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## NATAL VIOLENCE ESCALATES TOWARDS CIVIL WAR

As the already high level of violence between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal continues to climb, politicians warn of possible civil war. To cope with the crisis, the government has moved extra troops and police into the province.

"As Natal slides towards anarchy, residents are becoming resigned to an all-out civil war," said *The Weekly Mail* (30/10/92). "The only way this thing can end is if the government leaves us alone and lets us fight it out," it quotes an IFP resident as saying, adding that ANC supporters echoed similar sentiments. "The war has taken on a frightening new face, with professional hit squad attacks the order of the day," continued the paper. "The proliferation of guns in the war zones is frightening: defence unit members openly brandish firearms in anticipation of further attacks. In the recent spate of massacres - nine in the past two months - whole families, including women and small children have been gunned down. Inkatha supporters have borne the brunt of the latest attacks, carried out by gangs of mysterious men in army and police uniforms."

"The unrelenting killing of IFP leaders and supporters in military-style killings is directly linked to the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the proliferation of arms caches," said IFP spokesman Ed Tillet. They are part of a "sinister new phase of covert ANC hit-squad operations. MK fugitives are allegedly using Transkei as a springboard from which to mount cross-border incursions into Natal as they thrust deeper and deeper into IFP territory. "The government appears reluctant to address the issue." At least 8 000 people had been killed in Natal during the past eight years with the current rate at 100 deaths per month.

The IFP directly blamed MK for killing 60 IFP supporters in six massacres in the six weeks prior to Oct 15. In each case, "trained assassins wearing security force uniforms" carried out the attacks. In four of the incidents, ANC or MK members had either been arrested or killed in self defence by IFP members at the scene of the massacres. Of the 32 IFP branch chairmen in the Natal Midlands in 1987, 80 percent were killed in violence. Only two were still alive in 1991. Since the mid 1980s, 123 Inkatha officials were killed in the Midlands alone. Between Sept 1 and Oct 21, 1992, there were more than 30 attacks on IFP members. The IFP leader in Alexandra was gunned down on Oct 15, bringing to six the number of IFP leaders in Alexandra murdered in that week.

In one of the worst incidents, 26 people were killed and 27 wounded at Inkatha-controlled Mpushini, south of Durban, when gunmen, some in army uniforms, fired into a gathering on the night of Oct 24. Many of the victims were sangomas (witches) who had gathered to initiate a young girl. The IFP believes the massacre was part of a concerted effort by the ANC to attack traditional Zulu cultural events because they conflict with the ANC's goal of restructuring society. Seven ANC-connected people were killed at nearby Folweni the previous night.

Two policemen were shot dead, one by four men in army uniforms, in separate incidents in townships around Durban on Oct 22. Their deaths brought to five the policemen killed that week and at least 65, the number killed in Natal this year. Over 200 policemen have been murdered nationwide by Nov 15.

### TOP ANC MAN IN NATAL KILLED

Reggie Hadebe (35), the deputy chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region, was killed on Oct 27 when his car was ambushed, some 40 kms from Pietermaritzburg. One of the two other people in the car was slightly injured. A lecturer at the University of Natal, Hadebe had often been portrayed as a fire-eater and an "ANC warlord" and was deputy to Harry Gwala, the fiery, militant head of the ANC Midlands region, who does not hesitate to declare himself a Marxist. Two months earlier, Hadebe survived a similar ambush during which an MK commander was killed. According to the IFP, that attack was "the result of inter-ANC fighting". The police offered a reward of R25 000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Addressing a crowd of 6 000 at Hadebe's funeral on Oct 28, ANC president, Nelson Mandela called for a meeting of the Natal regional dispute resolution committee to discuss the violence. He also urged Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to use his power to stop people from killing each other and appealed to traditional leaders to support the king in his search for peace. However he attacked those "to try to ride on the back of tribalism", saying "they sit on the back of a demon which will take them down a road of conflict and immense suffering". Despite growing pressure for a face-to-face meeting with IFP leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to seek a way to end violence in Natal, Mandela has persistently and flatly refused, calling instead for a summit of NPA signatories.

