

F(b)(1)
F(b)(3)
(S)

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN NOCONTRACT ORCON



490

Volume 1 Issue 11

November 1991

THE SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATIONS MONITOR

Violence Rages Despite Implementation of National Peace Accord

The landmark National Peace Accord (NPA)—signed this September by Pretoria, the ANC, Inkatha, and other political and labor organizations—has had little impact so far on the continuing black township violence, shaking public confidence in the accord. Observers increasingly see the NPA to be, at best, a long-term solution to violence that is driven by longstanding political and ethnic rivalries, revenge factors, and socioeconomic tensions. The government appears to be making strides to rein in renegade security elements contributing to the violence, but it may not be adequately consulting and briefing top ANC officials on these efforts.

Implementation Sluggish

Following more than a month of bureaucratic delays among the accord's main signatories, the first key structures of the NPA—the National Peace Committee and National Peace Secretariat—have been put in place. However, the regional and local dispute resolution committees, which are the accord's principal mechanisms for dealing with violence at the grassroots level, are apparently just being formed. Time spent on achieving consensus on membership in these committees has slowed their creation, even in the most volatile townships, reducing the impact of the accord to date. Approximately 400 people have died since the accord was signed. The accord's structures may not be fully established before next year, according to some observers, but

see NPA page 2

Maneuvering Toward Constitutional Talks

Pretoria and the ANC are eager to begin constitutional talks soon, and the government reportedly is considering many compromises widely deemed necessary for a settlement. Nonetheless, a battle royal appears likely in light of the high stakes and longtime enmities involved, as well as continued black-on-black fighting.

President de Klerk and ANC President Mandela met recently to discuss holding a multiparty conference by 29 November, although the agenda is not yet fixed. Pretoria wants the conference to draw up a new, detailed political system; ANC leaders believe it should define principles, but that a constituent assembly of nationally elected delegates should fill in details. A press report says Pretoria would view the ANC scheme more favorably if it agrees to a federally or regionally based system rather than a unitary state. Senior National Party officials also told a journalist recently that their controversial proposal for a rotating presidency and multiparty executive branch—composed

see TALKS page 4



INSIDE...

PROVISIONS OF NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD AND KEY DATES

PATRIOTIC FRONT CONFERENCE GIVES IMPETUS TO NEGOTIATIONS

ALA M 91-20089

DECL OADR
DERIVED FROM MULTIPLE

NOFORN NOCONTRACT ORCON

~~SECRET~~

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: AUG 2000

93D128

THE SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATIONS MONITOR

NPA

(FROM PAGE 1)

the National Peace Secretariat has highlighted at least 20 flashpoint areas—throughout Natal, Transvaal, and Cape Town—for priority attention. [REDACTED]

Public Support Waning

The initial euphoria that followed the signing of the NPA has dissipated as the local media and others have faulted the accord for not doing enough to stop the surge of political and random violence. [REDACTED] the peace accord has produced little improvement in relations between township residents and police, and has failed to root out destabilizing elements from the security forces. Observers claim that neither the peace secretariat nor the signatory organizations have fully engaged local groups and grassroots supporters in the peace process, according to the Embassy. [REDACTED]

Police Involvement

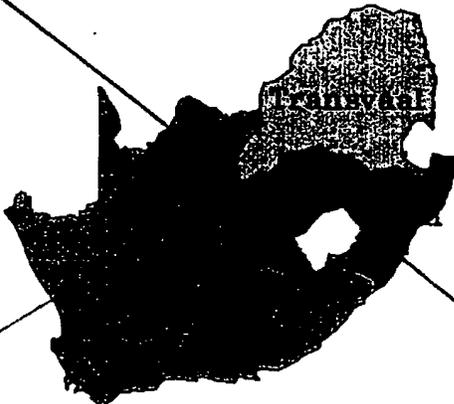
[REDACTED]

THE SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATIONS MONITOR

**Quarterly Unrest Death Toll
by Province**

QTR	1989	1990	1991*
1st	0	19	7
2nd	0	26	2
3rd	2	11	1
4th	0	15	NA
	2	71	10

QTR	1989	1990	1991*
1st	16	89	262
2nd	14	21	348
3rd	17	827	278
4th	12	423	NA
	59	1,360	888



QTR	1989	1990	1991*
1st	6	43	14
2nd	2	13	12
3rd	36	71	56
4th	22	27	NA
	66	154	82

QTR	1989	1990	1991*
1st	103	370	157
2nd	91	256	225
3rd	110	134	117
4th	188	156	NA
	492	917	499

* Totals for 1991 reflect only the first three quarters

Outlook: Realistic Expectations

Realists in the government, ANC, and Inkatha see the peace accord as a mechanism to separate the issue of violence from the broader political negotiations and to address the causes of violence using certain guidelines and codes; they do not view it as an instant solution to violence. Others at the grassroots level have failed to see the distinction. The effects of the accord will probably be felt over the long term, as its dispute resolution mechanisms take hold, and as political, business, and church groups grow accustomed to working together on the newly formed peace bodies. In the meantime, the negotiations on the NPA have provided South Africa with a model for conducting multiparty talks that will probably facilitate discussions on the modalities of constitutional negotiations.

