

De Klerk Expects SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 30 JAN. 1993 Stalled Talks to Resume in March

South African leader cites 'positive spirit'
among nation's black and white leaders

By Scott Kraft
Los Angeles Times

Cape Town

Opening what may be the last formal session of a South African Parliament that excludes blacks, President Frederik de Klerk declared yesterday that the nation's black and white leaders are likely to resume constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March — 10 months after talks broke down.

"At present, there is a positive spirit among most of the political parties," de Klerk told a joint session of the white, mixed-race and Indian chambers of Parliament. And everyone realizes, he added, "that immeasurable damage will be done if we do not make progress now."

That fear of failure, fed in recent months by the political turmoil in places such as Angola and Somalia, may be helping to prod the quarreling black and white leaders to return to the table.

Every South African faces a choice now, said de Klerk. "Either support constitutional change and everything that is reasonably required for its success or retire into the laager (circled wagons) and prepare for an armed and bloody struggle," he declared.

"The simple truth is that a devastating war will ensue if negotiation does not succeed," he added.

If full-blown constitutional negotiations resume soon, as is expected, South Africa could have a transitional executive council installed by June, under de Klerk's timetable. That council, with representatives from the African National Congress, the government and other major parties, would oversee the security forces, the

electoral process and the state-run broadcasting company, giving blacks their first taste of national power and ending three centuries of white-minority rule.

De Klerk has said that South Africa could hold its first multiracial election early next year. In that election, voters would choose a constituent assembly to govern the country temporarily and draw up a new, permanent constitution.

The ANC, the main black political movement, has said it hopes that the election can be held this year, but most analysts believe that would be too soon.

De Klerk said yesterday that a "broad consensus is slowly but surely beginning to take shape." His negotiators this week concluded five days of closed-door talks with the ANC and, separately, patched up disagreements with the government's former allies in the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But four major obstacles still block a final agreement between the ruling National Party and the ANC. Because they are the two major players in the process, their agreement is considered a prerequisite for any political change in the country.

The most important of those hurdles is the reincorporation of the four nominally independent black homelands into South Africa.

The ANC says the homelands and the homeland leaders are creations of apartheid, the white-imposed policy of racial separation, and must be dissolved. Pretoria is reluctant to force the homelands to relinquish their independence.

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30 JAN. 1993
**DE KLERK CONVENES
LAWMAKERS TO PUT
END TO WHITE RULE**

AGENDA FOR SOUTH AFRICA

**Leader Says Formal Abdication
of the Old Order Will Begin
in a Matter of Months**

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, Jan. 29 — President F. W. de Klerk convened South Africa's Parliament today to begin its final and most momentous task — legislating the end of white rule, including Parliament itself.

Speaking from the podium where three years ago he stunned his audience by renouncing the racist policies of apartheid, Mr. de Klerk said the formal abdication of the old order would begin in a matter of months, hastened by the sobering realities of a shrinking economy and the nearly universal recognition that the only alternative was "a devastating war."

Assuring the White Minority

Before it adjourns in June, Mr. de Klerk said, he expects Parliament to legislate the first phase of its surrender, handing over some executive powers to a multiracial transition committee that will prepare for the first universal elections by early 1994.

The elections will create an interim government that will run the country while it writes a new constitution.

It might have been a dramatic occasion, but even loyalists of the President agreed it was not, in large part because the real decisions about the country's future are being made elsewhere, in negotiations between the white Government and representatives of the disfranchised majority.

Center of Power: the Talks

Mr. de Klerk's only unexpected initiatives were aimed primarily at reassuring the anxious white minority — including his own civil servants and soldiers — that they will be well protected in a new order.

To allay their fears of unchecked violence, Mr. de Klerk said he would introduce stern new anti-crime measures. Those are to include mandatory five-year prison terms for the possession of automatic weapons or explosives, reinforcement of citizen militias and watchdog groups and a possible

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Associated Press

**President F. W. de Klerk speaking
in South Africa's Parliament.**

De Klerk Convenes Parliament to Legislate an End to White Rule

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resumption of the long-suspended death penalty.

The African National Congress, which has marked previous gatherings of Parliament with protest rallies, was silent this year.

That is because Parliament's main task now is to ratify decisions worked out in the new and real power center — the negotiations between the Government and black political organizations.

All the most important bills to be considered this year, including those creating the machinery of transition, will not even be submitted until they have been co-drafted by the Government and African National Congress and endorsed by a forum of political parties.

Mr. de Klerk and congress leaders say they expect the multiparty talks, which broke down last year, to resume in March.

The real center of power now is the bilateral talks where, officials on both sides say, the Government and the congress are near agreement on the major constitutional issues that caused the deadlock last year.

Power-Sharing Deal

The Government has reportedly backed away from several demands the congress viewed as amounting to entrenching the old order, including an insistence that a whole new constitution be written before the transition to majority rule, with irrevocable powers for regional governments.

Mr. de Klerk said today that he would ask Parliament to enact a consti-

tutional bill of rights before his Government hands over power to protect citizens' freedoms and property, but he appears to have relented on his demand for a full-fledged new constitution before elections.

The two sides have also come close to terms on a power-sharing deal. Mr. de Klerk earlier called for a kind of permanent coalition government, while the congress insisted on immediate majority rule.

