Major, the Anti-Apartheid Movement urged him to encourage Mr De Klerk to agree to the ANC's demand for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution.

It also asked Mr Major to urge Mr De Klerk to make way for an interim government to preside over the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

We can expect that the ANC's demands will be taken up by other organisations, by sympathetic countries and by the United Nations, where a resolution on the lines of Namibia's Resolution 435 will no doubt be passed, calling for the election, under Untag supervision, of a Constituent Assembly.

South Africa, unlike South West Africa at the time, is a sovereign, independent country, and we doubt that such interference in our domestic affairs will be accepted by the Western powers.

But one cannot be certain of what will happen. That is why it is necessary for Mr De Klerk to spread the gospel abroad of the new South Africa that is about to dawn in a manner determined by him and his government — and that means negotiation of a constitution at a conference of all interested parties.

Thus far, he is undertaking this task with consummate skill.

At home, the ANC is roping in Cosatu, individual trade unions, radical organisations and liberal hangers-on in support of its demands.

We can expect mass mobilisation, stayaways, strikes and boycotts as the time comes for the ANC to demand the government's resignation.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, says the "government stands firm by its position against a Constituent Assembly elected on a simple majoritarian basis, and also against an interim government, amounting to an abdication of power by the present constitutional structures".

On no account should the government compromise, for if it does, it will be virtually handing South Africa over to the ANC on a plate.

Last university apartheid law to be scrapped

By Brian Stuart and
Vivian Warby

CAPE TOWN. — The last apartheid restrictions on admission to South African universities are to be removed during the present session of Parliament, Mr Louis Pienaar, Minister of National Education, announced yesterday.

The move was welcomed by the Democratic Party, but condemned by the Conservative Party.

Mr Pienaar said legislation would be introduced soon to abolish Section 25 of the 1955 Universities Act, which provided for a so-called "quota system".

This would make universities completely autonomous in deciding the admission of students.

"In practice, quotas were never instituted. But the abolition of these provisions prove again the government's commitment to acknowledging university autonomy and to remove from the Sta-

tute Book all measures which discriminate on the basis of race," said Mr Pienaar.

Mr Roger Burrows, DP spokesman on education, said although the quota system had not been implemented, its provision on the Statute Book was always deemed a severe restriction on the academic freedom of the universities.

"Its removal will be welcomed," said Mr Burrows.

Mr Andrew Gerber, CP education spokesman, said Mr Pienaar's announcement meant the end of all apartheid at White tertiary educational institutions.

Over the years, Whites had given a particular character to their universities.

"This is a further step to deprive the Whites of their cultural heritage,"

said Mr Gerber.

"One may now expect that the composition of students and staff in the future will be a reflection of the population in the one, undivided South Africa as envisaged by the National Party and the ANC.

The White universities will, in fact, become Black universities.

"The CP rejects this step because it takes away from Whites, in an undemocratic manner, their established right to their own universities," Mr Gerber said.

Universities yesterday welcomed the announcement.

Although in practice quotas were never formally implemented by universities, the abolition of the provision was welcomed because it could not be applied in future.

The registrar of the

University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Ken Standenmacher, said students at the university had never been selected on colour, but on merit and potential.

He welcomed the abolition because there would be no source of concern that the provision could be applied.

Rand Afrikaans University Vice-Chancellor Professor Cas Crouse, said from the "word go" the university had not applied the quota provision, so it would not be affected by the amendment.

But the university welcomed the amendment.

University of Pretoria Vice-Chancellor Professor Danie Joubert said it was with "extreme gratitude" that the university saw the abolition of the Act.

The Committee of University Principals had in the past advocated that the provision be abolished, as it was totally unnecessary.

Director of Public Affairs at the University of Natal, Mr Dirk Kemp, said that abolition of the provision was "an important milestone to the restoration of full academic freedom".

University of Cape Town registrar Mr Hugh Amooore said he was pleased to see "a bad piece of law go".

It would, however, make no practical difference.

IT IS perhaps as well that the ANC's new constitutional discussion paper allows for a state of emergency. Any SA government elected under a system of straight, list-based proportional representation will probably need emergency powers quite soon after it takes office. The system might be fine for Western Europe, but for a society as deeply divided as SA it will serve only to promote descent towards authoritarianism.

So, cogently, argues Duke University's Prof Donald Horowitz, author of *A Democratic South Africa?*, and one of America's leading constitutional scholars. His speciality is devising democratic systems for nations racked by racial and ethnic conflict. While he believes the ANC's latest proposal is a significant advance on its earlier thinking, particularly the constitutional guidelines it issued in 1988, he still contends the movement is failing to address squarely the nature of the society it aspires to govern.

On the positive side, he finds that the ANC at least appears to be shedding its "Jacobin" tendencies. The latest proposal suggests that the organisation, or at least its constitutional committee, is "now committed to a liberal democracy with an effective, but not all-powerful government". The new emphasis on the "dichotomy between state and society" is another good sign, as are the references to a separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Horowitz is particularly pleased that the ANC is ready to consider a nationally elected president, rather than one chosen by the majority party in the legislature. He is also encouraged by hints that the ANC, in recognising the importance of regions, is shifting towards federalism. He is less enamoured by the concept of a House of Lords-style Senate with no effective veto over decisions taken by the National Assembly. In his view, full bicameralism on the

Pre-poll coalitions will be political cement of new SA

B. Day SIMON BARBER in Washington 24/4/91

American model offers far greater safeguards against majority tyranny and political upheaval.

