

Give us the price of a beer, asks the ANC

Sunday Times 01-08-93

THE price of just one beer in Tokyo — that's what ANC electoral commission chairman Popo Molefe is asking Japanese workers to contribute to the education of South African voters.

Mr Molefe is spending six days in the world's most productive country to mobilise support and financial assistance for the ANC as the campaign for the April 27 election hots up.

"We are asking Japanese workers to contribute just R10 each towards the education of South African voters — I believe that's about the cost of a beer here in Tokyo," Mr Molefe said.

The ANC official is to address an African cultural festival and fair in Tokyo today before leaving for Australia as part of his campaign to drum up support and

funds for the ANC.

Meanwhile, British trade unions are expected to swell the ANC's election coffers substantially following a meeting between union officials and ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki in London this week, reports PETER MALHERBE.

Representatives of Britain's Trade Union Congress said the major unions had given "enthusiastic support" to requests from the ANC for financial aid.

The officials will now consult members before deciding on their contribution to the election campaign.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on the organisation's first official trip to Taiwan, has promised that Taiwanese business interests in South Africa would be safe with an ANC government.

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THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION is the biggest mistake yet from the World Trade Centre

Without minorities, we cannot move on

Sunday STAR

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EVER since its start the Kempton Park show, (it's time they got back to a real name, that people can identify with) has been the subject of monstrous misconceptions.

There have been endless complaints that it's too slow, too confusing, too uninformative, too cliquish, too combative and so on. In reality, it has been none of these. It has been a fundamentally breathtaking process, perhaps too large to be fully recognised in its own time.

The so-called slowness has been, firstly, hardly slow for a task amounting to turning turtle the patterns of three centuries, and secondly, very necessary. During this "slow" progress, and induced by it, social conventions have been turned upside down.

At the time FW de Klerk made his famous speech, neither he nor anyone else in government had the faintest intention of ending up with one common country, where the citizenship of a Piet Khumalo would be identical to that of a Piet van der Merwe.

They wanted to find some sort of halfway between apartheid and democracy, which is to say, they were looking for a target that was bound to prolong and perpetuate the same old divisions, the same old basic struggle for more black citizenship.

Over the years they have dropped that old, so thoroughly that now they're embarrassed to remember they ever held it. They have well and truly embraced the notion of a single, equal citizenship, and have taken the white population with them at a rate that it would have been outlandish to predict even three years ago.

The ANC & Co have changed just as much. At the time of the Great Turnaround there was plenty of tyrannical instinct lurking beneath the surface of liberation thinking. There was a widespread sense that (a) "we are right" and (b) "we are the majority" so therefore (c) "we will rule and everybody else will be ruled".

The prevailing sentiment was the perfect harbinger for a new era of oppression and resistance, terrorism and sabotage. Over these "slow" years that sentiment has evaporated like dew - not necessarily from every ANC heart or from every communist mind, but certainly from the pitch and thrust of liberation thinking.

DENIS Beckett



ANOTHER WEEK

We are at root - despite the awful atrocities on the extremities - a far, far, sounder society. If you believe no other evidence, look merely at the strikingly pleasant day-to-day interactions that the new spirit has delivered to the ordinary lives of most South Africans.

For that, we have the ramifications and echoes of the Codesa process largely to thank. It has been far from a waste of time.

However, now we come to a formative moment, the revelation of the draft constitution. Now, at last, we have many former critics saying "Ah, finally they're getting somewhere", and we have a widespread sense that if Inkatha and the other alleged handful of grouchy and unlovable dissidents want to jump ship, so be it; that there is "sufficient consensus" we can do without the moaners.

Here we have a new and drastic formula for disaster. This merry bid-them-goodbye approach could easily turn into a catastrophe that will make the current era of distressful but isolated atrocities look enviable.

It is wrong to treat the draft constitution as some sort of high or even semi-high point. The draft is a total disgrace and Codesa's most dramatic failure yet, giving us flimsy detail, like numbers and titles of future office-bearers, while ducking the crunch issue.

The crunch is how to reconcile the irresistible demand for a single South African nation with the immovable need for solid minority autonomy.