Reacting to Mandela's speech, Buthelezi castigated Mandela for trying to drive a wedge between himself and the



**Zulu king.** He said he found it insulting that Mandela would assume that he could avoid dealing with him. He knew the ANC/SACP alliance sought to destroy KwaZulu. He said the ANC "was not interested in peaceful reform" and Mandela's agenda was "politically antagonistic and divisive". The ANC's "only goal has been to secure unilateral control over the transitional process and the future South African government."

**"I share in the shock and outrage of all peace-loving South Africans at the killing of at least 31 people over the weekend in Folweni and in other parts of Natal,"** State President FW de Klerk said on Oct 26. **He again called on Mandela and Buthelezi to meet as soon as possible.** Following a cabinet meeting on Oct 29, De Klerk ordered the doubling of SADF troop strength in Natal and the infiltration of MK members from Transkei to be stopped. Operation Peace, a major joint police/army operation was launched on Nov 3. Its objective is to stabilise the unrest situation in Natal, reduce the conflict between the ANC and IFP, and work towards peace. An additional 2 000 troops and 310 police were sent to Natal and a number of unrest areas were declared.

In response, the ANC criticised the government's "unilateral" plan and blamed the police and the army for the violence. The ANC constantly maintained that it was the government's responsibility to maintain law and order, Law and Order minister, Hernus Kriel, said on Nov 5. "But when we do take further steps, we are criticised by the ANC for doing so." Attacks were well planned and rapidly executed and most took place at night. He said inflammatory statements by leaders, intense rivalry for political dominance, the involvement of MK members and the actions of self-defence units all contributed to the violence. The border with the Transkei would be patrolled to prevent the infiltration of MK into Natal.

### **MORE BLOWS TO NATIONAL PARTY CREDIBILITY**

A series of events has further shaken public confidence in the National Party and its ability to govern the country and control the transitional period (Also see Roca Report no 46).

#### **THE SHORT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT**

The special short session of Parliament (Oct 12-21) was marked by humiliating setbacks to the government and charges that it was once more manipulating the democratic process to satisfy its own legislative designs. First the Constitutional Amendment Bill, enabling non-members of Parliament, including Blacks, to be appointed to the Cabinet, had to be withdrawn because its drafters had not realised that it required an absolute majority in each of the three Houses. According to the Democratic Party, once a bill is rejected, it cannot be resubmitted in the same session. When the government did, after dropping a clause, the DP called it "a subterfuge of the worst kind".

Then the Further Indemnity Bill was rejected after Mandela pressured the leader of a party in the (Indian) House of Delegates not to support it, causing even worse humiliation to the State President. The bill was heavily criticised because those seeking indemnity would not be held accountable for their crimes. **However no such criticism was raised when hundreds of ANC members received indemnity without their crimes being disclosed.** The controversial measure was eventually passed by the President's Council, a mechanism for by-passing Parliament, on Oct 30. The only National Party member of the President's Council to abstain from voting was Russell Crystal, South African director of the International Freedom Foundation and a NP member since 1977.

Questions were raised as to why the government was so determined to push the bill through so quickly. Some speculated that it wanted to indemnify security force members engaged in illegal activities. This was denied by the government who insisted that it was required by the Record of Understanding (see Roca Report no 46). The ANC reject this suggestion saying it would repeal the measure as soon as it came to power.

Another measure did away with the need to hold by-elections, resulting in Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, accusing the NP of seeking to avoid facing a storm of dissatisfied voters at the polls. There are already three vacancies which should be filled by by-elections.

**"The government talks of minority rights, but here they intentionally, premeditatedly and cold-bloodedly circumvent one of the checks and balances in their own constitution,"** said Peter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, commenting on the government's determination to steamroller its legislation into law. **"They are now doing what they claim they want to prevent any future government from doing."** The government was riding rough-shod over the rights of the minorities it claimed would be protected in some future constitution!