Finally, he detects a ray of hope in the ANC's decision to favour proportional representation over the current first-past-the-post arrangement. By guaranteeing all but the tiniest minorities some role in the legislature, this at least indicates "an interest in accommodating racial and ethnic differences". For if the movement's sole ambition was to maximise the number of seats it stood to win, it would have gone for first-past-the-post which promises dominant parties a majority of seats even if they fail to achieve a majority of popular votes.

The problem Horowitz sees in straight proportional representation is that it will very likely result in a coalition government. If current polling data are accurate, the ANC will not be able to win an outright majority and will thus have to find coalition partners to form a government. This might be no bad thing if SA were a homogeneous society at peace with itself, but it is not. It resembles Nigeria and Uganda far more than it does Italy. In both the former cases, parties that won electoral pluralities entered into coalitions to take power and having done

so, tossed aside their partners and sparked civil war.

The key in divided societies is to find a mechanism that will return a majority government on polling day, but one that has a broad-based popular mandate. In a sense, it is a question of when the coalition is formed. If it is created before election and then receives popular blessing, it will stand a much better chance of surviving than if it is cobbled together as an electorally untested marriage of convenience afterwards.

The solution, as Horowitz personally advised the constitutional committee last December, is "alternative voting". Voters are asked to list their second and third choices from among the candidates or slates on offer. If no one receives an outright majority on the basis of first choices, the second choices, and if necessary the third ones, are counted until someone tops the 50% mark.

In circumstances such as SA's, this encourages competitors to forge compacts before the voting begins. For example, the ANC, knowing it could rely only on 40% of first

choices, would have to look around for a partner who would urge its supporters to list the ANC as their second choice. That partner might, for the sake of argument, be the NP or even Inkatha, each of which would be in a position to seek concessions from the ANC in return for their co-operation. In any event, an important degree of pre-election reconciliation would be required.

Assuming the ANC was successful in attaining a majority on the basis of second preferences, it would have to govern knowing its hold on power was dependent on the support of voters from outside its natural constituency, voters who could easily deny it support in subsequent elections if their wishes were not respected.

There also would very likely be elements within the ANC (the SACP, perhaps?) and whoever it reached agreement with who might reject reconciliation and conclude they stood to gain more by hiving off and campaigning on a rejectionist platform, perhaps in alliance with other rejectionists. Their departure would only enhance the centrifugal effect of the system, strengthening the forces of moderation and accommodation, and making centrists more reliant on each other, whatever racial or ethnic differences previously

had separated them.

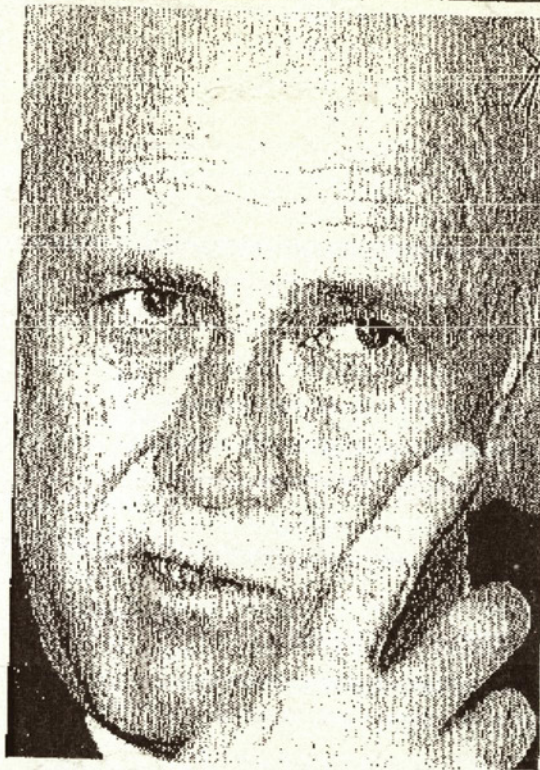
Horowitz disagrees that this procedure would conflict with the constitutional committee's understandable desire for simplicity. It need not involve immensely complicated ballots. As he sees it, voting would occur in large, heterogeneous, multi-member constituencies. Each candidate's name would have a party symbol next to it. Voters would mark the ballot with their preferences for each of the constituency's seats.

This would be more complicated, certainly, than the ANC's current one vote only criterion. However, it would also seem to deal with the committee's own admitted concern that the selection of successful candidates from a party-prepared list, rather than by the voters themselves, may vitiate the accountability of senators and assemblymen to their constituents.

By any standard, the modest increase in complexity is surely worth the extra trouble that might be required for voter education. The system Horowitz advocates, especially if used to pick a nationally elected president as well as a legislature, would, on its own — and without any recourse to the dismal "re-education" policies preached by Khasa and others — serve to create new patterns of political and social interdependence by making reconciliation and compromise the *sine qua non* for political success.