There are ways of reconciling these two pressures, such as through the principle that all political units, from the bottom to the top, derive their powers from within, from the will of their own internal constituencies, and work out conflicts by perpetual negotiation between leaders great and small, each with their own

constitutionally inviolable power-base as security.

But these ways are somewhat removed from the beaten path of traditional thinking, which assumes that the conflict of powers has to be cut and dried in advance, by the constitution. Our constitution-drafters have tied themselves holus-bolus to the beaten path and have therefore attempted to do the impossible, which is to satisfy the opposing pressures by stipulating where which powers are to reside.

Nor is it even a good attempt. The only real endeavour the draft reflects is the endeavour to cover up the failure to address the primary issue by baffling brains with minutiae about secondary ones.

It may be, and indeed is a pity that Inkatha, the CP, etc, balk. It might heartily be wished that they would take a rather larger-hearted view towards their compatriots. But baulk they do. And the fact that they baulk is the single greatest fact to be dealt with if we are to acquire the kind of future everybody wants.

There is a glib *gatvol* factor in the treatment of the Cosag bunch and their neuroses (and they certainly make it easy to dislike them). But while the *gatvol* approach might make the righteous feel on the side of the angels today, it spells a sorrowful tomorrow.

"You don't need to worry about Inkatha," says the fashion. "The polls show they only have 2 percent (or 3 or 5 or whatever) support. Even if one believes the polls, 3 percent still means more than a million people. And these are happily discounted in the same environment, where the actions of single carload of desperadoes cause immense national fear and dread. That's not sensible.

We do not need an Angola, where the righteous indignantly squawk "But Savimbi lost an election! He must accept the results!", as if in the hope that with enough squawking Savimbi will be persuaded to confess his sins and turn his grenades into ploughshares.

We need a society where the frightened minorities are on board - hearts, minds, boot and all. To get that, they have to be offered an election in a context they can believe in. Dismaying as it may look in the short sight of the Politically Correct, Codesa has to find the context. Or its initial, underrated, promise will crumble to something much worse than dust.

POLITICS

ESCALATING VIOLENCE may start the rapidly spinning wheels of progress turning backwards

Elections hang on knife-edge

■ To vote or not:

The April elections hang in the balance.

BY DAVID BREIER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE prospects of South Africa's first nonracial elections due on April 27 are balanced on a knife-edge in the face of concerted violence and obstacles.

Government sources disclosed this week that the Transitional Executive Council and Independent Electoral Commission, due to be set up within months, would have to decide whether to postpone the elections if violence was not contained by then.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the elections were absolutely vital to save the country and

any attempt to postpone them would be seen in a very serious light.

President F W de Klerk set the election alarm bells ringing this week when he said South Africa could not contemplate holding elections or adopting a new constitution without the IFP.

The IFP has instead launched a Supreme Court application due to be heard in Pretoria on August 24, aimed at invalidating the election date. The IFP says a form of state must first be agreed on and the concept of "sufficient consensus" must be clarified.

After this week's St James Church massacre in Cape Town, De Klerk said leaders must "get their acts together with regard to violence", irrespective of delays in the constitutional process.

But late this week De Klerk said he still believed elections would be held in April because there was still ample time "to adhere to that time-frame".

When De Klerk announced his timetable late last year for negotiations leading to an election by April next year, he stipulated that violence would first have to be contained by October this year.

But instead violence flared this month immediately after the election date was agreed on by "sufficient consensus" at the World Trade Centre talks. Well over 500 perished in political strife last month, mostly on the East Rand and in Natal.

The Human Rights Commission said many deaths could be attributed to the setting of the election date, and violence could escalate in the run-up to elections.

Hardline Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel this week attributed the upsurge in violence in Natal and the Witwatersrand to conflict between the ANC and IFP "to establish and extend power bases for the forthcoming elections". He announced further measures to combat violence.

Koos van Rensburg, spokesman for the Afrikaner-Volksfront which has had close contact with the IFP, confidently predicted there would be no elections next year.

Even the Democratic Party is beginning to have its



CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE...

National Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

doubts. DP manpower spokesman Robin Carlisle warned that widespread strikes due in the municipal, mining, motor and educational sectors would inevitably spill over into violence and threaten the elections by plunging the country into "irredeemable chaos".

Calling on Cosatu unions to return to negotiations, he said: "If they do not, there may well not be an election".

