

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS - 1991

SEPT.

# APPOINT NEW COUNCIL OF LEADERS, SAYS DP

THE Democratic Party has proposed the appointment of a council of leaders of all political parties to advise the State President while a new constitution is being negotiated.

The DP, in a detailed set of proposals for transitional arrangements, suggests that the council of leaders be appointed by an all-party conference and consist of leaders of all major political groupings.

BY MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

To preserve constitutional and legal continuity of government, the DP suggests that the president continue to exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution.

But it adds that the council of leaders should advise him and that he act on their advice in the manner in which he normally acts on

the advice of the Cabinet.

The DP proposes that the president and council of leaders:

- Give effect to decisions of the APC. *119191*
- Resolve deadlocks referred to them by negotiations sub-committees.
- Change the composition of the Cabinet.
- Set up procedures for the re-integration of independent homelands.

● Broaden the representivity of the judiciary, public service and armed forces.

The DP has also proposed that each minister acts on the advice of a multi-party cabinet committee appointed by the APC.

It has suggested that specialist commissions be set up to integrate the bureaucracies of political groupings such as the ANC and PAC into the public service.

*3 Oct 74*

# NP votes for property

ST Times 11/9/91.

(304A)

THE National Party has backed away from an undertaking by President FW de Klerk to give a vote of equal value to every adult in a new South Africa.

A top NP member involved in drawing up the plan confirmed yesterday that proposals to be discussed at the federal congress in Bloemfontein this week will favour property owners.

The bias towards property owners will be felt most at local government level, towards which the NP favours directing nearly 50 percent of total government expenditure.

But the votes of property owners will in fact be given greater weight at every level of government.

The plan now puts the delicate question of land ownership at the centre of the bitter political dispute between the landed, mostly white, and the landless, largely black.

A senior government member involved in drawing up the NP's proposals conceded that at local government level the franchise would favour ratepayers.

## Plan will franchise the landed rich at expense of disadvantaged blacks

By MIKE ROBERTSON, Political Correspondent

include having two voters' rolls — one for the popular vote and the other restricted to ratepayers. Ratepayers, he said, could elect up to half the members of a local council. An alternative would be to include property valuations or ratepayers' contributions when delimiting wards.

### Viable

Favouring of property owners runs contrary to an undertaking given by President De Klerk in Parliament last year. Stating that the NP believed power-sharing was the only viable option for SA, he said: "In the nature of things it entails a vote of equal value for

every adult citizen." NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged that at a local level all adults would not have a vote of equal value.

But, he said, he did not believe Mr De Klerk's assurance was intended to apply to votes at this level.

At a local level, he said, there were good arguments for giving special rights to property owners.

The NP, he said, expected there would be opposition to this proposal because blacks had been prevented by apartheid laws from becoming property owners. But in recent years major attempts had been

undertaken and were continuing to be undertaken to allow black people to acquire land at minimal prices.

### Maximum

The weighting in favour of property owners becomes particularly significant when the extent to which the NP hopes to devolve powers to local authorities is taken into account.

Dr Van der Merwe said this week the party favoured the maximum devolution of power that was consistent with good government. Exact details were still to be finalised, he said. But an indication of what the party has in mind can be gained from a

speech by President De Klerk to provincial administrators last year.

Under such a system, he said, local government spending as a percentage of total government spending could rise from the present 10 percent to 46 percent. Regional government spending would grow from 16 to 23 percent while central government spending would fall from its present level to 31 percent.

The NP official acknowledged criticism of the favouring of ratepayers, but said the party plan was a "pragmatic approach to see what we can do to get away from the idea of directly protecting minorities".

In effect, the NP has moved away from favouring race groups to favouring classes.

This favouring of property owners works its way throughout the NP constitutional proposals. For example, the proposals for regional government entail the creation of nine regional legislatures. Up to

half their members will be elected by municipal councils. The NP is proposing elaborate mechanisms to ensure the power of the majority is qualified. These include the creation of an executive college to replace the office of the State President. At least three parties will have to serve on the college. The chairmanship will rotate.

The Cabinet, the NP insists, should contain representatives of minority parties. Dr Van der Merwe said members of the executive college would decide

on the composition of the Cabinet. In practice, the Cabinet would probably reflect by proportional representation the composition of the first house of Parliament. Majority rule will apply in a first house elected by one-man-one-vote proportional representation.

But its powers will be limited by a second house or Senate in which all parties achieving a specified minimum support level in regional elections will get an equal number of seats.

● See Page 26

# OWNERS



**W**HO will govern South Africa? Who governs now? As far as the outside world is concerned, the answer to the first question effectively dictates the answer to the second. If it is assumed that the ANC will rule, then the temptation, an almost irresistible one, is to act as if it is already in charge.

With the exception of President George Bush's decision to terminate the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's sanctions, and similar moves by Europe and Japan, few policy or investment decisions are presently being made over which the ANC does not exercise an informal power of veto.

This is problematic, for the obvious reason that it prejudices the will of the South African people before they have had the formal opportunity to express it for themselves. One result is that dissident opinion has had to express itself in informal ways, most notably through violence.

**H**ITHERTO, policy-makers have shown little interest in focusing on this difficulty. After all, the government itself has done much to promote the view that the ANC will succeed it. If the white South African establishment is buying ANC futures, who are non-South Africans to dispute its wisdom?

Now, however, the conundrum is starting to pose itself in less abstract form: how should the US and other Western capitals treat the ANC's demand for an interim government, particularly if, unmet, it clogs negotiations on a new constitution?

The reflexive answer, driven by the desire to see the broader negotiations proceed at almost any cost, is to try and cajole the various parties into a compromise.

But after discussions with Inkatha and the PAC, at



## SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

STimes 11/9/91  
least some in the administration are starting to wonder how easy that will be and whether, therefore, it will be necessary to take sides. More specifically, the side of the putative next government.

Will George Bush and his team drift that far? Or will they draw the line and signal the ANC that its transitional government demand is an unacceptable reason for stalling progress towards a new constitution?

This they could do by the simple expedient of declaring that, henceforth, and assuming genuine need on Pretoria's part, the US would support a South African application for IMF standby facilities.

Such a step might lead to a certain unpleasantness in domestic political terms, but it would be quite legal within the framework of the Gramm Amendment.

At this stage, the administration has no such plan. It is therefore up to President FW de Klerk at the very least to give the US some cause for developing one.

For a hint of what he might do, he should think over what has befallen Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gorbachev, an historic reformer, was knocked from his pedestal because he could not entirely shake himself of the forces of reaction, forces which, in the final analysis, turned out to be far weaker than he imagined. In hindsight, he had no reason to fear the drunken troglodytes who stripped him of his power. Having caught up with him, they self-destructed within the space of a few hours.

**H**AD Gorbachev stayed out in front — had he managed to convince both his own people and the industrialised nations that he had clear goals and the programme to achieve them — he might still have power and the Soviet Union would not be chaotically flying apart around him.

Likewise, President De Klerk needs once more to be seen ahead of the curve, hacking away his government's dead wood, stamping out abuse, bringing in new talent wherever it may be found, and energetically selling and implementing a programme free of code words that meets the aspirations of all South Africa.

In short, he must stop looking like a transitional figure. Otherwise he is one, both at home and abroad, and to all intents the ANC already rules.





By SEKOLA SELLO

THE government, the ANC and the Democratic Party

are moving closer to each other on proposed constitutional guidelines for a new South Africa.

This is despite the ANC's strong criticism of the National Party's proposed constitutional model which was unveiled this week and is expected to be adopted at a special federal congress of the NP in Bloemfontein this week.

The ANC fears the National Party's proposed constitutional guidelines described as a master plan preceding non-racial rule, are a trap intended to make a future post-apartheid government weak and powerless.

The NP and the DP's proposed guidelines show similarities on a number of important aspects with the ANC's draft "constitutional principles" made public in April.

The differences between the ANC on the one hand and the NP/DP on the other are

# Talks hotting up on constitution

AP 1/19/91

SOA

narrowing and most could be ironed out when negotiations proper start.

While the NP and DP's constitutional models were thrashed out at party level, the ANC says it wants a constitution which will not be an "ANC document" but one with an input from all political players in the country.

The three parties already share several points of agreement. These are a constitutionally entrenched bill of rights, proportional representation, regular elections, an independent judiciary, universal suffrage, multi-partyism, decentralisation of certain government functions, and a two-tier parliament.

The ANC however says the issue of whether a future parliament should have one or two tiers must be resolved by the broad spectrum of the political players.

While the three agree on some important issues, there are still many fundamental differences. The ANC opposes federalism while the NP and the DP support it.

The ANC is in favour of a strong, centralised government "to handle national tasks, and strong and effective regional government to deal with the tasks of the region".

ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus says the government's proposals are aimed at creating a future ANC government that will be "weak and powerless to bring about the necessary economic, social or structural changes".

The upshot of all this, says Niehaus, will be the retention of the status quo and white privilege. A researcher with Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, Steve Friedman, says the government, by accepting important principles like universal adult franchise and non-racialism, has made an important shift from previous NP positions.

He agreed however that the NP wanted to form part of the government and protect white privileges. Friedman says although the ANC is at the moment opposed to the NP's proposal for a multiracial cabinet, some senior ANC members support this as a temporary measure.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier the first post-apartheid government would most likely contain members of all political parties. Once negotiations get into high gear and serious horse-trading begins,

compromises will be made on both sides and there will be greater convergence of ideas and positions, Friedman says.

Unisa law professor Prof Martinus Wiechers, also a constitutional expert, feels the NP's constitutional proposals create a basis from which a first coalition government could develop.

He said in a newspaper interview this week the NP's proposals constitute a co-operational model and the regional interests the NP wanted to entrench did not mean white domination.

"The new proposals are definitely no longer an apartheid model," he said. The proposals could be used as a basis for a first or interim constitution until a final constitution had been accepted.

A standing committee could revise the constitution every year and submit a final constitution after what could be five years.

The NP's idea of a collective presidency, consisting of three or more people, was a transitional model for a transitional phase, Wiechers said.

# AWB boast of huge membership 'a fallacy'

304A ARG 2/9/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In spite of its boasts of huge membership and support, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has a recognisable core of about 2 500 active and visible members, say the organisation's critics and observers.

A group of these members, augmented by an identifiable group of active AWB sympathisers, can be seen at every National Party meeting where the AWB has decided to protest,

the National Party has claimed.

"Most are recognisable as the same people attending protests. They are bussed in from all over," said NP organiser Dr Gerhard Koornhof.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis took a hard line last week on the AWB's transportation of supporters to meetings to show force.

He said the AWB was ferrying large groups from distant areas to NP meetings, an ac-

tion which had little political and democratic meaning.

Dr Wim Boooyse, political risk analyst and specialist on the rightwing, said he believed the AWB to have between 2 000 and 5 000 card-carrying members.

AWB spokesman Mr Ernie van der Westhuizen said it was "typical of the Nats to spread this kind of disinformation".

The membership of the AWB was secret, but Mr Van der Westhuizen said the figure of 2 500 was "laughable".



# AWB 'has about 2 500 members'

star 2/9/91.  
By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

Despite its boasts of huge membership and support, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has a recognisable core of about 2 500 active and visible members, say the organisation's critics and observers.

A group of these members, augmented by an identifiable group of active AWB sympathisers, can be seen at every National Party meeting where the AWB has decided to protest, the National Party has claimed.

"Most of them are recognisable as the same people attending protests. They are bused in from all over," said NP organiser Dr Gerhard Koornhof.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis took a hard line last week on the AWB's transportation of supporters to meetings to show force.

He said the AWB was ferrying large groups of people from distant areas to NP meetings, an action which had little political meaning.

It was nothing more than a blatant logistical exercise to get people to a certain place, he said.

Dr Wim Boooyse, political risk analyst and right-wing specialist, said he believed had AWB between 2 000 and 5 000 card-carrying members — although other observers lean toward the lower of the two figures.

"There is a very identifiable group of committed AWB members and supporters who attend these meetings. Most of the members belong to the Wenkommandos (the AWB's military wing)," said Dr Boooyse.

In response to the NP's remarks, AWB spokesman Ernie van der Westhuizen said it was "typical of the Nats to spread this kind of disinformation".

"The NP has painted itself into a corner and is now trying to discredit us," he said.

The membership of the AWB is secret, but Mr van der Westhuizen, on being asked whether there were about 2 500 signed-up members of the organisation, commented: "That is laughable".



(304A) 2/19/91

# DP calls for interim coalition and amendments to constitution

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has proposed an interim coalition government and transitional measures involving amendments to the constitution.

"The Democratic Party believes that a start must be made during the transitional period to build (a) democratic centre. To be successful, transition must be an inclusive process involving as broad a cross-section of South Africans as possible," the DP said in a discussion paper.

It would work towards the formation of a government of national reconciliation that would bring together "signifi-

cant sections (if not all) of the African National Congress, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the DP and other democratic parties".

"The DP also advocates an incremental approach to the transition. Very importantly, this involves the adaptation of the present constitution to accommodate transitional measures negotiated prior to the adoption of an entirely new constitution."

The transitional government of national reconciliation should aim at:

- Preserving constitutional and legal continuity of government;

- Building credibility, legitimacy and acceptability of government decisions and policies by broadening the base of government;

- Promoting and ensuring even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions, particularly control of government expenditure, of the broadcast media and of the security forces;

- Ensuring stability and continued loyalty and commitment of public servants; and

- Promoting shared responsibility and trust and goodwill.

"The State President will exercise all executive functions."  
— Sapa.

Hermann Gilioone examines the conflicting models of democracy in South Africa

# Compromise v Majority Rule

Star 2/9/91.

3044

**W**ITH the publication of the National Party's concept constitutional proposals the political conflict in South Africa has finally crystallised into two conflicting models of democracy challenging each other.

The challenge is well encapsulated in the words of Jurg Steiner's study on conflict resolution in Switzerland. It is called: "Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule".

In essence the ANC is proposing the German model of majority rule. Although not a classic form of Westminster winner-takes-all rule the German model does make it possible for one of the two largest parties to be kept out of government for a prolonged period of time. For close to 10 years the Christian Democrats have ruled and the Social Democrats have been effectively kept out of the executive level of government.

By contrast, the NP's concept proposals take as its model for the executive the Amicable Agreement of the Swiss. Without agreeing in advance on a common programme the two federal chambers choose a federal council or Cabinet according to the 2:2:2:1 Formula.

Very same predicaments as the Labour Party under the present constitution. The ANC may well wish to postpone a decision as long as possible.

However, here the crucial question is whether it has the resources to do so. The most revealing aspect of the ANC's July conference was that it relies for more

Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh sum it up well in their seminal study, "South Africa's Options": "As all important interests are represented within the council, the process of collective decision-making requires that differences be negotiated, which has the effect of ensuring that each decision is a nationally acceptable compromise."

It is known that President de Klerk carefully questioned members of the Swiss Cabinet during his recent visit to that country. They urged on him the necessity of keeping the executive Cabinet as small as possible.

In all probability this decisively shaped the NP's idea of a presidential college consisting of a minimum of three but not more than five members. It is within this presidential college that the conflicts which build up in the larger Cabinet will ultimately have to be resolved.

The NP's further dilutes the principle of majority rule by proposing for the second chamber the model of the American Senate which gives each state equal representation.

Applied to South Africa this would mean that the sparsely populated northern Cape region

would enjoy equal representation in the second chamber with the Witwatersrand, as do North Dakota and California.

The NP's final curb on majority rule is a thorough-going devolution of power to the regions and the metropolitan centres which would presumably be given the optimal capacity to raise and redistribute revenue.

Here Switzerland must again have acted as a model. One of the main reasons why the Swiss model works so well lies in the fact that most conflict is being resolved on cantonal level. This considerably eases the burden of the national government and makes capture of the central state much less desirable.

The challenge between the NP espousing Amicable Agreement and the ANC proposing Majority Rule will be the main issue confronting the parties in the forthcoming negotiations. At the same time we shall undoubtedly see frantic international lobbying by both the NP and ANC in an effort to prove that their brand of democracy is the genuine kind.

For its part the ANC can count on a well-established tradition in Western political thinking that democracy must involve some form

of majority rule. It can also point to statements by eminent American political scientists in arguing the case that majority rule is indeed the most suitable form of government for South Africa.

On the basis of comparative studies, scholars have argued that unless a political system generates enthusiasm and high voter participation it is bound to be unstable.

Radicals are inevitably drawn to unconstitutional means if they find that the system retains the existing balance of wealth and power. Leaders of the poorer group are unwilling to demand sacrifices from their followers because they are not really in a position to deliver substantial material rewards.

With this in mind the renowned American political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset has argued that "if the outcome of the political game is not the periodic awarding of effective authority to one group, unstable and irresponsible government rather than democracy will result".

The NP response to this argument will be that Majority Rule in South Africa will cause far greater levels of conflict. It will lead to a massive settling of

scores between black groups which have been fighting each other.

The white right wing in alliance with sections of the armed forces may embark on a scorched earth campaign. We could well have plunging investor confidence and an exodus of capital and skill. Like the Soviet Union, South Africa could implode.

The NP, in short, will argue to the world that Majority Rule works only in ethnically homogeneous societies and that the only hope for democracy in divided societies such as South Africa lies in a form of power-sharing. It will point to Switzerland as a case where majority rule is not necessary to resolve conflicts between quite different groups.

The Swiss experience has been that Amicable Agreement in the resolution of conflicts — from the information-gathering stage to the ultimate making of decisions — produces a reduction of hostility between groups.

For the ANC, entering into a power-sharing agreement with the NP is one thing; however, to do so because the constitution actually prescribes it is a most unpalatable prospect. It raises the spectre of finding itself ensnared in the

than 90 percent of its income on external funding and resources. The response of major donors such as the Scandinavian countries may be crucial in forcing its hand.

Even more significantly, its own constituency may not be as averse to the idea as is generally thought. Opinion polls, some taken at the height of the recent unrest,

show that the great majority of blacks want a government in which all groups are represented without anyone dominating it. Unless the Government commits another Inkathagathe type of blunder or fails to control the security forces, the ANC will probably end up by having to buy some-

thing close to the NP's current proposals.

● Hermann Gilioone is head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. □



# No crosses, so rights come to nought

By Jo-Anne Collinge

304A

The common voters' roll — that uncommonest of South African commodities, the elusive Holy Grail of non-racial democracy — is to be found (in principle if not in practice) in the Free State town of Welkom.

The town council of Welkom — a town riven by racial conflict just more than a year ago — has shown the Government a clean pair of heels in the reform stakes.

With the Group Areas Act

gone and black families moving into the suburbs, the Welkom council decided to extend voting rights to black home-owners and tenants living within its jurisdiction, town clerk Chris Rademan confirmed.

It accordingly resolved to amend the voters' roll for the October 23 by-election in Ward 3, where "three or four" black families have taken up residence.

However, hours before the close of applications for inclusion on the voters' role

21/9/91  
star  
yesterday, he said "no person of colour has applied for registration".

He speculated that the de-racialising of the voters' roll might have come too soon after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

In any event, said Mr Rademan, the council's intention to allow all residents to vote was frustrated by the Electoral Act. Until it was scrapped, black residents might have their names on the roll but they could not make their cross.



Teen elite turns  
on the rabble

Spur  
2/9/91

304A

It is all very easy to be a progressive, humanitarian democrat — until you realise it might mean sharing your wealth and giving decision-making power to an elected majority.

This tough little paradox, which sums up the problems of trying to establish a democratic culture in South Africa, forms the heart of a recently released 35-minute video made by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

The video features about 15 Capetonian adolescents who spent a weekend exploring democracy in action at a resort just outside Cape Town, under the cameras and tape recorders of film director Dermot Judge.

University of Cape Town educationists Terry de Jongh and Svea van der Hoorn put the teenagers through numerous workshops, from games about listening and building trust to exercises in resolving conflict, using power and negotiation.

The scholars cope well with some of the tasks and fail others, particularly when it comes to power sharing.

In that exercise the scholars play a game of chance with real money until two interest groups — the "elite" and the "rabble" — start to emerge.

The elite are given the power to change the rules of the game in any way they want, and they do so freely to keep themselves on top.

Positions harden, sloganising begins and democratic values melt away as the two sides villify each other. Cameras capture the emotions and resentment in acne-loving close-up.

As Idasa director Frederick van Zyl Slabbert interprets it: "The seduction of power and own self-interest quickly clouds notions of equality, justice and the rule of law. These values have to be (artificially) protected by being enshrined in our cultural and institutional life".

Other leading figures who comment at various points in the video are Anglo American CEO Julian Ogilvie-Thompson, Thabo Mbeki and Barbara Masekela of the ANC and Jan Selepe of the National Union of Mineworkers.

ADAM GORDON

dark brown enhance  
model's natural hair colour

# NP facing crucial decisions

CT-2/9/91

304A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party is facing a week of crucial decisions — and frenetic activity — during which it intends to gear itself for negotiations.

Central to this will be Wednesday's special federal congress in Bloemfontein, at which the party will map out the shape of government it envisages in its "new South Africa".

It will also hold two provincial congresses. Tomorrow the Free State congress will take place in Bloemfontein. This has been shortened to one day to make time for the federal congress.

On Thursday and Friday the focus shifts to the Natal congress.

The federal congress has been called to discuss the NP's draft constitutional proposals, which will officially be made public for the first time.

Part of the reason for the congress is that the NP has become weary of criticism that it is forging ahead with reforms without having a clear set of policies in place.

But the main focus will be on preparing for negotiations. Senior government figures have recently indicated that they believe the multi-party conference could begin within months and the ANC has also indicated that talks should start as soon as possible.

The federal congress will also be historic in that it is the NP's first since its doors were opened to other races.

Resolutions for the provincial congresses reflect concern over the economy, squatting, crime and education.

The Vryheid constituency has submitted a resolution to the Natal congress asking that it discuss the need for economic growth as a prerequisite for creating employment. The constituency lists a lowering of interest rates, reduction of violence and investment incentives as being among the requirements for growth.

The same constituency also asks whether the ultimate result of school reforms will be "open education".

It says there is an "urgent" requirement for the consequences of the education models to be clearly spelled out so that communities can make decisions accordingly.

The Durban Point constituency calls for police foot patrols in the sensitive areas of Durban, while its Newcastle counterpart suggests incentives be given to motivate participation in neighbourhood-watch schemes.

Natal NP leader and the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, will open the Natal congress on Thursday.

The congress will discuss economic reconstruction on Friday morning with the afternoon session devoted to the constitutional blueprint.

President F W de Klerk's scheduled public meeting before the Free State congress — a traditional feature — has been cancelled in view of the pressing programme he will be handling during the week.

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former leader of the Opposition Dr Van Zyl Slabbert could become the first president of a new South Africa, according to novelist and documentary film-maker Mr Justin Cartwright.

Initially Dr Slabbert, the Transvaal Metropolitan Chamber chairman, is the obvious choice to chair the imminent multi-party conference, believes Mr Cartwright, who was born in South Africa but has lived in England since 1965.

Writing in the Times Saturday Review, Mr Cartwright said Dr Slabbert is "ideally placed to start a new, non-racial party, drawing in all those who are keener on social democracy than ideology; all those who

# 'Slabbert <sup>304A</sup> for president in new SA?'

CT2/9/91

do not wish to march forward into an increasingly uncertain future under increasingly tattered banners".

The writer said there is a "Mount Rushmore quality about Dr Slabbert. You get the feeling that he is motivated by an almost monumental sense of justice.

"He is not — and this is why he is universally respected — in the thrall of any faction in the present struggle."

Noting the Idasa director's role in organising the meeting between Afrikaner leaders and the ANC in Dakar in July 1987, followed by a spate of similar encounters, Mr Cartwright said: "It is not fanciful to suggest that without Dr Slabbert's initiatives Mr Mandela would still be in jail.

"Sooner or later a multi-party conference must take place where all interested parties

can stake a claim. There are elements both in the ANC and in the Afrikaner right which can see no point in talks.

"But there will be talks and there will be further joint initiatives; it would be a great surprise if Dr Slabbert was not asked to be chairman of any such conference. He would accept, but on the condition that the government and the other participants are serious about the agenda which, to his mind, is the implementation of a process to create a genuine democracy in South Africa."

He concludes: "Improbable as it may now seem, the troubled history of South Africa is pointing to Dr Slabbert rather than Mr Mandela as the first president of a new South Africa."



# Plan to link votes and property 'for debate'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party is considering giving greater weight to the votes of property owners and ratepayers at local government level, National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed yesterday.

He also agreed that in terms of proposals being put forward by the party the bias towards ratepayers could work its way through to regional government.

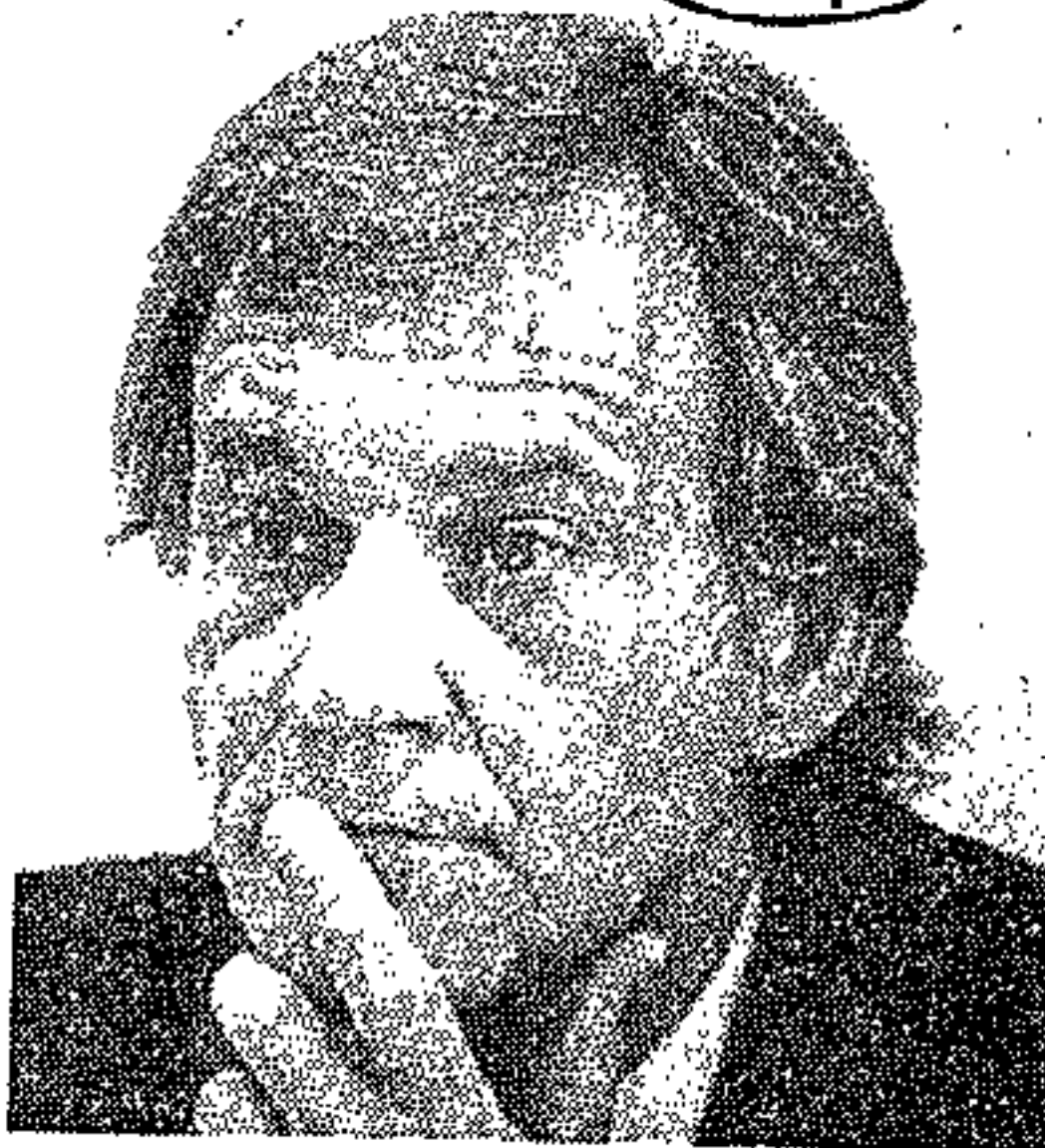
However, Dr Van der Merwe stressed that these proposals were "alternatives" and would still be the subject of considerable discussion.

He also said that if the system was found to "discriminate against blacks" or contain a "racial bias" it would be reconsidered.

The proposal is bound to be highly controversial given the fact that apartheid has severely restricted black opportunities to become land owners.

However, Dr Van der Merwe said yesterday that blacks had been permitted to buy property in urban areas for some time.

He also pointed out that every property in, for example, Soweto was subject to rates "whether it is owned or rented". People who rented would, therefore, also get a weighted vote, he said.



NAT "ALTERNATIVES" ...  
Dr Stoffel van der Merwe

"The idea is that those who put money into a place have an additional interest in the well-being of that city," said Dr Van der Merwe.

Dr Van der Merwe was reacting to a weekend report which suggested that the NP had backed away from President de Klerk's undertaking this year to give a vote of equal value to every adult in a new South Africa.

It was reported that at local government level two voters' rolls were proposed — one for the popular vote and the other for ratepayers. In terms of this, rate-

payers could elect up to half the members of a local council.

"Yes, there is a suggestion that one could accord an extra vote to property owners and ratepayers at local level," said Dr Van der Merwe. He strongly denied that the vote could be weighted in favour of those who pay more rates.

Dr Van der Merwe also revealed there was a proposal that half the legislature of a region should be indirectly elected through local authorities. If both "alternatives" were accepted "one could argue that the extra votes of ratepayers are being carried through to regional level", said Dr Van der Merwe.

The proposals take on added significance in the light of recent disclosures on the NP's constitutional proposals from which it became clear that the party favours the maximum devolution of power.

Political observers pointed out yesterday that the proposals did not accord with the ANC's demand for a universal franchise and had no chance of being accepted by the organisation.

They also pointed out that the proposal would make ownership of property a highly contentious issue and again raise the thorny question of land redistribution.

304A CT 2/9/91

# DP proposes an interim coalition government

304A  
CT 2/9/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party yesterday proposed an interim coalition government and transitional measures involving amendments to the present constitution.

"The Democratic Party believes that a start must be made during the transitional period to build (a) democratic centre. To be successful, transition must be an inclusive process involving as broad a cross-section of South Africans as possible," the DP said in a discussion paper made available yesterday.

The DP would work towards the formation of a government of national reconciliation.

The DP advocated an incremental approach to the transition which would involve adapting the present constitution

before adopting an entirely new constitution.

The DP suggests the formation of multi-party cabinet committees and a council of leaders. The council would be appointed by the all-party/multi-party conference and major parties would be represented on it.

"The State President will exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution on the advice of the council of leaders in a manner in which he normally acts on the advice of the cabinet," the paper said.

Urgent problems facing the country needed to be solved before a new constitution was finalised.

It urged that Parliament should abolish the distinction between own affairs and general affairs

departments and provide for single departments.

It also urged the negotiation by the all-party/multi-party conference of an interim bill of rights containing a code of conduct for political parties.

The DP suggested a rotating chairmanship or neutral facilitators to convene meetings of the body or bodies drawing up the constitution.

The constitutional conference, of about 200 members, would be elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The Democratic Party also proposed the appointment of a panel of three judges to adjudicate disputes arising during the negotiation period concerning interpretation of constitutional principles and procedures. — Sapa

## Magnus to rule on empty schools

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Minister of Housing and Works General Magnus Malan will decide on the fate of a number of empty white schools around the country.

Government sources confirmed at the weekend that General Malan would have the final decision on the empty schools which have come under the spotlight after recent attempts by the

National Education Co-ordinating Committee to occupy some of them.

The white Ministry of Housing and Works decides what should be done with unused property such as closed white schools.

According to Mr Ian Robson, director-general of administration in the House of Assembly, a final decision will take at least another two weeks.

He said most of the empty

schools receiving attention were in the rural areas.

The possibilities being weighed up are that a school remain the responsibility of the white education department (Culture and Education) but be opened to all races; that it be transferred to the black, Indian or coloured education departments or to a private organisation registered with one of the education departments. CT 2/9/91

ced  
of  
o  
iet  
lg  
rn  
r  
a  
ib  
l  
tl  
m  
a  
e  
te  
v  
e  
b  
t  
y

# DP suggests multiparty interim govt

THE DP yesterday proposed an interim coalition government that would bring together the ANC, NP, Inkatha, the DP "and other democratic parties".

It also backed transitional measures involving amendments to the present

constitution, "prior to the adoption of an entirely new constitution".

In a discussion paper made available yesterday, the DP suggested the formation of multiparty Cabinet committees. A council of leaders made up of rep-

resentatives of major parties would be appointed by an all-party or multiparty conference.

"The State President will exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution on the advice of the council of leaders," the document said. — Sapa.

310aw  
2/9/91  
304A



# Cosatu criticises govt plan

2044  
CT 2/9/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's R1 billion injection into socio-economic projects was intended to prop up "discredited" local authorities and not benefit people in rural areas, Cosatu said at the weekend.

In a statement, Cosatu said the government should not — as it did with VAT — embark on programmes which did not have broad support.

Public works programmes which were not developed through negotiations with key political parties, trade unions and community organisations were doomed to failure, it said.

The Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Dawie de Villiers announced on Tuesday that the government would create 59 000 jobs with its R1bn injection into socio-economic projects.

## Rural communities

The union federation said: "South Africa needs a comprehensive approach to a national economic reconstruction programme — not continued unilateral and ad-hoc measures by the government, based on narrow interest and political considerations."

The government's projects were aimed more at propping up "discredited" local authorities and buying votes in future than at meeting the critical needs of rural communities, Cosatu said.

The projects should be used to meet critical needs in rural areas. They should be financed, implemented, monitored and geared towards training unemployed people.

The sale and use of oil reserves — which were a national asset — should be broadly negotiated "so that they are not squandered by a government which has a bad track record when it comes to abusing our country's resources", it said.

The government should then ensure that the money which had been allocated to the projects was used effectively, the union federation said.

# Future rulers face very heavy burden

Sowetan 2/9/91

304A

A VISITING Israeli professor has warned that the majority of blacks will not be satisfied by a mere transfer of power.

At a two-day conference on "Conflicts and Negotiations" which ended on Friday, Professor Mottie Tamarkin of the University of Tel Aviv said that the masses would expect a future government to fulfil aspirations for material well-being, for freedom and for dignity.

The conference was organised by the Herbert Quandt Foundation of Germany and the Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law at the University of South Africa.

"Like their Zimbabwean counterparts, the black masses in South Africa did not rise and fight simply for the fulfilment of racial or national destiny," Tamarkin said.

"They were politicised and mobilised for the struggle through the exploitation, deprivation, oppression and indignities they have suffered under the apartheid regime."

Speakers at the conference supported peaceful negotiations as the only way of resolving the crisis in this country.

Tamarkin asked if the ANC had a viable alternative to a negotiated compromise. The world community of today, Tamarkin warned, would not subscribe to a strategy of mass mobilisation geared to bringing down the Government.

"But the greatest hope is perhaps that the ANC leadership must know as well that this alternative is simply too ghastly to contemplate," he said.

ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma, one of the speakers at the conference, said

By MONK



NKOMO

the outcome of negotiation should be a democratic order under a constitution that guarantees the rule of law and individual rights and freedoms.

"The ANC hopes that the outcome of the process of negotiation should be a new constitution which will underpin the envisaged constitutional and political order," he said.

"The new order, which will be predicated upon the fact that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, should guarantee that all South Africans, without regard to race, colour, sex, creed or origin, their fundamental human rights and basics freedoms."

Zuma reiterated the ANC's call for an interim government and a constitutional assembly, both of which he hoped would be agreed upon at an all-party congress.

Zuma, who conceded that the upsurge of violence in the country had complicated the negotiation process, suggested setting up a constitutional court to

ensure proper administration of justice.

"I urge and invite political organisations to join us in a broad discussion and search for democratic solutions," Zuma said.

"The challenge facing us all now is to build a democratic, constitutional, political, social and economic order. Together, let us grapple with it."

Another speaker, Mr Sean Cleary, managing director of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd, said participants in negotiations should represent as wide a spectrum of citizens as possible.

"The Government, responsive to a widely perceived need, ought properly to create an opportunity and facilitate the provision of a forum for such negotiations, but ought not itself to participate in them.

"It cannot both lobby and rule nor advocate a case and simultaneously be in a position to decide on it," Cleary said.

The challenge in South Africa, he added, was to find ways of achieving national unity, purpose and loyalty in the prevailing cultural diversity.

"Language, culture and ancestry would remain important, but they alone could not build an inclusive and successful nation.

"On the other hand, any attempt to trample roughshod over the identity of any of the population in an attempt to force such groups to subsume their identities in a national amalgam, seems doomed to failure," Cleary said.

The fact that a peace accord had been successfully negotiated, albeit not yet finalised and signed by all interested parties, had profound implications for constitutional negotiations, said Cleary.

Tamarkin warned South African leaders to look back and learn the lessons from the tragic mistakes and failures of a number of countries in Africa.

"A tremendous responsibility rests on the shoulders of the negotiating parties.

"They should bear in mind that whereas a negotiated settlement is a short-term objective, the resolution of the conflict is a long, open-ended process."

"It has to be long and gradual because South Africa does not possess the resources for a swift resolution.

"South Africa is not only poor in economic resources. Dignity and freedom are also scarce. The latter flow from the former."

Tamarkin added: "There is no dignity in abject, degenerating poverty and there is no state, unable to provide society with minimal material well-being, which can afford to grant them the freedom they desire."

This was the season for the pragmatists, for the political artists who were sensitive not only to the deep, genuine desires of the people, but also the limits of their power, he said.

"A new South Africa that will be able to improve the lot of the common people can only be built from the available economic, human, social and political building materials.

"A new South Africa that will be built on the basis of a new grand design will also be a new grand disaster."

If politics in general, and South African politics in particular, was the art of the possible, Tamarkin said, one could find sufficient ground or optimism.

"However," he said, "since it is not necessarily so, judgment has to be reserved."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978. \*Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

# DP outlines plan for public service

*Sowetan 2/9/91*  
THE Democratic Party has proposed the integration of structures of the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress into the public service.

In proposals it presented at the weekend, the DP also proposed the appointment of a "council of leaders" to advise President FW de Klerk while negotiations are under way.

It suggested the "council of leaders", comprising leaders of major political parties, be appointed by an all-party conference.

To preserve constitutional and legal continuity of government, the president should continue to exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution.

The president should act on the advice of the council in the manner that he does on the advice of the Cabinet.

The DP also proposes that each Minister acts on the advice of a multiparty Cabinet committee. - *Political Correspondent.*



# Botha better than De Klerk - Mandela

304A

By MATHATHA TSEDU

ANC president Nelson Mandela says former State President PW Botha would have introduced more far-reaching changes and reforms than FW de Klerk.

Addressing a R150-a-head dinner of businessmen and dignitaries in Pietersburg on Saturday night, Mandela said when he met Botha for the first time, the latter was "a paragon of courtesy".

"If you were not a South African and did not know what was happening and you came into the room, you could not tell who was State President and who was prisoner," Mandela said to laughter from the audience.

Mandela said Botha's attitude when they met had surprised him because "the finger-wagging" President had first insisted that Mandela denounce violence, then that he would settle in the Trans-

people say they killed on instruction and command of the police and army intelligence.

"What we are saying is these people have information that could help even De Klerk if he is serious about a clean administration.

"Let them come out and say who in the police and army ranks authorised the killing. De Klerk is refusing."

Mandela said the ANC was committed to nationalising mines, banks and "monopoly industry". Those who disagreed with the intention should indicate how the historical imbalance of the haves and have-nots could be redressed.

kei when released and later that he should denounce the Communist Party.

"I told him that he should not try to tell me how to fight him. When he accepted to meet me, I thought the meeting would be difficult for me."

## Cheap

Mandela said it was a pity that Botha's career had been at its end when they met because "I sincerely believe that Botha would have brought more far-reaching changes than have been brought by De Klerk".

Mandela said De Klerk subscribed to the belief that black lives were cheap. He said he had called for the release of the three hunger-striking rightwingers because "these misguided"

September 3, 1991

## NP takes major step towards <sup>(304A)</sup> new constitution

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff <sup>11/23/91</sup>

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party will take a major step towards negotiations on a new constitution at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein tomorrow.

Its draft proposals for a new non-racial political system will be presented to some 1 200 delegates from all over the country.

President De Klerk will, as national leader of the party, open the congress and there will then be five debates on various aspects of the proposals.

After the plan has been ratified by the federal congress, it will be submitted to provincial congresses.

In a letter to delegates Mr De Klerk points out that the party is not at this stage presenting a final concept for a constitution as this will have to be finalised in extensive negotiations.

According to Mr De Klerk the National Party plan provides for a state in which the powers of the authorities can be limited by legal means.

The second pillar of the Nationalist thinking is the concept of "participatory democracy".

Mr De Klerk states in the letter that this means that political power must not be totally in the hands of one person, political party or group. The party is expressing itself against domination of any kind and gives preference to a system that would include rather than exclude parties and groups.

The draft proposals call for a system of universal franchise with a democratic structure of authority, free from apartheid or discrimination of any kind. A system of proportional representation without constituencies is proposed.

One of the main features of the proposals is a strong federal element with the devolution of power from a central government to regional and local government.

A collective presidency with a rotating chairman from an executive college of three to five members is proposed.

A two-chamber parliament would have a national assembly and a senate, the latter to provide for regional, but not ethnic, representation.

This is part of a plan to protect the rights of minorities.

# US 'wanted woman' in city

Staff Reporter

**PROMINENT** United States activist Ms Angela Davis — billed by the FBI in 1970 as America's most wanted woman — arrived at D.F. Malan Airport yesterday on a fact-finding mission.

A cause célèbre since the United States' turbulent 1960's, Ms Davis arrived with Ms Charlene Mitchell, executive director of the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression, at the invitation of the ANC.

Speaking at a hastily-arranged payment press conference, she said a fact-finding mission in South Africa would dispel the illusion of endemic interneche violence portrayed by the media in her country and inform Americans of police and government collusion in the violence.

Ms Davis said she "hopes to gather the evidence necessary to revitalise the anti-apartheid movement".

In South Africa she had witnessed scenes of "unimaginable poverty" in Soweto and the mobilisation of Inkatha forces with alleged police protection. "Black-on-black violence was a misconception" and was part of a



**ACTIVIST** ...  
Angela Davis

strategy of "terrorising people" to prevent them joining the ANC, she said.

Ms Davis, who was acquitted in 1972 of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges in connection with a courthouse gunbattle which left four dead, including a judge, said there were "interests" in America who wanted to give credit to President F.W. de Klerk for changes in South Africa. But the transformation was a

result of "people's struggles" and the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and "not out of the goodness of FW's heart", she said.

A stalwart of the Communist Party of the USA, Ms Davis said the collapse of communism in Europe came at a time when America's advanced form of capitalism was in crisis.

## Island visit

The poverty of "cardboard shanty towns" close to cities of "enormous wealth" and the democratic forums of socialism in South Africa meant "socialism is the only way" in this country.

The 47-year-old activist said a visit to South Africa was a "dream" she had had for a "very long time" but would only undertake at the request of the "liberation forces".

Before leaving for Port Elizabeth on Thursday Ms Davis will visit Robben Island, squatter camps and hospitals, hold discussions with the SACP, PAC, Azapo, Paso and Samsco and deliver a lecture at the University of the Western Cape.

**South Africa**  
CT 319191



# Nat congress begins today

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — More than 1 000 National Party delegates will gather here tomorrow to set on a constitutional blueprint for the new South Africa. The hastily convened federal congress — only the fifth since the NP came to power in 1948 — will fine-tune the proposals that the ruling party will take to the negotiation table later this year. After settling on a package of

ET 3/19/91

proposals and negotiate constitutional strategies, the NP will have to have these ratified by its four provincial congresses as required by the party's federal constitution. The NP's Free State congress, which begins here today, will precede the federal congress, so announce the special get-together for other State Nationalists might be arranged some time before November when the all-party conference is expected to get under way. The federal congress will be immediately followed by the NP's Natal congress in Durban, where approval of decisions taken in Bloemfontein are expected to be a formality. Considerable attention is expected to be directed at ways of getting the party machine prepared to broaden the NP's base so that the ruling party could perform creditably in a referendum.

30/11/91

is expected to

ber 3 1991

# Nat delegates set to vet new power plan

Star 3/9/91  
By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The National Party faces its constituency in an intense week of consultation on policy at three party congresses starting today.

Overshadowing all will be the extraordinary federal congress in Bloemfontein tomorrow when the NP unveils its constitutional plan for the "real McCoy" negotiations which now seem imminent.

Today the Free State party will hold its annual congress, also in Bloemfontein, and on Thursday and Friday the Natal NP congress will take place in Durban.

At the federal congress, the party leadership will be seeking approval for the draft of an

elaborate power-sharing plan designed to dilute the power of the majority.

The blueprint has some idiosyncratic features such as equal representation in an important second legislative House for all parties enjoying more than a certain minimum support — say 10 percent.

One controversial suggestion is that voting at local government level should be weighted in favour of property owners, ratepayers and tenants.

Senior NP officials have stressed that the plan is still in draft form and will have undergone changes even before it is presented to the congress tomorrow.

The federal congress has no real power in the NP's own constitution and the plan will have to be approved by all four provincial congresses.

But because the Free State congress will take place before the plan is unveiled, it is expected that the Free State party will hold another congress.

Senior NP sources said the congresses would not approve the plan in detail, but would probably give the leadership approval to continue in the general direction indicated.

Other matters likely to figure prominently at the Free State and Natal congresses are the crime boom, the mushrooming of squatter camps and the state of the economy.

The NP rank and file is clearly in a grim mood, especially about the continuing increase in violent crime.

President de Klerk is expected to speak at the federal congress and is scheduled to close the Natal congress on Friday.

4005  
IHLE TOWNSHIP

E

304A

(17) (304A) 27 319/91

# ANC slams govt's R1bn plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's plan to allocate R1 billion for socio-economic development was criticised by the ANC yesterday because it was drawn up without consultation with the people it was supposed to help.

A statement from the organisation here said the plan was "motivated by good intentions". However, it was a "unilateral attempt by the government to decide what is best for the people without any meaningful consultation or participation".

The ANC said it believed the govern-

ment was going to use the money to "bolster unrepresentative black and white local authorities".

The ANC statement echoed earlier criticism by Cosatu that the plan would aid "discredited" local authorities.

The government was also accused of trying to "throw money at the problem" without a "well-thought-out strategic plan for development drawn up through a democratic process".

"This ad hoc allocation of R1bn will fast evaporate because it is not part of such a

rationally planned process. It will not make a meaningful impact on the existing socio-economic crisis."

The ANC said the initiative should have been discussed with communities that are supposed to benefit as this would increase their capacity to do things for themselves.

"This initiative is another top-down process of development that sees its main task as delivering a product to the people, and undermines communities rather than empowers them," the ANC said. — Sapa



# NP likely to take a big step

304A

So we fan 3/9/91.

THE National Party is expected over the next two days to take the boldest leap yet when it debates a set of proposals to share power with the country's black majority.

The proposal will come before the party's Bloemfontein congress for debate today and is still to be approved by a federal congress in the same city tomorrow.

After the federal congress, the proposals, expected to receive the nod of the party leadership, will go to the provincial congresses for acceptance.

There has been much talk over the past two

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

years - since the inception of State President FW de Klerk - of a new political dispensation which will bring justice for all.

If the federal congress accepts the proposals, De Klerk and indeed the NP are expected to win a lot of favour both internally and externally.

## Proposals

The proposals are loosely based on the American and German systems of government, favour one person one vote and advocate a free market capitalist system.

A senior party source said tomorrow's federal congress will also be attended by black NP members.

After the NP opened its doors to all races, many black businessmen and town councillors indicated they would join the party.

A large contingent of coloured MPs in the House of Representatives joined the NP earlier this year.

On August 30, the first coloured was appointed Cabinet Minister when Mr Abie Williams from the Northern Cape was sworn in as Deputy Minister of National Planning and Education.

# Mazrui's love, faith in Africa

Sowetan  
3/9/91

3048

IT is difficult, at first, to ascertain exactly what it is that makes Ali Mazrui such a compelling person.

His eyes are gentle, and his smile is real. He walks almost like a priest, slowly and complacent...

The observer is almost at once overwhelmed by his presence.

It is when he speaks of Africa that you recognise the humanity and that conviction in him.

Mazrui speaks out of a love for the continent that runs deeper than Africa's own history.

He speaks of Africa's problems as if they were injuries to himself.

As a Kenyan national who has lived through the Mau Mau period - and a second "home" in Uganda - Mazrui is cautious about Africa's future.

The continent has been the ideological battleground for the superpowers - the Soviet Union on one hand and the United States of America on the other.

## Conflict

South Africa did not escape this conflict altogether.

"Some of your most difficult times are still ahead," Mazrui says.

A political settlement is a long way off, and there are no guarantees it will amount to equal power-sharing.

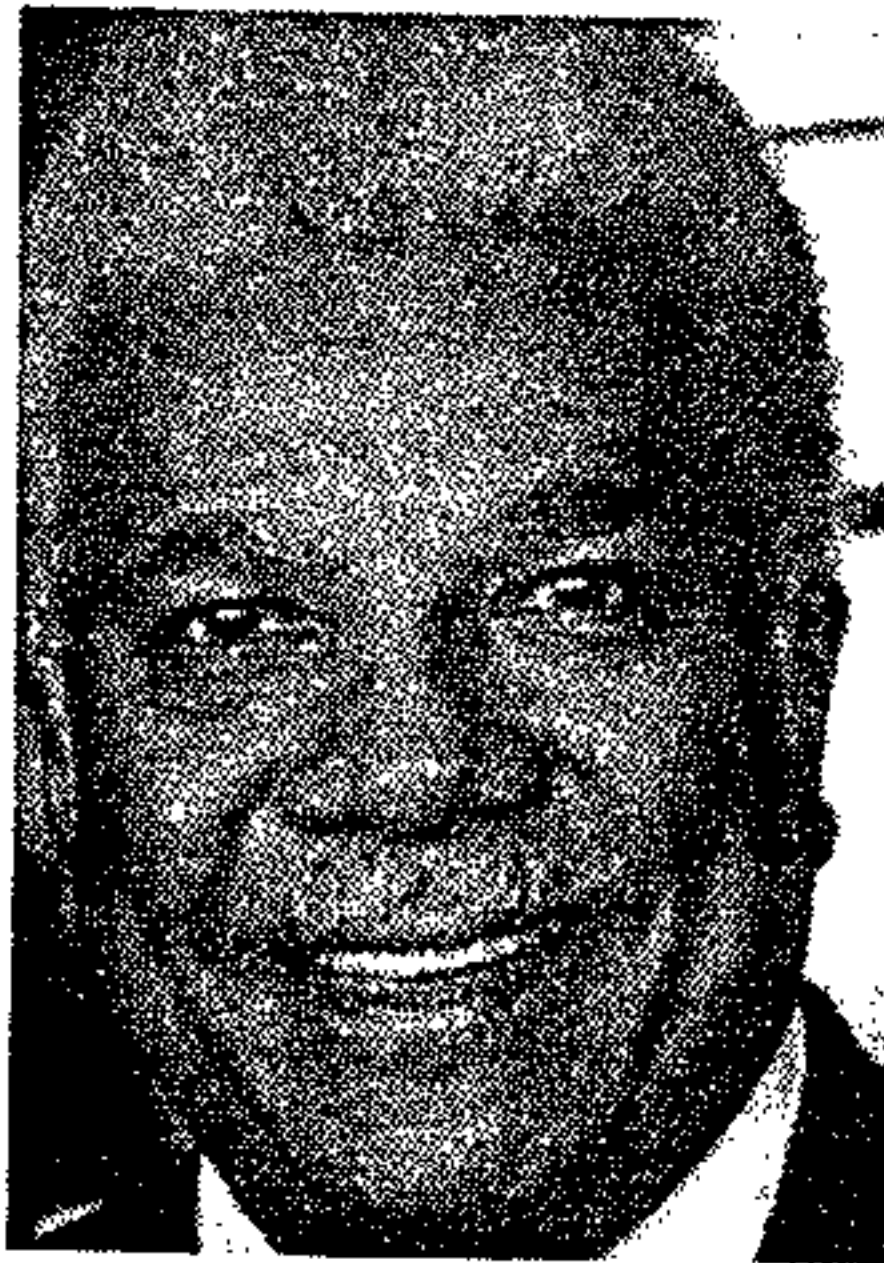
The two most important levers, the armed struggle and economic sanctions, have been taken away from the liberation movements, Mazrui explains.

The arrival of President Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika is largely to blame for current situation in South Africa.

The ANC and the PAC waged

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent



ALI MAZRUI

a multilateral struggle against Pretoria with considerable aid from the Soviet Union and countries in the former East Bloc, where Moscow played a decisive role.

And, because of the emerging world order, where American foreign policy now dictated the decisions taken by most developing countries when it came to aid and economic leverage, the South African liberation movements found themselves floundering like beached whales.

This reality made the option of armed struggle and sanctions much more difficult.

"Everywhere else in Africa where there has been a large white minority in power... there hasn't been a readiness to give up that power without, not

just a brief but a sustained, armed encounter," he says.

Mazrui was a young man during Kenya's Mau Mau period, and later the Algerian liberation war.

Both the Kenyans and Algerians were politically triumphant - though they lost the military struggle - without aid from socialist countries, he says.

The armed struggle of the ANC and the PAC (with the help of socialist countries) could have eventually broken Pretoria (politically) if the socialist countries had sustained their military aid.

## Superpower

Nevertheless, the Third World as a whole has been affected by the decline of the Soviet Union, he says.

America has emerged as the only superpower and, therefore, no longer is there a world order with checks and balances - a concept which was born in the US.

"It was possible for the Third World to play one superpower off against the other to secure a veto in the (United Nations) Security Council."

## Predicament

But where does Africa fit into all of this? What is Africa's predicament in the present world order?

Economically, Africa is going nowhere. Politically there are many achievements.

"It is likely to be a pretty difficult decade, economically, for much of Africa.

"We haven't solved our problems of production effectively.

"We may become more dependent, especially on international financial institutions like

the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

"Perhaps more than ever, especially if the West diverts money to the Soviet Union..

"The relative good news is political... which is part of the Gorbachev legacy.

"One is that many of our civil wars are coming to an end more rapidly as they used to before Gorbachev.

"They (America and the Soviet Union) used to provide Africans with more and more weapons to kill each other with... the war in Eritrea lasted 30 years, Angola more than 15 years.

"Now that superpower rivalry has ended, there are prospects of very rapid pacification by Africans themselves in Africa," Mazrui says.

There is also a groundswell in pro-democracy movements.

## Dictatorships

"Many African populations have become sick and tired of dictatorships and insensitive governments.

"They are no longer just taking it lying down. They are on the streets demanding change...

There is widespread change in Africa, much less than in American and Soviet policy on the horizon for Africa.

Both are concerned with their traditional ideological bents and who the victors are.

Africa is alone and Africans must take Africa back into the world order - as an economic and political asset not as a liability or a side-show.

●Mazrui is the guest speaker at the *Weekly Mail* Book Week's discussion Race and Culture Identity at the Wits Theatre on Friday September 6.



BLOEMFONTEIN. — A breakthrough to real negotiations on a new constitution was near, President De Klerk told the National Party federal congress here today.

The next two years would determine the country's course for the next 50 years, he said at the start of a congress which will discuss the party's outline for constitutional reform.

He stressed that the plan was not a blueprint, but a framework meant to lay a clear foundation for negotiations for a realistic constitution.

### It's not magic

It was not a magic formula but offered a plan for a workable constitution which could guarantee democratic values, offering full participation to all South Africans on a universally acceptable basis.

And it offered protection against domination and abuse of power, was stripped of racial discrimination and would be able to preclude a majority from misusing its powers to suppress minorities, communities or individual rights.

It would ensure that the new constitution and manifesto of fundamental rights could not be manipulated or undermined and offered a place in the sun for the cultural diversities of the country and the possibility of reasonable self-determination by communities in matters of intimate concern.

Mr De Klerk categorically rejected the insinuation that proposals concerning municipal franchise had racist overtones or that the principle of universal franchise was violated.

### Home-owners

The idea of special recognition of the rights of home-owners, home-dwellers and rate-payers, in respect of local government, was nothing new. It had been applied in the Cape for decades.

The proposal of a collective presidency had provoked widespread reaction and interest.

The National Party was convinced that concentration of power in the hands of a single person as head of state as in the present system was the major single factor bedeviling the co-operation so badly required.

As long as an executive president alone held as much power as the present constitution vested in him, there would be aggressive competition among political leaders and their parties to attain that position.

### Steamrolling

Mr De Klerk said the ANC was trying to steamroller the government on the issue of an interim government.

He reiterated the government's view that it was not opposed to the concept of transitional arrangements and that it was prepared to include this in the agenda for negotiations.

It was, however, strongly opposed to any form of government which was not based on the constitution.

"Government by decree through an interim government in a constitutional vacuum is totally unacceptable.

"Transitional arrangements must be negotiated and must at all times be reconcilable with the constitution."

Mr De Klerk said the CP, the AWB and other rightwing organisations were trying to intimidate the National Party.

He appealed to Dr Andries Treurnicht and the CP to distance themselves from violence and disruption.

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

# 'Charm's' is near

FW SPELLS OUT 50 YEARS AGAINST DOMINATION,

ABUSE OF POWER

Argus

04/09/91

304 A





Midweek Politics  
By ANTHONY  
JOHNSON

3044  
CT 4/9/91

# Nationalist conception of democracy is in question

ASPECTS of the National Party's federal congress to be held in Bloemfontein today raise fresh questions about the party's commitment to and understanding of democracy.

The issues touch both the internal workings of the NP and its vision for a new democratic order in a future political dispensation.

On the first level, it is disturbing, to say the least, that the vast majority of the 1 200 delegates attending the federal congress will only get sight of the NP's comprehensive constitutional blueprint for a new South Africa this morning.

With barely enough time to speed-read the document, delegates will then be expected to engage in a meaningful debate and take decisions on probably the most far-reaching and momentous proposals yet considered by the party.

In a matter of hours the party's rank-and-file will have to give their definitive input towards a package the NP leadership hopes will serve as the constitutional cornerstone of the new South Africa.

## Chance for comment

True, the proposals settled on by the federal congress will also have to be ratified by the party's four provincial congresses later this year but it is highly unlikely that the provinces will overturn or drastically revise the decisions of the federal congress which will meet today for only the fifth time since the NP came to power in 1948.

Since the federal congress really represents the last real opportunity for the party rank-and-file to put their stamp decisively on the NP's constitutional proposals, one would have thought copies of the document would have been circulated widely for comment and discussion at local and branch level before delegates were asked to deliver judgement.

While it could be argued that the party leadership felt a sense of urgency in finalising the proposals which it will take to the negotiating table, this does not really amount to a good excuse.

For example the ANC, with far fewer resources at its disposal than the ruling party, was able to produce a series of detailed discussion documents — including one on the shape of a future constitution — well before its national congress in July. This allowed delegates to study the contents thoroughly and debate more meaningfully.

Although aspects of the NP plan have cropped up before at party congresses, delegates will be hard-pressed to give the complete package a thorough check in the limited time available.

Indeed, the last time the NP held a federal congress — Durban, 1986 — the party's power-sharing proposals were bulldozed through with indecent haste, leaving a number of delegates wondering just what it was they had approved in the end.

## Property owners

Another aspect of today's federal congress which fuels alarm at the NP's understanding of de-

mocracy are proposals that some voters in a new South Africa should be more equal than others.

The motivation for the party hierarchy to include in its proposals that greater weight should be given to the votes of property owners and ratepayers must raise suspicions among other parties about its entire game plan.

If such obviously unacceptable proposals were included with the idea that they would be sacrificed in negotiations as part of a *quid pro quo* for concessions by other parties, NP members should be worried.

If the NP leadership believes it can genuinely pull off a stunt which will swop class discrimination for the more blatant forms of race discrimination not only its members should be worried.

It means that Mr De Klerk and his advisers have been playing games in the name of democracy.

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — South Africa was near a breakthrough to real negotiations, President de Klerk said in Bloemfontein today as he unveiled the National Party's proposals for power-sharing.

"The next two years, like the past two, will determine our country's course for the next 50 years," he told 1200 delegates to the NP's extraordinary federal congress, called to discuss the NP's constitutional proposals for the coming multiparty negotiations. (304A)

The plan differs very little from an earlier draft described in the media.

It proposes a highly decentralised bi-cameral Government with maximum power devolved to second and third tiers of government and to minority parties.

The present all-powerful State President would be replaced as the country's supreme executive power by a committee — to be called the Presidency — consisting of the leaders of the three largest parties in the first house of the legislature.

The presidency would have to make its decisions by consensus.

Mr de Klerk strongly rejected criticism that the proposals contained a hidden agenda on the question of minority rights, and that the plan to give different weight to different votes contradicted earlier assurances.

He said the NP's Action Plan published in 1989 had stressed the need for checks and balances such as a veto.

He also dismissed criticism that the NP's plan to give property owners, tenants and ratepayers a greater vote at local government level had "racist overtones" or violated the principle of universal franchise.

The weighting in favour of property owners and users would apply to all races and the Government was "dynamically addressing the extension of home ownership and stable home occupation for all population groups".

Mr de Klerk appealed to other parties not to reject the NP's plan out of hand.

It was "in line with democratic systems all over the free world" and "stripped of any racial basis".

It offered every South African full political rights on an equitable basis, but would prevent a majority misusing its power to suppress majorities.

Next two years key to the following 50, NP congress told

# Breakthrough close — FW

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Star 4/9/91

Mr de Klerk also took a swipe at the Conservative Party for failing to distance itself unequivocally from right-wing violence and disruption of political meetings.