**"Why does the State President squander his political capital, his personal reputation, his international standing, and possibly his future effectiveness, to pass a squalid law designed to cover up the misdeeds of political thugs?"** asked Ken Owen in the *Sunday Times* (25/10/92). **"President de Klerk's mantle of statesmanship has been soiled; he looks to be a lesser man than he seemed two years ago. From end to end of this country, confidence in his leadership - and faith in the future - is draining away. ... Behind the panic, both of civil servants and of businessmen, lies a sense that the wheels are coming off. Codesa has broken down, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has retreated into an angry and destructive isolation, the ANC continue to reject basic democratic mechanisms and President de Klerk busies himself with side-issues. Crime is endemic, suffering is widespread and insecurity is universal. ... No society can be expected to endure this kind of stress indefinitely."**



## RESIGNATION OF KEY MINISTERS AND NEGOTIATORS

On its front page, the *Sunday Times* (15/11/92) carried a large colour photo of a smiling De Klerk surrounded by four senior cabinet ministers emerging from the caucus meeting of 12/8/89 that toppled the then State President, P W Botha, from power. **Three, all top negotiators, have since burnt out and left the cabinet.** The fourth was ordered to rest for an extended period following two heart attacks.

Gerrit Viljoen, once Minister of Constitutional Development, took a lesser job in May after falling ill and resigned at the end of October because of serious health setbacks. Barend du Plessis (52) quit as Finance Minister on April 25 after eight years, following a nervous breakdown. Former cabinet minister, Stoffel van der Merwe (52) who left the cabinet at the request of De Klerk to take up the appointment of NP secretary general, a post which he held for only 13 months before bowing out saying: "My batteries have run down". Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, a cabinet veteran of 13 years, retains his post, but only just. What of De Klerk, the man who shoulders the greatest burden of them all? asks the weekly. The only sign of stress is that he tried to give up smoking this year and failed.

Commenting on Viljoen's retirement, *The Citizen* (29/10/92) described him as a man with a remarkable understanding of constitutional options because of "his great intellect and ability to grasp the fundamentals of what is required if there is to be a settlement that will be acceptable to all reasonable men." It attributed his illness to the extreme burdens imposed on people who are involved in the negotiations **"especially as the ANC is playing a very skilful game of exerting the maximum pressure on the government by creating deadlocks, pulling out of the negotiations, and blackmailing the government through mass action that helped to destroy the economy and destabilise the country."**

A former professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University, Stoffel van der Merwe, like du Plessis, was considered part of the younger, reformist wing of the NP. He was a key element in De Klerk's strategy of turning the NP into a vehicle which represented the aspirations of moderate South Africans of all races and which could win a democratic election. **He is reported to have become frustrated and disillusioned with the transition process and to have had recurring bouts of depression.**

De Klerk "is saddled with a Cabinet that is possibly the weakest for decades, with two of his senior Ministers quitting after they found the strain too much for them and the negotiations have to be led by a virtually junior minister who isn't tough enough, or astute enough, to take on the ANC heavyweights," said *The Citizen* (26/10/92).

## SCANDALS IN THE HOMELANDS

The resignations of Viljoen and van der Merwe came on the eve of the release of two reports on corruption and malpractices in Lebowa and KwaNdebele. They followed the Pickard report, released in April (see Roca Report no 41) which exposed theft, corruption, graft and maladministration in ministries held by the two ministers.

The De Meyer commission, appointed in June 1989, released its report on Lebowa on Nov 10. It revealed a total lack of financial control, with gross mismanagement, irregularities, inefficiency, ignoring of Treasury instructions, neglect and fraud in most departments and recommended that possible criminal charges be investigated. Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Jacob de Villiers, was unable to quantify the cost of the maladministration in cash terms although the government was paying Lebowa more than R2.3 billion in the current financial year.