Though it sounds like motherhood (albeit motherhood constrained by what the state might choose to regard as the public interest), the ANC's current plan does not do this. The reason, perhaps, is the ANC is not yet prepared to abandon its ideology which holds that if only racialism and ethnicity were outlawed, utopia would reign.

Racial and ethnic — not to mention economic — division cannot be wished or coerced away. To that, the 4 000 who have died in recent unrest are surely testimony. Incentives, on the other hand, targeted at the ambition that binds all politicians together, might just work. Incentives are what alternative voting provides.



State President DE KLERK listens to a question during a Press conference in London yesterday.

Kinnock still wants curbs

LONDON. — Britain's opposition Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock said yesterday after a meeting with State President F.W. de Klerk for the first time and listening to him, that he remained convinced it was still too early to lift sanctions against South Africa.

Mr de Klerk said the Labour leader had given him a friendly reception and that Mr Kinnock had been encouraging and constructive about developments in South Africa and problems being faced.

Mr Kinnock, whose office made it clear he was receiving Mr de Klerk only at the President's request, said he had done so because the Labour Party

supported the peace process in South Africa.

"It wishes to do all it can to encourage successful all-party talks and the creation of a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa.

"In that spirit I urged Mr de Klerk to ensure that his government acts with urgency to remove the obstacles which are endangering prospects for all-party talks.

"In particular, it must ensure that all political prisoners are released by the agreed date of April 30, that the repressive Internal Security Act is repealed, that the police act impartially, and that the violence is tackled effectively.

"Mr de Klerk said he wanted to give me the facts about the situation in South Africa.

"Having heard his ac-

count I remain convinced that it is still too early to lift economic sanctions.

"Present economic sanctions are an important pressure for change to ensure that the Internal Security Act, together with the other obstacles to negotiations and the 'pillars of apartheid' are removed completely.

"Then further major steps toward constitutional reform must clearly be

taken before the most important forms of pressure are removed, and I believe that is well understood."

Mr Kinnock said the Labour Party was ready to see — and indeed wanted — sanctions to be lifted, "but not until more progress has been made."

"The onus is on Mr de Klerk and his supporters to see that it is.

"They have the power. They therefore have the responsibility."

Mr de Klerk told a news conference he had had a "very friendly" meeting with Mr Kinnock, though he didn't get the response he wanted.

In a lighter aside to the talks, sources revealed Mr Kinnock, a Welshman who is fanatical about rugby, said he couldn't wait to see the British Lions take on the Springboks in South Africa as soon as conditions were right. — Sapa.

Will protect Maggie

LONDON. — President F.W. de Klerk said in London his government would see to it that the African National Congress did not wreck former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to South Africa next month.

The president's warning to the ANC was delivered after he and Mrs Thatcher met for an hour at his Chelsea hotel to discuss developments in South Africa and details of her trip.

The ANC and Black opposition groups have threatened totally to disrupt Mrs Thatcher's visit because she had always opposed sanctions.

Commenting after their meeting, Mrs Thatcher said "We had very good talks and I am delighted that South Africa is well on the way to becoming a democracy and rejoining the international community".

Asked for her views on the ANC's plans to wreck her visit, she said: "I hope they will not do that".

Mr de Klerk added immediately: "We will see to it that they do not".

The anti-apartheid movement, Aestop, yesterday slammed the decision to grant Mrs Margaret Thatcher the freedom of Johannesburg and threatened to "mobilise our people to demonstrate their abhorrence" of the proposed visit.

In a Press statement, the organisation said its objections were based on two grounds.

Firstly, Johannesburg City Council had failed to consult Aestop.

Secondly, Mrs Thatcher "has been the most ardent supporter of the apartheid regime in the international community and has treated the views and aspirations of our people with disdain". — Sapa.

Hani threatens

FROM PAGE 1

ANC supporters were demanding action from the executive and that the organisation's leadership could not accept a situation where it lost credibility.

As for the crumbling sanctions against South Africa, Mr Hani said he could not understand why it was happening.

He added, however, that the ANC would appear over the heads of those governments to "democrats" to put pressure

on their respective governments not to reward Mr De Klerk.

Mr Hani said in an interview on CNN that the ANC would return to the armed struggle only if the government failed to resolve South Africa's problems.

"If we resume armed actions at all, we shall have been driven to that point because the government is not seriously trying to resolve the problems of the country.

"We are not threatening war... but the gov-

ernment has got to create a climate where we can sit down and talk."

Mr Hani said he could not comment on what the ANC would do if the government failed to respond adequately to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum.

However, he said that the ANC would mobilise the people in a programme of mass action.

The ANC has a "responsibility to fight for freedom and democracy" in South Africa, he said.

—Sapa.

Hani threat if Winnie is convicted

MR CHRIS Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), says the ANC regards the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela on charges of assault and kidnapping as politically motivated and will bring mass action if she is convicted, SABC radio news reported last night.

Mr Hani, who is touring the United States at the invitation of the American Communist Party, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington that if Mrs Mandela were jailed, she would be released immediately when the ANC took over.