He vowed that the NP would continue to hold public meetings and urged party members to "take care the National Party's message is heard loud and clear in every corner of the country".



Allister Sparks examines the National Party's constitutional plan

304A  
Sparks 4/9/91

# A recipe for total insecurity

# abyss

**N**OW that the business of negotiating a new national constitution is getting under way with the presentation in Bloemfontein today of the National Party's constitutional plan, one crucial point needs to be stressed at the outset. It is that white security in the new South Africa will ultimately depend on the satisfaction of black aspirations.

The instinct at the moment is to look for protective mechanisms. The National Party, having recognised that it can no longer maintain white power, is concentrating instead on ways to limit the exercise of black power. It wants to protect the whites against a redressing of the imbalances of the past, against a turning of the tables with privileged treatment for blacks and discrimination against whites.

Hence the plan for an executive council of three or five members instead of a single state president, for a multiparty Cabinet and for an upper house loaded with minority veto powers.

There will be the appearance of majority rule, with one-person-one-vote elections to the lower house which will obviously have a massive black majority — almost certainly headed by the African National Congress. So power will be transferred. But thereafter that power will be emasculated.

The majority in the lower house will be able to draft and pass legislation, but minorities in the upper house will be able to veto it.

The National Party wants to divide the country into nine regions, or states, each with an equal number of seats in the upper house. All parties that win more than a minimum percentage of electoral support in a region will qualify for an equal number of seats.

Thus minor parties will have as much power as the majority party in the upper house, enabling them to veto legislation coming up from the lower house. The Conservative Party could conceivably exercise control over what is passed into law.

At the executive level, meanwhile, a three-person council

would presumably see the country being run by Nelson Mandela, F.W. de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi — a regular two-to-one majority against the ANC regardless of the size of its majority in Parliament. The "collegiate" Cabinet it would choose could be similarly loaded.

A five-person executive council would be marginally better, in that two people of national stature, not necessarily members of any of the competing political parties, could give some balance to the council.

What it amounts to is an attempt by the National Party to negotiate a kind of swap: it will give up the right to run the country its way in exchange for the right to stop the blacks from running it their way.

All this is designed to give comfort to the whites, to ease their fears of black rule and make them feel secure. In fact it is a recipe for total insecurity.

The ending of apartheid and the prospect of a "new South Africa" are inevitably raising expectations in the black community. A

system that paralyses the new regime and prevents it from satisfying at least a minimum of those raised expectations will quickly result in that new regime being discredited, leading to renewed unrest and demands for ever more radical solutions.

That is the road to anarchy and ruin.

Nor can I imagine anything more calculated to build anti-white feelings in the new South Africa than a system that has white representatives fighting and obstructing the black regime's attempts at reform every inch of the way. Surely no one can imagine that the provoking of a wave of counter-racism in black politics is in the interests of white security.

Whites should realise that in the long run their best security lies in the satisfaction of black aspirations and their own economic indispensability in achieving that. In other words, in stability and prosperity. The new government must be able to satisfy those aspirations to a reasonable degree, and it is going to need white ex-

pertise to enable it to do so.

It is not going to push the whites around because it knows that if it does so the most productive of them will leave, and the loss of their capital and expertise will collapse the economy and render the new regime incapable of meeting any aspirations at all. That is a far greater protection than any constitutional mechanisms can ever be.

Having said that, let me add that I am not altogether discouraged by the National Party's plan. It is a marked improvement on previous models. Not only does it mean that after 32 years, billions of rands and 3.5 million forced removals, the National Party has finally abandoned the "homelands" policy (the "homelands" will simply be absorbed into the nine larger regions of the NP's federation), but it has also dropped all semblance of "own affairs" and "group rights" which were once thought to be President de Klerk's idées fixes.

There is in fact a remarkable degree of common ground be-

tween it and the ANC's constitutional proposals. Only the executive council, the compulsory multiparty Cabinet and the upper house blocking mechanisms present serious differences, and even these are not irreconcilable. We are at the beginning of a negotiation process with each side making its opening bids. Compromises will follow until a meeting point is found. The Nat plan can provide a framework within which the bargaining can take place. There can be agreement on reduced powers for the State President; coalition Cabinets are fine if they are voluntary and not obligatory; and minority vetoes are acceptable on issues enshrined in a Bill of Rights. But as the bargaining takes place both sides will be responsive to pressure from their constituencies. That is why it is so important for whites to realise that excessive protectionism is not in their interests. It is the formula for resentment and instability. □



# 'Communicator' in charge

**Political Staff**  
SOUTH AFRICANS will have to learn to listen to each other, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, said last night.

"Effective communication is pre-eminently one of the instruments with which we can confirm our dream of a peaceful and prosperous co-existence."

He also said the Cape Provincial Administration was privileged to have an experienced diplomat, Mr Herbert Beukes, in its most senior post.

Mr Beukes, South Africa's former ambassador in Washington

304A CT 4/9/91  
and former deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, took up his new position as director-general of the Cape on Monday.

Mr Meiring spoke last night at a welcoming dinner for Mr Beukes, a Stellenbosch University graduate and former journalist on the Burger.

"Long before others jumped on to the bandwagon of political change, Herbert Beukes realised that the South African constitutional system would have to be changed drastically before it could truly stand the test of fair-

ness, acceptability, affordability and workability."

Mr Meiring said ineffective communication could jeopardise the best efforts for peaceful and prosperous co-existence. "We stand on the threshold of even greater times; therefore we cannot allow a breakdown in communication to retard or bedevil the process of nation-building."

For this reason, the Cape Provincial Administration was grateful that at this period in its history an outstanding communicator like Mr Beukes was at the helm of its affairs.

# Making the townships viable

Sfor 4/9/91

304A

The townships are deteriorating and wallowing in debt. Is there anything like a lifebat in sight? JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

IT IS THE classic vicious cycle. Township residents refuse to pay for services (largely) because the standards of service are unacceptable, and services will not be improved until there is money flowing into the council coffers. How to break this endlessly destructive pattern that has brought townships to the brink of collapse is the question preoccupying local and regional government officials and civic leaders alike.

The advantages to township service consumers are purely in the areas of improved efficiency — which would allow substantial central Government subsidies to be put to better use — and more advantageous bulk purchasing arrangements, which could lead to a drop in tariffs.

## Crumbled

Under such an arrangement, senior staff from the white council would be shared and their management skills made available to town and township alike. But budgets remain strictly separate; both councils remain intact (or in townships where the council has already crumbled, the township administrator continues to deputise for the council) and both councils contribute to the costs of joint staffing.

Mr van Zyl points out that the white council could safeguard its financial position by making joint administration

subject to the meeting of certain conditions. "If residents of that black local authority do not perform in terms of paying for services, then the white council can say 'They are breaking the agreement and I'm pulling out'."

Furthermore, says Mr van Zyl, Conservative Party-controlled councils — of which there are about 70 in the Transvaal — may be persuaded to take the plunge on joint administration, but they are not about to accept more far-reaching political restructuring.

The TPA model is not quite the interim joint administration that the civic movement has in mind, if the demands of the Soweto Peoples' Delegation/Soweto Civic Association are any indication. The SPD/SCA says joint ad-

ministration should, in addition to improving efficiency.

● Depoliticise the service issue. This implies that township councillors must resign and not remain in control of budgets and contracts. The interim administration itself should take on these responsibilities.

● Begin to address the question of redistributing tax revenue within the total metropolitan complex. The civics have not spelled out the structural implications of this demand, but make it clear it is not something that can be deferred until after central negotiations have finalised the form of post-apartheid local government.

The second civic concern — redistribution — certainly could be addressed without radical political restructuring. There is no legal reason why rates from

non-residential properties in the urban complex cannot be shared out, according to an agreed formula, to benefit all residents instead of whites only.

From the point of view of the civics, although sharing the business tax revenue does not attack the racial structuring of local government, it represents a step towards equity in revenue distribution and an extra source of money for the destitute townships.

Mr van Zyl says that at present the central Government compensates township councils to the extent of 30 to 40 percent of their budgets because they are denied revenue from commercial and industrial rates. He poses the question whether this central Government subsidy should be forfeited if townships began to get a fairer share of

the urban tax pie. Anti-apartheid organisations and the ANC have argued that there is a need for affirmative action to undo the damage of apartheid. The civics insist that more equitable sharing of urban revenue does not absolve the central Government from providing financing to compensate for the neglect of the past.

## Emphatic

While the National Party — and Mr van Zyl — look favourably on political restructuring even in the transitional phase, the SCA and other civic bodies are emphatic that they will not implement new-style local authorities before central political negotiations take place.

This does not necessarily imply that civic associations would insist that structures like the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber or the various urban forums in smaller towns should cease to exist. But it certainly does mean that

these forums are limited to planning technical interim solutions and exploratory exchanges on future forms of government.

The absence of political restructuring leaves a question mark over the accountability and legitimacy of interim administrations and negotiating forums. Some hold that elections for such bodies are necessary, others that proper elections are not feasible. There is no urgent demand for an answer on this issue.

Mr van Zyl proposes that more immediately, "if people accept that all the relevant parties are included in the negotiating forum — in other words that it is a sort of representative body — then surely what is negotiated as an interim solution must have some legitimacy."

It is a principle that the civic associations apparently endorse, even if they and the TPA are at odds about the identities of "relevant parties". □

# De Klerk

## to unveil new plan

306A

*Soweto* 4/9/91  
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is to propose a new constitutional model today that calls for black voting rights while guaranteeing a strong voice for the white minority.

De Klerk is to unveil the plan in a major address to the National Party at its Free State congress in Bloemfontein.

The proposal is expected to extend full voting rights to the 30 million black majority and replace the presidency with a three to five-man executive council to include members of the opposition parties.

### Formula

Cabinet posts will also be reserved for opposition parties.

There will be two houses of parliament chosen on a proportional basis rather than a winner-take-all formula.

De Klerk's model is also expected to call for moving power away from the central authority to

regional and local governments.

He says the country's racial and cultural diversity calls for consensus politics to prevent any party or race group dominating. He envisions some mechanism that will give minorities veto power on major policies.

### Deadline

Anti-apartheid groups are sceptical of De Klerk's intentions, saying he wants to preserve special privileges for the white minority.

The African National Congress favours a strong central government. It argues that a powerful central authority is needed to redress the economic and social imbalances created by apartheid and centuries of white domination.

De Klerk does not have to call an election until 1994, which is seen as the deadline for negotiating a nonracial constitution. - *Sapa-AP.*



# FW to visit Middle, Far East

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would soon undertake an overseas visit that would include the Middle and Far East, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

Details of the trip are not known, but diplomats are speculating that De Klerk will visit two Middle East nations and at least one in the Far East.

Israel, Turkey and Egypt have been mentioned, and in the Far East he might visit either Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore. *Blow 4/9/91*

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday De Klerk had indicated further visits to other countries would take place.

But no details could be disclosed at this stage, the spokesman said.

Diplomatic sources said the most likely

304A  
TIM COHEN

destination was Israel because there had been speculation about such a trip in June, when Israel lifted almost all its sanctions against SA.

At the time it was reported that De Klerk would visit Israel before the end of the year, following an invitation by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Japan's consul-general in SA, Ohia Matsutoshi, said while he would personally welcome a trip by De Klerk to Japan, such a visit was unlikely in the near future.

Taiwanese consul-general Loh I-cheng said De Klerk had a standing invitation to visit his country.

● See Page 5

# Sanctions made us change <sup>(250)</sup> 304A Coetsee

B/Day 4/9/91.  
BILLY PADDOCK

BLOEMFONTEIN — International sanctions had forced the NP and government to change their apartheid policies to those of power-sharing and negotiation, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

He said at the opening of the NP Free State congress that it was a big moment for government when the US repealed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) in July. But this did not just happen by itself.

"We worked to have that law lifted. We were absolutely convinced that this Act had to fall so that the SA government could also gain access to the facilities of the IMF," he said.

Coetsee's address was the first public acknowledgement by a senior government Minister that government had buckled under the pressure of economic sanctions and that its change of direction was not solely due to "seeing the light".

He said less than two years ago SA was in a political and economic cul-de-sac and all agricultural produce had to be marketed and sold internationally under bogus "front names".

There were severe limitations on over-flying and landing rights for SA.

While the ANC and the PAC had free admission to almost all countries and their governments, SA officials were merely permitted in some instances to slip into countries abroad and peek through the

back door.

Sanctions-busting methods were common in every aspect of the economy, but SA was being crippled as a result of the economic sanctions.

Then, at the end of 1989, the NP realised that as a party and a government its options were extremely limited.

Stagnation and rot stared them in the face, Coetsee said.

The NP had a policy of power-sharing but no one internally, even those the NP was supposed to be sharing power with, wanted to buy the product because so many other parties were excluded and they were being called sell-outs. Government's policies were totally unmarketable internationally as well, Coetsee said.

It was at this point the NP decided it had to change direction and start moving into a new SA. It meant that policies it had devised had to be reformed, changed and in some cases discarded.

Moreover this had to be done with the full co-operation of all South Africans.

Now interesting new vistas were beckoning. "As Dr John Vorster said, 'new doors were opening to us,'" he said.

He said he was proud that his department was involved in meeting the terms of two of the major preconditions that had to be met for the CAAA's repeal — the reform of security legislation and the release of political prisoners.

# Nats to reveal plans for talks

304A CT 4/9/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Today's National Party federal congress would be the most important gathering in the party's history, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night.

The landmark congress would usher in a new phase in the country's history — negotiations for a new constitution, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe said there had been a significant "moving together" between potential negotiating parties in recent months and the ANC and the government were now "within talking distance of each other".

Briefing journalists before the formal unveiling of the NP's constitutional proposals this morning, Dr Van der Merwe said the government expected negotiations to get under way this year with one or two ad hoc sessions of the multi-party conference. Full-blown continuing negotiations dealing with the "nuts and bolts" of constitutional bargaining would come on stream next year.

"However, if we could start the

## Few blacks at Nat congress

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Blacks were about as common as hens' teeth at the first "open" congress of the National Party here yesterday.

There was scant evidence at the NP's Free State congress that the party's decision last year to throw open its doors to all races had borne fruit.

Although the congress chairman, Mr Piet Clase, welcomed delegates "out of all population groups" to the congress, only a handful of Africans could be spotted among the hundreds of delegates.

multi-party conference next week the NP would be ready."

Dr Van der Merwe emphasised that the NP was keen to assist negotiations by remaining flexible about the details contained in its constitutional proposals — some of which have sharply criticised by opposition parties.

"Compromise and even total

change in some detailed proposals are quite possible," he said.

The ANC had not reacted with "total rejection" to the proposals and but had left themselves with room to manoeuvre "and that is encouraging".

He said the launch of the NP's proposals heralded the start of a new phase in South African politics.

"The new accent is on getting negotiations going removing obstacles to negotiation."

Dr Van der Merwe said that while the federal congress was a consultative body, the provincial congresses generally accepted the recommendations of the parent body.

Turning to the NP's constitutional plan, he said that while the gist of the proposals had already been aired, the manner in which they were packaged was new.

"We want to put some flesh on the skeleton so the people can see what species is emerging."

He emphasised that the NP was trying to bring out a discussion document which could be significantly amended following input from the NP's provincial congresses.



# 'Sanctions power' forced NP change

Own Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — International sanctions had forced the NP to change its apartheid policies to those of power-sharing and negotiation, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

He said it was a big moment for the government when the US repealed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) in July.

Mr Coetsee's address to the opening of the NP Free State congress was the first public acknowledgement by a senior government minister that the government had buckled under the pressure of economic sanctions and that its change of direction two years ago was not solely due to "seeing the light".

He said less than two years ago South Africa was in a political and economic cul de sac and all agricultural produce had to be marketed and sold internationally under bogus "front names".

These sanctions-busting methods were common in every aspect of the economy, but South Africa was being crippled as a result of sanctions.

There were severe limitations on overflying and landing rights for South Africa.

While the ANC and the PAC had free admission to almost all countries and their governments, South African officials were merely permitted in some instances to slip into countries abroad and peek through the back door.

Then at the end of 1989 the NP, with President F W de Klerk at the helm, realised that as a party and a government their options were extremely limited. Stagnation and rot stared them in the face, Mr Coetsee said.

It was at this point that the NP decided it had to change direction and start moving into a new South Africa. It meant that policies it had devised had to be reformed, changed and in some cases discarded.

304A

220

CT 4/9/91

# Scrap black local authorities - Cast

Sowetan 4/9/91

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have decided that black local authorities should be dissolved and a new national body formed to negotiate the new energy legislation.

Cast said this after their

By **IKE MOTSAPI** and **Sapa**

conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

It said it would negotiate with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and white councillors for

solutions to the crisis in local government.

Cast would also adopt a unified strategy for negotiations on the future of local authorities, rather than the *ad hoc* method currently employed by the

various civics.

It was also decided to call for the scrapping of the National Energy Act, and the setting up of a national forum of civics to include other interested parties to formulate a new national energy policy.

# Former Nigerian head is to visit South Africa

304A

Sowetan 4/9/91

FORMER Nigerian head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo will almost certainly meet President De Klerk when he visits South Africa next week for talks with prominent politicians and business leaders.

Obasanjo, a member of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group which toured South Africa in 1986, will lead a group of 16 Nigerians on a two-day visit to the country at the invitation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The group, arriving on Tuesday next week, is to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela and arrangements are

being made for meetings with President De Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, and representatives of political organisations such as Azapo, the PAC, the Inkatha Freedom Party as well as the South African Council of Churches.

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine described Obasanjo as a key actor in the shift towards democracy in Africa.

He said the visit was particularly significant in terms of extending and strengthening South Africa's relations in Africa. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

# Idasa to establish a training centre

*Sowetan 4/9/91*  
THE Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa is to establish a training centre for democracy to meet the urgent challenge for a democratic culture to emerge in South Africa.

## Democracy

Writing in the latest issue of the Institute's newsletter, *Democracy in Action*, executive director Dr Alex Boraine, said the centre - probably based in Johannesburg - would provide a repository for

the work Idasa has done over the last five years, a library of democratic materials including books, videos, etc and a training centre in which people could take short-term courses in democracy.

"There would be a Winter School and a Summer School and three to four-week courses so that those who participate can return to their places of residence as well as work and apply the teachings which they have acquired," Boraine said.

- Sapa

304A



## FW's plan 'a travesty'

The Argus Foreign Service (304A) Aug 5/9/91

LONDON. — Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement has condemned the National Party's power-sharing proposals, announced by President De Klerk, as "a travesty of democracy".

Instead, the AAM said it would launch a new campaign today to mobilise international public opinion behind calls for establishing a "genuine democracy" in South Africa.

AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said the National Party's proposals for a new constitution were "a recipe for white minority rule in a new form".

"(Mr De Klerk's blueprint) is a travesty of democracy as the rest of the world understands it and certainly cannot provide the basis for serious negotiations."

# A new smack of old apartheid, says ANC

(Sofia) M2g 5f9/q1

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The National Party may have unveiled proposals to allow blacks a meaningful vote for the first time — but its plans have not been favourably received by the opposition, with the African National Congress saying sections smack of old apartheid.

The proposals were unanimously accepted at an extraordinary one-day federal congress of the NP here yesterday. But they must still be ratified at the party's four provincial congresses.

A discussion document on the plan, released at a media breakfast preceding the congress, was littered with many familiar — and some new — catch-phrases, including "participatory democracy", "maintenance of accepted values and norms", "universal franchise", "private initiative" and "social responsibility", "power-sharing", "peace, progress and

prosperity" and "self-determination".

But working out their new meanings — and how they are to work in practice — is another matter.

The complicated framework propounded several controversial measures, including the devolution of power, a limited franchise at municipal level, a revolving presidency and a small, indirectly-elected upper house with the power to veto decisions taken by the proportionally-elected lower house.

In reaction, the ANC warned that the proposals would make the country ungovernable, were a recipe for disaster, would paralyse democratic government and were designed to deny a future government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

It accused the NP of trying to create a weak parliament and executive which would be ham-

strung by the requirement that broad consensus among small interest groups had to be reached.

"They proposals are no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto, designed to prevent effective government by a majority party."

The NP had suggested mechanisms which would ensure whites retained the accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle, the ANC said.

The organisation said the powers of the small upper house, where minorities would be able to veto majority decisions of the lower house, would make a mockery of the democratic process.

Concerning the proposal to establish neighbourhood committees to create regulations relating to "norms and standards" meant only one thing, the organisation said: "The maintenance of group area arrangements under another name". — Sapa.

## Only a murmur — Group Areas again . . .

Political Staff (Sofia) M2g 5f1/f1

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — President De Klerk believes the National Party and the ANC will still find common ground in spite of the ANC's total rejection of the NP's new power-sharing constitutional plan.

The plan, which contains no racial provisions but gives wide powers to minority political parties and extra voting powers to property-owners and ratepayers, was endorsed by 1,200 delegates to the NP's federal congress.

It will now go to the party's four provincial congresses for official ratification, starting with the NP congress in Durban today.

The plan was accepted almost without a murmur by the federal congress, where for the first time coloured party members contributed to the debate.

One of the sharpest criticisms came from one of them, the Rev Andrew Julius, formerly in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

He said the proposal to create neighbourhood councils to represent suburbs — with powers to set residential norms and standards — would be seen as entrenching group areas.

Replying at a Press conference to the ANC's firm rejection of the plan, Mr De Klerk said he did not expect the ANC to accept it as it "absolutely militated" against the ANC's idea of a strong, centralised government.

But he believed the NP and the ANC would find common ground as they had in all negotiations so far.

He rejected the ANC's charge that the plan was an effort to entrench white rights.

# Hawke may cancel SA visit

(SOUTH AFRICAN)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke will call off his visit to South Africa next month if there is no major breakthrough in political talks on power sharing.

The visit is due to take place after the Commonwealth heads of government meet in Zimbabwe next month.

The warning was given by an unnamed Australian government official, who was quoted in yesterday's Sydney Morning Herald.

The newspaper quoted the official as saying a political-reform stalemate in SA was causing second thoughts about the wisdom of the visit.

And the official also claimed that Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans's reception in June was also a consideration.

However, there has always been a question mark over Mr Hawke's plan to visit SA. The Prime Minister made it clear that

the visit depended on how much progress had been made on power-sharing.

In a speech to the Mandela Foundation in Sydney last Friday, Mr Evans claimed that the pace of reform had slowed in recent months.

Some observers believe that Australia's foreign affairs department is trying to use Mr Hawke's visit to SA for political advantage within the Commonwealth. — Sapa



# ANC rejection of Nat plan can be overcome, says FW

Star 5/9/91  
By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — President de Klerk believes the National Party and the ANC will still find common ground in negotiations — in spite of the ANC's immediate and total rejection of the NP's new power-sharing constitutional plan unveiled in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The plan — which contains no racial provisions but gives wide powers to minority political parties and extra voting powers to property owners and ratepayers — was unanimously endorsed by 1 200 delegates to the NP's special federal congress.

It will now go to the party's four provincial congresses for official ratification, starting with the NP congress in Durban today.

The plan was given a standing ovation by the federal congress, where for the first time in the NP's history coloured party members contributed to the debate.

One of the sharpest criticisms came from one of them — the Rev Andrew Julius, former Labour Party Minister in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

He said the proposal to create neighbourhood councils to represent suburbs —



Still confident ... Mr de Klerk answers questions.

with powers to set local residential norms and standards — would be seen as entrenching group areas.

In its reaction, the ANC warned that the proposals would make the country ungovernable, were a recipe for disaster, would paralyse democratic government and

were designed to deny a future South African government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

It accused the NP of attempting to create a weak parliament and executive, which would be hamstrung by the requirement that broad consensus among small interest groups had to be reached.

"They (the proposals) are no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto, designed to prevent effective government by a majority party."

The NP suggested mechanisms that would ensure whites retained "the accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle" the ANC said.

The Conservative Party said the NP plan was a recipe for revolution.

"One man, one vote offers no protection to minorities — it means black domination and white oppression," CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said.

Responding at a press conference in Bloemfontein to the ANC's firm rejection of the plan, Mr de Klerk said he never expected the ANC to accept it as it "absolutely militated" against the ANC's

● To Page 2

## Govt, ANC can still agree — FW

Star 5/9/91  
304A  
● From Page 1

idea of a strong, centralised government.

But he believed the NP and the ANC would find common ground as they had in all negotiations so far.

Mr de Klerk said he rejected the ANC's charge that the plan was an effort to entrench white rights.

The proposal had been "absolutely stripped" of any racial discrimination.

Mr de Klerk stressed that the NP was pliable and that the plan was not its final negotiation document. But he dismissed suggestions that the

plan was just a starting position for negotiation.

It was an honest statement of party policy. "We haven't built in any fat which we can afford to give away," he said.

The NP's negotiating partners should not expect it to easily move away from the plan.

Mr de Klerk said the prospects of an early multiparty conference (MPC) were good.

If agreement could be reached on the difficult problem of violence, there was no reason why an accord could not be achieved on the MPC.

● Nats' plan — Page 19

# Nats 'won't dodge' election

(3049) Own Correspondent <sup>CT 5/9/91</sup>

BLOEMFONTEIN. — President F W de Klerk yesterday dismissed as "propaganda" right-wing allegations that the National Party was trying to "dodge" a general election.

In his opening address to yesterday's federal congress, Mr De Klerk repeated his promise to test the NP's constitutional plan at a referendum or election.

He added that the NP believed a referendum to be the best channel to decide the question of a new constitution.

He said propaganda that the NP was trying to avoid an election must come

to an end. The fact remained that the NP won the last election and was constitutionally empowered to decide when the next would be held.

He also appealed to the Conservative Party to distance itself unequivocally from all violence and disruption.

And in a scathing attack, he said right-wing organisations were trying to intimidate the NP.

"Some are making dire threats, some are planning violence and others in turn are actually committing violence.

"The CP, the only party with any notable support in these ranks, is playing a very dubious part in this process," Mr De Klerk said.



# Nats' plan to spread power

Star 5/9/91

304A

The Star's political staff looks at the constitutional proposals that have emerged from the National Party's federal congress.

**D**EVOLUTION of power and the protection of minorities and regional interests emerged yesterday as the main elements of the National Party's constitutional proposals.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the federal congress of the National Party in Bloemfontein that the proposed three-tier system of government took account of the rich diversity of the population and would prevent any kind of "overconcentration" of power.

He said regional and local authorities were not merely administrative extensions of the central Government, nor simply the consequence of decentralised administration.

Each tier was a "government" in its own right with its own elected authority that was responsible to the voters, and had legislative and executive power as well as a tax base.

Dr Viljoen said the NP's proposed two-parliament structure would guarantee minority parties an equal say in the second House, even if they were outvoted by other parties.

## Power to veto

Under the plan, parliament would consist of two Houses. The first would be elected on a proportional representation basis, with laws being passed by a majority. Amendments to the constitution would require a larger majority.

A second, smaller House was also proposed. It would also have the power to pass laws, and more importantly, the power to veto legislation passed by the first House.

It would play an important role in protecting the constitution and minorities as well as regional interests.

In this chamber, an equal number of seats would be allocated to each region. Each political party in the region which gained a specified number of votes would have an equal number of seats allocated to them. Thus, minority parties, as long as they received the base limit of votes, would enjoy the same representation as majority parties.

Regarding the functions of the executive, the NP proposed that the executive should not be constituted from one party alone, but from members of a number of the major parties, Dr Viljoen said.

Under the NP proposal, the power of the state president would be diluted into a collective body called the presidency.

Dr Viljoen said the presidency would consist of the leaders of the three largest parties in the first House.

In the event that the three largest parties did not together

represent the majority of the voters, the presidency would be supplemented by as many additional leaders — in order of the size of their party — as may be required to represent a joint majority.

The chairmanship of the presidency would rotate among members on an annual basis; decisions would be taken by consensus and a state president may be elected on a rotating basis from the ranks of the presidency.

The presidency, by consensus, would appoint Ministers to form a multiparty Cabinet, who would be obliged to carry out the policy of the presidency.

Dr Viljoen said the country's nine development regions could be used as departure points to plan regional governments.

An elected legislative council for every region would be voted in on a proportional basis.

The executive committee of a region might be made up of three to five leaders from those political parties which had a pre-set minimum representation in the legislative council.

Sub-regions or district authorities could be provided as an option for particular interests.

Dr Viljoen said the term "participatory democracy" had gained a particular meaning at local government level.

It was at this level where the large gap between the developed and underdeveloped areas became evident, he said, adding that a dispensation, politically fair to all, had to be established.

Dr Viljoen said that within the boundaries of every town or city, it was proposed that only one nonracial local authority would be established with one administration and tax base.

City councils might be elected on the basis of representation of wards, accepting property valuations and voter numbers in a fair proportion to one another as the basis to delimitate wards.

Dr Viljoen said the NP accepted the Rule of Law as the foundation on which to express the pursuit of justice and a limit on the power of the State.

He said, however, that the term had been developed in the distinctive milieu of the Westminster system and an unwritten constitution.

The term "constitutional State" had, therefore, been used to indicate that the NP was striving for a system that might rightly be described as constitutional government.

Dr Viljoen said the concept "constitutional State" expressed the view that the constitution of a country should regulate the power of government in such a way that freedom, justice and legal certainty were guaranteed for all. □



## NP 'ready for negotiations'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party was ready for negotiations now, tomorrow, President F W de Klerk told delegates to the NP's federal congress here.

Mr De Klerk told the 1 200 delegates that the negotiation process was like a fast-ripening peach on a tree, ready to be plucked. (304A)

Later, Mr De Klerk told a press conference that the prospects were good for a multi-party conference getting under way soon. CTS 991

## Second House 'will protect the constitution'

BLOEMFONTEIN — The proposed second House in the NP's guidelines would play an important role in protecting the constitution and minorities as well as regional interests, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday. *Day 5/9/91*

The NP's point of departure that SA should be a

constitutional state was of cardinal importance to the party, he said. (304A)

And the proposal to limit government's powers to intervene in the self-reliance of non-political institutions was also important to citizens.

Viljoen said this guideline, which fitted into the whole network of constitu-

tional arrangements, took account of the fact that numerous activities in a society were performed by a variety of groups, often in non-governmental organisations and institutions.

It was here that the freedom to proceed without interference by the state had to be protected. — Sapa.

## Nats on leave for congress

THE National Party members of the President's Council had taken leave for September 4 and September 12, the council's chairman, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said yesterday. (304A)

Although the present session of the council was scheduled to last from September 2 to September 12, they had taken leave to attend the NP's federal congress and a caucus meeting, he said in a statement.

The next session would be held between October 21 and October 31 when its report on a national environmental management system would be debated.

The report would be available only on September 11 and for that reason the scheduled four-day report on the report would now take place from October 22 to October 26, Dr Van Niekerk said. CTS/9/9



## Women are equal, say Nats

Political Staff

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The National Party has embraced women's equality.

After the issue had been raised by delegates yesterday, President F W de Klerk said during his closing speech that all discrimination against women must end.

"Women's power is a mighty power, and the National Party stands back for nobody when it comes to recognising it," he said.

It was party policy that "the playing field should be levelled" so women could reach their full potential, he added.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen pointed out that a proposal for women to get a fixed number of seats in the ANC's National Executive Committee had been defeated.

*30/11/91*  
"We don't have that problem," he said.

National Party Federal Conference

# NP denies charges of class discrimination

Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — National Party ministers yesterday denied that the government was trying to replace race discrimination with class discrimination by giving more privileged citizens greater voting rights at local government level.

Ministers addressing the NP's federal congress here also denied that the party's controversial plan to set up neighbourhood councils within municipal boundaries was intended to pre-

serve apartheid in another guise.

Top Nationalists also vigorously defended proposals for constitutional guarantees barring government interference in the activities and concerns of minority or special interests groups in areas which include education (private schools), culture, religion, sport, language, tradition and "non-political community life".

Opening the NP's federal congress yesterday, president F W de Klerk said he wished to "categorically reject" in-sinuations that proposals concerning

the municipal franchise had racist overtones or that the principle of universal franchise was being violated.

Referring to NP proposals to give a "double vote" at local level to home owners, home dwellers (lessees) and ratepayers, Mr De Klerk said that giving special recognition to these categories was nothing new in South Africa.

"It has been applied in the Cape Province in a specific manner for decades. It is also the case in Australia. It is furthermore untrue that this

proposal has any hidden racial motive. The government is dynamically addressing the extension of home occupation to all population groups."

Mr De Klerk said any South-African could now live where he or she chose and "there is consequently no question whatsoever of discrimination".

He also said it was "dishonest" to suggest that the "checks and balances" being proposed by the NP were in conflict with previous undertakings that the NP stood for universal franchise.

# ANC accused of steamroller move

Own Correspondent <sup>SOUP</sup> ET 5/9/91

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — President F W de Klerk yesterday issued his strongest attack yet on the ANC's demand for an interim government, saying it was "totally unacceptable" and "not negotiable".

Mr De Klerk made it clear to the National Party's federal congress here that the government was not prepared to "be knocked down" on this issue.

He accused the ANC of trying to "steamroller" the NP into accepting the demand.

The government was not opposed to the "concept of transitional arrangements" and was prepared to include this on the agenda for negotiations.

"We are not prepared to suspend the Constitution.

"Government by decree through an interim government in a constitutional vacuum is totally unacceptable," said the Mr De Klerk.

However, at a press conference after the congress had closed, he said he thought it was still possible to reach a compromise with the ANC on transitional arrangements during negotiations.

"Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination. The National Party rejects both. Power domination spells catastrophe."



# F.W.: Nats

## can win in new SA

From ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — President F W de Klerk yesterday predicted that the National Party and its allies would form the majority in a future government.

He told the NP's federal congress here that since the party had thrown open its doors to all races it had "dramatically" increased its support base.

"At grassroots level the NP currently enjoys considerable support among black South Africans and majority support among all other population groups," Mr De Klerk said.

He said there was a growing current of support across the boundaries of colour and culture. "We are busy uniting and consolidating that support. It has the potential to become the greatest political tide in the country. That is our aim."

Mr De Klerk told the 1 200 delegates that the NP had become much more than a political party.

"In this period of fundamental and inescapable change, it has achieved an indisputable leadership role. The majority of whites, coloured and Indians, and a substantial percentage of blacks, are looking to the NP to secure their hopes and allay their fears."

He told a press conference later that opinion polls showed that over 60% of all coloured and Indian people supported his leadership, while he was the first choice of between 14 and 24% of Africans.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said recent independent surveys had found that the NP was the only party with appreciable support among all race groups in South Africa.

The NP's Transvaal leader, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the federal congress had sent out a message to the ANC and "other parties on the left" that the NP was "the most important political factor in SA".

The NP's Free State leader, Mr Kobié Coetsee, said the party would soon launch a massive recruitment drive among all South Africans.



**PROUD SUPPORTERS** ... Delegates to the National Party's federal congress in Bloemfontein yesterday listen to President F.W. de Klerk's call for negotiations.

Picture: AP

# Nats plan strategy to keep reins

304A  
15/8

Sowetan 5/9/91

THE Government has developed a "New Total Strategy" to hold on to power while ensuring the re-integration of South Africa into the international community, the Human Rights Commission claimed yesterday.

The document was released to the media at a briefing in Johannesburg by HRC commissioner Dr Max Coleman.

The HRC claimed the Government was using a twin-track programme of community repression and negotiations. This approach was developed out of the ashes of the "Total

Onslaught" philosophy of the 1980s.

According to the report, the "new approach" was evidenced in the statistics of violence, monitored by the HRC from July 1990 to June 1991.

## Vigilantes

The HRC, which claims to be an independent body but has close links with the ANC and Cosatu, said the statistics showed there was collusion between the security forces and so-called vigilantes in the destabilisation of township communities.

A total of 3 180 people were killed in the 12-month period. Of these, 238 deaths were the result

of security force action, while 2 640 were vigilante related.

A further 30 deaths were the result of "hit squad" action, 24 deaths were at the hands of the rightwing, while 258 were of an uncertain nature.

The HRC noted that security force deaths had showed a steady decline on a month-on-month basis during the 12 months monitored, but arrests had shown a steady increase.

The security forces were also alleged by the HRC to have not acted in violent situations when they should have, and to have assisted attackers in some cases. - Sapa





# De Klerk presents Nats' guide for negotiations

304A CT S/9/91

## Political Staff

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The National Party's constitutional proposals were "not a blueprint, but a framework" and designed to lay a foundation for negotiations, President F W de Klerk said during his opening address to the party's federal congress here yesterday.

"It is no magic formula, but does offer a plan for a workable constitution which can guarantee democratic values," said Mr De Klerk.

The proposals contain a set of 10 "fixed points of departure" which, speakers at the congress said, were non-negotiable.

Included in these demands were that the system:

- Is free from apartheid and discrimination in any form.
- Is free from domination.
- Promotes a market-oriented economy coupled with private initiative and social responsibility.
- Accommodates the cultural differences in South Africa.
- Is based on universal franchise in a democratic structure of government.

The plan proposes a three-tier government in which "full legislative and executive functions and authority are conferred on central government and regional and local authorities".

Every tier would have "government" in its own right with an elected authority, legislative and executive power and a tax base.

The plan suggests that the country could be divided into nine regions.

These are: A — Western Cape, B — Northern Cape, C — Free State and Qwa Qwa, D — Eastern Cape, E — Natal and KwaZulu, F — Eastern Transvaal and KaNgwane, G — Northern Transvaal, Lebowa and Gazankulu, H — the PWV area and KwaNdebele, and J — Western Transvaal.

South Africa's relationship with the TBVC states would "have to be negotiated with each state individually".

Municipal boundaries would be delimited on "an appropriate geographical basis so as to replace current boundaries based on race". A delimitation authority could handle this task.

## ANC slams 'recipe for disaster'

**THE ANC** yesterday described the National Party's constitutional proposals as a recipe for disaster, while the Conservative Party said they were a recipe for revolution.

The PAC said the NP's agenda was to secure white privilege in perpetuity. It said the proposals were the transference of the struggle from race to class.

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, said he would launch an anti-apartheid campaign in Britain against the proposals.

The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said "one man one vote offers no protection to minorities — it means black domination and white oppression".

The Democratic Party said the proposals included virtually everything the DP and its predecessors had been calling for over the past 20 years, with the exception of the five-member presidential council.

The Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, welcomed the proposals because they were based on a universal franchise.

The plan stresses that there should be a clear separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers.

The "framework" for the proposed constitution is based on two "basic points of departure". These are that a constitutional state is established and a system is designed which will ensure the "realisation of a participatory democracy".

"Participatory democracy" would be in contrast to the Westminster system in which one party exclusively enjoys power. The proposals suggest that this could be

achieved at central government level by having two houses of parliament. Both must adopt legislation.

The first house would be elected proportionally "so that each party receives a number of seats in accordance with the share of the political support which the party enjoys nationally on the strength of a general election".

Legislation would be passed by a simple majority but subjected to a "weighted majority" for issues entrenched in the constitution.

In the smaller second house an equal number of seats would be allocated to each region.

The second house would have a veto right on legislation approved by the first house.

The executive would be a collective body known as the Presidency. It would consist of leaders of the three largest parties in the first house. If the three do not represent the majority of voters, the Presidency would be supplemented by as many additional leaders as required to represent a majority.

"The chairmanship may rotate among the members on an annual basis. Decisions are taken by consensus. Likewise, a State President may be elected on a rotating basis from the ranks of the Presidency," says the document.

At regional government level the numerical strength of the legislative authority would be determined by the size of the voting population.

The regional executive would be made up of three to five leaders of "those political parties which have a predetermined minimum representation in the legislative council".

At local government level, city councils would be elected on the basis of representation in wards, "and accepting property valuations and voter numbers in fair proportion to one another as the basis for the delimitation of wards".

The plan recommends that two voters' rolls be considered at this level. One would be for the popular vote and another for property owners, lessees and rate-payers, who would be able to elect, for example, half the city councillors.



A recipe for disaster, says ANC

# FW refuses to budge on interim govt

Bloemfontein 5/9/91.

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The NP and government would not succumb to ANC pressure — they rejected an interim government out of hand; President F W de Klerk told the NP federal congress to rousing applause yesterday.

The NP would also muster all the power at its disposal to prevent the adoption of a new constitution which militated against the values of its proposed model, adopted by the congress yesterday.

The congress also recommended that the provincial congresses adopt the model.

De Klerk said the ANC was trying to "steamroller the NP at the moment, especially on the issue of an interim government".

The party would not give in to pressure. "Government by decree through an interim government in a constitutional vacuum is totally unacceptable," he said.

Last month De Klerk, urging parties to start negotiations, offered that the formation of an interim government could be the first item on the agenda. But yesterday he said the continuation of government according to the constitution was "not negotiable". The NP was not opposed to transitional arrangements, but "we are not prepared to suspend the constitution".

De Klerk lauded the NP model as the only workable option for SA, overtly stripped of "any racial basis and of discrimination and (giving) full expression to the principle of free association".

The plan envisages a three-tier government in which full legislative and execu-

304A

**BILLY PADDOCK**

tive functions and authority are conferred on central government and regional and local authorities with their own tax base, and there is almost full devolution of power and autonomy to second- and third-tier authorities.

It proposes a presidential collegiate of three to five that must reach decisions by consensus, no matter what proportion of the vote the individual's party received. It proposes a two-House system of Parliament, with the first House constituted through proportional representation and the second — with veto power over legislation — through equal regional representation.

It also proposes an extra vote for property owners, lessees and ratepayers at

● See Pages 4 and 5

local authority level. It allows for neighbourhood councils to set norms and standards.

De Klerk said support for the NP model meant balance, realism and a proven and civilised value system.

"In our defence of these values, we shall not waver. The NP has the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which will militate against these values. We will not hesitate to use that ability. We will use the power we have to prevent the rape of the country's values," he said.

He said the NP had won the last election and it would determine the next constitu-

□ To Page 2

Bloemfontein 5/9/91.

**FW**

tion. While it did not want to force through a new constitution, unless the NP agreed to the new constitution's proposals they would be unworkable, he said.

The ANC yesterday rejected the NP model as a recipe for disaster. It said the model entrenched white privilege, would make the country ungovernable and would paralyse democratic government.

De Klerk said he expected the ANC to reject the NP model because the model was against centralism and the winner-takes-all philosophy.

However, he still firmly believed that the two parties could find common ground for negotiations as they had in the past.

Multiparty negotiations were still on the cards in the near future, especially if the September 14 peace convention was successful.

304A

□ From Page 1

He said the model was not a blueprint but a framework to take to negotiations.

He rejected criticism that the proposals on municipal franchise had racist overtones or that the principle of universal franchise was violated. He said the NP had no hidden agenda on the question of minority rights.

The NP had devised the plan of an executive collegiate because it was convinced the concentration of power in the hands of a single person was the one factor bedevilling the co-operation so badly needed.

He said the NP had never asked for a mandate to hand over power to the ANC or anybody else, and was not even considering this. Negotiations were the only route to a just and democratic dispensation.

## NP FEDERAL CONGRESS

B (paw) 5/9/91 304A

# Property has a big role in NP model

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The NP has proposed a new constitutional model in which home ownership may play a decisive political role, particularly at local and regional government levels.

A discussion document setting out the constitutional principles for a new SA and their possible application in a political model was presented to the party's Free State congress yesterday.

The model confirms the NP's unusual proposal for a presidential "college" of the major party leaders, a cabinet representing all parties with a specified minimum representation, a two-chamber national legislature and substantial devolution of power to nine regional authorities, and unified local authorities with substantial autonomy.

The concept of a participatory democracy underlies the entire model with checks and balances to curb majority domination.

The structure's lowest level is designated neighbourhood councils, instituted on a voluntary basis within any municipal area which would have autonomous powers over matters such as regulating norms and standards, granting licenses, provision of community facilities, security, education and welfare.

The envisaged city councils could be put into effect by:

- Electing the councils on the basis of representation of wards;
- Determining franchise in accordance with both the interests of all lawful residents and "particularly the interests of

owners, leasees and rate-payers"; and

A combination model of the above two. The NP proposes that regional legislative councils be established for nine regions with their numerical strength determined by the size of each voting population.

Representatives would be elected from electoral districts on a proportional basis while nomination of part of the membership could come from local authorities or sub-regions.

Decision-making procedures would provide protection of minority interests and certain circumscribed matters.

A regional executive committee could be constituted by three or five leaders of political parties with a predetermined minimum representation in the council and would function collectively as a unit.

Parliament would have a first House elected on a proportional basis with a second, smaller House with an equal number of seats allocated to each region.

The second House would deliberate on Bills approved by the first House and pass them by simple majorities except where a weighted majority is required such as for legislation amending the constitution or relating to minority interests.

The executive authority, the NP argues, should not be constituted by one party and proposes a proportional structure as with the regional executive.

The presidency too is allocated to three or possibly five majority party leaders. — Sapa.



# FW: 'We can win in new SA'

From page 1

port for devolution of power and the NP's insistence on a market economy.

In its first official response to the NP plan, the ANC dismissed it as "a cynical attempt to deny the people of South Africa their basic freedoms, universally acknowledged as rights."

It added: "It is regrettable to have to say that the NP proposals are a recipe for disaster, designed to deny a future South African government the power to truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought."

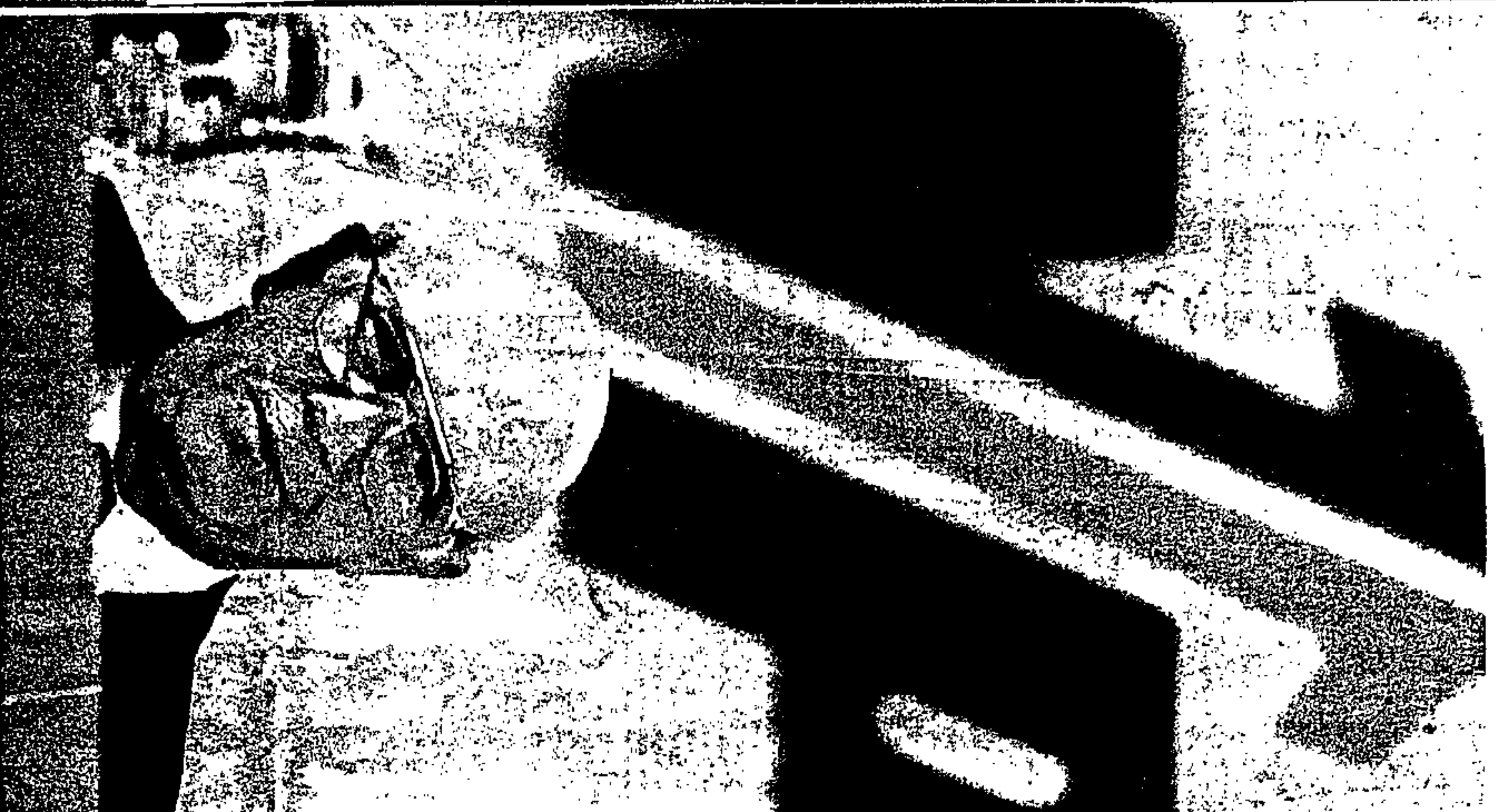
The ANC said the proposals were an attempt to create a weak Parliament and executive.

The NP proposals, it said, were an attempt to ensure that whites, under the guise of constitutional principles, retained privileges accumulated under apartheid.

PAC national publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai rejected the proposals and said that if Mr De Klerk believed he had the support of the majority he should call an election which would allow a constituent assembly to draw up the constitutional proposals for a new SA.

Mr De Klerk earlier summarily rejected calls for the government to suspend the constitution and said the NP would block any attempt to oust the present government before a new constitution was negotiated.

(South) CT 5/9/91



REVELATIONS IN BLOEM... President F W de Klerk addresses the National Party's federal congress in Bloemfontein where he revealed the party's proposals for future constitutional talks.

# NEW era for Nats

(South) CT 5/9/91

**From ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent**  
**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Unveiling plans for a final break with apartheid, President F W de Klerk said yesterday that the National Party and its allies could win an election in a new South Africa.

He told the NP's federal congress that the party enjoyed support among black South Africans and most of the white population groups.

However, the far-reaching constitutional proposals were immediately shot down by the ANC as "a recipe for disaster" — a mockery of democracy and a cynical attempt to entrench existing white powers and privileges.

And the PAC dismissed what Mr De Klerk billed as "the only workable alternative" to the country's future as a bid to replace race discrimination with class discrimination and shackle the majority's basic rights by privileged veils.

Earlier, the 1200 delegates heard Mr De Klerk say that the party's proposals were "totally stripped of any racial basis and of discrimination" and based on "universally acceptable" principles.

The federal congress enthusiastically adopted the proposals

## NAT PARTY'S FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS

See PAGE 5

for a highly decentralised system of multi-party government with elaborate checks and balances for minorities at all levels and recommended that the party's provincial congresses adopt the package.

The first test for the new plan will be today and tomorrow when the NP's Natal congress meets in Durban — but top party officials do not expect any serious resistance to the plans, which for the first time extend the vote to the African majority.

Mr De Klerk said last night that it was expected that the NP's opponents would try "to rip our proposals apart". But he believed it was still possible to find common ground

with the ANC and that current differences did not represent stumbling blocks towards negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said he "absolutely rejected" charges that the NP's proposals were an attempt to entrench white rights, saying the proposals were "totally stripped of all racism". He said he "never expected" the ANC to support the NP's model for a new constitutional order, given its support for a "highly centralised winner-takes-all system".

Mr De Klerk said there was "no trickery or hidden agenda" in the NP plan. "It's not a final product but a fair product because of its realism, fairness and total absence of discrimination."

To page 2



# The reasons behind reforms

304A

Sowetan 5/9/91

**FOR a brief moment this week the ruling National Party dropped its mask and revealed its real face at its Free State congress in Bloemfontein.**

The real motivation behind the Government's reforms surfaced.

Two years ago, when the NP's leader State President FW de Klerk assumed office, he spoke - almost saintly - of his dream of a "New South Africa", and justice for all.

De Klerk created and sold around the world the notion he was the arch-reformer and man who would lead the country into this new South Africa.

But the ominous signs were there. Almost all the foreign heads of state, who over the past two years received De Klerk, were all either tinpot dictators who were on their way out anyway (Madagascar's Didier Ratsiraka who was deposed last month) or old style dogmatics who have for decades forced one party rule on their subjects (Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko).

They were reactionary leaders with appalling human rights records like Morocco's King Hassan, Kenya's Daniel arap Moi and Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

De Klerk was also received by Britain's then prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher - who was removed from office by her own party - and America's president George Bush.

The South African president learned well from Bush, whose walkabout style of leadership De Klerk copied and whose walkabout style has been blamed for the reported failure of the United State's

domestic policy.

Similarly, while De Klerk or one of his envoys travelled abroad, South Africa was in turmoil.

In fact during the same week that foreign affairs minister Mr Pik Botha, travelled to Budapest to establish ties with the Hungarian government, the 1989 black matric results were published - and who can forget that tragedy?

There was another sign at about the same time: De Klerk said that for some reason or another, he did not suffer sleepless nights.

Then, again earlier this year, he refused to apologise for apartheid. And this too, passed largely unnoticed.

Nevertheless, the notion grew that De Klerk was a great reformer, and that he was doing what he was because of some kind of humanitarian streak in him.

Senior Government officials were also suddenly very liberal. As a matter of fact, you could not find a single person in the entire cabinet who ever believed in apartheid.

But this week in Bloemfontein, faced with the faces of the NP's loyalists from across the Orange Free State, the justice minister, Mr Kobie Coetzee, who is also the leader of the party in the province, shed a lot of light on the motivation behind De Klerk's reforms.

It appears now that De Klerk's reforms are, after all, not inspired by a real humanitarian desire to create "a new South Africa with justice for all", but because of some kind of a deal that the NP made among its leadership.

It was more, to use Coetzee's words, because "by the end of 1989 the National Party leadership, with De Klerk at the helm, found its

options for the future, as a government and as a party, to be extremely limited (uifers beperk)".

He said South Africa stood in a political and economical dead end because of the international isolation and sanctions campaigns of the anti-apartheid movement.

"The ANC and PAC had total access to virtually every government in the world while the Republic of South Africa was only allowed to peep through the back doors of those governments.

"Nobody accepted us in the outside world. The National Party therefore decided that this was enough - we decided to create a new South Africa," Coetzee said.

Delegates in Bloemfontein's city hall were quiet while Coetzee spoke. Perhaps they had never heard (from the Government itself) that it was beaten by the sanctions lobby.

Coetzee explained how he visited a friend's farm and found that all his friend's fruit bore the stamp of another country.

Then he revealed the real reasons for the Government's reform initiatives by saying: "It was a great moment for us when the American government abolished the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which provided for sanctions against South Africa."

Implying some kind of a *quid pro quo*, Coetzee then said: "Certain steps had to be taken as a prerequisite because we were convinced that law had to tumble before the South African Government (he did not say the country) may enjoy the benefits of the International Monetary Fund. So, we decided that steps had to be taken.

"Two of those steps were to change our security legislation... and the other was the release of the so-called political prisoners," he said.

All of this throws a dark cloud over the expressed motives, and indeed the sincerity, of De Klerk and the NP. Quite evidently, all the reforms up to now came about because of the demands made by the CAAA, among which was the release of political prisoners, and the unbanning of political parties, and the amendment of the country's security legislation.

This also conjures up a remark made by a visiting professor from America last week, Dr Ali Mazrui who, with alarming prescience, said: "The ANC could find itself in a very embarrassing position when it finds that the emperor (De Klerk) cannot deliver freedom, liberty and justice for all."

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivay Fynn. All Johannesburg.

published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden (7) of the Copyright Act 1978

## NP FEDERAL CONGRESS

# Govt unveils seven pillars of its new constitution

B/day 5/9/91

(304A)

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The NP accepts the rule of law as the foundation on which to express the pursuit of justice and a limit on the power of the State, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the National Party's federal congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

He said the term, "constitutional state", had been used to indicate that the NP was striving for a system that might rightly be described as constitutional government.

This was a system in which the constitution and the law were the source of justice and served also to curtail the powers of government.

The concept expressed the view that the constitution of a country should regulate the power of government in such a way that freedom,

justice and legal certainty were guaranteed for all.

This involved an entrenched legal dispensation that involved seven principles:

- The constitution must be the all embracing criterion and guideline for the state and the citizen;
- A Charter of Fundamental Rights must be constitutionally protected and legally enforceable;
- An independent judiciary;
- Organisations and institutions that function in non-political spheres must enjoy the highest possible measure of self-determination;
- Mechanisms must be built in to prevent abuse of government power and state structures;
- The integrity of the constitution must be ensured;
- An impartial and professional civil service with career security for em-

ployees must be ensured.

Viljoen said the second "pillar" was participatory democracy.

This meant that a system of government was developed in which a number of political parties effectively participated and in which power-sharing took place.

This was in contrast to the Westminster system in which one party exclusively enjoyed power.

This concept might be put into effect in two ways.

Firstly, political power might be divided among various authorities, with the distribution of power among the different tiers of government.

Secondly, an effective participation in state power for a number of parties might be brought about.

Viljoen said the model proposed to the federal congress was not necessarily a final proposal. — Sapa.

## B/day 5/9/91 Democratic path outlined

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The NP will seek a participatory democracy in which a constitutional South African state is established. (304A)

Constitutional proposals containing details of how such a goal is to be achieved were formally presented for consideration and debate.

- The principles would enshrine:
- A constitution that enjoyed higher status than any other law;
  - A charter of fundamental rights;
  - A judiciary that is independent;
  - An independent ombudsman;
  - Protection of the integrity of the constitution;
  - And an impartial and professional civil service. — Sapa.



# You must be

# joking,

3044  
Boweles 5/9/91

# FW

## Liberation movements blast plans

THE country's liberation movements were not impressed with the National Party's constitutional proposals announced at its Federal Congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The African National Congress warned that the proposals would make South Africa ungovernable, were a recipe for disaster, would paralyse democratic government and were designed to deny a future South African government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

The Pan Africanist Congress said the proposals were an attempt to perpetuate minority privileges. It said the NP plan was "basically the transference of the struggle from race to class".

Self-determination would not be possible "where one House of Parliament operates on one-person-one-vote, and a second House emancipates by diffusing power unequally".

Retired Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said from London yesterday he will launch a

To Page 2

President FW de Klerk during the National Party federal congress yesterday in Bloemfontein urges support for a proposed constitution that would give the vote to blacks.

# ANC, PAC reject Nats' proposals

3044  
Boweles 5/9/91

From Page 1  
from London yesterday he will launch an anti-apartheid campaign in Britain today in reaction to the NP's constitutional proposals.

The ANC also said the NP's proposals were an attempt to create a weak Parliament and executive which would be hamstrung by the requirement that broad consensus among small interest groups had to be reached.

"They (the proposals) are no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto, designed to prevent effective government by a majority party."

The ANC wanted a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South Africa, with a Bill of Rights to protect rights and freedoms of all citizens.

The PAC said "basic freedoms cannot be shackled by privileged vetoes".

"We reject Mr de Klerk's proposals and renew our call for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution."

The ANC also favoured elections, held on the basis of proportional representation, so that the new Parliament would be as inclusive as possible.

"It is cause for concern that the Nationalist Party proposals are available only through the Press, as this is a matter of vital importance to all South Africans.

"This debate should be open so that the people of this country not only know what is happening, but also participate in the process."

The NP proposals also did not indicate what their Bill of Rights would contain.

"Yet, to ensure checks and balances, they propose mechanisms that will be unique to South Africa, ensuring that whites retain the accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle."

# Teargas: Ministers sued for R1,4-m

By MONK NKOMO

THE Ministers of Defence and Law and Order are being sued for R1,4 million by Mamelodi residents who were injured when security forces allegedly fired tearsmoke into the local stadium last year.

A total of 122 residents have served summonses on both Ministers, claiming they were injured last July when security forces blocked the main gates at HM Pitje Stadium and fired tearsmoke into a crowd attending a public meeting.

A test case involving one of the plaintiffs, Mr Jeremiah Tlou, is scheduled to be heard in the Pretoria

To Page 2



## System must encompass universal values — Viljoen

(304A)  
BLOEMFONTEIN — The new constitutional dispensation for SA must be based on certain fixed points of departure, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

A system had to be sought that ensured universally accepted values and norms based on universal franchise in a democratic structure of government, he said.

It had to be free from apartheid, discrimination and any form of domination, accommodate cultural differences and enable all to share in peace, progress and prosperity. *Bloom 5/9/91*

The new system had to establish an ordered and orderly society that made good government possible, and which ensured justice for all and promoted a market-orientated economy coupled with private initiative and social responsibility.

Viljoen said in order to achieve the specific constitutional model that would achieve the best possible result, the NP was striving for negotiation at national level to reach agreement on the broad structure of government and to establish the position of central, regional and local authorities within that structure.

There also had to be negotiation at regional and local level, he said. — Sapa.

Rand  
annou  
restru  
comp  
tiation

SEPT 11 1991

# ANC is angered by NP plan

South 5 | 9 | - 11 | 9 | 9 |

By Rehana Rossouw  
Bloemfontein

ANY constitution that compels consensus and thwarts democracy will be unworkable, the ANC warned on Wednesday in strong comments for the National Party's proposals for governing South Africa.

"It is this very approach that has caused the tragic conflict in a country like Lebanon," said a detailed press statement on the NP's constitutional plans.

According to the ANC, the proposals — discussed at the NP's federal congress in Bloemfontein this week — would allow whites to retain "the

accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle."

The tone of the ANC statement leaves little doubt that the organisation will refuse to compromise on the NP's proposals when the two sides eventually put their cases across the negotiating table.

Accusing the NP of "no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto", the ANC rejected the plans as a bid to prevent effective government by a majority party.

"The proposals will paralyse democratic government by, amongst other things, locating the levers of power within a rotating multi-party presidency and a multi-party cabinet, operating on the basis of

consensus," it said.

While coalition governments were normally formed voluntarily, the South African government now wanted to make this a constitutional principle.

"We find it unacceptable to have a second house, constituted in a totally undemocratic manner, with the power to block legislation.

"The proposal means that the majority in the lower house will be able to draft and pass legislation, but minorities in the upper house will be able to veto it, making a mockery of the democratic process.