The two sides have found common ground in the idea that a new democracy will need a period of phasing in, to prevent a destructive white backlash and to help the new democracy get on its feet. The congress has offered to guarantee minority parties certain powers for about five years after a final constitution is in place, which would postpone full majority rule until

near the end of the century. The Government has not formally replied.

The parliamentary session that began today may not be the last gathering of the exclusive legislature. A special session is expected late in the year to finish the constitutional bridgework to the new order, and some officials say that if elections are delayed Parliament could convene for another regular session next year.

But the legislators here have begun behaving like the lame ducks they are.

The highlight of the week for local political gossips was the highly unusual defection of a member of Parliament from Mr. de Klerk's National Party, who described himself as a "white Zulu" and announced his affiliation with the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party. The member, Jurie Mentz, was the first to bolt from the governing party in a more than decade.

Mr. Mentz, who is 67, represents a district in the eastern province of Natal, the one region where Inkatha is expected to make a strong showing in multiracial elections. Mr. Mentz said he still admired Mr. de Klerk, but he thought it was time to begin preparing for what would come after him.

16/1/11

Mandela urges govt of national unity

CITIZEN 30/1/93

By Enrico Kemp

CAPE TOWN. — The African National Congress had no alternative but to form a government of national unity if it wanted to re-

main in power after winning a non-racial election, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town yesterday.

He was addressing del-

egates at the Anglican Consultative Council conference at the University of the Western Cape after a half-an-hour meeting with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey.

Mr Mandela said a government of national unity was the only way to counter the "already incipient counter-revolutionary movement" in

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Mandela call

FROM PAGE 1

which elements of the security forces exploited tensions between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to foment violence aimed at destabilising the ANC.

"To take political power in South Africa is easy. The most difficult thing is to retain that power," Mr Mandela said.

Critics of the ANC had to accept there was no alternative to a government of national unity.

A new government would have to work with a civil service, police and defence force which had been established to defend apartheid.

While these services should exist to defend a future democracy, an ANC government could be destabilised in the interim.

Mr Mandela said the government and the ANC differed, however, on how a government of national unity should be

structured.

"The government's concept of power sharing is to enable a White minority to retain power under a democratic government.

"We say the party which is able to get the majority of votes in an election should of its own accord invite other parties to share in government."

The ANC leader said the only link between the ANC and the SA Communist Party was a common objective of destroying racial oppression and establishing a non-racial government.

There was no ideological connection between the two movements and the alliance would very likely be terminated once the ANC became a political party.

He praised the role of the church in supporting the struggle for democracy in the country, adding the ANC was committed to freedom of religion.

16/1/11

✓ 'Huge distance' still separates ANC and govt: Jordan

CITIZEN 30/1/93

CAPE TOWN. — A "huge distance" still separated the African National Congress from the government on constitutional issues, ANC information head Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

Commenting on State President De Klerk's opening address to Parliament, Dr Jordan disputed Mr De Klerk's view that there was growing consensus on federalism.

It was perhaps true that many parties had embraced the concept, but if together they constituted only 20 percent of popular support, one could hardly speak of consensus, he said.

"Huge distances remain between the ANC and the government on constitutional issues," he said. Bilateral talks were needed to eliminate sticking points between them.

Asked to spell out precisely where such sticking points lay, Dr Jordan confessed he had not been part of the recent bilateral talks and had no "flavour" of them.

"Broadly speaking, the sticking point is still a difficulty in a meeting of minds."

The ANC continued to reject a transitional constitution which Mr De

Klerk said he expected by September. The transition could be affected without such a constitution.

"We reject it because we believe the government has a hidden agenda — they want to get it in place, and then a constituent assembly will merely be able to amend that constitution," he claimed.

The ANC still rejected the death sentence and would abolish it once it came to power. Imposing severe penalties for illicit weapons was also not a solution, as it did not ad-

dress the real problem.

The level of violence, like the disproportionately high prison population, was symptomatic of what he called "a deep malaise in our society" stemming from inequalities. There would be no solutions until these had been addressed.

Mr De Klerk's track record since February 2, 1990 did not allow one to expect much of him.

Dr Jordan rejected the notion however that the government was trapped between criticism for doing too little on the one hand, and being accused of acting unilaterally on the other.

"Certain things could have been said and put on the agenda without acting unilaterally." These included taking steps on issues such as hit squads, dismantling the "Bantustans", reincorporating the TBVC countries in South Africa and rectifying education and the economy.

Mr De Klerk's failure to do so had illustrated his inability to rise to the occasion, Dr Jordan said. — Sapa.

S. Africa pledges parity in schools

Education chief offers plan but can't name date when inequality in funding will end

By Brendan Boyle
REUTERS

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — South Africa's education chief Tuesday repudiated 40 years of racially segregated education but said he could not promise to bring black schools up to white standards before the turn of the century.

Presenting an education renewal blueprint that has been vetted by the white cabinet but not by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, Education Minister Piet Marais said: "The removal of racial inequality is our immediate priority."

Pressed to give a target date for parity between black and white education, Marais said it was unlikely that spending could be brought in line by the year 2000.

"I cannot give you a date... the important thing is we are absolutely committed to parity as soon as possible," he said.

ANC education spokesman John Samuels called the blueprint "a shift in the right direction."

"However, it's important to see this as a discussion document. We in the ANC also have a set of proposals and we now need to work towards a mechanism that would enable us to discuss these proposals," he said.