Asked to comment on Press reports that Mrs Mandela had said in Soweto at the weekend that the ANC's takeover bid would begin on the May 9 deadline if Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Gen Magnus Malan had not been fired, Mr Hani said he would have to speak to

Mrs Mandela to determine what she meant.

He did, however, restate that the May 9 deadline for calling off negotiations if the ANC's demands were not met, still stood and that he regarded State President

De Klerk's attempts to convene an all-party conference on violence as denying tactics.

On the matter of the ANC setting up self-defence units, Mr Hani said

TO PAGE 2

FOREIGN NEWS

De Klerk sets out vision of 'new S Africa'

By Alan Philips
Diplomatic Staff

SOUTH AFRICA took a step closer to rejoining the community of nations yesterday when President de Klerk was given the platform of the Albert Hall to set out his vision of a new society free of racial discrimination.

Speaking to the Institute of Directors, Mr de Klerk outlined a "Manifesto for the New South Africa" based on the principles of one man, one vote, respect for law, and a market economy.

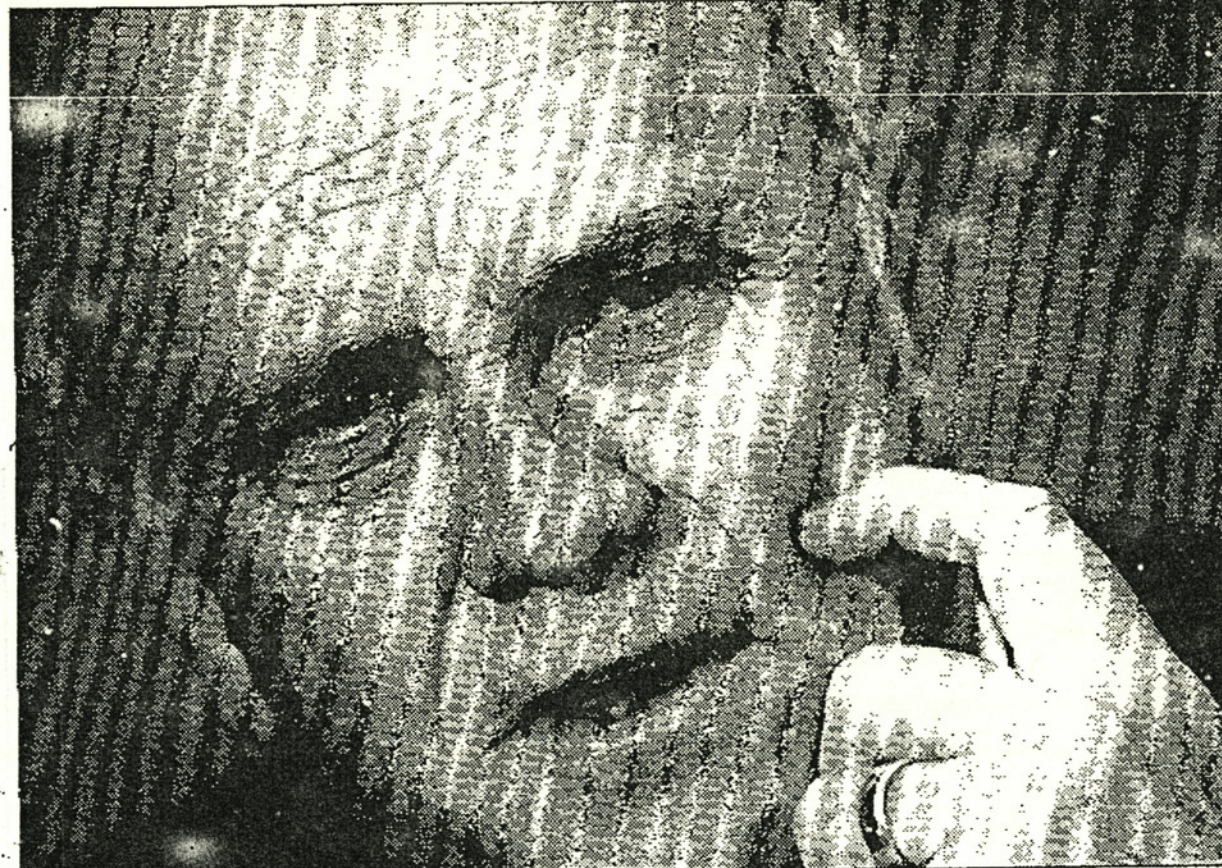
Mr de Klerk earlier disclosed that he had asked the Prime Minister to visit South Africa, an invitation which is expected to be discussed when Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, travels there in the summer.

Apparently with the cricket-loving Mr Major in mind, Mr de Klerk told a press conference that he was confident of the lifting of sporting sanctions and said: "I look forward to the day when a Springbok cricket team can take on the best England can offer at Lord's."

The President also had his first meeting with Mr Kinnock, a life-long foe of apartheid. He described the Labour party leader as "encouraging and constructive" about the changes in South Africa.

Mr Kinnock said later that it was too soon to lift sanctions, but he said a visit to the republic by Mr Major could play a useful role in promoting change.