The ANC said that the provision for each region to have equal numbers of representatives in the upper house was loaded against areas where

Africans were in the majority.

The NP upper house scheme also meant, for example, that if the ANC received 70 percent of the vote in the PWV region, all other parties that won 10 percent of the vote would have equal representation.

Also coming under fire from the ANC was the NP's division of the country into the nine autonomous regions.

This was "a continuation of the process of fragmentation that has been the hallmark of Nat policy since 1948," it said.

Concluded the ANC: "Disparities between rich and poor regions will be entrenched, and the device will prevent national reconstruction."

1113 304A



# An NP elephant not ready to fly

South 5/9/ - 11/9/91. (304A)

SINCE February 2 1990, the National Party (NP) has been pursuing two power strategies simultaneously.

Both began with State President F W de Klerk's declaration that the NP expected to be in power in 75 years time.

De Klerk meant it — but how did he hope to achieve such an apparently hopeless task, as South Africa moved inevitably towards universal franchise and a black electoral majority?

The first strategy expected the African National Congress (ANC) to win South Africa's first non-racial, universal franchise election. But then its problems would begin, for the NP perceived the ANC to be organisationally chaotic.

Given that the NP was allowing it no access to jobs in the upper or middle levels of South Africa's vast bureaucracy, or the security establishment, or the parastatals, or access to control of the electronic media, the NP plainly felt that the ANC could not govern, even if it had the loyalty of the majority of voters.

In this scenario, the ANC would have to accept an arrangement of joint government with the NP.

In any joint government arrangement, where one party has the voters and nothing else, and the other party controls the bureaucracy, the security establishment, the parastatals and the electronic media — well, it's obvious who really governs.

The second strategy was termed "the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) option".

This involved putting as much pressure as possible on the ANC in the hope of breaking it into chunks.

The idea was to return exiles slowly, release political prisoners at a snail's pace, turn a blind eye to physical attacks on ANC communities, increase tensions between the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) — in other words keep the pressure on the ANC in the hope that it will break.

For, first prize in the DTA option

The National Party met in Bloemfontein this week to discuss its plans to hold on to power after apartheid. The party's basic strategy alternates between sharing power with the ANC, and forging 'an alliance of moderates' to defeat the organisation in elections. **RORY RIORDAN**, editor of 'Monitor', the journal of the Human Rights Trust, argues that the party is keeping both options open:

is to reduce ANC support to less than 50 percent of voters.

Meanwhile, the DTA option posits, the NP gets its alliance partners organised, helps them up on their feet, and keeps them in readiness for the big day, Coalition Day.

The argument advanced to those "black partners" who wished to go to the altar with the NP has been that the "time is not right yet". The reason was that the NP was in the curious position of competing with the ANC while co-operating with it (option one), and it did not want to be seen publicly enlarging itself by gobbling up black political actors.

The danger was that this would enrage the ANC, damage the negotiation process and probably foul up option one, at a time when the NP was not ready for option two.

Thus, late in 1990 and early in 1991, the NP ran both option one and option two simultaneously, and surreptitiously.

Then three things happened that appeared to take the NP towards the DTA option.

Firstly, support for the ANC did not increase to the degree that had been expected, while at the same time polls began to show that De Klerk was doing much better in black communities than had been anticipated.

Secondly, the Natal/Transvaal violence intensified and the ANC became convinced that NP strategy was to get behind Inkatha in attacks on ANC communities.



Inkatha's Buthelezi

The idea was to make ANC recruitment impossible.

The result was that the ANC started pulling back from the NP and from the negotiations process, and the prospects for option one began to recede.

Thirdly, the Labour Party (LP) split and some of the coloured MPs who had left it applied for NP membership.

The DTA option was thus precipitated by events the NP could not control, and it could not be put off any longer.

What prospects does this strategy have? Can an enlarged and non-racial NP, with black partners, beat the ANC in an election? Or, as in Namibia, will the DTA option come in second?

The NP governs South Africa, with international acceptance of its sovereignty as a government, from a support base of 5 percent of adult South Africans and through a set of institutions that make it look both powerful and legitimate.

While today the white right may be somewhat bigger than in 1989, and the Democratic Party (DP) somewhat smaller, most polls conclude that the NP hangs on in there with just over 50 percent of white votes.

Opinion surveys and political trends show that the LP's tentative hold on the coloured electorate has been on a long-term slide.

The winner in the battle for the loyalty of that small 9 percent of South Africa's adult population legally defined as "coloured" until June 19, 1991 has probably been FW de Klerk.

Thus, in the middle of 1991, coloured South Africans, historically possibly sympathetic to a coloured culturally-orientated but collapsing LP, found themselves homeless in a tumultuous transition.

They appear to have opted for the apparent stability the NP appears to offer, as against the turmoil the ANC seems to bring with it.

De Klerk may feel confident that

one pillar of a Christian Democratic Alliance, the bulk of coloured voters, seems to be in the bag, and if necessary he can pick up the bones of the LP later.

It would seem that if a Christian Democratic Alliance is to have any prospect of a significant African component, it will have to come from either the independent or the non-independent homelands.

And it is here that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) becomes fundamentally important for the prospects of the Alliance.

For it is, outside of the ANC grouping, the biggest formalised group of black votes.

But given the controversy that Inkatha has been plunged into over police funding, it has now either to quickly "marry" into the NP, something it says it won't do, or remain independent and try to minimise damage to the size of its following.

So, will Inkatha join the NP? Later, probably — but can its following hold together as it gets closer to the NP? How big is its following anyway? And where is it?

De Klerk is clearly building a following outside of the white community. How much? How fast?

It is one of the massive ironies of contemporary South African history that the endlessly, timelessly racial NP, a mere year after February 2 1990, should have transformed itself into a non-racial organisation, that the historically determined, non-racial ANC should be developing, over time, an African-only, PAC style, support base.

However, at present the Christian Democratic Alliance is an elephant that is not ready to fly.

There are no obvious coloured or Indian alliance partners, and market research shows that the ANC still dominates the African political process, and that Inkatha is a regionalised, small player.

Expect option one, and option two, to continue simultaneously!



# Nats put up their dukes

South 579-11/9/91.  
304A  
From Rehana Rossouw  
Bloemfontein

FACED with an attrition of allies after the Inkathagate scandal, the National Party (NP) came out fighting at its federal congress in Bloemfontein on Wednesday.

Leaders of the party that gave the world apartheid confidently declared that they would ensure the adoption of a new constitution which guaranteed minority rights.

State President and NP leader, Mr FW de Klerk, served notice that the party had the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which militated against its values.

Central to the Nats' value system is the protection of the privileges of minority population groups in South Africa.

"I am not saying this in a threatening manner, but we will use the power we have to prevent chaos in this country and the rape of our values," he declared.

"The National Party will play a leading role in the negotiation process and the future of this country."

Officially unveiled at the conference, the party's proposals for a future constitution purport to be free from apartheid and discrimination, but are littered with references to minorities.

The NP leaders who briefed the congress, including ministers Gerrit

Viljoen, Hernus Kriel and Leon Wessels, were careful not to attach racial connotations to the term 'minorities'.

Asked at a press conference whether "domination of minorities" referred to domination of whites, De Klerk responded hotly. "Important sectors of the black community won't accept a domination model of government," he said.

"There is strong support among millions of black South Africans for a concept that ensures that there is not too much power in the hands of one person or one party."

The new constitutional framework adopted at the conference does give new meaning to the NP's

definition of power-sharing. In the package, Nat leaders have tried to devise a sure-fire mechanism to ensure that they will still be in a position to dictate the future — even if the ANC or another rival group won a landslide victory in a democratic election.

With its hopes for a broad Christian Democratic Alliance badly hit by Inkathagate on the one hand, and the growth of the white right-wing on the other, the NP needs a strategy to restrict the handing over of power to a new government.

Its proposals would effectively tie the hands of any party intending to

● TURN TO PAGE 2

## Nats put up their dukes

South 579-11/9/91

● FROM PAGE ONE

depart radically from NP values.

This is the purpose of the party's insistence this week on a constitution that:

- gives double votes to people with property at local level;
- provides local councils with the power over "norms and standards", education and welfare;
- provides protection for minorities in the decision-making of each of nine powerful regional authorities;
- allocates veto powers to a second house of parliament that gives equal representation to each region regardless of its population;
- entrenches a multi-party cabinet;
- and hamstring the presidency by making it a collective that can only act by consensus.

The NP may be sincere in its promise to step down after democratic elections, but it aims to ensure that no other party has the ability to take up the reins of power if the Nats are forced to drop them.

"The winner-take-all model is a recipe for conflict and we will not accept it," De Klerk told the congress.

The proposals, which are subject to amendment and addition following regional NP conferences, will be presented in their entirety at constitutional negotiations.

De Klerk said the NP could not afford the luxury of a document that contains the possibility of a trade-off at the negotiation table.

Other political organisations should accept that there was no built-in treachery in the proposals, he said.

"We are serious and feel strongly about every word in the document.

"Yes, it is pliable and only a framework, but we believe it is the only hope and workable option for every



# Right-wingers

## 'confuse issues'

304A

South

579-11/9/91

MORE than 50 prisoners held in Bophuthatswana prisons continued to refuse meals this week, all but forgotten as the glare of local and international media fell on three right-wing hunger strikers presently being held in the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria.

And at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, Phyllis Fante ended her hunger strike on Wednesday after 20 days. She has reportedly developed a kidney infection.

The Orde Boerevolk members — Henry Martin, Mr Adrian Maritz and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk — face charges of murder and attempted murder following the detonation of two bombs at a taxi rank.

They are also alleged to have planted a bomb in a computer which exploded when it was switched on, killing a technician.

SOUTH reporter Henry Ludski took to the streets this week to ask a wide-range of people their views on the issue:

### Barney Desal, national publicity officer of the Pan-Africanist Congress:

"I have no sympathy for these people and I am upset that the ANC has lent its name to their cause.

The basic stand of these hunger strikers is that of reactionary groups and there is no way that one can equate their cause to the freedom struggle of liberation groups.



The crimes they are alleged to have committed were calculated to hurt black people. How any liberation movement can campaign on

their behalf is beyond me.

The ANC is certainly not representing the feelings of our people on this issue, but are playing to some other gallery.

Even if these men are tried, the issue of granting them indemnity will remain a hot issue.

People cannot commit crimes and be allowed to go free.

The amount of attention the ANC is giving these men is out of proportion to the attention being given to the ANC's own forgotten Pollsmoor hunger striker Phyllis Fante."

### Paula McBride, wife of Death Row prisoner Robert McBride:

"In terms of the Pretoria Minute, their demand is without grounds. Until such time as they are prepared to place their demands on the negotiating table, they have no right to be treated in terms of the Pretoria Minute. It is opportunist.



The ANC had to compromise many things to secure the release of their people and yet these right-wingers are not prepared to compromise.

I don't believe their demand to be released on humanitarian grounds can be separated from the content of their demand.

It won't do any good if anyone dies, but this is an issue which must be resolved in a responsible manner. Why should they be treated differently to ANC people who had to struggle to reach agreements."

### Lorelle Bell, community worker:

"The question of how to respond to the right-wingers' hunger strike is a difficult one for any ordinary person faced, on the one hand, with the reality that the men are on the verge of death and, on the other hand, with the heinous crimes they are alleged to have committed.

Hunger strikers, and the determination of those prepared to embark on them, evoke powerful feelings. My concern is that the sympathy they evoke lends credence to a cause I cannot support.

For me there is a distinction between the right-winger's position and that of ANC members imprisoned for acts of sabotage. While for the latter these were desperate last measures to gain basic civil and political rights for the majority of people in South Africa, the actions of the right-wingers are based on their desire to deprive the majority of these rights.



On moral grounds their cause is indefensible. Moreover, they do not lack civil and political rights.

While I objectively understand the support for the hunger strikers on humanitarian grounds, my gut-felt response is that their unconditional release would not serve justice."

### Norman Yengeni, regional co-ordinator of the Association of Ex-political Prisoners:

"On humanitarian grounds anybody, whether he is the enemy, a soldier or a policeman, must be helped if he is in a position where he is about to die.

There is also the matter of these men having been involved in the activities of security forces.

They have information which is valuable to people in the whole country. We have failed in our duty as a

revolutionary movement if no attempt is made to obtain this information.



The media attention these right-wingers are receiving is proof that we are still living in the apartheid mould where media is still biased in favour of white people."

### Journalist Pippa Green:

"There are two issues here: one involves a principle and the other involves a political reality. I don't think the hunger strikers should be indemnified from standing trial. The crimes they are alleged to have committed are chilling and gruesome. Turning a shooting or bombing spree into a political act simply opens the way for anyone who doesn't like black people (or white people for that matter) to mow them down and then claim immunity on political grounds.

But the political reality is more complex. If they die, their deaths will undoubtedly be used to mobilise a militant and intolerant right-wing. And, if they were involved in some official capacity with the security forces, perhaps crucial evidence will die with them.



The star of this particular show must surely be Nelson

Mandela, who, although he has good political reasons of his own for doing so, nevertheless reached across a seemingly impenetrable divide with extraordinary grace and generosity. That people can be changed is amply demonstrated in what Barend Strydom's father said: that the ANC is a political reality which cannot simply be wished away, and that it would have to be negotiated with.

Their trial should go ahead: whatever the dynamics of transition, it is simply not okay to bomb taxi ranks or shoot up buses."



## NATIONAL PARTY Slowly taking shape

The National Party considers that economic principles and the question of "nonracial" minority group representation in government are the most difficult issues negotiators will face in the constitutional talks.

The ruling party is also "working as though it is going to be the majority party in the (proposed) lower house of a new parliament," so whatever veto or delaying powers are vested in an upper chamber "are going to work against us."

These are the views of the NP's new secretary general, Stoffel van der Merwe, who spoke to the *FM* on the eve of the party's special federal congress in Bloemfontein — due to kick off as the *FM* went to press.

The congress was expected to rubber-stamp the NP's constitutional proposals, which were "leaked" recently (*Current Affairs* August 30). "The NP had been in the position for a long time where it had set out very vaguely the outline of its standpoint and principles on a new constitution," explained Van der Merwe.

"This created uncertainty — on the one hand among our followers and the accusation from the other side that we don't in fact have a plan. When we talk about protection of minorities, for example, they ask, how?

"So this plan that we are putting on the table is a tentative plan. We don't want to be held to every minute detail of it when we go into the negotiations. Rather, it is a concretisation of the principles. And we seek a mandate for further negotiation."

The wider significance is that the NP plan will "stimulate the constitutional debate in SA, because now there's something concrete for people to debate," adds Van der Merwe, whose new job will be to communicate the "intricate details emerging from the negotiations to the average person" and, in turn, to relay reaction back to the negotiating hall.

Van der Merwe believes "a reasonable compromise" will be struck in negotiations and reasonable people will accept that compromise, even if they "may not dance in the streets about it."

He is confident that the NP still commands a safe majority (around 50%) of white voter support against the Conservative Party (30%-35%). While this will be the NP's first nonracial congress, with coloured, Indian and black delegates present, Van der Merwe was unable to say how many blacks had joined the NP.

How does Van der Merwe see the negotiating process unfolding after this congress? "Another very important marker along the road is going to be the peace conference scheduled for September 14. Depending on what comes out there, it would be easier to



NP's Van der Merwe ... aiming to be the majority party

tions and a common political culture." Yet even in the US, for example, "you get disproportional representation in the Senate, which is a powerful body. And in Europe they have developed a culture where governments are composed of coalitions. In Switzerland, for instance, the coalition nature of government is informal but very strong."

The NP's proposal for nine regional governments uses the economic development regions (none of which has a white majority) outlined some years ago as a starting point for decentralising structures of power.

Explaining the idea behind the NP's plan for a two-chamber parliament, Van der Merwe says real democracy stands on two legs. The one is that you should give expression to the majority. The other is that you should not allow the majority to dominate the minority.

This seemed to fall logically into different entities in two houses balancing each other. Deadlock could then be resolved through various reconciliation processes, including parliamentary committees, arbitration and consensus.

"Not on a racial basis. We would argue that if people, whatever their colour, support a particular party and can prove they have substantial electoral support — whether they have a whites-only base or whatever — that means that is a significant group and that you should give them some say in the running of the country. If you have a minority share of the vote you should also have a minority share in the power and that should give you protection."

According to Van der Merwe, "we won't define the groups, they will define themselves." But what is "substantial support"?

"That is a question that still needs to be answered in precise terms and which one can negotiate — what is the cut-off point? For instance, in Germany they've got a minimum cut-off point of 5%, below which you drop out of parliament. We can argue about whether this should be 3% or 10% or whatever, but the point is that significant groups who support a particular idea must be accommodated."

The reason the NP seeks the entrenchment of minority group participation "is that we start with virtually no back-up of conven-

judge the climate.

"I would say, possibly we can get an all-party conference going on an ad hoc basis towards the end of the year. It also depends on how the ANC's patriotic front manoeuvre goes."

He views the mooted patriotic front (see next story) in "a rather negative light, in the sense that it looks like an effort to gang up," but concedes this is a political right.

"One would have thought that the first stage in politics now is to design a new constitution and one should try to be inclusive rather than exclusive — to have a multi-party approach rather than a one-on-one approach."

Seen from another perspective, this effort to form an alliance perhaps "reflects a lack of self-confidence in the ANC."

While the NP does not want to bind parties into a kind of united front position and would like to see every party putting forward its own position, he asserts "of course we're going to try to influence other parties to support the same ideals we do, but we don't want exclusion."

On the most difficult issue facing the negotiators, Van der Merwe says: "There are many points of convergence and some points where the definitions are different. We place heavier emphasis on the question of the multiparty nature of a future constitution, which has its roots in the idea for the protection of minorities."

"The ANC also nods in the direction of minority protection, but it would like to look like it is protecting minorities without fettering the power of the central government too much. That and economic principles are going to be the main issues."

Nelson Mandela, too, has emphasised the principle of "inclusivity". Does the NP's understanding of the term mean that it wants guaranteed minority seats in parliament?



## MEN OF DESTINY



Dr Verwoerd



Mr Mandela



Mr PW Botha



Mr Steve Biko



Mr De Klerk

# The rise and fall of apartheid

304A  
ART 6/9/91

A chronological look at the history of separation as a vote for blacks starts to come together.

**T**HE National Party, preparing for negotiations on a democratic system to replace apartheid, has formally proposed a constitution offering blacks the vote for the first time.

The following are key dates in the history of apartheid:

1948 — The National Party sweeps to victory over the United Party on an election pledge of separate development. Dr H F Verwoerd, architect of "Grand Apartheid", is given a cabinet post in prime minister D F Malan's government.

1949 — Inter-racial marriage is banned.

1950 — The government adopts key laws which will underpin apartheid rule — the four main race groups must live in separate areas, all children must be registered by race at birth, sex between whites and other races is outlawed.

1952 — The pass book is introduced for blacks, enabling the government to control residency and movement of migrant labour.

1953 — The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is passed, segregating public facilities such as libraries, toilets, schools and parks according to race. Blacks are deprived of the right to strike.

1956 — The government forcibly removes blacks from white urban areas and creates townships for urban dwellers.

1960 — Sixty-nine people are killed during an anti-pass book protest at Sharpeville. The government declares the ANC and the hardline Pan Africanist Congress illegal.

1961 — South Africa declares itself a republic and leaves the British Commonwealth. The ANC, now operat-

ing underground, launches a guerrilla campaign.

1964 — Mr Nelson Mandela is found guilty of treason. He and his senior ANC associates, including Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki, are sentenced to life imprisonment.

1966 — Dr Verwoerd, prime minister since 1958, is stabbed to death by a parliamentary messenger.

1976 — Countrywide anti-apartheid rioting is triggered by violent police action in quelling a demonstration of Soweto pupils objecting to the use of Afrikaans as a medium of education. Transkei becomes the first black homeland to be granted nominal independence.

1977 — Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko is killed in police custody.

1978 — Mr P W Botha, who later moves cautiously to dismantle some apartheid laws, takes over from Mr John Vorster as prime minister.

1982 — Dr Andries Treurnicht leads a breakaway from the National Party and forms the pro-apartheid Conservative Party.

1983 — South Africa adopts a new constitution which gives limited parliamentary powers to Indian and Coloured (mixed-race) voters. The United Democratic Front, a broad alliance of anti-apartheid organisations, is founded.

1984 — Anti-apartheid rioting erupts again in townships nationwide. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, leading anti-government cleric, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Government announces the repeal of the ban on sex and marriage between whites and other races.

1985 — Mr Botha announces he is willing to, con-

sider Mandela's release. The government imposes a partial state of emergency to quell rioting. Foreign investors start a disinvestment drive.

1986 — Pass laws are scrapped.

1989 — Mr Botha has a stroke and is replaced as National Party leader and then president by Mr De Klerk, who wins a general election on a reformist ticket.

1990 — De Klerk pledges to scrap apartheid and announces the unbanning of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups. Mr Mandela is freed from jail. The legal enforcement of separate amenities for different races is repealed — the first pillar of apartheid is toppled.

June 1991 — Parliament votes to repeal the Land Acts and Groups Areas Acts by the end of the month. Blacks can now buy land on the open market and the restriction on where they can live is abolished. Only one of apartheid's pillars remains.

June 17, 1991 — Parliament votes to scrap the Population Registration Act. All laws underpinning the apartheid constitution are no longer valid.

July 30, 1991 — The government, shaken by a scandal over slush fund payments to the Inkatha Freedom Party, announces a review of covert government projects and says all secret operations which could be seen as politically-biased had been scrapped.

Sept 4, 1991 — The NP formally proposes a blueprint for democracy that would give blacks a vote for the first time but deny outright power to any one group. The ANC rejects it as unworkable and a cynical attempt to preserve white privilege. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Changing and staying the same

**T**HE unveiling of the National Party's draft constitutional plan on Wednesday induced in the observer a peculiarly mixed sense of novelty and *deja vu*.

Novelty because for the first time in our history an NP constitutional model proposed universal franchise on a common voters roll with no whiff of race.

Novelty, too, via all manner of ringing bells and whistles: a supreme executive in the form of a three-person multiparty presidency with a revolving chairman; a powerful second legislative house with equal representation for nine regions and all significant minority political parties; neighbourhood councils at sub-municipal level, and so on.

*Deja vu* because of a nagging suspicion that — stripped of this colourful political plumage — the underlying intentions were not entirely unfamiliar.

Consider this recurring phrase: We are, certainly not prepared to

SPV 6 | 9/91

exchange one form of domination for another. Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination. That could have been President P W Botha circa 1982. In fact it was President F W de Klerk presenting the draft plan this Wednesday, sans wagging finger.

Power-sharing without domination — that is the principle lying at the heart of the plan. And it was also the banner under which Mr Botha's reform bandwagon creaked forwards. No one really believed it then. To share power, equally, seemed like a nice but unworkable idea. The question arose, inevitably, in Bloemfontein: Is there any more reason for one to believe it now?

Things have changed, of course, and dramatically. The fact that there is no mention of race in the new plan marks a historic breakthrough of sorts, and the proposed first legislative house would pass the test of democracy anywhere in the world.

The nagging worry is the sec-

304A

ond house — with veto rights over the first — and so constituted as to make it possible that the majority party could win, say, 60 percent of the vote and yet be outnumbered three to one by minority parties (that is if all parties with more than 10 percent support were represented in the house, as suggested in an earlier draft). The same applies to the proposed presidency, where much the same sort of dichotomy between support and representation could occur.

In these circumstances, the fact that minorities are not formally classified by race is not entirely satisfactory, since ethnic parties could serve the same purpose as the old concept of groups.

It is worth recalling that in the discredited tricameral Parliament, the white, coloured and Indian houses are all "equal" — until they fail to reach consensus, when the NP-dominated President's Council breaks the deadlock in the NP's favour.

The new plan is by no means as crass. There is no suggestion, for example, that a minority party could actually push legislation through. But there is every suggestion that it could quite easily, and at every turn, throw a spanner in the works of the majority party's legislative programme.

Where Mr Botha's model of equal power-sharing was clearly a ruse to disguise NP domination, Mr de Klerk's does seem to be a genuine expression of the principle. But it would share power so evenly between the majority and the minorities that deadlock would seem to be inevitable.

And that means, as the NP's critics have said, that the white-favouring status quo could undergo very little change.

This spectre of stalemate did not escape the delegates to the federal congress, and many of their questions focused on the plan's workability — or otherwise. Many asked what would happen if the first legislative house (of the

majority) could not agree with the second house (of the minorities). Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen answered that legislation would then have to go back to the first house to be re-drafted.

Others asked what would happen if the members of the presidency could not reach consensus. To that he replied, unsatisfactorily, that a deadlock-breaking mechanism would have to be devised.

Perhaps it was not surprising that the federal congress endorsed the plan unanimously in the end, albeit with the understandable proviso that the leadership should refine and develop it. Since the plan as it stands subtly suggests that it is possible for one to give up power and still have it, it did not confront delegates with a really frightening choice.

It is not unthinkable that — in the tradition of the NP election manifesto of 1989 — the NP leadership was deliberately presenting

a plan vague enough to allow retrospective justification of a wide range of eventualities at the negotiation table. This is, of course, in the nature of politics, and a hopeful sign for possible compromise and flexibility as the process unfolds.

It was equally fascinating to see in Bloemfontein how the ambivalence in the plan seemed to reflect the NP's ambivalence about its own strength. Here was a party boasting that with its growing black support, it could become part of a majority. Yet it was presenting a plan which gave enormous powers to minorities.

It was no coincidence, surely, that at the congress Free State leader Kobie Coetsee announced the first major drive to recruit black members. Whether the NP opts at the negotiation table for more or less minority protection might well depend upon how much support it can muster.

After Bloemfontein, the NP's options still remain open. □



DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Fm 6/9/91  
**Drawing on wisdom**

304A

The DP's constitutional proposals published last week should dispel any doubt that the party still has a valuable role to play in SA's transition to a nonracial democracy.

Described by UCT political scientist David Welsh (who analysed the NP's proposals in last week's *FM*) as being in a "classical liberal democratic framework," the proposals will play an important bridging role between the ANC and government.

Welsh says that while the plan doesn't differ substantially from those of either the NP or the ANC on fundamental principle, some of the specifics are "interesting and intelligent" contributions to the debate.

In particular, the DP deals with the "crunch issue" of how the executive should be structured, by apparently "borrowing" from the fifth French constitution and proposing a directly elected president as well as a prime minister.

The DP also proposes a Cabinet representing all parties in parliament on a proportional basis, which Welsh believes may be acceptable to both the NP and ANC. "In a society such as ours with a history of deep conflict we must avoid a winner-takes-all outcome and if we are serious about protecting minorities then the DP proposal for proportional representation in the Cabinet is very intelligent."

He says other aspects of the proposals are evidence of a group of "skilled political minds" at work — for instance, structuring the judiciary so as to dilute the political element in appointments.

While the DP remains staunch in its belief in federalism, it adds significantly to the debate on a federal state by sketching specific powers for various tiers of government with the federal regions. "It's a useful effort to establish in concrete terms what has been discussed up to now only in broad principle," says Welsh.

The DP also gives examples of types of proportional representation that could be considered for national elections in SA.

On the issue of a Bill of Rights, the DP offers alternatives that could form the basis of a compromise between the NP's call for a "classical" Rights Bill and the ANC's plan for one that includes "welfare" rights such as job security and minimum wages.

The DP proposes a Bill of Rights and a separate "statement of social, economic and cultural obligations of government" — a type of social contract. This would acknowledge the need for socio-economic upliftment and welfare without tying the State or individuals into a justiciable Bill of Rights whose welfare element may be impossible to achieve due to the state of the economy.

While there is little doubt that the DP no



**DP chief Zach de Beer ...**  
*intelligent constitutional proposals*

longer has significant white voter support, the calibre of its caucus and leadership corps has again been shown to be better than that of the NP. Welsh says it would be tragic for the DP to be "marginalised into obscurity." He believes the party still has a role to play in a future parliament.

"The DP doesn't have the albatrosses of apartheid or links to the Communist Party. In the next parliament we will need staunch defenders of civil rights and of a market-driven economy. The DP and its lineage have good credentials in this regard. The party also has able people in its caucus. The country can't afford to be without them." ■

# Constitutional rule proposed

DURBAN — The time had come for South Africa, in moving away from the Westminster system, to look at the "constitutional" system, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Addressing the National Party Natal congress in Durban, Mr. Coetsee said it had been decided that the concept of constitutional rule was one that should be analysed and applied.

"It's more applicable to our situation than the Rule of Law — it is a clear statement of rights and obligations."

He said the present system allowed that a mere majority in Parliament could mean the removal of the rights of people.

Courts could only interpret legislation.

"We have decided that constitutional rule should become a pillar of a new South Africa.

"This means that the management of State affairs must be reconciled with rights in every respect. It can, therefore, best be described as a state governed according to a constitution. In a future dispensation, we will have courts of law which can challenge parliamentary action." — Sapa.



# DP-NP alliance in Durban coup

Own Correspondent

(304A)

son described the voting as a total farce.

DURBAN — The National Party/Democratic Party alliance on the Durban City Council successfully pulled off the two major objectives of its coup d'etat when mayor Gys Muller and deputy mayor Margaret Winter were voted in for second terms of office — and management council chairman Derrick Watterson was ousted and replaced by alliance candidate Peter Mansfield.

The vote for mayor was a three-way tussle between Mr Muller, and independents Geoff Oldfield and Wally Meyer. But, with the full weight of the alliance behind him, Mr Muller gained a clear majority of at least 15 of the 29 votes.

An angry Mr Watter-

He said he had expected the outcome, to an extent. "But I didn't think they (the alliance) would sink to such levels of degradation — for example, that a councillor who has five minutes' experience could get in over someone as experienced as Wally Meyer.

"If this is an example of the sort of democracy we can expect from the DP and the NP — which was quite obviously orchestrated by the top leadership of the parties — then the whole damned lot of them can go to hell," he said.

It was a disgrace to the city and to all the people who had voted.

Mr Watterson described as "utter nonsense" the alliance as-

surances made before the voting that the committee elections would be conducted on merit.

"If the mouthings of this gang, and Mr Mansfield in particular, are an indication of the faith we can have in them in the future, then it is indeed a sad day for Durban."

Mr Muller said the outcome was a clear indication that the alliance was working.

The fight for deputy mayor was between Mrs Winter and, again, Mr Oldfield. She too won by a clear majority.

"Some may say the alliance is made up of two different groups of people. But I certainly have not compromised my political values or ideas about what sort of city I'd like Durban to be," said Mrs Winter.

304  
1991  
A  
130  
M

000000 1991

## SA society comprises haves and have-nots — Wessels

(304rt)

Star 6 (197)

DURBAN — Social development was a complex concept loaded with emotional content for many, and this sensitivity tended to colour perceptions, leading to a lack of perspective, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs and of National Housing Leon Wessels said yesterday.

"All experts agree that social development denotes a community's progress to a better, more advanced and organised order," he said at the National Party's Natal congress.

Social development in South Africa should be seen against the background of the country's unique blend of the developed and developing world.

"In simple terms, it means that our society comprises the haves and have-nots. This forces one to stop and reflect.

"Let us be brave enough to venture one step further: to concede to ourselves that over the past few years the developing element has become more and more evident, confronting us with the plight of the abysmally poor.

"This statement will go a long way towards helping us to

grapple with the central issues of the mammoth task of social development."

An organised social order implied health care, educational and recreational facilities, the opportunity to indulge in cultural activities, and adequate accommodation for all.

The emphasis in social development had shifted from the structure of society to the human beings within that society. This stressed the involvement and participation of people in events taking place around them.

Development implied that the community had not realised its full potential yet, and that it lacked the resources to do so.

"A notable example is the developing component in South African society, which is marked by a high rate of illiteracy, poor or inadequate housing, a high infant mortality rate and unhygienic living conditions.

"The hardest hit of all are the aged, children and the disabled. If their plight is not addressed, dependency and deprivation will strip them of the human dignity that is their birthright," Mr Wessels said. — Sapa.



## Hani: SA's future lies with socialism

UMTATA. — The future of South Africa lies with socialism and the SA Communist Party will learn from the mistakes made by formerly communist-ruled countries, according to SACP heir-apparent Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani, who was recently tipped to succeed Mr Joe Slovo as the SACP's general secretary, was answering questions on a Radio Transkei talk show on Wednesday.

He said he would accept the decision on his future to be taken at the coming SACP national executive conference. The SACP has requested that Mr Hani be relieved of his ANC duties, including his position as chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"I can feature anywhere, I have no problems," he said.

Turning to political issues, Mr Hani dismissed the Inkatha Freedom Party as being "a tool of the nationalist government".

Asked about negotiations, he said there would be no retreat on the ANC demand for an interim government. — Sapa

304A CT 6/9/91

By IKE MOTSAPI

THREE prominent journalists yesterday said the South African community should feel proud for having forced the Government to implement the present political changes.

The journalists - Max de Preez, editor of *Vrye Weekblad*; Nokwanda Sithole, editor of *Tribute* magazine, and Enoch Sithole of *New Nation* - were speaking during an interview in the

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show on the role of the Press in a changing South Africa.

Du Preez told host Tim

# FW 'does not deserve it'

Modise it was "wrong to give all the accolades" to State President FW de Klerk for "bringing about change in South Africa".

He said the people of South Africa and the independent Press, which he said was known as the alternative Press, had pressured the Government into introducing sweeping political changes.

Nokwanda Sithole agreed with Du Preez, fought the Government to implement the changes."

Enoch Sithole said *New Nation* was instrumental in forcing the Government to change.

"We worked closely with the now disbanded UDF which represented the oppressed majority at grass-roots level," he said.

2094





"SINISTER" ...  
Archbishop Tutu

"WHITE PRIVILEGE"  
... Mr Hendrickse

## NP plans 'type of apartheid'

Political Staff <sup>3011A</sup> CT 6/9/91

THE National Party's constitutional proposals would emasculate any power blacks might get through elections, according to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He also said the linking of voting rights to property ownership and tax payments was "one of the most sinister features of the proposals".

"What it certainly seems to be doing is perpetuating the apartheid status quo without calling it apartheid," he said in an interview with BBC Radio in Northern Ireland from a church conference centre at Modderpoort in the Free State.

Archbishop Tutu said the linking of votes to property rights and tax payments was "one of the most unacceptable" proposals made by President F W de Klerk at the NP's federal congress in Bloemfontein.

● The NP proposals were an attempt to maintain white power and privilege, Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

● The NP's proposals made a mockery of Mr De Klerk's undertaking that all South Africans would have a vote of equal value, the Democratic Party's planning and provincial affairs spokesman, Mr Jan van Eck, said.

This was illustrated by weighing the vote at local government level in favour of whites.

The vote at local government level would be weighted in favour of those South Africans who own or occupy formal or serviced property.



# Constitutional malais

Star 6/9/91

(304A)

Amid the excitement about the flurry of detailed proposals for a new constitution, it seems temporarily to have been forgotten that there can be no constitution if there is no agreement on who will manage the preceding transition. And, as SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH argue, there is in some respects less of a coming-together between the parties about the interim period than there is on the end result.

**T**HERE IS fundamental conceptual disagreement between political groups about what should happen between now and the day on which the birth of the new South Africa is proclaimed. The issue of who will manage the transition period — and how it will be managed — is arguably the most pressing political imperative in the country today.

It will almost certainly top the agenda at the multiparty round-table talks expected within the next six months.

As with the various draft constitutional proposals now in circulation, none of the interested parties has reached finality in its own thinking regarding transitional arrangements. But most have said enough, albeit unevenly, on the subject to allow for comparison and a highlighting of areas of convergence and divergence.

For the moment, four relatively clear proposals can be distinguished (see accompanying story). They are: an Interim Government (ANC), a transitional authority (PAC/Azapo), a transitional government (DP) and transitional arrangements (NP). Although the terminological distinctions seem trivial, each has a distinct goal in mind, and each would result in a markedly different transitional South Africa.

As far as the main protagonists in the negotiations epic are concerned — the National Party and the ANC — the dividing line is clear: the NP insists it should stay in charge, although it will accept advice from outsiders, while the ANC demands a transfer of power to a new authority, in which the NP would take part.

The waters get muddier, and there are some peculiar alliances on specific points, when one turns to the other actors on the stage.

The PAC and Azapo, for example, are closer to the Government's position in some respects than they are to the ANC's: they want Pretoria to retain control (responsibility) for most of the administration until a constituent assembly is elected. The DP attempts to chart a course between the NP and ANC, balking at the idea of an unelected structure ruling by decree, but conceding that Pretoria cannot be expected, simply on trust, to heed the advice of its opponents.

Unsurprisingly, the Conservative Party has had very little to say in terms of proposals for a transitional authority, because it rejects the very concept of transition. According to CP spokesman Andries Beyers, it is "an exercise in futility ... to speed up the process to interim

government would be to speed up violence. It will be regarded as an act of aggression by the whites, which will be answered with aggression."

The Inkatha Freedom Party has also been unforthcoming regarding practical ideas for transitional structures — rather more surprisingly, given its clear commitment to participation in the negotiations process.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate says: "We reject entirely the concept that a multiparty conference or all-party congress is being convened in order to establish an interim government."

Mr Felgate insists that broad inter-party consensus is essential before transitional arrangements are discussed, and that this can only be achieved at the multiparty conference. "We want to negotiate each step of the new South Africa ... We want reconciliation built into the process of change."

## Strengthened

The IFP does leave the door slightly ajar, however. "If a multiparty conference leads to an interim arrangement," says Mr Felgate, "we will consider it at that stage."

The state of play among those parties which have actively engaged themselves in the debate about transitional structures is that the DP has publicly put forward concrete, canvassed proposals. The PAC and Azapo have concluded a joint agreement on the subject, while the ANC has circulated a discussion paper which has not been formally endorsed. The NP's position can only be gleaned from various statements by President de Klerk and Constitution Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The ANC believes the Inkathagate scandal has strengthened its argument for a transfer of transitional power, and is concerned to ensure that the Government does not "manage the process of transition, and thereby condition its result", according to a paper drafted by political education head Raymond Suttner.

There are, however, key areas which the ANC regards as unresolved: these include the problem of joint control, meaning joint responsibility (say for the actions of the security forces), and the question of whether outside involvement is desirable. However, the ANC seems committed to the dissolution of the current Parliament in the course of the transition.

"The creation of such an (interim) government must be negotiated through an all-party congress," according to ANC discussion paper. "It



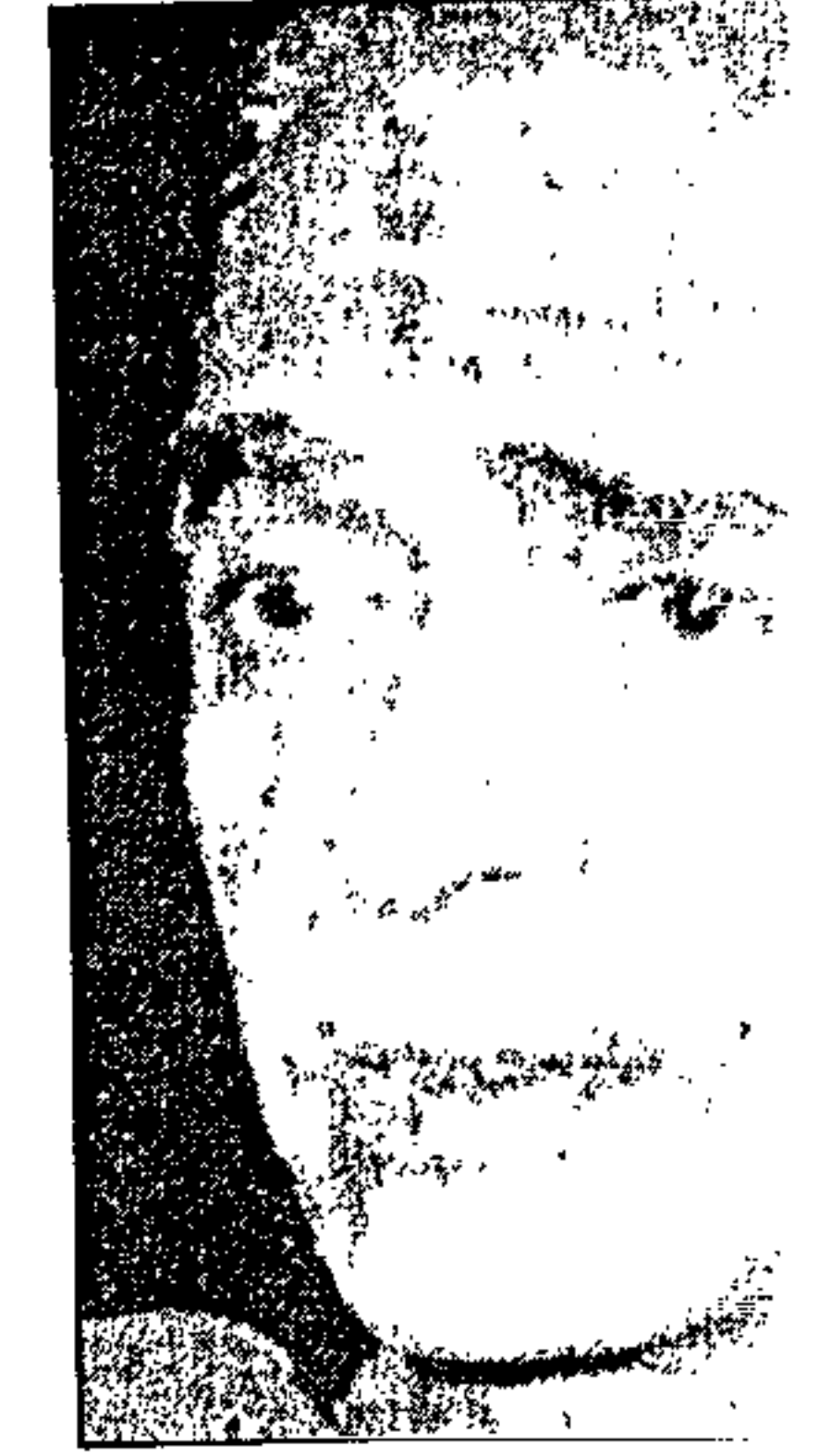
NP's Viljoen . . . present institutions can't be scrapped.



DP's Worrall . . . no need to



ANC's Suttner . . . Nats must not manage transition.



PAC's Desai . . . the Interim

therefore becomes urgent for us to mobilise the broadest possible unity, in particular in the patriotic front, to advance our demands and ensure that the Government recognises that it must step out of the way so that the road to peace can be unblocked." The SA Communist Party position appears to be in harmony with the ANC's.

The PAC/Azapo vision differs from that of the ANC — it proposes a "transitional authority" much more limited in scope than an interim government — and it expresses deep concern about who would appoint such a body. The PAC/Azapo proposal is distinguished by the heavy emphasis placed on international involvement and fear that an interim body might "be co-opted as co-manager of apartheid." According to PAC official Barney Desai: "Our proposals

are in line with our conviction that the transfer of power ought only to occur in circumstances where there is legitimate authority acting on a democratic mandate."

Strini Moodley of Azapo says "the difference between the transitional authority and the interim government is the putting together of a group of credible and neutral people ... including (possibly) representatives of organisations like the OAU, the International Commission of Jurists and the Non-Aligned Movement."

"International agencies were involved in Angola and Namibia ... internal parties cannot resolve the conflict because of their subjective involvement."

The DP seeks to address the dichotomy: it accepts the NP's claim that it is a legal govern-

ment, but also the ANC's view that the Government lacks legitimacy. It proposes a structure which would enjoy both (constitutional) legality and broad legitimacy. According to spokesman Dr Denis Worrall, the DP believes it is not necessary to wait for a new constitution to be finalised before negotiating and applying solutions to urgent problems facing SA.

The NP's view, articulated by Dr Viljoen, is based on the insistence that the "present constitution can't be scrapped, and Government structures established by virtue of the constitution have to continue until a new constitution is put in its place.

"However, we acknowledge the need for transitional arrangements in order to enable political organisations outside Parliament to meaningfully in-



# Constitutional malaise



... present institutions can't be scrapped.



DP's Worrall... no need to wait for new constitution.



... Nats must not manage transition.



PAC's Desai... the Interim body could be hijacked.

... for us  
... possi-  
... in the  
... nance our  
... that the  
... that it  
... so that  
... be un-  
... communist  
... to be in  
... s.  
... differs  
... it pro-  
... authority"  
... in scope  
... ment -  
... concern  
... such a  
... proposal  
... heavy  
... tion-  
... that an  
... be co-  
... of apart-  
... official  
... proposals

are in line with our conviction that the transfer of power ought only to occur in circumstances where there is legitimate authority acting on a democratic mandate."

Strini Moodley of Azapo says "the difference between the transitional authority and the interim government is the putting together of a group of credible and neutral people... Including (possibly) representatives of organisations like the OAU, the International Commission of Jurists and the Non-Aligned Movement."

"International agencies were involved in Angola and Namibia... internal parties cannot resolve the conflict because of their subjective involvement."

The DP seeks to address the dichotomy: it accepts the NP's claim that it is a legal govern-

ment, but also the ANC's view that the Government lacks legitimacy. It proposes a structure which would enjoy both (constitutional) legality and broad legitimacy. According to spokesman Dr Denis Worrall, the DP believes it is not necessary to wait for a new constitution to be finalised before negotiating and applying solutions to urgent problems facing SA.

The NP's view, articulated by Dr Viljoen, is based on the insistence that the "present constitution can't be scrapped, and Government structures established by virtue of the constitution have to continue until a new constitution is put in its place."

"However, we acknowledge the need for transitional arrangements in order to enable political organisations outside Parliament to meaningfully in-

fluence decisions made by existing structures."

The NP is prepared to commit itself to listening to other views, but does not want to give away final power. Although "organs operating under the constitution" would keep ultimate power, there is a recognition of the problem of overall credibility: "The transitional arrangements can only work if inputs from transitional bodies are taken very seriously. If they are ignored, the system will collapse," added Dr Viljoen.

And, although the Minister has in the past said the Government does not favour "tinkering" with the constitution to accommodate transitional arrangements, he accepts that the constitution could be changed during the transition if this was agreed to in the multiparty conference. □

## How the major players see things

SHAUN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS piece together the competing proposals for a structure to oversee South Africa's transition to democracy.

### NP - Transitional Arrangements

The NP proposes "transitional arrangements". These would:

- Allow political organisations to influence Government decisions
- Be a product of the deliberations of the multiparty conference
- Not affect present constitutional authority; would be essentially advisory
- Involve working groups on specific social problems
- Possibly involve an expanded Cabinet, executive council or council of state to be consulted before Parliament or the Cabinet make decisions
- Base its role on informal agreement rather than structural change, although some aspects of the constitution could be altered
- Not control security forces, but could have advisory role
- Further power-sharing, not transfer of power

The overall objective is to allow for broader participation in the transition process.

### ANC - Interim Government

The African National Congress proposes an "interim government". This would:

- Represent "major player" political parties
  - Exclude "fringe groups" and those opposed to negotiating process
  - Give more important groups more influence
  - Give major participants equal power
  - Be the supreme legal authority; involving a transfer of power from Pretoria
  - Control security forces, civil service, public broadcasting
  - Design electoral process for a constituent assembly
  - Be in existence for specified period of time only
  - Devise and implement an interim bill of rights
  - Remove obstacles to negotiations and supervise the transition
- The overall objective is to ensure swift transfer to majority rule

### PAC, Azapo - Transitional Authority

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation propose a "transitional authority". This would:

- Have its participants agreed to by the liberation movements
  - Comprise "credible, neutral" people, mostly non-South Africans
  - Have its composition endorsed by international bodies
  - Not include the Government
  - Not take joint responsibility for the administration of SA
  - Not implement any apartheid laws
  - Oversee the "quarantining" of State security forces
  - Have a strictly defined, limited mandate
  - Be in existence for specified period of time only
  - Invite international monitors for elections
- The overall objective is to ensure free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

### DP - Transitional Government

The Democratic Party proposes a "transitional government". This would:

- Have its composition decided by the multiparty conference
- Be led by a "council of leaders", advising the State President
- Oversee State expenditure, security forces, public broadcasting
- Provide for participative local structures
- Supervise the reintegration of homelands
- Appoint specialist commissions to resolve particular issues
- Broaden representivity of judiciary, public service, armed forces
- Appoint multiparty committees to advise Cabinet Ministers
- Ensure the abolition of elements of the constitution
- Implement an interim bill of rights

The overall objective is to ensure an even-handed lead-up to elections.



IN THE perspective of South African history, the National Party's constitutional proposals, just published, are radical if not revolutionary.

Political principles which Afrikaner nationalists have cherished for generations have been unceremoniously scrapped.

It is an astonishing turnabout in which the NP has adopted policies which the contemned liberals of the Democratic Party and its predecessors have been advocating since the 1960s and 1970s, and which the Liberal Party of honoured memory bravely proclaimed in the 1950s.

President De Klerk has done well to get his plan unanimously accepted by the NP's federal congress. Whether it will gain wider acceptance remains to be seen.

As one who spent tedious days and nights in the Press Gallery of Parliament in the days of Vorster and Verwoerd, listening to interminable celebration of the glories of apartheid, I still find it hard to credit the changes which are taking place.

Remember the days when an anti-apartheid speech by Mrs Helen Suzman, then a lone Progressive MP, could be interrupted by jeering gals on the Nationalist benches telling her to go back to Israel, or Ghana or wherever?

Or when Mr John Vorster could be cheered by Free State Nationalists until the rafters shook in Bloemfontein city hall — on the night he announced that Basil D'Oliveira would not be allowed into South Africa as a member of the MCC team to tour the country?

### Social engineering

Memories of what it was like are fading, unless you were yourself caught up in the toils of apartheid like many thousands of people in the Cape Peninsula, who lived through the experience of eviction from a cherished family home in District Six or Tramway Road, or a spell in detention in solitary confinement, or involvement in the wicked folly of race classification, or in the break-up of families under the pass laws, or as a victim of the random police brutality of those days.

When you are on the receiving end, such things are not readily forgotten.

# De Klerk's tricky balancing act as NP plays its hand



304A  
CT 6/9/91  
**Political Survey**  
By GERALD SHAW

Year after year the NP legislative machine ground out apartheid statutes. Determined efforts to enforce the dictates of apartheid social engineering threw the country into periodic upheaval. Succeeding generations of Afrikaner nationalists — and many other whites beside — were persuaded by fear-mongering propagandists that apartheid was essential for the maintenance of civilised standards, indeed, for the very survival of Afrikanerdom on the sub-continent, or else the black tide would rise and swamp us all.

Now this whole cruel structure of racial oppression is to be swept away at the stroke of a legislative pen. And much of Afrikaner nationalism's traditional support base is defecting to the CP and other groups even further to the Right.

There are signs of a die-hard racist fanaticism which could do mischief before it is brought under control, operating as it does in the clandestine shadows as well as in the light of day, projecting nazi-style images and stirring up fear.

Considering all this, it is remarkable that Mr De Klerk has kept any support at all among his traditional followers. His aim now is to consolidate the NP as a non-racial middle-class party, broadening his constituency to include more English-speaking South Africans and to appeal to people of colour.

Hence the balance in his proposals between outright abolition of apartheid and the introduction of power-sharing (not majority rule) with constitutional checks to reassure members of the privileged classes that their persons and property will be safe in the new dispensation.

### African nationalism

Mr De Klerk's approach should appeal to middle-class people in all groups who have a stake in the economy. But such people are in a minority. As a result of apartheid, most South Africans have had no opportunity to become property-owners.

Mr De Klerk is surely wrong in believing that the National Party could win a majority at a non-racial election. He underestimates the emotional appeal of African nationalism. The black masses have waited a long time for the day of liberation. Like the Afrikaner nationalists before them, they are aching to come into their own.

Expectations need to be dampened somewhat, given the shaky condition of the economy. At the same time privileged groups should accept that they will be asked to make economic sacrifices. An appalling imbalance needs to be righted.

Yet wealth has to be created before it can be distributed, as all parties now recognise, and a centrally directed command economy cannot do the job. The leadership, black and white, knows well enough what needs to be done.

The trick will be to do it in such a way as not to provoke violent resistance among fearful whites and impatient blacks. Mr De Klerk has made a fair beginning. Now it is over to Mr Nelson Mandela.



# NP proposals evade issues

By SAMPIE  
TERREBLANCHE

304A CT 6/9/91

AT FIRST sight the NP constitutional proposals look rather impressive. The NP has at long last accepted the principle of one person, one vote in elections for a single parliament. We can indeed start singing: You have come a long way, baby!

Unfortunately the NP has still to learn the hard lesson that democracy is about winning and losing. The NP is ostensibly not capable of thinking what is for them the unthinkable — that is, that the NP might become the opposition in a new constitutional system.

Karl Popper reminded us recently that the main issue in politics is still the Platonic problem: "Who should rule?" That the NP hopes to create a constitutional system in which everyone (or at least all the parties with reasonable support) should rule, is not an answer to Plato's question. The NP proposals are a deliberate attempt to evade this question. They are therefore a non-answer.

If all the main parties are to partake in a "forced coalition" in the Presidency and in the Cabinet (or the executive body), we will have a perfect formula for a stalemate government to perpetuate the status quo.

Perhaps this is exactly what the NP wants. If the "forced coalition" turns out to be a lame duck government that cannot take decisions, the country will be "governed" by the existing bureaucracy.

While the members of the "forced coalition" are locked in endless arguments

on how to "decide" on controversial matters and on how to divide the "spoils", the bureaucrats will maintain the *status quo* and perpetuate the (mainly) white privileges, property and power.

According to Karl Popper an entirely new problem is fundamental to a rational political theory in modern-day circumstances. This is formulated by Popper as: "How is the state to be constituted so that bad rulers can be got rid of without bloodshed, without violence?"

Here lies the crux. The problem of the present political system is that the government changed the constitutional system in 1956 (when coloured people were removed from the common roll) and employed all kinds of party political tricks to make it (almost) impossible for the (white) electorate to get rid of (what are now widely agreed to be) very bad NP rulers — at least for a long time.

Now the NP wants to change the constitutional system into a new one in which it will still not be possible to get rid of the NP — even if the NP representatives in the Presidency and in the Cabinet prove to be the "bad guys". A high probability indeed exists that the NP representatives in the Presidency and in the Cabinet will (mis)use their veto power to block reasonable social and economic reform that may impinge on white privileges, poverty and power.

To make things worse, the NP has not supplied us with information about what it

wants to entrench with its New Right ideas about "legal democracy". These "entrenchments" can also paralyse parliament's ability to bring about the much-needed social and economic reform.

Luckily the proposals are only a framework for negotiations to enable the NP to start with the process of horse-trading. If this is the case the proposals failed dismally in what should have been their main purpose: to create an atmosphere of mutual trust conducive to negotiations. Instead of trying to create mutual trust, the proposals signalled to all the other parties that they could not be trusted to govern the country without the participation of the NP. The proposals make it clear that all other parties are at present not fit to govern the country — and are also incapable of becoming fit to govern without the expertise and watchdog role of the NP.

While demonstrating its distrust in everyone that is not a member of the NP as explicitly as in its constitutional proposals, the NP should not be surprised if all other parties demonstrate a reciprocal distrust of it.

Those responsible for the NP proposals were clearly motivated by the desire to construct a constitution that would effectively protect the interests of the Nationalists.

Unfortunately for the NP, there is a hell of a difference between the Nationalists' interests and the national interest.

[Professor Terblanche teaches in the Department of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch.]



# NP plan: Same old story, new words

Sowetan 6/9/91

304A

**THE unveiling of the National Party's draft constitutional plan here on Wednesday induced in the observer a peculiarly mixed sense of novelty and *deja vu*.**

Novelty, because for the first time in our history an NP constitutional model proposed universal franchise on a common voters roll with no whiff of race.

Novelty too, via all manner of intriguing bells and whistles: a supreme executive in the form of a three-person multiparty presidency with a revolving chairman, a powerful second legislative House with equal representation for nine new regions and all significant minority political parties, neighbourhood councils at sub-municipal level and so on.

*Deja vu*, because of a nagging suspicion that - stripped of this colourful political plumage - the underlying intentions were not entirely unfamiliar.

Consider this recurring phrase: "We are certainly not prepared to exchange one form of domination for another. Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination."

That could have been President PW Botha circa 1982. In fact it was President FW de Klerk presenting the draft plan this Wednesday, sans wagging finger.

Power-sharing without domination - that is the principle at the heart of the plan. And it was also the banner under which Botha's reform bandwagon creaked forward. No one really believed it then. To share power, equally seemed like a nice but unworkable idea. The question arose, inevitably, in Bloem-



fontein: Is there any more reason for one to believe it now?

Things have changed, of course, and dramatically. The fact that there is no mention of race in the new plan marks an historic breakthrough of sorts, and the proposed first legislative House would pass the test of democracy anywhere in the world.

## Minorities

The nagging worry is that along comes the second House - with veto rights over the first - and so constituted as to make it possible that the majority party could win, say, 60 percent of the vote and yet be outnumbered three to one by minority parties. (That is if all parties with more than 10 percent support were represented in the House, as suggested in an earlier draft.)

The same applies to the proposed Presidency, where much the same sort of dichotomy between support and representation could occur.

In these circumstances, the fact that minorities are not formally classified by race is not entirely satisfactory, since ethnic parties could serve the same purpose as the old concept of groups.

It is worth recalling that in the discredited tricameral Parliament, the white, coloured and Indian Houses are all "equal" - until they fail to reach consensus, when the NP-dominated

President's Council breaks the deadlock in the NP's favour.

The new plan is by no means as crass. There is no suggestion, for example, that a minority party could actually push legislation through. But there is every suggestion that it could quite easily, and at every turn, throw a spanner in the works of the majority party's legislative programme.

Where Botha's model of ostensible equal power-sharing was clearly a ruse to disguise NP domination, De Klerk's does seem to be a genuine expression of the principle. But it would share power so evenly between the majority and the minorities that deadlock would seem to be inevitable.

And that means, as the NP's critics have said, that the white-favouring status quo could undergo very little change.

This spectre of stalemate did not escape the delegates to the federal congress, and many of their questions focused on the plan's workability - or otherwise.

Many asked what would happen if the first legislative House (of the majority) could not agree with the second House (of the minorities). Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen answered that legislation would then have to go back to the first House to be re-drafted.

Others asked him what would happen if the members of the Presidency could not reach the consensus they were required to. To that he replied, unsatisfactorily, that a deadlock-breaking mechanism would still have to be devised.

Perhaps it was not surprising that the federal congress endorsed the plan unanimously in the end, albeit with the understandable proviso that the leadership should refine and develop it. Since the plan as it stands subtly suggests that it is possible for one to give up power and still have it, it did not confront delegates with a really frightening choice.

## Fascinating

It is not unthinkable that - in the tradition of the NP election manifesto of 1989 - the NP leadership was deliberately presenting a plan vague enough to allow retrospective justification of a wide range of eventualities at the negotiation table. This is of course, in the nature of politics, and a hopeful sign for possible compromise and flexibility as the process unfolds.

It was equally fascinating to see in Bloemfontein how the ambivalence in the plan seemed to reflect the NP's ambivalence about its own strength. Here was a party boasting that with its growing black support, it could become part of a majority. Yet it was presenting a plan which gave enormous powers to minorities.

It was no coincidence, surely, that at the congress Free State leader Kobie Coetsee announced the first major drive to recruit black members. Whether the NP opts at the negotiation table for more or less minority protection might well depend upon how much support it can muster. After Bloemfontein, the NP's options still remain open.

- Sowetan Correspondent



# Soviet coup's lessons for NP

By Danieël 6/19/91

DENIS WORRALL

IT WAS fashionable in early 1990 to compare Presidents F W de Klerk and Mikhail Gorbachev. Pretoria-stroika paralleled perestroika. Inevitably, therefore, the attempted Soviet coup had many people in SA and abroad wondering: could it happen in SA? Could it happen to De Klerk?

The questions have a nervous edge to them — given the role of the CCB, speculation of AWB sympathies within the police and the army, and the display of right-wing aggression at Ventersdorp.

But what happened in the Soviet Union will not happen in SA. Any similarity between the two leaders and their respective situations is superficial. The differences are substantive and favour De Klerk.

has shaped the economy, arts, culture, literature, movies — the whole consciousness of generations. The Soviet political culture (whatever Marx and Engels might have intended) has been an undemocratic one. Apartheid, by contrast, never amounted to an ideology. It professed to regulate relations between the races in the interests (ironically) of democratic self-determination for all SA "nations". But underlying the concept of the SA state, the working of the public service, the function of law and the role of the legal profession, were conventional Western democratic norms. Multipartyism and electoral accountability have been a permanent feature of the SA polity — even though limited on racial grounds.

Organised interest groups, commerce and industry, professional associations, independent and commercial newspapers all contributed to public policy. Whereas Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika represented a sudden shock to the Soviet polity, change has been the one constant in SA virtually since Prime Minister John Vorster. In fact, for most of Botha's administration, the rationale for government policy was not apartheid or separate development but the "total onslaught". Pragmatism, rather than a guiding ideology, has been the policy and decision-making mode for nearly two decades.

SA has a long tradition of military subordination to civilian control. The SA military also came to understand

financial services sector, are far advanced of anything in the Soviet Union. While there is no likelihood of what happened in the Soviet Union occurring in SA, the failed Soviet coup does have lessons for SA. Firstly, the resurgence of ethnic sentiment, and the disintegration of the Soviet federation, should sound alarm bells to those who insist on creating in SA a unitary state which ignores the diverse cultural and ethnic character of SA society. Secondly, what has happened to the Communist Party in the coup's aftermath raises questions not only for the SACP but also (and more importantly) for the NP. Can a political party which is so closely identified with the old order be part of the new order? Can the NP drop its apartheid baggage? The questions will increasingly occupy NP thinking — even as it resigns itself to the loss of its traditional rickshaw support base to the CP and tries to tap into new sources of support.

Worrall is DP constitutional affairs spokesman and MP for Berea.

