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| AN ALLEGED member of the

ANC has been arrested after  
being found in possession of  
an SADF uniform.

The man was arrested by  
members of the Montclair fire-  
arm unit while on his way to a  
rally at the Glebelands men'â\200\231s  
hostel, in Umlazi, on Sunday.

This is the third such inci-  
dent. in four days. On Thurs-  
day last week police -arrested  
two members of the ANC and  
took pî-\201efssion of two sets of  
SADF uniforms and a gun.

The next morning, mem-

bers of the Durban murder  
and robbery unit shot dead

Crime heponer

three robbery suspects â\200\224 one  
a member of Umkhonto we  
Sizwe â\200\224 and discovered part  
of an SADF uniform in the  
caravan in which they were  
hiding.

According to a Sapa report  
from Johannesburg, police ar-  
rested 60 ANC members and  
found a ceche of grenades,  
AK-47 rifles and ammunition  
during a search of two houses  
in Vosloorus on the East  
Rand on Sunday night.

ANC regional spokesmanâ\200\231

Ronnie Mamoepa had earlier  
claimed that police swooped

on a night vigil at the house of George Mashele, a member of MK, who was killed last week.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said a combined police and SADF patrol cordoned off and searched a section of the township after encountering a group of men who fled from their presence.

Their suspicions aroused, the police called for reinforcements, Col Malherbe said.

During the search, two hand-grenades were found behind a refrigerator and 15 rounds of AK-47 rifle ammunition in a hole in the garden of House 1016, Sotho section, Vosloorus.

An AK-47 rifle, a round of 9mm ammunition and shotgun rounds were found at another house in the area.

Col Malherbe said 60 men were found hiding inside and among houses in the vicinity. Some were under beds and others inside cupboards.

Police took the men, who denied any knowledge of the arms and ammunition, to the Vosloorus police station for further investigation.

Col Malherbe said Mr Ma-moepa's claim was typical of the organisation's smear tactics which were intended to cast suspicion on all police activities and so alienate them from the community.

'UN can provide support for the right options

HE UN Security Council  
meets tomorrow to help  
South Africa out of its cur-  
rent impasse. To most of the

permanent members, and sever-

al of the impermanent ones as  
well, this is not a proper use of  
the Council's time. Unlike the  
Balkan crisis, South Africa's  
problems do not constitute a  
threat to international peace.

Nonetheless, if UN Secretary-  
General Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
and the permanent members  
can keep their heads and  
hitherto they have this  
week's session should prove a  
valuable exercise. With all 19  
Codesa members, plus the nine  
African foreign ministers  
deputed by the OAU, having the  
right to speak, the super-theatre  
will be unedifying. Be-  
neath the surface, however, im-  
portant business should be  
transacted.

The principal function of the  
meeting and of the resolution  
that emerges from it must be to  
restore the primacy of those  
within the ANC alliance, princi-  
pally, one assumes, president  
Nelson Mandela, who wish the  
Codesa process to succeed

along the lines the parties have -

mapped out for themselves.

Seen from this remove, the  
collapse of Codesa II and the  
post-Boipatong hysteria are a  
symptom of the quite under-  
standable difficulty the ANC is  
having in making the transition  
from liberation movement to  
political party, from strugglers  
to electoral competitors within  
a constitutional framework.

The nature of the difficulty is  
illustrated by a couple of draft  
papers allegedly prepared for  
the SACP's June 20 consulta-  
tive conference. The authentic-  
ity of the first has been  
established. The second, which  
landed on my desk last week,  
may be genuine but could  
equally be a plant. Whatever its  
provenance, its analysis seems

acute.