Nat spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said calling off the election was not an option for the NP, but "in the nature of things, the date is a matter that is continually under consideration, taking into account the relevant facts". He expressed confidence that violence could be controlled.

The Human Sciences Research Council this week warned that endemic communal killings could distort elections and spark a violence backlash.

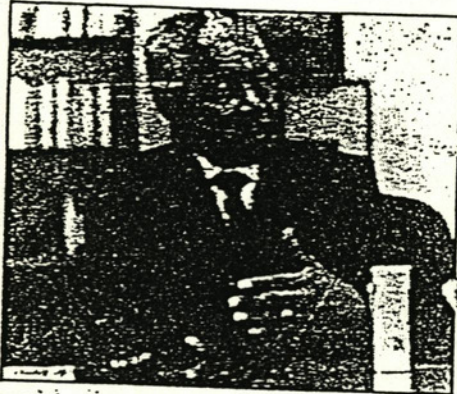
In a bid to contain pre-election violence, the Goldstone Commission is to hold a public meeting in Cape Town this week when it will publish a report on ways of curbing election violence and intimidation.

SUNDAY

STAR

LETTERS

1/08/93



CLASHING HORNS

... Nelson
Mandela

and
Mangosuthu
Buthelezi

are at
loggerheads.



ANC must turn a new leaf

ALLOW me to express my fears concerning the excess indulgences of our present leaders.

I reserve the greatest respect for a man of Nelson Mandela's stature but in the same breath am incensed by his frequent dallies and playing to the media gallery at every opportunity.

It was not long since we heard that Mandela and Buthelezi were sitting in a meeting brokered by church leaders. In this meeting they had the opportunity to thrash out their differences and open up a life-line which, if not identical to the one enjoyed by Mandela and

De Klerk, was surely of a likewise purpose.

But to all intents and purposes Mandela uses US patronage as a platform to belittle and bedevil his countryman Buthelezi. Mandela, an admirer of British parliamentary tradition, showed the world his own African interpretation of that British value.

Was it not Mandela who bleated to the media world and went on record as saying that there is no way he could sound out his problems with Buthelezi?

It seems the elder statesman is

being emotionally blackmailed by his coterie of young advisers into making these selfish utterances. Surely what is imperative is to act with restraint and magnanimity?

I hold no brief for what Buthelezi stands for, but what the ANC leader said makes the Inkatha leader look like the aggrieved victim.

Does decency not call for charitability? For the ANC to talk of national unity in the country they must turn a new leaf in their stock criticisms.

Joel T Mosheu

Boiketlo

SUNDAY STAR 1/08/93

Talks are deep-frozen

By JOHN MACLENNAN

IN public it is business as usual at the World Trade Centre, but in private delegates admit negotiations face a crisis.

For the moment all real decisions are on hold. Just about the only agreement made this week was that delegates would "revisit" piles of

the technical reports and drafts, including the crucial draft constitution.

The predicted crunch has been caused by the boycott by the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government teams and a KwaZulu court challenge. This seeks to overturn the two biggest achieve-

ments reached — the go-ahead to write a constitution and the setting of an election date.

KwaZulu holds that the constitution will open the way for an all-powerful constituent assembly and that this will exclude federalism.

Delegates believe the court action will not succeed, but they concede a settlement will have

little chance of working unless supported by the right wing and especially Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Nor will a successful court action prevent negotiators using sufficient consensus for decision-making because KwaZulu is only disputing its application in selected instances.

At the heart of the dispute is the inflexible demand for self-determination by the right wing and KwaZulu.

Both parties also believe the talks have been hijacked in some ANC/Government plot and are deeply resentful because they feel their proposals were not given a fair hearing.

At issue also is the loss of power and privilege now enjoyed by the regions and their distrust of what is likely to be an ANC-dominated government.

The CP and KwaZulu want maximum powers carved in the stone of a final constitution before elections are held.

They have been unable to secure this objective because they have been swamped in two crucial votes through "sufficient consensus".

Hence this week's court application which seeks to revoke important decisions made on this basis.

The application will not be heard before August 24 and the KwaZulu, IFP and CP teams will not attend the talks before then, if they ever consent to come back.