## LETTERS

# Cabinet calls for 2% spending cut

THE Cabinet has asked all departments, other than those involved in social spending, to trim 2% from their proposed guidelines for departmental expenditure for the 1992/93 financial year.

Announcing this yesterday, State Expenditure director-general Henri Kluever said a 2% spending cut by the departments would result in a saving of about R1,2bn, assuming government expenditure increased by 13% next year.

The departments had already submitted their guidelines when the request was made.

Kluever said the request did not apply to the educational and social service departments, where historical imbalances had to be addressed.

He said the process of drawing up spending guidelines was still in its early stages, and his department would have to examine the departments' responses to see if the cuts could be justified.

As a general policy, government was trying to reduce state expenditure as a

TIM COHEN

percentage of GDP, but he stressed that it was extremely difficult in an environment where the size of the "cake" was not getting bigger.

But SA did have some factors in its favour, such as the fact that it was no longer engaged in full-scale military operations and that its relations with the outside world were improving.

Kluever did not spell out which departments were not included in the request. But he did say that the Foreign Affairs Department was one of those requested to submit cost-cutting proposals.

However, an expanding department like Foreign Affairs would find it "very, very difficult" to trim its expenditure without seriously affecting its functioning, he said.

The proposal was not unusual in the sense that it formed part of a programme which was set in motion on an annual basis. The making of a Budget was a process of negotiation and give-and-take, he said.



# Times and Telegraph differ on Nats' proposals

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Britain's two leading establishment newspapers, The Times and the Daily Telegraph, yesterday expressed diametrically opposed views on the National Party's constitutional proposals announced on Wednesday.

The Telegraph said the collective presidency idea was a "recipe for political paralysis", while the Times said the proposals were rooted in principles "fundamental to a stable democracy in any divided society".

In an editorial headed "Imperfect blueprint", the Telegraph cited three main criticisms of the propos-

als. The first was that there was no chance of their being accepted by the ANC, the NP's chief interlocutor in negotiations.

Secondly, it said, the collective presidency, whereby leadership would rotate between heads of the biggest parliamentary parties, was a "recipe for political paralysis".

The third defect, said the Telegraph, was that it provided for a qualified franchise related to property ownership, for elections to town and city councils, "in a country where, until recently, black ownership of land has been heavily restricted, that proposal is unacceptably discriminatory."

While Mr F W de Klerk had conceded that the

(20/11) or 6/9/91

blueprint was an opening bid in negotiations, the Telegraph said, "the tortuous lengths to which he has felt it necessary to go in order to protect white interests suggest that the debate with the black majority will be long and bitter and that the outcome is far from guaranteed".

The Times, in an editorial headed "Reshaping South Africa", said the plan was "rooted in two principles fundamental to a stable democracy in any divided society. One is that of equal civil rights, including the vote, for all citizens. The other is the entrenchment of protection for minorities."

With whites losing their "absolute prerogative",

The Times said that at the same time any "black party" would be prevented from dominating.

"Power would reside in the hands of an oligarchy, probably made up of the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party. It is a genuine power-sharing system, designed to render a one-party state impossible."

It said the group presidency, "which builds coalition politics into the system, is another crucial mechanism for the diffusion of power".

On the proposed weighting of voting in favour of property owners, The Times said forms of weighted voting had been common in emerging democracies.

THIS WOULD AVOID DOMESTIC WORKERS' PROTESTS...  
...of National Education and Training and Education  
...in the field of Education and Training and Education  
...Cultural and Democratic

# Constitution to protect John Citizen's rights

**DURBAN.** In a future dispensation in South Africa, courts of law would be able to challenge parliamentary action, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.  
Speaking at the NP congress here, he said a system based on the concept of constitutional rule would mean that the management of state affairs would be "reconciled with rights in every respect".  
The concept of constitutional rule was "more applicable to our situation than the rule of law. It's a clear statement of rights and obligations".  
The present system allowed for a mere majority in Parliament to mean removal of the rights of people. Executive removing the possibility of John Citizen's rights being challenged or removed if a minister feels a person has become too cocky." — Sapa

# Coetsee hits out at ANC

**DURBAN.** — Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee yesterday lashed out at the ANC for rejecting the National Party's constitutional proposals, saying the organisation was bent on domination in a new order.  
He told delegates to the NP's Natal congress here that the ANC claimed it stood for government of and by the people, but in fact wanted to see political power centralised.

# Pollution an issue in new SA Bill of Rights

**DURBAN.** — The right to a pollution-free environment would be included in a Bill of Rights under a new constitution, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.  
He told the National Party's Natal congress here that no current piece of legislation stated with clarity whether citizens were entitled to live in a clean environment which would not harm or damage their well-being.  
However, the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, had asked the South African Law Commission to consider whether such provisions — which would include noise pollution — should be included in a future Bill of Rights.  
"I am convinced that it will be," he said to applause. — Sapa



# UK Press lukewarm to Nat plan

Sowetan 6/9/91  
Sowetan Foreign Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's blueprint for what he calls "participatory democracy" has received widespread publicity here - but, so far, Britain's newspapers seem unenthusiastic in their response.

Many report details of the proposal in considerable length, with three of the leading papers - all leaning right of political centre - carrying leading articles. But of these, only *The Times* regards the future as clearcut and relatively peaceful.

## Hope

It welcomes De Klerk's plans as a valid effort to "limit the power of a new class of black urban bosses to visit on their enemies the same intolerance and unfairness



that in the past was visited on them".

However, the ANC's early rejection of the controversial power-sharing plan would "no doubt" reinforce the doubts of many about the ANC's ability to reach compromises.

De Klerk, the paper says, deserves to be given a fair hearing. Since South Africa was the "most prosperous and outward-looking" country in Africa, he was "the best hope for the entire continent".

The *Daily Telegraph*, however, adopts a gloomy

stance. Despite broad support for white concerns about their future, it regards the blueprint as "imperfect".

Aside from the fact that there was no chance that the ANC would accept the proposals, the *Telegraph* also regards as weak points the principles of a collective presidency and a qualified franchise.

## Doomed

It adds: "The tortuous lengths to which he (De Klerk) has felt it necessary to go in order to protect white interests suggests that the debate with the black majority will be long and bitter and that the outcome is far from guaranteed."

The *London Daily Mail* announces categorically that "white domination in South Africa is doomed", but blames those blacks who want simple-majority rule.

**T**HE old adage that politicians do not look for solutions but merely for ways to stay in power could correctly be applied to President F W de Klerk and the NP, despite his altruistic words at the party's special federal congress in Bloemfontein.

The NP, which has dominated the political process in SA for the past 43 years, attempts just this through its latest model of constitutional proposals, adopted on Wednesday under the title of Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy.

The package includes an executive collegiate presidency, its sophisticated array of "checks and balances", the veto powers of the second House of Parliament, votes of "equal power" at regional level, loaded or additional votes at the local authority level and neighbourhood councils.

Having seen the writing on the wall that normalisation of SA society would mean, in all likelihood, a black president with a black majority in government, the NP, which has ruled very comfortably for all these years, sees the probability of its power slipping away.

Now the NP talks of power sharing in a different way. SA society is too conflict-ridden to use internationally established democratic constitutional systems. A constitution with a single head of state is inherently bad. There are apparently no ways of building into a new constitution checks and limiting the power of the president. The best way is thus constitutionally to force leaders to making decisions by consensus.

**H**ence the proposal that the leaders of the three largest parties in the first House, elected by proportional representation, form a collective presidency. The membership can be enlarged to five if the three do not represent the majority of voters. No matter that one party may win 70% of the popular vote, its leader will be hamstringed and kept in check by his presidential colleagues.

As a leading party the NP is likely to be in the top three in an election. Its leadership and the bulk of the Cabinet was the leadership in 1982 when the present constitution was adopted by the NP. De Klerk has

# Nat proposals are designed to sway many constituencies

By Billy Paddock

Billy Paddock

304A

been President for two years. Yet he says the NP is convinced that concentration of power in the hands of a single head of state is the major single factor bedevilling the co-operation we so desperately require.

"As long as an executive president alone holds as much power as the present constitution vests in the holder of this office, there will be aggressive competition among political leaders and the parties to attain that position," De Klerk said.

To be fair, when he took office, De Klerk said the President had too much power and he planned to reduce it. But for two years he has freely and deliberately used all those powers at his disposal and has not relinquished any of them.

The model envisages radical devolution of power to regional and local authorities giving them legislative and executive autonomy with their own tax base and fiscal autonomy.

In terms of national strength, it also does not matter if one party wins 70% of the vote in a regional election and another wins only 15%. This is because each would have equal representation in the second House. The same collective executive arrangements apply at regional level as in the national assembly.

And at the local level property owners, lesses and ratepayers get an extra vote in elections for the local authority. While the NP model is devoid of any overt racism, this proposal certainly has racial under-

tones. As one commentator said, it is a form of privatising apartheid.

For decades the NP has enforced a system which denied blacks ownership of property, relegating them to temporary sojourners. This has changed, but the legacy of the past is not wiped out by a stroke of the legislative pen. Blacks would clearly be discriminated against in this proposal, giving whites an unfair advantage and say in local government.

The NP model envisages that representatives from this third tier go forward to the regional level as indirectly elected members of the regional authority — where they would join directly elected members. From the regional legislature, representatives go forward to the second House which holds a veto power over national legislation.

The racial undertone therefore creeps right to the top of the system, and the overall result of the major proposals is that a majority government will be unable to govern.

Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday that it was a good document with interesting nuts and bolts proposals. It was also remarkable that a party like the NP had moved so far bringing some democratic principles into its model. But he said it would cause a lot of problems for the other parties.

Why did the NP not devise a model that was closer to its major negotiating opponent, the ANC, or the Inkatha Freedom Party, which also rejected it as a long-term plan?

De Klerk said the plan was a starting point that could be amended at negotiations. But, if this is the case, why then not draft it in a way that would be more acceptable to the other major parties?

The NP leadership could have convinced delegates at the congress to have accepted a less "extreme" proposal. It may even have been wiser to do so, as this would immediately

have brought the NP rank-and-file that much closer to the deal it will finally have to accept when negotiations are completed.

As it was, the model was unanimously adopted at the congress with criticism from only one delegate. This criticism was made by a coloured MP who argued that the proposal was too conservative, did not go far enough and could be interpreted as bringing in group areas through the back door. There were no fears or anxiety expressed that it was going too far too fast.

A senior member of government's negotiating team said privately he was uneasy with the weighted voting system at local level, but compromises had had to be made within the party leadership.

Perhaps the real intention is to woo those on the left within the CP to rejoin the NP and/or to strengthen the hand of those in the CP who are in favour of participating in constitutional negotiations. This, NP leaders may believe, could be achieved because the model shows that there are ways of protecting minorities and preventing majority rule.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said at the conference that there were divisions in the CP as the party did not have a policy of where to go in the future. The NP was showing a way that was workable, he said.

**S**labbert also said he thought this was one aspect of the NP's strategy and that it could work. He said the model showed the NP was further down the road than the ANC in working out the detail of constitutional proposals. It also showed that the NP had thought more deeply about issues such as protection of minorities than had other parties.

While the ANC has rejected the model as entrenching white privilege, the model does challenge the organisation to come up with a clear, workable proposal that would be more acceptable and would also protect minorities, a principle its president Nelson Mandela has accepted.

At the end of the day, one can say the NP has moved a long way to rid its proposals of overt racism and push towards a democratic alternative. The party has also come up with a solid document to take to the negotiating table.



DE KLERK



# Preference voting may be SA's panacea

304A

w/maill 6/9-12/9/91

The largest election ever held in Africa under the Single Transferable Vote system was recently staged by students at the University of Cape Town.

**ANDREW REYNOLDS** weighs up the system against national constitutional proposals — and finds the odds in its favour

**G**IVEN the announcement of the National Party's constitutional proposals this week, it is surprising that so little debate has centred on the choice of an electoral system. After all, it is one of the most important elements in the drawing up of a new constitution for a fledgling democracy.

There is a high degree of agreement between the African National Congress and the NP on a system to elect the lower house or "national assembly" of a future parliament. Both advocate proportional representation (PR) and both are happy to use the "list PR" method, which translates votes cast for a party directly into seats awarded in parliament.

The ANC's proposals are based on a report by constitutional committee member Professor Kader Asmal, who argues in favour of a combination of regional and national party lists.

Two hundred MPs would be elected from 10 regions with roughly equivalent populations and a further 200 MPs would be elected in direct proportion to each party's national vote. Only one vote would be required and the ballot paper would be extremely simple, with voters required only to mark an "X" beside the symbol of the party they support.

Candidates appointed would be selected from party lists compiled prior to elections. If the ANC won 35 percent of the votes in the Natal region, for instance, it would be entitled to eight of the 20 regional seats and accordingly the top eight candidates on the ANC's "Natal list" would be elected. Similarly, it would have a list for the "national constituency" MPs.

The ANC's proposal is extremely simple, which will help illiterate voters and will also provide a parliament that closely mirrors the national votes cast for each party. Minority supporters would still have an incentive to go to the polls as their votes, even if they are wasted on a regional level, might help to elect their candidates in terms of the

## Possible election result in Durban, 5 member seats

Candidates	1st Stage	2nd Stage	3rd Stage	4th Stage	5th Stage
Name & Party	Votes	Transfer of ANC (1) surplus	Exclusion of LP (1)	Exclusion of Nat (2)	Exclusion of IFP (2)
ANC (1)	144	-36	108	-	108
IFP (1)	95	-	95	+1	96
DP (1)	91	+1	92	+1	93
Nat (1)	66	+2	68	+1	69
IFP (2)	60	-	60	-	60
Nat (2)	58	-	58	-	58
ANC (2)	55	+9	64	+5	69
ANC (3)	48	+20	68	+23	91
LP (1)	30	+4	34	-34	-
Non-transferable	-	-	-	+3	3
				+4	7
					+5
					12
					108 elected
					+32
					128 elected
					+15
					108 elected
					+46
					115
					-60
					-
					-
					72
					+7
					104 elected
					-
					-

THE graph illustrates a hypothetical Single Transferable Vote result for Durban. In this example, the African National Congress has put up three candidates and gained 38 percent of the vote; the National Party is standing two candidates and has gained 19 percent of the vote. Inkatha (two candidates) has 24 percent, the Democratic Party (one candidate) has 14 percent and the Labour Party (one candidate) has five percent.

In stage one all the candidates' first preferences were counted. This elected ANC candidate 1, who was 36 over the quota. In stage two ANC 1's surplus was redistributed to the remaining candidates left in the race. This failed to elect anyone else, so Labour Party 1 (who was the bottom candidate in the race) was eliminated and the candidate's ballot papers redistributed.

national aggregate.

But a major flaw is that voters would have no control over which party candidates were appointed. A "radical" ANC supporter may wish to see candidates with ties to the South African Communist Party elected, but may be forced to vote for "moderates" as they dominate the party's list. The ANC itself has pointed out that under this method, "party bureaucracies benefit at the expense of local party structures or local sentiment".

This also raises the crucial issue of the accountability of MPs. If they are merely chosen by the party, to whom are they accountable?

A second matter relating to accountability and representation is that the ANC's proposal would lose any form of constituency-MP link. For example, in a region the size of Natal, with two to three million voters electing 20 MPs, there would be no direct accountability to cities, towns or even areas. Voters in Durban could not assess the worthiness of their local MP as they would not know who he or she is.

Professor Douglas Horowitz, of America's Duke University, recently wrote a book outlining a constitutional settlement for South Africa. He argues that list PR will simply exaggerate the divides in society.

The ANC's proposal would work against accommodation and conciliation as it entrenches the need for confrontational group stances within the

electoral system, Horowitz says. There would be no incentive to appeal to other parties or groups; all a party would need to do is maximise its own voting base. In the resultant no-holds-barred fight for each individual vote, "negative campaigning" would become the order of the day.

Finally, there is a danger that minority groups may have a disproportionate influence in parliament. Germany's Liberal Democrats have been part of government for most of the past 40 years despite the fact that they have never achieved more than 13 percent of the vote. But at least it is a moderate, pro-system party. The danger really arises from anti-system parties which could thwart stable government — a scenario that often occurs in Israel, where tiny extremist parties hold disproportionate sway over government policies.

The Republic of Ireland and countless non-governmental bodies throughout the world use a system called Single Transferable Vote (STV). It is a type of proportional representation, but uses multi-member constituencies electing (if applied in the South African case) between five and eight MPs. Parties may put up as many candidates as they wish without fear of splitting their vote and voters list candidates in order of preference (1, 2, 3, etc) on the ballot paper.

Last week the Student Representative Council of the University of Cape Town was elected by STV — to my

utod.

This still failed to elect, so the next lowest (Nat 2 and IFP 2) were eliminated and their ballots redistributed. This elected IFP 1, DP 1 and Nat 1 and also ANC 3, who obtained more votes than ANC 2.

Therefore, of the five elected, two are ANC and the DP, IFP and Nats each get one. This provides a roughly proportional result and has also given representation to parties with minority support.

It could be guessed that the ANC 3 candidate, who was elected through transfers from other parties, may have been a particularly popular individual within the whole community and therefore attracted votes from Labour Party supporters and Nats.

knowledge the largest election ever held in Africa under the STV. The system worked well and out of a total vote of 4 167 only 11 ballot papers were spoiled, dispelling fears that the students would find preference voting too complicated.

By avoiding "wasted votes" — those not used for the election of any candidate — STV provides a high degree of proportionality between votes cast nationally and seats gained in parliament.

A second, major advantage of STV is that voters have a wide variety of choice between candidates. An STV ballot paper is the most powerful tool in voters' hands as they can discriminate between candidates of many parties and candidates of the same party. They are able to influence not only which parties sit in parliament, but also how those parties are made up. The true strength of the SACP would be ascertained, even if it stood in alliance with the ANC, as voters could choose between "communist" ANC candidates and "non-communists".

A further benefit in terms of accountability is that STV maintains constituency links, even if a constituency is a multi-member one. The link is actually strengthened as voters are much more likely to have an MP of their own party in their constituency.

Under a proposal for STV in South Africa, five MPs would represent a constituency of roughly 250 000 voters. Geographically, a five-member

seat would be about the size of the city of Cape Town.

Perhaps the most vital advantage of STV to South Africa would be the way the system mitigates against confrontational politics and towards conciliation and compromise. This was precisely why the British government introduced it for elections in Northern Ireland in 1973. Parties are required to appeal to voters outside their own groups to gain lower preferences, which may be crucial in the later stages of the count.

A further reason why STV works well in plural societies is that it represents support for minority parties and gives popular independent candidates a chance.

Moreover, it ensures that any substantial and cohesive minority is automatically assured of representation without necessarily appearing as a contestant in the election. To be successful in Natal the ANC would have to put up Indian and Zulu candidates, as well as Xhosas, and the NP would be wise to put up black candidates in areas with few white voters.

Thus the representation of groups is likely to happen not through ethnic or racial parties, but through parties based on political ideologies — making racial divisions far less important.

● Andrew Reynolds is teaching and studying at the University of Cape Town. He is visiting South Africa for a year from Britain.

ve the

lity a  
en as  
. Re-  
will  
rela-poli-  
lo in  
1 Jo-  
p of  
1 big  
oun-  
only  
1 ac-  
ticalma-  
tion  
rsitymany  
love  
high  
cian  
. stu-  
rurse  
rsityt be-  
itiesould  
1 de-The  
Wits  
nt as  
The  
frica  
rese  
lastrsi-  
aor-. A  
lent  
m-  
on-  
a in

nya



# From out of the chaos of centuries



While FW de Klerk makes his speech, ex-Defence Minister Magnus Malan and his wife look on with ... perhaps just a touch of scepticism?

*W. Malan 6/9-12/9/91 (304A)*  
**I**f you were cynically looking round the Bloemfontein City Hall for signs that the National Party had not changed a bit, despite announcing new constitutional proposals that made no mention of race or even "group rights", they were there all right.

On sale in the foyer, displayed prominently alongside the first four volumes of an eight-book history of the National Party, were the *Collected Speeches of J Vorster*, the first of which is a vigorous riposte to Helen Suzman during a debate on the Immorality Act. Alongside that, in an algae-green cover, was biography of Robey Leibbrandt.

Inside the hall, as delegates waited for late President FW de Klerk to open his special federal congress of the NP, a lean man with a strong tenor voice was leading the assembled in song. *Ver die Ou Kalahari* to start off, followed by *Sarie Marais* and *My Hart Verlang na Die Boland*. Then *Afrikaners, landgenote — "Afrikaners, landgenote — Wees getrou aan Volk en Taal"* — sung to the tune of *Deutschland Uber Alles*. And as De Klerk walked in, a song called *Uit die Chaos van die Eeue* out of the chaos of the centuries.

The NP gathered in congress is still overwhelmingly white, still solidly Afrikaner, despite the presence for the first time of 35 coloured MPs.

But De Klerk did not talk like a man at the head of a white-man's party. "At grassroots level the National Party currently enjoys considerable support among black South Africans and majority support among all other population groups," he said. "The National Party has therefore become the political mouthpiece of millions of South Africans who underwrite the values, principles and objectives of our Action Plan."

The NP's proposed constitutional framework allows for a one-person one-vote election, based on proportional representation, for a national parliament. But then the party which wins that election finds itself fettered in a number of ways.

There is a second house, which can initiate some laws and block legislation proposed by the first house. Each party which gains "a significant amount of support" in regional elections will be allocated an equal number of seats in the second house — equal representation, whether you have 70 percent of the votes or 17.

As FW de Klerk walked into the Bloemfontein City Hall to make his historic speech to the National Party congress this week, the crowd sang 'Out of the chaos of the centuries'. And there was a real sense of an emerging new direction, although some rather important people on both Left and Right aren't going to like it

Story: JOHN PERLMAN  
 Photos: GUY ADAMS

There is a constitutional requirement that the presidency and the cabinet be shared between all parties with significant support. The presidency will consist of the leaders of the three largest parties, which will then appoint ministers to a multi-party cabinet. There is also devolution of significant powers to each of nine regions — which encompass the "self-governing homelands" — and to the local level, where property owners will have an additional vote. Residents of particular neighbourhoods may also elect a neighbourhood council which may be entrusted with autonomous power over "norms and standards", security and civil protection and education and welfare.

Votes for all in a unitary South Africa then (although the future of the "independent" homelands will have to be negotiated), combined with an array of mechanisms that could be used to entrench and protect existing power and wealth — on the face of it, familiar Nat stuff. But the Nats were not talking like poker players bidding high with a weak hand.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the "decisive way in which the National Party has moved away from race" was a "radical departure". Hernus Kriel, formerly the minister responsible for local government, insisted the property qualification at local level was not racially motivated. It would, he said, include many black people who rented houses and the increasing number who owned them.

"It will be able to preclude that a ma-



The most visible change in the hall was a matter of fashion ... this year there was only one Elize Botha-style hat



Gerrit Viljoen, man behind the constitution, made some rousing speeches ... but it all got him down in the end

majority, even if we are part of that majority, and we intend to be, could be able to misuse its power," said De Klerk.

"And yet nobody can assert that it does not offer every South African full political rights on an equitable basis."

Many people, of course, will be asserting just that. And it will certainly stick in some throats a little, hearing the Nats enthusiastic espousal of ideas they fiercely resisted in the not very distant past. "We are convinced that concentration of power in the hands of a single person as head of state, as in our present system, is the major single factor bedeviling the co-operation we so badly require," said De Klerk — in effect, describing himself.

But the Bloemfontein City Hall at least was confident Nationalist country. Delegates had a fair bit of time to ask questions, though not as long as Viljoen, Kriel and others took in answering them. Many took the opportunity to play the praise singer, others actually raised some real issues. Kriel at least tried to liven things up. In reply to an anonymous handwritten question ask-

ing him why he had been made minister of law and order, he said: "The president asked us all what six times six was. I said 35, and because I was the closest I got the job."

Free State leader Kobie Coetsee also raised an unintended laugh, by referring to Piet Rudolph as Mr Justice Rudolph, as did Finance Minister Barend du Plessis who remarked as Stoffel van der Merwe tried in vain to switch on a light: "We need power."

But it was mostly pretty earnest stuff, in the course of which nobody really questioned the fundamentals of a document they had all been briefed on — in one way or another — some time before the meeting. And at the end it was endorsed with a standing ovation and sent off to the provincial congresses for their stamp of approval.

The only vaguely discordant note was struck by Dr Andrew Julies, member of the House of Representatives for Kalahari, who said: "These neighbourhood councils are based on geographical areas, just like the Group Areas Act was. What should I should say when I ad-

dress meetings and our enemies say this shows apartheid is still alive?"

Julies' views were clearly not shared by some of the new Nats, who seemed to want greater restrictions on who voted — like CB Herandien, representative of Macassar, who said only those who had lived in the area for a certain period, paid taxes and were registered property owners should go to the polls. Herandien got one of the day's loudest cheers.

Delegates seemed confident they could sell the policy in the face of rabid criticism from the Conservative Party which calls the plan a "recipe for revolution" — even if a "Heilbron loves FW" banner draped from the public gallery at the back of the hall was later removed. In the last general election Heilbron voted solidly CP.

"People know that the old system can no longer work, and I believe we can win their support for this one," said one delegate from the Free State plateau — who accepted that the African National Congress was right to fight in the past, but still insisted that blacks were a few thousand years behind Europeans.

Of course the acid test of the plan's acceptability will not be in Heilbron or in Virginia, where the NP begins fighting a by-election for the seat vacated by departing Education Minister Piet Clase. Even as De Klerk was leaving the delegates with one last rousing speech — and rousing it certainly was — the ANC was ripping into the proposal as a measure designed to deny a future government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

De Klerk claims that the Nats will soon show rapid growth in black membership. It cannot be assumed that the only people who see themselves as a minority in need of protection are white. And in many ways the proposal is as much an invitation into an alliance to Inkatha and others as it is a policy document.

But it is at the negotiating table that these proposals will first have to be sold. De Klerk insists that the document has "no fat", that this is bottom-line Nationalist policy and not padded with soft bits they would be prepared to give away in high-level deals.

That remains to be seen. "No fat"? It may look that way in the Bloemfontein City Hall. But you can bet on the ANC and others finding some.



# No wreaths on Verwoerd's grave

(20th)

Weekend Argus

At 149

PRETORIA. — A small bunch of shrivelled flowers in a broken pot — weeks old — was the only sign of tribute on the grave of Hendrik French Verwoerd on the 25th commemoration of his death by the hand of a deranged assassin.

Not a single wreath, not even a blossom, for the man who was once acclaimed as the most popular prime minister of white South Africa.

A strange sight, in a city which has shown remarkable fervour in naming its streets, landmarks, schools, hospitals and even a neighbouring municipality after the architect of apartheid.

His grave, a monumental black marble structure echoing his monolithic racial poli-

cies, stands among those of other political luminaries in Pretoria Cemetery's Heros' Acre.

However, in this day and age, no-one seems to be willing to acknowledge him as a hero.

No one, that is, except the diehard Herstigte Nasionale Party, which paid the only visible sign of homage to the Dutch-born ideologue with a public meeting in Pretoria last night.

Dimitri Tsafendas, the parliamentary messenger who plunged a knife into the prime minister's heart on September 6 1961, today remains in jail, a lonely old man of 74 dreaming of a tapeworm in his body which ordered him to kill Dr Verwoerd — and which is still hungry.

However, his fate also is being ignored by the politicians of today — no-one is campaigning for his release, although some would say his act turned the tide in South Africa as it opened the way for the election of the more reformist Mr John Vorster as prime minister.

He is "well", and being treated "humanely and professionally" in the Pretoria Central Prison, according to the Department of Correctional Services, and he receives the occasional visit from members of Lawyers for Human Rights.

However, before he sees the light of day again as a free man, he will probably go to the grave, as did Hendrik Verwoerd 25 years ago.



□ NO TRIBUTE: Dr H F Verwoerd ... ignored

# Wessels angry at insensitivity

ARG 7/19/91

Political Staff

304A

DURBAN. — The new Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing, Mr Leon Wessels, said he was preparing for a "battle royal" with those in ivory towers and not helping with the country's social development.

He told the National Party's Natal congress in his maiden speech as a Cabinet member that people in those towers, who showed a "sad lack of sensitivity to the problems around them", angered him.

Social development was a mammoth task, filled with emotion. There was the "awesome spectre" of more than 16,6 million people living below the poverty line.

Mr Wessels said his first impression in the job was one of suspicion and duplication between the organisations involved in social development. "This is something we cannot afford," he noted.

Fragmentation and suspicion had to be addressed. Qualified people were not available in large numbers, so they had to be harnessed and had to work together constructively.

He said he was looking forward to co-ordinating this fragmentation, building joint policies and strategies and removing the distrust that existed.

The developing component in South African society was marked by a high illiteracy rate, poor or inadequate housing, a high infant mortality rate, and unhygienic conditions. "The hardest hit of all are the aged, children and the disabled."



# Neutral US is ready as referee

(30414)  
HUGH ROBERTSON  
Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON, 21

The Bush administration has given notice that it would play a scrupulously neutral role in South Africa's unfolding constitutional debate, thus positioning itself to be an honest broker between the parties if negotiations should collapse.

In its response to the constitutional proposals put forward by President De Klerk this week, the State Department said: "We will have no comment on the specifics of the various proposals sure to be floated during the coming negotiations for South Africa."

"We expect that all South African political groups will take their proposals for a new constitution to the negotiating table. These matters are for the South African people to decide. We urge them as well to take advantage of all opportunities to begin these negotiations as soon as possible."

It is hardly a secret that the US administration — and probably all major political forces in the US — have very specific hopes about the shape of the new constitution. They would not, for instance, welcome any mechanism which would open the way for a one-party dictatorship or a formula for socialism.

And, they would broadly wish to see a constitution which effectively safeguarded individual human rights and provided checks on the power of the majority.

However, by taking a firm stand against supporting or opposing any specific proposals, the administration almost certainly ensures its own credentials with all parties rather than to promote any particular line.

The State Department's policy statement at the forefront in the White House and the National Security Council, which have been at the forefront in the past and suggests that the US might be willing — if called upon — to play the role of an honest broker, or facilitator, if negotiations should collapse.

Events in South Africa are followed with close attention by a group of officials and advisers who, between them, have a formidable knowledge of South Africa and in most cases, extensive personal experience of the country and there is no other country on the continent which receives as much attention at the highest level.

view  
ard

port under the head-  
hards battle flats in  
, which appeared in  
Argus on August 24,  
to our attention.

uld like to point out  
ugh the SABS is in-  
the administration of  
nal Building Regula-  
Building Standards  
77, it is incorrect to  
the Review Board as  
u of Standards Re-  
d.

irman of the Review  
s been appointed by  
ter of Trade and Ind-  
d Tourism, and nei-  
chairman, nor the  
of the board, have  
connection with the  
e board acts com-  
independently of the

l be more accurate to  
he board as the Re-  
d appointed in terms  
ve Act.

L H C LOUW  
nager: Western Cape  
Regional Office  
Bureau of Standards

AIN

ks has  
l record

to your feature on  
ntain (Weekend Ar-  
t 17, 1991). I totally  
ith the comments of  
don Aliver, that (a)  
g over of the moun-  
e National Parks  
ld "just add another  
y" and that the City  
as the expertise to  
mountain."

ncil has proven be-  
ubt that it would be  
ossible choice for  
he National Parks  
e other hand has an  
record for preserv-  
areas while still al-  
blic enjoyment of  
question is: Would  
t?

ARROL RADWELL

**POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES**

**Is democracy such a good idea after all?**

304A ARG 7/9/91

THE National Party's constitutional proposals illustrate its central dilemma: how to make the new South Africa as palatable as possible for its traditional asset-owning supporters, while signalling sufficiently a democratic intent.

Most people in the urban middle class (most of whom, as a factor of history, are white) experience at least a degree of misgiving about the path South Africa has embarked on because they know in their heart of hearts that it will mean they get less, and nobody likes getting less than they're used to.

That, plainly enough, in one form or another, is what getting rid of apartheid must mean.

The NP's proposals, on the other hand, seem to hold out the prospect to its supporters of retaining what its detractors argue is a disproportionate degree of control over politics.

There are all sorts of interesting arguments around the question of what democracy actually means and whether it is much good anyway.

□□□□

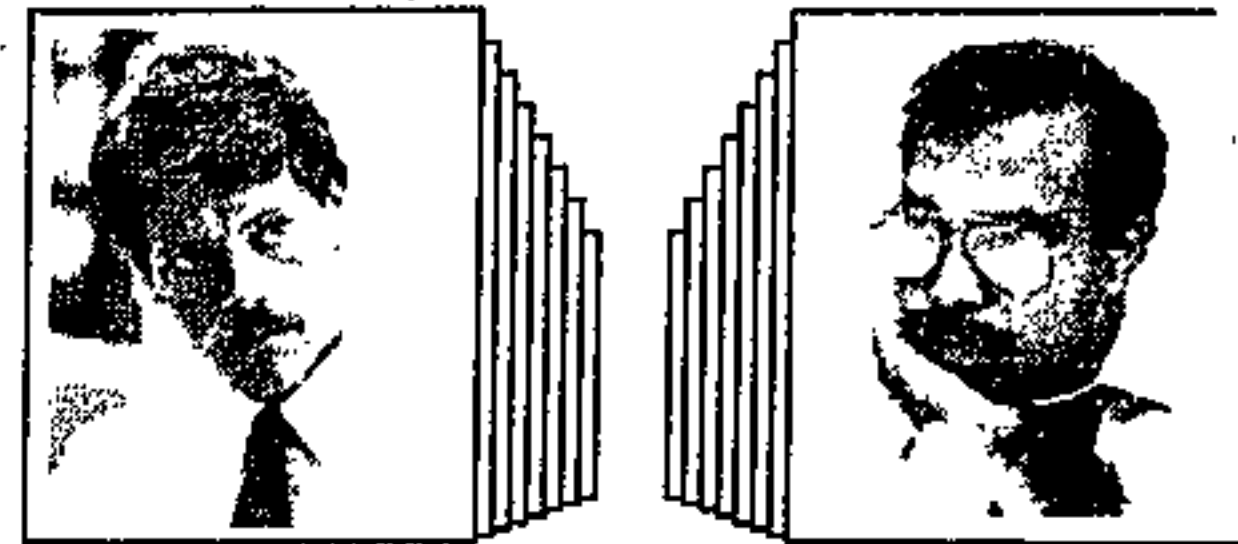
There are those who might argue that while the sort of democracy that prevails in the United Kingdom or the United States is laudable, it would not be in the best interests of South Africans to have it applied here.

The implication is that what most South Africans want is not in the best interests of the country.

Arguably, if a majority government chose to nationalise all big industries, confiscate the most profitable farms, resort to huge State spending to correct apartheid distortions and appoint its supporters to top jobs in newly created para-statal, that would clearly not be in the interests of the country.

Then, if democracy means there's a good chance of this happening (or of another 40 years of something akin to apartheid), would democracy be such a good idea after all?

The answer is simply that there is no better alternative. The only alternatives are varying degrees of tyranny — from a well-meaning sort all the way through to a mean and avaricious kind.



Michael Morris

Dennis Cruywagen

A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

In a harshly real sense, the most telling definition of a democratic right is that it is the right to make mistakes.

The challenge South Africans now face is to create a democratic system in which the exercise of rights leads to the fewest possible mistakes.

It is conceivable that such a system need not mean simply domination by majority.

On the other hand, the present racial distribution of assets suggests that an asset-loaded vote could be a recipe for racial conflict, and has the appearance of an attempt to maintain white favour.

Such a system would be least likely to offer anyone security.

It would seem an effort must be made to shift the debate away from the arena of race to one of ideas.

□□□□

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who says the NP proposals would leave blacks feeling they had been "fobbed off" with something less than they had been striving for, wisely advises whites to recognise that "their best interests are going to be served by their alignment with true democracy, a democracy that refuses to recognise ethnicity as being something that has any relevance in determining the place of a person in society".

At this early stage, one of the important points to be made is that the ideas unveiled in Bloemfontein are only proposals.

Indeed, the NP would have been foolish if it had produced a liberal document.

That would surely have signalled a surrender before the battle had actually begun.

And one thing democracy does mean is a good, clean fight.



SO... WHAT DO YOU THINK?



304A AUG 7/1991

# First shots fired in Battle of Constitutions

**I**T IS GOING to be a battle between "federalism" and "centralism" when the National Party's plan is compared to African National Congress concepts.

The NP plan is upheld by pillars of "participatory democracy" and a judicial state. The proposals have drawn sharp criticism from political opponents, especially the ANC, but have been received more favourably by political scientists.

Hard bargaining lies ahead at the negotiating table. President De Klerk concedes that the plan is not a final draft for a new constitution.

The ANC stands for a strong central government. The main elements in the Nationalist plan is the devolution of power and protection of minorities and regional interests.

The proposed three-tier system of government — central, regional and local — is supposed to take note of the diversity of the population and is meant to prevent "over-concentration" of power.

Regional and local authorities are not merely administrative extensions of central government nor simply the consequence of decentralised administration.

Each tier is supposed to be a "government" with its own elected authority. It will be responsible to voters and have legislative and executive powers as well as a tax base.

The two-chamber parliamentary system is meant to guarantee minority parties an equal say in the second House.

The plan proposes universal franchise on a proportional representation basis instead of the present "winner takes all" constituency system.

The first House in parliament will be elected on this basis and will pass laws by a majority. Fundamental changes in the constitution will be entrenched and will require more than a simple majority.

The NP foresees the new South Africa as a judicial state where the constitution will have a higher status than other laws.

An independent judiciary is the cornerstone and will have the power to declare Acts of parliament null and void if they do not comply with the criteria of the constitution and a Charter of Fundamental Rights.

First shots were fired this week in the Battle of the Constitutions when the National Party officially unveiled and approved at a federal congress in Bloemfontein its vision of the New South Africa. **TOS WENTZEL** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff was there: he analyses the situation...

The second House will play an important role in protecting the constitution and minorities as well as regional interests. It can veto legislation passed by the first House.

In this chamber, an equal number of seats will be allocated to each region. Minority parties, as long as they receive the base limit of votes, will enjoy the same representation as majority parties.

Regarding the functions of the executive, the plan is aimed at creating a coalition of a number of major parties. A collective presidency of three to five people with a rotating chairman is proposed.

This body will decide by consensus, but it is conceded that this could be cumbersome — one of the most controversial of the NP proposals.

There are nine regions the plan suggests as the starting point to the proposals: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, Western Transvaal and the PWV area.

A regional council for each area will be elected proportionately. Sub-regions or district authorities can be provided as an option for particular interests.

Not included are Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana. Their relationship with a new South Africa will have to be negotiated individually.

The first three, under military governments, have expressed interest in rejoining, but Bophuthatswana, the most economically viable, is unlikely to.

The term "participatory democracy" is meant to have particular meaning at local government level.

In the boundary of each town and city there will be one non-racial local authority — one administration and tax base.

Another controversial proposal is the possibility of giving a vote to all those who qualify and another vote to property owners, lessees and ratepayers. NP spokesmen maintain that this is similar

to the system in the Cape Province.

Neighbourhood councils — to allow geographic neighbourhoods an option for self-determination over community interests — is also provided for. This ties up with government's feeling about "norms and standards" in a community.

Nationalist leaders emphasise, above all, that the plan proposes a colour-blind constitution, but its critics maintain that it will entrench white privileges.

The ANC called it a "recipe for disaster" and an attempt to ensure that the majority would only be able to govern South Africa with the concurrence of the minority.

The NP maintains that it is necessary to reduce friction by moving away from a system giving wide power to the presidency.

The NP wants to turn the idea of the coalition, which occurs voluntarily in countries with a proportional system, into a constitutional principle.

The ANC is suspicious of the second House, with equal representatives for each region, because it feels it is loaded against areas where blacks form the overwhelming majority.

Nationalist politicians point to the United States where all states have equal representation in the Senate.

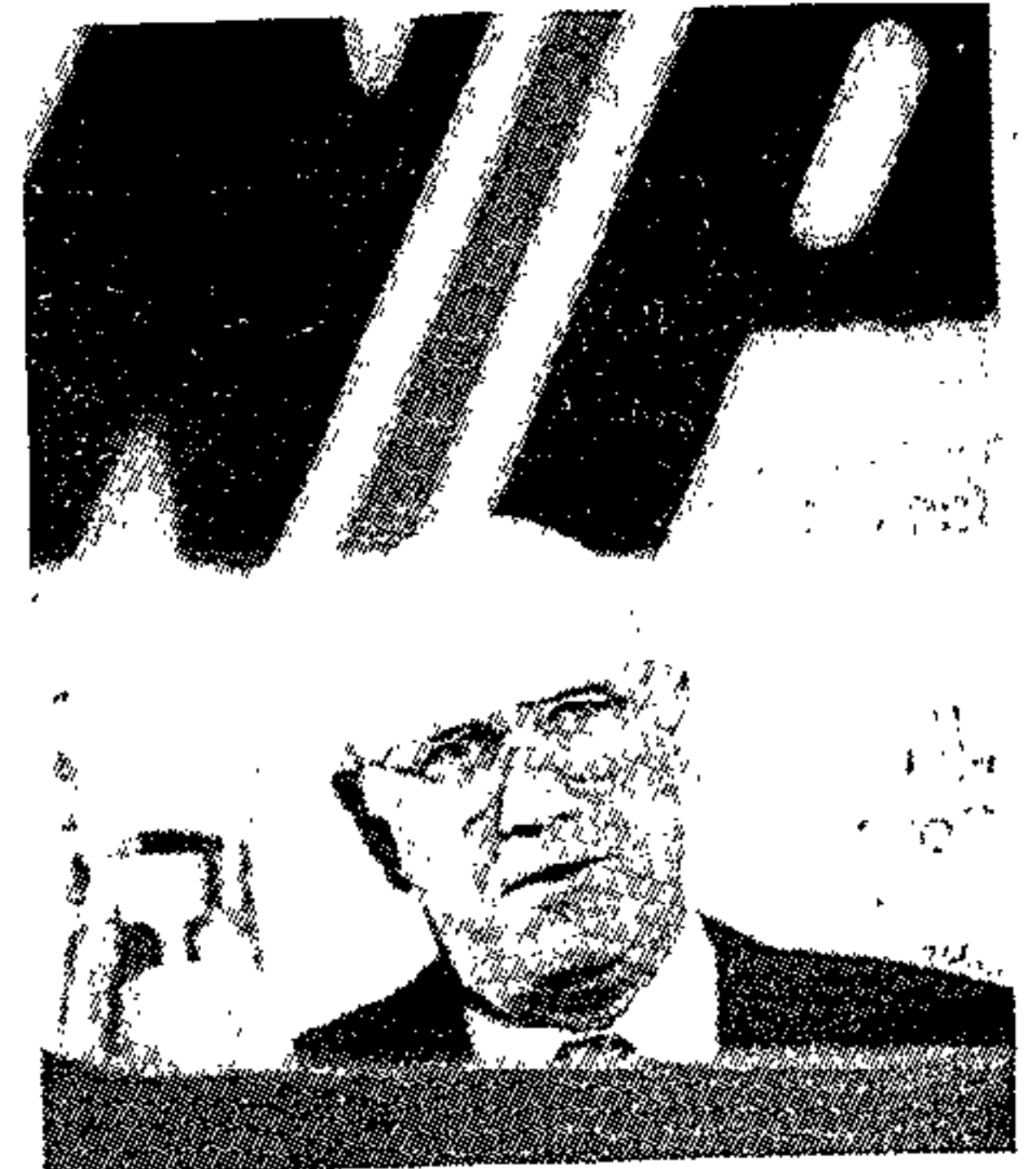
Above all, the ANC is concerned that the plan will strip central government of real power.

There are, however, some points of agreement: proportional representation, full franchise, regular democratic elections, a multiparty parliament, an independent judiciary, a Bill of Rights and the question of regions.

What the ANC has in mind for regions, however, is more the French idea of districts linked to central government.

One of the biggest problems is the proposals of a collective presidency.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, political scientist at Stellenbosch University, said



□ MR de KLERK: Hard bargaining ahead.

there were only two examples of a collective presidency being tried.

The African state of Benin tried this from 1977 but got stuck after the first member of a collective served his term.

However, a rotating presidency has succeeded in Switzerland, but Professor Breytenbach pointed out there were peculiar circumstances there in favour of such a system.

Among these was the Swiss mentality and the long tradition from which the collective presidency had developed. He doubted whether this could work here.

He said there must be opportunities for coalitions, but the NP plan was too prescriptive in its proposals.

The second House must not have a veto right because this would raise the question of parliament's sovereignty. It could rather be a House of review.

With local government there could be a distinction between property owners, rate- and taxpayers in areas including site-and-service squatter areas and informal squatter areas, which could develop and qualify for participation.

The plan is only a "skeleton with a bit of meat on it" said Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary general of the NP.

There will have to be a lot of give and take in these negotiations.



Shrivelled blooms on forgotten grave . . .

# Verwoerd, like his dream, fades away

(304A) Star 7/9/91  
**MALCOLM FOTHERGILL**  
and OWN CORRESPONDENT

A SORRY little bunch of shrivelled flowers in a broken pot, obviously weeks old, was the only sign of tribute on the grave of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd yesterday on the 25th commemoration of his death at the hand of a deranged assassin.

Not a single wreath, not even a blossom, for the man who was once acclaimed as the most popular prime minister of white South Africa.

It is a strange sight in the city of Pretoria which has shown remarkable fervour in naming its streets, landmarks, schools, hospitals and even a neighbouring municipality after the architect of apartheid.

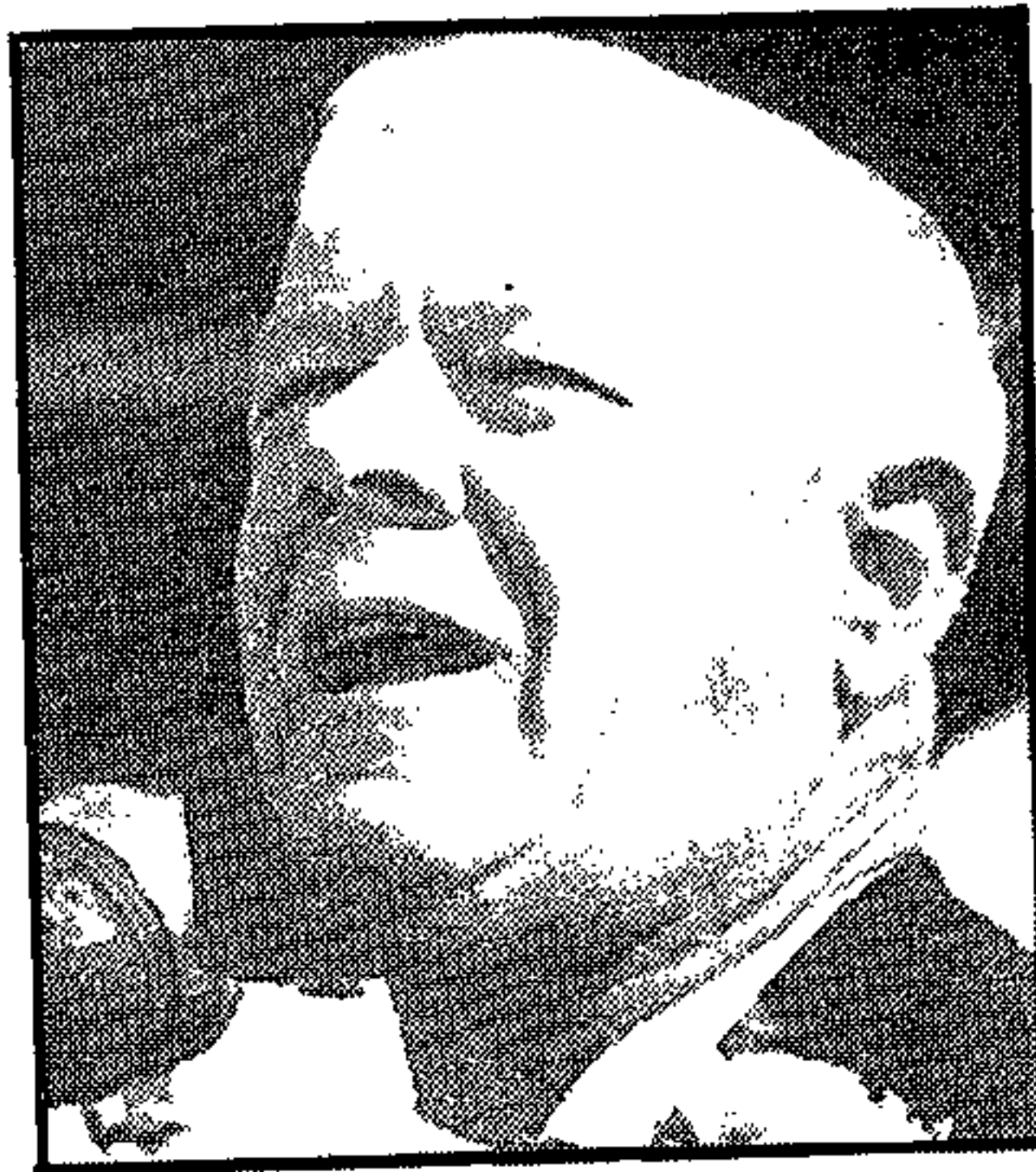
Today, a quarter of a century after his death, Dr Verwoerd is remembered as the man who took an existing system of racial separation and turned it into a philosophy that caused untold suffering to millions, which earned South Africa the opprobrium of the world.

## Aspirations

Dr Verwoerd's intention with apartheid was not to deny black aspirations. His intention was merely to make sure that whatever aspirations blacks had would not interfere with the privileged position of whites in "white" areas.

As he saw it, the National Party Government had two main tasks: to maintain and guard "Western civilisation", and to meet black aspirations.

"The non-white, with his own national sense and his own ambitions, will not for ever be satisfied with a subordinate position," he said. "Therefore the party has developed a policy . . . which grants to others what it claims for itself and which is calculated to provide the same opportunities to everyone within his own race group.



**YESTERDAY'S HERO: Apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd.**

That is the policy of apartheid."

The flaw in his thinking was that apartheid in practice demanded a privileged, order-giving position for whites and a subservient, order-receiving position for blacks; a pigeon-holing of people on the grounds of race; and a distortion of market mechanisms.

For Dr Verwoerd, there was no question of who should be "baas". "South Africa," he said, "is a white man's country and he must remain the master here.

"In the reserves we are prepared to allow the natives to be the masters, but within the European areas we, the white people of South Africa, are and shall remain the masters."

It opened the way for job reservation, forced removals, separate queues and other evils of enforced racial separation.

But it was in his thinking on education that Dr Verwoerd showed himself in his true colours — an idealist, but only for whites, not for blacks.

"There is no place for the African in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community."

Dr Verwoerd was a natural choice for politics — a tall, imposing man with charisma, a razor-sharp intellect, a compelling speaking style and boundless faith in his own beliefs.

One of the few times he had doubts was after he attended the Commonwealth conference in London in March 1961 hoping to see South Africa accepted as a republic.

Instead, the country was forced out of the Commonwealth, of which it had been a founder member.

On the aircraft that brought him back to South Africa, Dr Verwoerd was worried about the reception his countrymen would give him. He needn't have been — he was greeted like a hero.

His grave, a monumental black marble structure echoing his monolithic racial policies, stands among those of other political luminaries in the Pretoria Cemetery's Heroes' Acre.

## Dreaming of tapeworm

But in this day and age, no one seems to be willing to acknowledge him as a hero.

No one, that is, except the diehard Herstigte Nasionale Party, which paid the only visible sign of homage to the Dutch-born ideologue with a public meeting in Pretoria last night.

Dimitri Tsafendas, the parliamentary messenger who plunged the fatal knife into the prime minister's heart on September 6, 1961, today remains in jail, a lonely old man of 74 dreaming of a tapeworm in his body which ordered him to kill Verwoerd.

But before he sees the light of day again as a free man, he will probably go to the grave, as did Hendrik Verwoerd 25 years ago, as will the hated political system for which Verwoerd will be remembered also without any flowers.



# Commonwealth set to review restrictions

FW  
Star 11/1979

THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has hinted that he expects the Commonwealth to start easing sanctions against South Africa when its leaders meet in Harare next month.

Mr de Klerk said last night that some of the remaining sanctions against South Africa were under review, "and a more positive approach from the Commonwealth has not been ruled out".

He was delivering the C R Swart memorial lecture at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein.

And in Durban, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis told the National Party's Natal congress that South Africa was starting to secure foreign loan capital.

This meant that when the next economic upswing occurred — and the economy was already showing signs of improvement — it would be sustained.

Mr de Klerk said in Bloemfontein that South Africa's international posi-

tion was beginning to change dramatically. Although the country could not yet claim that its international relations were normal, good progress had been made.

Real breakthroughs had been made against sanctions and other international restrictions, including:

- Certain trade sanctions had already been lifted, especially those of the European Community and US.

## PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

- In other fields, such as tourism, culture, sport and science, doors were starting to open.

- South Africa had acquired overflight rights in Africa.

- Foreign investment was slowly becoming a reality.

- Industrial countries now saw South Africa as the key and the gateway to Africa, and the enormous potential

of southern Africa had caught their imagination.

South Africa was busy normalising its relations with Africa.

Even during 1986, when the sanctions campaign was still gaining momentum, the preferential trade agreement with Zimbabwe was amended to allow easier access to South African markets for Zimbabwean products.

Limited customs tariff

concessions were recently granted to Mozambique, which had signed a trade agreement with Pretoria.

There were now formal South African trade representatives in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Namibia, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, the Comoros and Rwanda.

Good progress was being made in establishing trade representatives in other

African countries. Namibia had joined the southern African customs union.

Mr de Klerk said he and other Cabinet Ministers had undertaken extended visits in Africa. Everywhere the signs of normalisation were noticeable. "There is a new feeling of hope throughout the continent, a hope based on expectations of a successful new South Africa."

All this progress was particularly significant because the forces pleading for international isolation had not stopped doing so.



# Strong case for interim government

IN SO

Star 7/9/91

304A

The dispute between the ANC and Pretoria over an interim government is not new in Africa, reports GARY VAN STADEN, senior researcher at the SA Institute of International Affairs. Because incumbent regimes always tend to undermine movements striving for greater democracy, interim governments are imperative, he argues.

AS THE people of South Africa make new demands for their freedom, an identical process has been taking place elsewhere in Africa.

And as minority rule opponents campaign against tyranny and dictatorship, they are all being frustrated by very similar phenomena: incumbent regimes using their power to undermine progress towards democracy.

These events provide a watertight case for interim governments — or transitional authorities.

Take Ghana for example. The besieged military government of Jerry Rawlings, facing growing demands for a multiparty democracy, recently passed a law establishing a National Consultative Assembly to draw up a new constitution, another to establish a committee of constitutional experts and yet another granting temporary amnesty to political exiles. Good news for the democrats? Hardly.

First, the Rawlings government gets to send 22 nominated representatives to the 260-strong NCA. Then the navy, police, air force and army get to send another 10.

The Cocoa and Coffee Farmers Association (government supporters) will be allowed to send another four, while commerce and industry get one each.

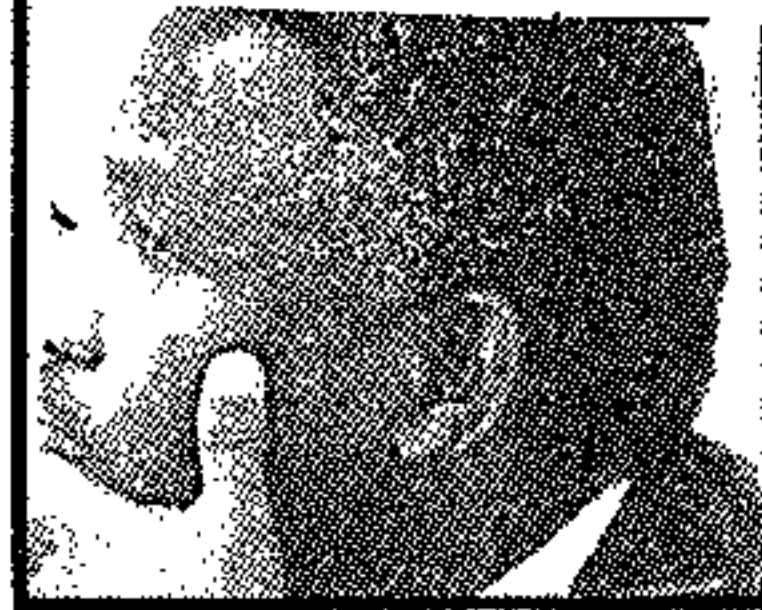
Between them the current regime and vested-interest groups have reserved for themselves 143 of the 260 NCA seats. The people get 117, but must select their delegates from existing district assemblies.

To make it harder, the Rawlings government has decreed that any "inappropriate" verbal attacks on the head of state or any of his Ministers during the NCA deliberations will be a crime.

Opposition groups, such as the Movement for Freedom and Justice, are beginning to smell a rat.

They thought democracy would allow for a greater degree of free choice, and feel some type of interim authority would help make the playing field more level.

In Zambia, the opposition to incumbent Presi-



STIFLED DEBATE: Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

dent Kenneth Kaunda, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), is facing similar problems.

The first is that the regime will not disclose the election date.

Secondly, a draft constitution drawn up by the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) gives more power to the president and very little to an elected parliament.

The draft constitution was approved by the current regime against the recommendations of a parliamentary select committee and without consulting opposition parties.

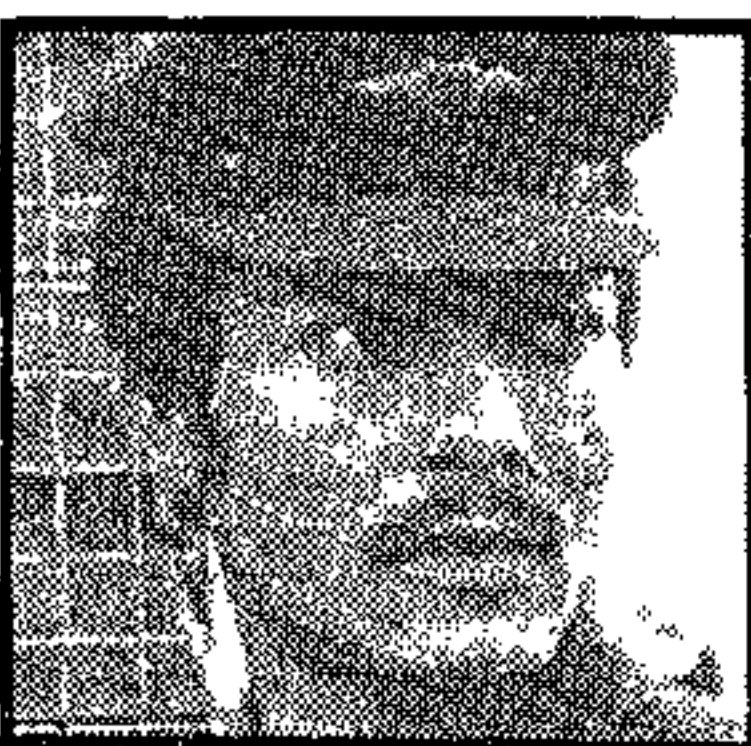
Unip makes use of State resources to assist their election campaign, they control the media, and use it to boost their campaign and run down the opposition.

When some editors and journalists began to think democracy meant free speech, they quickly discovered otherwise as they helped swell the ranks of the unemployed.

When the State-controlled radio and TV was accused of biased coverage in favour of Unip, the answer was that the higher profile and func-



MORE POWER: Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.



BESIEGED: Ghana's Jerry Rawlings.

tions of the regime tended to generate greater coverage and there was nothing deliberate in the imbalance.

MMD meetings tend to suffer from minor problems such as power cuts and stolen equipment, and some major ones such as kidnapped speakers. The only things free and fair about the Zambian elections seem to be Unip's free ride and the fact that the MMD is fair game.

In Tanzania the incumbent regime has added new dimensions to the art of electioneering. Facing the same demands for multiparty democracy, it appointed a presidential commission to collect views on whether Tanzania should keep its one-party system or opt for a multiparty one. The commission was representative — of the government — and that was the beginning of the problems.

The regime always knew where the commission would be going next, so districts were visited by party officials extolling the virtues of a one-party state just before the commission arrived to canvass opinions. The tactic tended to stifle the debate somewhat.

Then, of course, there is that African country closest to our hearts, where the Government has been caught using State funds to undermine its main opposition. That same regime has full control of the most powerful communications networks in Africa and gives its opponents just enough time to make themselves look silly.

When its security forces are accused of attacking the opposition, it swiftly undertakes an investigation, finds itself blameless, and then, without consultation, spends a billion rands in a transparent attempt to buy political support.

Finally it comes up with a constitutional plan which interprets democracy as five votes for me and one vote for you.

Such behaviour threatens to nip African democracy in the bud. No incumbent regime will play fair when its future is at stake. Interim government, therefore, is a necessary condition for a successful transition to democracy in Africa — the southern tip included.

SHIP



# Majority rule uncool

THE SITUATION, readers, is even stranger than we thought. The National Party has unveiled its constitutional blueprint (which, given the contents, might more accurately be described as an orange, white and blueprint), and has whizzed us back in time to about 18 months ago, just before President de Klerk's famous February 29 speech.

At that time, you will remember, majority rule in South Africa was definitely — very definitely — not on the cards.

This all changed on that sunny morning in Cape Town when FW unbanned organisations, freed prisoners and led us to believe there would now be open-ended negotiations leading to open-ended elections.

He seemed to be saying: we will all put forward our arguments, there will be a fair fight, and in the end the people will decide what kind of South Africa we are to have.

In other words: "If it's majority rule, cool."

Now, after the Nats' Bloemfontein congress, things look very different. It is not the NP plan itself that is the problem — the party has a perfect right to try to get as

Undercurrent Affairs  
SHAUN JOHNSON



much as it can for its supporters — but rather the caveats that have accompanied it.

There were sporadic signs during the year that the Government might be preparing to bow a political googy. Gerrit Viljoen said of course there was going to be universal franchise in the new South Africa, but spoke of "not handing over power to an unsophisticated majority" or to "people who had no experience in running a sophisticated country".