The author contends that there are now three basic â\200\234strategic outlooksâ\200\235 within the liberation alliance. The first, which he describes as â\200\234Donâ\200\231t rock the boatâ\200\235, sees â\200\234the path to democratisation as depending primarily upon negotiated pacts between elites. Elites deliver their constituencies. The job of constituencies is â\200\234to be delivered.â\200\235

â\200\234This perspective is grounded

on the assumption that there is essentially a strategic convergence between responsible leaders on the side of both the regime and the national liberation movement. This â\200\230moderate centreâ\200\231 must be allowed to congeal, it must be given the space and time to get on with the task.â\200\235

The second outlook the author calls â\200\234Turning on the tapâ\200\235, and â\200\234essentially a militant version of the firstâ\200\235. Under this approach, mass action is conceived as a tool of the negotiating â\200\234eliteâ\200\235 to strengthen their hand at the table. Like the first strategy, option two is said to appeal to those who view the ANC as a â\200\234government in waitingâ\200\235 and who â\200\234see themselves as future bureaucratsâ\200\235 when the waiting is over.

This â\200\234begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform narrowly into an electoral machine. Once more mass action will be confined to periodic spurts, this time in elections â\200\224 yet another: version of turning the tap on and off.â\200\235

The third strand is â\200\234The Leipzig wayâ\200\235 â\200\224 the mobilisation of

truly spectacular demonstra-

tions of the kind that brought down East Germanyâ\200\231s Erich Honneker in 1968. This, says the author, is preferable to methods one and two â\200\234in principleâ\200\235 and enjoys considerable support among less sophisticated, grass-roots comrades. The trouble is in the practicalities: â\200\234How realistic is this option?â\200\235

Not very, in the author's view.  
Internationally, as we know,  
there has been a very rapid and  
absolutely radical change in the  
balance of forces. It was essen-  
tially this fundamental change  
that allowed mass demonstra-  
tions in Leipzig and Prague to  
act as catalysts for the rapid de-  
mise of governments. However,  
that same change has meant  
that the world balance of  
forces is now foursquare be-  
hind negotiated transitions, and  
thus entirely unfavourable to  
mass insurrection in South  
Africa.

Nor is the Government and its  
repressive machinery about  
to fold. To the contrary, devel-  
opments since 1989, particularly  
the disengagements from Ango-  
la and Namibia, have parseem-

ically (sic) relieved the pressures

on the SADF. Today, there are  
almost certainly more guns in

the hands of the popular masses  
... than ever before. But we are  
further (and we are arguably  
never that close) from insurrec- |  
tion than we were three or four  
years ago. -

There are several further  
problems with the Leipzig op-  
tion. One is that it will only suc-  
ceed in winding the masses  
up and then demoralising  
them when it does not bear the  
expected fruit. Second, be-  
cause the insurrectionary logic  
tends to be one of disengage-  
ment from a negotiations pro-  
cess, it is liable to open the way  
to the regime unilaterally steer-  
ing the process of  
transformation.

A third problem, and this  
seems a particularly interesting  
point, is that the insurrection-  
ary orientation has already  
tended to become an elite, con-  
spiratorial fixation among cer-  
tain groupings within the all-  
iance, most notably the Youth  
League, proponent of the Liep-  
zig variant it calls the ex-  
tended political strike. In other  
words, the author suspects that  
the third option's principal  
backers may see it as much as a  
means of seizing control of the  
liberation movement as of over-

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root of the present  
e ANC who

has run into an ideolo  
breakdown.

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If Mandela is the statesman  
he is billed as, this iswl;y he has

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appealed to the UN.  
Simon

What is needed now is to help  
the proponents â\200\230of option on

even two, re

hand. This is

Council Â¢

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Whoever wrote the paper, its

analysis, albiet mechanistic  
makes sense. It sug

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of their constituents and their

fact, rather than the Government's overweening constituents. The Council, as the offi-

tional demands and failure to control its police

the the

ought to be fairly obvious anyway, namely that the ANC front, having failed to win a Sandinista-like ousting of the existing is flying apart at the seams. This cial voice of the international community, can contribute to that. It can also indicate that there are limits to what the ANC can reasonably expect the Government; to concede.

throwing the government.