Mr Kinnock's decision to meet the South African leader and his cautious endorsement of the Major visit underlined the recognition that Mr de Klerk is receiving for the dismantling of apartheid, which is expected to be formally complete by the summer.



Picture: KEN MASON

President de Klerk paints a picture yesterday of a resurgent South Africa if all sanctions are lifted

Mrs Thatcher, who is due to go to South Africa next month, also called on the President for an hour of talks.

In an upbeat mood, Mr de Klerk painted a picture of a resurgent South Africa buoyed by foreign investment if only the West would show confidence in him and lift the remaining sanctions.

"We do not ask for handouts. We do not ask for donations. What we need most is your confidence and that all economic impediments be removed," he said. "Then we have no doubt that

we will get the flow of private sector investment."

Mr de Klerk, who is also visiting Denmark and Ireland, has come to Europe in the wake of an EC decision last week to lift the ban on the import of South African gold coins, coal and steel. But his trip has been overshadowed by the continuing violence in the townships and the rift with the African National Congress.

Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy leader, is to see Mr Major today to put the case that it is too soon to lift

remaining sanctions because, in the ANC's view, Pretoria has failed to curb township violence, reorganise the security services or release political prisoners as promised.

● Roland Gribben, Business Editor, writes: Mr de Klerk told the Institute of Directors that South Africa would be unable to meet raised black expectations without foreign investment and a stronger economy. He said sanctions had restricted growth, and unrealistic demands could not be met by the economy in its present shape.

THE GUARDIAN
Wednesday April 24 1991

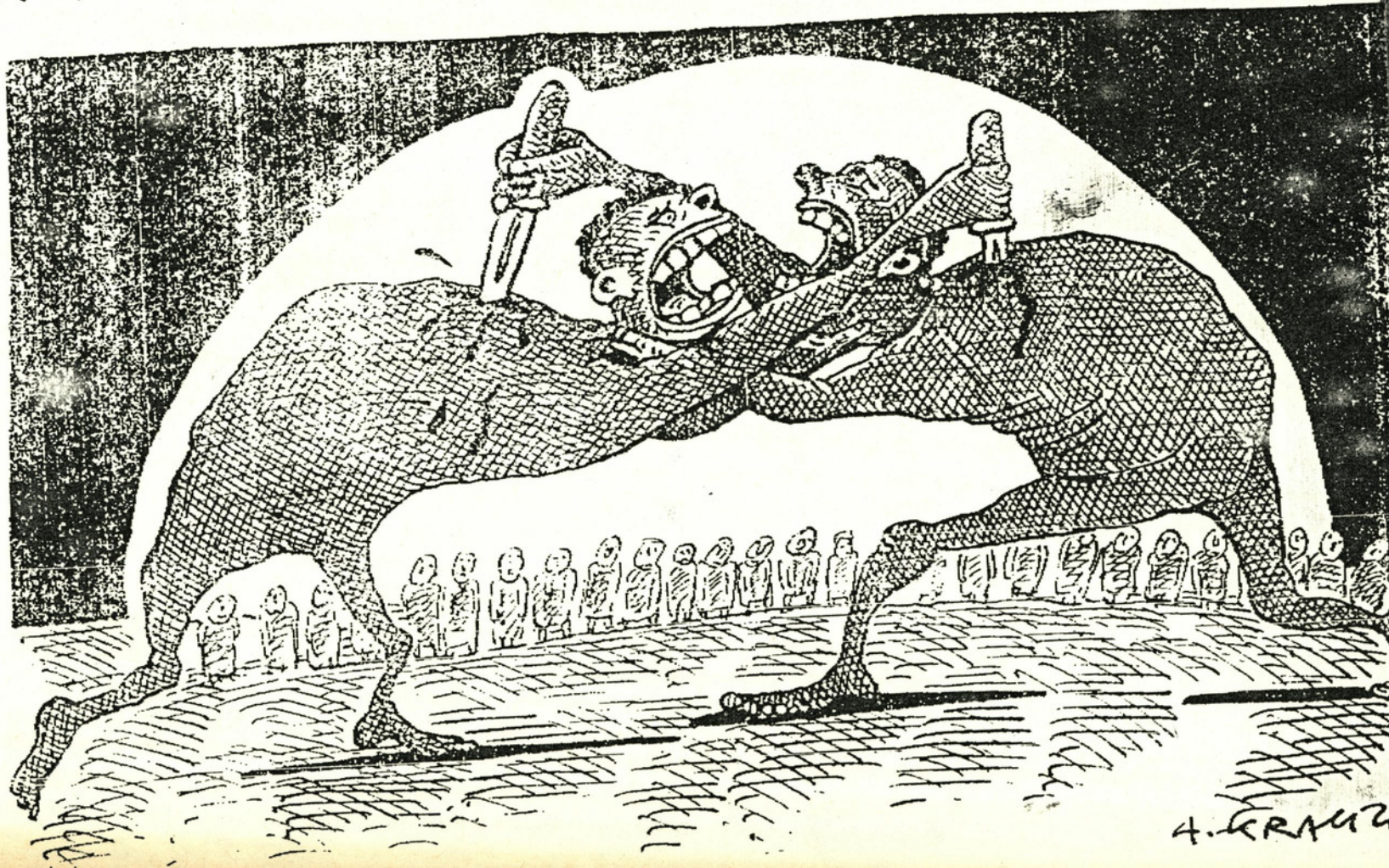
LONDON

COMME

An aide-mémoire for the ANC. A vision of death-in-waiting spurs Breyten Breytenbach to write to Mandela.