I noted at the time that the second stricture seemed to rule out all but the Nationalists, who have kept that experience to themselves for more than 40 years. But I thought little more of it.

Then Barend du Plessis remarked in Parliament that the NP was "not in the business of black governments". Still it did not seem too important. After the Bloemfontein congress, however, I'm not so sure. President de Klerk himself

noted that the National Party had "the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which militated against democratic and civilised values, and would not hesitate to use it". He added this was not meant to sound threatening.

But the resulting question is obvious: what gives the NP — especially in the light of its history — the expertise or the right to deliver judgment on what constitutes a "democratic and civilised value"? If there has ever been a glaring example of the Government setting itself up as player and referee at once, this is surely it.

Then there is the matter of flexibility in the NP's proposals. President de Klerk says there is "very little fat" in the document — and therefore very little that the NP will be prepared to compromise on in the course of negotiations.

Logic tells me then that if the constitution resulting from negotiations is not as close as damnit to the NP's plan, it will automatically "militate against democratic and civilised (NP) values", ergo it will be blocked with all the considerable power at the NP's disposal. Open-ended? Closed-from-the-beginning, more like it.

Admittedly, these were speeches directed at the (jittery) NP faithful. There is some solace, too,

in the fact that Gerrit Viljoen suggested in his "Agenda" debate this week that nothing was non-negotiable. My own experience of Dr Viljoen tells me he is a sincere and honest man, and his pronouncements should be taken seriously.

But still it is worrying. Kobie Coetsee seemed to admit at the congress that the reason the NP embarked on its new course was that pressure via sanctions and the like was becoming unbearable. He made no mention of moral conviction.

And speaking of morals, I find it problematic that a party which for 40 years has enjoyed and defended tremendous governmental powers should now declare that anything like such powers are inappropriate for a new government.

"You cannot have so much power vested in one person," says the person who has it at the moment and who, moreover, wants to keep it right up until a new deal is signed.

Strange indeed, and a logical labyrinth. It is worth chewing on the thought that at the moment, the only major group that is still convinced the NP is prepared to agree to majority rule is ... the Conservative Party.

Jan 7/9/91

# Regions 'want autonomy'

(SOUTH) CT 7/9/91  
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africa's varied regions wanted "to do their own thing" in a new democratic order instead of falling under the heel of a dominant central authority, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Regions like the Boland, the Cape West Coast and Natal were unhappy with the amount of power at central government and did not want to be ruled in every detail by Pretoria or Cape Town, he told the National Party's Natal congress here.

In a wide-ranging defence of the NP's proposals for strong regional government in a new South Africa, Mr De Klerk declared: "Small Brother

must be protected from Big Brother."

He said every region had its own way of seeing and doing things and did not want to end up under the heel of a powerful, interfering central government.

Mr De Klerk said the NP's critics were reading "something sinister" into the premium the party attached to regional government.

"There is no need to do so. Our emphasis on regional government is not based on ulterior motives but on common sense."

South Africa could not risk a highly centralised, "mass domination model" which had led to one-party states, dictatorships and genocide elsewhere in Africa, he said.

## FW meets negotiator

(SOUTH) CT 7/9/91  
PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk this week met Angola's Minister of Territorial Administration, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, Mr De Klerk's office confirmed.

Mr Do Nascimento, the principal Angolan government negotiator in the Angolan peace agreement, is believed to have brought a message from his government for Mr De Klerk. It is believed they also discussed South Africa's position during the peace process in Angola.



All-party conference likely next month, says Viljoen

# SECRET TALKS BRREAKTHROUGH



GERRIT VILJOEN

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULLRING  
8/14/91  
2044  
8/19/91

A SERIES of secret talks between the government and other parties in recent weeks has laid the basis for an all-party conference as early as next month.

The conference will be the forum where negotiations on a new South Africa will begin. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said yesterday that in his view there was unanimity on the agenda, logistics, chairmanship and participants at the conference.

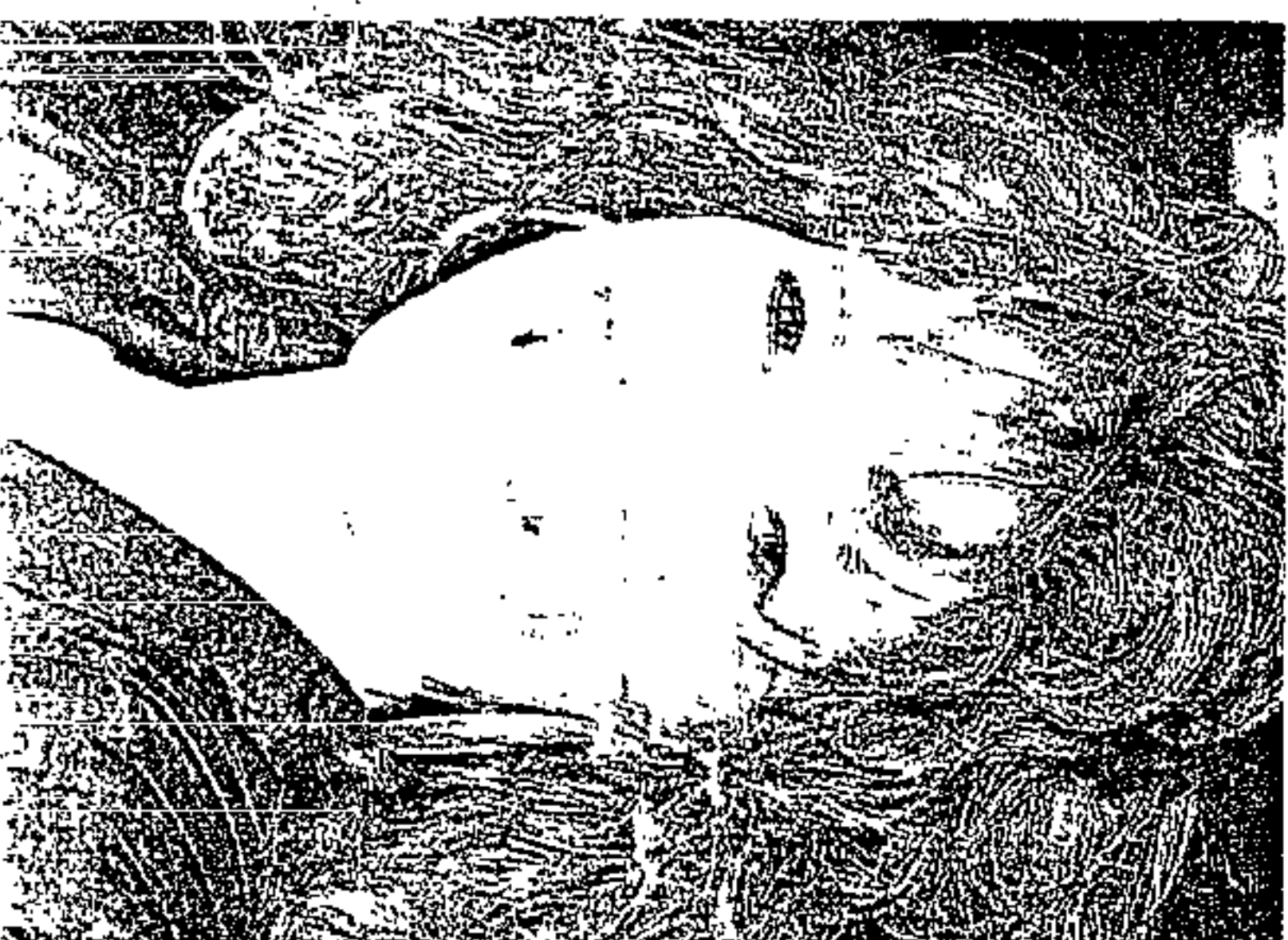
The ANC and the government, said Dr Viljoen, had resumed informal talks on the all-party conference after the recent breakthrough in the peace initiative brokered by business and church leaders. In April the ANC suspended contacts with the government on constitutional talks in protest against its failure to deal with political violence. But the opportunity created by the peace initiative had been seized by the main parties, including Inkatha, for further discussions about the convening of the all-party conference.

As far as the government was concerned, said Dr Viljoen, there was no reason why the first meeting of the conference could not be held in October. A hint at progress in the exploratory talks was dropped this week by President F.W. de Klerk. He told the National Party congress in Natal: "I am convinced we are near a breakthrough to real negotiations."

The progress in talks on the all-party conference, meanwhile, has been accompanied by a new round of negotiations between the government and the ANC on security-related matters.

## Locked

Tomorrow, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, meets to consider a government-proposed code of conduct for the SADF — one of the few outstanding issues in the National Peace Initiative. The government and the ANC are also locked in talks aimed at clarifying earlier agreements by the ANC to suspend armed



## TV girl Susan fit for a queen

## The hunger striker and the Belsen survivor



THIS dramatic picture shows right winger Henry Martin in hospital on Monday, the 57th day of his hunger strike. Forty-eight hours earlier, his lawyer Mr Wim Cornelius had said he looked like a Belsen concentration camp

A special friendship. A special story. A special kind of pleasure.





between the government and the ANC on security-related matters.

## Locked

Tomorrow, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, meets to consider a government-proposed code of conduct for the SADF — one of the few outstanding issues in the National Peace Initiative. The government and the ANC are also locked in talks aimed at clarifying earlier agreements by the ANC to suspend armed action.

Next Saturday the main political parties will sign a national peace accord.

After that, said Dr Viljoen, the government would hold a series of bilateral meetings with the ANC, Inkatha and other parties to finalise agreement on the convening of the all-party conference.

ANC negotiators were yesterday unwilling to commit themselves to a date, but negotiating team member Mohammed Valli Moosa said the organisation would like the conference to take place as soon as possible — “certainly this year”.

The Constitutional Development Department has identified possible venues in Pretoria and has the funds to begin preparing for the conference once there is firm agreement on the date.

## Historic

Dr Viljoen said the only factors that could delay the conference were the patriotic front meeting and the ANC's process of consultation.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that the patriotic front is “irrelevant to the speed of negotiations”.

Mr Valli Moosa said yesterday that the ANC still had to consult widely within its own ranks and with allies. He felt a date in October might be “a little optimistic”.

The Peace Commission, established under an agreement brokered by business and church leaders, held its final meeting on Friday night to set-

□ To Page 2

## MARTH LUMLEY

respondent

joining Doreen Queen Elizabeth's er Susan, 30, will when the royals

st outside broad- m the Currie Cup

## 6

EIN 2 644 winners with ing a dividend of abers: 7; 4; 3, 4, 5, 14;

LE ch collected a payout D. Selections: 7; 5; 3,

poned.

inters collected ch. Combinations: 4; 4, 6; 9; 13.

## ala fails

Jake Matlala's y ended in a 10- y IBF flyweight Dave McAuley in t night.

w York, Jimmy wred out to Jim 6-3, 6-2 in the US Stefan Edberg endl 6-3, 6-3, 6-4. es won the wom- beating Martina 7-6, 6-1.

## crash

L were beaten Free State in ein yesterday, hern Transvaal astern Province

Page 21

# Secret talks breakthrough

From Page 1  
The details of the signing of the historic peace accord next Saturday.

Participants in the process said the Conservative Party was unlikely to attend the signing ceremony and although Azapo would attend, it was not certain it would sign.

It was expected that the parties would make compromises on parts of the accord — especially the section on dangerous weapons, which was an area of great sensitivity for

Inkatha — so as not to jeopardise the entire document.

However, participants said the accord was a living document. It was a process and not a final product.

## Investigate

Meanwhile, the government is pushing the ANC to agree to the finalisation of a report by the liaison committee appointed after the signing of the DF Malan accord to investigate the

implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action.

Dr Viljoen said the government was deeply unhappy with the progress made by the committee, which has been charged with resolving issues such as continued recruitment and training by Umkhonto we Sizwe and the identification of arms caches.

At a meeting held last week, the ANC's working committee considered a report submitted by its representatives on the liaison committee. The report was given to the ANC's negotiating team for decision.

The Sunday  
all our Jews  
a happy New  
and well oye



# Why ANC rejects NP plan

THE African National Congress wants a two-house parliament for post-apartheid South Africa, but rejects President FW de Klerk's proposals for a powerful second chamber based on race or culture, foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"It's not the notion of a two-chamber parliament that is in dispute, it's how these two houses relate," Mr Mbeki told reporters at a Non-Aligned Movement conference in Accra.

"The problem is that in terms of these proposals the second chamber, which would be weighted in

S/T/we 8/9/91.  
Sunday Times Reporter  
Accra

racial terms, would have the effect of denying majority rule."

President De Klerk this week put forward a draft constitution that would give blacks a vote for the first time in more than 40 years, but would deny them outright power.

He proposed a parliament composed of a democratically elected first house and a second house made up of an equal number of seats from each of nine regions.

The second house could veto laws proposed by the

first house and would have special powers to protect minorities.

ANC officials said the regional groups in the second chamber were intended to represent different ethnic or cultural groups. (306A)

Mr Mbeki said the ANC's constitutional committee recommended a two-chamber system free of racial or cultural criteria.

"We can't accept a system which seems to give the right to vote to every person and then establishes institutions which make that capacity ineffectual," he said.

● Two former Labour

Party members who defected to the National Party have expressed fears that the NP's constitutional proposals might contain a hidden agenda to retain white group areas and, therefore, apartheid in disguise.

The leader of the 36 Nationalist MPs in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, said yesterday he had nothing against the maintenance of proper norms and standards.

However, if this was abused to retain white areas it would be "a fatal mistake that could scuttle all the goodwill the NP has built up so far".



# The ghost in th

MR FRIKKIE WEPENER, 86, of Reitz in the Free State, has attended every National Party congress since 1933.

He gave his support to DF Malan's policies that led to apartheid. He backed PW Botha when he introduced the tricameral parliament. This week he gave his sanction to FW de Klerk in his bid to introduce "participatory democracy" — the NP's name for its most recent constitutional proposals — to South Africa.

In recent years Mr Wepener has seen many, if not most, of his generation desert the National Party to join the ranks of the Conservatives.

Does he not believe that Mr de Klerk's "participatory democracy" is a radically different proposition from Dr Malan's policies?

"Not at all. It is just that times have changed and we have to take a different course," he says.

The trouble Mr De Klerk has in selling the NP's new constitutional proposals is that just about all the other major political parties in this country agree with Mr Wepener.

## Principles

The NP plan published in a document titled Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy consists first of a set of principles and, second, of proposals based on them.

The details of the proposals, he and his senior cabinet colleagues stressed at great length this week, are negotiable.

The seven principles are:

- A constitution that is the highest law of the land;

- A Charter of Fundamental Rights to protect citizens against unlawful actions of government;

- An independent judiciary with power to declare void acts of Parliament which do not comply with the constitution or bill of rights;

- Preventing government from interfering in the activities of non-political organisations;

- Preventing the abuse of government power. Mechanisms to achieve this include a more independent Reserve Bank and special procedures to ensure the independence of the Bench;

- Ensuring the integrity of the constitution by developing a system which ensures balanced control of security forces;

- An impartial and professional civil service.

Importantly, and this has



BACK SEAT: The president chats to Wits political analyst Lawrence Schlemmer at the congress  
Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

raised concern in the ANC, the NP has not spelt out details of its envisaged bill of rights.

In drawing up its proposals, the NP sought to achieve a system which was free of what it calls domination but still made good government possible.

To achieve its stated aim of a system free of domination the NP had to back off an undertaking by Mr De Klerk that power-sharing would entail the introduction of a vote of equal value. It has also effectively ensured that the political party receiving the support of the majority of the population will have no opportunity to exercise power on its own.

In its proposals the NP says it prefers European-style coalition government to the winner-takes-all Westminster system.

Thus it has opted for a proportional-representation voting system which applies in most European countries.

In elections for the first house of Parliament, voters will be offered a choice of a slate of candidates put forward by political parties. But to prevent party bosses from becoming too powerful, voters will also be allowed a second vote in which they can also indicate their preference for a single candidate.

The first vote will determine how many seats a particular party will have, the second will decide which individuals should fill those seats.

Legislation in the first house will be passed by a simple majority.

However, it will be subject to

review and even veto by a second house consisting of an equal number of representatives from nine regions.

The three biggest parties in each of the regions will be given an equal number of seats, irrespective of the degree of endorsement their policies receive from the electorate.

This principle by which supporters of minority parties are accorded a vote of greater value than those of the most popular party is carried through to the executive.

The NP advocates that the very highest level, the presidency, should consist of the leaders of the three largest parties in the first house. They will appoint a cabinet.

At regional level, the NP proposes that representatives be elected by proportional representation from electoral districts within the region. It has also proposed that city councils nominate a certain percentage of the members of the regional legislature.

The executive, it suggests, should consist of three to five leaders of those parties which achieve a certain minimum vote. It has not spelt out what the minimum vote should be. A cut-off point of 10 percent, which was included in the original proposals, has been dropped from the final version.

## Control

Although the National Party sets great store by the maximum devolution of power to regional and local authorities as another way in which to prevent domination, it has made no firm decisions on exactly which powers should be devolved.

Law and Order Minister Herinus Kriel, who in his former capacity as Provincial Affairs Minister was intricately involved in the drawing up of this aspect of the proposals, said the NP had got no further than identifying the traditional division of power between central, regional and local government.

For example, in health services, control of overall policy would be vested in central government, the running of hospitals entrusted to the regional government and the running of day clinics to local authorities.

Asked whether, as in the United States, a regional government could decide whether to implement the death penalty, he said: "I would not like to go that far."

But, he added, a regional



# e Nat cupboard

nes 8/19/91. Si Times

## MIKE ROBERTSON detects the hand of D F Malan in the National Party's constitutional proposals

(304A)



government could be allowed discretion over environmental or traffic legislation.

The division of power between the different tiers would have to be negotiated, he said. "You may even decide to have regional police forces. It is a possibility that can be negotiated."

The NP, he said, had also not taken any firm decision on what powers of taxation the various tiers should have. "What is clear is that in the process of the division of money there will have to be a formula in terms of which central government allocates money to regional level and to the local levels. Once the money has been allocated, then I believe that local authority or region should be free to decide how the money is spent. There must not be strings attached."

Explaining the NP's insistence that regional and local government be given powers protected by the constitution, Mr Kriel said: "We have experience in South

Africa where we started off with very strong provincial governments and as the years went by central government effectively stripped them of almost all their powers." Another example of the NP insisting on the introduction of measures to prevent anyone doing what the NP has done.

It is at the local level, however, that the NP bid to prevent domination involves the negation of the idea of a vote of equal value.

In a total break from past NP thinking, it proposes the creation of single non-racial local authorities with one tax base.

But in electing councils it proposes that there be two voters' rolls.

The first would include all inhabitants of voting age who would elect half the council members to represent non-racial wards. Proportional representation would not apply at this level.

The second roll would consist of only property owners, lessees and ratepayers, who would elect

the other half of the council.

Thus, for example, property owners would have two votes each while their wives or husbands and children of voting age would have just one.

The measure, Nationalists have candidly conceded, is aimed at preventing the large numbers of people accommodated in informal housing from dominating proceedings at a local level.

Mr De Klerk has argued that the idea of special recognition for the rights of "home owners, home dwellers and ratepayers" at local level is nothing new in South Africa.

### Delegated

But because councils will be able to elect a percentage of the representatives of the regional legislature, the effect of this extra vote given to owners, lessees and ratepayers will work its way through to second-tier government.

Another controversial proposal is that of neighbourhood councils.

In terms of this, voters in a particular ward could decide to set up such a council which would have power to:

- Set norms and standards;
- Grant licences in regard to the use of property;
- Make decisions on the provision of communal facilities and

civil protection. Such councils, according to Mr Kriel, could also be delegated powers to run schools and decide on welfare matters.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe has said these councils could decide which children could attend schools in a ward, provided the decision was not made on a racial basis.

Mr Kriel said residents of a ward that decided it wanted a neighbourhood council would pay rates to the city council which would provide them with the standard service accorded all other wards. However, if the neighbourhood council decided it wanted additional services or facilities it would be empowered to impose an additional levy on the residents of the ward to pay for them.

As with regional authorities, the NP has made no firm decision on what functions or powers should be devolved to local authorities. Nor has it made any firm decision on what taxation powers local authorities should have.

He did say, however, that because of the tremendous backlog in black housing he did not believe this could be left to local authorities alone to deal with. Funds would have to come from central government or a national housing corporation.



# KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

304A

STimes

5/4/91



**P** leader Zach de Beer says the Nationalist constitutional plan includes all the main ideas put forward in the past by his party and its predecessors. If so, I'm thankful I have never been a Prog.

The spirit of this constitutional draft is not liberal, but (forgive the jargon) consociational. Liberalism puts the free individual at the centre of the system; consociationalism seeks to mediate conflict between groups, and to do so it vests power not in the people but in elites, in wise men.

The origins of this thinking are not disputable, and one must not fall into the Anglo-Saxon trap of dismissing unfamiliar or complicated ideas as "foreign" (if one is British), or "cute" (if one is American). Almost all parties in South Africa already agree that the single-member constituency, winner-take-all, first-past-the-post system will not work in this divided society, and almost all agree that the best alternative is proportional representation, about which I shall say more later.

At least let us confess, then, that Europe, where consociational thinking has its strength, has more experience of communal conflict than does the Anglo-Saxon world, and that the particular liberal mechanisms of American society have proved spec-

factarily inadequate to deal with racial conflict.

At the heart of the problem lies the old question whether South Africa encompasses one nation or many. Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch, that admirable *verrigte* philosopher who is sometimes mistaken for a liberal, argues in a paper newly published by Idasa that the single South African "nation" is a myth, and that is indeed the view on which the Nationalist plan rests.

This leads to another question: if there is no single nation, can one be created? Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has observed that a constitution cannot create a consensus, it can only recognise the pre-existing consensus. Even less, I would say, can it create a nation, and indeed the attempt to do so might well become genocidal (like the Soviet attempt to Russify Estonia) or it might drive particular groups, say Zulus or Afrikaners, into endless rebellion.

Acting on these assumptions, the Nationalists have devised a constitution that places the emphasis not primarily on the liberty of the individual, but on the resolution of inter-tribal disputes. That task is assigned to elite cadres, and hence it falls on the executive rather than the law-makers, the judiciary, or the law itself. The system puts its trust in

manipulation, not principle.

To a liberal, the idea of a five-member "presidency" is an absurdity, because liberals assume that a single president will be governed by law, and that his power to do harm will be contained by devices ranging from a bill of rights to the separation of powers. Sovereignty should lie not in the presidency, nor in the legislature, but in the law.

In short, it doesn't matter very much which thing or fool gets into the job, the system will contain his base passions, including his tribal loyalties.

To the consociationalist, however, the five-man presidency is a necessary forum in which five tribal leaders, shielded from the passions of the mob outside, will constantly "fix" disputes lest those passions over-

whelm the state, destroy the constitution, and violate the law.

This is all very well for the major "tribal" groups which have sufficient power to command a place on the five-man team: smaller tribes, like the South African Indians, or the English (inasmuch as they are not increasingly the same thing), or the Muslims, or the anti-abortionists, are simply eliminated from the game. They have a bleak future, destined to be trampled whenever the elephants — the ANC, Inkatha and the NP — start fighting.

Where will aggrieved minorities turn for help, especially if they are tiny? Where indeed will that most precious of all minorities, the single eccentric person, find refuge? Under a liberal system, the weak individual

may enter into a voluntary association with other individuals or minorities, and together they build political coalitions, and they fight their cause in the legislature. But even if they lose, the rule of law constitutes a safety net, within which all men are equal.

THAT is why I am deeply suspicious of the Nationalist attempt to give a new, and narrower, meaning to the term "rule of law". They equate it with mere "constitutional government": a fairly primitive concept which does not encompass the full range of rights secured to individuals by common law.

Even a bill of rights, or "charter" as they call it, is a crude and limited instrument of protection compared

with the full, glorious sweep, the rich experience and the subtle distinctions of Roman Dutch law. Either the Nationalists do not properly grasp the meaning of the "rule of law", which they associate with Westminster, or they are wriggling out of the constraints of the common law. Either way, their narrow definition is offensive.

The legislature is better conceived. Proportional representation, which gives each party representation in proportion to its voting support, at least recognises existing realities. Tribal disputes will be thrashed out in the legislature, in public debate, not by five powerful fixers meeting in a smoke-filled room to strike deals they dare not expose to public scrutiny.

Small parties like, say again, the English or the Indians, which cannot win five percent of the vote, will be eliminated from the legislature, which makes it all the more important for them to be protected against oppression originating either in the legislature or in the executive. That protection, once again, can come only from the rule of law.

Unhappily, the Nationalist plan carries its consociational thinking through to the regional governments, and by doing so it risks discrediting a very good idea. The ANC, whose

thinking is neither liberal nor consociational but totalitarian, detests the idea of strong regional governments, as it detests any constraint on its power to dictate, loot or bully.

Perhaps the ANC can still be brought to see that Natal, given a good deal of autonomy and its own tax base, might be a co-operative partner in the greater South Africa, while a KwaZulu forcibly incorporated in a structure controlled by its bitterest enemies, might become as indigestible as the IRA in Britain, or the Turks in Cyprus, or the Basques.

HEREFORE it is of the utmost importance to ensure that, in Natal, ANC supporters or Afrikaners or other unrepresented minorities would enjoy the protection of the law, just as the Zulus would enjoy that protection in the wider society. The last thing they would want would be a three-man council of fixers, one Zulu, one Natal English, and one Indian.

Finally, despite President De Klerk's assurances, I don't like or trust a local government franchise linked to property — just as I disliked and distrusted the old Prog qualified franchise — and I think it will make property the focus of political attack. Anyway, as a liberal I don't trust elites, especially not if they are rich.



# New attitudes at NP congress

CP News 8/9/91. 304A

By LOUIS OOSTHUYSEN

**T**HE Federal Congress of the National Party held in Bloemfontein this week strongly reflected the changes in perception and policy in this former champion of the apartheid philosophy.

The party met to discuss its constitutional proposals, called "framework for a new democratic South Africa".

The atmosphere in which the proposals were discussed can in no way be compared to the numerous NP congresses I have attended in more than 30 years. The NP is no longer the party intent on protecting white interests and privileges to the detriment of other South Africans.

Certain aspects of the proposals deserve criticism and were also questioned by delegates to the congress. One can, however, say the NP has now been transformed into a non-racial party, intent on trying to serve the interests of all South Africans.

This was not only reflected by its constitutional proposals but also by reactions of the 1 200 delegates.

Numerous questions were asked, focussing mainly on two issues. The first was the proposal that the powers of the head of state be vested in a collective body, known as the Presidency, and not in a single President.

The second issue was the structures and functioning of regional and local government authorities.

However, not a single delegate expressed any opposition to the party's transformation into a non-racial body or to the principles of full citizenship for and political participation by all South Africans.

It is obvious the NP is now ready to strongly promote the concept of non-racialism among whites.

State President FW de Klerk also announced at the congress that the Federal Council of the NP approved a campaign to promote the party among blacks and to canvas black members. The impression is that stronger emphasis will be placed on party policies rather than canvassing members. The party realises many blacks may be hesitant to join it publicly but may be persuaded to vote for it.

This means the NP has no intention at this stage to enter into alliances with other parties but wants to gain the maximum support for its policies. Possible alliances after an election are however not ruled out.

It became clear from the proposals that the NP realises negotiations will have to take place between all parties with notable public support. The NP believes a new constitution should be based on principles which it believes will have the support of all other parties participating in negotiations.

Some of the most important principles are: maintaining accepted values and norms; universal franchise in democratic governmental structures; freedom from domination; an orderly and law-abiding society; a market-orientated economy; an independent judiciary and justice for all.

Although there are many differences between the views of the ANC and the NP which will have to be resolved at the negotiation table, reference was especially made to three important issues at the congress.

**NP no longer intent on protecting white interests to the detriment of other South Africans.**

■ While De Klerk indicated the NP was not opposed to what he called "transitional arrangements", he warned the ANC about trying to steamroller the NP on the issue of an interim government.

He said he was not prepared to suspend the present constitution for an interim government.

"We are however strongly opposed to any form of government which is not based on the constitution, as it is or as it may be at any given time. In other words, government, in our sovereign independent country, always has to be composed in terms of the constitution and be subject to the constitution," De Klerk said.

By this he obviously means that the present constitution should be retained until a new constitution has been negotiated.

He added, however, that the NP would include its ideas on transitional arrangements in the negotiations.

■ The second bone of contention is the "Presidency", consisting of three or more party leaders. The ANC has already rejected this outright.

Many questions on this issue were asked by delegates at the congress. Although nobody publicly criticised the concept, senior members of the party did express their reservations privately.

One delegate referred to the ineffectiveness of the Democratic Party's initial troika leadership.

Another said a joint presidency would be the recipe for continuous conflict between leaders which would prevent sound government. While leaders could agree on important issues, political processes could be slowed down by petty differences between individuals.

A third delegate expressed the fear that a joint Presidency could become such an overriding point of contention that the numerous positive proposals of the NP and its good intentions could be discredited.

One can accept that reservations on this proposal are not limited to a few people within the NP. It is possible that the NP leadership could be persuaded from within the NP to revise this proposal before real negotiations start.

■ The third issue inherent to the NP's proposals is the curtailment of the power of the majority. It is obvious the NP leadership tried to work out a formula which would allay the fears of many whites that a black majority government might suspend a new constitution - as happened in many African countries.

Experience in South Africa has shown that too much power should not be vested in the hands of a single individual.

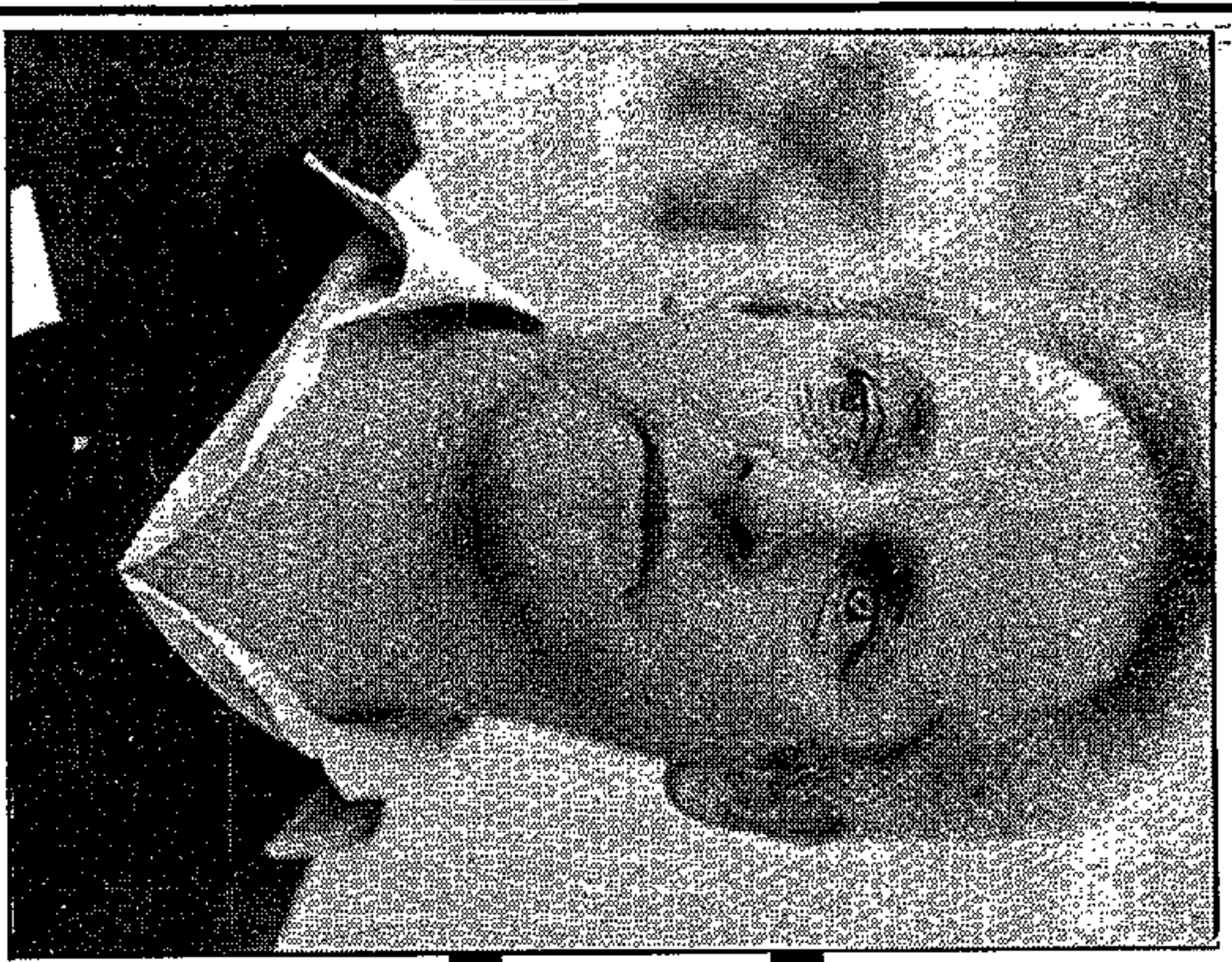
In fact, this was recognised and publicly stated by De Klerk himself immediately after he was elected State President in 1989.

It is obvious the NP's proposals curtailing the power of the majority are creating the impression among blacks that the minority (whites) still wants to wield power in a more indirect way.

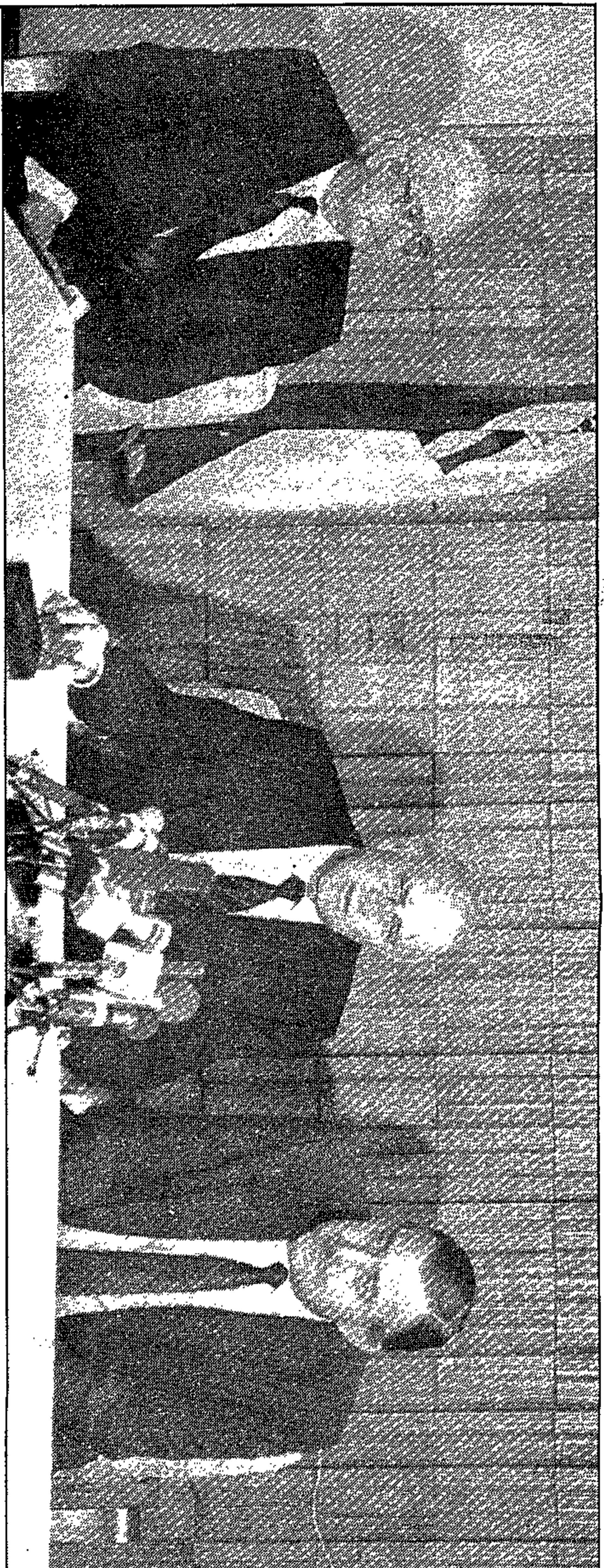
On the other hand, checks and balances should be devised to prevent the misuse of power and to protect the rights and the interests of all groups - not in racial terms, but in terms of the large variety of interest groups within South African society.

This is a difficult problem which can only be resolved in good faith during negotiations. Although De Klerk bluntly told the delegates they should not expect the NP's proposals to be accepted in toto during negotiations, it would serve a good purpose if the NP itself reviewed its proposals on the important issue of vested power.





RAYMOND SUTTNER, ANC head of Political Education and NEC member, assesses the National Party's constitutional proposals presented in Bloemfontein recently.



UNDER FIRE . . . The De Klerk government is making a mistake if it thinks it has the power to permanently impose values on the South African people, says the ANC's Raymond Suttner.

**W**HAT should one look for in constitutional proposals in a period described as a transition away from apartheid and towards democracy?

One seeks the complete removal of racial discrimination and mechanisms for giving effect to the will of the majority - subject to safeguards for individual rights. One also seeks a constitution which would allow for a democratically-elected government to address national grievances in all areas of social life.

Such proposals should also embrace goals that are broadly acceptable to other potential negotiating partners. These are, in short, the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

# Majority

CP 28/9/91

3048

But there are other checks on the will of the majority that are wholly unacceptable.

The first objectionable feature is the structure of the second house, which is comprised of representatives of nine regions. Irrespective of their size or population, each of these regions has equal representation. This immediately leads decision-making against an area like the PWV, where Africans

state power. To avoid this "tyranny", the presidency must be made lame. Consequently, the NP proposes a rotating presidency comprising three to five of the major parties, each holding office for one year at a time. Decisions are made by consensus. They appoint a cabinet to carry out their policies.

A motion of no confidence can only be passed in the entire presidential

But consensus is not always possible to achieve. What type of consensus can one achieve between those wanting equality and those wanting to retain privileges?

The process of splintering central state power continues at every level of government. At the regional level, a similar version of NP "power-sharing" between the majority party and all other major parties is envisaged.

are a step forward. But the rest of the proposals negate this progress by entrenching existing residential patterns and favouring property owners, who may get more than one vote.

Like wise, the establishment of "neighbourhood committees" does not have the homely connotation one might wish. In short, it is the maintenance of group area arrangements under a new

the Nationalist Party has moved from seeking constitutional protection for group privileges towards building alliances.

But what the constitutional proposals show is a return to constitutional devices. This surely indicates a sense on the part of the NP that their support among blacks, especially Africans, must be insufficient to struggle for their position on the political terrain alone. It

vote. They want the vote for what the vote can do. They want the vote to lead a better life. If the vote does not provide this, arguments about the inclusion of all interested parties in government and the dangers of power will not stop the country from becoming ungovernable.

Having presented the NP's set of proposals to the public, De Klerk threatens us: "The

National Party has the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which will militate against these values. We will not hesitate to use that ability."

What are the values De Klerk commits himself to? There will be no actual transfer of power to a democratic government and impotence of a majority party.

Accepted democratic principles. But De Klerk is making a mistake if he thinks he has the power to permanently impose these infamous values on the South African people.

He is one person representing one million white voters. We are many, many more. Our power will not be stopped by illegal financing, state-endorsed violence or any other force that may be deployed against the cause of freedom. De Klerk says he wants peace, but there will not be peace without democracy. The national interest demands that there be rule by the majority without any constitutional shams designed to assure permanent life to apartheid privileges.

The national interest also demands that an Interim Government of National Unity be formed so that there can be freedom of political activity and that no party can threaten, as De Klerk does, to determine the content of negotiations.



are used to limit this democracy.

At the national level, the proposals envisage a two-chamber parliament, the first house elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and the second house of regional representatives broadly the same as what the ANC advocates.

The impact South Africa's first democratic election would have is immediately undermined by a number of devices aimed at limiting the power of the majority party or organisation.

In the first place, there are those that we accept in principle, that is, the protection of certain interests in a Bill of Rights, though what is contained in such a Bill would obviously be the subject of negotiations.

This device does not satisfy the NP in their insatiable desire to deny real power to a democratic government. Each party that receives 10 per cent of the vote is entitled to an equal number of seats in the region's representation.

In other words, if the ANC get 60 percent of the vote, it would get equal representation with three organisations which get little more than 10 percent of the vote.

The result of this constitutional sophistry is that the party with majority support becomes a minority in the second house.

Even this does not satisfy the new-found converts of democracy in their objective to limit

group. The overwhelming majority of parliamentarians may consider the role of one of the members of this executive college unacceptable, and contrary to national interests. They cannot get rid of this person unless they also get rid of all the other members, who may have performed in an exemplary manner.

This is clearly a recipe for paralysis. The ANC and possibly a grouping including the Conservative Party will have to rule through consensus.

Rule by consensus is an attractive suggestion. Indeed, the ANC is trying to achieve a broad consensus over the type of South Africa that should replace the present social order.

more, the proposals entrench power in regions. These powers may not be taken away by the central government. An ANC preliminary discussion document noted that, if powers were devolved in a federal system, it would make it impossible for a future parliament to implement a policy of reconstruction. It would also make social and economic transformation impossible. It would affect the contents of a Bill of Rights. Social and economic rights, environmental rights etc. would be in jeopardy.

With regard to local government, the ANC acknowledged that the proposals to redraw municipal boundaries to ensure non-racial local government with one administration and one tax base

Our support for the principle of proportional representation is based on our desire to see both representative democracy and the inclusion of all interests.

This does not suffice for the Nationalist Party. Much is made of the need to include every interested party and ensure that no party is left out of government.

But where in the world are parties compelled to enter into coalitions with other parties, especially ones that may represent diametrically different interests?

Some people ask whether we are surprised by the NP proposals. Personally, I am surprised in that it is something of a regression. It has been argued that

of true estimation of Inkatha's strength as a political actor and ally.

There is an assumption, made by both today's Nationalist Party and the Democratic Party, that there is something inherently undesirable about power and that one needs to curb it.

We support a justiciable Bill of Rights, because we do not want to see the abuses of the South African past or that of other countries repeated.

But power is necessary to make the attainment of political freedom more than an empty shell, to address all the social questions that have to be resolved to make peace lasting. It is very shortsighted to assume that blacks will settle for a meaningless

# DP trio meet with Swiss liberals

By Alan Robinson  
Star Bureau

LONDON — A three-man South African delegation from the Democratic Party has played a prominent role in an international conference of liberals in Lucerne, Switzerland.

Colin Eglin, vice-president of Liberal International, was accompanied by Dr Zach de Beer and Peter Soal at the two-

day meeting, which dealt with a wide variety of international and developmental issues under the theme "Minorities and human rights".

More than 50 countries were represented at the conference, which was presided over by Otto Count Lamsdorff, leader of Germany's Federal Democratic Party.

Among the speakers were representatives from the newly independent Baltic states of Lat-

via, Lithuania and Estonia. A delegate from the breakaway Yugoslavian republic of Croatia was also present.

At the conference, Dr de Beer and Mr Soal were elected to join Mr Eglin as South Africa's representatives on the executive committee of Liberal International.

Mr Eglin and Mr Soal were due to leave Switzerland yesterday for a short visit to the Soviet Union.

304A

200

19/11/91

Star



## HNP wants general election for whites <sup>(304A)</sup>

PRETORIA. — The Herstigte Nasionale Party has announced its intention to delay negotiations to ensure a general election for whites in 1994.

At the party's national congress here, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais ruled out participation in negotiations. "We are completely opposed to negotiations because we're not prepared to even consider negotiations about the rights that we have in South Africa.

CT 9/9/91  
"We don't owe the African National Congress anything — there's nothing that we want from the ANC or the SA Communist Party."

Mr Marais said the time had arrived for right-wing groups to unite across the party-political gap into a single national front against the government. — Sapa

**NP: No collective leadership plan**

(504A)

Political Staff CT 9/9/91

**DURBAN.** — National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe says he is not aware of any plan to establish a collective leadership to take over the country early next year and break the deadlock over the ANC's interim government demand.

He was reacting to a report saying that the NP would offer to introduce a system of collective leadership, consisting of a presidency of three or more leaders of the major political parties, before a new constitution was in place.



# Mbeki rejects De Klerk plan

ACCRA, Ghana. — The African National Congress (ANC) wants a two-house parliament for post-apartheid South Africa but rejects President F W de Klerk's proposals for a powerful second chamber based on race or culture.

This was said here by ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki at a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) conference on Saturday.

"It's not the notion of a two-chamber parliament that is in dispute, it's how these two houses relate," Mr Mbeki said. "The problem is that in terms of the De Klerk proposals the second chamber, which would be weighted in racial terms, would have the effect of denying majority rule."

Mr Mbeki said the ANC's own constitutional committee recommended a two-chamber system free of racial or cultural criteria.

Mr Mbeki repeated the ANC's call for a universally elected constituent assembly.

● A member of the ANC's national executive committee, Mr Patrick Lekota, told a mass public rally in Transkei on Saturday that there would be an interim government in South Africa by decree whether President De Klerk "liked it not".

Mr Lekota charged that "the only obstacle to negotiations" was Mr De Klerk's government, which should be removed and replaced with an interim government. — Sapa-Reuter

# Pressure mounts on ANC from own allies

3044

9/9/91

THE ANC came under pressure this week to get under way with multiparty talks and a Patriotic Front congress.

In Government circles and among the ANC's Patriotic Front partners, suspicion is mounting that the ANC has embarked on delaying actions.

Pressure on the movement is set to grow, possibly to the point of a show-down on Tuesday, when PF allies will demand the ANC's firm commitment to a date for a founding congress for the front.

Repeated postponement of the congress, agreed to at a Harare meeting with the PAC and Azapo earlier this year, has been blamed on the ANC.

## Excuse

The latest excuse, related to a shortage of funds, has been resolved with substantial foreign funding but there is still no sign of ANC agreement to a date.

This has led to suspicions, reinforced by information received from senior ANC officials this week, that the ANC is trying to go it alone in dealing with the Government, ostensibly to get agreement on an interim government.

Since the "Inkathagate" scandal, the ANC had become overconfident and eager to "grab for power," one source said.

The perception that the ANC had dismissed the front was given further impetus by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela himself when he declared the front was "irrelevant to the speed of negotiations".

The Government has also seen the PF postponements as a deliberate tactic to delay a multiparty conference. NP negotiators expressed serious concern this week.

## Delay

Senior ANC officials countered that internal divisions in the PAC and Azapo on negotiating with the Government was causing the delay. These internal squabbles had to be settled, preferably in favour of negotiations, before the Patriotic Front conference could go ahead, the officials said.

PAC and Azapo sources emphatically denied there were such rifts within their organisations.

They said it was possible, even probable, that the ANC did not like their opposition to an interim government.

They were convinced the ANC was skirting their opposition to it by perpetual postponement of the PF congress while continuing to press for an ANC-dominated interim government.

The National Party leadership flatly rejected an interim government this week.

- Sapa.



# The 43-year rise and fall of apartheid

NOW that political parties are preparing for negotiations, we look back at key dates in the history of apartheid.

- 1948** - The National Party sweeps to victory over the United Party on an election pledge of separate development. Dr. HF Verwoerd, architect of "Grand Apartheid", is given a cabinet post in prime minister DF Malan's government.
- 1949** - Inter-racial marriage is banned.
- 1950** - The Government adopts key laws: the four main race groups must live in separate areas, all children must be registered by race at birth, sex between whites and other races is outlawed.
- 1952** - Pass books are introduced for blacks.
- 1953** - The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is passed. Blacks are deprived of the right to strike.
- 1956** - The Government forcibly removes blacks from white urban areas and creates townships.
- 1960** - Sixty-nine people are killed during an anti-pass book protest at Sharpeville. The government declares the ANC and the PAC illegal.
- 1961** - South Africa declares itself a republic and leaves the British Commonwealth. The ANC, now operating underground, launches a guerrilla campaign.
- 1964** - Mr Nelson Mandela and senior ANC associates, including Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki, are sentenced to life imprisonment.
- 1966** - Verwoerd, prime minister since 1958, is stabbed to death.
- 1976** - Countrywide rioting is triggered by violent police action in quelling a demonstration of Soweto pupils.
- 1977** - Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko is killed.
- 1978** - Mr PW Botha, who later moves cautiously to dismantle some apartheid laws, takes over from Mr John Vorster as prime minister.
- 1982** - Dr Andries Treurnicht leads a breakaway from the National Party and forms the pro-apartheid Conservative Party.
- 1983** - South Africa adopts a new constitution, which gives limited parliamentary powers to Indian and coloured voters. The United Democratic Front is founded.
- 1984** - Anti-apartheid rioting erupts again in townships nationwide. Archbishop (then bishop) Desmond Tutu is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The Government announces the repeal of the ban on sex and marriage between whites and other races.
- 1985** - Botha announces he is willing to consider Mandela's release.
- 1986** - Pass laws are scrapped.
- 1989** - Botha suffers a stroke and is replaced as president by FW de Klerk.
- 1990** - De Klerk pledges to scrap apartheid and announces the unbanning of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups. Mandela is freed from jail. The Separate Amenities Act is repealed.
- 1991** - Parliament votes to repeal the Land, Groups Areas and Population Registration Acts. The Government is shaken by a scandal over slush fund payments to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The NP formally proposes a blueprint for democracy that would give blacks the vote but deny outright power to any one group. The ANC rejects it. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Soweto

9/9/91

304A

# Mandela <sup>(3048)</sup> scuttles <sup>(211)</sup> conference <sup>ARG 10/1/77</sup> optimism

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has poured cold water on the government's optimism that a multi-party conference may be held as early as October.

At a media briefing, Mr Mandela said he wished he could share Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen's optimism about the speedy start to constitutional negotiations.

"Whether there will be talks this year regarding the all-party conference will depend on a number of things. It is extremely difficult for us to say with certainty that talks will start this year. They may or may not."

Mr Mandela said talks on a new dispensation remained suspended "for the time being", since the government had complied "significantly" with only one of seven demands made by the ANC in April.

That was the removal of former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan from their portfolios.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the organisation's continuing internal restructuring process and the appointment of executive members to head several departments.

He said that Mrs Winnie Mandela had been appointed head of the welfare department and Mrs Frene Ginwala head of research. Mrs Mandela would report to the National Executive Committee and Miss Ginwala to the treasurer-general's office.

The only member of the NEC not to have been allocated a department was Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani. His position would be decided next month when the NEC met to discuss the South African Communist Party's request that he be allowed to work for the party.



THESE is a pressing need to bring some clarity into the hubbub that has arisen concerning communist influence on the leadership of the ANC, and the South African Communist Party's plans for the immediate and near future.

The current confusion feeds on ignorance about what communists believe and the most basic of the conceptual tools they use in their analysis of politico-economic processes.

In particular, there seems to be a great deal of ignorance about what leading figures in the South African Communist Party mean when they use phrases such as *social democracy*, *democratic socialism* and *revolutionary transformation*. The last of these terms is the key to the meaning of the other two, is probably the least well understood and, therefore, the term most used and abused by anti-communist scare-mongers.

When the word *revolution* reaches the ears of the average white South African, it generally conjures up visions of anarchy, mayhem and buckets of blood.

He or she perhaps recalls the storming of the Bastille by the *sons culottes* of the French Revolution, or the civil war which followed the Bolshevik Revolution, on this 1917. Revolution, on this construal of its meaning, is synonymous with violence. This is not what South African communists—or informed communists anywhere for that matter—mean by a revolution.

For them, although revolutionary transformations are often accompanied or even assisted by violence (and it is worth noting how much of the horrible violence that has accompanied change in this country

# Understanding the basic tenets of a democratic Socialism for SA

ET 10/9/91

3044

By TONY HOLIDAY



has been directed against the forces of transformation), violence is not the essential content of a genuine revolution.

## Productivity

In essence, a revolution is a radical structural transformation of the legal, political and economic dimensions of social life, always involving the transfer of economic and political power from one class or alliance of social classes to another.

Marxists account for such changes in terms of productivity. They hold that the productive forces which enable a society to produce and reproduce the goods which keep it alive have a tendency to develop. When this development reaches such a pitch that the legally sanctioned relations of

ownership and non-ownership of the means of production in the society can no longer contain it, they are replaced by new systems of ownership and a revolution occurs at all levels of the society in question.

Accordingly, South African communists regard the present phase of transition in their country from apartheid to a non-racial democracy as a period of revolutionary transition which they characterise as being a national democratic revolution and not a socialist one.

They will regard the democratic revolution as complete when and only when political and a measure of economic power has been transferred from the hands of a ruling white elite to the black majority. They believe, as do many non-communists

inside the ANC and outside of it, that such a transition would constitute, by its very nature, not merely a reform of a prevailing system but a total transformation.

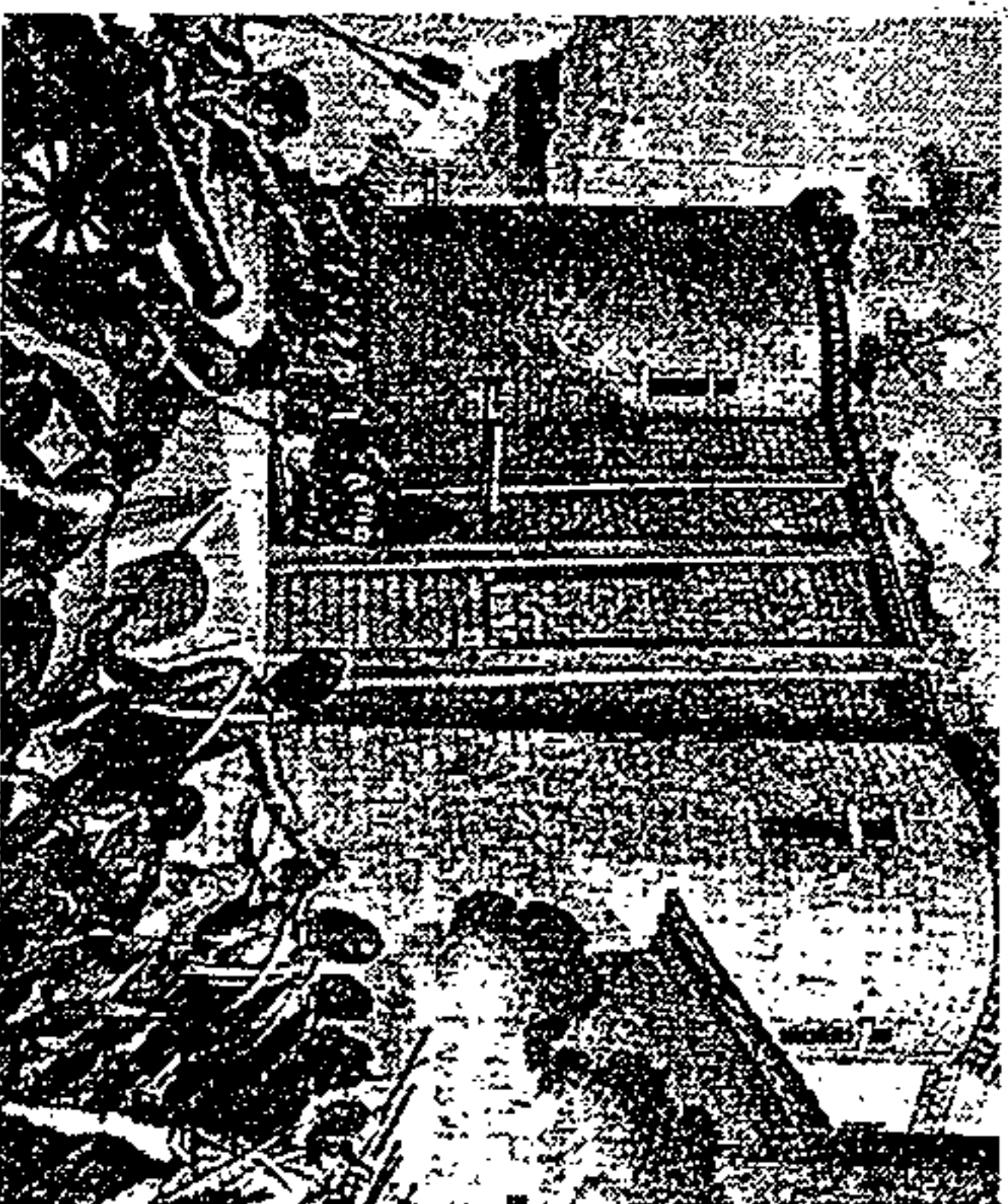
Most important, they believe that the remaining phases of the change can be accomplished peacefully. The evidence for this is that the SACP leadership is a signatory to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes and is, additionally, bound by the ANC's unequivocal commitment to the negotiations process.

What then of the future? And what of the distinction between democratic socialism and social democracy?

## Participation

The answer to these questions is really very simple: the SACP regards the former as a revolutionary conception and the latter as a reformist notion. Because it is committed to the theory of revolutionary change I have just outlined, its longer term sights are set on working to transform South Africa into a democratic socialist society.

Social democracy, as exemplified by the social welfare state which



VIOLENT REVOLUTION... Common view fuelled by 'The Fall of The Bastille' (by C Monnet, detail).

successive British Labour Party governments have tried to keep on the rails, is predicated, not on a theory of productive growth, but on a belief in the egalitarian redistribution of goods produced.

Communists are as committed to enhancing productivity as their capitalist opponents claim to be, but they believe this is more likely to be achieved by radical structural changes than by piecemeal social engineering.

Further, the SACP holds that deeper, more participatory forms of democracy are possible under democratic socialism than may be aspired to under either reformed or unreformed versions of capitalism.

Although the party has yet to spell out in detail the precise nature of these forms, they would involve, besides the franchise, active consultation with such elements of society as the trade union movement, cultural, educational and women's groups in the overall decision-making mechanism.

Four crucial qualifications need to be added to this explanation: First, as the SACP

leadership has repeatedly stated, no democratic socialist revolution is possible until a full-blooded national democracy is in place.

This is the theoretical reason why the SACP has no immediate aims separate from the objectives of the ANC and why it feels fully justified in continuing to work in an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu. The arrangements, after all, not very different from that which obtained in the British Labour Party, which happily admitted communists into its alliance with the trade unions until disputes broke out about election pacts.

## Market forces

Second, there is no reason to think that a transition to democratic socialism could not come about peacefully, with the communists simply being voted into power as happened in Allende's Chile.

Third, the SACP position is that multi-party democracy and the protection of individual rights would be essential features of the kind of socialism it wants to see.

3

Finally, the concept of democratic socialism does not exclude the possibility of according a role to market forces and it need not include centralised control of the commanding heights of the economy by a monolithic bureaucracy.

Lenin's New Economic Policy was, after all, precisely an attempt to mix socialist control with a measure of free marketting and Gorbachev, a convinced communist, is presently wrestling with the problems of Soviet centralism.

All this is, or ought to be, part of the rudimentary theory which the average South African communist uses in trying to understand his or her country and the directions in which it may move. Unless politicians outside the party's ranks make an effort to grasp the theory as well, dangerous misunderstandings about the SACP and its motives will continue to poison the political atmosphere.

[Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape and a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.]



# 'Broederbond Nats politicised farming'

Star 10/9/91

304A

The president of the Free State Agricultural Union last night accused Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk of belonging to the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) — and alleged that the AB had for years manipulated and politicised agricultural organisations in the country.

Dr Piet Gouws said during an SABC TV debate, which centred on the role played by politics in South Africa's agricultural unions, that the National Party had for years appointed its secretly selected Broederbond members to key agricultural positions.

The aim was to manipulate and control agriculture and the farming community.

Pointing to two of his panel members, Dr van Niekerk and Louis Kriel of the fruit marketing organisation Unifruco, Dr Gouws said:

"The National Party has been controlling agricultural organisations for years through the Broederbond.

Just ask these two gentlemen here, both are Breeders and they know all about it."

He said that ever since the National Party had started to lose control of the agricultural unions — after farmers started to shun members of the Broederbond — the NP had suddenly started a lament against the politicising of agriculture.

Dr van Niekerk in turn then issued an appeal that the farming community elect non-political leaders to agricultural union posts.

Both Dr Gouws and Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, are Conservative Party Members of Parliament.

"Foreign countries are looking with critical eyes at us, and South African agriculture is

being tainted with right-wing politics," Dr van Niekerk warned.

Dr Gouws replied that Dr van Niekerk should leave such decisions to the farmers themselves.

"This is not like the good old days, when the Nats simply told the farmers what to say," he said.

Accusations were also levelled that the financial policies of the National Party were causing a wave of bankruptcies and dire impoverishment of the farming community.

Dr van Niekerk was not seen fighting in the Cabinet on behalf of the farmers, but was simply remaining silent.

Dr van Niekerk denied this, saying few farmers would still be producing anything if it had not been for the Government's system of farm subsidies. — Sapa.

P.O. BOX 4005  
KWANOBUHLE TOWNSHIP  
6242  
UITENHAGE

TEL:  
REV. D.N. MQUOQ  
PRIEST IN CHARGE

ESTABLISHED 1892



The National Party is prepared for combat, writes Alan Dunn of our Political Sta

# NP battens down the hatch

Star 10/9/91

304A

**T**HERE is a new assertiveness in the ruling National Party as it battens down for negotiations on a new South Africa.

A year ago it was still dazed at its leader's reforms with rank-and-file members unquestioningly, almost dumbly, nodding "yes" at congresses to another of President de Klerk's stunning changes. Sharing their beloved NP monolith with people they had contrived to dominate for decades.

Last year, Mr de Klerk was persuading Nationalists that forsaking their exclusivity was a logical, necessary step in what they were trying to achieve in a new South Africa.

If a racist South Africa was not morally defensible, nor was a whites-only party, was the line.

Last week he seemed to signal the federal congress in Bloemfontein that the NP had, a year later, achieved that moral soundness: "We are carrying the banner of justice and nothing will stop us from playing a decisive role, along with others, in the new South Africa."