powers,

obstacle to a peaceful

future for South Africa

Security Council debate initiated by  
Madagascar on the supposed threat to

peace from violence in South Africa. Mr Mandela is not the reasonable man he sounded when he left prison. The South African Communist party dominates the thinking of its ANC ally. Two months ago it was decided that negotiations for a peaceful transition to a democratic constitution would foil the constant ANC goal of single-party rule. Intimidation by burning-klace killings has returned. Even if it is not always behind inter-black killings the ANC encourages (them while blaming the government. The respected Judge Goldstone's independent commission has been joined by the Indian former chief justice Mr P. Bhagwati, a man of high integrity sympathetic to the ANC. The commission also contains Dr Peter Waddington, a criminal law expert from Reading University, and is helped by two Scotland Yard inspectors. The high status of the commission, in and outside South Africa, renders attacks on its conclusions more damaging to the dissenters than to the commission. To the chagrin of the ANC the commission did not blame the government for June's Boipatong massacre, although it criticised the failure to implement two recommendations: banning all-male Zulu hostels in which anti-ANC passions are fomented and the carrying of traditional Zulu weapons. All-male Zulu hostels will cease but it is hard to persuade Zulus to abandon their spears when ANC supporters are plentifully armed with guns.

Nelson Mandela tomorrow joins the UN

17.

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The ANC poses with some international success as the sole player with the government. Actually the Conference to Democra-



tise South Africa (Codesa) has 19 members. Nine broadly back the government's position, nine follow the ANC, and the one other, the party of Denis Worrall, former South African ambassador to Britain, acts as a bridge between the two main groupings. There are five million whites, 325 million Coloureds and one million Asians. Out of the 21 million blacks, 5.5 million are Zulus and several million others live in the semi-autonomous regions such as Bophuthatswana. The ANC is desperate for "mass action" while it still has arms from the ex-communist European states and before its popular base is eroded. Increasingly its black supporters fear losing the highest standard of living for blacks in the whole of Africa through ANC-engendered chaos. Amazingly, the boldest are joining the governing National party, which has just opened its first regional party in a township.

beaten 1-0 last week in Durban by a South African side with two whites, one Coloured and eight blacks. When the ANC demanded an Olympic ban on South Africa, Cameroon, assuming this would be the wish of the ANC and believing it was the voice of the blacks, at first called the visit off. Bowing to black outrage Mr Mandela had to beg Cameroon to reinstate it. All races are sports mad and intensely proud of any South African international success. They fear single-party ANC rule would wreck sport, too. The ending of talks on a democratic constitution protecting the rights of all minorities, plus the hope of a bloody overthrow of the government, is the ANC's last throw. Duped blacks in the United States, and well-meaning churchmen and others elsewhere not hot on the facts, still think the ANC is entitled to run South Africa. Fewer and fewer think that in South Africa, where the ANC is increasingly seen as standing for the antiquated type of communist regime now deposed and discredited throughout the civilised world. Unless the ANC and its communist allies stop inciting inter-racial violence and return to the negotiating table quickly to help achieve a truly democratic constitution, they will be killed off as surely as the Communist party in the Soviet Union, though their death throes could cause widespread killings and desolation. At heart Mr Mandela is a good man: he must now free himself from the Juppel role assigned to him. Britain, embedded in the commerce and industry of South Africa, should help him proclaim the disastrous effect of the withdrawal of foreign

Cameroon's remarkable soccer team was

investment if the ANC does not change course.

ANC keeps  
door to-talks  
open after  
UN concern

FROM MICHAEL HHAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

THE African National Congress has not abandoned talks towards a new constitutional structure for South Africa, according to Nelson Mandela, its president. Before leaving for New York last night, Mr Mandela told a black newspaper that the armed struggle and the sanctions campaign were things of the past,

the centre of interest has moved to New York, where tomorrow the United Nations Security Council is expected to debate the violence in parts of the country and the impasse in negotiations

R. F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, left for New York on Sunday saying that, though the country's problems were not likely to be solved at the UN, the international interest was welcome. All 19

groups represented at the

convention for 2 Democratic South Africa (Codesa) have

been invited to make representations. Mr Mandela has also been invited to address the [Democratic Party convention in New York] interpreted here as a snub for the Republicans, and a protest against President Bush's South African policy.