The Parsons commission report on KwaNdebele was released two days later. The commission, which had sat for four years, found that the 1986 unrest flowed from a power struggle between certain members of the Chief's Dynasty of the Mabhoko tribe and the late Chief Minister Skosana. It accused the police of openly siding with the ruling party and of serious mismanagement, malpractices and irregularities. It recommended criminal proceedings be investigated against Chief Minister James Mahlanga, and his brother Cornelius, a cabinet minister, in the light of evidence that they incited comrades to necklace enemies and burn down their houses. The SA government rejected the commission's recommendation that the KwaNdebele police force be incorporated into the SA Police.

**"Never before in our country's history has a government been so closely associated with the total breakdown of civilised norms as has this government - yet they remain in power,"** said Schalk Pienaar, CP spokesman on regional and land affairs, commenting on the two reports. The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce is appalled at the erosion of respect for the Rule of Law and the depths to which standards of government administration and morality have plummeted, said its president on Nov 13. **"Unless this degeneration of government and business ethics is halted, general disrespect for the Rule of Law can be expected to proliferate, resulting in widespread anarchy."**

## SECRET PROJECTS COMING TO LIGHT

Loyal South Africans who had engaged in under-cover operations during counter-insurgency operations against the ANC/SACP alliance are now feeling abandoned by the government they served. In order to get the compensation they believe they are entitled to, they are prepared to disclose what has been kept secret. Much of the information is being revealed during the judicial inquest into the death of David Webster and the court inquest into the death of Bheki Mlangeni. Webster, a Wits University professor and fierce anti-apartheid activist was gunned down in front of his home on May 1, 1989. Mlangeni, a human rights lawyer, was killed in Feb 1991 by a



parcel bomb apparently intended for Dirk Coetzee, a renegade policeman, who has since joined the ANC.

Documents submitted to the Mlangeni inquest by the Department of Military Intelligence, show that in April 1992, Chief of the Army, General George Meiring, approved a clandestine operation to discredit the ANC by leaking information about alleged cooperation between MK and the Irish Republican Army. The documents also show that Col Eugene de Kok, commander of the police's Vlakplaas base, instructed MI agent and former Vlakplaas operative, Leon Flores, to arrange for the assassination of Coetzee while in England on official MI business. According to *The Weekly Mail*, the documents were released to clear MI and put the blame on the SAP.

Major-General Eddie Webb, recently retired commander of the SADF's Special Forces Unit and chairman of the clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau (now disbanded) admitted to the Webster inquest on Nov 3, that he had lied to the 1990 Harms Commission to protect former CCB managing director, Col Joe Verster. He knew that Verster had given false evidence, but chose not to point this out.

**"Three rival units of Pretoria's security forces are involved in a bitter vendetta which threatens to present President FW de Klerk's cabinet with damning evidence of government involvement in dirty-tricks campaigns,"** said *The Weekly Mail* (13/11/92). "One covert unit rats on another and this, in turn, generates a new flood of revelations about the government's shady past. ... **The CCB fights with the SADF and points fingers at Vlakplaas. The SADF blames Vlakplaas and denigrates the CCB. Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kok reacts by threatening to reveal all about the 'third force'. These conflicts within the security forces are creating fissures in the secrecy that had been built around the state's shady past. Indications are the wall is about to burst.**"

In any revolutionary struggle, a key goal is to undermine and discredit the government's security agencies because they represent the main bulwark against the unconstitutional seizure of power. It can be seen from the above that this strategy, greatly assisted by the news media, is succeeding admirably. The impression that the disclosures are part of a strategy is heightened by the fact that there is no similar campaign to delve into secret ANC projects or to disclose ANC dirty tricks. No-one is asking, for example: "Have secret instructions been given to MK soldiers to kill political opponents while dressed in police or army uniforms to discredit the security forces?"