He reiterated this at the Natal congress in Durban on Friday, generating a new confidence that the NP had retreated enough and

done sufficient correcting of its wrongs to enjoy a clear conscience and take on the African National Congress and other political opponents as equals with customary Nat verve.

According to top Nationalists, the unveiling of their constitutional framework on Wednesday marked the end of two-year period of introspection, doubt and apology.

Now, they feel, the game is on — the ANC and allies should be treated no different from other opponents in the negotiating process who do have the privilege of parliament. The NP will in future draw no distinction between the "haves" and "have-nots".

Nationalists clearly feel that they have sufficiently normalised politics or "levelled the playing field", as they are fond of saying, to justify full-contact political combat.

Mr de Klerk predicted toil, sweat and wrestling ahead at the negotiating table. He claimed that the NP had "dramatically increased" its support base and would form a majority with its allies.

"It has the potential to become the greatest political tide in our country. That is our aim," he said,

disclosing a massive NP canvassing campaign ahead.

His words jarred against the battery of checks and balances in the NP constitutional plan designed to enable minority parties to overrule the majority.

"Would a party so confident of winning most popular support devise a constitution restricting its ability to govern?" observers asked.

"But the ANC should also want this," Nationalist leaders argue. "They need these checks and balances too because when they realise that about half black South Africans are aged 15 or younger, they will also realise that we need only about 20 per cent of the black vote to beat them."

This, the NP thinks, is within grasp. Black votes, combined with its majority backing among coloureds and Indians as shown by surveys, lend credence to Mr de Klerk's statement.

Nonetheless, the elaborate NP system of embedded mechanisms to prevent the majority from "trampling" the minority, suggests considerably less confidence than his remarks.

After all, Mr de Klerk, statesman and reformer though he is, is first a politician. He would not have produced a complex outline

of ways to hobble the victorious party if he was sure of being it.

That is why some government critics, who had been mesmerised by the De Klerk reforms, were surprised and disappointed at the NP document: They had forgotten that he was a politician.

"The National Party has never asked for a mandate to hand over complete power to the ANC or anybody else," he said at the federal congress, reiterating a regular assurance to supporters that he had no intention of surrendering power. "The National Party is not even considering that."

His constitutional framework, containing a ready veto of the majority party's will, which has been broadly criticised, affirmed that.

The problem was that people to his left did not take him at his word. Swept along in the whirl of good things his government had done, they failed to listen... and even began believing his motives to be philanthropic. They assumed the inevitable conclusion of his changes was an orderly power handover.

That was never in the NP's thinking, as its controversial constitutional proposal proves. Ministers, and Mr de Klerk himself,

have often said it plainly: They embarked on the reforms because the old way was not working.

Brotherly love had little to do with it. They were prepared for genuine power-sharing, they said, but no more — certainly not capitulation.

But the popular impression of Mr de Klerk, rather than attention to his actual words, fed the lie — much like the misconception among white voters in 1989 that he did not really mean what he promised in the election campaign when he spoke of a just, new South Africa in a unitary state.

"Every South African has the right to participate in political decision-making on all levels of government which affects his interests, subject to the principle of no domination," the 1989 NP Action Plan stated in the vague terms typical of political pledges.

Fortunately for Mr de Klerk and the NP, voters understood that to mean more Natspeak — cunning code talk for tinkering with but not overhauling the apartheid system. Mr de Klerk has so far largely fulfilled, and arguably exceeded that mandate, initiating reforms which have had the right wing in a frenzy. His tendency to give effect to

his words was worrying to De Klerk watchers, therefore, when he said in Bloemfontein there was "no fat" built into the NP's constitutional framework. This was not a negotiating document from which the fat could be trimmed in the course of negotiations.

"It should not be expected that we will easily move away from it because each principle is what we

seriously believe offers the only hope to South Africa and its entire population," he said.

Coupled with a vow that the NP would not hesitate to prevent the adoption of a constitution militating against its values, this became ominous. His tough attitude appeared to defeat the whole flexibility inherent in negotiations.

Mr de Klerk noted that this was not a threat. He explained under questioning that he was speaking merely of the need for a broad consensus, and that no constitution could be fashioned without the NP.

Party officials said he was by no means excluding bargaining at the negotiating table. The fatless, non-negotiable parts he spoke of referred to broad principles rather than detail or specific proposals, for achieving those principles. □



# NP battens down for talks phase

Sowetan 10/9/91.

304A

**THERE is a new assertiveness in the ruling National Party as it battens down for negotiations on a new South Africa.**

A year ago it was still dazed at its leader's reforms with rank-and-file members unquestioningly, almost dumbly, nodding "yes" at congresses to another of President FW de Klerk's stunning changes - sharing their beloved NP monolith with people they had contrived to dominate for decades.

Last year De Klerk was persuading Nationalists that foresaking their exclusivity was a logical, necessary step in what they were trying to achieve in a new South Africa.

If a racist South Africa was not morally defensible, nor was a whites-only party, was the line.

Last week he seemed to signal the federal congress in Bloemfontein that the NP had, a year later, achieved that moral soundness:

"We are carrying the banner of justice and nothing will stop us from playing a decisive role, along with others, in the new South Africa."

He reiterated this at the Natal congress in Durban last Friday, generating a new confidence that the NP had retreated enough and done sufficient correcting of its wrongs to enjoy a clear conscience.

According to top Nationalists, the unveiling of their constitutional framework on Wednesday marked the end of a two-year period of introspection, doubt and apology.

Nationalists clearly feel that they have sufficiently normalised politics or "levelled the playing field", as they are fond of saying, to justify full-contact political combat.

**ALAN DUNN of Sowetan's political staff analyses some of the fears and doubts of the "new" National Party.**

De Klerk predicted toil, sweat and wrestling ahead at the negotiating table, claiming that the NP had "dramatically increased" its support base and would form a majority with its allies.

"It has the potential to become the greatest political tide in our country. That is our aim," he said, disclosing a massive NP canvassing campaign ahead.

His words jarred against the battery of checks and balances in the NP constitutional plan designed to enable minority parties to overrule the majority.

Would a party so confident of winning most popular support devise a constitution restricting its ability to govern, observers asked.

"But the ANC should also want this," Nationalist leaders argue.

"They need these checks and balances too because, when they realise that about half black South Africans are aged 15 or younger, they will also realise that we need only about 20 percent of the black vote to beat them."

This, the NP thinks, is within grasp. Black votes, combined with majority backing among coloureds and Indians that surveys say it has, lend credence to De Klerk's statement.

Nonetheless, the elaborate NP system of embedded mechanisms to prevent the majority from "trampling" the minority, suggests considerably less confidence than his

remarks.

After all, De Klerk - statesman and reformer though he is - is first a politician.

That is why some Government critics, who had been mesmerised by the De Klerk reforms, were surprised and disappointed at the NP document. They had forgotten he is a politician.

"The National Party has never asked for a mandate to hand over complete power to the ANC or anybody else," he said at the federal congress, reiterating a regular assurance to supporters that he had no intention of surrendering power.

His constitutional framework, containing a ready veto of the majority party's will, which has been broadly criticised, affirmed that.

The problem was that people to his left did not take him at his word.

Swept along in the whirl of good things his Government had done, they failed to listen and even began believing his motives to be philanthropic.

They assumed that the inevitable conclusion of his changes was an orderly power handover.

That was never in the NP's thinking, as its controversial constitutional proposal proves.

But the popular impression of De Klerk, rather than attention to his actual words, fed the lie about him - much like the misconception among white voters in 1989 that he did not really mean what he prom-

ised in the election campaign when he spoke of a just, new South Africa in a unitary state.

"Every South African has the right to participate in political decision-making on all levels of government which affects his interests, subject to the principle of no domination," the 1989 NP Action Plan stated in the vague terms typical of political pledges.

Fortunately for De Klerk and the NP, voters understood that to mean more Natspeak - cunning code talk for tinkering with but not overhauling the apartheid system.

De Klerk has so far largely fulfilled - and arguably exceeded - that mandate, initiating reforms which have had the rightwing in a frenzy.

His tendency to give effect to his words was worrying to De Klerk watchers, therefore, when he said in Bloemfontein there was "no fat" built into the NP's constitutional framework.

"It should not be expected that we will easily move away from it because each principle is what we seriously believe offers the only hope to South Africa and its entire population," he said.

Coupled with a vow that the NP would not hesitate to prevent the adoption of a constitution militating against its values, this became ominous. His tough attitude appeared to defeat the whole flexibility inherent in negotiations.

Party officials said he was by no means excluding bargaining at the negotiating table. The fatless, non-negotiable parts he spoke of referred to broad principles rather than detail or specific proposals for achieving those principles.



# Mandela 'cool' on early talks

304A

ct 10/9/91

10

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday cooled speculation that multi-party negotiations would start as early as next month.

Speaking at a press conference, he said Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen was being very optimistic when he said the talks were imminent.

"I wish I can be also. He (Dr Viljoen) is basing his optimism on informal talks the government had with the ANC prior to our suspending constitutional talks in April."

Mr Mandela said the multi-party constitutional talks were dependent on a number of things and the government had as yet not met all the ANC's demands set out in its ultimatum. Stopping violence was the main issue at that stage.

# UN chief praises progress in SA

UN Correspondent

NEW YORK — Signifying the profound changes under way in South Africa and the UN's response to them, the Secretary-General's annual report to the General Assembly, issued yesterday, devotes only about six lines to apartheid in remarks that are almost wholly positive.

The UN chief, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, refers to the world body's decades-long campaign against former South African governments' policies in the context of the entire issue of human rights.

In past years, other such annual reports have often dwelled at length on the apartheid question and, when Dr Kurt Waldheim was secretary-general, in acerbic language.

For his part, Dr Perez de Cuellar acknowledges that there has been "a certain dichotomy" about the UN approach to human rights — a veiled allusion to its preoccupation with South Africa and glossing-over of rights violations elsewhere.

On the one hand the UN has adopted formal measures while on the other "there has been dismay at the barbaric realities of the world in which we live, arising from the indiscriminate use of power to brutalise populations into submission", the Secretary-General observes.

He says public opinion now demands that the gulf between aspiration and fact be narrowed if the former "is not to become totally ineffectual".

He holds up the effort to end apartheid as "lasting testimony of the profound and active concern of the UN with eradicating racial segregation".

The wide-ranging, 22-page report — his last detailed assessment of the state of the world before his term ends on December 31 — goes on to speak of the "notable progress" being made in South Africa.

"It will," he says, "signify attainment of one of the organisation's major goals when the notable progress made so far is consolidated and a post-apartheid regime based on democratic principles and racial harmony is firmly put in place."



CT 11/9/91 (304A)

## No NP link, says law body

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The South African Law Commission yesterday expressed concern that large numbers of members of the public were under the incorrect impression the National Party's recent constitutional proposals emanated from the commission.

Law Commission chairman Mr Justice H J O van Heerden said in a statement in Pretoria: "It has come to the attention of the South African Law Commission that many members of the public are under the wrong impression that the present constitutional proposals of the National Party emanate from the Law Commission.

"It must be noted that the Law Com-

mission's report on constitutional options and alternatives, although practically completed, has not been made available or disclosed to any outsider — including the government and the National Party."

Mr Justice Van Heerden further said it must be emphasised the Law Commission was requested by President F W de Klerk in March last year only to identify and evaluate constitutional options and alternatives, not to make or work out specific constitutional proposals or to assist any political party. "The Law Commission hopes its report will be available by December this year." — Sapa

# Borchers to replace Babb

By Dirk Nel  
Northern Transvaal  
Bureau Star 11/9/91

Prominent businessman and Tzaneen town councillor Victor Borchers (53) has been unanimously elected by Nationalist MPs to replace Glenn Babb as the party's specially appointed Transvaal member in the House of Assembly.

"It is good to know that the far north will have a verligte voice in Parliament again," a delighted Mr Borchers told The Star.

Mr Borchers became a methodist minister in 1964 after graduating



Verligte voice . . . Victor Borchers.

from Rhodes University. He was chaplain to the military academy at Saldanha Bay from 1969 to 1971.

He married Florence Stelling in 1963. They have three daughters.

He entered the business world in 1974, and was soon managing director of a leading motor vehicle agency.

He became a Tzaneen town councillor in 1985 and was elected mayor in 1986.

He has been chairman of the Gazankulu Development Corporation for five years.

In the 1989 elections he was defeated in the Soutpansberg constituency by 530 votes by the Conservative Party's Tom Langley. Mr Borchers was elected chairman of the constituency's NP divisional council last year.



# ANC 'still committed to all-party talks'

3044  
CT 11/10/91

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The ANC is still committed to negotiations beginning "as soon as possible", spokesmen emphasised yesterday.

They were responding to confusion over remarks by Mr Nelson Mandela in which the ANC president said he did not think the all-party conference could get off the ground next month.

Mr Mandela also suggested at a Monday press conference that the talks may not even take place before the end of the year.

"Whether there will be talks this year regarding the all-party conference will depend on a number of things," he said in response to Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen's prediction that talks were imminent.

ANC department of information and publicity member Mr Carl Niehaus

said yesterday Mr Mandela merely felt it would be difficult to get the talks off the ground so soon.

He stressed that the ANC was still committed to starting talks as soon as possible.

However, Mr Mandela told the press conference that the government had not met all the conditions set in the ANC's April ultimatum, when it suspended constitutional talks.

Government negotiators were yesterday baffled by the remarks. It has been widely reported that during recent informal talks between the organisations, some consensus had been reached on organisational aspects of the talks.

Dr Viljoen said yesterday he could only refer to earlier comments by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said a multi-party conference could get underway by mid-September.

IT IS not hard to see why many of the National Party's critics are inclined to view the party's constitutional proposals as a bid to retain key features of the old order rather than usher in the much-heralded "new South Africa".

Suspicious about the plan, which is not without merit, are fuelled as much by the NP's track record — or lack of it — in promoting the ideals of a non-racial democracy as the contents of the 20-page document.

When a party with an apartheid history presents a plan with about as many checks and balances one would encounter in a small bank, it is inevitable that critics will have their antennae activated.

One of the features of the plan that whites and other minorities fearful of change will find attractive is the myriad ways the NP has conjured up to protect the interests of minorities — whether these are defined as smaller political parties, self-selecting "cultural" groups or the economically privileged.

A National Party canvasser wishing to market the plan to whites who lean to the Conservative Party whites could get away with arguing that it is geared towards leaving relatively undisturbed a number of existing patterns of power and privilege in our society.

### Inflated powers

Granted, the plan represents a shift from the 4:2:1:0 ratio of power representation for whites, coloureds, Indians and Africans characterising the tri-cameral parliamentary system.

But although whites will now have to surrender their exclusive grip on the key levers of power, the Nat plan proposes that minorities, however defined, would enjoy significantly inflated and constitutionally guaranteed powers from the top to the very bottom of the political — and social — system.

For example, if party X garners 75% of the popular vote in a general election, it will still have to share the presidency with up to four other parties.

# Minority clout sticks in craw of critics of Nats' new plan



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

304A  
CT 11/9/91

And if the same party won landslide victories in all nine of the proposed regions, it would be entitled only to one of five portfolios on each of the second-tier executives.

In addition, all parties which reach an unspecified threshold — perhaps five percent? — in a regional poll would be entitled to an equal number of seats in the Senate or Upper House of Parliament which is able to block legislation. So if party X gets 75% of the vote in a particular region and party Y gets only 5%, they'll both wield the same amount of clout in the Senate.

### Regional level

On the local level, individuals who have been disadvantaged as a result of past government policies will have less of a chance of qualifying for a vote of equal value.

What is more, the "double vote" advantage enjoyed by property owners and ratepayers will be fed through to regional level since third-tier authorities will have a powerful say in

nominating part of the second-tier legislative authority.

At "sub-local" level, neighbourhoods will be able to set up councils with autonomous powers to determine "norms and standards" in their areas, regulate their own security and decide over issues such as education and welfare. Setting up such potential islands of privilege will clearly be costly, so the neighbourhood councils will be able to impose an additional levy on members of the exclusive club.

The NP is also insisting on havens of non-interference by government in a wide variety of minority or special interest "group" activities, including constitutional guarantees of community self-determination in areas such as education and culture, sport and non-political community life.

When one considers that control of taxpayers' money will be massively decentralised, the Nat vision of the new SA might not be that far removed from the familiar one of old.



# Doubts over negotiations

~~AAA~~  
304A

Sowetan 11/9/91

AFRICAN National Congress doubts that a multi-party conference can start in the near future have caused confusion among government negotiators.

Government members will probably seek clarification on the remarks on Monday of the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who said he did not share the optimism of constitutional development minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen about a speedy start to constitutional negotiations.

Mandela said it was unlikely that multiparty talks would be convened this year because the ANC's

## Political Staff

suspension of constitutional talks with the Government was still in place.

"Whether there will be talks this year regarding the all-party conference will depend on a number of things. It is extremely difficult for us to say with certainty that talks will start this year. It may or it may not."

When Viljoen spoke of informal talks between the Government and the ANC, he was probably referring to talks which took place before the suspension of constitu-

tional discussions in April.

He said the Government had complied with only one of the ANC's seven demands so far: the removal of the former Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defence from their portfolios.

Mandela said the patriotic front conference would take place after the signing of the peace accord and before the multi-party conference. The reason for its postponement was "purely logistical" - not because of differences of opinion.

A meeting between the conveners of the patriotic front conference - ANC, PAC and Azapo - was due

to take place yesterday to finalise arrangements.

Viljoen said in reaction today that he could only refer to earlier comments by the ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said a multiparty conference could start by mid-September.

Mandela said the historic peace accord, to be signed on Saturday, had a better chance of succeeding than previous bilateral peace agreements between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He said the ANC would definitely sign the accord.



## SA leaders for Frankfurt talks

LONDON. — Top South African political leaders will attend a conference under the banner "The new South Africa: Open for business" in Frankfurt on October 8.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister for Constitutional Development, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the Secretary for International Affairs for the African National Congress, and Mr Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will be among those attending. (304) AUG 12 1991

"The new constitution and its likely impact on the political and economic prospects for South Africa will be discussed in detail at the conference," says a statement issued by the organisers, Business International and The Economist Group. — Sapa.



A slavery champion's doctrine underpins NP constitutional proposals, writes Patrick

Laurence

# Ensuring a veto for minorities

See 12/9/91

304A

S

**A**t the core of the National Party's constitutional proposals is the doctrine of "concurrent majorities", a notion associated with John C Calhoun, a 19th century champion of slavery in the United States.

Calhoun, who was born in South Carolina and was a vice-president and powerful senator in the United States before the Civil War, propagated the doctrine to protect the interests of the slave-owning Southern States.

Like President de Klerk and his lieutenants, Calhoun was opposed to the rule by the majority in an unrefined numerical sense; he reckoned that "interests as well as numbers" should be considered in a proper definition of a majority.

A majority, in Calhoun's sense, had to be "concurrent" or supported by a majority within each element or component of the greater whole.

His concept gave each interest group a veto on policy. It guaranteed that the interests of no major group would be so damaged or so excluded to make political association intolerable.

In the old, overtly colour-conscious era of P W Botha, the application of the notion of concurrent majorities to South Africa was simple to illustrate. There were

the vote in the densely populated PWV region.

That equation, multiplied by several minority parties across all nine regions, will give smaller parties a distinctly powerful voice in the second house and enable them to thwart the will of the majority.

four major interest groups: white, black, coloured and Indian. No proposal could become a law unless it was backed by a concurrent majority or, more simply, by separate majorities in the four groups.

The advantage for the whites, and, to a lesser extent, the coloured and the Indian people, was that it gave them an absolute veto over policy. Nothing could change without their say-so.

The influence of Calhoun's contentious idea of concurrent majorities is clearly discernible in the National Party Plan of Action, published shortly before the September 6 1989 general election.

"For the accommodation of group diversity... legislative and executive processes must function in such a way that the various groups can participate on an equitable basis, with consensus as the guiding principle," the Action Plan said.

"The National Party therefore believes that every group should participate as a component in the process, and that, in principle, all groups should agree before an important decision can be taken."

The plan was drawn up before the National Party, realising that the phrase "group rights" was interpreted as newspeak for apart-

To that observation another should be added: the ANC's contention that the De Klerk administration is working hard to encourage the survival or revival of ethnically based regional parties in the now anachronistic "black homelands".

held, modified its terminology.

By the time National Party lieutenants went to the drafting table for its latest proposals, they were talking about "minority rights" rather than "group rights". The doctrine of concurrent majorities underwent modification simultaneously.

The first refined version is manifest in a draft plan for a "Possible Constitution Model", which surfaced last year. The plan, widely attributed to the secret Broederbond, represents an intermediate stage between the National Party's 1989 Plan of Action and its 1991 proposals for "Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy".

The "Broederbond plan" provided for a bicameral legislature made up of a House of Representatives and a Senate. The concurrent majority notion is detectable in the Senate.

The Senate would consist of 10 members elected in proportion to their strength from each of 10 proposed regions (instead of nine as in the National Party's latest plan) and 10 for each "registered group".

Another clause in the "Broederbond proposals" made provision for any community that shared a common language, culture or religion to register as a "group",

The doctrine of concurrent majorities is the bedrock on which the proposed second house rests. The pivotal importance of the second house is specifically recognised by the National Party in its draft plan.

provided that it had 500 000 members eligible for the vote and the support of 60 percent of its registered members.

Proposed legislation, the draft Broederbond constitution stipulated, had to be approved by a two-thirds majority in the Senate before it became law. Given the envisaged composition of the Senate that meant, in effect, that the majority would have to be concurrent.

The National Party's latest draft proposals contain similar, though refined, propositions for a second house with powerful powers of veto. A key difference is that there is no reference to group rights. It is a taboo term. Instead there is emphasis on the constitutionally acceptable notion of minority rights.

The proposed second house will be made up of representatives from nine proposed regions. Representation will be subject to two provisos: first, each of the nine regions will be allotted an equal number of seats, irrespective of its size; second, each political party that gains a minimum proportion of the vote will receive an equal share of the seats for that region.

The final draft version, presented at the National Party's federal congress last week, does not stipulate what percentage of the regional vote parties will need to obtain to qualify for an equal share of the seats.

An earlier version of the same plan spoke of a minimum of 10 percent, indicating that the National Party has a low threshold in mind and signalling that it will fight for it at the bargaining table. All legislation emanating from the first house — where political parties will be represented in proportion to their share of the national vote in a non-racial poll — will have to be approved by the second house.

If the proposed legislation affects the "interests of minorities" or the "interests of regions", it will have to be passed by a "weighted majority" (the earlier version, published to the obvious chagrin of Mr de Klerk in Rapport, mooted a two-thirds majority).

The plan clearly provides for over-representation of minority parties in the second house and to the dilution of "numbers" in favour of "interests".

Thus, to cite a hypothetical example, the Conservative Party with 10 percent of the vote in the thinly populated Northern Cape will earn as many seats in the second house as the African National Congress with 60 percent of

"A system in which the arithmetic majority is given all political power... is unacceptable and unworkable," he said. "There must be a balance between one person, one vote and the effective protection of minorities." □



TH

Hugh Robertson reports on the US sanctions debate

Star 12/9/91  
**Lame excuse could hurt SA**

PRIEST II  
REV. D.N

TEL:

**W**HATEVER the reasons might have been for President de Klerk's rejection last week of ANC president Nelson Mandela's appeal for action to ensure the release of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, it is hard to believe that they could have outweighed the consequences that his intransigence may hold for South Africa's relations with the US.

Mr de Klerk has spurned reasoning, diplomacy, humanitarian appeals and warnings of retribution on this issue, and the only explanation the world has been offered for his stance is the limp claim that his Government has no jurisdiction in Bophuthatswana.

In Washington that sounds about as convincing as a bank manager claiming he has no influence over his clients. Every mentally competent South African knows, as do most informed Americans, that whether or not Pretoria has jurisdiction over Bophuthatswana, it undoubtedly has

the influence necessary to accomplish what Mr Mandela, President Bush, the US Senate and many well-disposed people around the world have asked it to.

It is possible that Mr de Klerk has assumed, rightly in a very limited context, that there is no chance of sanctions being reimposed and that the US Senate's intrusion on the internal affairs of another country can thus be dismissed with impunity.

If this is so, he is naively misguided. The debate on South Africa has reached a turning point in the US, eloquently summed up by Congressman Stephen Solarz when he said sanctions were "yesterday's issue" and added: "The real question now is where do we go from here?"

The alternative he put forward, and which is now under active consideration in both houses here is a massive aid package for South Africa, large enough to finance an "historic turning point" in the country's development. It

requires no imagination to realise that there will be no such package if the US Senate's concerns about political prisoners are not addressed.

Furthermore, the Senate is soon to review legislation to greatly increase the US contribution to the IMF. Sanctions prohibiting IMF loans to South Africa are still in place and the coming debate would thus provide an easy opportunity for the painless introduction of tighter restrictions to pre-empt any move by President Bush to unilaterally lift the IMF restriction — something he could do under the existing Gramm Amendment.

Right now the US is tenuously disposed to Mr Solarz's vision, but ahead lies the monumental task of helping to build democracy and free enterprise on the ruins of the Soviet empire, and just as Mr Mandela has to learn that foreign investment and foreign aid are scarce and likely to become scarcer, so does Mr de Klerk. — Star Bureau, Washington. □

304A



## CP congress to consider trying Nats for treason

A PROPOSAL calling for all NP public representatives to be tried for treason should the CP come to power will be put to the party's Transvaal congress which starts tomorrow.

Another requests the CP's legal commission to investigate the possibility of impeaching government leaders on the grounds that they have betrayed their mandate.

The packed agenda for the two-day congress in Pretoria reflects the recent hardening of attitudes in the party.

It also, however, indicates that thorny internal issues — such as whether the party should get involved in negotiations — are taking on more prominence.

The negotiations issue was first aired when the so-

called "Koos document" was made public. In it, Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe warned that the party was in danger of losing relevance if it did not take the opportunity of putting its views across at the negotiating table.

Several proposals to be discussed under constitutional affairs on Saturday deal with the advisability of taking part in negotiations.

Others reflect growing anger over the government's apparent refusal to call a white general election before a new constitution is in place, and fears that it is buckling to the ANC-SACP alliance.

The opening address at the Pretoria City Hall will be delivered by party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht tomorrow night.

# UN chief upbeat in report on SA

WASHINGTON — Negotiations on a new constitution could be derailed unless SA embarked immediately on "a comprehensive national programme" to redress "socio-economic inequalities", UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar said in a report released yesterday.

He appeared to be issuing a subtle warning to those demanding the maintenance of sanctions that unless SA was able to get its economy in order, prospects for negotiated settlement could founder.

The generally upbeat and even-handed document is Perez's second annual report on progress towards implementation of the UN General Assembly's 1989 Declaration on Apartheid.

Perez said that despite violence, controversies over the release of political prisoners and government funding of Inkatha, developments, especially the National Peace Accord to be signed on Saturday, "hold the promise that the momentum started more than a year ago could regain strength".

Unrest and violence were not unexpected, he suggested, noting that the process of change was "complex" and would "inevitably give rise to reaction and political antagonism".

He avoided assigning blame for this, stating only that "the impartiality of the security forces has been called into question and the potential for destabilisation by extremist

SIMON BARBER

groups remains a cause of concern".

Delays in dealing with the prisoner and exile issues, the "perceived ineffectual response" to violence and the Inkathagate scandal had all led to "a crisis of confidence".

However, this was offset by "a broad consensus that human rights must be protected" and "a growing convergence of views... on a number of basic principles of a new constitution".

Perez declined to take sides on the question of an interim government, but said he was hopeful that, following agreement on the peace accord, work would begin within "the next few months" on drafting "a new constitution and the establishment of transitional arrangements".

This process might be "relatively lengthy", he warned, and could be sidetracked by "the magnitude of the socio-economic inequalities that persist in SA and the inadequacy of the measures taken so far".

The General Assembly is expected to discuss the report tomorrow.

Sapa reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha welcomed "positive admissions" made in the report even though he did not agree with some of its statements.

These admissions included acknowledgement that the process to end apartheid had remained on course and that SA was moving towards starting substantive negotiations, Botha said.



# Government, ANC hold secret talks

304A

12/9/91

Sowetan

12/9/91

Political Correspondent

THE Government and the ANC this week met in secret and indications are that this will be the way talks would be conducted in the foreseeable future.

A joint statement was issued at the end of Tuesday night's meeting. It said only that President FW de Klerk had met ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and that both had been accompanied by senior members of their respective parties.

The statement said the two had met to discuss "various issues of mutual interest".

These issues included the nagging issue of political prisoners, the current spate of violence and issues flowing from the Pretoria Minute and related agreements.

Reliable sources yesterday said the secretive nature of this week's meeting was expected to be the routine over the next few months.

The reasons given for the secretiveness was that there was enormous pressure on Mandela and De Klerk for a speedy resolution of the country's problems.

A turning point can be expected after the launch of a Patriotic Front late in October with the possible announcement of formal contact towards discussions on the shape and forum of constitutional negotiations.

r  
D  
r-  
to  
ae  
m,  
ill  
ita-  
and  
as  
reg-  
and



**H**OW WILL A DEMOCRATIC South Africa integrate the various cultural backgrounds which have been divided by apartheid for the past four decades? This was the major preoccupation of writers and academics attending the recent Zimbabwe International Book Fair writers' workshop held in Harare recently.

The South African delegation included Wally Serote of the African National Congress (ANC) Department of Arts and Culture; the ANC cultural representative in London, writer Mandla Langa; and the professor of Afrikaans at Rhodes University, Etienne van Heerden.

South African delegates felt all democratic cultural movements in South Africa should unite across political divides to form the basis of an organisation with a national cultural character.

Serote said that the cultural wings of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and other anti-apartheid organisations had already started to forge a common cultural force.

Structures already in place for a non-sectarian culture have been discussing the strengthening of a democratic cultural expression. However, this structure leaves out Afrikaans and

# African writers

## ponder on SA

### cultural puzzle

South (South side) 12/91 - 18/9/91

How to integrate the various strands of South African culture preoccupied writers from all over Africa at a recent workshop in Zimbabwe. **TAMBAY MUCHUKUCHI** reports:

English culture, as well as bodies such as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Participants felt that in South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, black culture has been marginalised.

Michere Mugo from Kenya said people living in the townships and on farms had been forced to abandon their cultural expression in oral and written literature, song, dance and

drama, and made to swallow Western culture as superior. Van Heerden said Afrikaner myths should be demystified by empowering the people with relevant knowledge. He pointed out that more than 50 percent of the South African population are illiterate. Authorities had withdrawn the most liberating force of all — the power to read and write, he said.

Participants strongly recommended that liberation movements and intellectuals should begin to consult people with a view to formulating a language policy.

The view was that people have a right to their mother tongue, to develop it, to create in it. Money is needed for workshops, publishing, research, language laboratories and official recognition of languages other than English and Afrikaans.

According to Van Heerden, there is still a need to fight the official censorship which created a culture of silence. Black cultural activists, writers, students and journalists have for too long been swept away, arrested, barred or driven into exile.

Gender also featured prominently in democratisation, the workshop noted. The emancipation of women, especially black women, has been slowed down by African tradition and cross-class male chauvinism. — AIA



# Contractors' having hassles with

# converting hesitant masses

South 1219 - 1819191. (304A)

**S**OME call them "Brown Nats", to others they are the "New Nats", they've even been called "Hotnats".

But at the federal congress of the National Party (NP) in Bloemfontein last week, a new title came into being — white delegates referred to them as "our multi-racial members of the National Party".

The atmosphere in the Bloemfontein city hall last Wednesday was sombre, definitely business-like, but the presence of the New Nats added a touch of colour to the proceedings.

In his opening address, Minister Kobie Coetsee made a point of mentioning how their presence signalled a milestone in NP history — it was the first time the party had held a "multiracial" congress.

When he introduced the most senior "coloured" NP member, Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning Mr Abie Williams, "and his charming wife", there was a polite round of applause from the 1 200 delegates.

For the 32 coloured MPs present added legitimacy to the NP's claim that it had opened its doors to everyone.

That not everyone is rushing to go in, however, became clear during interviews with the New Nats who admitted that they had not been wildly successful in recruiting members of their community into the NP.

Mr Chris Wynngaard, a former Labour Party member from the West Coast town of Wuppertal, said he

The National Party declared in Bloemfontein last week that it would become the most powerful political force in the country. **REHANA ROSSOUW** was at the party congress and spoke to the new members on whom the party is counting for support outside the white community:

felt "at home" at the congress.

"I'm very glad to be here where real politics are being discussed. Here, with the National Party, I am in touch with what is happening in the country at this exact point in time."

Wynngaard defected from the Labour Party to the National Party earlier this year.

However, he said he was finding it difficult to persuade people in his constituency to follow suit.

"The fact that the NP was the oppressor not so long ago is not a problem for people in my area. But it seems that most people are not yet ready to make a choice and join a political party.

"At least they are also not interested in joining the African National Congress (ANC) — they are scared of the *swartgevaar*."

Wynngaard said that although two former LP colleagues in his region had also defected to the NP, they had not yet managed to establish a branch on the West Coast.

Mr Randy Jonkers of Upington is also experiencing problems in persuading his community to join the NP.



**NEW NAT: Abie Williams**

He joined the party in July this year when Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse hung on to his position after narrowly surviving a vote of no confidence from dissatisfied Labourites.

"Joining the NP was not much of an adjustment for me — I had been

sharing their ideals for a long time already," Jonkers said.

"I wanted to be part of determining the future of South Africa. Besides, the NP speaks my language, Afrikaans, and I share the same culture with them."

Jonkers said he had attempted to build the NP among coloureds in the Northern Cape, but most people had a "wait and see" attitude.

He defended his decision to join the party which had masterminded apartheid by saying "it's better to be with the devil you know than they devil you don't know". The ANC was the devil he did not know.

The NP, he claimed, had publicly asked for forgiveness for apartheid on numerous occasions, even in parliament.

"I don't know why people are insisting that President De Klerk also asks for forgiveness. Quite a number of senior ministers have already done so.

"Even here today, at the congress, they have said that there will no longer be discrimination.

"It will be wrong of us to continue crucifying them for their past."

Although he was not appointed as an organiser for the NP, Jonker said he tried his best to establish a branch in Upington before giving up and deciding to work in the Kalahari district where eight NP branches have been established.

"I first joined the white branch in Upington — although there was no colour connotation in the branch — and they welcomed me as a member," Jonkers said.

"But then I decided it would be better to assist in the growth of the Kalahari district."

Jonkers could not provide figures for coloured NP support in the Kalahari, but said the party was enjoying more success in the region than the ANC.

The ANC's link with the South African Communist Party was an "albatross" around its neck and cost the organisation many members, he said.

"If the ANC went it alone, they would stand a better chance of recruiting coloured people. Anyway, the ANC is not very active in the region and the people there don't have enough interest to bring the ANC there."

The chairperson of the Kalahari region of the NP, Mr W Isaacs, said he had "a book full" of names of potential NP members, although he had not yet signed up one.

"There's a lot of hard work lying ahead, but I'm sure we'll eventually have hundreds of members," Isaacs said. "By joining the NP I have discovered that whites are ordinary people, just like you and me."

## Pik Botha to visit Australia

Political Staff (304A) AUG 13 1981

JOHANNESBURG. — In a dramatic turnabout in relations Foreign Minister Pik Botha plans to visit Australia soon as a personal guest of his Australian counterpart Gareth Evans — who antagonised the government when he was in South Africa earlier this year.

Mr. Botha is also scheduled to visit New Zealand. The two trips are aimed at strengthening ties with two countries which were once traditional friends of South Africa but became estranged during the apartheid years.

It is understood that one of the main purposes of the New Zealand visit would be to improve sporting relations.

Mr. Botha's planned visit to Australia comes as a surprise after Mr. Evans's visit here when he infuriated the government by allegedly verbally abusing a police escort.



Stanley Uys writes on the knee-jerk rejection in the UK of NP proposals

## It's worth giving 304A peace a chance

Star 13/9/91

**P**RESIDENT de Klerk's grand constitutional plan flared up briefly in the media in London last week, and then faded quietly, almost without trace.

Two reasons, mainly, explain why this historic document has received such superficial treatment here (with some exceptions). One is that the media's eyes are riveted on Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The other is that the circle of people who understand what is happening in South Africa seems to shrink by the month. Events simply are moving too fast and becoming too complex.

Much of the reaction, even at some of the higher levels of television and radio, was knee-jerk. Once the ANC had given the cue that Mr de Klerk's plan was a "recipe for disaster", the anti-Pretoria brigade set off in full cry. But even some of Pretoria's sympathisers clearly were confused — they supported the plan without knowing just why.

On the whole, the quality press accorded the plan thoughtful treatment. The Guardian, the Times and one or two others also were perceptive enough to recognise (as The Guardian put it) that "this can only be his (Mr de Klerk's) opening bid in a long process of tough negotiations".

But the way in which so much of the media slipped into the knee-jerk reaction that Mr de Klerk's plan is just another bit of boere verneukery (boer trickery) was depressing. What these knee-jerks (to coin a phrase) are doing is to take their cue from the ANC's rhetoric, without understanding that behind this rhetoric lies another, more flexible, ANC.

Perhaps the aspect of South Africa that impressed me most during a recent visit was the quality of thinking, at all levels, that is being put into working out the country's future. South Africa would not have advanced to where it is if a great deal of brain-power had not been expended in the quest for the kind of solutions that are being offered today, by both the Government and the ANC.

I have just been re-reading that remarkable book by Slabbert and Welsh, "South Africa's Options", which although it was published in 1979 could have been written today. If you want a guide to

some of the thinking behind Mr de Klerk's plan, I commend the book to you. It leads you through the maze of options and choices that have become the currency of the contemporary debate.

Hardly anything of these years of scholarship, nor indeed of what the Government has done since February 2 1990, is recognised by the knee-jerks. The casual way in which they accept every upset in the negotiations process as terminal, and consign the lads to the barricades again, is faintly nauseating. They, of course, will not be at those barricades.

The ANC has its own knee-jerks, too. On radio the other night, Raymond Suttner (introduced as an "ANC spokesperson"), was telling listeners that Mr de Klerk's plan is not acceptable as a negotiating document. Really, Mr Suttner? If a plan is unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented, does this also mean the ANC will not even allow the Government to place it on the conference table? And vice-versa? End of story?

Some Marxist academics have little to crow about over their contribution to political thought in South Africa. The intellectual damage they have caused will no doubt be recorded one day: the intolerance they have encouraged, the no-entry signs they have placed over certain areas like ethnicity, uncritical acceptance of the tablets as handed down by the Soviet Union and "socialists" everywhere — all this will return to haunt them one day.

What is it about so many analysts that they seem to prefer war to peace — that they search so assiduously through every silver lining for the dark cloud, as they are doing in South Africa today, and despatch the comrades to the barricades so joyfully?

Is it asking too much of them to pick up the Slabbert-Welsh book and read only the words on the front cover, which are: "A democratic South Africa: Is it possible? ... It would not only be one of the major feats of political engineering in the modern world, it would also stand as a beacon to numerous other societies that are wracked by racial and ethnic conflict ... Is this not a challenge worth accepting?" □



# Lifelines to survival

(304A)  
FM 13/9/91

Business fears that certain constitutional safeguards have been ignored

The business community's view of a new constitution is unambiguous. In June, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) published detailed proposals compiled by a team of 15 lawyers and economists, including Unisa's Marinus Wiechers, as a contribution to the constitutional debate.

They centre on economic aspects that Sacob believes must be considered and, in some cases, entrenched in a new constitution. The chamber's director-general, Raymond Parsons, said at the time that if businessmen and investors were going to take a "vigorous interest" in the quality of the political system that will emerge from the negotiation process, they had to make their views known.

Since then three key political parties, the National Party, the Democratic Party and the ANC, have published or finalised (in the case of the ANC) their respective constitutional plans — and apparently given scant attention to Sacob's proposals.

None of the three documents contains a message of particular hope for businessmen. Those who were looking for a champion will have been disappointed.

It's not that the proposals exclude specific rights business believes should be entrenched in a new constitution to create a climate conducive to growth; but they don't include them either. At best, they're there by implication only, hardly an assurance on which to plan the future.

The fear, of course, is that pressures for such short-term goals as job-creation, transport subsidies and expanding welfare packages — even leaving aside the issue of nationalisation — will prove an unsustainable drain not only on the Treasury but will impede growth through confiscatory taxes. And the problem is that the NP hardly has a sound record when it comes to fostering free enterprise. The huge bureaucracies with which SA remains saddled were the product of just such social engineering.

However, there's little doubt that both the NP and the DP adhere — broadly speaking — to free-market principles and will negotiate a new constitution on that basis. The ANC on the other hand, wants a "mixed economy" with, it seems, considerable State intervention. In doubt are what the parties regard as the specific constitutional rights as they affect business on the basis of the Sacob document.

Some would argue that these are issues for negotiation — but are they? A clear and detailed statement of fundamental rights is surely the foundation on which to construct a broader constitutional plan. It leaves little doubt as to where a party is coming from or going to. Business would then know where it stood.

The ANC's Bill of Rights is of little comfort. If anything, because of its emphasis on so-called "third generation" rights, such as the right to a job, it could undermine what businessmen regard as some of the fundamental rights important to their own enterprises.

The DP has tried to meet the need. Its economic policy, published earlier this year, mentions a Bill of Rights to protect, inter alia, "the right to private or co-operative ownership of property and the right to embark on individual or collective enterprise." But there's no further reference in the party's constitutional proposals published last month.

The Nats — past-masters at ignoring business needs — included, somewhat ironically, as one of 10 "basic points of departure" for a new constitution the need to "promote a market-orientated economy, coupled with private initiative and social responsibility."



Sacob's Parsons ... concern at what's been left out

but gave no further details. The plea for "social responsibility," coming from such a source, is particularly rich — but there must be the suspicion that when it comes to paying for the programmes which must arise out of such an ideal, the business community will be required to dig deeper into its pocket. Increase the tax burden, and you discourage investment — whether here or from abroad.

None of the plans refers specifically to the constitutional protection of business, property or contractual rights (key issues of princi-

ple according to Sacob). And while all three support a Bill of Rights, only the ANC's has been published in any detail — but comes nowhere near the sort of assurances Sacob sought in its June document.

Sacob neither wants nor expects a direct role in negotiations, but believes certain "broad constitutional questions" must be addressed by the business community. It wants a constitution that upholds "certain key values" important to business and society as a whole and inspires confidence in foreign investors and bankers.

It accepts that an economic system can't be constitutionally entrenched, but wants certain concepts fundamental to a market economy and business confidence safeguarded, including the law of persons, property and contract. To acquire direct constitutional meaning, Sacob believes these principles have to be taken up as specific articles of the constitution and should be entrenched in a Bill of Rights.

It also wants an independent Reserve Bank (a principle supported by both the NP and DP) and some form of entrenched constraint on taxation without which the benefits of ownership could be rendered meaningless.

Judged against the plans of the three parties, Sacob may well ask why it bothered publishing its proposals (copies of which were sent to all the main political groups). Alternatively (and its most likely course), it can knuckle down and try even harder to have its views heard and acted on.

Ken Warren, Sacob's legal manager and a member of the team that drew up the plan, agrees that against the background of the chamber's needs as set out in the document, the proposals of the three parties require "further refinement" to inspire business confidence in a new constitution.

He accepts that the issues of concern to Sacob are usually dealt with in a Bill of Rights, but would like to see more detail from the parties on what and who they plan to protect.

However, the fact that all three groups agree on the need for a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights is encouraging. "The crux is — will attention be given to the issues we have raised?" In any negotiations or consultations regarding a Bill of Rights, Sacob will insist on the inclusion of the principles in which it believes, he says.

Ken Andrew, head of the DP's national advisory policy committee, has a different approach: "In terms of constitutional proposals, business in the first instance needs to look at whether they are practical, workable, reasonably efficient and conducive to creating a climate for growth. To expect more

than a Bill of Rights in relation to business needs is unreasonable."

He believes the negotiators will have to be careful not to tie the new constitution too tightly to current economic thinking because of the changes in policy that obviously occur depending on priorities. "What we should look at is protection of the basic rights needed to create the climate in which business can get on with its work."

He believes Sacob can and should ask political groups for details of their policies on specific issues and agrees that business, like all interest groups, should lobby for its views to be taken up at the negotiations.

James Selfe, a member of the committee that drafted the DP's constitutional proposals, believes they come closest to meeting the broad parameters of the Sacob document.

The ANC, he says, appears to favour excessive State interference in the economy

and the NP, though advocating blocks on government manipulation, has a credibility problem, having itself manipulated the economy for so many years in favour of its own constituency.

The NP's Stoffel van der Merwe says the party has not ignored the concerns of the business community. Initially, the NP considered including economic guidelines in its constitutional proposals, but eventually realised they would either be so broad as to be meaningless or so narrow that they would hamper a future government, so ditched the idea.

The party is currently considering a set of specific economic principles which it hopes to publish soon. They will "firmly establish" the integrity of private ownership and free enterprise and, coupled to a Bill of Rights, should address business concerns.

Van der Merwe says the NP is waiting for

the final report from the Law Commission on a Bill of Rights before finalising its own proposed Bill of Rights which will probably include specific economic rights to be read in conjunction with the party's constitutional proposals.

At this point, none of it is much comfort to businessmen. The lack of commitment by the political groups to the safeguarding of specific rights is worrying. Expediency could drive a coach and horses through vagueness.

The lesson for business is that it must keep pushing for the inclusion of those constitutional guarantees it believes are essential to the maintenance of free enterprise and the promotion of economic growth.

It must also be aware that it could be alone. The fickle nature of politicians, particularly in times of transition, means that allies taken for granted in the past may find new friends.



# Pik plans historic visit to Australia

CT 13/9/91

Own Correspondent

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — In a major breakthrough in South Africa's frosty relations with Australia, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will soon become the first South African minister to visit that country in more than 20 years.

Mr Botha will be the guest of Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans on a three- to four-day visit planned for early next month.

After his Australian visit Mr Botha will go on to visit New Zealand, an Australian government source said.

This news comes on the eve of the Commonwealth

To page 5

From page 1

Foreign Ministers' meeting in India which starts today and where it is expected that the first phase of lifting sanctions — those concerning visas, tourism and landing rights — could begin.

Apart from African countries and India, most other Commonwealth states wanted these person-to-person sanctions to be lifted because of the hardship experienced by people wanting to visit their families.

Diplomatic sources said a softening in attitudes had come following ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's comments that most of the obstacles to negotiations had been cleared and that now the main aim was striving for an interim government.

Another strong possibility was that sports sanctions, particularly those affecting cricket, could be lifted because most of the political problems had been ironed out and it was only internal administrative arrangements that were delaying the process, one source said.

An Australian diplomat said most opposition was expected to come from Zimbabwe, which would lose substantial revenue if Qantas Airlines scaled down its Harare operations when setting up new ones in South Africa.

CT 13/9/91  
304A

# Pik off to Australia — as Evans's guest

B/day 13/9/91  
304A

IN A breakthrough in SA's frosty relations with Australia, Foreign Minister Pik Botha will soon become the first SA Minister to visit that country in more than 20 years.

Botha's visit as a guest of Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans next month, for three or four days, would be the first by an SA Foreign Minister, Australian government sources said yesterday.

After visiting Australia he would go on to New Zealand, the sources said.

This news comes on the eve of today's Commonwealth foreign ministers meeting in India, where, it is believed, the first phase in lifting sanctions — on visas, tourism and landing rights — could begin.

Diplomatic sources said a softening in attitudes had come after ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's comments that most of the preliminary obstacles to negotiations had been cleared and the main aim was striving for an interim government.

Apart from African countries and India, most Commonwealth states wanted these person-to-person sanctions to be lifted because of the hardship experienced by people wanting to visit their families.

A source said another possibility was that sports sanctions, particularly regard-

ing cricket, could be lifted because most of the political problems had been ironed out and only internal administrative arrangements were delaying the process.

An Australian diplomat said the strongest opposition was expected to come from Zimbabwe, which would lose substantial revenue if Qantas Airlines scaled down its Harare operations by setting up in SA.

Australia was one of the first countries to impose sanctions on SA and said it would be one of the first to lift them once apartheid was finally abolished.

Successive Australian governments scaled down links with SA, not issuing visas in this country and refusing to allow Qantas to operate to SA or SAA to land in Australia.

After years of sometimes hostile relations, Evans visited SA in June — but he left on an acrimonious note after an altercation with security forces during a township tour and public differences with Botha regarding funding for the ANC.

His visit was, however, hailed as a reward for President F W de Klerk's scrapping of all racially based legislation.

BILLY PADDOCK



# IFP, NP could get boosts in election

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

CT 13/9/91

3044A

THE location of potential voters in a free election in South Africa will influence the outcome — and could boost the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal and the National Party in the Western Cape.

Although the densely populated PWV region, with 21,9% of the voters, will be significant, the majority of voters will come from the rural areas, where conservatism and traditional rulers could play a major role.

The views of 13,8 million black voters, 80,2% of the total, will also be a significant element.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa's figures of the population over the age of 18 indicate

that the voting patterns of the future electorate are likely to be much more complex than previously expected.

If the IFP is able to capture majority support in the eastern Transkei/Natal/KwaZulu region, where nearly a quarter of South Africa's voters live, it could control regional government in the area and have sizeable representation in Parliament from that region alone.

In the Western Cape, the views of 811 667 coloured voters out of a total of 1,4 million voters will be decisive as they will form nearly 60% of the electorate in the region.

With the ANC openly admitting problems in gaining the support of so-called coloured people and the NP actively recruiting membership from other race

groups, the 245 231 white voters in the Western Cape, 17,8% of the total in the region, could, with slightly more than half of the coloured voters, deliver it to the NP.

If voting was purely on racial lines, an unlikely development, whites, coloured people and Indians would have little effect. The 1,5 million white voters constitute 8,8% of the total, the 1,3 million coloured voters 7,3% and the 642 220 Asian voters 3,7%.

One of the consequences of the DBSA figures could be the sinking of the NP's plan for equal representation of the nine regions in the upper House of Parliament, as the five smaller regions, with 28,2% of the voters, would be able to block legislation.

The

# Surprise voter figures

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

**SURPRISE** estimates of voter numbers in a free election in South Africa show that nearly two out every five voters will come from the Eastern Cape-Natal regions.

They also show that both the National Party and the ANC have grossly over-estimated the number of voters in the PWV region, whose 3.8 million voters will be smaller than the Natal region's 4.3 million. Rural voters, with 45.9% in the 10 homelands, will have a decisive influence over South Africa's first free election.

## Up-to-date

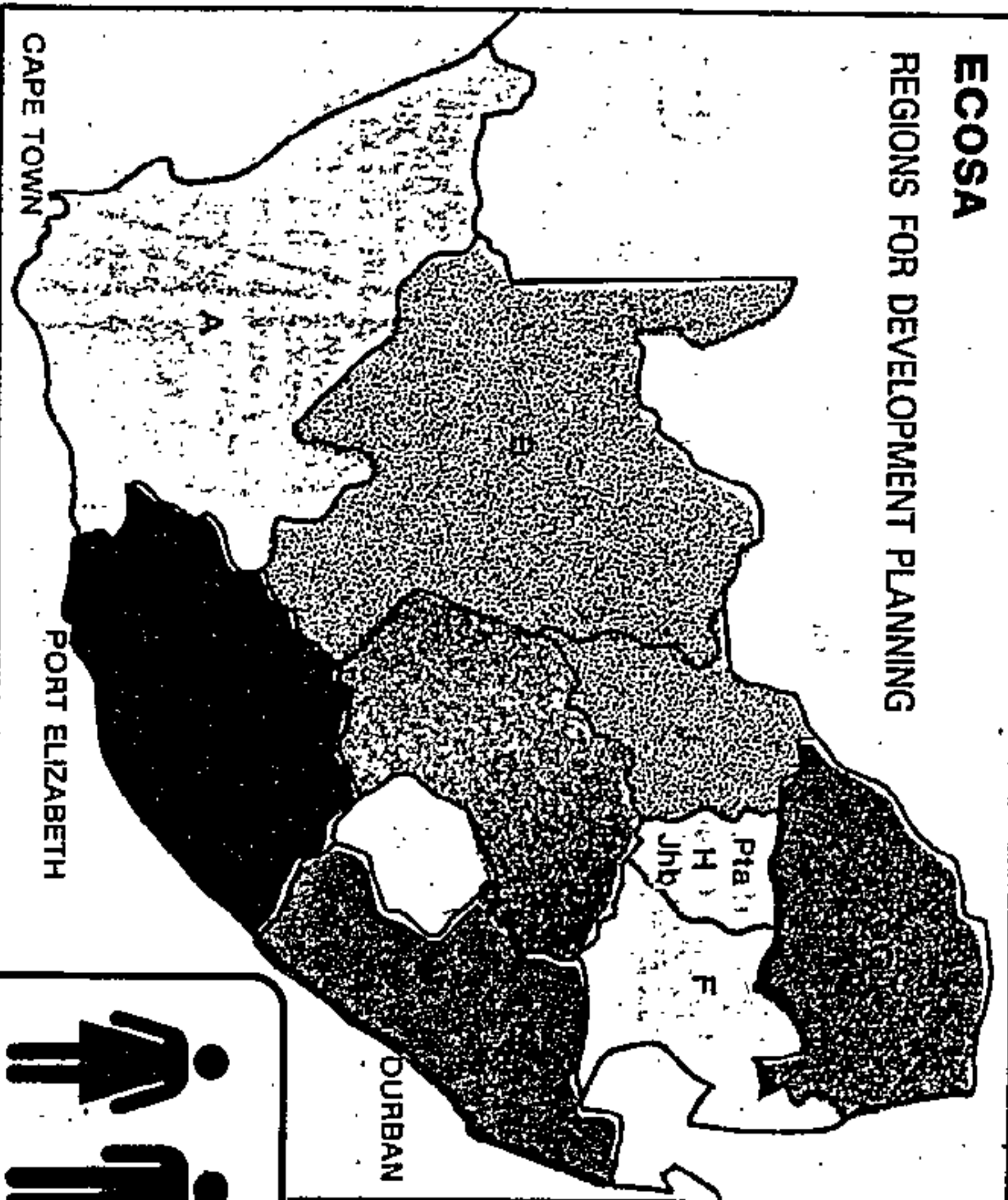
If the NP's proposals for an upper house of Parliament with equal representation for each of the nine development regions are implemented, five smaller regions, where 28.2% of the potential voters live, could exercise control over Parliament and block legislation.

The voter estimates are based on figures provided yesterday on request by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) on the number of people over the age of 18 in the nine regions, including the homelands.

The bank, which maintains an extensive resource unit to monitor demographic trends in South Africa, is believed to keep the most up-to-date statistics on population numbers in the country.

Its figures, based on 1990 estimates, show that South Africa would have 17 319 120 potential voters, 9 374 870 of whom, 54.12% of the total, live outside the homelands.

**ECOSA**  
REGIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING



REGION	TOTAL	%
H PWV/ Bophuthatswana	3 793 155	21.90
A Western Cape	1 375 969	7.94
F Eastern Transvaal	926 518	5.35
B Northern Cape/ Bophuthatswana	842 845	4.87
G Northern Transvaal and Venda	493 405	2.85

A further 3 191 094 live in the 'independent' homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and 4 753 156 voters are in the other six homelands.

Region E, which includes the eastern portions of Transkei, Natal and KwaZulu, has the largest number of voters, 4 277 617, or 24.7% of the total, while the PWV's 3 793 155 people over the age of 18 in Region H constitutes 21.9% of the total.

The PWV estimates come as a major surprise to both the NP and ANC, whose spokesmen have recently stated that about half of South Africa's

potential voters lived in the region.

Region D, which includes the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and the western portions of Transkei, has 2,2 million voters, 12.7% of the total, while Region G, in the Northern Transvaal and Venda, has 2,1 million voters, 12.1% of the total.

These four regions, the most densely populated in South Africa, will have 71.8% of the voters and in terms of the NP and ANC constitutional proposals will dominate the proportionally elected lower House of Parliament. The Western Cape, Region A, will

have 1,4 million voters, 7.9% of the total, while Region C, which includes Free State, QwaQwa and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 1,2 million voters, 7.15% of the total.

Region F, which includes the Eastern Transvaal and KaNgwane, has 926 518 voters, 5.35% of the total, while Region J, which includes the Western Transvaal and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 842 845 voters, 4.9% of the total.

The smallest region, Region B, which includes the Northern Cape and parts of Bophuthatswana, has 493 405 voters, 2.85% of the total.

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD



# I'm no racist - Strydom snr



STRYDOM ... "Mandela is a nice person."

**BY THEMBA KHUMALO** (304A) *SA*  
ORDE BOEREVOLK leader Nic Strydom is a changed man - he says he is no longer a racist.

The rightwing leader is even prepared to have ANC president Nelson Mandela as his future State President if he wins a democratic election. Strydom expressed these sentiments in an exclusive interview with City Press outside the Pretoria Central Prison minutes after he had visited his son, Barend, on Wednesday. Barend is serving a life sentence for murdering eight black people in Pretoria in 1988.

The turning point in the Orde Boerevolk leader's life came when he met Mandela this week at the HF Verwoerd Hospital when the ANC leader visited the three rightwing hunger strikers. "Although it was difficult for me to get an overall impression of Mandela, whom I met for the first time during the visit, he struck me as a nice person. I think he is human. Many people ask me how I feel about him now and I find it difficult to give a considered answer," Strydom said. He said he and his organisation were tired of the violence in the country.

"We feel there has been enough bloodshed and we now want to join other parties at the negotiating table to discuss the future of this country. There is no need for differing organisations to fight each other. We can fight for years and years, but in the end we will be forced to talk to one another.

"Why should we then waste time?" Strydom asked. He was prepared to talk to anyone, including SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, to find the solution to the country's problems, he said.

Although he did not agree with all of the State President's reform initiatives, Strydom believed political differences could be ironed out at the negotiating table.

Son Barend was a changed man too, his father said in the interview. "Although white prisoners are separated from

## Barend also has change of heart

blacks, they mix on several occasions and Barend has accepted the black inmates," he said. "About the Strydom Square killings, Barend said he was trying to express his political opinion through violence but he now realised he was wrong.

"He has promised he won't kill again if freed and has written to the State President (FW de Klerk) to tell him so."

more blacks than whites, but I don't like boasting about it."

Asked if he still stood by the evidence he gave in court during his son's trial that he taught him blacks were like animals, Strydom said he had had a change of heart. "I visit my son at least twice a month and during each visit we normally have long discussions about these things.

"I've just discussed Mandela's visit with him, and he was excited." Strydom dismissed AVB leader Eugene Terblanche as a "hothead-ed" man who would not listen to other people. "The problem with Eugene is that he thinks he is always right. He has put his ideals above his logic."

Mandela in turn extended his friendship to the rightwing during a ceremony at the University of the Witwatersrand on Friday where he received an honorary doctorate. He said attempts had to be made to accommodate the rightwing regardless of how repugnant the actions.

■ PICTURES BY MALULEKA. ■ See Page 5



PRETTY MAIDENS ALL IN A ROW ... Swazi girls perform their traditional Reed Dance for King Mswati III in the picturesque mountain kingdom.





# FW Bop response has a hollow ring

WASHINGTON - It is hard to believe President FW de Klerk's reasons for rejecting Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal for the release of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana could have outweighed the consequences his intransigence may hold for South Africa's relations with the United States.

De Klerk has spurned reasoning, diplomacy, humanitarian appeals and warnings of retribution on this issue. The only explanation the world has been offered for his stance is the limp claim that the South African Government has no jurisdiction in Bophuthatswana.

In Washington that sounds about as convincing as a bank manager claiming he has no influence over his clients.

Every mentally competent South African knows, as do most informed Americans, that whether or not Pretoria has jurisdiction over Bophuthatswana, it undoubtedly has all the influence necessary to accomplish what Mandela, President George Bush, the US Senate and many well-disposed people around the world, have asked it to.

On August 1 the US Senate unanimously passed a bipartisan resolution calling on Bush to pursue "through diplomatic channels" the release of remaining political prisoners - specifically those being held in Bophuthatswana.

The resolution required Secretary of State Mr James Baker to submit a report within 90 days to the senate foreign relations committee spelling out what progress had been made.

While the deadline might be extended by a few weeks because of procedural delays in passing the

Sowetan 13/9/91  
**FOCUS**

By  
**HUGH ROBERTON**

attendant legislation, there can be no doubt that in the next few weeks the issue will be revived, and that sooner rather than later Baker will be under enormous pressure to declare what he has accomplished "through diplomatic channels".

It is possible, of course, that De Klerk has assumed, rightly in a very limited context, that there is no chance of sanctions being reimposed, the further deduction being that the US Senate's intrusion on the internal affairs of another country can thus be dismissed with impunity.

If this is so, he is naïvely misguided. The debate on South Africa has reached a turning point in the US. Most eloquently summed up by Congressman Stephen Solarz earlier this year that sanctions were "yesterday's issue" and added:

"The real question now is where do we go from here?"

The alternative he put forward, and which is now under active consideration in both houses of Congress, is a massive aid package for South Africa, large enough to finance an "historic turning point" in the country's development.

It requires no imagination to realise there will be no such package if the US Senate's concerns about political prisoners are not addressed.

304A  
Furthermore, the Senate is seen to review legislation to greatly increase the US contribution to the IMF.

Sanctions prohibiting IMF loans to South Africa are still in place.

The coming debate would provide an easy opportunity for the painless introduction of tighter restrictions to pre-empt any move by Bush to unilaterally lift the IMF restriction - something he could do under the existing Gramm Amendment.

Some members of the congress have already indicated they are considering such an initiative. They would find this hard to achieve if the South African Government were seen to be co-operating on the issue of political prisoners. Conversely it would be much easier if Pretoria were seen to be tacitly backing Bophuthatswana's authoritarian regime.

The Investor Responsibility Research Centre's latest survey of US business attitudes to investment in South Africa has found that by far the biggest obstacle to new US investment is the web of state and city sanctions that was unaffected by Bush's lifting of federal sanctions two months ago.