Mr Mandela told The Sowetan, the daily paper most widely read by Johannesburg blacks, that the ANC had left the armed struggle behind to try the way of persuasion, discussion, criticism, but that if that failed "we are not prepared to sit back and fold our arms". He was referring to the campaign of mass action

that is under way and that reaches its climax in two weeks' time with a planned seven-day general strike.

In his most recent letter to Mr Mandela, President de Klerk made much of the fact that the ANC is dominated by the firebrands of the Communist party and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). The reality is slightly more complex

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Having discovered mass action, the ANC now sees it as a useful tool for giving a voice to those without one, and for creating organisational structures to ensure eventual victory in an election. How the tool should be used is a subject of debate. A number of militants, according to the Weekly Mail, want to take mass action to its limits and seize power. There are also leaders who use the language of insurrection, but are said merely to be trying to mobilise support for the campaign

A discussion document describing various strategies has been furnished to the Weekly Mail. The Leipzig option is commended by the document, but ultimately rejected because the time is not yet ripe. The Leipzig option has been associated with Chris Hani, secretary-general of the Communist party, and is named after the mass movement that brought down the communists in East Germany.

"The document is called 'The Boat, the Tap and the Leipzig Way'. The boat refers to those who do not wish to rock the boat, who seek democracy through negotiated pacts. This view has been credited to Thabo Mbeki, ANC international affairs director.

The 'tap' option is a more militant version of the boat: mass action should be used to

win concessions at the talks,  
and then turned off again. It  
can be used periodically to  
support demands. Backers of  
the "tap" option are said to  
include Mr Mandela and  
Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC  
secretary-general,

Woodrow Wyatt, page 14

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday 14 July 1992

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London,

Plan for general strike brings 'no work, no pay' threat from business

ANC shows muscle with  
march on De Klerk office

Patrick Laurence  
in Johannesburg

THOUSANDS of black

workers yesterday

marched on the Union Buildings

in Pretoria where President F. W. de Klerk has his office, in support of African National Congress demands for the immediate installation of a government of national unity and the election of a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

The march was part of the ANC's campaign of mass action and served as a prelude to stronger ANC displays of street power: tomorrow's occupation of selected government buildings and the start of a general strike on August 3.

A memorandum in support of ANC demands was handed to a senior government official by Sam Stulowa, a deputy president of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Stulowa, speaking at the

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|

Union Buildings, called on workers to stay away from

work on August 34 and to

' march on and blockade city

centres on August 5.

Mr Stulowa appealed to the

marchers to prepare for the

| strike by making townships

â\200\234no-goâ\200\235â\200\235 areas for the police

| Residents, he said, should build  
; barricades in the townships on

August 1-2, to preempt police  
intimidation.

Meanwhile, members of the  
government's Internal Stability  
Unit kept a watchful eye on the  
march by black workers, who  
passed by statues of past Afri-  
kaner leaders.

The march coincided with ur-  
gent discussions between top  
business and trade union repre-  
sentatives in Johannesburg.  
The talks came after an ap-  
proach to Cosatu by the Co-or-  
dinating Committee on Labour  
Affairs â\200\224 which represents 10  
large corporations â\200\224 armed at  
averting the strike.

A Cosatu compromise offer  
was discussed yesterday: to  
scale down the proposed strike  
from five to two days in return  
for the closure of offices and  
factories by businessmen for  
two days and their support for

the immediate establishment of |

stituent assembly by the end of |

the year.

