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THE gist of the historic first conversation between President PW Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been captured in minutes taken by Dr Niel Barnard, director of the National Intelligence Service.

The notes, currently part of a dispute between Mr Botha and the FW de Klerk administration, show how the two leaders laid the ground rules for the release of the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu in their secret meeting on July 5 1989.

It was a major step towards what later became a political revolution in South Africa under the De Klerk administration.

Mr Mandela, who requested the meeting, was taken to Tuynhuys on July 5 1989 and was immediately taken to President Botha's office.

Dr Barnard's notes show that the two men first inquired about each other's health. Casual discussions about their childhoods followed. They then talked about the South African War — particularly the role of Free State

When Nelson hoped the Nats would win general election

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President Marthinus Steyn.

Mr Botha pointed out that Angola was a key issue in resolving the problems facing southern Africa, and that a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem would be to the benefit of Zambia and Zaire. According to Dr Barnard's minutes, the two leaders agreed that it was important that the Benguela railway line be opened. Mr Mandela suggested to Mr Botha that efforts should be made for better relationships between himself and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Mr Botha recalled some of his trips to African nations, and said that after meeting African leaders he felt the whole conti-

nent could benefit from peace.

A peaceful Africa could open the doors of opportunity for many people, said Mr Botha. Africa needed peaceful progress, education, training, job creation and the exploitation of its natural riches to the benefit of all.

Mr Botha said he had told President Kaunda to come to an agreement with the Afrikaner for the benefit of the whole of southern Africa. There were too many outside interferences in the domestic affairs of South Africa, and a solution to this problem would have to be found.

Mr Mandela replied that he had a good perception of the situation, and that he had learnt a

lot more about the Afrikaner inside prison.

The two men then discussed domestic matters.

Mr Mandela informed Mr Botha that he had told the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that although the National Party stood for everything he opposed, he would like to see it win the forthcoming elections (September 1989).

Mr Botha observed that problems were there to be solved. Mr Mandela agreed, although he said certain problems might become bigger. The hope for a solution, however, always prevailed.

The president told Mr Mandela that since he had come to

power in 1978 he had gone out of his way to oppose violence. His ideals were rather to work towards the total upliftment and development of the peoples of South Africa.

Mr Botha warned Mr Mandela that the ANC should not make the mistake of listening to everybody who claimed to be talking on behalf of South Africa and its people.

The ANC should re-evaluate its position. Mr Botha praised Mr Mandela for not seeing all those who had applied to visit him in prison for their own publicity reasons.

The two men then began discussing the possible release of the ageing and ailing ANC

leader, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Mandela said the release of Mr Sisulu would make his (Mr Mandela's) task much easier.

The ANC leader said that, if Mr Sisulu were to be released and he misused his release for ANC propaganda purposes, Mr Botha would have all the reasons in the world to mistrust his (Mr Mandela's) word.

At this point Mr Botha said that he had already decided to release Mr Sisulu, and he would expect Mr Sisulu not to start a new propaganda campaign.

Mr Mandela indicated to Mr Botha that the political developments in South Africa were favourable for negotiations.

He said such a climate could be created only once the government took note of the demands of the ANC, unbanned the organisation and lifted the state of emergency.

Mr Botha reminded Mr Mandela that he should not forget the contribution made by the Afrikaners to South Africa.

NP wants referendum soon to approve transitional government

SHARED RULE MONTHS AWAY

24 November 1991 SUNDAY TIMES

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

THE National Party wants a transitional government involving the ANC in place by the second half of next year.

Proposals for profound constitutional changes which would have to be approved by a referendum are expected to be put on the table at the pre-Christmas multi-party talks.

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed this week that a referendum on transitional measures was a "serious option" for next year.

The timetable for negotiations has meanwhile speeded up:

- The National Party and ANC met at the weekend to plan strategies for the approaching preliminary meeting of 22 parties on Friday.

- This meeting will complete the agenda for the December 20 and 21 multi-party talks, which will see constitutional negotiations underway.

- National Party sources indicated that President FW de Klerk would use the first meeting of the multi-party conference to unveil far-reaching proposals on interim arrangements.

- Ministers told foreign diplomats that they wanted a transitional government in place soon.

The referendum envisaged by the NP will poll the views of all South Africans, but will also allow for enumeration of votes cast by whites.

This will give the white community an opportunity to express its views on the

arrangements — something which the National Party has pledged to do, but which the ANC and others reject as "racist".

After the announcement of the dates for the multi-party talks, the strategies of the major parties are now becoming clearer.

Lengthy

The National Party wants the talks to decide detailed constitutional principles and lock other parties into transitional arrangements that, while sharing power, will also achieve co-responsibility. It wants these agreements put to a referendum so as to fulfil its 1989 election undertaking.