Government spending on each white child is currently 4.2 times the budget for each black child, an improvement from a ratio of 18 to 1 in 1970.

Black school classes have an average of 51 pupils, while in white schools each teacher is responsible for 19 children.

Marais said the 140-page renewal plan, drawn up by the government's Committee of Heads of Education Departments, would form a basis for dismantling apartheid in schools.

The committee proposed a single education ministry to replace the four that now exist for black, white, colored (mixed race) and Indian education.

Marais said whites-only schools would remain legal but would not receive state funds. But schools that admit pupils on the basis of religion or culture could receive state funds.

South Africa began to relax 40 years of strict apartheid in schools two years ago, but most black pupils are still educated in crowded and under-funded township schools.

The report said the country needed to open a school a day to keep up with the 4.3 percent annual growth in the number of black pupils, who outnumber whites by more than 7 to 1 in the 40 million population.

A-8. Wednesday, January 27, 1993 ★

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

FW's hopes

SINCE this may be the last session of the tricameral Parliament, there was reason for the opening of Parliament yesterday to be somewhat subdued.

Nevertheless, State President De Klerk does not share the feelings of gloom that some have.

His message to Parliament was one of hope.

"In spite of all the propaganda, protesting and positioning, something drastic is beginning to happen" he said.

"A broad consensus is beginning to develop in respect of the course that we have to take if we are to ensure peace and prosperity."

Although a great deal of work remained to be done before binding agreements could be reached, the reform process was proceeding according to plan.

If multi-party negotiations were resumed at the beginning of March, a transitional executive council would be in place by June and a new transitional constitution in September, he said.

Mr De Klerk denied that the government was forming an alliance with the ANC; nevertheless, its Record of Understanding and two bosbetrakkeers have shown that it is closer to the ANC than it is to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is how it bridges remaining differences not just with the ANC but with the IFP and other organisations that will determine whether a satisfactory settlement can be achieved in time.

In February there will be a multi-party preparatory conference which will hopefully set the stage for multi-party negotiations to be resumed in March.

But while Mr De Klerk is confident that agreement can be reached, there are those who do not believe that matters should or can be rushed, and important differences between major players remain to be resolved.

We think the negotiations will be tougher than anyone thinks, and nobody should be overconfident about the outcome.

Meanwhile, the government is dismantling the last vestiges of apartheid.

The "own affairs" administration of agriculture, health and local government will be transferred to the general affairs departments from April 1.

The envisaged rearrangement of the educational system will include the establishment of an expert and streamlined transitional administration from April 1 which will be representative of a wide spectrum of interested parties.

The changes will entail Ministers' Councils decreasing in size and changes in the Cabinet.

We can expect several Ministers will go, and the new Cabinet will have a totally F W de Klerk stamp on it.

What is particularly pleasing is Mr De Klerk's announcement of steps to fight political crime and violence more efficiently.

The moratorium on the carrying out of the death penalty is to be reviewed and it seems that hangings will be resumed.

Legislation will be submitted making the illegal possession of AK-47 rifles and other automatic weapons punishable by a minimum of five years in prison without the option of a fine.

On the broader, political front, we are seeing the decks being cleared for the new South Africa.

But whether the new South Africa will be born in peace or even worse violence than we have faced until now will depend on the outcome of the multi-party negotiations and whether all the major interested parties are satisfied with the settlement that is reached.

Mr De Klerk is the eternal optimist — but then he is closer to events and decisions than any of us are.

We hope that his speech opening Parliament will be translated into action that will make the transition to the new South Africa more peaceful and less divisive.

The new South Africa is in the making and, like it or not, it will, if Mr De Klerk's timetable is fulfilled, come into being next year.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

Govt 'not interested in complete democracy'

THE National Council of Trade Unions said yesterday the government had once again shown its lack of interest in complete and fundamental democracy in the country.

Reacting to President De Klerk's speech in Parliament, Mr Mudini Maivha, of Nactu's Information and Publications Unit, said Mr De Klerk was telling political parties to "either play it by the National Party's own rules or quit".

"Such an attitude of apportioning himself the role of player and referee indicates that De Klerk and the NP are not interested in genuine and sincere negotiations.

"His religious and zealous adherence to 'power-sharing', federalism and regionalism, presents a stumbling block to a democratic solution of the country's political impasse."

Mr Maivha said Nactu also rejected Mr De Klerk's declaration he was not responsible for the violence in South Africa.

While it was true certain political organisations and parties were involved in the carnage which had claimed thousands of lives in South Africa, the state was playing an equal, if not greater, role in furthering viol-

ence.

"De Klerk's bailing out of farmers, while saying nothing about the rights of millions of farmworkers, is a political ploy to buy votes from farmers through patronage at the expense of taxpayers," Mr Maivha said.

• The Pan Africanist Congress said Mr De Klerk yesterday failed to adequately address the three most important issues facing the country -- the poor state of the economy, the violence and the need to move speedily to elections.

PAC president Clarence Makweru said Mr De Klerk's opening address to Parliament, "contains little new facts if any and it seems that he has no more new rabbits to pull from his hat".

On the economy, Mr Makweru said, the president had only proposed leaving it to market forces. "This is more than just political naivety, it is callousness and gross insensitivity to the starving and unemployed millions."