Taming the heart of violence

DEAR MR. MANDELA



Crucial talks

The Argus, Wednesday April 24 1991 19

with Danes

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, reports from Copenhagen

CONVINCING the Danes to drop sanctions now and give his reform process a boost was among the chief concerns of President F W de Klerk as he flew into Denmark this morning.

He — like the Danish Prime Minister Mr Poul Schluter who met him at the airport — is up

against 179 MPs who remain uncon-

DENMARK

vinced that going along with the European Community's decision to lift the ban on imports of South African iron, steel and Krugerrands is the right thing.

Mr Schluter's 59-seat Conservative/Liberal coalition backs the EC's position.

Observers say the remarkable thing about Denmark is that South Africa is a strong domestic issue and MPs voting against the lifting of sanctions are doing so in large measure because they believe that is what their constituents would wish.

Mr De Klerk must be wondering how he can reach out to change their minds on this one-day stopover.

He was to have lunch with Mr Schluter and Danish Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and then go into talks afterwards.

After a press conference this afternoon, Mr De Klerk addresses the Danish Foreign Policy Society at the Houses

of Parliament and then has discussions with prominent Danish editors.

The schedule ends with dinner with Mr and Mrs Schluter tonight.

Despite likely reservations from the Danes — the question of security legislation could well be raised again today — Mr De Klerk is almost certainly assured of a warm reception.

The Danes will be eager to encourage him to press on along the road to negotiations and the search for consensus with the black majority.

Mr De Klerk is buoyed up by the success of his two days in the British capital and although it will take some time to tell if his assurances have convinced British industrialists and financiers to come forward with fresh investments, he certainly won the political endorsement he sought.

His open invitation to British Prime Minister Mr John Major was not taken any further this time, but the Prime Minister will be sending Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd to South Africa soon.

Mr Major also gave sports unity talks the kind of nudge Mr De Klerk will have welcomed — an immediate grant for cricket equipment in the townships.

Mr De Klerk is anxious to pass rewards of political reform to the very people whose hardship and deprivation it is intended to address.

Hopes that South Africa is nearing a breakthrough on the international sports front have also been strengthened.

Mr De Klerk noted in London that this would make an invaluable contribution to reconciliation and nation building.

He got a rousing reception from the Institute of Directors yesterday and went out of his way to assure them their investments would be safe and profitable in South Africa.

He urged them not to be "mesmerised" by Eastern Europe and rather consider South Africa's "first class" infrastructure and abundant human and natural resources as big investment risk plusses.

His meeting with the bankers was behind closed doors, but he emerged from it feeling they were keen to invest as soon as conditions normalised in the country and he predicted investment growth in the months to come.

And, while his meeting with Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock evidently failed to convince this long-time critic of the South African government that lifting sanctions was the right thing to do now, Mr De Klerk was warmly encouraged, as could be anticipated, by former Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who joined him for tea.

Mr De Klerk returns to London on Friday for more talks.

Crucial talks with Danes



President F W de Klerk escorts former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher after her visit to the hotel yesterday.

The Natal Witness, Wednesday, April 24, 1991

Balanced outlook

IT really distresses me that the local South African Press, the International Press, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement all refer in future negotiations to the "Government and the ANC" as the only bodies concerned with negotiation for a democracy!!!

Whereas in effect the most important black personality, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his fine Zulu nation are the most important part of black South Africa and Chief Buthelezi is undoubtedly the only black leader who knows where he is going in future negotiations. And his outlook is balanced and fair!

If the press wants to get it right, it should refer over this matter to "The Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and lastly the ANC".

CRAIG ANDERSON

Bellewan Road, Pietermaritzburg

Dear Chief Buthelezi

29/4/91

The above appeared in
the Witness - it may interest you

yrs
Craig Anderson

IT IS perhaps as well that the ANC's new constitutional discussion paper allows for a state of emergency. Any SA government elected under a system of straight, list-based proportional representation will probably need emergency powers quite soon after it takes office. The system might be fine for Western Europe, but for a society as deeply divided as SA it will serve only to promote descent towards authoritarianism.

So, cogently, argues Duke University's Prof Donald Horowitz, author of *A Democratic South Africa?*, and one of America's leading constitutional scholars. His speciality is devising democratic systems for nations racked by racial and ethnic conflict. While he believes the ANC's latest proposal is a significant advance on its earlier thinking, particularly the constitutional guidelines it issued in 1988, he still contends the movement is failing to address squarely the nature of the society it aspires to govern.