It envisages the transitional arrangements remaining in place for a lengthy period, allowing for a more studied period of constitutional negotiation.

The ANC believes the all-party talks should agree on broad constitutional principles, Parliament should make the necessary changes to the constitution to bring about an interim government and that body should oversee elections for a constituent assembly which will negotiate a final constitution.

It does not foresee an interim government being in place for more than 18 months.

Regarding a referendum next year, Dr Van der Merwe said: "By this time next year we will be three years into our mandate. It would be a good time to test the water."

Amended

He said the party would like to have something specific to put to voters, but that would depend on progress achieved by the multi-party talks.

Anything decided by the talks that fitted the description "transitional arrangements" would be of such a far-reaching nature that the present constitution would have to be amended, thereby necessitating the holding of a referendum, he said.

However, ANC negotiating committee member

Mohammed Valli Moosa said that holding a referendum to test white opinion would be unacceptable. Any future election would have to be on a non-racial basis.

He said the all-party congress, representing all South African political parties, would have sufficient

mandate to change the constitution.

Some ANC officials believe that these recommendations on interim arrangements could then be legislated by the existing parliament.

Established

Mr Valli Moosa said that, once there was agreement on broad constitutional principles, the TBVC states had been reincorporated and transitional arrangements had been implemented, constituent-assembly elections should be held on a nonracial basis.

He envisaged these elections taking place this time next year.

The agenda for the 22 participants meeting in the preparatory talks on Friday has meanwhile been established:

The meeting will have to reach agreement on:

- Who will convene the multi-party talks. All parties agree that Mr Justice Corbett should be one of the chairmen, but Inkatha is still objecting to former

NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogaba as the two others. This is despite the fact that their names were put forward by the National Party.

● Who will chair the

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Shared-rule referendum a 'serious option' for 1992

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talks.

● How many working groups should be set up to continue the work of the conference after the first plenary meeting.

● How decisions should be made at the conference.

● Who should administer the talks.

The ANC has proposed that five working groups

be set up to deal with constitutional principles, interim government arrangements, a constitution-making body, the role of the international community and the re-incorporation of the TVBC states.

Wide differences exist as to what the scope of the first working committee on constitutional principles should be.

The ANC and most of the parties which attended the Patriotic Front conference believe the committee brief should be to decide on broad principles in keeping with the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid.

The National Party and the Democratic Party want the working committee to reach agreement on substantive constitutional issues.

Negotiating a compromise on this will be crucial to the process. National Party sources have indicated that the party would be prepared to reconsider its opposition to demands for an elected constituent assembly if the working committee was able to reach agreement on what it regarded as fundamental principles of a new constitution.

SA may have two anthems

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A TOP National Party member has raised the possibility of South Africa soon having two national anthems.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, made the suggestion this week in the wake of the furore over the ditching of South African symbols and flags for the Olympic team.

For many decades South Africa had had two national anthems — *Die Stem* and *God Save the King*, as many South Africans had been attached to one or the other, Dr Van der Merwe said.

It had worked in the past and it could be a possibility for the future.

Dr Van der Merwe emphasised that his was a personal view and had not been discussed by the government. The government believed South Africa already had *Die Stem* and "that was that".

However, the anthem question would have to be discussed, he said.

Liberation movements have already adopted *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* as their national anthem.

Dr Van der Merwe said people should

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

not allow their hackles to rise and the matter should be dealt with calmly.

But the debate should not reach the point where people felt they had to choose between two national anthems and that the emergence of one automatically meant the death of the other.

Dr Van der Merwe's intervention follows a growing row over the decision by the National Olympic Committee of South Africa to send the country's team to Barcelona under a neutral flag and anthem.

Several of Dr van der Merwe's colleagues, including National Education Minister Louis Pienaar, severely criticised the decision.

The country appears split on the issue.

Most whites, polls show, are opposed to the scrapping of existing symbols. They also show, however, that most black South Africans support the Nocsa decision.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Wave of political violence in Natal

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POLITICAL violence is sweeping Natal, and the latest outrages include the killing of a two-year-old child and a 71-year-old man.

At the St Catherine's settlement near Bulwer, a group of comrades went on a late-night rampage, killing a two-year-old child, a 14-year-old youth and a KwaZulu policeman.

After the death since Sunday of at least 13 ANC supporters, an urgent meeting between ANC leaders and top SAP officers is being organised in an attempt to defuse the tension.

Miss Kim Hodgson, head of the Inkatha Institute's violence unit, said six people had died at Mathulini, near Ozwathini, in the past four days.

"We understand the violence started as a result of the ANC forming a branch in the area. We have received reports of forced recruitment and intimidation, and this caused the conflict."

Police confirmed three deaths in the area.