OUR VIEW

IFP must not have veto

The issue:

KwaZulu has launched court action to delay next year's nonracial elections

We suggest:

Under no circumstances can South Africa afford to postpone the elections

SOUTH Africa is in election mode. The nation is psychologically prepared for April 27. The major parties have begun campaigning. Against this background, the KwaZulu Government's application to the Supreme Court to invalidate the election decision is a slap in the face for the country.

Without anticipating the legal issues, it is not difficult to anticipate the political repercussions. The postponement of the election will come as a rude shock to the vast majority of South Africans who have taken the elections for granted. An upsurge in spontaneous nationwide fury would be inevitable, with incalculable consequences. Internationally, South Africa would be written off as yet another lost cause.

Therefore it is difficult to understand how President de Klerk could say this week that South Africa could not contemplate holding elections and adopting a new constitution without Inkatha.

The IFP is an extremely important component of any settlement, probably even more so than the far-rightwing. The IFP's absence would severely weaken the democratic process and De Klerk may merely have been trying to sweet-talk Buthelezi into returning to the fold. But he also succeeded in arming him with the ultimate traditional weapon - the veto.

By placing elections at the mercy of the IFP, De Klerk appears to have given Buthelezi an effective veto over the negotiation process.

The IFP and its right-wing allies must be celebrating the State President's weak-kneed signal that they can hold the country to ransom.

The danger of any such veto is that it rewards those with relatively little popular support who are given the incentive to perpetuate violence with the aim of delaying democracy. It is a recipe for the ongoing slaughter which is bleeding our country to death.

Certainly a political settlement must be as inclusive as possible and the negotiators must continue to bend over backwards, as they are doing, to accommodate reasonable aspirations for strong regional government to the point of creating a federation.

But at the end of the day, the IFP is a powerful but small minority that cannot be allowed to delay the only real test of democratic support - a nonracial free and fair election, without which there is no hope whatsoever of peace.

ANC appalled by De Klerk's new

SUNDAY 1 AUGUST 1993

defence chief

Alister Sparks
Johannesburg

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk has revealed the extent of his weakening control over a divided Cabinet by endorsing the appointment of the most conservative and discredited member of the general staff as the new chief of South Africa's defence force.

It was widely expected that when the present defence force chief, General Kat Liebenberg, a man with a long record of directing clandestine operations against the black liberation movements, retires at the end of October, the job would go to someone better qualified to

establish credibility for the security forces in the eyes of black South Africans.

Most observers were looking to Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, the air force chief of staff De Klerk appointed last year to head a clean-up investigation into dirty-tricks operations run by the defence force. Instead De Klerk has appointed one of the key figures Steyn's investigation exposed, army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring.

The ANC immediately issued a protest statement saying it had 'serious reservations' about Meiring's past. That is an understatement. Meiring has been revealed as a blatantly partisan officer who in recent times

has authorised dirty-tricks operations aimed at discrediting the ANC and its allied organisations.

De Klerk clearly decided it was more important to appease right-wing elements within his own Cabinet. Tensions are building up there between the government's negotiating team, which is striking compromise deals with the ANC, and conservative Ministers who see these deals as marginalising Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which they favour as an ally.

Things have come to a head over the past week as Buthelezi has tried to stall the negotiating process, objecting among other

things to the scheduling of 27 April as the date for South Africa's first one-person, one-vote election.

Critics believe Buthelezi wants to avoid the election because opinion polls show his party to be a certain loser with only 3 per cent national support. De Klerk tried and failed last Thursday to persuade Buthelezi to drop his objections and return to the talks.

Instead, Buthelezi has taken his case to the Supreme Court, claiming there were irregularities in the negotiating council's procedures.

Ministers anxious to move ahead with the negotiations for fear of growing instability in the

country, are urging De Klerk to get tough with Buthelezi over his delaying tactics. But conservative Ministers still see Buthelezi as their primary ally against the ANC, and any action by De Klerk against Buthelezi could split the Cabinet — with disastrous results for the negotiating process.

It is this ability to put pressure on an ideological fault-line in the De Klerk Cabinet that gives Buthelezi his political power, rather than his minuscule support within the future electorate.