In addition, Mr De Klerk's statement that between 20 000 and 50 000 jobs would be created over the next two years to cater for the 200 000 school leavers and eight million unemployed was a matter for "grave despon-

dency rather than hope".

Mr Makweru also questioned Mr De Klerk's commitment to real democracy.

"Mr De Klerk's reform measures speak of preparations for continued rule rather than preparations for real democracy... (which) puts his commitment to real democracy seriously in question." -- Sapa.

Frost set to thaw our leaders on TV

ONE of Britain's foremost media personalities, Sir David Frost, will be in South Africa next month to conduct a series of interviews with leading South African politicians.

Frost was invited to South Africa by CCV-TV to conduct the interviews, which will also be broadcast on other international television stations.

Frost, who currently hosts *Breakfast with Frost* on the BBC, has already found that local politics is not that simple. Originally, he was scheduled to interview PAC leader Makwetu, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Buthelezi, CP leader Treurnicht and ANC president Mandela for half an

hour each, with President de Klerk being scheduled for a full hour.

However, once the ANC got wind of this, it refused to go along with the programme unless Mandela was also given an hour-long interview.

De Klerk's interview will now be only 30 minutes, in line with all the others.

But having interviewed some of the world's most powerful men and women over the past two decades, political point-scoring like this would hardly faze him.

He was the only person to interview the late Shah of Iran in exile and US General Norman Schwarzkopf from the

FAMED interviewer David Frost has run into a small problem of 'we want equal air time regardless' even before his arrival in South Africa, reports MANDY JEAN WOODS.

war room in Riyadh during the Gulf crisis in 1991, as well as the first to interview Benazir Bhutto in her role as first woman prime minister of an Islamic nation (Pakistan).

His shows have not just fea-

tured politically influential people. He has also interviewed playwright Noel Coward, actors Peter Ustinov and Warren Beatty, author Norman Mailer, boxer Muhammad Ali and even the Beatles in their heyday.

David Paradine Frost was born in Suffolk in April 1939, the son of a minister. Little is known about his early life — his listing in the International Who's Who, as does his curriculum vitae sent to CCV, focuses instead on his long and impressive career.

He first appeared on television in 1962 with the BBC's *That Was The Week That Was*. In the three decades

since, he has racked up a stunning series of firsts and impressed millions of people with his style.

In addition to his front-line involvement in television, he has also produced seven films, written 15 books, co-founded London Weekend Television and TV-AM, and produced countless programmes.

He was knighted by the Queen in her 1993 New Year's Honours List.

He is married to his second wife, the former Lady Carina Fitzalan Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and they have three sons: Miles (8), Wilfred (7) and George (5).

INDEPENDENT

Saturday 30 January 1993

De Klerk warns of civil war if talks fail

From John Curlin
in Cape Town

FW DE KLERK opened parliament yesterday, triumphantly declaring that his policies had created the conditions for a peaceful political settlement in South Africa, but warning too that the risk remained, if negotiations failed, of civil war.

"Within South Africa, no matter how dark things sometimes may appear, a sea-change has begun — quietly and unobtrusively ... something dramatic is beginning to happen. A broad consensus is beginning to develop," the South African President said.

Good progress had been made towards the resumption of multi-party talks in March and the establishment by June, if all went well, of the first stages of interim government made up of blacks and whites. The stage would then be set for genuinely general elections early next year for a body to draft a new constitution.

If this timetable failed to materialise, however, if political leaders failed to agree on his chosen route to democracy, if negotiations did not succeed, then "the simple truth is that a devastating war will ensue".

The Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, briefing reporters before the speech was delivered, warned of the "grotesque, awful" consequences of failure. "We are concerned by events in Yugoslavia — more so than most people realise," he said.

Mr de Klerk, alluding to the political violence of the last three years, played down the significance of the myriad revelations of security force involvement in dirty tricks and clung to his long-held contention that the parties principally to blame were the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. In so far as there had been progress on the political arena, a "new spirit" having been discernible since the end of last year, this was down to the recognition by other parties — clearly he meant the ANC — that the government's vision of the future was the right one.

The basis of the new consensus, he said, was the growing realisation that "winner-takes-all" majority rule could not work in South Africa; that the free market offered the only road to economic prosperity; that regional power structures were necessary to accommodate "diversity".

Since what essentially he was saying was that the ANC had compromised on original positions and caved in to government demands, the official ANC response to Mr de Klerk's speech bristled with indignation. "Rather than being statesmanlike, De Klerk chose to be boastful. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transformation, he has chosen to cast himself and his government as managers of the process ... De Klerk's comments on the issue of violence betray his government's continued bad faith.

"He not only fails to address the state's proven implication in both fomenting and fuelling the violence, but defends and praises the role of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force." If Mr de Klerk's words seemed calculated, in the ANC's eyes, to widen the gulf between pragmatic leaders like Nelson Mandela and radicals led by his wife Winnie, at another level they revealed the extent to which the President remains concerned about the threat from the right.

Mr de Klerk's popularity rating among whites has fallen, according to opinion polls, because he is perceived by many not so much to have conquered as to have capitulated to the ANC "Communists".

■ HARARE — The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has warned the South African government and the ANC against imposing their bilateral agreement on the country. "Any attempt to impose bilateral agreements will lead to nothing else but further escalation of political violence," the PAC economic affairs secretary Siphoshe Shabalala told a meeting of Southern African states on Thursday night, *Reuter* reports.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

4 Ministers may go

CAPE TOWN. — Observers, analysts and sources close to the government's inner circles have identified a number of senior Ministers who may be leaving political life at the top, reports Sapa's political correspondent.