On the positive side, he finds that the ANC at least appears to be shedding its "Jacobin" tendencies. The latest proposal suggests that the organisation, or at least its constitutional committee, is "now committed to a liberal democracy with an effective, but not all-powerful government". The new emphasis on the "dichotomy between state and society" is another good sign, as are the references to a separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Horowitz is particularly pleased that the ANC is ready to consider a nationally elected president, rather than one chosen by the majority party in the legislature. He is also encouraged by hints that the ANC, in recognising the importance of regions, is shifting towards federalism. He is less enamoured by the concept of a House of Lords-style Senate with no effective veto over decisions taken by the National Assembly. In his view, full bicameralism on the

Pre-poll coalitions will be political cement of new SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

American model offers far greater safeguards against majority tyranny and political upheaval.

Finally, he detects a ray of hope in the ANC's decision to favour proportional representation over the current first-past-the-post arrangement. By guaranteeing all but the tiniest minorities some role in the legislature, this at least indicates "an interest in accommodating racial and ethnic differences". For if the movement's sole ambition was to maximise the number of seats it stood to win, it would have gone for first-past-the-post which promises dominant parties a majority of seats even if they fail to achieve a majority of popular votes.

The problem Horowitz sees in straight proportional representation is that it will very likely result in a coalition government. If current polling data are accurate, the ANC will not be able to win an outright majority and will thus have to find coalition partners to form a government. This might be no bad thing if SA were a homogeneous society at peace with itself, but it is not. It resembles Nigeria and Uganda far more than it does Italy. In both the former cases, parties that won electoral pluralities entered into coalitions to take power and having done

so, tossed aside their partners and sparked civil war.

The key in divided societies is to find a mechanism that will return a majority government on polling day, but one that has a broad-based popular mandate. In a sense, it is a question of when the coalition is formed. If it is created before election and then receives popular blessing, it will stand a much better chance of surviving than if it is cobbled together as an electorally untested marriage of convenience afterwards.

The solution, as Horowitz personally advised the constitutional committee last December, is "alternative voting". Voters are asked to list their second and third choices from among the candidates or slates on offer. If no one receives an outright majority on the basis on first choices, the second choices, and if necessary the third ones, are counted until someone tops the 50% mark.

In circumstances such as SA's, this encourages competitors to forge compacts before the voting begins. For example, the ANC, knowing it could rely only on 40% of first

choices, would have to look around for a partner who would urge its supporters to list the ANC as their second choice. That partner might, for the sake of argument, be the NP or even Inkatha, each of which would be in a position to seek concessions from the ANC in return for their co-operation. In any event, an important degree of pre-election reconciliation would be required.

Assuming the ANC was successful in attaining a majority on the basis of second preferences, it would have to govern knowing its hold on power was dependent on the support of voters from outside its natural constituency, voters who could easily deny it support in subsequent elections if their wishes were not respected.

There also would very likely be elements within the ANC (the SACP, perhaps?) and whoever it reached agreement with who might reject reconciliation and conclude they stood to gain more by hiving off and campaigning on a rejectionist platform, perhaps in alliance with other rejectionists. Their departure would only enhance the centripetal effect of the system, strengthening the forces of moderation and accommodation, and making centrists more reliant on each other, whatever racial or ethnic differences previously

had separated them.

Horowitz disagrees that this procedure would conflict with the constitutional committee's understandable desire for simplicity. It need not involve immensely complicated ballots. As he sees it, voting would occur in large, heterogeneous, multi-member constituencies. Each candidate's name would have a party symbol next to it. Voters would mark the ballot with their preferences for each of the constituency's seats.

This would be more complicated, certainly, than the ANC's current one vote only criterion. However, it would also seem to deal with the committee's own admitted concern that the selection of successful candidates from a party-prepared list, rather than by the voters themselves, may vitiate the accountability of senators and assemblymen to their constituents.

By any standard, the modest increase in complexity is surely worth the extra trouble that might be required for voter education. The system Horowitz advocates, especially if used to pick a nationally elected president as well as a legislature would, on its own — and without any recourse to the dismal "re-education" policies preached by Idasa and others — serve to create new patterns of political and social interdependence by making reconciliation and compromise the sine qua non for political success.

Though it sounds like motherhood (albeit motherhood constrained by what the state might choose to regard as the public interest), the ANC's current plan does not do this. The reason, perhaps, is the ANC is not yet prepared to abandon an ideology which holds that if only racialism and ethnicity were outlawed, utopia would reign.

Racial and ethnic — not to mention economic — division cannot be wished or coerced away. To that, the 4 000 who have died in recent unrest are surely testimony. Incentives, on the other hand, targeted at the ambition that binds all politicians together, might just work. Incentives are what alternative voting provide.

SA can help regional economies, up to a point

Business Day 24 April 1991
GAVIN RELLY

ECONOMIC interaction between the countries of the southern African region is already substantial. Can and should this interaction be institutionalised, be it by means of a free trade area or an economic union?

The intense interest taken in Europe's progress towards a single market in 1992 has rekindled the enthusiasm for integration. We should, however, not forget that the EC single market is the outcome of some 40 years of increasing economic integration, whose progress has been by no means smooth and consistent. It is by no means certain that 1992 will signal the demise of West European economic nationalism.