Evidence of Meiring's involvement in dirty-tricks operations against the ANC emerged last November when

the Goldstone Commission, which is investigating sources of political violence, raided the operational headquarters of a clandestine military unit near Pretoria.

Among its discoveries was evidence of an exercise called Operation Echoes, authorised by Meiring, which sent two secret agents to Britain last year to produce 'evidence' of ANC links with the IRA and the PLO.

While in Britain, the agents also tried to set up the assassination of a police informant, Gert Coetzee, who had revealed details of South Africa's death squads before seeking sanctuary with the ANC and fleeing to

London. Meiring claimed the first part of the operation was in accordance with his 'line authority', and that the plot against Coetzee was unauthorised.

Despite the disclaimer, Britain was sufficiently outraged for John Major to take the matter up personally with De Klerk when they met in London soon afterwards.

In another disclosure late last year, evidence at an inquest into a political assassination revealed that Meiring had authorised the re-engagement of a discredited secret agent and convicted murderer named Ferdi Barnard, who then proposed a plan to use 'underworld connections'

ANC APPALLED BY DE KLERK'S NEW

to involve ANC leaders in prostitution and drug-dealing allegations.

~~Meiring also tangled with~~
Judge Richard Goldstone when the commission found that a notorious counter-insurgency unit called 32 Battalion had committed atrocities in a black squatter camp near Johannesburg and recommended the unit be disbanded.

Meiring publicly defied Goldstone, saying he would not disband the battalion and would continue to deploy his forces as he saw fit. This was followed by a series of anti-ANC pronouncements, which led to formal complaints against him of political bias.

IGNORE THE IFP at your peril is the signal De Klerk appears to be sending

Inkatha is back in the ring

■ **Inkatha power:** After 10 months in the cold, the IFP has regained its status as a major political force.

By DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE pendulum is swinging back for the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has regained its political stature in Government circles.

This week President FW de Klerk took the unusual step of flying to KwaZulu-Natal territory in Durban to ask IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to withdraw his court action aimed at delaying elections due on April 27. De Klerk failed.

On two separate occasions that day De Klerk in effect signalled the return of the IFP as a major player by saying that South Africa could not contemplate elections and a new constitution without the IFP.

Government sources said that they were now obliged to pay greater attention to the IFP after it walked out of the democracy talks – just as the Government wooed the ANC after it left Codesa last year.

Informed sources say that pro-IFP ministers such as Minister of



BUTHELEZI...
Nat sources say De Klerk met him halfway ... but the State President may have to travel further.

Law and Order Hernus Kriel, Minister of Local Government Tertius Delpont and Natal Nat leader George Bartlett have helped persuade De Klerk to take the IFP seriously again.

This follows a period of hostility with the IFP in which Government Young Turks Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels led a policy decision to ditch the IFP as a serious negotiating partner in favour of concentrated bilateral talks with the ANC.

Open hostility between the Government and its former IFP ally broke out after the Record of Understanding between the Government and ANC last September.

The National Party then ditched its strategy of an alliance with the IFP and decided to fight elections on its own steam, privately declaring the IFP an embarrassment because of its unpopularity among blacks.

Senior National Party and Government members, who had previously taken the IFP seriously began to sneer privately at the IFP, dismissing it as a serious political force. But a number of factors have now brought the IFP back as a serious political factor in Government thinking. These include:

■ The defections of Nats to the IFP, most recently respected Natal MEC Peter Mhler.

■ Pressure from the Natal caucus of the NP to restore relations with the IFP.

■ The growing alliance between the IFP and the far Right Afrikaner-Volksfront which could offer whites a more powerful political haven than the NP.

■ The upsurge in violence between the IFP and ANC on the Reef and in Natal this month, which proved the IFP's muscle and ability to disrupt elections.

Observers believe there is little prospect of Government restoring covert financial support for the IFP as exposed by the Inkathagate scandal.

Instead the tendency is to return to the pre-September pattern in which the Government tried to balance ANC and IFP demands at the negotiations. There are fears that this could undermine the spectacular progress between the Government and ANC over the past 10 months.

This week Government sources put a brave face on De Klerk's mission to Durban saying he had met Buthelezi halfway – as the meeting was not in Pretoria or Ulundi. They also denied that De Klerk had gone there to persuade the IFP to return to multiparty talks.