Among those mentioned as likely candidates for retirement or re-appointment to posts elsewhere are:

- Mr Adriaan Vlok, a hard reformist worker, but burdened by his wife's serious illness, which is known to make continuation of his public duties difficult;

- General Magnus Malan, whose position has remained politically controversial despite having been relegated to the "neutral" backseat in Forestry;

- Mr Louis Pienaar, a third veteran of the

P W Botha regime, generally considered a volunteer for retirement; and

- Mr Gene Louw, the once brilliant Cape Administrator whose last-act appointment to the Cabinet by the departing President P W Botha has severely curtailed his scope for further political development.

Sources in the NP have discounted the likelihood of the National Party's Secretary-General's post, specifically created for its own

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4 Ministers to go?

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incumbent, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, being refilled.

The position is not in keeping with the party's structural culture. Some observers point out Mr De Klerk is going to find it hard enough finding dynamic men to fill Cabinet posts without having to find one more to fill a post which will need exceptional talents.

The dearth of talent,

or absence of what parliamentarians refer to as a "second team", may force Mr De Klerk to look outside Parliament for candidates to fill posts.

Such choices may enhance the government's efficiency, but not necessarily supply the political fighters the party's immediate future may demand. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

De Beer queries alliance denial

CAPE TOWN. — The State President's opening of Parliament speech contained much that was sound and healthy, and the Democratic Party would be monitoring the proposed changes announced, the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He said it was interesting to note the hot denial of any alliance between the government and the ANC.

"Of course this depends on how you interpret the word 'alliance'. Certainly we have heard much talk of a government of national unity. We have been asking for this for years. We trust that it will go ahead despite the president's coy protestations."

The phasing out of Own Affairs, rationalisation in the civil service, the early introduction of a Bill of Rights, and additional measures against crime and violence were all proposals which the party had been demanding for years.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

SA 'to join SADC if democracy instituted'

HARARE. — South Africa may join a regional economic bloc later this year if Pretoria agrees to power sharing with Blacks, an official of the group said.

"We are as near or as far (in admitting South Africa) as it is to democracy," said Mr Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the South African Development Community (SADC).

"If there is an interim government that represents the people of South Africa as a whole sometime this year, we will consider that," he told a news conference ending a three-day SADC meeting.

SADC comprises Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Last year SADC was transformed into a trade bloc seeking to foster regional economic integration which will eventually include a democratic South Africa, boasting the continent's most powerful economy.

South Africa's 19-party democracy talks collapsed after violence sabotaged the negotiations last year, but the government this week made peace with the Zulu-based Inkatha movement, an important step towards restarting them.

An SADC communi-

que said 32 donor-states and 26 international organisations attending the Harare meeting had pledged more aid.

The communique said the donors had "pledged to provide to the extent possible" 800 000 tons of food aid needed to deal with lingering effects of a severe drought which devastated the region in 1992.

More than 2.5 million tons of food aid was donated to the region last year to save millions of people from starvation.

The aid donors have already poured in more than \$8.5 million (R25 million) into SADC's transport and energy sectors. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

Ban MK, APLA to restore peace: CP

CAPE TOWN. — Peace would not be restored to South Africa unless the government acted against the terrorist movements of MK and APLA by banning them, confiscating their weapons and neutralising their bases in neighbouring territories, CP spokesman Mr Charl Hertzog, said yesterday.

"Mr De Klerk did not address the nucleus of the violence problem," he

said in a statement reacting to the State President's opening of Parliament speech.

"It is clear that the State President's words and deeds do not coincide, and it remains our responsibility to ensure self-defence in our constituencies.

"I call on all who have not yet joined our home-watch system to mobilise immediately." — Sapa.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

Civil war threat if S Africa talks fail

By Fred Bridgland in Cape Town

PRESIDENT de Klerk of South Africa, opening what is likely to be the last session of the white-dominated parliament, warned his countrymen yesterday that South Africa will be plunged into a Yugoslav-style civil war if democracy negotiations fail.

Mr de Klerk also set out a timescale for fundamental changes this year which have already been largely agreed with the main opposition, the African National Congress.

Mr de Klerk said multi-party constitutional talks should resume in five weeks. They collapsed last June when the ANC walked out in protest over the Boipatong massacre in which more than 40 of their supporters were killed.

The multi-party conference would pave the way for the installation in June this year of a transitional "government of many colours". This would draw up an interim constitution by September to prepare for a general election, in which blacks could vote for the first time, for a constituent assembly.

The assembly would replace the present parliament and would draw up a final constitution, which would lead to another general election and the implementation of full democracy.

Mr de Klerk said every

South African faced a choice: either support the process of negotiations "or retire into the laager and prepare for an armed and bloody struggle".

Mr Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, said: "We are concerned by the events in Yugoslavia. Unless a realistic agreement is reached... then devastation will follow."

The government begins a series of bilateral meetings next week with ANC and Inkatha with the aim of ensuring that differences are settled in advance of the multi-party conference.

Pending the creation of a transitional government, Mr de Klerk said, legislation would be presented to end separate civil service departments for white, mixed-race, Indian and black affairs. A Bill of Rights, enforceable by a constitutional court, would be tabled. The President's Council would also be dissolved.

● Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg writes: The radical Pan Africanist Congress has threatened to use force to close the East London Daily Dispatch, a leading English-language daily newspaper in the Eastern Cape, accusing it of ignoring the party's activities.

Party activists occupied the newspaper's office in Umtata, capital of the Transkei homeland, for the third successive day yesterday.

Mr Zingisa Mkhale, secretary of the party's Transkei region, issued a statement warning distributors "not to be caught in the crossfire".

He said the party was determined to "crush" the Daily Dispatch and warned those selling the newspaper: "You will not be safe."

30 JAN 1993

GUARDIAN

De Klerk puts his faith in changes

David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S president, F. W. de Klerk, yesterday announced plans for the further dismantling of apartheid structures, the early introduction of a bill of rights, radical steps to crack down on violence and crime, and the re-introduction of capital punishment.

In an optimistic assessment of progress on the constitutional front, Mr De Klerk used the opening of South Africa's parliamentary session to boast to the white electorate that he was succeeding in defending their interests.

Outside parliament there was growing unease in the ranks of the African National Congress that the president's optimism reflected major concessions made by the organisation's leadership in secret talks with the government.

Concessions believed to have been tentatively offered by ANC negotiators include the extension of interim government rule for five years after non-racial elections and a further period of power-sharing. It is understood they have also accepted devolved, as opposed to delegated, constitutional powers for regions in a full-blooded federal system.

Delivering what is traditionally a keynote speech, Mr De Klerk said prospects were "good" for the resumption of multi-party negotiations at the beginning of March. If this happened, it could result in the creation of a transitional executive council (TEC) in June and a "transitional constitution" in September.

Flatly denying that the government was forming an alliance with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said his government "has

not abandoned a single principle" in its negotiating position.

Apparently referring to last year's white-only general election, he said his government had a "mandate" which he promised would be "promoted forcefully" in constitutional talks. The principles under this mandate included "power-sharing, strong regional government and checks and balances to prevent any abuse of power, the sensible accommodation of our country's cultural and linguistic diversity, the assurance of economic security for owners and investors" and "security of tenure of officials and teachers".

Warning that "a devastating war will ensue" if negotiations failed, Mr De Klerk said a dramatic sea change was taking place "quietly and unobtrusively" in the development of a broad consensus on the future of the country. The basis of that consensus was agreement that "domination in a winner-take-all dispensation" could not work, that free-market principles were a precondition for "a better quality of life", and that "a regional dispensation, based on federal principles and recognition of our cultural and linguistic diversity, is a necessity."

Mr De Klerk outlined various steps for the progressive dismantling of the tri-cameral and homeland administrative systems in coming months and announced that the government would publish proposals for a bill of rights next week.

The ANC yesterday described the president's speech as "boastful" and accused him of trying to "cast himself and his government as managers" of the reform process. It insisted there remained a "huge gulf" between the ANC and the De Klerk administration on most of the issues involved in the talks.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

30 JAN 1993

■ The South African leader hopes that tough measures against rising crime will reassure whites as he pushes ahead with plans for a multiracial constitution

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN CAPE TOWN

PRESIDENT de Klerk announced a security crackdown in South Africa yesterday, but warned whites frightened by rising crime that democracy was the only alternative to "devastating war".

Opening the 1993 session of parliament, Mr de Klerk said he was optimistic that multiparty constitutional talks could resume in March. "The simple truth is that a devastating war will ensue if negotiation does not succeed," Mr de Klerk told white, Coloured and Indian MPs in the parliament that still excludes the black majority. He said the successful resumption of multiparty talks in March could help to meet his goal of agreement on a transitional government by September and the first non-racial elections early next year.

At what is expected to be the last annual opening of the tricameral, racially based parliament, Mr de Klerk announced that his government had accepted the principle of a bill of rights and would table a motion in parliament shortly. The government was ready to abolish statutory provisions that were not compatible with fundamental rights.

To reinforce the National Party's commitment to human rights after 40 years of depriving most South Africans of those rights, R. F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, announced that the South African ambassador to the United Nations would sign the country's adherence to five international conventions on human rights.

However, other sections of the presidential speech indicated that Mr de Klerk has been looking over his shoulder at the loss of support from white voters for himself and his party shown by recent opinion polls. He announced tough measures to deal with the crime and violence afflicting the country. The illicit possession of automatic weapons and explosives will become punishable by a minimum jail term of five years. He promised special procedures for the trial of serious crimes, an increase in other penalties, and summary refusal of bail. He also promised to look at a proposal that a person found by a court to be a "dangerous criminal" might be sentenced to an indeterminate term of imprisonment. The president also said the government would review the moratorium on the death penalty in view of the wave of killings in the country.

The government is propos-

(£2 million) upgrading the reserve police force, on the neighbourhood watch system and on integrating the black self-defence units into a national network. He is also to help isolated farmers with alarm systems and fencing.

Mr de Klerk also announced that one of the main structures of apartheid, the so-called "own affairs" administration of many government matters, is to be dismantled. Instead of agriculture, health, and local government being administered separately for whites, Indians and Coloureds, those areas will be run by a single department.

The president indicated that a transitional executive council, an electoral commission and boundaries commissions were envisaged, but he did not, as was expected, bring forward specific proposals for legislation. However, the government's own timetable calls for the establishment of these bodies by June.