Is it beyond De Klerk's imagination, or that of Bophuthatswana's rulers, to visualise how difficult is the task of getting these sanctions undone when an emotive issue like political prisoners is being used over and over again as the prime instrument for maintaining the restrictions?

Why should the Bush administration lift a finger to help South Africa in such circumstances?

Is it beyond their grasp of world events to visualise how retrogress-

sively awful the very words "political prisoner" sound in post-Cold War America, where national energy and attention are being diverted to the building of a new world order; one that is kinder and happier than the old?

The White House has never spelt out what Bush meant when he promised that pressure would be maintained on Pretoria.

But it is widely known that the US embassy in South Africa has actively pursued the concerns of Congress and has on many occasions asked for pressure to be exerted on Bophuthatswana to release its prisoners. And the long-standing US policy of not recognising the "independence" of "homelands" has been reiterated over and over again.

But presumably Washington has been given the same pathetic excuse - that although De Klerk has renounced apartheid in all its mutations, he cannot bring himself to renounce the ideology's most promising progeny.

This is just not good enough. If Mandela and the ANC have some tough lessons to learn about changing perceptions in the US on South Africa and the fact that sanctions are "yesterday's issue", then so do De Klerk and his Cabinet have lessons to learn about where the US goes from here.

Right now the US is tenuously disposed to Solarz's vision, but sweeping up ahead is the monumental task of helping to build democracy and free enterprise on the ruins of the Soviet empire.

Just as Mandela has to learn that foreign investment and foreign aid are scarce and likely to become scarcer, so does De Klerk.



# over hunger strikers

815  
13/9/91 Own Correspondant

RIGHT-WING hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz were yesterday discharged from hospital four days after abandoning a fast which their supporters maintained almost killed them.

Fellow hunger striker Lood van Schalkwyk complained of illness and was allowed to stay in Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital as Maritz and Martin were taken to Pretoria Central Prison to await bail payment.

According to medical experts, a bona fide hunger striker who had refused food for a lengthy period of time, would need three to four weeks to recover.

Yesterday medical tests conducted on the hunger strikers a week ago revealed that their self-imposed fast had not been life-threatening.

After reviewing the men's medical reports, national director of the National Medical and Dental Association Dr David Green said it was unlikely bona fide hunger strikers would have suffered such minimal damage after a prolonged fast.

He said of the three men, Van Schalkwyk had been in the most life threatening situation due to the stress placed on his heart.

Green said results of medical examinations conducted four days before the hunger strikers suspended their fast indicated that Martin and Maritz were "probably not in a life threatening situation".

Right-wing lawyer Wim Cornelius said yesterday Martin, 50, had fasted for 64 days, Maritz, 43, for 57 days, and Van Schalkwyk, 53, for 50 days.

Green also said the men should have lost more weight during their fast. Martin lost 26,9% of his original weight, Maritz's weight dropped by 27,7%, and Van Schalkwyk's by 30%.

He said the men should have lost between 15% and 20% of their body weight during the first two to three weeks of their fast.

Cornelius said the medical results vindicated his earlier statements about the hunger strikers' conditions and that the men were still in an unsatisfactory state.

All three face charges of murder, attempted murder and malicious damage to property arising from two bomb blasts last year.

## Voters' roll in free election could favour NP, Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — Estimates of voter numbers in a free election in SA show that nearly 40% will come from the Natal/Eastern Cape regions — and their distribution could favour the NP and IFP.

Political Staff  
17 319 120 potential voters, including those in the "independent" homelands.

The figures show the NP and ANC have grossly over-estimated the number of voters in the PWV region, whose 3,8-million voters will be less than Natal's 4,3-million.

Their location could boost the IFP in Natal and the NP in the Western Cape. (304A)

Rural voters, with 45,9% in the 10 homelands, will have a decisive influence.

If the IFP is able to capture majority support in the eastern Transkei/Natal/KwaZulu region, where nearly a quarter of SA's voters live, it would have sizeable representation in Parliament from that region alone.

The estimates, based on figures for 1990, were provided yesterday by the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

In the Western Cape, the views of 811 667 coloured voters will be decisive as they will form nearly 60% of the electorate in the region.

They show SA has

Administrative matters arising out of

# Don't dismiss the NP plan too quickly

w/m  
13/9-19/9/91. (304A)

**H**OW seriously should we take the Nats' new constitutional plan? That may depend more on how it is received abroad than at home. Nat leaders concede that the plan's details will change during negotiations, but add that they won't budge from its basics. If they stick to that, we had better take the plan very seriously, since it will make a settlement impossible.

Despite glowing endorsements from parts of the Democratic Party, the plan seems to show that Nat strategy is still far cruder than statements by some of their leaders seemed to suggest.

That the plan seeks to check majority rule — and to guarantee the Nats a place in government — is no surprise. It has been clear all along that these are Nat "bottom lines". What is surprising is the way in which they want to achieve this.

Statements by Nat leaders have implied that they are willing to accept non-racial democracy, provided it includes strong protections for minorities. This suggested that they wanted to protect their interests through devices which are saleable to world opinion — a Bill of Rights, devolution, coalition government.

But last week's plan, though formally non-racial, would offer the Nats a veto on presidential decisions, cabinet appointments and all laws passed by parliament's lower house if they win, say, 10-15 percent of the vote, which is virtually certain. It would, in practice, have the same effect as their 1989 plan which gave whites the power to block any majority decision.

Another sign that the Nats have not abandoned some old hang-ups is the proposal that the Cape municipal voting system, which gives greater voting power to owners and renters of property, is entrenched in the constitution. This is an attempt to curb the voting power of "squatters".

There is little chance that this plan, or something like it, will be accepted by resistance movements, no matter how much force the Nats command.

So why are they proposing it? Are they demanding what they know they won't get so they are better placed to get what they want? Perhaps. But the plan may come closer to reflecting what they really want than some of their new DP fans would like to admit.

Despite Nat talk of winning a non-racial election, they clearly know that their chances are minimal. Their distrust of a majority government runs deep and the plan reflects this.

And the attempt to limit the "squatter" vote reflects a deep-rooted Nat fear that majority rule would allow the homeless to outvote suburban people and strip them of their property rights. (There is no evidence this would happen, but plenty of indications that many Nats think it will).

Nevertheless, that the Nats are serious about their plan now does not mean that they will continue to be so through negotiations. They know they need a settlement. This is more important than the type of deal they would like, since it means they will be forced to budge if it makes agreement impossible.

So, when it becomes clear that minority power in non-racial colours will prevent a settlement, we can expect the Nats to begin dropping the cruder aspects of their plan.

But this does not mean resistance movements will enjoy the power to block anything the Nats propose.

It's here that foreign governments come in. They will be pressing both sides to reach a settlement which allays Nat fears but is saleable to resistance movements and world opinion.

They will find it difficult to defend property-weighted votes and three-headed presidents, so we can expect pressure on the Nats.

Foreign governments and some local Nat advisers may well point out that the Nats can get what they want in other ways. A majority government may find it impossible to rule a country in which whites control much of the economy, military and civil service without Nat help. This will make a Nat role in government likely whatever the constitution says.

And the proportion of Africans below voting age is far greater than that for non-Africans; even if the Nats win no African votes, they may win a fair percentage of the vote. They might get what they want by demanding safeguards for parties who win 35 percent of the vote, rather than 10 percent.

But, if the Nats are pressed to move from the plan, there will be pressure on resistance movements to move towards it.

And while the cruder points will go, some of its assumptions, such as curbs on majority government, coalition, and devolution of power, are likely to stay.

■ NEXT WEEK: Ameen Akhalwaya



# Unfortunates in the path of a war

W/Man 13/9 - 19/9/91  
DON'T be misled by the title: this is not a book about Abraham Esau, who ran a cell for British intelligence during the Anglo-Boer war. He rates one chapter. This is a social study of the changes wrought upon the black and coloured population of the Cape during and after the South African War of 1899-1902.

This was not a "white man's" war. Africans and coloureds fought with both sides in that conflict, sometimes reluctantly, at others meritoriously.

British and Afrikaner needed the Africans, for transport drivers, runners, scouts, spies. The war disrupted everything, and for a person with nothing it could only be advantageous. Africans took off in thousands to reap the benefits of military service. Armed, mounted, they did sterling service beside their compatriots on both sides of the conflict.

They also suffered. An African scout for the British, if caught by the Boers, was lucky to be shot outright. He was invariably flogged first.

The indigenous people across whom the war is fought are always the first casualties, either in life or possessions, and the last to recover. Bill Nasson here gives an account, not of the strategies of the war, but of the effects of it on the unfortunate people living in its path.

This story is horrifying in the brutality and senseless killing involved, but no more so than

ABRAHAM ESAU'S WAR: A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899-1902 by Bill Nasson (David Phillip, R39,95)

any other war. The revered General Jan Smuts and most other Boer commanders are called to account. But the slaughter is not the point of the narrative; social change is. Rural peasants became nomadic; pass laws were introduced; the ripened crops of Boer farmers rotted in the fields while their labourers groomed horses for the military.

The author writes a semi-convincing account: details such as the number of oxen, wagons and personnel to transport war matériel is indisputably accurate. When he gets to the Esau story, the narrative is dominated by "oral tradition says ..."

We must expect more of these side-lights on history. The broad sweep of events has been recorded to death; now historians go after the smaller fish, personal diaries and accounts of a single engagement — or as here, the social upheavals caused by internal strife.

It's a fine book, sometimes tedious, but here are the roots of Afrikaner Nationalism — not a gift from God, but carelessness on the part of imperial England.

Colin Crapper

# Putting the lid on *mfecane* myth

w/mca 13/9-19/9/91  
By PORTIA MAURICE

AN historical "myth" taught to thousands of students was rejected at a conference of teachers and academics last weekend.

The concept of the *mfecane* — the 19th-century Zulu "explosion" recounted for decades without challenge in South African history textbooks — was "laid to rest" at a conference hosted by the History Workshop and Social Anthropology Department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"Get rid of the *mfecane*. Don't try to revise, rethink or rehabilitate it or make it respectable — just demolish it," said the keynote speaker, Rhodes University history lecturer Dr Julian Cobbing.

The *mfecane* concept emerged in settler mythology in the 1830s, but the term was coined in 1928 and was popularised in the 1960s. Now, Cobbing said, "it's so popular even an idiot can understand it. But then, of course, myths are for idiots."

Also known as the "Zulu wars" or the "wars of Shaka", it blames "marauding, bloodthirsty" Zulus and their chief Shaka for upheavals in the southern African hinterland which scattered neighbouring groups during colonial times. The Fingo people are said to have been forced south, the Nguni west and the Nguni north — depopulating the Transvaal, Free State and Natal for "peaceful" white conquest.

Cobbing chided historians for their "fertile negligence" in not detecting the theory's flaws. "Europeans invented the concept — and yet they are nowhere to be found in this period of historical action."

"It has been mindlessly repeated and plagiarised by white historians and the liberal Africanists of the 1960s alike. Schoolteachers perhaps can be forgiven for accepting what the textbooks say, but academics are in business precisely to think about what they are doing," he said.

The theory is central to how South Africans understand their history and, delegates claimed, has damaged many young minds.

"If you accept the *mfecane*, you accept that the ethnic nations which constituted the nuclei of the bantustans emerged on the rebound from Shaka and that blacks are inherently violent and needed to be rescued by civilisation," Cobbing said.

"The picture created is of a militarised and centralised Zulu state in the 19th century, with hordes of terrified people fleeing around them. Nothing could be falsier and we have empirical evidence to prove this."

Two opposing paradigms have emerged around the theory and, although ideas about what actually happened are tentative, a large contingent of historians is convinced that the *mfecane* has to go.

Cobbing and others believe the Zulus were only one of a number of sister formations in the interior which defended themselves against invaders such as "surrogate white" Griquas, who raided for slaves and cattle for the British 1820 settlers, and from Portuguese ivory and slave traders from around Delagoa Bay.

This interpretation, they say, challenges the idea that history south of the "boerewors line" of the Limpopo River had a unique logic, different to the rest of the continent. It reinstates the impact of the slave trade on South Africa, although here this was combined with the "impact of a settler colonialism which was grabbing labour".



# Backstage interim plans

AGG 14/9/91

MICHAEL MORRIS

30414

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PLANS for an interim government are already being made behind the scenes by government strategists.

This emerged as South Africa's major political groupings prepared to take another step towards the negotiating table with the signing of the National Peace Accord today.

An interim government is the ANC's key demand in the run-up to real negotiations.

The investigation of various models for transitional government now being undertaken by constitutional planners is a key element of preparations for the proposed All Party Conference (APC). Interim arrangements for the administration of the country during negotiations are expected to top the agenda at the APC.

"We are looking at several possibilities," a government spokesman said.

"Constitutional planners are exploring the options, as well as their own minds."

Referring to Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen's "confidence that a compromise can be worked out", the spokesman added: "Nothing is very clear just yet. There are various possible models."

The outcome, he said, depended on the APC. Observers are agreed that broadly acceptable

interim arrangements are indispensable to attempts to achieve sorely needed economic, social and political stability during the transition phase.

Securing access to international finance, to investment and economic credibility abroad, is probably one of the most important goals in establishing an administration that speaks for the broad mass of South Africans.

Against that need, an interim administration backed by diverse political groupings is urgent.

But, like negotiations themselves, working out a legitimate joint administration is easier said than done.

The ANC — which last discussed the question of interim arrangements with the government in April — says it expects informal talks on the subject soon.

Spokesman Carl Niehaus added: "The process is beginning to pick up again and it's a likely there will be some discussion on interim arrangements soon." He said the ANC's attitude was that the principle of an interim government was "non-negotiable", but it recognised there was "a variety of different approaches".

The DP is the first party so far actually to have produced a comprehensive plan for the transition phase.

It provides for a high-powered "council of leaders" to be appointed by an APC representing significant political parties or groupings. The Presi-

dent would be required to act on the advice of the proposed council in the same way that he acts on the advice of the Cabinet. Ministers would also be required to take such advice. Disputes would be referred back to the APC.

Democratic Party President's Councillor and overall compiler of the party's document on transitional arrangements, Mr James Selke, said he believed three factors were vital to the administration of the transitional process.

The arrangements would have to be acceptable at least to the major participants in the APC, they would require a stable environment and they would have to be efficient.

These would be the key to access to the international finance market.

He said: "It is our view that if leaders of the major political groupings agree to share responsibility for the administration of the country, it will have efficiency, acceptability and stability and I think the ground will be much more fertile for international economic assistance."

He said that if there was a reluctance on the part of non-system groups to share responsibility for the running of the country, the DP model would offer instead the option of sharing the management of the transition.

The form of transitional government South Africa ends up with will depend on the APC and there is no certainty yet when that will be convened.



# Nat political blueprint is naive and arrogant

304A ARG 14/9/91

**W**ITH THE Nationalists' constitutional proposals now on the table, South Africa enters yet another phase in the dynamic power game between the mainly-white Establishment and the mainly-black Liberationists.

The National Party acts as if it is still in control of the reform process and seemingly still believes that it can determine its final outcome. It is no longer the case. The process has attained its own momentum. We are actually experiencing an acceleration of the process. Events like Inkathagate, Ventersdorp and the "Moscow revolution" had — each in its own way — a "quicken" effect on the process. The NP proposals will also quicken the process — but not necessarily in the direction the NP hopes or would like it to move.

The NP presented its proposals as a system of "participatory democracy". This is a beautiful example of ideologically misplaced NatSpeak. In the political science literature, "participatory democracy" is used to describe the radical version of democracy propagated by the New Left to counter the power concentrated in the hands of corporate capitalism, that is, in the hands of the so-called Commanding Heights of Western countries. "Participatory democracy" is supposed to be a system that will create opportunities for each individual for equal participation in the decision-making process.

The NP proposals are, however, a deliberate attempt to entrench "unequal participation" for political parties in the decision-making of the presidency and the cabinet. If one party gets 60 percent of the popular vote and two other parties get 20 percent each, the three parties will have equal representation in the presidency and the cabinet but "unproportional" decision-making powers. If this had been a proposal for a transitional government for a period of five years — to build mutual trust and expertise — there could have been a method in the madness. But to propose this formula as a permanent arrangement to entrench executive par-

Publication of the National Party's constitutional proposals can prove to be as momentous as the unbanning of the African National Congress at the beginning of last year, writes **PROFESSOR SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE** of the Department of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch

ticipation for a tiny party like the NP, is not only naive but exceptionally arrogant.

During the 1989 election, only 6,3 percent of the potential electorate voted for the NP while those that voted for the NP in 1989 are in all probability the owners of at least 70 percent of all the wealth in South Africa. It is as if the NP wants a "Reform Act of 1832" to extend the vote, but with the stipulation that the "Club of Landlords" must control the executive for ever and ever! If this had happened in 1832, Britain would probably to this day, have remained a backward agricultural country.

If the NP had called its proposals an invitation towards "participation with the (white) establishment" it would have reflected the true purpose of the proposals much more accurately than to call it "participatory democracy". Although the proposals represent a thinly disguised attempt towards (yet another) grand co-optation, they none the less spell the end of the white monopoly of parliamentary power. The attempt to replace the NP monopoly of parliamentary power (except in the notorious second chamber) with an entrenched participation in the presidency and in the cabinet, can only be of transitional significance. Given the dynamism of the power game between the establishment and the liberation movements, it cannot be anything but a last brave "stand" on the slippery road towards inevitable democratisation of not only parliament, but also of the executive.

If the NP wants to participate in a future executive, it would have to attain it by voluntary coalition built on mutual trust between independent political parties. The NP is the representative and the

protagonist of a privileged minority (that has been enriched by apartheid) but it is none the less neither prepared to show — as a party — the necessary remorse for apartheid, nor is it prepared to commit itself towards restitution.

Consequently it has no moral claim on a guaranteed and permanent participation in the executive. If it is basing its claim on expertise and vested interests (that were partially attained through the discriminatory nature of apartheid), then it is skating on thin ice.

It is rather ironic that the NP uses this New Left (or even the Far Left) concept of participatory democracy to describe a system that will include so many principles to entrench the power of the privileged elite. As such it is a prime example of that kind of "legal democracy" proposed by the New Right (or even the Far Right) in political science literature. Thanks to South Africa's position on the periphery of the world — and ideology 100 years behind the times — we have a government that can put Far Right constitutional proposals on the table and describe (and justify?) it in the jargon of the Far Left! We are living in a crazy country.

The NP proposals for a "legal democracy" is *inter alia* based on seven principles. At least one of them is another beautiful example of unattainable NatSpeak. The NP commits itself to the principle of "an impartial and professional civil service". If we take into account that the bureaucracy has become — after 43 years of NP rule and patronage — an (ideological) extension of the NP, the principle of an impartial civil service can only be put into practice if at least 80 percent of the (senior) civil servants can be replaced — or when they are replaced! It would be

interesting to see whether this NatSpeak will be complemented by the necessary NatAction or whether it is one of those Nat-principles that — like many similar principles in the past — will evaporate into thin air.

The NP's intention to entrench a series of privileges and principles in its proposed system of "legal democracy", has a distinct static character to it. It is as if the NP wants to "arrest" the dynamic process of social and political change in South Africa and to "freeze" it in a system as unchangeable as a granite rock. The NP clearly sees the negotiations as a method to persuade the other partners to accept a granite-like constitution.

With this approach, the NP reveals its lack of understanding of the dynamism of the power game in South Africa. It is not the purpose of negotiations to "arrest" or to "freeze" this dynamic process, but only to agree on a constitutional framework that will create the opportunity for the power game to proceed in an orderly and constructive manner. The negotiations are therefore not about a static power-sharing formula — that will enable the NP to retain a sufficient "share" of the power — but about how to institutionalise a "fair" redistribution of power, wealth and opportunities over say the next 50 years and how to reach a broad agreement (or consensus) on the moral principles or the social philosophy that will be used to build a stable and hopefully prosperous new South Africa. Hopefully, the NP will be persuaded during the negotiations about this broader and longer term purpose of the reform process.

The NP acts like a typical *ancien regime* that has started with a process of reform but tries to maintain its "power grip". It may be valuable for the NP to take cognisance of what happened with similar *ancien regimes* that also committed themselves (without enthusiasm) towards reform, but with the explicit intention not to relinquish their executive control. In the case of the French regime in 1789 and in the case of Gorbachev's Perestroika in the Soviet Union in 1991, the half-hearted and "half-way" reforms ended in chaos. Let us be forewarned.



# The Nats aren't joking

30 (LA)

Star 14/9/91

Undercurrent Affairs  
SHAUN JOHNSON



SOMETHING of a consensus appears to have emerged among non-Governmental political pundits that the National Party's constitutional model version of the new South Africa designed by Gerrit Viljoen — is somehow not to be taken seriously, even by the Nats themselves.

The general idea is that the NP mandarins are concealing a completely different vision by first offering up a complicated and absurd red herring. Experts reason that the plan was for internal NP consumption — and we all know that the NP faithful has consumed plans before, only to have them radically reinterpreted by its leaders.

In addition there is in ANC circles (very senior circles, I might add) an abstruse theory which holds that F W failed to persuade his colleagues to go with a plan closer to standard majority rule, and therefore agreed to forward this one in the knowledge that it would be blown out of the water thus allowing his original plan to make a comeback.

I am thoroughly unconvinced by these lines of reasoning. I believe the NP's political opponents

are doing themselves a dangerous disservice by not taking the Viljoen proposition seriously, and by not accepting that this — give or take some "fat" — is actually what the NP wants, and what it will fight for, very hard.

The detailed merits and demerits of the NP proposals are not the issue here. It is one thing to be convinced that the over-riding NP objective is to retain levels of white political power which are out of kilter with white electoral power — this seems to me an entirely plausible conclusion to draw — but it is entirely another to say the NP has no right to pursue such an aim, and to conclude therefore that they expect to give it up at some point.

The NP does not accept as gospel that sooner or later this country will have to conform with models — like standard majority rule — which have enjoyed currency elsewhere. When the NP says it is not in the business of transferring power, but intends

rather to strike a unique power-sharing deal, this is precisely what it means.

And, ominously, it has let it be known that it has the capacity to block anything which strays too far from such an outcome.

All of this is to say, simply, that those who view the NP proposals as odious or ridiculous, and believe therefore that their collapse is immutable or ineluctable, are in my view misunderstanding and underestimating the party which has ruled this country with an iron hand for much of our lifetime. The NP's war plan is to give some ground in constitutional negotiations, but certainly not to vacate the battlefield.

Proponents of classical majority rule will also, in their battle of wills with the NP, have to contend with the fact that ANC leaders themselves have in the past not always been averse to "uniquely South African" compromises.

Consider this courtroom testimony, given during the treason trial of 1960:

"The Government might say, 'Gentlemen, we cannot have this state of affairs — laws being defied, and this whole situation created by stay-at-homes. Let's

talk.' In my own view I would say yes, let's talk.

"And the Government would say: 'We think that the Europeans at present are not ready for a type of government where there might be domination by non-Europeans. We think we should give you 60 seats ... we will leave the matter over for five years and we will review it at the end of five years.'

"... we would then say 'we will suspend civil disobedience; we won't have any stay-at-homes, and we will then devote the intervening period for the purpose of educating the country, the Europeans, to see that these changes can be brought about, and would bring about better racial understanding.'

"... then at the end of the five year period we will have discussions and, if the Government says 'we will give you again 40 more seats', I might say 'That is quite sufficient. Let's accept it, and still demand that the franchise should be extended, but for the agreed period we should suspend civil disobedience and stay-at-homes'."

"That is the view I hold."  
The words were spoken by Nelson Mandela.

# Govt moots options for interim rule

304A

Star 14/9/91

CAPE TOWN — Government planners are already working behind the scenes on a range of options for an interim government, the ANC's key demand in the run-up to real negotiations.

This emerged as South Africa's major political groupings prepared to take another step towards the negotiating table with the signing of the National Peace Accord today.

## Expected

The investigation of various models for transitional government now being undertaken by constitutional planners is a key element of preparations for the proposed All Party Conference (APC).

Interim arrangements for the administration of the country during negotiations are expected to top the agenda at the APC.

"We are looking at a variety of possibilities," a Government spokesman said. "Constitutional planners are exploring the options, as well as their own minds, on how this can be solved."

Referring to Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Vil-

## MICHAEL MORRIS

joen's "confidence that a compromise can be worked out", the spokesman added: "Nothing is very clear just yet. There are various possible models." The outcome, he said, depended on the APC.

Observers are agreed that broadly acceptable interim arrangements are indispensable to attempts to achieve sorely needed economic, social and political stability during the transition phase.

Securing access to international finance, to investment and economic credibility abroad, is probably one of the most important goals in establishing an administration that speaks for the broad mass of South Africans.

## Diverse

Against that need, an interim administration backed by diverse political groupings is urgent. But, like negotiations themselves, working out a legitimate joint administration is easier said than done.

The ANC — which last

● TO PAGE 2



# WASTELANDS

FROM the black steel watchtower on his boundary, farmer Ken Mostert can see the steady advance of squatter shacks from Khotsong township.

Seven years ago the township, near Bothaville in the Free State, had 19 000 residents. Now that figure is closer to 70 000. Unemployed farm labourers, sacked miners, illegal Mozambican refugees and victims of forced removals live in the shackland around the township.

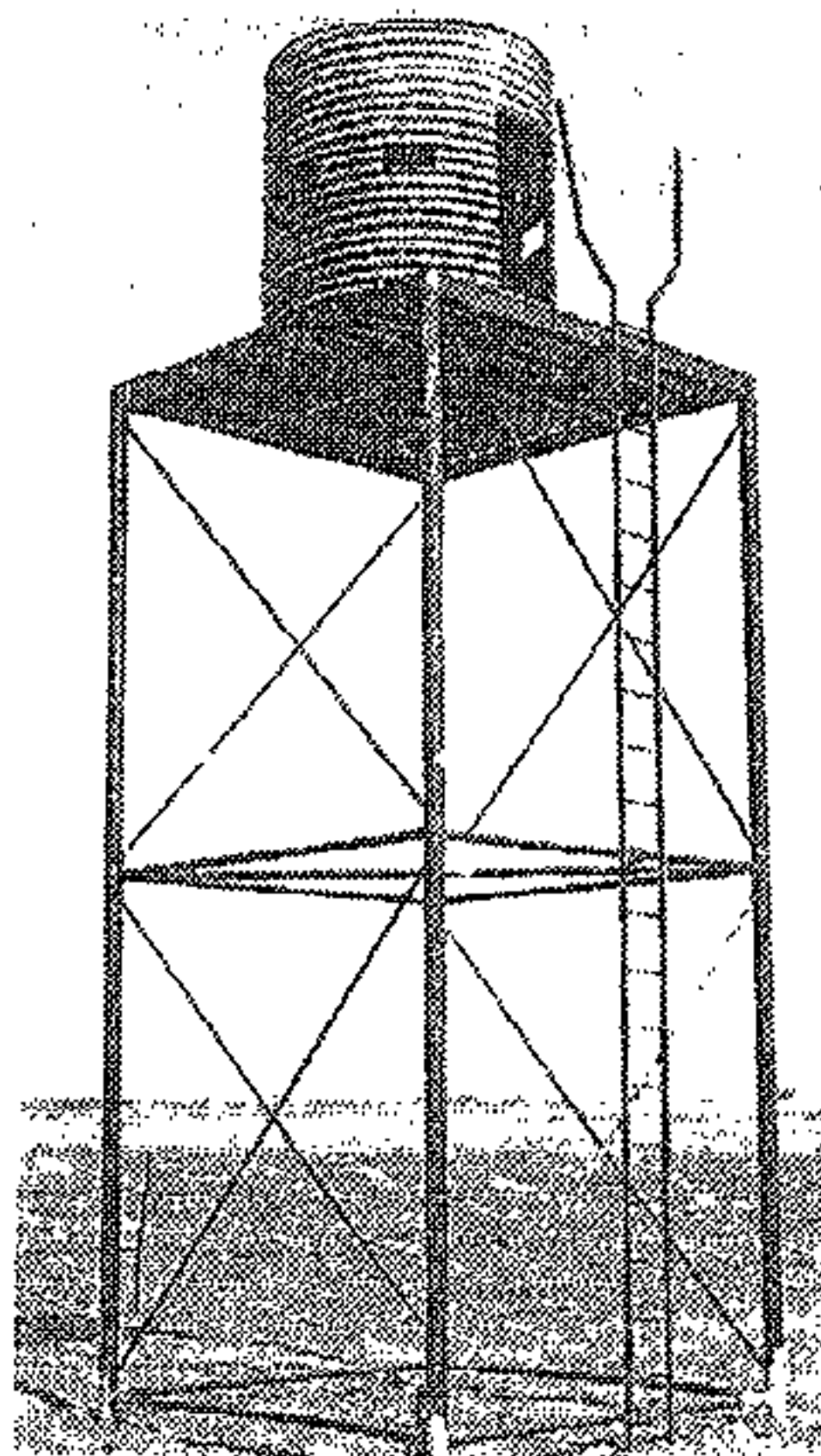
For the first time, says Mr Mostert, he is seeing women from the township waiting at the roadside to scoop up mealie kernels that have fallen from the trucks. It feeds their starving families.

## FENCE

The value of Mr Mostert's farm, Taaibospan, has fallen by 50 percent. He sometimes thinks of leaving, but will not: he refuses to give away his farm at a rock-bottom price. Nor does he have anywhere to go or anything to do.

And so Mr Mostert plans to build an electric fence around his house — a last defence against a world beyond his boundary that has changed unrecognisably and ominously.

Taaibospan and Khotsong are two faces of the same silent revolution now engulfing the plat-



VANTAGE POINT ... Ken Mostert's watchtower

STW 15/9/91  
land. White farmers, broke or plundered, are leaving their land or hanging on grimly from behind barricades. Black peasants, landless and jobless, surge into platterland towns to live by their wits or by crime.

Says Mr Mostert: "My sheds are stripped overnight. An entire roof was stolen the other night.

My fences fall over because the poles are stolen. "I've had to grow sunflowers instead of mealies because every time I went into the mealie field, I'd see about 40 heads ducking down in the rows. This year I have to plant mealies again otherwise I will damage the soil.

"My neighbour's house was cleaned out while he was at church. Another was attacked inside her house. We have been stoned driving along the road. Nobody has broken into our house yet, but I think it's coming."

Mr Mostert understands why it happens: "I can't blame a man for stealing when he is starving. But we are sitting on a time bomb here."

But it is not the stock thieves that are the greatest headache to farmers. For many, the real war is against the banks and a government which the farmers believe is conniving to force them off their land — and probably hand it over to black farmers.

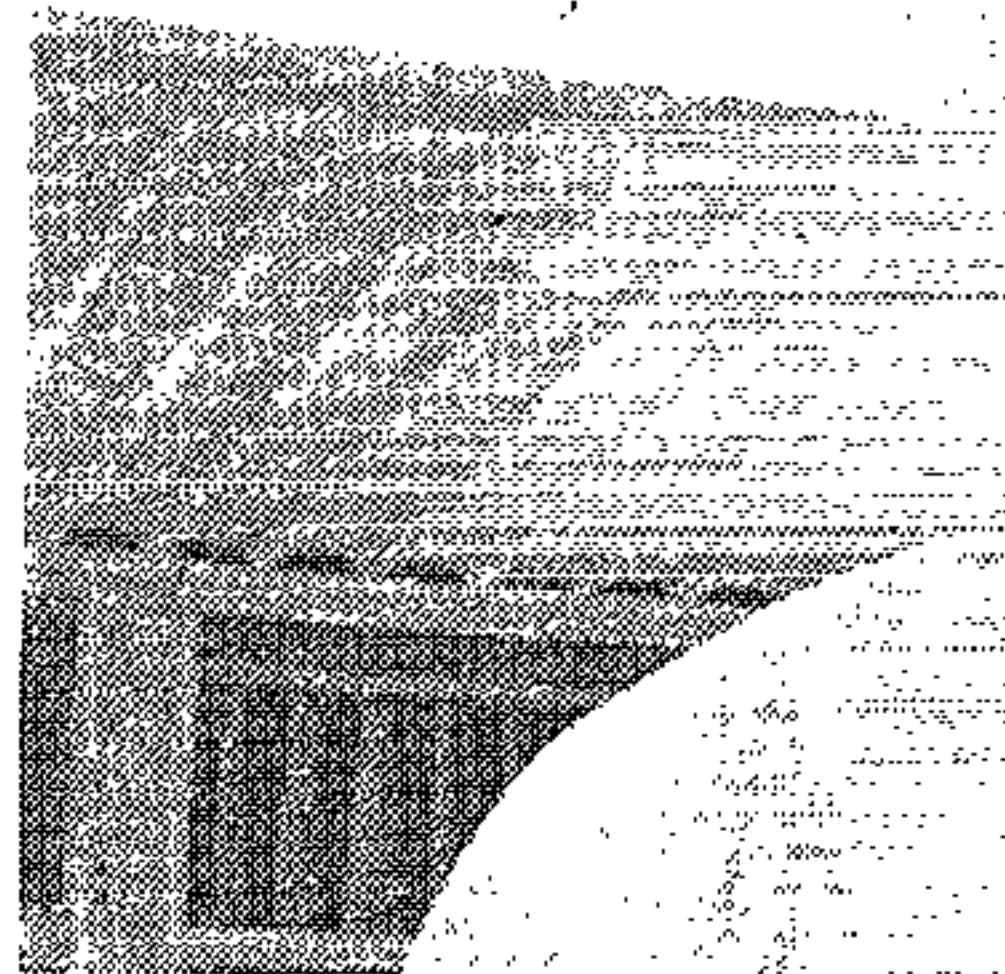
The statistics spell it out. Dr Kit le Clus, agro-economist for the National Maize Producers' Organisation, says 266 farms were sequestered in the first seven months of 1991, compared to 345 in 1990. He predicts that the number will grow to a record 524 by the end of the year if trends continue.

And it could get worse. The government has decided to stop guaranteeing co-operative loans to at least 2 300 farmers. All face potential ruin.

## INTEREST

Part of the farmers' plight is their own fault. The debts of the agricultural sector now stand at R17-billion (of which vast amounts were allegedly squandered on items not related to agriculture). In the good years, farmers borrowed to the hilt, encouraged by financial institutions and unrestrained by the government. With inflation higher than interest rates, it made sense.

Then interest rates rose above inflation rates. The cost of the borrowed money became crippling and the government ended its elaborate financial subsidy structure. Land prices fell — in



DESPERATE ...

3.09



Report and pictures by

DAWN BARKHUIZEN

some cases farmers found they owed more to the banks than their farms were worth.

The elements have also taken their toll. Seven years of drought in the summer rainfall areas were followed by torrential rains which flooded 42 000 hectares of maize in the Bothaville area

are included in the

2) It is assumed that the spec total sales figure of R8 14



309

**'I can't blame a man for stealing when he's starving. But we're sitting on a timebomb here ...'**

Hunger set malnutrition in some parts of the Free State at 50-80 percent.

In Ficksburg, dairy hand Lizbeth Rakoloi says she left her job in May after her life-long employer chopped R20 off her R55 monthly salary for rent.

Farm worker Abel Mohlabi, 65, also from Ficksburg, says he was ordered off a farm when he became ill. Now bedridden, Mr Mohlabi lives in a two-roomed shack with his extended family of 11. He has no pension and he exists on R35 and a 12kg bag of mealie meal provided by Mr Mahlabi's son every month.

## SETTLE

But there are others, also squatting on the Free State veld, who were once landowners. They dream of having land.

"Any land! Anywhere! We just want somewhere to settle," says Mrs Angelina Tseki, leader of a small group of Southern Sothos living in tents on the outskirts of Botshabelo. She was among 158 families who moved when their land was incorporated into the Ciskei in 1979.

The old order is collapsing in rural South Africa. A new one has not yet been built. Meanwhile, in limbo, Ken Mostert and Abel Mohlabi, Johan Hoffman and Angelina Tseki somehow survive.

...ing financial problems have forced farmer Pieter Brink to seek another job

alone. Production costs were up, yields were down.

Mr Johan Hoffman, an agriculture graduate, considers himself an efficient farmer. This year he suffered a direct loss of R350 000 when 150mm of rain flooded his crop in just 30 minutes.

He said: "This was my first bad year. If I have another bad one, I'm out. Before this I was a cash farmer. But I've had to borrow R350 000 to keep going. My interest alone is R71 000.

"Had I been making a profit, I would have been able to sustain a crisis, but I have been running at a loss. It costs me R725 to produce two tons of maize and I get R644 for it."

How do the farmers survive?

Some finance their farms with money from small businesses in the towns. Others, like Bothaville-born farmer Pieter Brink, 36, simply sink.

"My father was 15 when he took over his father's farm. He was one of the biggest farmers in the area," he says.

"When we went into liquidation we owed R2,7-million. The bank took everything.

"After we were liquidated I tried again, but every year I owed a little more.

"Now I've got a job here at the co-op as a parts salesman."

But the plight of white farmers is only one side of the rural tragedy. Black people make up the

remainder of the silent revolution. As farmers go to the wall, scores of labourers and their dependants are left jobless. Others are laid off by farmers who fear the new labour laws will make them responsible for all employees and dependants on their land.

There are still others who trek miserably to townships because life on the farms has become just too hard to bear.

Their chances of employment are slim in the small towns. In Bothaville, for example, the white population has dropped from 5 000 to 3 350 over the same period that the black township has exploded.

Recent surveys by Operation



# A salute to the contribution by SA's English

*SI Times 15/9/11*  
*30411*

**A group of English-speaking South Africans this week launched the John Locke Trust. GLENN BABB and IAN PLAYER explain its purposes**

IN a famous speech at Wits University in 1927, Jan Smuts said that peoples are not blocks, immobile and permanent. Peoples form patterns of behaviour and beliefs which interact with those of other peoples. The whole, observed Jan Smuts, is linked to a "friendly universe".

Exactly 500 years ago, in 1491, the first English-speaker put his feet on the shores of the Cape. He was the harbinger of another pattern which was to weave itself into the South African tapestry. English as a language, we tend to forget, is also a South African heritage.

Language by itself carries forward the traditions and values of those who gave birth to the language. It is hard to sum up the values and philosophies of the English-speaking world, but there is one pivotal person around whom the spread of Western liberty revolves — John Locke.

This eighteenth century philosopher directly affected the evolution of democracy in France. Voltaire found him to have articulated the essence of liberty. Jefferson and the Founding Fathers of the American Revolution took whole chunks of his writings to promote the constitution.

John Locke lived at a time when the idea of the supremacy of parliament and the rights of citizens to choose their government against arbitrary rule triumphed.

After that, though, the citizen assumes not just rights but their complement — duties. The highest duty in a democracy is to make it work. Too often, English-speakers in our country are accused of taking lightly the responsibilities they assume as free men, so some English-speakers recently formed a trust to encourage those who use the language to assume and enlarge their part in the formation of our new South Africa with serenity and determination. The trust has been named after John Locke, the person who set in motion modern democracy.

The spread of the English lan-

guage to South Africa inevitably bore with it that essence of liberty which lies in its past. The John Locke Trust has distilled John Locke's thinking into a few phrases:

*Liberty with responsibility.*

*Tolerance and reasonableness.*

*Generosity and sportsmanship.*

*Justice and nobility.*

*Decency and strength of character.*

English provides a unifying force in a phase of nation-building. It is also non-sectarian. It is used by the full spectrum of South Africans. The trust's aims are to encourage the traditions the language bears in it across colour, sex, and religious grounds. Board members of distinction have been appointed to promote the trust — among them Margaret Lessing, Professor Es'kia Mphahlele, Farouk Cassim — and two patrons from very different walks of life — Dr Ian Player and Dr Bill Venter — as well as a vast number of supporters who see in this initiative a chance to attach ourselves to the "friendly universe" described by Smuts.

The trust aims to reward and honour those, who, through the English language, uphold or epitomise John Locke's heritage in achieving a greater and happier South Africa.

Tolerance, restraint, self-discipline — these also accompany liberty. They can only come from mutual understanding between the peoples who make up the warp and woof of our society.

Those who use English must consider themselves part of the contrasting patterns in our tapestry. The trust will help engender an understanding between communities of the manner in which liberty and tolerance have contributed fundamentally to progress in the modern world.

It is trite to say that English-speakers have not committed themselves to South Africa — and so wrong. What is observable is the lack of recognition of their services. This gap the trust intends to fill.





# KEN OWEN

## ON SUNDAY

15/9/91  
 304A  
 5/15/91

about ill-defined "rights" which are, in fact, no more than policy preferences.

It is no accident that the Western democracies put the idea of liberty first. The American Declaration of Independence puts the right to liberty second only to the right to life, and just ahead of the right to pursue happiness. The British give expression to the same idea rather more subtly by their reverence for Runnymede, where it all started. The French put liberty before equality and fraternity.

What of the South African left? Albie Sachs, in his book *Protecting Human Rights in a New South Africa*, has some passing references to "freedom", and even to "love", but the idea of liberty does not rank in his hierarchy of rights.

At the top of his list he puts "the equal dignity and worth of all South Africans", in second place is "freedom of movement, residence and travel", then the right to vote, the right to free expression, freedom of conscience, and the usual provisions against torture and slavery.

He adds that a child has "a right to play", a right to adventure and a right to warmth, but he dismisses, very sensibly, the notion that trees have rights. He skims over that other favourite, the right to housing, perhaps because hu-

THE link between individual liberty and private property is so obvious that one might expect eminent lawyers to be aware of it. Alas, not so! Left-wing lawyers are assiduously peddling a brand of sentimental nonsense about "human rights" which, by undermining property rights, undermines liberty.

Few of them seem to understand what they are doing, or if they do understand, their campaign is sinister. Let's examine it.

Elsewhere in this issue is published an incandescent letter in which Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, berates me for mocking the attempts by Albie Sachs and others to load our constitution with phoney "rights", such as health or fresh air, while baulking at including the right to own property and, indeed, the right to liberty.

Mr Currin, unusually for a lawyer, has confused an attack on his ideas as an attack on himself and on his like-thinking, Politically Correct (PC) buddies. He accuses me of conducting a campaign against human rights lawyers.

Not so. Some of my best friends are human rights lawyers. One of them I frankly adore. But, collectively, they do peddle a lot of muddled nonsense

underground, and to armed struggle. This raises problems. The concept of "racism" is not defined, and neither is "fascism", and Sachs quickly falls into his own trap.

For example, he postulates, with an unwavering lack of precision, that whites own 87 percent of the land and blacks only 13 percent, and he goes on to say: "This means that just as land was taken away from blacks because they were black, so in future must land be taken from whites because they are white."

This is manifestly the advocacy of racism. To insert into the constitutional debate the idea that whites, most of them owning less than a quarter of an acre, heavily mortgaged, may legitimately be looted because they are white is to recreate in South Africa

man rights lawyers have not decided whether it is Politically Correct to talk of housing or of mere shelter.

Sachs concludes by offering a set of constitutional principles, including equal rights within the family, equality of the sexes, and the idea, now utterly discredited, that the state "shall ensure" that the economy serves the interests and well-being of all the people. As if the state knew how.

Not a word, though, about liberty.

ON the contrary, he proposes to limit the right of free speech by prohibiting advocacy of fascism or racism, a ban not dissimilar to the prohibition on the advocacy of communism by which the Nationalists drove Albie Sachs and others

that which led in Europe to the oppression of Jews because they were Jews.

Sachs will also, I fear, run a grave risk of falling foul of a law against advocating fascism. In proposing to redistribute land, he is compelled to attempt a definition of the "deserving" owner, rather as the Nationalists, having decided to redistribute land in a different way, were driven to the impossible task of defining race.

FOR example, says Sachs, the farmer who simply sits on the stoep drinking coffee will have a weak claim to land; the jolly fellow who works day and night, presumably, will have a stronger claim. Who decides? And what if the lazy fellow puts up a show of energy and drive? What will happen to the

man who starts out working hard, but falls into coffee drinking?

Sachs does not say. His half-baked ideas are full of uncertainties and bureaucratic temptations. On the other hand, it is quite clear that where the right to own property is absolute and secure, a man may drink all the coffee he can buy, without having to persuade the commissars that he is "deserving".

All this is well understood among educated people. Liberty implies choice, and where the state owns all means of production and necessarily becomes the only employer, there can be no choice of work. Where the state owns all the shops, there is no choice of goods. Where the state controls the land, there will be no choice of lifestyles, and no man can be sure of his right to sit on his own stoep and drink his own coffee; he will fawn on those who control his destiny, or bribe them.

Conversely, the more individual owners exist, the more choices there will be, even for those who own very little. The existence of many shops confers choice on the man who spends a penny. That is why all people of fascist temperament, and most governments sooner or later, assault the right of property ownership.

Exchange controls are used to pre-

vent people from fleeing from bad governments; taxes are used to increase the power of government; confiscations are an instrument to reduce people to helplessness and servitude, as the Nationalists reduced the Indian traders by seizing their homes and businesses.

Any fool can draw up a juvenile list of demands and call them "human rights", but that doesn't make them so. Laws that allow "society" to bully eccentrics, gypsies or idle coffee drinkers are not rights at all.

Long before the American Declaration of Independence proclaimed that the very purpose of government was to defend the rights of its individual citizens, serious lawyers were trying to define human rights, and to balance them, one against the other.

It is difficult, painstaking work, the labour of centuries, which is still pursued by truly eminent lawyers before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and by the judges who preside there.

That, Sir, is human rights law. The politicised lobbying which seeks to sneak mere policy choices into the constitution under the mantle of "human rights" is something else, and I don't have much respect for it.

● See Live Letters: Page 18



## Slush funds: FW has yet to 'come clean'

JOHANNESBURG. — The recent revelations about the activities of the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services had demonstrated that President F W de Klerk still had not come clean on the issue of slush funds and covert operations, the ANC said yesterday. ~~2047/12/17~~

"The issue once again gives a clear indication of the lengths to which the state's security services have been prepared to go in order to thwart the struggle for democracy and a decent life by people of our country," the ANC said.

The latest issue of the Financial Mail reported that the security force had founded and financed the bureau.

The ANC said that only full disclosure of the extent of such secret operations would restore confidence in the government's bona fides. — Sapa

# Setback for early start to talks

304A  
AA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE prospects for an early start to constitutional negotiations suffered a setback last night with the announcement that the launch of a Patriotic Front (PF) of liberation movements would now only take place in late October.

The much-postponed PF conference, called to forge a common strategy towards the government at the negotiation table, will now be held in Durban from October 25-27, a joint ANC, PAC and Azapo statement announced.

The lapsing of earlier target dates has led to charges by the government that the liberation organisations were dragging their heels on negotiations and "ganging up" against the National Party.

President F W de Klerk and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last week that the timing for an all-party conference marking the start of negotiations depended on when the PF conference was held and whether opposition groupings were able to achieve unity.

## Statement

The delegations were led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe.

A statement issued in Johannesburg by the Joint Preparatory Committee said:

"The meeting was cordial and frank and dealt with a wide range of issues, both substantive and preparatory, relating to the process leading to the transfer of power and democratisation of our country as well as the formation of a Patriotic Front."

● Meanwhile, a joint statement issued by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance following a leadership meeting yesterday condemned "in the strongest terms" the latest outbreak of violence, fully endorsed the church- and business-sponsored peace process and expressed "general support" for the draft Peace Accord.



## CP leaders spell out volkstaat's boundaries

ESTHER WAUGH

Political Staff

3049

ARG 16/9/91

CONSERVATIVE Party leaders have finally spelt out the boundaries of their version of a volkstaat at the party's Transvaal congress.

Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told delegates in the Pretoria City Hall that white South Africa was what was left when the homelands and the self-governing territories were taken away.

Delegates, however, repeatedly asked leaders to spell out their version of a volkstaat.

During the debate on constitutional matters leader Dr Andries Treurnicht noted that some of the discussion points were not party policy.

Responding, Dr Hartzenberg distilled the 21 discussion points into two motions, which included obtaining the volk's freedom in their homeland under their own government.

One delegate asked the leaders to formulate a draft constitution for a summit of nations.

Professor Johan Schabort cautioned that the party should first obtain power before drawing the boundaries.

A delegate said that blacks, because they had occupied white South Africa, demanded the right to take it away from whites.

He suggested that whites from the Netherlands and Belgium be brought in to counter

this. Whites would repossess the country "without too much trouble".

The Rev Mossie van den Berg, a CP candidate in Innesdal during the last election, said two definitions of a volkstaat were offered by delegates: a fatherland large enough for whites and an area in which whites comprised the majority.

Clearly, this was enough for one of the delegates, a Mr Kruger, who said they had a fatherland and did not need another. The CP policy of partition was scientific and viable.

Many delegates demanded a white election because the government was ruling illegally.

A referendum was nothing but an opinion survey and an attempt to obtain legitimacy for the government's action, said one delegate.

"The NP is ensuring that it can't lose and that's why the CP should think carefully before taking part in a referendum.

A political observer commented that one of the unresolved dilemmas was that whereas on one hand the CP policy was to reject negotiations for a new constitution, in reality the leadership was making policy largely in response to an agenda which was being set by others who were negotiating — Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The ANC and NP need to govern together to develop consensus, writes Herman Gilion

# Building blocks of democracy

Stev 16/9/91

304A

PH

**T**HE best kept secret of the National Party's constitutional proposals is that they are suggestions for structuring an interim form of rule, not a final constitution. It is during this interim period, which could last to the end of this decade, that the conditions will have to be created for a workable democratic system in South Africa.

Behind the NP's political strategy lies the recognition of some fundamental realities. South Africa, as a developing society, lacks virtually all the requirements for a democracy, which have been spelled out by authorities on the subject such as Samuel Huntington, Juan Linz, Larry Diamond and Seymour Martin Lipset.

There is no widely shared sense of national identity, more than half the adult population is functionally illiterate, the inequality of income between the richest 10 percent and poorest 50 percent of the population is among the highest in the world, and there are not two major parties of roughly equal strength who are committed to fighting each other constitutionally.

To this one can add the lack of a civil society (free press, trade unions, churches and other voluntary organisations) which has a racially overlapping membership and enjoys a large measure of autonomy from the existing political parties.

But if it is true that no one — if a choice were available — would have suggested a fully fledged democracy for South Africa, it is also true that South Africa does not have the option of pursuing an undemocratic alternative.

The second reality is that we live in a unique phase in world history where there is a common commitment to democracy among all the states that count today. They will insist that any government in South Africa, whether it be NP or ANC controlled, be democratic if it wishes to tap the financial and technological resources of the US, Europe and Japan. And without that, no significant economic growth is possible.

The third reality is that in divided societies like ours only the power-sharing variant of democracy has worked. The NP has

based its proposals on that reality, but there is also another reality that it should face up to. This is that power-sharing is much more likely to succeed where it is the product of the political process, and specifically electoral outcomes, than where it is dictated by a constitutional formula (as the NP proposals do).

Critics who oppose the NP proposals because they are deemed to be a recipe for paralysis are not necessarily wrong. However, the question is whether a country as unripe for democracy as South Africa can risk a form of democracy which could polarise and radicalise the entire polity.

South Africa over the next seven to nine years needs to construct the genuine building blocks for a democracy. First of all we need at least two parties strong enough to replace each other as the government of the day. A democracy functions well only if today's opposition could become tomorrow's government. As that wise scholar Edi Kedorie has remarked: If the majority and the minority are perpetual, then government ceases to have a media-

tory function and becomes an instrument of perpetual oppression of the minority by the majority.

This is the reason why the NP and the ANC need to realise that it is in their own separate and joint interests to have a strong adversary. Both movements need to make themselves attractive to the widest possible range of voters. For the ANC this means breaking its link with the Communist Party, for the NP it entails dropping its insistence on neighbourhood committees and an extra vote for property owners and rent- and ratepayers. The NP needs to heed the warning of its new coloured members that these proposals will greatly reduce its electoral appeal to people who are not white.

South Africa secondly needs an uncontroversial method for ensuring that a large party is not simply left out of government, which can happen under the West German system which the ANC proposes. It is not advisable to have a constitutional formula dictating this, as the NP wants. The very first thing the All Party Conference needs to do is investigate the

overwhelmingly that the more decentralised a society, the greater its ability to cope with ethnic heterogeneity. Spain and Belgium are among the most recent examples of this trend.

A democracy will only come about in South Africa if it is allowed to grow into one. If the main building blocks can be put in place over the short to medium term, a surprisingly healthy

Venezuelan example where a separate pact was successfully concluded by the major parties before the first democratic election. They agreed to share power for at least the next decade.

Thirdly, the NP and the ANC need to enter government together in order to develop consensus about policy. There exists a quaint belief among some political commentators such as Ken Owen of the Sunday Times that constitutional devices and the constraints of common law are sufficient to ensure the successful development of democracy. As Robert Dahl, one of the greatest living authorities on democracy has remarked, these constitutional rules are trivial when compared to non-constitutional rules and practices.

And the most important of these is a consensus about how to address the major problems confronting society. As Dahl puts it: With such a consensus the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within a broad area of basic agreement.

and vigorous democracy could be constructed by the turn of the century. The alternative is a dreary one-party state from which nearly all countries now want to escape. □

Hermann Gilion teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.



PRETORIA. — The clear message emanating from the Conservative Party's two-day Transvaal congress which ended on Saturday was that the F W de Klerk government must be destroyed.

There was a distinct atmosphere of militancy at the congress.

At the public meeting on Friday night, which was attended by about 1 300, there were frequent interjections of "traitors", "to the firing squad" and "joiners".

Dr Andries Treurnicht's statement that the third freedom struggle had begun was met with a standing ovation.

The two recurring themes of the congress were that the party had to force a general election before the government handed the country over to black majority rule and that the Afrikaner nation had a right to its own fatherland.

# CP message: 30411 ~~30411~~ CT16/9/91 Destroy govt

The party's strategy for attaining this is to take charge of every possible organisation, from local blood transfusion services and school boards to town councils and the SADF.

In other words "the volk" has to be mobilised.

The most militant speech at the congress was made by CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

He said there were enough Afrikaners who loved freedom more than life — this was not a threat but a reality.

"We demand a general election because that is the only way the volk can

be freed constitutionally."

The congress rejected the National Peace Accord signed in Johannesburg on Saturday by Mr De Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It also rejected the government's mixed race education policy and the National Party's constitutional plans. — Sapa

The Human Rights Commission focuses on what constitutes a political offence

# Is defence of apartheid defensible?



304A

16/9/91

304A

THE HRC has long held the view that a political prisoner in the South African context is one who finds himself or herself in prison as a direct result of involvement in resistance to the system of apartheid.

This simple definition is not in conflict with the criteria agreed on by the ANC and the Government in Pretoria on August 6 1990 and would, for example, exclude anyone who acted in his own self-interest rather than promoting the cause of the demise of apartheid. It would not exclude, as the Pretoria Minute does not, the element of violence in any act of resistance. So the issue is clear, even if the Government has chosen to fudge it, and continues to act in an inconsistent manner. Leaving that aside for the mo-

ment, we need to address a related but, in fact, totally separate issue. The issue is simply whether acts committed in support of, or in furtherance of, the system of apartheid should also be regarded as political offences, and their perpetrators be given the same consideration and treatment as anti-apartheid "offenders".

Here, again, the simple HRC definition is clear, since it is based on the universally held perception that apartheid is a crime against humanity and has indeed been declared as such. Acts in support of apartheid cannot be seen in the same light as those in resistance to apartheid.

Acts of support for apartheid take us into the realm not only of right-wing terrorism, so much in focus recently, but also of hit-

squad assassinations, security police torture and many other crimes committed in defence of apartheid power. To grant pardon or indemnity for such crimes falls outside the moral or even legal right of the existing Government, and for two reasons in particular.

The one is that this Government and its progenitors bear direct responsibility for creating the system that engineered or encouraged these crimes. The other is that this Government has thus far shown no sign of remorse, accepted no moral responsibility, for the devastating consequences of apartheid and the crimes committed in its name. "An experiment that has failed", is as far as it is prepared to go. How then can it make judg-

ments on the culpability of individuals, who in a sense were also the victims of apartheid, witting or unwitting tools of a system rooted in apartheid power?

Such judgments can only fall to some future government which has no interest in maintaining apartheid power, or at the very least to an interim government which enjoys legitimacy independent of apartheid power — but there is now increasing urgency about the necessity to take decisions of this kind.

Lest the above remarks be misconstrued, the HRC hastens to say that it will be in the forefront of those who support a climate of reconciliation, a putting behind of the past in order to get on with the task of building a new and democratic South Africa. □



## Workshop on democracy

*Sowetan 16/9/91*  
THE South African Communication Service, a Government institution, is planning a workshop in Johannesburg next month on democracy for women's organisations.

According to SACS's co-ordinator, Ms Hilda du Toit, liaison with women's organisations forms part of the function of the SACS.

To this end, one workshop for women's organisations was incorporated into the annual planning for the Johannesburg regional office.

To ensure that this workshop would satisfy the communication needs of women's organisations, a group of prominent organisations were consulted.

Du Toit said the response was uniformly positive towards a workshop on democracy.

The SACS has asked 11 women's

*304A*  
organisations to send representatives for two planning meetings.

During these meetings it will be decided what will be the content of the programme, who the speakers and facilitators will be, and what follow-up action will be taken.

The final date for the workshop will be decided by the representatives.

Of the 11 women's organisations, 10 agreed to become involved in the planning stages and one opted for involvement in the actual workshop.

Other women's organisations will be invited to the workshop.

The only reason they were excluded from the planning stages of this project was that it would have been impossible to find dates that suited so many people to attend planning meetings.

r  
d  
a  
a  
e  
y  
r  
s  
e  
g  
l-  
e  
r  
i-  
ll  
y  
k  
st  
l-

# 'Vast prospects' for SA links with Soviets

3047

BT to us 16/9/91

TIM COHEN

THERE are "vast" prospects for technological and industrial co-operation between SA and the Soviet Union, says former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

In an interview published in a Leadership Publication journal entitled SA's New World, Shevardnadze says his meetings with government and ANC officials had convinced him there were grounds for optimism about this country's future.

The journal focuses on SA's trade prospects and its role in the international community as it returns from decades of ostracism.

He says SA and the Soviet Union should tap their scientific and cultural resources and bring into action the "mutual gravitation of nations" which was not developed in the years of the Cold War.

Shevardnadze says he is not convinced that the lack of official relations between the Soviet Union and SA is of any real assistance to the forces struggling for the dismantling of apartheid.

"I have had many occasions to observe that the practice of breaking off diplomatic relations, which was typical of a certain period, far from bringing any constructive

results, created difficulties which impeded positive processes ..."

Asked about the prospects for a peaceful settlement in SA, Shevardnadze says the situation is complex but not hopeless and the conditions for a peaceful settlement better than several years ago.

On the end of the Cold War and the development of a unipolar world, he warns that poles are not created by might alone.

BT to us 16/9/91

## Weakness

"Let us not forget that weakness, backwardness and poverty are also a 'pole' of a kind, influencing world politics to an essential degree.

"If we want world politics to be predictable and amenable to adjustment, then we are obligated to see to the evolvment of measures towards the reasonable equalisation of rates and opportunities for development."

Without a serious attempt to attain this, there was a risk that at any moment "poles of weakness" could create insoluble problems for "poles of power", he says.





# Militant CP congress demands white poll

PRETORIA — The clear message emanating from the Conservative Party's two-day Transvaal congress which ended on Saturday was that the government of President F W de Klerk must be destroyed.

There was a distinct atmosphere of militancy at the congress. The public meeting on Friday night, which was attended by about 1 300 people, saw the crowd in an even more militant mood with frequent interjections of "traitors", "to the firing squad" and "joiners".

CP leader Andries Treurnicht's reference to the fact that the third freedom struggle had begun was met with a standing ovation. *B/Day 16/9/91*

The two recurring themes of the congress — which handled 101 discussion points — was that the party had to force a general election before the government handed the country over to black majority rule and that the Afrikaner nation had a right to its own fatherland.

The party's strategy for attaining this is to mobilise the "volk" and take charge of every possible organisation, from local blood transfusion services and school boards to town councils and the SADF.

## Rejected *304A*

In his speech on Friday night, Treurnicht said the State President was taunting the volk by repealing laws which protected whites.

The most militant speech at congress was made by CP general secretary Andries Beyers.

He said there were enough Afrikaners who loved freedom more than life — this was not a threat but a reality.

"We demand a general election because that is the only way the volk can be freed constitutionally."

The congress rejected Saturday's National Peace Accord.

□ Treurnicht and CP foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley left on Saturday afternoon for a 14-day visit to Germany and France.

Their first stop is Bonn, where they expect to meet academics and parliamentarians from three political parties today. They leave for Paris on Wednesday. — Sapa.

ange  
11%  
16%  
17%  
15%

fi  
i  
t  
d  
e  
a  
u  
W  
o  
c  
e  
f  
n  
d  
e  
i  
n  
a  
f  
u  
v  
i  
t  
h  
P

*Record 16/9/91*



# Focus on municipal vote

3044

702

CT 16/9/91

CONTROVERSY over the National Party's recently tabled constitutional proposals is bound to focus public attention on the municipal franchise.

At the National Party's Bloemfontein conference, one of the proposals outlined was that a "double vote" should be given at local level to homeowners or lessees.

President F W de Klerk is reported to have said at the conference that giving special recognition to these categories is "nothing new in South Africa".

As far as we in the Cape are concerned, he is perfectly correct. The question is, how democratic is the present local government system here?

Historically, the Cape has had a municipal franchise system that differs markedly from those of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal.

According to Dr Donald Craythorne's book, *Municipal Administration*, the Cape system has been based on ownership or occupation of immovable property, whereas the local government franchise in other provinces has been based on registration as a parliamentary voter.

In Cape Town, for example,



## CIVIC DIARY

By PETER DENNEHY

adult property owners, their spouses, holders of property leases, and their spouses are the only natural persons who may vote in municipal elections.

Large numbers of other adults, who live with people in the above categories but do not themselves own or lease properties, are disqualified.