At a meeting with the ANC  
last week, businessmen took a  
hard stand, warning that the  
general strike would provoke a  
â\200\234no work, no payâ\200\235 response  
and that striking workers  
risked â\200\234disciplinary actionâ\200\235,  
possibly a euphemism for dis-  
missal.

Businessmen seemed unlike-  
ly yesterday to agree to close  
their businesses on August 34.  
Their representatives had pro-  
posed joint peace rallies with  
the ANC and its allies as an al-  
ternative to a general strike  
and pledged that business  
would use its influence to accel-  
erate the transition from racial  
oligarchy to non-racial

democracy.

The ANC and its allies might, however, be looking for a compromise formula to avoid having to fulfil their threat of a week-long general strike.

Last weekend, Archbishop Desmond Tutu cautioned against the dangers of a week-

al

| long strike, warning that it |  
an interim government and | could precipitate violence by  
non-racial elections for a con- { â\200\234hangers-on and evil men" and

might run into resistance from

| workers in the midst of |

recession. f

But unresolved labour disputes involving hospital workers, black journalists at the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation and motor industry workers yesterday threatened to make compromise difficult.

Three nursing sisters died from burns at the weekend after their home was petrol-bombed last week, the superintendent of Baragwanath Hospital, near Soweto, said yesterday. The women, who had refused to join the strike, were allegedly attacked by militant members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union.

The union, which has threatened to blockade hospital entrances if dismissed workers are not reinstated by July 17, yesterday joined forces with striking black journalists in a joint march in Johannes-

burg.

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Inquiry to hear  
evidence on  
Inkatha attacks

tying, of being comrades  
AYOUth tells of the (ANC street activists) and

inri ere told they were dogs  
train ride that ended e R

in the deaths of his As dusk came down & man

: ; riding a bicycle arrived on  
two friends, writes the scene carrying a bag. Ae

A a . distributed guns to the large  
Victoria Brittain crowd which by then encir-  
cled the boys.

â\200\234We were taken outside  
THREB months ago Lebo- | and ordered to stand as Mf we

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gang Motlounge, aged 18, | were going to race. We  
set out onÂ¢ afternooon | started to run and then the  
with a schoolfriend, Morena | shooting began,â\200\231â\200\235â\200\231 he ex-  
Simon Hadebe, and two other | plained. The four boys scatted.  
boys from the East Rand | tered in terror. Two dead,  
township of Katlehong to | two wounded were not statis-  
visit Morena's uncle, now | tics to make international  
his grass and play on the | news. !  
snooker table in his garage. Lebogang and the other |  
By that night Morena and | youth to survive, Solly Ngu-  
one other youth were dead, | benl, are among the rare vic.  
and Lebogang had two bul- | tims who have been willing  
Jets through his chin and his | to speak out after the train  
shotter, killings that have claimed  
The young man's testi- [ 180 lives and left over 550  
mony on his experience of an | people wounded since  
Inkatha attack on his traipn, | August 1980,  
being held at gunpoint in an â\200\234People don't want to get  
Inkatha hostel, and narrowly | involved,â\200\235 said Tefo Radita-  
escaping with his life, is part le, their lawyer. â\200\234I'm giv-  
of the evidence being given g evidence not for me, or  
in London today to an inter- | for Solly, but for our friends  
national hearing on violence | â\200\224 the two deccased,â\200\235 sald  
in South Africa organised by | Lebogang.  
the Anti-Apartheid Move. | Both boys have given to the  
ment in co-operation with a | police detailed descriptions  
number of British lawyers, of two of their attackers and  
The continuing violence, | believe they could identif  
which has stalled progress [ others, bat police have  
towards majority rule, will | apparently made no attempts  
be the central issue at the | to tidentify the men.  
United Nations security â\200\234Why are there no arrests  
council meeting on South Af- | or convictions? All it would  
rica in New York tomorrow i take would be to put the boys  
to be addressed by the Afri- | in a car outside the hostel as  
can National Congress | the men go in and out,â\200\235 sald  
leader, Nelson Mandels, and | Mr Raditapole.  
by the secretary-genera) of | Mr Raditapole, who has  
the Organisation of African | worked extensively on cases  
Unity, Salim Ahmed Salim. | arising from train murders,  
The lssuc is key to the ANC's | says that the boysâ\200\231 case illus-  
demand for an interim gov- | trates patierns that disprove  
ernment and etfective con- | the theory that ANC-Inkatha  
trol over security forces. rivalry is at the root of the  
The four youthsâ\200\231 train ride | violence.  
of two stops rapidly turned Pointing to a map of the  
into a nightmare. \*When we | Sowetoo, Johannesburg, East