Mr de Klerk announced the phasing out of the President's Council, a constitutional device that has enabled him to push through legislation that has been rejected by one or other of the three houses of parliament.

The speech was castigated by the African National Congress for not going far enough in some aspects -- and much too far in others. Pello Jordan, the ANC's information chief, insisted at a press conference that "the whole country has been terribly let down" by the statement. Although the ANC welcomed the National Party's "cultivation of a human rights culture", Mr Jordan insisted that "a bill of rights is properly left to a constituent assembly".

The ANC said Mr de Klerk's comments on violence showed the government's bad faith. "The measures he has announced are all designed to protect property," Mr Jordan said, "and nothing is said to address the national scandal of train violence directed against black commuters."

□ **Johannesburg:** Changes in South African television are attracting viewers' complaints. The South African Broadcasting Corporation's formerly all-white TV1 channel now has some non-white presenters. However, some critics say the SABC reinforces the apartheid mentality by directing one of its two channels at whites and the other at blacks. For some South Africans, state television is a symbol of apartheid; for others, an example of blacks taking over. (AP)

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THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

Transitional council could be in place by June — FW

A TRANSITIONAL executive council could be in place by June and a new transitional constitution in September if multi-party negotiations were resumed at the beginning of March, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

"The government is committed to managing the whole process as far as it is able in such a way that these time scales may be achieved," he said in his opening of Parliament speech.

"At present there is a positive spirit among most of the political parties. Their actions are characterised by a realisation that immeasurable damage will be done if we do not make progress now. This is bringing greater realism to the fore.

"Therefore, I have hope for the new year."

Every South African was facing the choice to either support constitutional change and everything that was reasonably required for its success or to retire into the laager and prepare for an armed and bloody struggle.

"The simple truth is that a devastating war will ensue if negotiation does not succeed."

People argued that, in spite of negotiations, the political violence signalled that South Africa was already in a state of war.

"This is a fallacy. The truth is that those who are actively taking part in political violence are not yet negotiating or are not negotiating adequately or in good faith."

The government was doing everything in its power to get multi-party negotiations on course once more, and to ensure their success. In the process the government often acted as a facilitator, and had to be neutral and non-partisan.

"This creates the impression that the government does not adopt a strong point of view of its own at the negotiating table. We are often suspected of forming an alliance with the ANC. Nothing is further removed from the truth."

The government had a clear mandate for the constitutional model towards which it was working.

"I wish to give the assurance that the principles on which that mandate is based will be promoted forcefully and with conviction in every negotiation and discussion in which we are involved.

"We are making good progress. We have not abandoned a single principle."

Power-sharing, strong

regional government and checks and balances to prevent any abuse of power; the sensible accommodation of the country's cultural and linguistic diversity; the assurance of economic security for owners and investors; protection of the security of tenure of officials and teachers and all other principles contained in the mandate were already becoming manifest in the broad consensus which was slowly but surely beginning to take shape.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

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'Too soon for top ANC to visit Israel'

THE time is not yet appropriate for senior members of the African National Congress to undertake an official visit to Israel, but lines of communication with the Jerusalem Government must remain open, the ANC Youth League said yesterday.

This is the message an eight-member ANCYL delegation which has just returned from a 12-day intensive "study mission" to Israel will take to the organisation's national executive committee.

"We don't think that it would be really appropriate, especially at this time, for senior ANC leaders to undertake an official visit to Israel," co-leader of the ANCYL delegation, Parks Mankahlana, told Sapa at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on their return.

"If there was to be any visit by senior leaders of the ANC it would have to be to strengthen the forces of progress — those that are for peace and the resolution of the (Middle East) conflict along the lines ... that have been outlined by the international community," he said.

The visit was sponsored by the progressive South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS) and in-

cluded five of their members.

The delegation met political leaders across the spectrum, including Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, senior Palestinian peace negotiators and progressive forces in Israel.

Their busy itinerary also included visits to industrial complexes and agricultural projects, and meetings with intellectuals and educators.

The Israeli Government was keen to establish relationships with the ANC, Mr Mankahlana said.

"They have asked us not to close communication — to speak to one another, and we thought that was a fair request, and we'll continue to do that."

Contact between Jerusalem and the ANC has mainly been via Israel's ambassadors, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The ANC has historically had closer ties with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, which has been locked in battle with the Israeli Government for decades.

Only last year the Israeli Government and Palestinian representatives from the occupied territo-

ries began a political dialogue.

The Palestinian leaders the ANCYL met — "we didn't meet the PLO officially, it is not allowed in Israel" — requested that the ANC continue to support them, Mr Mankahlana said.

"They urged the ANC to support them in all international forums, and we've promised that."

Representatives of progressive forces in Israel, in turn, also requested the ANC's support. The ANC would consider the various requests, Mr Mankahlana said.

"The immediate impression of the ANCYL is that despite Israel's short history of existence, its people have made tremendous strides in the development of their country, particularly in the fields of technology, education, agriculture and social welfare, which has been developed for the citizens of the country," it read.

"However, this splendid and commendable fact of human determination to prosperity and growth is denied its full space of further development and its right to exposure by the Israeli Government's policy of oppression of the Palestinian people." — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

Inkatha luke-warm on FW ideas

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday gave a luke-warm response to President De Klerk's opening speech to Parliament, accepting the tenor of his ideas on non-sexism but rejecting the concept of any attempt to establish an interim government without the necessary consultation.