That is not to say that we should not be examining measures to increase co-operation. Certainly, we could be considering harmonising investment codes or establishing common tariff barriers.

Beyond these measures, how easy is it to synchronise the economies of the region given the considerable differences in GDP size, and dissimilar manufacturing sector structures?

This is an issue for the economists to investigate further. On the political front, nationalism is an untamed force not to be forgotten.

From a business perspective, we need progress towards an enabling environment for business, rather than what may now be castles in the air.

SA may be the engine of the region, but it cannot be southern Africa's saviour. SA will have its hands fairly full with its own internal economic and social restructuring. However, that is not to deny that SA has a constructive role to play.

Firstly, a future SA could act as the entrance to the region for foreign investment. There are already signs that West European countries — in particular France — are considering SA, with its infrastructure, institutional expertise and financial institutions, for this role.

Secondly, virtually none of the 250 companies which disinvested from SA in recent years set up again in neighbouring countries. Does this

mean they will have to be wooed back via SA or can we get them to move directly to other territories?

Thirdly, SA could play a role in mobilising financial and human resources from outside the subcontinent, and provide a base from which technical, management and entrepreneurial skills, education and training know-how flows to the region. SA may become involved in World Bank projects in the region.

Fourthly, subject to the constraints alluded to earlier, SA's role could include providing exporters in neighbouring countries with access to the region's largest market, in addition to capital investment. However, SA has always been highly dependent on flows of direct foreign investment in SA itself, and this is a prerequisite for significant SA investment in the region.

Finally, SA has a core-developed

economy, but in its totality is a developing country. Its per capita GDP of \$2 300 rates it alongside Brazil, Algeria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Malaysia.

The mining, industrial and financial institutions trace their roots back to the economies of Western Europe and North America. Yet SA is unambiguously an African country. In mining and agriculture, the dominant sectors of the regional economy, SA has locally developed technical know-how. A number of collaborative undertakings are under way — including Cahora Bassa and the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. SA, Mozambique and Swaziland agreed in February to develop the water resources of the Nkomati River basin. How SA performs its role is as important as the nature of that role. If concerns over political assertiveness are replaced by fears of economic hegemony, all the economies of the region will suffer the consequences. South Africans from government and the private sector need to be sensitive to this

point — my feeling is that they are beginning to be so.

I very much doubt that we will witness economic miracles in this decade in southern Africa. There will be some but not enough dramatic industrial and commercial successes. For the most part our fulfilment will be the undramatic role of keeping things together, of building slowly, of resisting pressures to behave popularly but stupidly.

In southern Africa governments are embarking on a process of structural reform while at the same time seeking to raise living standards. What is required is an appropriate balance. It will be difficult, but by no means impossible, to resist the temptation to attempt to squeeze a quart out of a pint pot and thus by taking imprudent steps in the short run, ensure not only that the poor but the whole society gets poorer in the long run.

□ This is an extract from a talk delivered by former Anglo American chairman Relly to the Institute of Directors in Harare yesterday.

COMMENT

Help wanted

AS PRESIDENT de Klerk opens doors in Europe, it is too easy for well-wishers back home to slide into euphoria and think he is solving all our problems. The business community is likely to be more level-headed; it has watched the President make foreign conquests before, and has hardly been trampled to death by a rush of European or American investors.

Certainly President de Klerk is a key factor in changing foreign perceptions. He is the best ambassador this country could have; every politician or businessman who meets him goes away impressed by the man, infected by his enthusiasm and more understanding of this country's problems. President de Klerk, however, can no more command those problems to go away than he can command foreign investors or bankers to put their money at risk here.

Sanctions are only a small part of the problem, and a decreasing one. Of more concern to the presidential party is the domestic violence, partly political and largely due to recession. It is a vicious circle; while violence scares investors away, the economy stagnates, jobless queues lengthen and the violence escalates. Economic growth, boosted by an inflow of foreign funding, is the only way to dent the unemployment figures; it is a problem that, however much he charms people abroad, President de Klerk cannot solve there.

He needs help to solve it at home. That includes foreign and local

investors, business and government. It includes, crucially, the ANC. Everywhere President de Klerk goes, doing all he can to crank the spluttering economic engine into life, Nelson Mandela follows trying to pull out the spark plugs. Mandela's misguided message is that it is too soon to lift sanctions; reform is not yet irreversible and economic revival must happen only on the ANC's say-so. That is not having much effect on sanctions, which are going anyway, but it does little for foreign confidence in our future economic management or stability.

The ANC acknowledges the need for jobs, for economic growth and for foreign investment. It seems to think that these things will all happen, instantly and simultaneously, when it gives the word. They will not. Mandela should be out there too, urging trade links and job-related investment; he should be working at home for new business and for industrial expansion. He should be arguing for economic strength to break the cycle of violence, not in some idyllic future but in the imperfect present.

The time to restart the economy is now; it will take years to get results. If reform proves a chimera, a disenchanted international community will reimpose sanctions swiftly enough. But if violence makes the country ungovernable, there will be no investment, no economic growth, no jobs and no hope for President de Klerk or the ANC.

The questions are being put abroad, but the answers lie at home.