got on to the coach we were | Rapd railway system with  
confronted by a man with | both hostels and attack zones  
tribal scars on his face. He | highlighted and in 80 per  
was very angry, searched us, | cent of cases juxtaposed, he  
asked us questions about the | sald, â\200\234the attackers invari-  
ANC and Nelson Mandela | ably come out of the hostels,  
whom he called our father,â\200\235 | they run back to the hos-  
Lebogang said. Other men | tels.â\200\235  
seized the buys, thrust guns | Other testimony to be  
in their backs and continued | given today will trace 212  
the flood of aggressive ques- | attacks launched from hos-  
tioning. tels since July 1980 to April  
â\200\234But we are just ordinary | this year. More than 1,000  
people, not members of a | people have been Kkilled and  
single organisation.â\200\235 3,600 wounded in these at-  
. The youths were dragged | tacks.  
off the train at Kwezini â\200\234'lt is the same story every  
station and, cach tightly held | time: there is no reason for  
hy three men, torced across | the attack, it is on ordinary  
the road into the hostel com- | people, in the trains for  
pound and taken to un arca | iustance they don't seem to  
hidden from pussers-hy. Still | hit the â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230political coachesâ\200  
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with the guns at their backs | where there would paturally 4  
the boys enduredangry said Mr{|

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Per tteop r

necklace and assegai?

CROSS South Africa the kll-

lings continue, though merci-

fully there has been nothing as  
bad as last monthâ\200\231s massacre at Boi-  
patong that led the African National  
Congress to pull out of its negotia-  
tions with the Pretoria government  
Yet behind the latest crisis lies a  
deeper disagreement.

Far decades, the ANC's slogan has  
been â\200\234â\200\230ane man, one vote in a unitary  
South Africaâ\200\235. Even while they were  
negotiating, there was an unbridge-  
able gulf between Mr de Klerk's  
government, willing to cede white  
power but inststing on power-shar-  
ing in a federal state, and the ANC,  
which insists as eper an simple ma-  
jority rule in a ceatralised state,

On the face of it, the ANCâ\200\231s  
demand seems plausible. Mr Man-  
dela says that all he waats is \*'nor-  
mal democracy as the world knows  
it"', while a white ANC spokes-  
woman asks why there should not be  
â\200\234democracy i this country with the  
consequences which go with democ-  
racyâ\200\235. Ever since my first visit to  
South Africa 12 vears ago, two  
things have been clear to me.

{One is that apartheid was indefen-  
sible â\200\224 rmorally in any case and  
physically in the long rua (though it  
should be sawd that the run proved  
far longer than manv predicted).  
Perhaps that discovery could have  
been made without my going 7.000  
miles. But the other discovery would  
not have been quite so easy from  
afar: that. whatever happens to  
Sauth Africa, it can never become a  
parliamentary democracy on either  
the West European or NARTH Ameri-  
can model. It is simply not made far  
Mr Mandela's â\200\234â\200\230democracy as the  
rest of the world knows it"â\200\235

Democracy requires careful and  
above all, lengthy nurture. Gur own

Parvltament has been meeting at

Westminster since the 13th century  
Representative gesvernment aad  
then fully-fledged democracy (\*'rule

by the people (200\231\200\231) took more than 600

As ANC marchers in Pretoria demand instant democracy, GEOFFREY WHEATCROFT asks that we support de Klerk's efforts to secure power-sharing founded on mutual tolerance

years to evolve, [it was a curious fantasy that cuttings from this organic plant would take root overnight in all our former colonies, and of course they didn't.