#### ALIENATION OF BUTHELEZI AND THE IFP

Many Whites, especially National Party supporters, are expressing alarm at the extent to which the government appears to be appeasing the ANC at the cost of alienating Buthelezi, who is seen as a moderate with the sympathy of many Whites. Buthelezi has been angered by the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC which he sees as an attempt to achieve a bilateral agreement to be imposed on other parties (See Roca Report no 46). The agreement bans the carrying of traditional weapons (shields, spears and sticks) but makes no comments on the existence of MK, its arms caches or firearms in general, despite the fact that **by far the greatest number of political deaths in the first six months of the year, 779 (56.6 percent), were caused by shooting.** By contrast, the Institute for Futures Studies attributed only 205 (14.9 percent) of the deaths to hacking, with 196 train deaths, 76 burnings, 23 necklacings and 98 others.

In defiance of the agreement's ban on traditional weapons, Buthelezi led two marches, one, with 20 000 Zulus through the centre of Johannesburg on Oct 17 and the other with more than that number through Durban on Oct 31. The marches, styled cultural rather than political, also formed part of the IFP's "Disband MK Campaign". A memorandum handed to the authorities condemned the Record of Understanding as a "betrayal of the Zulu nation". Police described the marches as "generally well-behaved and disciplined". Responding to Kriel's threat to charge him for breaking the law, Buthelezi said on Oct 20 he would go to jail if convicted "to dramatise the way this government treats me and the way they treat the leadership of the ANC/SACP alliance".

**"There are reports that the Cape Nationalist congress showed signs of restiveness over the alienation of Chief Buthelezi and a large section of the Zulu nation,"** editorialised *The Citizen* (19/10/92). "The party would pay dearly for this in a forth-coming election, one MP reportedly told the Nationalist caucus. The same report claims **Mr De Klerk explained it was essential to strengthen the hands of the ANC moderates, hence his decision to accept the ANC's demands.** The ANC moderates were now in a stronger position and it was possible to resume negotiations that would lead to a government of national unity. **Since we do not believe that there are moderates in the ANC, which is dominated by the SA Communist Party, we would certainly not go along with this argument. ... For the sake of its own alliance of moderates, the government should take great care not to alienate Chief Buthelezi further.** It needs him as an ally in any election. It certainly does not need him as an enemy."

Most Whites feel the government is making a mess of running the country, according to a Market and Opinion Survey published in the *Sunday Times* (15/11/92). The economy was being handled poorly or very poorly according to 69 percent of the respondents, giving the government a rating of 25 on an index of 0 to 100. Its response to ANC demands got a rating of 31 and its handling of negotiations 41. However, despite its poor performance, 51 percent of respondents would vote for it, because they are even less impressed with the ANC which would only get 0.4 percent of White votes! Over 80 percent of respondents held a poor opinion of the ANC and 70 percent regarded Mandela and Ramaphosa the same way. **Over 65 percent said their opinion of Mandela had worsened over the past 8 months and 70 percent indicated the same about the ANC.** On the other hand, 56 percent held Buthelezi in high esteem. The CP would get 21 percent of the vote and the DP 13.



## THE ANC ALSO HITS PROBLEMS

The ANC also has its share of trouble, stemming from revelations of atrocities in its detention camps, reports of its military cadres running out of control and an internal dispute about its role in negotiations.

### ANC TORTURE CAMPS

Prisoners at the notorious Quatro camp in Angola were "denegated, humiliated and abused, often with staggering brutality" according to the report, released on Oct 19, of an ANC-appointed commission, two of whose members have ANC links. The place was characterised by "violence for the sake of violence" with detainees being mercilessly beaten for hours on end until they confessed to "crimes" to end the torture. **"We were left with the impression that for the better part of the 1980s there existed a situation of extraordinary abuse of power and lack of accountability."** There was a "sense of unease" that executions were carried out summarily. Detainees were held without trial for long periods under shocking physical conditions and were denied adequate health treatment. Only one man, Mzwai Piliso, former head of the ANC's department of intelligence and security, was named in the report but it emphasises that allegations of brutality were levelled at people who are still employed by the security dept. **None of the above is new! It has all been reported by ANC dissidents over the course of many years.**

According to the *Sunday Times* (18/10/92) a furious eight-hour row took place in the ANC's national working committee on Oct 16, ahead of the release of the report. Some were vehemently opposed to the release of the 70-page report, and especially to the release of the names of the people involved in the torture. Mandela subsequently undertook to appoint an independent and impartial body to further investigate allegations of torture and murder in the camps. The ANC stopped short of formally apologising to those who suffered maltreatment in its camps.