And it called for a final constitutional dispensation to be established by September 1994.

"The IFP will resist any attempt to establish Transitional Executive Coun-

cils as a power-sharing arrangement. The TECs should be limited to their original function (as envisaged in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) to the levelling of the field of political confrontation.

"(Furthermore) the IFP states its opposition to the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of an interim government of national unity and a Constituent Assembly. It believes this process will delay the drafting of the fi-

nal constitution of South Africa for many years to come," the organisation said in a statement.

The party also said President De Klerk's speech omitted any procedures leading to the final disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

The IFP, however, welcomed the initiative by the government to protect women and other less privileged segments of the population, but said this should be reconsidered within the structures of a

new constitutional dispensation.

Turning to the economy, the IFP said it did not believe the government had gone far enough in recognising the need for a full-scale privatisation effort.

"Nor has it made an irretrievable commitment towards social, cultural and economic pluralism, specifically based on the preservation of the integrity of civil society and the recognition of personal and collective autonomies." — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1993

Govt proposals soon on Bill of Rights

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations were at a stage where clarity had to be achieved on a fundamental issue like a Bill of Rights, State President De Klerk, said yesterday in his opening of Parliament speech.

"The government supports the essential elements of the Law Commission's five-point plan which includes acceptance by Parliament of the Bill of Rights principle. We intend tabling a motion to that effect in Parliament shortly."

A Bill setting out the government's proposals would be published next week for general information.

The government was in favour of introducing a Bill of Fundamental Rights during the transitional constitutional phase and subscribed to the Law Commission's approach in principle to the purpose, functions and content of such a Bill.

The Bill had to give effect to the need of everyone in the country to live happily, prosperously and with dignity, and be well-formulated to cover the

widest possible spectrum of basic rights effectively and enforceably.

In view of the realistic expectations for the resumption of multi-party negotiations, the government had decided to publish its proposals for such a Bill for general information.

To promote a culture of human rights, the government would launch a countrywide action plan soon to propagate the purpose, functions and responsibilities of such rights.

These details would be announced with the government's Bill of Rights proposals.

Comprehensive action had recently been launched to identify statutory provisions which were incompatible with fundamental rights and the government was ready to submit legislation this session to purge the statute book of discrimination.

Draft legislation would be published within days to abolish discrimination against women; the institution of an Equal Rights Commission to promote

the equality of the sexes; a prohibition of discrimination in the workplace, professions and other areas on the grounds of sex, marital status or pregnancy; and to combat family violence.

Inkatha rejects new talks plan

GUARDIAN
12 FEB 1993

INKATHA yesterday rejected plans for the resumption of multi-party talks next month, writes David Beresford in Johannesburg.

Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said there was "no question" of "returning to any forum which in any way resembles Codesa" — the negotiations which collapsed last year after the Boipatong massacre. He said Inkatha was prepared to negotiate about "entirely new deliberations".

of "passive smoking", I recall the day in August 1988 when they acclaimed the discovery by Dr John Relf of Colorado State University that even household pets are "at risk" from this scourge. His finding that dogs have more chance of incurring lung cancer when owned by smokers was seized on by anti-smokers as yet further "scientific proof" of the rightness of their cause.

On close questioning, however, Mr Relf did concede that lung cancer in dogs was "extremely rare". Pressed further as to how many dogs he had actually studied to justify his headline-making claim, he finally admitted the number was one.

AS USUAL when the BBC reports on South Africa, there was something strangely bland and two-dimensional about David Dimbleby's *Panorama* on the violence racking that country (second half due tomorrow). His main theme was the murderous "civil war" between the ANC and

Inkatha, presented as an explosion of mutual madness without any explanation.

One would never have guessed from Dimbleby's report that the fundamental cause of this horrifying violence has been the ANC's systematic campaign to crush Inkatha as the main black force standing in the way of its bid for supreme power. This reign of terror, leading to the murder of more than 200 Inkatha leaders in three years, has been fully documented by such impartial observers as the South African Institute for Race Relations.

But Dimbleby made no attempt to explain any of this — not least perhaps because it might lead to some very awkward questions as to just what sort of an organisation, behind the saintly front of Mr Mandela, the ANC really is.

The only snag is that the true story of what is going on in that complex country is so much more interesting than the fairy-tale version the BBC relentlessly prefers.



Malan: symbol of the anti-communist era

Malan exits with end of apartheid

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN

THE TIMES
12 FEB 1993

SOUTH AFRICA's tricameral parliament started the first full week of its last session with moves intended to close the door on its apartheid past.

The most surprising development was the resignation of General Magnus Malan, the former chief of the defence staff, who was relegated to the water and forestry portfolio after his involvement in covert military support for Inkatha. General Malan was one of the last embodiments of what President Botha had called the "total onslaught" against communism. His departure marks the end of an era.

The way is open for President de Klerk to rebuild his cabinet, particularly after last week's announcements on the phasing out of separate administrations for white, Indian and Coloured affairs.

The imminence of a general election was signalled when Louis Pienaar, the home minister, disclosed that his ministry was on the way to ensuring that all those entitled to vote in the first free elections would be registered to do so.

THE TIMES

30 JAN 1993

DAILY TELEGRAPH