This explains why there are just 127 995 municipal voters in Cape Town's 17 wards, plus 90 375 voters for the eight management committees — a total of 218 370 voters in a municipality with an estimated population of over 1,1 million people (including children).

One in five persons qualifies as a municipal voter. Yet there are surely not four children to every adult on average. The huge disparity in numbers cannot be accounted for by the not-very-large number of black people of African descent living within the municipality

either. They are not the only ones who do not qualify for municipal votes.

Another factor skewing the equation even further is the ability of "juristic persons", such as companies, to vote as well if they own property. These votes are included in the above statistics.

According to Dr Craythorne, the President's Council recommended in 1982 that a choice should be made between "two possible systems of a loaded multiple franchise": Either one vote per natural person plus one extra vote for property owners; or two votes for ownership and one for occupation.

The latter was such a drastic departure from the Transvaal and Free State approaches that it had little chance of prevailing, he says. A compromise was reached in the Act, so the Cape still has its own kind of municipal franchise.

At a guess, I would say that in the future non-racial dispensation the Cape municipal franchise system may come under pressure to disappear.

Perhaps that is one of the reasons why NP followers — and many others who also wish to preserve this system — are so keen on decentralisation.



# Startages set for talks

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — The historic National Peace Accord had set the stage for full-scale constitutional negotiations, President F W de Klerk said on Saturday.**

He said at the signing that multi-party negotiations must be one of the follow-through activities of the accord and the day's events. "I sincerely believe that until we also start negotiating constructively about what the future might look like, it will be difficult to implement this accord," he said after signing the document and committing the government and the NP to its conditions.

Mr De Klerk said the signing was only one step on the arduous road ahead, but it was an important breakthrough and a firm foundation on which to continue building.

Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe lezi agreed that compromises reached during the drafting of the accord bode well for future talks. It is understood many of the signatories view the National Peace Committee — the political organ overseeing the accord — as a platform to start



3049 CT 16/9/91

**BRITAIN AND US  
APPLAUD ACCORD**

— PAGE 5

**PEACE ACCORD TEXT**

— PAGE 6

preliminary talks leading to full-blown negotiations, overseen by the multi-party conference.

It is ideally placed as a forum for negotiating issues and the signatories, in the working groups and preparatory committee, have already started identifying areas to be negotiated during national constitutional talks.

On the issue of combating violence, Mr De Klerk said all parties were united — but on a host of other issues, such as an interim government, they differed widely "even with regard to points of departure".

"The challenge therefore is an awesome one . . . because the followers must see their leaders talking peace, talking about the future, and finding ways and means of co-operating."

Important demands would be made of leaders to

also address other issues on which it might be more difficult to reach consensus, he said.

The National Peace Committee is empowered by the accord to negotiate with parties that have not signed — such as the PAC, Azapo and the CP — to try to persuade them to make a commitment. This is also seen as a move to ensure that preliminary talks include all key players.

Mr Mandela added pressure by calling on the UN General Assembly and the international community to add their support to the process. He called on the UN to pass a public resolution forbidding governments from supporting organisations that did not sign the accord or support it.

It is understood that he was directing this specifically at the Conservative Party, which has been seeking foreign funding, but also wanted it to affect the PAC and Azapo. However, these organisations might sign after the Patriotic Front congress next month.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo echoed Mr De Klerk's sentiments on getting constitutional negotiations going.

He "solemnly" bound the SACP to the spirit and details of the accord. The convention left three issues unresolved — the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of so-called traditional weapons and a code of conduct for the defence force.

# Advertisers creating a multiracial SA Utopia

304A

Sowetan 16/9/91

## FOCUS

**WELCOME** to the New South Africa, where blacks and whites drink together, sing together, play together. They just can't seem to stay apart.

Or so it seems in advertisements that use State President FW de Klerk's reforms to sell everything from beer to life insurance.

Ohlsson's lager has multiracial ads promoting "the beer for a new generation". The Government says its new tax plan builds "a better South Africa".

"It's time to talk, time for all South Africans to have their say ... in the New South Africa," a voice trumpets in an insurance company ad, as a multiracial children's choir fills the television screen.

Most TV and print ads are still all white or all black, but there is a trend toward showing blacks and whites being happy together.

"Hey man, what a combination!" a magazine advertisement for malt liquor proclaims atop a picture of blacks and whites clutching each other in drunken joy. The Ohlsson's ad shows two buddies - one black, one white - at a soccer game.

Such ads do not always reflect reality in South Africa, where blacks and whites rarely socialise

in public, but advertisers who do not make an effort at integration risk charges of racism.

The Hunt Lascaris agency got a barrage of complaints about its television ad for copying machines.

Angry viewers noted that the protagonist, a white boy of about 6, handed photocopied love letters to little white girls, but passed up his black classmates.

Ms Guia Iacomin, the agency's television producer, said no insult was intended.

"It was a simple case of using the shot that worked the best," she told newspapers. "It was certainly not a case of deciding the little black girls wouldn't get cards."

Not everybody is happy about the advertising approach, born when De Klerk began dismantling apartheid in February 1990.

Mr Sandile Memela, a former advertising executive, said the ads generally ignore the realities faced by most residents of crime-ridden black townships.

"Many of the black families I im-

THIS is an American view of the contrast between some advertising in South Africa and some of the realities. TINA SUSMAN of the Associated Press reports.

agine watching these images ... have no connection with this glossy portrayal of life," he wrote in a black-oriented magazine.

"The impression that this kind of advertising gives is that blacks and whites are enjoying the sunshine that penetrates the smouldering smoke from the townships."

Even with the repeal of apartheid laws, few blacks can afford to move into white areas. Those who do so risk retaliation by neighbours. A bomb recently went off in the car of a mixed-race woman who bought a house in a white Johannesburg suburb.

Memela, now on the staff of the black newspaper *City Press*, wrote that the ads imply all is well in South Africa's race relations, but that "one would be hard-pressed to find the camaraderie which is being currently depicted".

Supporters of integrated ads say it is the industry's duty to create a Utopian image and influence people's thinking.

"I as a white person aspire to a nice, happy harmonious future, so these ads reach home to me and I think they reach home to most blacks," said Mr Malcolm Fothergill, who covers the advertising industry for *The Star*.

South African Breweries, which produces Ohlsson's lager, is a leader in multiracial advertising.

"A large share of our market is the black market and part of our thoughts have been forward thinking, and also to hopefully change perceptions and values," said Mr Kevin Rule, the brand manager.

Early this year, Ohlsson's introduced television viewers to three young men - one black, one white, one of mixed race - who gave their views on the best way to achieve peaceful change in South Africa.

At the end of the commercial, the three were sitting together at a popular Johannesburg pub, lifting frothy mugs as a voice declared: "Ohlsson's, the beer for a new generation." - *South African Press Association - AP*.



Most groups welcome pact

# Now for the

# business !!!

Southern 16/9/91

504A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

**NOW it's down to business.**  
South Africa's leaders on Saturday placed peace and reconciliation before their respective parties and signed an accord that is being hailed as the first step towards a negotiated settlement. The leadership of almost 30 parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political and trade union organisations with their signatures endorsed peace.

The PAC and Azapo abstained. While both organisations made sterling contributions towards Saturday's convention, their refusal to endorse the docu-

To Page 2



President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela offer to shake hands with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe after the three gathered to sign a peace pact in a bid to end violence on the Reef that has claimed the lives of hundreds of people over the past few weeks.







Police inspect a corpse of a man killed on Saturday in Johannesburg. Eyewitnesses say he was hacked to death by a rival faction shortly after the signing of the peace pact.

# Now for the business...

304A  
Sowetan  
16/9/91

● From Page 1

ment missed the best opportunity they have had yet had to join hands with a nation that is divided at its roots.

Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer, one of the Government's most important negotiators, said:

"Forty years of apartheid aside, this was the first time in 340 years that the leaders of this country sat down together....

"It's unbelievable. It has never happened before."

He added that while the accord would not solve all problems, it had placed the country on the road to a negotiated settlement.

"It will be impossible to return to conditions as they were before yesterday..." he said.

The country's three main leaders - State President FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi - in separate statements placed the future of the country before their political and individual dif-

ferences.

De Klerk said constitutional negotiations were now the next logical step after the signing of Saturday's peace accord.

"Until we start negotiations about what the future will look like, it will be difficult to implement the accord," De Klerk said.

Mandela said the accord represented the hope which the people of South Africa held for the future of their country.

Buthelezi said the accord was an "instrument of God".

Their sentiments were echoed by diplomats, academics and church people.

The PAC and Azapo refused to sign the accord on the grounds that it "legitimised apartheid".

Rightwing parties also rejected the accord.

Saturday's meeting also sent signals across the world that South Africa's political parties were ready to bury their differences and search for a lasting solution.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Douglas Hurd welcomed the signing.



### Nurses want right to strike

TANIA LEVY

THE SA Nursing Council wants the ban on strikes by nurses to be lifted.

At a council meeting in Kimberley yesterday president Prof Wilma Kotze said the executive committee believed that the ban should be allowed to lapse.

She said the council would still be empowered to conduct disciplinary hearings when nurses left patients unattended without authorisation.

Such behaviour would always be considered a transgression of professional ethics, said Kotze.

But "emphasis should be on nurses' own professional conscience instead of external control and prohibition," she said.

The recommendations for amendments to the Nursing Act will be debated by the full council and forwarded to government.

### Meyer lashes out at CP threats to hijack SADF

Bloay 17/9/91

BILLY PADDOCK 304A

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday lashed out at the CP and said he would not tolerate the party trying to hijack or exploit the political sentiments of members of the SADF.

He said the CP had not only indicated at its Transvaal congress at the weekend that it intended to hijack the SADF, but also stated its intention to exploit political sentiments of members for revolutionary purposes.

Reacting to threats from CP MP Koos van der Merwe, Meyer said: "It is vital that the SADF should not be dragged into party political debate — the SADF is not a political football, but a professional national security force that must be aloof from politics at all levels and at all times."

He said members of the force who defied discipline and abused the SADF for political purposes "will be severely dealt with".

"Neither I nor the SADF will tolerate party political interference in any aspect of defence force activity. I find Van der Merwe's remarks to be an insult to the professionalism and integrity of the SADF," Meyer said.

He said he wanted to make it clear that contrary to Van der Merwe's statements, he had no intention of presiding over the demise of the SADF.

"Similarly, I will not be dictated to by anyone on defence policy. The chief of the SADF, Gen Kai Liebenberg, and his senior officers are my chief advisers on policy matters. They have my complete confidence."

VS 9644



**A**MERICAN business and the ANC are due to meet at Notre Dame University early next month. Thabo Mbeki, who will head the ANC delegation, has reportedly joked that the businessmen will be there "to teach us about the free market". A more accurate rendering of Mbeki's metaphor would be that the teachers will be trying to find out whether the pupils are educable and worth their time and investment.

Aside from indications that the ANC may use the occasion to shift its ground on sanctions — by this stage a largely symbolic gesture — the conference preliminaries are not altogether encouraging.

In the wake of Inkathagate, and last weekend's peace accord notwithstanding, the ANC has indicated that Inkatha should not be invited. The organisers — who include Notre Dame's deputy provost, Father Oliver Williams, and members of the Industry Support Unit Inc, an advisory group set up by the old Sullivan Code companies — appear divided on how to respond.

Some believe US business can talk to Inkatha whenever it wishes while the time has come to have a serious discussion with SA's putative next government. Others contend that Inkatha must somehow be accommodated, either through a non-aligned representative like Oscar Dhlomo or as the result of a quiet agreement between the organisations themselves. Inkatha itself seems to be gearing for a fight.

**I**f their interest is securing US investment, it would behave both sides to come to an arrangement. Inkatha will only lose face if, having publicly changed its fists, the conference goes ahead without it, as almost certainly it will. On the other hand, by exploiting this, the ANC will negate the purpose of the whole exercise: assuring US capital that the "new SA" will be a worthwhile bet.

The chairman and senior executives of some of America's largest corporations are going to Notre Dame in search of the ANC's better angels. They will not find them if the movement maintains an intolerant and antagonistic stance towards a party which, whatever its other deficiencies, does at least espouse

# Barrington Inkatha from US business talks will hurt SA

Blog 17/9/91  
304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

market-friendly policies.

Having convinced most of the outside world that it will form, at minimum, the core of SA's next government, the ANC has already acquired not only a high degree of responsibility for the country's future, but, far more importantly, no little power to decide what the future will look like.

To bar Inkatha from the conference would be a profoundly irresponsible use of that power, for it would send a signal to US businessmen that SA is simply got a rational candidate for their dollars. This in turn would represent a bitter betrayal of those the ANC claims to represent.

The fact that the ANC wishes to present its case at Notre Dame, and may even be ready to call off the sanctioneers, presumably indicates that it acknowledges the need for foreign investment. If that is the case, it must also understand just how marginal an opportunity SA presents to foreign, and in particular, US capital — not only when compared with opportunities elsewhere, but in absolute terms as well.

Apart from de facto prohibition on SA's access to the IMF, the US's residual sanctions are among the least of the US business community's concerns. What is holding them up is SA itself.

Heading the list of disincentives is violence, both in and of itself and as a symptom of broader political and economic instability. Several US companies that have weathered a decade's worth of sanctions and oth-

er pressure to disinvest recently told the Investor Responsibility Research Centre that continued unrest was the one thing that could still force them to leave. One might add that the continued killing despite the signing of the peace accord will only make matters worse. To outsiders it will signify anarchy.

It is in this context that the ANC's wish to exclude Inkatha from the conference is perhaps most foolish. Rightly or wrongly, the mayhem is



□ MBEKI

what the report calls "a competition around the world to offer the best incentives".

By any standard, the report finds, SA is already well down in a field that includes Eastern Europe, a Latin America that is moving out of debt crisis towards sound economic management, as well as Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim whose development is being propelled by Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. Even India looked better than SA to some of the centre's interviewees.

The fact that it results from the injustice of the past does not alter the basic reality that SA has a desperate shortage not just of skilled labour, but of workers who can read and write. Training costs will therefore be abnormally high, so, in all likelihood, will wages as companies are forced to compete for what little skilled labour there is.

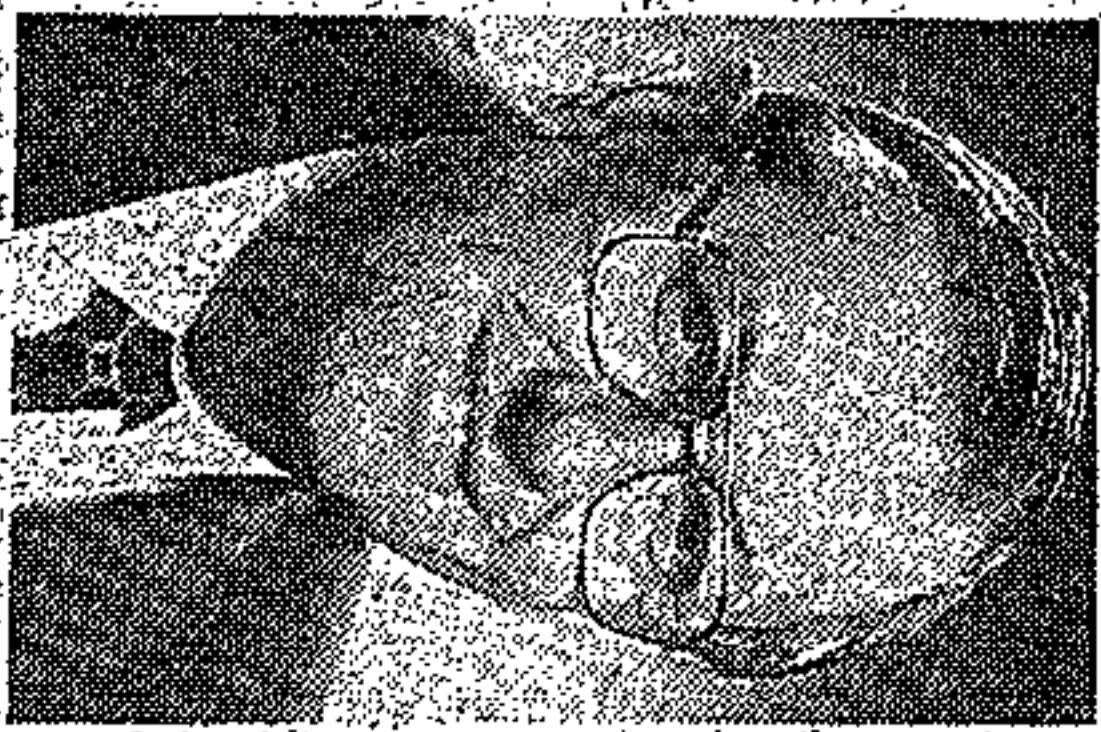
Many underdeveloped countries with similar problems have benefited by encouraging foreign corporations to establish assembly facilities to take advantage of their cheap labour. Mexico's "maquiladoras" are a classic example. But SA is not in a position to even do this. It is simply too far from markets for the finished goods, and its domestic and regional markets are still too tiny. One executive told the centre that in market terms "southern Africa is still a small fraction of Italy and their per capita income is zilch".

**A**s things stand, the study suggests, US companies are likely to limit their involvement in SA to sales operations, franchising and other non-equity relationships in hopes that the the black consumer market will take off, but which, in the meantime, will limit their exposure should things go wrong. Investment in people, infrastructure and manufacturing capacity — the long-term kind SA really needs — will be dependent on South Africans convincing Americans that there is a long term and that its rewards will be commensurate with those that can be had elsewhere.

Since it demands to be seen as SA's next government, and has been largely successful in having that demand met, it is up to the ANC to persuade investors the future is going to work. Playing politics at the very moment it is about to make its case to the captains of US industry is not the recommended approach.



# ANC cocktail party for Mandela at Momberg's home



Mr. Jannie Momberg

**MICHAEL MORRIS**

**South**

**Age 18/191**

**the ANC's fundraising.**

Political Correspondent  
**DEMOCRATIC Party MP.** Mr. Jannie Momberg's Stellenbosch home will be used by the ANC next week to host a cocktail party for Mr. Nelson Mandela, who is visiting the Western Cape on a fundraising drive.

The function, on September 26, will be followed by a black-tie dinner for Mr. Mandela and 45 guests at a restaurant part-owned by Mr. Momberg.

The Simon's Town MP, who has another home in Fish Hoek, said there was "nothing sinister" about his connections with

the ANC's fundraising. "It does not mean I am about to join the ANC. I happen to have two sons in the ANC and I see this as an opportunity, as a DP MP, to promote understanding between people. I have nothing to hide. I am helping to build bridges."

Mr. Momberg's three sons, all at Stellenbosch University, live in the family home in the town. Jannie jun and Steyn are ANC members, with the young Jannie on the executive of the Stellenbosch branch. His father said: "All I would wish to do is to get as many

Afrikaans people as possible to get to know Mr. Mandela the man. They are so dependent on the slanted version of the ANC president which paints him as an ogre.

"I have lived in Stellenbosch virtually all my life and if I can get my people to understand Mr. Mandela better for the sake of the future, I will feel I have contributed something to the process.

"We are, after all, talking about someone who will be part of the government in five years' time. "There is no secret about the

fact that I admire Mr. Mandela. I regard it as an honour to host him in Stellenbosch.

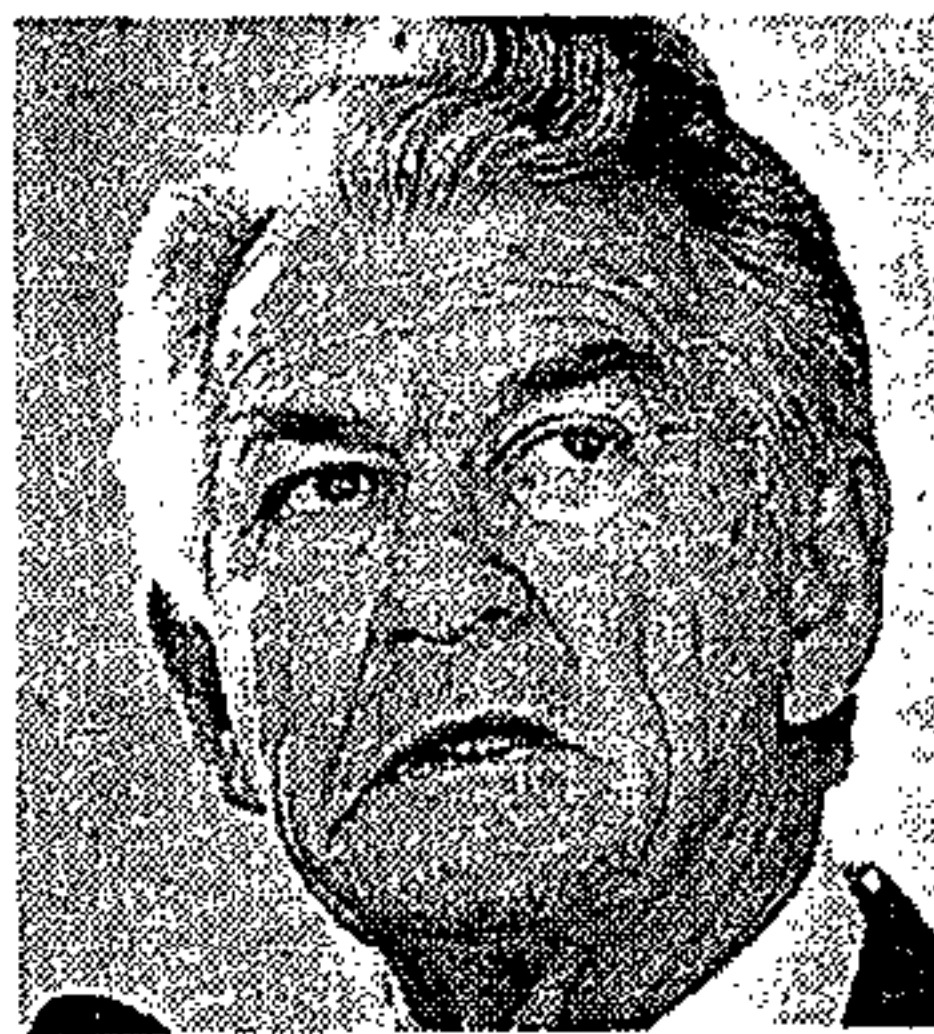
"I have never made any excuses about the fact that I consider him a vital player and if I can promote a better understanding of him among my people, I believe I will have done something worthwhile.

"This does not imply that I am about the join the ANC.

"What I am doing is compatible with my role as an MP for the DP. It is a question of building bridges and trying to influence the ANC if I have problems with their policies."



Mr. Nelson Mandela



Mr Bob Hawke

## Reform too slow — <sup>SOA</sup> <sub>18/9/91</sub> Hawke puts off visit

CANBERRA. — Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said today he had put on hold a visit to South Africa he was considering next month because he felt reform in the republic was slowing.

"The changes towards transitional government and discussions about constitutional reform have slowed down and they are not going as fast as I think they should have," Mr Hawke said in a radio interview.

Mr Hawke had been considering a visit to South Africa before the Commonwealth summit in Harare from October 16 to 22.

"We've made the judgment that it wouldn't yet be appropriate but let me say we are going to have contact with them," he said.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been invited to visit Australia before the Commonwealth summit after a visit to South Africa by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans in June.

Australian Foreign Ministry officials said the South African government had made approaches indicating Mr Botha was interested in making an official visit.

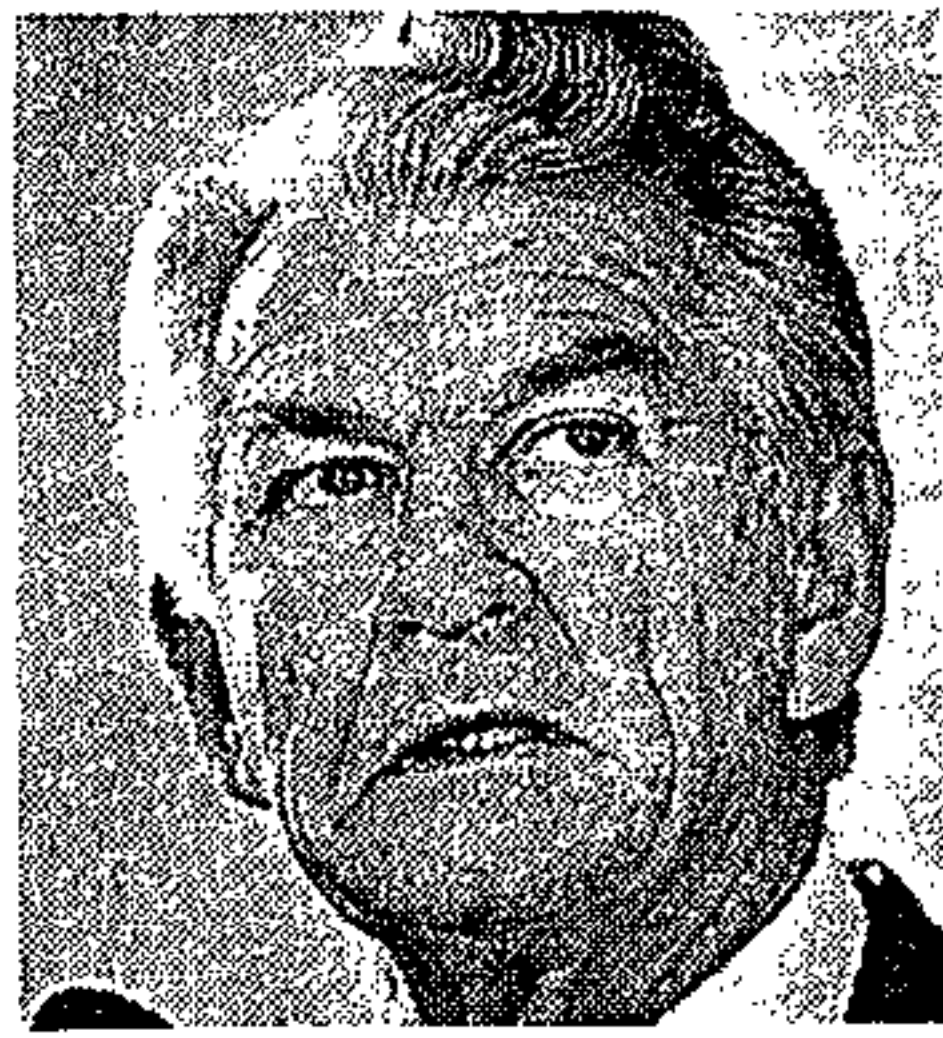
"We agreed in principle and it's most likely he will travel here in early October," the spokesman said.

The Canberra government said this week it was ready to lift a first phase of sanctions against South Africa.

Australia includes among the first phase of sanctions cultural and scientific exchanges, direct air links and visa restrictions which force South Africans applying for a visa for Australia to do so from another country.

— Sapa-Reuter.





Mr Bob Hawke

## Reform too slow — Hawke puts off visit

3044  
APR 18/91

CANBERRA. — Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said today he had put on hold a visit to South Africa he was considering next month because he felt reform in the republic was slowing.

"The changes towards transitional government and discussions about constitutional reform have slowed down and they are not going as fast as I think they should have," Mr Hawke said in a radio interview.

Mr Hawke had been considering a visit to South Africa before the Commonwealth summit in Harare from October 16 to 22.

"We've made the judgment that it wouldn't yet be appropriate but let me say we are going to have contact with them," he said.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been invited to visit Australia before the Commonwealth summit after a visit to South Africa by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans in June.

Australian Foreign Ministry officials said the South African government had made approaches indicating Mr Botha was interested in making an official visit.

"We agreed in principle and it's most likely he will travel here in early October," the spokesman said.

The Canberra government said this week it was ready to lift a first phase of sanctions against South Africa.

Australia includes among the first phase of sanctions cultural and scientific exchanges, direct air links and visa restrictions which force South Africans applying for a visa for Australia to do so from another country.

— Sapa-Reuter.



THE constitutional proposals adopted by the ruling National Party have received wide coverage in the international media.

Although the ANC's negative reaction has featured in most reports, treatment has generally been respectful: the implied suggestion is that the proposals should be taken seriously. And so they should.

President De Klerk, in the speech of February 2, 1990, that started it all, recognised that apartheid had to be abolished; acknowledged the moral right of black South Africans to participate in the government of the country on the same basis as whites; and committed the NP to negotiating a new form of government in which race and colour would not consciously figure. The NP's constitutional plan reflects this.

Why then were these proposals so summarily shot down by the ANC? And how far apart are these two major players in their view of how a future South Africa should be governed? (The ANC revealed its proposals in April.)

### Points in common

As with their respective approach to the economy of the new South Africa (both are committed to growth in a social market-type economy, but the NP tends to stress the creation of wealth and the ANC its distribution), what divides the ANC and the NP is less a difference of principle than of approach.

The two share a commitment to the following:

- The supremacy of the constitution and all this implies.
- The inclusion of a Bill of Fundamental Rights.
- An independent judi-

# ANC, NP differ mainly on status of central power

304A CT 18/9/91



**Viewpoint**  
by DENIS  
WORRALL

The differences regardless, there is more than enough common constitutional ground between the ANC and the NP for them to proceed with the all-party constitutional conference they are both committed to holding; and the Peace Summit of September 14 should set the scene for serious multi-party talks on a new form of government.

### Ethnicity

One consequence of the NP's proposals would be to encourage smaller political parties: with the principle of proportionality built into the constitution at virtually all levels, the smaller players are assured a future political role.

However, of immediate importance is that they will be encouraged to participate actively in the constitution-making process — where they have an extremely important contribution to make.

Indispensable though the NP and the ANC are to the process, neither has all the answers.

For example, neither the ANC nor the NP has addressed the central issue of ethnicity and the political role of ethnic groups. The ANC's concept of nationhood denies their existence and the NP cannot respectably raise the matter, because (through apartheid), it corrupted the concept of ethnicity.

So it will be for Inkatha, or the Democratic Party, or the Labour Party, to put this and other issues on the table.

□ Dr Worrall, MP for Berea, is DP spokesman on constitutional affairs. He wrote this article in London, in the course of an extensive overseas visit.

ciary and the "non-political" selection and appointment of judicial officers.

- Universal franchise ("One person, one vote").
- An electoral system based on proportional representation.
- A multi-party political system.
- Both accept the re-incorporation, through negotiation, of the former Homelands.
- Strong regional and local government.

And both accept that the new constitution has to be negotiated in a process which includes as many political parties and organisations as possible.

### Majority alliance

The difference between the NP and the ANC stems from their respective approaches to power at the centre: the NP wants to disperse power at the centre, so ostensibly avoiding destructive competition for control; the ANC wants power concentrated at the centre, ostensibly to cope with the urgent social and economic problems the country faces.

But underlying both approaches are certain practical political assumptions.

The NP knows it cannot hope, on its own, to be a majority party, but, at the most, the dominant members of a majority alliance. However, the ANC believes — with

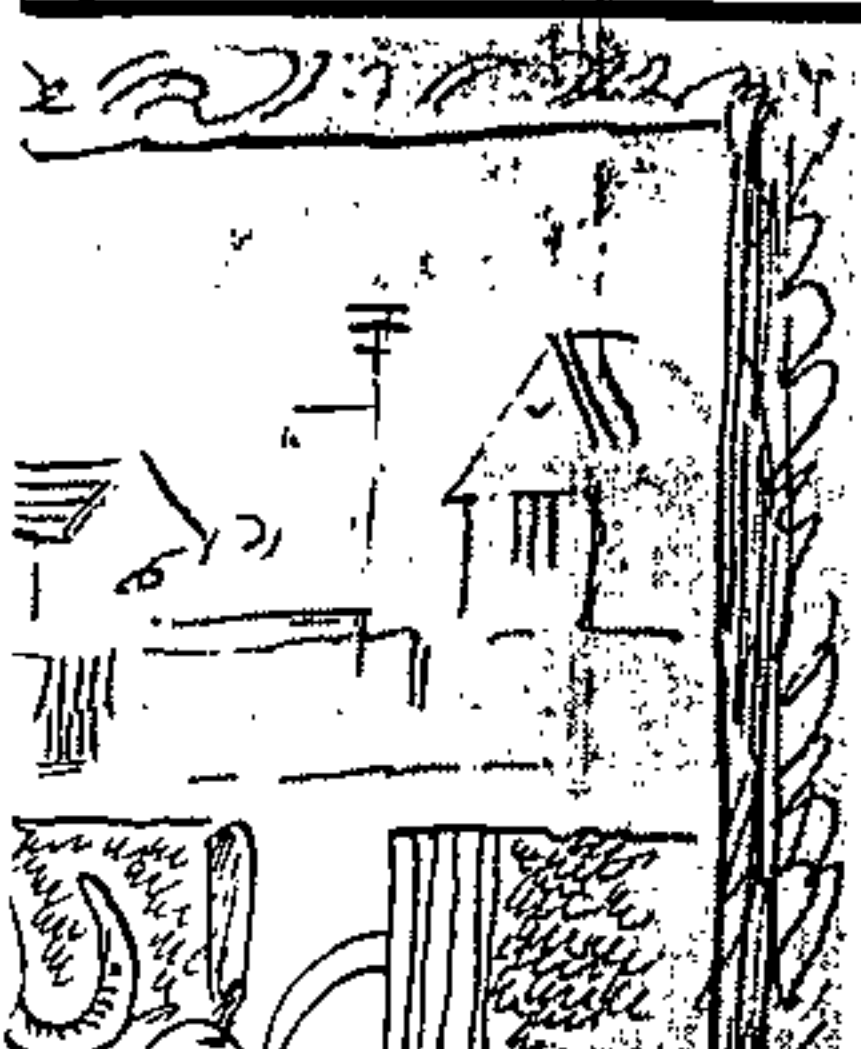
good reason at the moment — that it can singly command a majority.

Hence the NP's concept of "participatory democracy" and "power sharing" and its declared intention of seeing several parties "effectively involved" in the system of government; and, by contrast, the ANC's "the majority should rule" approach.

### No to federalism

This explains key points of constitutional differences between the NP and the ANC.

- The NP favours a collegial presidency of three political leaders, the chairmanship rotating on an annual basis (along Swiss lines). The ANC opts for an elected President with a fixed term of office.
- The NP wants a multi-party cabinet appointed by the three members of the presidency on a basis of consensus. The ANC wants the majority party to fill cabinet appointments.
- The NP proposes that each of its nine envisaged regions should have equal representation in the upper legislature chamber and all political parties which poll a certain minimum percentage of votes should have the same number of seats. This, clearly, is part of a federal scheme of things and federalism has been rejected by the ANC.





# NP caught in the web it weaved

Sowetan 18/9/91

304A

**THE National Party appears to be trapped between a rock and a hard place.**

By some cruel twist of fate, the Constitution Act of 1983 - upon which the tricameral parliament is based, and which specifically excludes black people from central government - has become the Government's biggest enemy. . .

Earlier this month, State President FW de Klerk told a sycophantic audience at the National Party's federal congress in Bloemfontein, that his party enjoyed the support of a considerable number of black people.

The PAC's secretary for information, Mr Barney Desai, swiftly called De Klerk's bluff and said: "If this is indeed the case, prove it by holding a general election (of all races) to a constituent assembly."

At the weekend the Conservative Party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said at the Transvaal congress of the CP that, by staying away from the negotiation table, his party would force De Klerk to call a general election.

De Klerk responded to Hartzenberg during a television programme on Sunday night and said his Government would not be forced into an election.

He said the Government had a five-year term of office to complete and hoped

**ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political  
Correspondent

during that time to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution.

This response was typically De Klerk. He failed to acknowledge that the NP would in all probability lose a general election based on the present constitution.

The NP's white support has dwindled over the past eight or nine years and the CP has gained almost all of it - particularly because of the tricameral parliament.

## Election

In this regard, the NP would lose a general election to the Conservative Party - if it were held under the present constitution - a particularly well placed Government source said.

Therefore, it is very unlikely that the NP would allow itself to be tested in an election before a negotiated settlement is reached.

But nothing is quite that easy . . . if you're running away from yourself.

While it appears relatively easy to reach a negotiated settlement, there is no way that passing any constitution agreed to by the NP, the ANC and other negotiators would be summarily approved by Parliament.

In terms of existing leg-

islation, any new constitution will have to be passed by the present Parliament by a two-thirds majority in all three Houses - and the NP holds a majority in the white House of Assembly only.

At this stage the NP will not get its majority, because the majority in the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, will not approve "any constitution based on the NP's constitutional proposals," Mr Desmond Lockey, the LP's Member of Parliament for Northern Cape, said this week.

The NP will therefore not be able to force through Parliament any new constitution unless it holds majorities in the White House of Assembly, Indian House of Delegates and coloured House of Representatives - and it has already started this surge for a "takeover" in the other Houses.

Earlier this year, during the last parliamentary session, the NP won 34 seats in the HoR and became the official opposition there. The NP has the majority in the white House only.

Lockey said this week that, if the present constitution expired and no new constitution had been agreed on, De Klerk would be forced to call an election.

This could well push him to defeat against the CP.

# Allaying anxiety about Afrikaans

Stev 19/9/91. (304A)

SOON after Nelson Mandela's release there emerged a story — possibly but not probably apocryphal — about an exchange between the ANC leader and his erstwhile fellow-prisoner, Ahmed Kathrada. Within earshot of Kathrada, Mandela had been practising (with evident relish) his Afrikaans. Asked what he thought of the performance, the typically forthright Kathrada remarked that Mandela spoke the taal with a "strong Xhosa accent".

Mandela was crestfallen, so the story goes, and has been somewhat nervous about his forays into Afrikaans ever since.

Mandela's attitude towards the language has been, for the past 18 months at least, a persistent subplot in the unfolding South African drama. It first surfaced with the rumour, on the day of his release from Victor Verster Prison, that he intended to speak a few sentences in Afrikaans as a pre-emptive reconciliatory gesture. In the

event he did not, but the ANC president has done so on several occasions since — most memorably at the time of the Grooten-Schuur Minute, and again at last weekend's National Peace Convention.

Besides the obvious political capital to be gained from such exhibitions of multilingualism, one can't help feeling that Mandela has a genuine fondness for the language. Among South Africa's top politicians, he pays unusual attention to the language question — suffice it to say that President de Klerk has not been noted for his public utterances in Xhosa, Zulu or other local tongues.

Mandela's conciliatory attitude is evident in perhaps his most comprehensive statement on the matter to date, published in the latest edition of the Cape-based journal New Era. He views the language as an "unfortunate casualty" of ideology, particularly as a result of its central role in the Soweto uprising of 1976.

It is "understandable that (Afrikaans-speakers) should be concerned about the future of Afrikaans", he writes, "because it has a history of being identified with apartheid and repression. Orders for the breaking up of our meetings, interrogation in detention and racial insults are often in Afrikaans." He might have added that Afrikaans is also the language of the prison warders — who might, incidentally, have played no small role in fostering Mandela's own command of the language.

But, he insists, "language has no inherent repressive character — any language can be the vehicle of racist insults and repression, but it can also be the carrier of the message of hope and liberation." Mandela notes that "Afrikaans has developed and grown out of the diversity of cultures in South Africa. Its vocabulary is a rich mixture of Dutch, French, English, Malaysian and African words. The first people who used it were the slaves in the Cape.

"We recognise it as a truly African language, and we are glad that the character of Afrikaans is increasingly being reasserted. Afrikaans is again becoming the anti-colonial language of liberation and hope that it was."

Mandela says it is a matter of "sadness that the most well-known Afrikaans word throughout the world is 'apartheid'. We hope that Afrikaans will soon be able to discard all the exclusivist, Afrikaner-nationalist and racist baggage that it has been burdened with, and take on its rightful place as one of the many languages of our people in a free and democratic society. Therein lies its hope and future growth."

The ANC leader says his organisation is acutely aware of fears among (white) Afrikaners that their culture will be "swamped" and, although he believes such fears to be groundless, he nevertheless accepts that they are real. "We can assure them that, as much as we will not accept any

entrenchment of group privileges in a new constitution, we will also resist anything that may impede the right of any group to use and develop its culture and language.

"The greatest mistake Afrikaners can make is to demand special status and protection for Afrikaans. Afrikaans is a strong and vibrant language that needs no protection. It is a product of our cultural diversity and can only prosper by becoming part of that again. Laws cannot protect a culture and language: the growing number of South Africans who love and speak Afrikaans will do so."

Mandela is also at pains to note that Afrikaans is not the exclusively white language of its international image. "For many of our people Afrikaans is the first language that they learned from their mothers and fathers. It is the language in which they best express their deepest emotions. It is the language in which they conduct the meetings of their community organisations and ANC

branches." Interestingly, Mandela and the ANC are taken to task — albeit obliquely — in the same edition of New Era by poet and University of the Western Cape lecturer Hein Willemse. "Mandela has spoken and the future of Afrikaans has been secured," writes Willemse sardonically. "But we have to call into question the assumptions behind such an approach. "While it is an understandable strategy to appease Afrikaner fears, by continually stressing the linkage between Afrikaners and Afrikaans, progressive organisations are perpetuating the myth cultivated by Afrikaner nationalism that Afrikaners are the 'possessors' of Afrikaans ... Black Afrikaans-speaking people's considerable role in the development of history has been cut from the official history of the language." In spite of historical exclusion, he argues, "black Afrikaans-speaking people have also striven for their liberation — in that language". □



# Govt 'still pushing apartheid'

**Political Correspondent**

THE government and most municipal authorities are still bent on entrenching apartheid at local government level, an ANC consultative workshop on local government decided this week.

The workshop, which was organised by the constitutional affairs department of the ANC in co-operation with the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape, was

attended by regional representatives of the ANC, civic associations and Cosatu. ~~3049~~

The two-day workshop was called to consider: ~~242~~

- Local level negotiations.
- The transformation of local authorities into non-racial bodies which would eliminate inequalities in the provision of essential services and facilities.
- The movement towards democratic participation in local government. ET19/9/91

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that the workshop concluded there had not been progress in these three areas.

Regarding the National Party's constitutional proposals on local government, the meeting decided they were "clearly designed to perpetuate the group areas patterns and inequalities created by the apartheid system".

The workshop rejected totally the government's proposals with regard to local government.

# Hawke calls off visit to SA

*South Africa* *19/9/91* *304A*

CANBERRA - Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke said yesterday he had cancelled a planned trip to South Africa because of his dissatisfaction with the pace of reforms there.

"The changes towards transitional government and . . . constitutional reform have slowed down and they are not going as fast as they should be," Hawke said in a radio interview.

"The progress has not been as rapid as we all would have liked."

Hawke had planned to visit South Africa and meet



Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on October 16 - the week before the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Zimbabwe.

Hawke said he still looked forward to meeting Botha, who is scheduled to visit Australia later this year.

The prime minister said he welcomed South Africa's participation in the cricket World Cup being held in Australia early next year, although he acknowledged "some members of the Commonwealth, the West Indies, are still reluctant".

Hawke said he considered such participation acceptable because cricket was integrated within South Africa. - Sapa-AP



# ANC urges all to discuss SA future

Southern

19/9/91

304A

**ALL South Africans had to take part in the process of change, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said in Durban yesterday.**

Speaking on negotiations and the road ahead, he said the ANC was trying to create a situation conducive to allowing all South Africans discuss their future.

The process of removing obstacles to negotiations had been very difficult as the ANC and the Government had entered into a bargaining process before legal guarantees offered by a new constitution were in place, Zuma said.

The absence of legal guarantees was part of the reason why the ANC had not disbanded its

Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing.

On violence, Zuma said people in the security establishment had enjoyed a licence to do what they wanted, including "killing people and making them disappear", in the days of the "total onslaught".

Now the Government had changed its mind and individual soldiers and po-

licemen were expected to change.

They had a few skeletons in their cupboards from the days of the "total onslaught" and this made it difficult for the Government to deal with them, he added.

Regarding the road ahead, he said the ANC felt it had first to take part in the Patriotic Front conference

so delegates could "agree on broader issues and for everybody to understand where we are in this process of moving forward".

Afterwards, an all-party conference would discuss how to draw up a new constitution and an interim government to help manage the process of moving forward.

All parties, irrespective of their size, had to participate. If any parties were left out, they would be justified in fighting, and "we do not want that situation".

Zuma said he was not in a position to say when the all-party conference would take place.

"There is a feeling that the conference should take place this year. I cannot put a date on it."

The major issue was power, he said. The ANC was keen to hear other arguments, but favoured a constituent assembly of elected people to draw up a new constitution. - *South African Press Association.*

304A

possibly closer to a compromise than ever before.

In essence the ANC says it wants constituent assembly elections followed by the formation of an interim government. The NP agrees on the need for interim measures but is vague on detail and suspected of favouring a co-option route. Somewhere between the two postures lies the remedy.

For a number of reasons an interim government is important to the success of constitutional negotiations and a relatively smooth transition to democracy. It will:

- Largely defuse the potentially confrontational attitude among the main negotiators at the multiparty conference and give them a greater degree of common purpose;
- Mean a gradual rather than sudden change to representative government and reduce the potential rightwing backlash;
- Allow joint management of the integration — or dissolution — of bureaucratic structures including the security forces and ease the fear that a new government is a threat to white bureaucrats' jobs;
- Mean wider consultation and consensus on proposed legislation, State spending and executive action, which will significantly dilute the current adversarial attitude among rival groups; and
- Force groups now not involved in government to apply their collective minds more acutely to problem-solving within the administrative and financial confines of the State.

The problem is that the NP doesn't want to lose at least joint control of government, while the ANC is wary of co-option without real power.

Apart from President F W de Klerk's willingness to consider interim arrangements, including, if necessary, constitutional amendments to accommodate parties not now represented in parliament, the only public proposal by the NP for joint government was made earlier this year by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen (*Current Affairs* May 24).

The plan provides for a multiparty executive and joint committees to oversee bureaucratic functions, but it lacks detail. It is understood that the plan is being refined and discussed with groups outside parliament and that compromises are possible all round.

If the ANC's fear of co-option is to be allayed, it is clear that the interim government will have to rule by consensus and that current Ministers will not be allowed veto rights. To establish credibility as quickly as possible, it would also have to take far-reaching steps to address socio-economic backlogs, but without undermining local or foreign confidence in the economy through excessive taxation or restrictive or prescribed economic measures.

Only the DP has so far published detailed proposals for the transitional process. It believes the transition is the period in which to build a "democratic centre" for a future SA.

The party argues that the current constitution can be reconstructed to accommodate real change without co-option, but at the

NEGOTIATIONS FM 20/9/91

**In the interim...** 304A

**Consensus on peace** reached in Johannesburg at the weekend opens the door on the next key phase in SA's drift towards democracy: agreement on an interim government.

All significant political groups agree that transitional arrangements are needed while broader constitutional talks take place; it's only the structure that's disputed. While the two main players, the NP and the ANC, may appear to be far apart on the issue, they are

304A

same time preserve constitutional and legal continuity. It says agreement on the nature of the transitional government should be one of the first tasks of the envisaged multiparty conference.

The DP proposes a Council of Leaders to advise the President and multiparty Cabinet committees to advise Cabinet Ministers.

The council, in consultation with the President, would also, among other things: change the composition and structure of the Cabinet; provide for interim participative structures at provincial and local government level; set up procedures for the reintegration of the homelands and TBVC states; and broaden the representivity of the judiciary, bureaucracy and armed forces. Disputes between the President and council would be referred to the multiparty conference for resolution.

The multiparty Cabinet committees will be consulted before legislation is introduced in parliament and before Ministers use their executive powers. If a Minister refuses to follow committee advice the matter will be referred to the council for resolution.

A further important aspect of the DP's plan is an interim Bill of Rights for the transitional period, which should be negotiated by the multiparty conference. The Bill should outlaw race and gender discrimination "of any nature" and include a code of conduct for political parties.

With the negotiation process likely to be fairly drawn out and fraught with potential pitfalls, any means to smooth the way should be considered. The DP's proposals are the most comprehensive and reasonable published so far.



# FWW the prophet without honour in his own country

304A REC 20/9/91

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk was sworn in as head of state exactly two years ago today. When one looks back on what has happened in South Africa since then this is difficult to believe.

Before he was officially sworn in in Pretoria on September 20 1989 he was acting president for just over a month, from August 15. This was after the Cabinet had at last succeeded in shifting out Mr P W Botha. In that time he led the National Party through a general election in which it did not do so well and in which the Conservative Party grew considerably.

The real action of course started on February 2 of last year when Mr De Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and many other organisations, followed soon afterwards by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the start of the efforts to bring about a new, truly democratic South Africa.

This year there was the scrapping of apartheid and preparatory talks on negotiations on a new constitution appear to be imminent.

Many of the commitments of Mr De Klerk in his inaugural speech two years have remained just that.

These were to bridge the deep gulf of mistrust, suspicion and fear between South Africans; to give incisive attention to the negotiation process; to open the door to prosperity and economic growth; to develop a new constitutional system in which everyone would be able to take part without domination and the handling of unrest, violence and terrorism with a firm hand.

Mr De Klerk is in a way a prophet not being honoured in his own country. As far as appreciation is concerned he has fared better overseas than locally. Virtually all over the world now his bona fides and integrity and the fact that he has put into motion an irreversible process are accepted.

Many doors in trade, travel and academic contacts are opening to South Africa, but at home he faces a barrage of criticism from his opponents from the left as well as the right.

Particularly the right has recently again been vociferous with its resistance to reform and threats of an "independence struggle".

According to Mr De Klerk, the country is going through an inescapable period of uncertainty but he remains hopeful that a multi-party conference to prepare for negotiations can be held soon.

He especially attaches importance to the recent peace event that could prepare the way for a confer-



Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

ence. What gives him hope about the accord is that there are ongoing mechanisms to apply it.

At the same time he has misgivings about Umkhonto we Sizwe. He said at the weekend that the work of a government-ANC committee to deal with undertakings that MK's activities would be suspended, that there would be no further infiltration of weapons or internal training, had not been satisfactory and he indicated that there had been sharp exchanges on the matter between the two sides and the issue would be taken further. Undertakings had been given which made it possible for him to sign the peace accord which lays down that no political party may have a military wing.

Dealing with allegations that there is a "third force" at work and the insinuations that the security forces have something to do with this Mr De Klerk in the past week again said that "as far as I am aware" there was no such thing. The irresistible impression is that Mr De Klerk is not discounting the possibility of rogue elements.

Mr De Klerk went back to his "roots" this week when he visited Burgersdorp in the Cape where he was given the freedom of the town.

It was a pleasant nostalgic visit for someone who is a devout member of the Gereformeerde Kerk.

The theological seminary of the Gereformeerde Kerk was founded in Burgersdorp in 1869, mainly for the training of ministers of religion but also for others wishing to continue their higher education.

In 1919 it was shifted to Potchefstroom, first as a university college and from 1951 as an autonomous university. This was where Mr De Klerk completed his law studies, with distinction, in the fifties.

The De Klerks have deep roots at Burgersdorp.

For years his forefathers farmed on Spioenkop 29 km outside Burgersdorp on the way to Steynsburg and it is still owned by a De Klerk. His great-great-grandfather went there in 1820.

Mr De Klerk's grandfather, Mr Willem Johannes De Klerk, qualified as a minister at the theological seminary.

Speaking there yesterday the President sought to address the one outstanding phenomenon in politics in this country: the uncertainty and even apprehension many feel about the future because, in spite of all the sweeping changes in the government's approach, including the formal scrapping of apartheid, little concrete has happened and it is not clear what the future holds.

He said "our beautiful, fertile land of sunshine" remained a country of extremes, a land of clashing interests and a land of contrasting realities that were far removed from each other.

This generation faced the challenge of reconciling these clashing realities. He believed that this could be done through a willingness on all sides to be fair and just and by truly granting others what they wanted for themselves and by being willing to share what could not be divided.

Mr De Klerk said that, however difficult this might be, he believed that it was possible through peaceful negotiation and the country was therefore on the way to a new, more stable and safer and more prosperous future.

He conceded that this did not appear to be the case on the surface, but there could be no escape from this process. South Africa had landed in a cul-de-sac along which it could not continue and it had reached a moment of truth.

His party colleagues can only hope that Mr De Klerk's message in such a town will also get through to other plateau areas because, as a prominent Afrikaans political commentator pointed out this week, this is where Mr De Klerk's greatest problem with his traditional support lies.

These vast areas where the National Party was once so strong have often been left bewildered by Mr De Klerk's initiatives because they were not prepared for this. In the early stages of the reform process they were sometimes rather reassured that there would in fact not be such fundamental changes. The commentator said that many of these traditionally staunch supporters were turning their backs on the party. They must be easy prey for the Conservative Party.

Mr De Klerk will clearly have to do something about this enormous communication gap. Many will never catch up with him.



# Govt, ANC and Inkatha give the green light to multiparty talks

Billy Haddock

THE ANC, government and Inkatha declared yesterday that they were ready to start immediately with a multiparty conference, signalling that the way to real constitutional negotiations was clear.

ANC constitutional committee member Penuel Maduna and Inkatha central executive committee member Musa Myeni told a Johannesburg Press Club lunch there were no further obstacles to the start of constitutional negotiations.

Viljoen said there had been informal talks with the ANC and Inkatha since the

ANC suspended talks in its April ultimatum. These had progressed so well that there was little disagreement between the parties on the principles and ground rules for setting up the negotiations.

He said government had been reacting informally and exploratory talks on the logistics of getting a multiparty conference off the ground.

"I can say we have succeeded in picking up the threads. There is already a degree of informal understanding on the agenda, logistics, chairmanship and participants at the conference," he said.

Billy Haddock

The understanding underscored the view that there was no need for serious delays in getting the conference going, he said. His department was already identifying venues for the talks, Viljoen said.

"The only real obstacle the ANC raised was the violence. All parties agreed that the peace accord signed on Saturday has addressed this problem."

Viljoen said co-operation on a broad range of issues had been achieved. The parties had proved that a negotiated settle-

ment on sensitive and complex issues was possible.

Maduna agreed, saying Viljoen had the ANC specifically in mind when he spoke of reaching informal agreements.

The ANC's demand for a constituent assembly was not one of principle but rather a procedure which was flexible and not written in stone, he said.

"When we get to the negotiating table and a better way forward is proposed, we will not stall the process," he said.

He said the ANC's demand for an interim government was similarly flexible.

Parties were going to the conference without preconditions and there was a good chance the ANC would convince others an interim government was the best option.

The most important aspect of an interim arrangement was that it was radically different from the present government and did not seek to co-opt parties and organisations in an Abel Muzorewa-type Zimabwean system, Maduna said.

Viljoen said co-option was not viable — government could never sell it. Any Inter-

## Talks

19 Dec 20/9/91 304A

From Page 1

in government or transitional arrangement would have to avoid this. Government was, however, insisting that power be linked to responsibility.

He agreed that the transitional arrangements had to be negotiated at a multiparty forum to achieve mutual agreement.

Myeni said the process leading to the signing of the peace accord proved that SA did not need international supervisors to sort out its problems. Inkatha was ready to

start negotiations tomorrow but would reject an interim government that suspended the constitution until there was a better one to take its place.

All three parties agreed that if deadlock was reached during negotiations or if the participants wanted a broader endorsement on any fundamental issue, mechanisms such as a referendum could be an ideal form to test democratic opinion.

To Page 2



# Viljoen rejects patriotic front

By Kaizer Nyatsumba  
Political Staff 20/9/91

The proposed formation of a patriotic front of liberation movements would be a distortion of realities in the country and would have no legitimacy, according to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Addressing the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, Dr Viljoen — one of three speakers to debate the transitional process — said the Government was concerned about the ANC's insistence that a patriotic front conference had to be

held before a multiparty conference.

A patriotic front, Dr Viljoen said, would not only be a distortion of realities in the country but it would also have no legitimacy.

He said while the Zimbabwean patriotic front was a gangling up of forces against "a so-called illegal colonial power", there was no such a power in South Africa.

"In addition, this Government is today an initiator of, and an active participant in, the so-called liberation process and the eradication of apartheid," Dr Viljoen said.

He again rejected the ANC's demands for an interim government in favour of

"proper transitional arrangements", but expressed the hope that the two parties' differences could be resolved at a multiparty conference.

Penuel Maduna of the ANC's legal department said although his organisation insisted on an interim government and a constituent assembly, it was not inflexible. If something acceptable was proposed at an all-party congress, the ANC would seriously consider it.

The holding of an all-party conference, Mr Maduna said, was "a matter of extreme urgency".

This conference would set up broad principles of functioning, determine the make-

up of a body which would write the new constitution and establish an interim government.

Mr Maduna denied that the ANC had insisted a patriotic front had to be formed before a multiparty conference could be held. The ANC, he said, was "ready for negotiations right now".

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Musa Myeni said calls for the dissolution of the Government and the suspension of the present constitution were "both political and emotional".

This would lead to a political vacuum which would be filled by an illegitimate interim government.

## End of FW's second year

CT 20/9/91  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk today completes the second year of his five-year term as South Africa's second executive president.

Features of Mr De Klerk's term have been the movement away from legislative apartheid and the freeing up of political activity.

The most dramatic moment during his time in office came on February 2, 1990, when he announced the unbanning of political organisations and the subsequent release of Mr Nelson Mandela (South)



**FW urges** 3044  
**democracy**

**BURGERSDORP**

Without democratic justice, there could be no reconciliation, peace, freedom, prosperity or progress in South Africa, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at a ceremony at which he received the freedom of Burgersdorp, a town in the north-eastern Cape with which his forbears had close links, he said the road to this goal would involve setbacks and disappointment, but it was the only way forward.

Mr De Klerk said South Africans would have to find a balance between a "non-racial community life of our own on the basis of freedom of association for those who desire it, and the need for participation by all in the efficient and viable provision of services to everybody". — Sapa

## ANC, DP move closer after talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC and the Democratic Party moved closer together yesterday, by agreeing to form joint committees to explore areas of common agreement and facilitate joint projects. (304A)

The decision to forge closer links and co-operative ventures followed a day-long meeting in Johannesburg between delegations led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer. (304A)

This is likely to strengthen and formalise the extensive existing contact between the two organisations.

A joint statement issued afterwards said their wide-ranging discussions had revealed

To page 7

From page 1

many areas of agreement, as well as some issues on which greater clarification was required". (304A)

Among the subjects covered were the transitional process, constitutional principles, the patriotic front and economic policy. (304A)

"The meeting recognises that many contacts and even joint projects already exist at regional level, and approves and encourages these contacts and initiatives," the joint statement noted.

The ANC and the DP agreed that "the broadest possible sections of our people of our country should be drawn into and involved in transitional processes in general, and the formulation of a non-racial democratic constitution in particular."

The two sides agreed that the legacy of apartheid charged them with a duty to ensure that solutions, and the process by which they were achieved, should address the fears of minorities in the country.

It was further agreed to ensure that "we do not create fears in the majority that any new arrangements frustrate their legitimate and democratic preferences".

The statement did not say whether the Democratic Party would be invited to the patriotic front conference in Durban next month.



# Momberg: My house open to all

(304A) CT 20/9/91

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP Mr Jannie Momberg yesterday strongly defended his decision to allow his Stellenbosch residence to be used on Thursday next week by the ANC for a cocktail party for Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said he did not see any clash with his role in the DP, as it (the DP) was committed to building bridges among people.

Mr Momberg said that people who knew him over the years knew that his house was open for everyone. "I had John Vorster at my house on the farm, I had F W de Klerk there when he was an ordinary MP, why can't I have one of the most important political figures in South Africa at my house?"

"I am not going to be told who I can or cannot invite to my house."

The event is likely to cause tensions in the DP caucus, as there have already been flare-ups about the par-

ticipation of some MPs in ANC marches and about the dual membership issue.

Mr Momberg became involved through his son, Mr Jannie Momberg jnr, who holds the fund-raising portfolio on the local ANC committee.

ANC committee member Mrs Zelda Dalling, wife of DP MP Mr David Dalling, said: "His son asked him if they could use his house because this would save the ANC money."

Mr Momberg snr lives in Fish Hoek and his son lives in his Stellenbosch house.

Mr Momberg said: "I admire Mr Mandela. If I can be of assistance to get people, mainly of Afrikaans background, to meet one of the key people in the future, I would always do so."

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it would be improper of him to tell MPs who they may or may not entertain, and that it was common practice and valuable that friendly contact with leaders of appropriate parties be maintained.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The momentum towards all-party talks received a further boost yesterday with senior members of the ANC, the government and Inkatha saying they were ready to start negotiating.

ANC constitutional committee member Mr Penuel Maduna, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and Inkatha's Mr Musa Myeni told a Johannesburg Press Club lunch there were no further obstacles to the start of constitutional negotiations.

On Wednesday the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said all-party talks could start before the end of the year.

And at a funeral service for unrest victims in Soweto, Mrs Winnie Mandela struck a conciliatory note when she said that the ANC would do "everything in its power to defend, protect

# Boost for talks — all are ready

SOUTH  
CT 20/9/91

and carry out the Peace Accord".

She said the funeral was "the last mass funeral the ANC and other liberation movements will witness in South Africa".

Meanwhile, yesterday Dr Viljoen said there had been informal constitutional talks with the ANC and Inkatha since the ANC suspended talks in April.

"I can say we have succeeded in picking up the threads of these talks. As a matter of fact, there al-

ready is a degree of informal understanding on the agenda, logistics, chairmanship and participants at the conference," he said.

"The only real obstacle the ANC raised was the violence and all parties have agreed that the peace accord signed on Saturday had addressed this problem."

Mr Maduna said the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly was not one of principle but rather a procedure which was flexible, as

was the ANC's demand for an interim government.

Dr Viljoen said the government was insisting that power be linked to responsibility. President F W de Klerk had said quite clearly that he was open to any form of transitional arrangement within SA's constitution.

Mr Myeni said Inkatha was ready to start negotiations tomorrow but would reject an interim government that suspended the constitution until there was a better one to take its place.

Dr Viljoen said the government was still concerned that the ANC might want to delay the talks until after the patriotic front conference.

Mr Maduna assured him that the ANC would not delay the talks for the patriotic front meeting but was happy to start forthwith.

● Attacks 'violate Peace Accord' — Page 5