In its first finding against political organisations, **the National Peace Accord ruled on Sept 18, that the ANC breeched five sections of the peace accord and, the SACP had contravened one single clause.** The ANC and SACP were given until Sept 30 to distance themselves from the mock trial in Pietermaritzburg on June 26 in which 11 IFP leaders, including Buthelezi, were sentenced to death and from a newspaper article published on April 18 which quoted Gwala. **Neither organisation attended the hearing and both failed to respond to the NPA's orders.** The ANC also did not attend a hearing of the NPA on Oct 16 when it was found guilty of a further three contraventions of the peace accord. As a result it has been accused of only paying lip service to the accord.

### MK OUT OF CONTROL

**"The rumblings of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe are turning into an all-out crisis for the African National Congress,"** said *The Weekly Mail* (13/11/92) in a major article on armed MK militants who are out of control. (Also see Roca Reports nos 42 and 44) "Former MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted this week that the problems arising from the growing disenchantment of returned MK soldiers had the 'potential to explode' in the absence of a speedy political solution. And current MK chief Sphiwe Nyanda said he was surprised more MK returnees had not turned to crime."

**The article paints a dismal picture of soldiers returning to an ignoble fate of poverty and obscurity instead of the glorious blaze of victory they had anticipated, and then plunging into crime, drink and hijacking self defence units for gangster purposes.** Hani admitted that the confusion and alienation felt by many MK cadres could be attributed to the ANC's failure to reorientate them to the "new reality" of struggle. "We must accept that we did not embark on political orientation."

An indication of the depth of the conflict between internal ANC leaders and returning exiles can be gauged by the shooting of Bavumile Vilakazi, PWV regional executive member, in Sebokeng on Sept 17 by a self defence unit member. The assailant said he believed Vilakazi was a policeman. However many MK soldiers have accused Vilakazi of "blocking positions for them" and believe **the culprit was an MK member who acted out of revenge.** In a similar incident, six members of the Zwane family, including a seven-year old girl, were gunned down in their Sebokeng home on Nov 4. The ANC immediately blamed the SADF but set up their own investigation which now admits renegade members of one of its own self defence units were responsible. It says **the killing was part of a power struggle in the Vaal area between returned exiles and internal members.**

**Renegade SDU members are involved in vehicle hijackings, forcing traders to pay "protection money", robbing people while school girls are being raped and killed,** Hani said in an interview published in the *Sunday Times* (15/11/92). "The situation is very dangerous for the ANC alliance. People are beginning to say these people call themselves Comrades and they are killing us." The article lists a number of killings in which rogue self defence units are suspected.

Hani said a contributing factor was that large numbers of former soldiers had returned with no jobs or prospects to violence-ridden communities. Disillusionment among the former exiles had deepened by the recent uncovering of a R330 000 fraud at the ANC-linked National Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles which meant that the returnees had received little or no money to assist them to reintegrate into society. Most had not received the R800 a month for a six month period which had been promised and were outraged that the money had disappeared into the hands of "greedy administrators".



Recent newspaper reports document the following incidents in which ANC/MK members were allegedly involved.