Provisions of the National Peace Accord and Key Dates

The accord establishes codes of conduct for the police and political parties, and a set of mechanisms to monitor, mediate, and investigate violence. It calls for a series of national, regional, and local structures, including a National Peace Committee to monitor and make recommendations on the implementation of the accord as a whole and a National Peace Secretariat, comprised of qualified government, ANC, Inkatha, labor, business and judicial officials, and local and tribal leaders, which will provide umbrella support for existing peace organizations and form regional and local dispute resolution committees.

- 22 JUN: The convening of the all-party conference on violence, sponsored by church and business leaders.
- 14 SEP: National Peace Accord signed.
- 1 OCT: Permanent National Peace Committee established; John Hall appointed chairman.
- 11 OCT: First joint meeting of the NPC and the newly established Interim Peace Secretariat.
- 24 OCT: Standing Commission of Inquiry to prevent public violence and intimidation and permanent National Peace Secretariat established; 10 regional dispute resolution committees in process of being formed.

THE SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATIONS MONITOR

TALKS

(from page 1)

of members of all major political groups and representing their interests equally—need not be a permanent feature of a new government, but could be altered after 10 years or so. [REDACTED]

The black opposition's recent muscle-flexing may pay off. As a result of the massive general strike last week led by the ANC's ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, [REDACTED] believes Pretoria is more likely to satisfy black demands for a voice in policymaking during talks on a new constitution. Pretoria's stance on interim rule is already softening. It will consider almost anything short of suspending the present constitution and resigning. [REDACTED]

Smooth Sailing Unlikely

Despite reports of compromises, the talks process remains vulnerable to disruptions. The September peace accord signed by Pretoria, the ANC, and the Zulu Inkatha group has not slowed factional clashes that have resulted in the deaths of more than 3,000 blacks in the past year, including some 120 in the last 10 days, and political leaders on all sides have so far been reluctant to disassociate themselves completely from the fighting. Inkatha denounced the recent strike, and may counter by attacking more ANC supporters. Pretoria, which condemned the strike as illegal and a violation of the peace accord, will lose patience rapidly if COSATU and ANC mass protests persist. Nonetheless,

COSATU told [REDACTED] that the strike is part of a broad campaign to foster an interim government that will allow COSATU a role in restructuring the country. The ANC says more mass actions will occur if an interim government is not established. [REDACTED]

The ANC-backed strike was risky, as many more lives could have been lost considering the high level of tension in the townships. A much bloodier strike would have left de Klerk in an extremely tough position vis-a-vis his white constituency, which places much value on law and order issues. Since the strike, de Klerk has made several tough statements about mass protests, some of which seemed aimed at encouraging employers to take strict actions against workers who participate in future labor boycotts. Nonetheless, the strike, ironically, probably has worked to promote the US goal of "leveling the playing field" between the South African Government and the black opposition. At the least, the ANC and COSATU will have more confidence in negotiating sessions with Pretoria as a result of the strike's success. [REDACTED]

The thorniest issues involving a new South Africa are likely to become apparent soon after talks begin. Chief among them will be the appropriate locus of political power—at the national, regional, or local level—and the best method of improving the economic status of blacks. While others will provide input, Pretoria and the ANC will decide these issues, and their positions—even without the rhetoric—remain far apart. [REDACTED]

Patriotic Front Conference Gives Impetus to Negotiations

by Janice R. Hanover

The recent inaugural conference of the Patriotic Front, composed of over 90 extra-parliamentary groups and led by the ANC and its breakaway, rival Pan-Africanist Congress, gave a boost to black confidence and affirmed widespread support among anti-apartheid groups for the ANC's policy of negotiating with the government. Conferees agreed that all major South African groups—including the ruling National Party—should meet as soon as possible to discuss and agree on:

- The principles for a new constitution.
- A popularly elected assembly to draft the constitution.
- An authority to govern during the transition.
- The reincorporation of the homelands into a unified South Africa.
- The role of the international community in negotiations.
- The pace of the political transition.

While members of the Patriotic Front agree on broad objectives, they remain far apart on details and tactics, and the Front is unlikely to jell into a unified negotiating team or political party. Strains between the ANC and PAC have already reappeared, as local activists clashed recently in eastern Cape Province, and some PAC members expressed concern that Mandela and de Klerk may have agreed on the format for multiparty talks. Nonetheless, the ANC has grasped the mandate from the Front to bolster its negotiating position with the government and press forward on talks. [REDACTED]