What that long nurture had produced wasn't so much a formal constitutional system as the necessary psychological and social background: not merely the famously unwritten British constitution but an unspoken spirit of compromise and acceptance. This can work in a socially and ethnically homogeneous nation like England (Luse that word carefully) You need look no further than Bosnia, or Ulster, to see what bitter ethnic conflict can do to the spirit of democratic consensus.

What is true is that the Batkans are truer still in Africa. That is why African politics so often degenerates into a brute struggle for power, unqualified by conventions of restraint or tolerance of minorities. '200\234'Democracy' 200\231 tends to mean, in the cynical African phrase, one man, one vote 200\224ance. That is of course exacerbated by the tribal (or, as the genteelism goes, ethnicity complications of all African countries. A recent newspaper headline, '200\234\*Nigerians vote along ethnic lines' 200\235, perfectly illustrates Northcliffe's saying that "Dog bites man is not news ' 200\231 How else do African countries ever vote?

According to another odd fantasy peddled by the ANC and its supporters. this truism would not apply in South Africa Ethnic or tribal divisions are "insignificant, says the ANC. or only an invention of apact-

id.. The fantasy has been rein-

forced by what might be called the politically correct interpretation of the South African story, which unconsciously colours a good deal of reporting. It is not so much that the government is malign (it often is malign) as that the ANC is continually taken at its own estimation and given the benefit of the doubt, while not only the government but also

Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha are consistently cast as the villains.

E SHOULD not cherish illusions about Mr Buthelezi. He is at once, self-interested operator, and Inkatha has unquestionably been responsible for horrible massacres. So, probably, have elements of the security forces (though not the government, I think, since bloodshed and disorder cannot conceivably be in Mr de Klerk's interests). But then so has the ANC, whose own atrocities are not so much excused as overlooked. The ANC has likewise been allowed to get away with its claim to be above tribalism. No doubt ethnic divisions have been exploited in the past and are still exploited by Fretoria. But those divisions exist, and it is as absurd to deny that the ANC is principally a Xhosa organisation as to deny that Inkatha's support is principally Zulu. The truth is that, even without the white minority, South Africa is as ethnically complex, and potentially explosive, as the former Yugoslavia (because, one might add, it is as artificially constructed as the latter case). What if a

fair election did give the ANC a majority and winner-takes-all power? [If the 20th century has taught nothing else it has surely taught us not to make a fetish of democracy] as such, as though nothing mattered but the verdict of the people in vast popularity contests. General elections in Germany up to 1933 were free and fair. Hitler was appointed Chancellor by a democratically elected president, and it was a legitimately elected Reichstag which granted Hitler supreme powers, created by democracy and appointed by parliament.

Africa makes the point just as forcibly. That white ANC spokeswoman used an unfortunate phrase when she spoke of the consequences which go with democracy. Look at the consequences which have usually gone with democracy in Africa, or with, in the hallowed phrase, "black majority rule". Today you don't need the fingers of two hands to count those member states of the Organisation of African Unity which enjoy anything like representative government,

What really matters is not the abstract fetish of democracy but the reality of constitutional govern-



ment, individual freedom, respect for minorities, and the rule of law. Indeed, what has hitherto been wrong with South Africa has not been the absence of 'black majority rule' but the existence of oligarchic rule based on racial discrimination.

The rest of the world has thrown its weight against South Africa in the past. It might be time to throw our weight behind Mz de Klerk, not only in his admirable determination to cede exclusive white power but also in his insistence that in post-apartheid South Africa, only a decentralised system with the fullest degree of power-sharing and guarantees for minorities can produce anything like a free society, as the world knows it',