- 19/10: Police shot dead an MK member in a Middelburg township during a hunt for the killers of a 72 year old woman. Three other MK members were arrested for the murder. One left South Africa in July 1990, received military training in Uganda and was repatriated on April 23, 1992. Another left for Swaziland in 1985 where he joined the ANC and received military training.
- 21/10: An MK member who left South Africa in 1982 and underwent training in Pakistan and Eastern Europe, was arrested in Johannesburg with forged R50 notes valued at R30 000.
- 30/10: An ANC member who was trained in Angola in 1986 was arrested in Nelspruit in connection with the murder of a police officer. He had previously been arrested in 1990 on charges of terrorism.
- 5/11: An MK member who had received military training in Angola in 1987 and returned to South Africa in August 1991, was arrested in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, and 24 Russian handgrenades, an AK-47 rifle and ammunition and a full Stechkin machine pistol magazine were confiscated. He said he stored the arms on the instructions of a senior SACP member.
- 11/11: An MK member who received military training outside South Africa appeared in a Johannesburg court in connection with an incident in which a handgrenade was thrown at a police car, killing a child. He admitted being linked in various ways to other grenade explosions. The investigating officer said that since his arrest, the incidence of handgrenade throwing in Zola, Soweto, had diminished considerably.

### TO MAKE CONCESSIONS OR NOT?

An unprecedented public debate has erupted between leading ANC and SACP theorists over what kind of deal should be cut with the NP during the transition to democracy. The debate was sparked by a paper *Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?* published in *African Communist*, in which ANC and SACP leader Joe Slovo suggested the ANC make sweeping concessions to speed up the transitional process. His suggestions, fleshed out in a paper called *Strategic Perspectives*, were endorsed by the Patriotic Front conference on October 29.

The paper envisages a power-sharing executive, in which "the ANC and NP are the main players", for a fixed period after the adoption of a new constitution. To counter the possibility that the SADF, SAP and public service may destabilise any future dispensation they perceive as negative to their interests, it suggests that job security, pensions and a general amnesty should form part of a negotiated settlement. According to Slovo, these proposals lay a substantial basis for a real advance towards "the total dismantling of apartheid" (in other words, the implementation of socialism).

Leading the opposition is Pallo Jordan, an independent socialist and one of the ANC's most influential intellectuals who heads the ANC's department of information and publicity. Negotiations, he says, should be "aimed at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics. This should determine the alliance's entire approach to negotiations." In other words, he wants the De Klerk regime simply to give up power. Far from guaranteeing job security and pensions to the security forces and civil service, "a very sharp axe" should be taken to them. Jordan, in turn, is accused of confusing longer-term objectives with immediate possibilities because the total defeat of the NP is not an immediate, practical possibility.

### HOW WILL CLINTON IMPACT SOUTH AFRICA?

American president-elect, Bill Clinton, would "maintain all remaining state and local sanctions as well as diplomatic pressure" on South Africa until a Black majority government (rather than an interim one) was in power, he said in an interview published in the *Africa Report*, the mouthpiece of the radical Africa-America Institute. He would also restrict South Africa's access to international financial institutions, support Mandela's call for international monitors and strengthen UN peace-keeping capabilities. Commenting on the article, Prof Carel Noffke, head of the Rand Afrikaans University's Institute for American Studies, said Clinton's wife Hilary, is a "left-wing activists of some 20 years" who was president of the New World Foundation which had funded many radical organisation and had given \$38 million to the pro-ANC Africa Fund. In another indication of Clinton's bias, he phoned Mandela on Nov 5 to thank him for his message of congratulation, but only spoke to De Klerk on Nov 9. Mandela had met Clinton immediately before he was nominated at the Democratic convention.

Clinton and his wife are "a couple who, by their own words, actions and omissions, make a mockery of every eternal value and verity embodied in our Judeo-Christian tradition," according to *Insider Report* (Oct 1992), a reputable American newsletter. "Their value system, and consequently the one they seek to make respectable internationally, has only one standard: Does it satisfy the wants and desires of the moment. ... If the Clintons win, it will mean that everything is up for grabs: homosexuality, illicit sexual affairs, drug use, draft evasion, whatever. ... What this will mean is simple - and simply horrifying: No longer will we be able to take for granted innate goodness - the decency, the modesty, the self-restraint - that have been an essential part of the American character since before this country was founded."

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